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THE
PENN MONTHLY.

JANUARY, 1873.

THE PENNSYLVANIA CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION
OF 1872-3.

EVER since the adoption of the Constitution of the United States, the scheme of defining and limiting in a written instrument the rights of the co-ordinate branches of the government, and of laying down in it broad principles by which to guide them in the performance of their duties, has been regarded by the average American citizen as the sure foundation upon which the fabric of State legislation should be erected. We are so familiar in this country with this system, and so accustomed to regard as axiomatic the theories which induced our ancestors to adopt it, that we look with distrust upon the advocates of a government where the Legislature is practically omnipotent. Each score of years we dole out to our legislators a fresh lease of power with increased restrictions, unwilling to trust them with more of Jove's power than is absolutely necessary to carry on the affairs of men while Jove nods. We are strongly inclined to think that this idea is a false one, and that it would be far preferable to grant almost unlimited powers to our representatives, and at the same time to hold them strictly responsible for their most trifling acts. Disguise the fact as our vanity may prompt us to do, broadly stated it amounts to this—that every quarter of a century we elect a respectable and intelligent legislative body to bind us, though voluntarily, hand and foot, for another generation, and to undo by the enactment

of general propositions for our future government the evil which has accumulated through bad legislation in the past. Cunningly as your restrictions may be devised, there are always new abuses which it is impossible to foresee, and which can only be remedied after their occurrence. Our views on this subject are, we believe, not generally shared; but we are convinced that, as the average voter grows more intelligent, the crazy governmental machine will be simplified, and that a system by means of which complicated legal locks are devised to keep in safety the most precious of our liberties, and a set of professional thieves then solicited to pick them for a large reward, will be regarded as less safe than to have them guarded by men in whom we can confide, on whichever side of the fastenings they may be placed.

It is our design in this article to examine briefly the causes which have contributed to render our State politics so degraded, and to suggest such modifications in the present Constitution as may lead, we believe, to purer legislation.

Perhaps the most potent evil from which we suffer is the prevalence of a system by means of which so vast a body of men, including all nationalities and containing all grades of mental capacity in their number, has a share in the choice of their representatives. Apart from its more obvious vices there is one which is, we think, frequently lost sight of, and which might be materially diminished. This is the difficulty of making personal worth felt in a large constituency, and the existence of strict party discipline which becomes necessary to manoeuvre successfully the vast array of voters on either side, in consequence of which his identity and individuality is almost entirely lost. Take, for example, Philadelphia, with its four senatorial districts and its vote, which varies, according to the exigency of the occasion, from 120,000 to 150,000 ballots. Each State Senator has, therefore, a constituency of from 30,000 to 40,000 voters to whom to address himself. All possibility of intelligent combination is of course lost in this incoherent mass, limited as it is, not by any community of interests, but by curious mathematical figures contrived by the ingenious brain of some master in the art of gerrymandering.

We should suggest for this evil, as well as for the bribery which renders an honest man so helpless in all his attempts at reform, a common remedy, the advantage of which has long been felt both

in England and in Massachusetts. We mean a considerable increase in the number of members of the Legislature of the State. The certain result would be that each voter would take more interest, because he would possess more importance, in the election, and that the candidate for office could canvass his district far more easily and efficiently. A man's character as it is known among his neighbors is a far more accurate test of his moral worth than the scandalous innuendoes or the fulsome praises of a newspaper campaign; and such a character would be his principal recommendation to office. Hearsay would give way to personal observation.

Segnius irritant animos demissa per aurem
Quam quæ sunt oculis subjecta fidelibus.

To be unknown would no longer be a recommendation to office. Another important result from such a system would be the much greater difficulty in packing conventions, and the greater facility with which party discipline might be broken. The voter, too, would take a more individual interest in his representative, and a greater responsibility, because owed to fewer persons, would be felt by the latter. It is true that the dishonest man would still have relatively an equal share in the selection of the candidate, but isolated, his power is gone, and his helplessness becomes at once apparent.

But how are we to cope with ignorance on the part of the voter, which is, after all, the prime cause of our present sufferings? We must have recourse to that potent instrument which we have forged with so great toil and at so vast an expense—the Public School.

Let us not be misunderstood; the present system appears to us far from perfect, both in what it teaches and in the manner of conveying what is taught. Our weapon needs sharpening, and, as we all know, it is far harder to sharpen a dull instrument than to keep one already sharp from becoming dull. Two theories have always prevailed concerning the system of public schools—the one, that, it is unjust to take their money from the rich to supply the poor with the so-called luxury of education; the other, which after hard struggles has won the day, that in a country where universal suffrage prevails, the State should see that every citizen is rendered as capable as possible of exercising the important

powers committed to his care. If there is to be any advance in our political life, and if all progression comes from the people, it should no longer be left doubtful whether he will prepare himself for his work or not. As well leave a soldier's training to his own inclinations. The State has a certain property in each of her citizens, and the latter should be taught to regard the duty of serving her at the polls as sacred as that of bearing arms in her defense against an invading enemy. We believe that a clause making education compulsory throughout the State, while leaving the application of the law to the Legislature, should be a part of the new Constitution.

Another great source of corruption arises from the vast number of offices to be filled by election, and frequently to be paid by fees. The position of the professional politician is a lucrative one, and the frequent elections give the dullest man a training before which intelligence and honesty are generally routed. To destroy this evil you must take away the nutriment on which it lives; starve it, and it will soon die a natural death. Abolish the whole system of fees; substitute for them fixed and sufficient salaries; reduce the number of elective officers as much as possible, and lengthen their tenure of office. Every officer who is not strictly political should be appointable and removable by the proper authorities, who should be held strictly responsible for the employment of their patronage. The municipal elections, too, should be held at such times that politics could by no possibility be introduced into them.

Still another cause, the vast effect of which is too generally ignored, is the influence and the result of a long-continued war. The enormous power thrown into the hands of the Executive, the tightening of those lines which always divide parties, and the principle that the end must be accomplished, no matter how or by whom, are but several out of many of the legitimate results of every war. These evils can only be cured by time, which is a slow agent. Let us strive to render the task as simple a one as possible.

The last cause to which we shall allude of our present imperfect system of government, is the much smaller number of men in America who unite both leisure and capacity than in any country in Europe, and the extreme difficulty of utilizing such men as we

possess. As the country grows richer, of course men of leisure will multiply; the other half of the difficulty might be much lessened by the means suggested. We have only to instance the Board of State Charities and the Philadelphia Park Commission, to prove how efficiently, and honestly, very arduous duties are performed in those positions by many of the best men in the State.

Let us now examine the principal features of the present Constitution of this State, and indicate, as we do so, what changes we believe to be desirable in that instrument. We shall make use of a general subdivision of the subject into

I. The Executive.

II. The Judiciary.

III. The Legislative.

IV. Elections—Proportional Representation.

V. Public Education.

I. And first, we consider the tenure of office of the Governor a subject of considerable importance. In this State that officer is elected once every three years; it is therefore only once in every twelve years that the President of the United States and the Governor are chosen about the same time, and that the nomination of one can have much effect upon the election of the other. How bad is the result despite its rare recurrence was visible at the nomination and election of the present Governor elect. One of the strongest grounds urged for the nomination of Senator Buckalew was that he would draw more anti-Grant Republicans than any other candidate, and we all know that personal merit was less discussed during the campaign, than the question under which of the two great banners each candidate had enrolled himself. If it be desirable to remove State politics from the influence of the federal government, in three cases out of four, as at present, why not altogether; and this can be readily effected by lengthening the Governor's term of office to four years, and by electing him in the middle of the President's term. In Ohio the Governor is chosen for two years, but never in the same year with the President, and in that State this plan has been found to be of great advantage.

To the offices of Attorney General and Secretary of State, already appointed by the Governor, we should add those of State Treasurer and of Commissioner of Public Education, an office of which we shall have occasion to say a few words under the last di

vision of our subject. The election of so thoroughly an executive officer as the State Treasurer by either the legislature or the people must be fraught with evil, and is in direct violation of the spirit of our form of government, by which one of the most important duties vested in the head of the Executive department is that of appointing all subordinate executive officers. How can the fitness of a man whose qualifications are necessarily of such a nature that they can be known but to one or two before actually exercised, be determined by the nominating conventions of 600,000 voters? As the matter stands, the appointment of this important officer is really placed in the hands of a few men, but they are unfortunately wholly irresponsible and cease to exist as soon as the end for which they have striven is accomplished. How would the governmental finances of Great Britain flourish if Mr. Lowe were elected by all the good and substantial freeholders in that kingdom; and it would be withholding justice from Mr. Boutwell to deny that the Treasury Department might fare worse than at present, if a less honest and more popular financier should be chosen by universal suffrage to replace him. Our scheme of government can only be improved by rendering to the Executive what is due to the Executive, and then watching carefully how he dispenses his patronage, and making him strictly responsible for the exercise of it.

But of all the offices which it is most desirable to take from the hands of the irresponsible many, that of a judge is of most importance. The arguments in favor of this change are so numerous and those against it so opposed to the unanimous opinion of civilized Europe, that those persons who are still in favor of an elective judiciary can only defend it on the ground that it has worked pretty well in the State of Pennsylvania. To those, however, whose scientific education has taught them to expect an effect, however remote, when they observe the existence and unceasing operation of a cause, it is hardly necessary to state that if the system is founded upon a misconception it cannot long continue tolerable. With an elective judiciary the judge must court the suffrage of those whom he should be raised far above, and whether he does it with money or by inclining unfairly the even scales of justice, the result must be most deplorable, more dangerous perhaps in the latter case than in the former, because less capable of detection. The judge should be placed on a pedestal so high and

so firm that the winds and the waves of political and pecuniary temptation might dash against it in vain, and leave him as unyielding as he will always and only be when impure motives are so far below that they cannot reach him.

In this State we were once possessed of a system which is looked upon in the most benighted of European countries as the very foundation of justice and good government, but the disappointed ambition of a few men was strong enough to make us abandon the principle of *nulla vestigia retrorsum*, and that patient beast of burden, the State, was loaded with a weight which, if she does not soon refuse to carry it farther, will finally break her back. The judicial morality (?) of New York and of Missouri is but a precursor of what must follow here unless the destroying agencies are arrested. In the latter State, it is true, a sort of poetic justice is administered to the judiciary of a kind which it is certainly more blessed to give than to receive, and lynch law not infrequently lifts its head to punish those who have been derelict. So violent a remedy can only be used, however, in extreme cases, and is always liable to the misapplication of the most zealous, as in Missouri, where, about a year ago, two thoroughly dishonest judges were shot in a railroad car, together with an unfortunate man who was gifted by nature with a face which resembled too closely the third member of this exemplary court.

There is in the present Constitution of Pennsylvania an excellent proviso to the effect that the Governor shall remove any judicial officer, on the address of two-thirds of each branch of the Legislature, for any reasonable cause which shall not be a sufficient ground of impeachment. An appointed judiciary, to hold office during good behavior, with a provision that any member of the court who should become incapacitated by age or by bodily or mental infirmity from the further discharge of his duties, should be retired for life upon a suitable pension—say one-half of his annual salary—would, we believe, secure the approbation of every intelligent member of the community. The proviso of a retiring pension we believe to be but scant justice. Republics, from the time of Athens, have been systematically ungrateful to their public officers—a sin which has frequently been returned by the public servant seeking to prepare himself, like the unjust steward, against the day of dismissal. It is the honest man that has worn out his faculties in the exact-

ing service of his country who is often thrown aside like a cast-off habit. How often is he obliged to exclaim as Adam did to Oliver—"Is old dog my reward? Most true, I have lost my teeth in your service."

One great objection to our present judicial system is the ease with which cases are appealed from the lower to the higher courts, the consequent overburdening of the latter, and in all cases where the amount involved is considerable the necessary delay of justice and the practical inutility of the lower court.

Two plans have been already suggested to remedy this evil—the one, that a pecuniary limit should be placed upon all cases appealed to the Supreme Court, involving we will say less than two thousand dollars; the other, that an expensive system of costs should be adopted, as in England, so that small cases could not be appealed with pecuniary success. Both of these plans are defective. Justice, like death, should knock with equal step at the door of rich and poor; and an important principle yet undecided is frequently involved in a case where but a few hundred dollars are claimed. We would suggest as a substitute the following general plan.

Let all appealed cases before going to the Supreme Court be argued before a kind of Court of Exchequer Chamber, to consist of the judges of the two Courts of Common Pleas of the counties most contiguous to that in which the case was first argued. Let the decision of this Court of Appeal be final in all cases under two thousand dollars, except where a majority of the judges composing it shall certify that the principle involved is sufficiently important to make it desirable that it should be decided by the Supreme Court.

In speaking of the judiciary, we must not fail to notice an abuse which has crept into the constitutions of many of the States, and which we hope to see absent from the new one for this State. We mean the provision by means of which the Chief-Justiceship of the Supreme Court is made a pretty toy with which to ornament in succession the venerable brows of the puisne judges. If it be an invidious distinction to clothe one judge with more honor than his companions upon the bench, let the office be altogether abolished, but do not let it lose its meaning, authority and influence by making it a question

of time with each judge whether he shall succeed to it or not. If there be any functions peculiar to the office requiring particular faculties in their exercise, one man must necessarily be more competent than another to perform them, and his claims should be passed upon by the appointing power rather than by the blind decision of time and chance.

A most strange restriction upon the judges of the lower courts is to be found in the clause of the present Constitution, which enacts that during their continuance in office they shall reside within the district or county for which they are respectively elected. Obviously, one of the principal advantages of the present English plan of going on circuits is, that the judge is entirely removed above the petty scandals and prejudices of any given locality, so that he brings to bear in the hearing of any cause a mind thoroughly unwarped by influences which are the most difficult to resist, because the most impalpable—the peculiar tone and mode of thought of the community where he dispenses justice. While the prejudices of the country districts are perhaps still too violent to admit of any radical change in the present system of county courts, it would not be amiss to strike from our new Constitution the record of so weak and blind a prejudice, which, it is to be hoped, the least intelligent have now prepared to discard.

A reform of very great importance, which has recently attracted much public attention in Philadelphia on account of the strenuous but ineffectual attempts of the Reform Society to rid the community of the present abuse, is the suggested appointment by their respective courts, or a majority of the members thereof, of the subordinate officers of those courts, viz.: prothonotaries, clerks, etc.

A member of this Bar, some years ago, went to the then prothonotary of the Court of Common Pleas of Philadelphia and asked to see his road docket. "I don't keep none," answered this worthy, who, having been unsuccessful in his original vocation of blacksmith, had taken refuge in politics. The lawyer then reported the matter to the president judge of the court, and the prothonotary was summoned to answer for the derelictions of the past. "Why don't you keep a road docket?" said the judge. "Shall I make anything more by it?" was the evasive answer of the prothonotary. The judge then explained that, although there were to be no forthcoming fees, the interests of justice and of the

community which Mr. —— served must be regarded by him. The prothonotary left the judge's presence with a determined visage. A few days afterward the same member of the bar, after searching in vain for the expected docket, asked the prothonotary why he had not obeyed the orders of the judge. "Judge —— be damned," was that gentleman's reply. "We are both of us elected by the same people, and my office is a damned sight better than his, for I make a lot more money by it." We have very little doubt that this is the natural way of looking upon their relative positions, entertained by many prothonotaries, and we should suggest, as a means of introducing a more subordinate spirit, the appointment of all such worthy men by the courts themselves, in which case they might be taught to realize that they were the officers of the courts and not of that much less exacting and far more long-suffering body—the public itself.

The office of Alderman or justice of the peace has, in our large cities, been so long associated with all that is disreputable in politics and in morality, that it has become a serious question with those interested in political reform whether it should not be altogether abolished, or, at least, radically changed.

In England, the Justice of the Peace, up to the beginning of the reign of Edward the Third, either claimed that office by prescription or was bound to exercise it by the tenure of his lands, or, lastly, was chosen by the freeholders of the county. But in order to prevent the disturbances which were apprehended at the death of Edward the Second, the new king sent writs to all the sheriffs in England commanding each that the peace be kept throughout his bailiwick, on pain of disinheritance and loss of life and limb. A few weeks afterward an act was passed in Parliament in which it was ordained that good men and lawful should be *assigned* to keep the peace.

Such is briefly the account which Sir William Blackstone gives of the origin of the appointment of justices of the peace. They are now selected on the recommendation of the Lord Lieutenant, and are appointed by special commission under the great seal. The ordinary justice of the peace in England receives no emolument, but in London and in certain populous districts it has become customary to appoint paid magistrates, and generally with

additional powers. (See various statutes passed during the reign of the present sovereign.)

In France the trial of small and pecuniarily unimportant cases is committed to the *juge de paix*, who is appointed by the government, receives a salary, and must have had a certain amount of legal training.

In the city of Philadelphia the office has so utterly fallen from its high estate that but few men of respectability, and, we believe we may say, none of education, can or do enter it. The feelings of the Bar of Philadelphia on this subject were made known to the public last winter, when a deputation of aldermen went up to Harrisburg for the purpose of inducing the Legislature to pass a bill enlarging their jurisdiction. A few members of the Bar followed these noble justices, and despite the pecuniary means at the disposal of the latter, convinced our law-makers that the feelings of the general public would be so outraged by the passage of the proposed measure that the bill was defeated by a small majority.

The surroundings, too, of the present aldermen are of such a nature that, while many an honest man is mulcted, many a knave escapes. We would recall to our readers the scene between Justice Shallow and Davy, in which the latter begs the former to "countenance" William Visor, of Wincot, against Clement Parkes, of the Hill.

"*Shallow*. There are many complaints, Davy, against that Visor; that Visor is an arrant knave on my knowledge.

"*Davy*. I grant your worship that he is a knave, sir; but yet, God forbid, sir, but a knave should have some countenance at his friend's request. An honest man, sir, is able to speak for himself, when a knave is not. The knave is mine honest friend, sir; therefore, I beseech your worship, let him be countenanced.

"*Shallow*. Go to, I say; he shall have no wrong."

So bitterly has this evil been felt, that the last presentment of the grand jury recommends the Constitutional Convention to abolish the office of alderman.

We should suggest that all aldermen should be appointed by the Governor of the State, with the assent, if that restriction be considered necessary, of the mayor of the city; or, in the case of the county, by the sheriff of the county. Then let the Governor

be held by the press, and by public opinion strictly responsible for every appointee; if he offend, let the Governor have, as now, the power of summary removal. Let the aldermen receive a suitable salary, and let the pernicious system of fees be entirely abolished.

We have only to add, in addition to what we have already said upon the subject, that we think that membership of the Bar should be a necessary qualification. Aldermen who had a rudimentary legal education, who continued in office during good behavior, and who by the enjoyment of a fixed salary were removed from the invincible temptation of always deciding for the plaintiff, would relieve our Court of Common Pleas of a vast amount of entirely unnecessary litigation.

III. We have already said that we thought that the number of members of the Legislature should be largely increased. We would suggest that it should bear a ratio to the present one of about four to one. The House of Representatives now consists of one hundred members, and the Senate of thirty-three. We should suggest four hundred and fifty as the number of the House, of which fifty should be chosen by the whole State as members at large, and four hundred by small constituencies. A proportional increase in the Senate would give a little more than a hundred and twenty members. Our plan would be to elect one hundred of these from senatorial districts and twenty from the State at large. Each constituency, however, should be allowed to choose its representative in whatever part of the State he might reside. The desire to have every legislator a resident of his particular district, is like the anxiety displayed so often by the benevolent lawmaker in the passage of usury laws to make the rate at which money is borrowed low. In the one case as in the other the interests of the individual may safely be left to his own management; and it may be assumed, if a city district select to represent it one who resides in the country, or *vice versa*, that it is but an exercise of a most valuable privilege, and in consequence of the conviction that the constituency will be better represented in that way. Far more important is such a liberty in this country than in England, on account of the much slighter prevalence of country life among the more cultivated classes here, and the constantly in-

creasing exodus from the country to the city among those who are untrammelled in the choice of their place of abode.

Another change which we hope to see effected, is that by which the Attorney General, the Secretary of the State, the State Treasurer, and the Superintendent of Public Education, should be made *ex officio* members of the Legislature, without a vote, as the delegates of the Territories of the United States in the House of Representatives. The advantage of rapid and easy communication between the Executive and Legislative departments cannot be too highly estimated, and the former should have a less clumsy way of communicating with the latter than by a message. As a matter of fact, not a single session passes without the recommendation of several measures on the part of the Governor, and it is important that their advantages should be well explained in order to be duly appreciated.

In the Constitution of the State of Illinois the Legislature is prohibited from passing special laws in the following amongst other enumerated cases:

Granting Divorces.

Laying out, opening, altering and working roads or highways.

Vacating roads, town plats, streets, alleys and public grounds.

Locating or changing county seats.

Regulating county and township affairs.

Regulating the jurisdiction and duties of justices of the peace, police magistrates and constables.

Incorporating cities, towns or villages, or changing or amending the charter of any town, city or village.

Regulating the rate of interest on money.

Granting to any corporation, association or individual the right to lay down railroad tracks, or amending charters for such purpose.

Granting to any corporation, association or individual any special or exclusive privilege, immunity or franchise whatever.

In all cases where a general law can be made applicable, no special law shall be enacted, etc.

Many of these provisos are drawn up with so much looseness as to be easily evaded; but the object which they aim at attaining is excellent.

IV. As long as we have so many elections, and so many offices to fill, we shall have an army of trained politicians belonging to both parties, who will fight desperately for the spoils. If our suggestions regarding the increase of the appointing power of the Governor be listened to, there would be but few officers to choose by vote excepting the members of the Legislature and of Congress, the Governor and the President. The members of the Legislature should, we think, be chosen at such times that no State election should be held in the same year with a United States election. By the present Constitution of Illinois, the term of office of the Senate and of the House of Representatives is respectively four and two years. We hope to see the same terms introduced in Pennsylvania.

There should be a distinct separation between municipal and political elections; the former should therefore be held in the spring and the latter in the autumn. This is now the case in Ohio and some of the New England States, and the system works admirably.

The present mode of voting is open to the gravest objections. It is asserted, and believed to be true, that a majority which does not exceed five thousand votes may easily be turned into a minority in a large city. We refer our readers to the new Ballot Bill in England, which endeavors to put a check upon repeating and fraudulent personation, by giving a means of ascertaining how each man has voted in case of a contested election. Unless some remedy can be suggested for the great frauds which annually take place, it is a doubtful question whether *viva voce* voting be not preferable to the ballot. This interesting subject will, we hope, occupy much attention in the Constitutional Convention.

A further question of electoral reform which receives more and more that public attention which actual experience has now begun to prove its claim to, is that of Proportional Representation.

The agitation of this question in Denmark, in England, in Switzerland, in France and in this country while it at first merely enlisted some progressive minds of these countries in its advocacy, has now finally compelled the homage of the ruling masses, and some half-dozen of the various systems devised to secure fair representation to minority and majority alike, are now in use, sanc-

tioned by statute, or indeed by being embodied, as in Illinois, in the Constitution, the organic law of the State.

Of the merit of the principle of proportional representation, no earnest thinker can have any doubt.

To advocate this principle is, indeed in one sense, equivalent to saying, "Representative government should be representative," but the seeming truism will be found fertile in new and beneficent truths. Evidently a representative body should be as far as possible the mirror of its whole constituency. The leading interests of the voters should find their accredited representative in the deliberative body, and if they are to be fairly represented at all it can only be by giving each its due proportion of the deliberative body. The term "Minority Representation" is therefore unfortunate, for the true theory does not infringe on the rights of the majority; that the majority rules and must rule, is implied and maintained in the very name of proportional representation.

It is, however, an acknowledged defect of some of the new schemes of election that under them a minority may possibly elect a majority of candidates. This was lately done under the cumulative vote in Illinois, and likewise in England; and the limited vote used in the choice of members of the Constitutional Convention is liable to the same objection. This same accusation holds good, however, against the great national scheme of election which the wisdom of our fathers devised for us, and under which we live. Under the single district system (now in use in all the States in Congressional elections) as late as 1867 a Republican majority of voters in Ohio elected a Democratic majority to the Legislature.

The history of this single district system, and the reform agitation which led to its substitution for the general ticket, is exceedingly suggestive.

It was, as far as we know, first developed in a valuable paper on "Electoral Reform," read by Mr. S. Dana Horton, of the Cincinnati Bar, before the Literary Club of that city, and afterward printed in the Cincinnati *Gazette*. It affords a curious commentary on the frivolous opposition of to-day to proportional representation, to find Mr. Pickens, of North Carolina, advocating in Congress the great reform measure of that time as giving a "fair representation to the minority," though the experience of fifty years suggests bitter comments on his hope that it would "destroy the

power of caucusses and self-appointed committees." Evidently a great danger to be avoided in the discussion of these questions, lies in what many of its partisan advocates in this country have already done : they have been too willing to assume that some one pet scheme of election is proportional representation itself.

Granted the theory of representations of interests in due proportion, the practical question ensues, what particular instrument is fittest to secure this end; and it is only exhaustive study, crowned by actual experience, that can solve this problem successfully.

It is to be hoped, therefore, that the Convention will content itself with laying down the fundamental principles of proportional representation, and leave to the Legislature the duty of determining upon such special schemes as experience from time to time may prove to be the best.

In the paper from which we have quoted, the writer describes in the following terms a scheme of which Philadelphia was the birthplace.

"The Gilpin scheme, different from all of those hitherto described, is that proposed by Mr. Thos. Gilpin, of Philadelphia, in a pamphlet bearing date 1844, and dedicated to the American Philosophical Society. His plan bears upon its face the great recommendation of simplicity, and is, indeed, so obvious an application of the principle of equality and justice to representation, so self-evident a development of the theory of representative government, that it can hardly fail to have occurred to earlier writers if any, such there were, that investigated the subject.

"A party that casts a third of the votes is simply to have a third of the representatives ; the latter are divided up as far as may be in even proportion. Each party is to have an established ticket ; those first on the list are elected in order. He alludes to the problems how to take accounts of scratching and of names added to the list but gives no clear solution. Despite its simplicity, his scheme does not appear to have been noticed by those in this country, and in England, who have been chiefly active in electoral reform.

"The English plan of the cumulative vote has, as we have seen, been carried into practice, while Mr. Gilpin's idea finding support in Germany and Switzerland, and put into practice in the latter country, now comes back to us with increased claim upon

“our notice, as the Geneva free list. Independent discovery is, on this subject, the order of the day. It is not probable that M. Frederic Morin, whose work on the subject contributed to the adoption of this plan, had read that of Mr. Gilpin.

“Since the enlargement of the Canton by the treaties of 1815, Geneva has suffered from time to time from the tyranny of majorities. The city of Rousseau has had an admirable opportunity of learning how the maxims of freedom may, by careful application, be turned into empty phrases. After several bloody revolutions a better remedy was found in this election system, and the force that threatened to break up the government was now calmly conducted to a channel of active usefulness.

“With the scanty materials I have thus far received, I am unable to give a detailed account of the Geneva plan of counting scratched and mixed tickets. Its other features are, in general, the same as those of Mr. Gilpin's plan.

“The Gilpin plan stands alone in securing beyond a chance to each party in the district which votes a straight party ticket as fair a representation as it is possible to attain.

“What does it say to those members of the party who are dissatisfied with the regular ticket? How does it affect nomination? The answer here is not satisfactory. Each party nominates, as it does now, as many candidates as there are offices to be filled. These stand on the ticket in a fixed order, and the number of offices allotted to each party is filled by the party candidates taken from the head of the party list. Objectionable nominees may then manage to get their names high on the list, and the good names (may be) put lower down, to induce the party to put out its strength, in order to poll enough votes to reach the good names, and yet the party may only succeed in electing the objectionable men.

“In large districts, however, this scheme has one great excellence in matters of nomination, and in representing shades of opinion within parties. It will be possible to “bolt” the regular nominations without doing the party any harm. The dissatisfied can get up a ticket for themselves, put a good man of their party at the head, and, if they cast the proper quota of votes, they can elect their man. The Young Democrats can thus elect a Young Democrat, and the Liberal Republicans a Liberal, and this without deserting the party colors. In addition, the regular organization, re-

“cognizing this danger, is stimulated to make its nominations represent fairly the better elements of the party.

“The smaller the district, however, the less effective is this check, for in small districts ‘bolting’ may, as to-day, throw the majority representatives into the hands of the minority party. In spite of its shortcomings, we are inclined to believe this scheme better adapted to meet the facts of the case at our elections than any of the other schemes described. It is based on the necessity of party and of certainty as to the effects of one’s vote, and it undeniably improves to a certain degree the conditions of the game of nomination.”

It may be interesting to Pennsylvanians to know a fact which observation of the current discussion of the question will establish, that the opinion of many leading thinkers upon this subject is settling down to the conclusion that the best solution of the whole problem will be found when the Philadelphia plan can be so modified as to give scratched and mixed tickets proper weight on comparison with straight tickets. Various original schemes of this kind have been proposed here and in England and Switzerland, and indeed the paper from which we have quoted contains one, and it is to be hoped that a satisfactory solution of the question may eventually be put into practical use in the same State where it was first suggested.

In connection with the Gilpin plan, we would say that we strongly advocate the division of the State into both Legislative and Congressional districts of sufficient size to elect from each at least five members. Nor does this scheme conflict with what we have said upon the desirability of small constituencies. If the number of voters who select any one candidate is small, all the advantages of the system adverted to are gained, while minorities can only be fairly represented by combining with other minorities, and thus ensuring a sufficient quota to elect a representative, which could only be the case in a district such as we speak of.

V. We have a word to say in conclusion regarding the adoption of a uniform system of education throughout the State. A certain amount of homogeneity is very desirable. To carry out this scheme, we suggest a commissioner of public education, to be appointed by the Governor, with a salary, and *ex officio* a member of the House of Representatives. A board of from twelve to twenty

members, something like the Board of Public Charities, should be appointed by the Governor, without salary, to visit every part of the State, confer with local boards, elected as our school directors now are, and make reports to the commissioner, who would in turn report to the Legislature, by whom such general measures should from time to time be passed as might be necessary for the promotion of the most thorough and most extended public education.

The limits of a magazine article preclude us from saying more upon a subject as interesting as it is important to every citizen.

We have endeavored, in the foregoing pages, to indicate the reforms which we thought desirable, without referring to those who first proposed them. So little is original in politics, that where one does not assert proprietorship in the literary mine the ore of which he is engaged in extracting, he can hardly be accused of unfairly appropriating the mental property of another. If the writer of these hastily compiled pages has fallen into the fault which he has sought to avoid, he hereby begs leave to render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's by disclaiming any originality in what he has said, other than that which always belongs to the latest compiler upon any subject.

A NURSERY TALE OF ANCIENT EGYPT.

[This curious relic of the literature of the reign of Ramses II was purchased by Mrs. D'Orbiney in Italy and submitted to the Vicomte De Rougè in Paris for inspection, who at once recognized its romantic character, and published an abstract of its contents in the *Revue Archæologique*. This gave it a high money value, and placed it beyond the convenience of the Museum of the Louvre to secure it. It was bought by the direction of the British Museum, and published in fac simile by that institution. Parts of it only were translated into English; but many passages were found too obscure for satisfactory translation at that time. Dr. Brugsch essayed a complete translation of it into German in 1864, and published it in his charming little sketch of travels on the Nile, entitled "*Aus dem Orient*," but without making known his opinion of its value as bearing upon the complicated mythological systems of Egypt, and also necessarily without noticing the relation of its principal character to one of the royal cartouches on

the second tablet of Abydos, still more recently discovered by M. Dumichen, after the corridors of the palace of Seti I. were exposed to view by the excavations of Mariette Bey.

Before undertaking to show the connection which this papyrus seems to establish between an apparently historical king of the XII dynasty and the hero of a romance of the XIXth (an interval of two or three thousand years), I will give an English version of Dr. Brugsch's German translation, condensing somewhat its more pleonastic passages, but preserving its genuine Egyptian features.

The language and style of all the literature of the XVIIIth and XIXth dynasties, thus far discovered, is known to be simple and artless, like that of the early Hebrew Scriptures; even more child-like and primitive than that of the Homeric poems, which they antedate by six or seven centuries. The story before us is as full of feeling as it is fanciful, or, to speak more after Occidental notions, fantastic. It may be called with almost equal propriety a fairy tale or a nursery tale. Its resemblance to some of the Mosaic narratives will strike every mind. The same directness of action is seen in both; the same tendency to set phrases opening the successive scenes of the drama; the same monotone of narration, like recitative in music; and the same sudden and unexpected flashing out of some more important interest after a wearisome length of childish common place. These are, in fact, characteristic qualities common to all vigorous but undisciplined and uncultivated imaginations when charged with the fire of genius, inspired by great events, and unbridled by those rules of taste which successive ages of rising civilization have established for modern writers. Indeed, it would be surprising if no such striking resemblance appeared; for the papyrus purports to be written by a scribe, named *Annana*, for the amusement or instruction of the young prince Seti Menephta, during the reign of his father, the Greek Sesostris, Ramses II. surnamed Meiamun, third king of the XIXth dynasty, 1450 B. C., more or less. And Egyptologists, who, like Dr. Brugsch, are orthodox believers in the historical value of the Mosaic record, agree in calling this Menephta the Pharaoh of the Exodus, although the monuments record his temporary exile in Ethiopia (of which every heir apparent to the Egyptian empire seems to have been prince by right of birth—a sort of Dauphin)—and his subsequent restoration to the throne,—but not his death in the Red Sea.

To students of the Pentateuch, it will not be needful to point out coincidences between some of the details of this story, and of that of the Hebrew Joseph; they speak for themselves.]

“**T**HERE were once two brothers of one mother and one father, the elder Anepu, the younger Batau. And Anepu had a house and wife; and his younger brother was like his son,

and made him clothes, and followed his herds, and helped till the fields after ploughing was done, and was a good worker; there was not his equal in all Egypt.

After many days, the younger was, as usual, with the cattle, driving them home each evening, laden with fodder from the fields, to give them food. The elder sat with his wife, eating and drinking, while the younger was in the stable with his cows.

And when the earth shone with a new day, and the lamp no longer burnt, he rose before his elder brother was awake, and drove the cattle afield, and carried their meals to the field hands, and then followed his herd, who told him where the good grass grew, he listening to their words and driving them accordingly; so that they grew large and increased in numbers greatly.

In ploughing time his elder brother said to him: Let us take teams and plough, for the soil shows [above the inundation] and it is a good time to plough; bring seed to the field, and we will plough. . . . And his younger brother did as he was told.

And on the morrow they went and had their full of field work, and enjoyed it.

And after many days they were in the field, and [wanted seed] and he sent his younger brother, saying: Haste, bring seed out from town. And he found his elder brother's wife sitting, braiding her hair, and said to her: Arise, and give me seed, for I must hasten to the fields; my brother ordered me not to dally here. She said to him: Go, open the seed chamber, and take what thy soul wishest, for my hair might come untwisted if I went. So the young man went to his stall and got a large basket, for he wished to take much seed, and filled it with wheat and barley, and bore it thence. She asked: How much? He replied: Three measures of barley and two of wheat, in all five, are in my hands. Thou art very strong, said she, as I have often noticed. And her heart recognized him . . . and she . . . burnt toward him and said: Come, let us have a good quiet hour. Dress up! I will give you fine clothes. Then was the young man as mad as a panther at this wicked speech of hers: and then she grew very much alarmed. For he said to her: Woman, thou art in the place of a mother, and thy husband of a father to me; for he is enough older than I am to be my father. What a great sin hast thou said to me! but if thou dost not repeat it, neither will I

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let a word of it escape my mouth to any one. And taking up his burden, he went out to the fields, and joined his elder brother, and they were busy and finished the work.

When the day was at an end and the evening had arrived, then turned the elder brother to go home, but the younger followed his cattle, loaded himself with all kinds of green produce, and drove them to the stable, to the stall, in town. And lo! the elder brother's wife, alarmed at the words that she had uttered, had wounded herself, and represented herself as having been overpowered by some wicked person, intending to tell her husband: Thy younger brother hath overpowered me. So when her husband returned, as usual, in the evening, and entered his house, and found his wife lying there, as if some scoundrel had mishandled her, and did not give him water for his hands as usual, nor lit the lamp before him, so that his home was in darkness, but lay there pale and faint, her husband said: Who has been talking to thee? Stand up. She said to him: No one has spoken to me except thy younger brother. When he came in to get seed corn, and found me sitting alone, he said to me: Come, let us have a good quiet hour; put on thy handsome clothes. That was what he said to me. But I did not listen to him. See, said I, am I not thy mother, and thy brother, is he not a father to thee? That was what I said to him. And then he became alarmed, and did violence to me, so that I should not inform against him. If, then, you let him live, I shall die. See, he came to . . . if I bear this wicked language, he will certainly do it.(?) At this the elder brother was as mad as a panther, and sharpened his axe and took it in his hand, and placed himself behind the stall door, to kill his younger brother on his return in the evening, driving his cattle home to the stall. And when the sun had set, and he had loaded himself with all kinds of fodder, as was his wont, he approached, and his first cow entered the stall, and said to her driver: Beware of thine elder brother, he stands before thee with an axe to kill thee; keep away from him; and he heard what the first cow said. Then went a second in and spake in like manner; and he looked beneath the door of the stall, and saw his brother's feet, behind the door, with an axe in his hand. So he laid his burden on the ground, and fled sadly thence; and his elder brother followed with the axe. And his younger brother com-

plained to the Sun God, Harmachis, saying: Good my Lord, thou art the one to distinguish falsehood from truth. And it pleased the Sun God to hear his cry, and to raise a flood between him and his elder brother, and it was full of crocodiles. And one was on one bank, and the other on the other. And the elder brother-made two strokes with his hand, but succeeded not in killing him. That he did. And the younger brother cried from the other bank, saying: Stay and wait till it be daylight on the earth, and when the Sun God rises, I will explain myself to thee to cause thee to know the truth, for never have I done thee wrong. But where thou art I will not stay, but I will go to the Cedar Mountain.

When the earth had grown bright with a new day, the Sun God rose, and they saw each other; and the younger said to the elder brother: Why pursuest thou, to kill me unrighteously? Hearest thou not my mouth say: I am truly thy younger brother, and thou wast as a father to me, and thy wife as a mother. Lo, did it not happen, that when thou sentest me to bring seed corn, thy wife said to me: Come, let us celebrate a quiet hour? Now see, she has reversed it all. And he caused him to know what had occurred between him and his wife. And he swore by the Sun God, saying: If it be thy intention to kill me, then stick thine axe in the hole of thy girdle (?). And he drew forth a sharp knife and cut off a member of his body and threw it into the water, and the fishes ate it.

Then sank he swooning and lifeless: but the soul of his elder brother was sorely troubled. And there he stood and wept and mourned, and could not cross over to his younger brother for the crocodiles. And his younger brother called to him, saying: Lo, thou thoughtest evil, and hadst not good in mind therefor; Yet will I inform thee of one thing that thou must do. Go home and tend thy kine, for I will not abide where thou abidest, but will go to the Cedar Mountain. This must thou do when thou comest to look about thee for me. Know that my soul and I must part; I shall lay it in the topmost cedar flower; and when the cedar shall be felled, it shall fall to the earth. If thou comest to seek it, tarry seven years seeking it, and if thy soul can endure so long then thou shalt find it. Then lay it in a vessel with cold water; so will I live again, and will answer all questions,

to make thee know what further shall befall me. Let there be in thy hand also a flask of barley water, and pitch it with pitch, and delay not about it, that thou mayest have it by thee.

And so he went to the Cedar Mountain, and his elder brother gat him home, laying his hand upon his head, and scattering dust thereon. And when he entered his house, he slew his wife, and cast her to the dogs, and sat himself down to mourn for his younger brother.

Many days afterwards his younger brother found himself upon the Cedar Mountain, and no man was with him, and he spent the day in hunting the beasts of the earth: and evening came, and he stretched himself beneath the cedar tree in the flowertop of which his soul lay.

Many days afterwards he built himself a hut on the Cedar Mountain, with his own hands, and filled it with all good things, such as he would have in his house. And when he went out, he met the Nine Gods, who were abroad, caring for the whole land. And the company of gods spake together and to him, saying: Batau, thou bull of the Gods, why art thou here alone? Why hast thou left thy land on account of the wife of Anepu, thy elder brother? Lo, his wife is slain. Turn back to him; he will answer all thy questions. And their hearts pitied him greatly.

Then spake the Sun God Harmachis to the god Chnoum: Make now a wife for Batau, that he sit not alone. And Chnoum made him a wife; and as she sat there, she was more beautiful of form than all the women of the land; all godhead was in her. And the Seven Hathors came to look at her; and they said with one mouth: She will die a violent death. And he loved her dearly; and she ate in his house, while he spent the day chasing the beasts of the land, to lay the prey at her feet. And he said to her: go not out, lest thou shouldst meet the sea, lest he entice thee away; for I should not be able to save thee from him, because I am womanish like thee, because my soul lies in the topmost cedar flower. If another find thee, then must I give him battle. And he opened his heart to her its whole width.

Many days after this Batau was gone forth a hunting as was his daily wont; and his young wife had wandered out to walk beneath the cedars, which stood behind the house; when lo! the sea saw her and rose behind her; but she saved herself by a hasty flight

from him and entered into the house. But the sea called to the cedár and said: oh how I love her! and the cedar gave him a lock of her hair. And the Sea carried it to Egypt, and laid it down on the place where the washermen of the house of Pharaoh were; and the perfume of the lock of hair communicated itself to the Pharaoh's clothes and there arose a strife among the washermen of Pharaoh; who said; a smell of ointment is in Pharaoh's clothes! and a contest arose thereon daily; and they knew not what they did. But the head washerman of Pharaoh went to the sea and his soul was troubled much on account of the daily strife; and he stood and placed himself on the shore, over against the lock of hair, which lay in the sea; and there was an exceedingly sweet smell therein; and he brought it to Pharaoh.

Then were brought the wise Scribes of Pharaoh; and they said to Pharaoh: That is the lock of hair of a daughter of the Sun God; and all godhead is in her: the whole land worships her; send now messengers throughout all lands to seek for her; but let the messenger who shall go to the Cedar Mountain be accompanied by much people, to bring her hither. See now, said the King, it is very good what ye have said; and they were sent.

Many days afterward came back the people who had been sent to other lands to tell the King their news, but those came not who had gone to the Cedar Mountain; for Batau had slain them, and had left but one of them to tell the King the news. And the King sent people out, many warriors on foot and on horseback, again to bring her; and there was also a woman among them, to whom they gave all kinds of noble woman's trinkets in her hand. Then came the wife back with her into Egypt, and there was great joy on account of her throughout all the land; and the King loved her dearly and exalted her to great beauty. And they spake with her, that she should reveal the story of her husband. Then said she to the King: let the Cedar Tree be felled, that he may perish! Then sent they armed men, bearing axes, to fell the Cedar Tree; and they came to the Cedar and cut the flower away, in the midst of which was Batau's soul, and it fell, and so he died in a short time.

When the earth grew light again and a new day arose, there was the cedar tree cut down. Then went Anepu, the elder brother of Batau, into his house to wash his hands; and he took a

jug of barley water which he sealed up with pitch, and another jug of wine, which he stopped with clay; and he took his staff and his shoes, and his raiment, and provision for his journey, and betook himself upon the way to the Cedar Mountain. And he came to the hut of his younger brother; and he found his younger brother stretched out upon his mat; and he was dead; and he began to weep, when he beheld his younger brother lie stretched out in the condition of the dead. Then went he forth to seek his younger brother's soul under the Cedar Tree, under which his younger brother laid himself at eventide. And he sought for it three days, without finding it; and when the fourth day was past his soul longed to return to Egypt.

After the earth had become light and a new day had arisen, then he arose and went under the Cedar Tree, and he busied himself all day searching for the soul; and as he returned at evening and looked about him yet once more, he found a fruit, and when he had brought it home, lo! it was the soul of his younger brother. Then took he a vase of cold water, laid it therein, and set it down, as was his daily wont.

Now, when the night had come, the soul sucked in the water, and Batau lifted himself on all his limbs, and looked upon his elder brother; but his heart was motionless. And Anepu, his elder brother, took the vase with the cold water, wherein the soul of his younger brother was, and drank it out, and lo! the soul found itself in its old place. Then was he as he had been in old times. They embraced each other, and talked together. And Batau said to his elder brother: Look, I will transform myself into a sacred bull with all the sacred marks; they will not know its secret, and thou shalt set thyself upon his back; and when the sun is risen, we will be in the place where my wife is. Answer me, if thou wilt lead me thither? for they will show thee all the favor that is due. They will load thee with silver and gold, if thou wilt lend me to Pharaoh; for I will be a great good fortune; and they will celebrate me in all the land. And thou wilt go to thine own town.

Now, when the earth was light and a new day came, Batau had taken on the form which he had described to his elder brother. And Anepu, his elder brother, seated himself upon his back at break of day; and he approached the place, and let the King

know; and he looked upon him and was greatly rejoiced, and appointed for him a feast, too great to describe, for it was a great good fortune; and there was a jubilee on his account in all the land. And they brought silver and gold for his elder brother, who remained in his town; and they gave the bull many servants and many things; and Pharaoh loved him very much, more than any man in all the land.

After many days went the bull into the sanctuary, and stood in the same place where the beauty was. Then spake he to her, saying: Look here, indeed I love thee still! Then said she: Who art thou, then? And he said to her: I am Batau, whom, when thou didst cause the Cedar Tree to be cut down, thou didst teach Pharaoh to know where I was, that I might no longer live. Look upon me; I live yet in very deed; I am now in the form of a bull. Then feared the beauty exceedingly at this saying of her husband. And when he had gone forth from the sanctuary, and the King sat beside her to make good day for himself, and she found herself in favor with the King, and he showed her grace above all measure; then spake she to the King: Swear unto me by God to fulfill all I shall say to thee! Then he fulfilled all that she said. And she said: Let me eat of the liver of this bull, for thou hast no need of him. Thus she said; but he was very sad at what she had spoken, and Pharaoh's soul was troubled beyond measure.

When the earth had become light, and another day was come, then they prepared a great festival, in order to sacrifice unto the bull; but there went forth one of the chief servants of the king to slay the bull. And it came to pass as they were about to slay him, there stood people by his side. And as he gave him a blow upon the neck, two drops of blood sprang forth upon the place where the two door posts of the king are, the one on one side of Pharaoh's door, and the other on the other. But they grew upward into two great Persea trees; and each of them stood alone. Then they went to the king to tell him so: Two great Persea trees have grown up in the night to the great and good fortune of the king, on the spot where the great king's gate is to be found, and there is therefor joy in all the land.

And after many days, the king was dressed in the collar of lapis-lazuli, and fair chaplets of flowers were upon his neck. He

was in a golden car; and when he issued from the royal palace, he saw the Persea trees. And the beautiful wife went forth in another carriage behind the Pharaoh. And the king seated himself beneath one Persea tree. But it said to his wife: Ha, false one, I am Batau; I live still, I have transformed myself. Thou didst teach the Pharaoh my residence in order to slay me; I was the bull and thou didst cause my death.

After many days stood the beauty in the favor of the king, and she showed her grace. Then said she to the king; Swear now to me by God, to do all that I shall say. And he fulfilled her whole speech, and she said: Cause the two Persea trees to be sawn down, and fair planks to be made from them. And they fulfilled her words.

After many days the king sent for cunning craftsmen to cut down Pharaoh's Persea trees, and the beautiful queen stood near and looked thereon; and there flew a splinter of wood into the mouth of the beautiful woman, and she perceived that she was with child and they did all that her soul desired.

And it happened after many days that she brought forth a boy; and they went to tell the king: A boy is born to thee. And he was fetched, and they gave him a nurse and waiting women; and joy was in all the land. They sat down to celebrate a festival; they gave him his name, and the king loved him dearly from that hour on; and he called him Prince of Ethiopia.

Now many days after this the king made him governor of all the land.

Now many days after this, when he had fulfilled many years as governor, then died the king; the Pharaoh flew to heaven. And the other said: Bring me now here the great and mighty of the royal court, and I will give them to know the whole history of what has happened in respect of me and of the queen. And his wife was brought to him, and he revealed himself to her before them, and they said their say. And his elder brother was brought to him, and he made him governor over all the land. Thirty years reigned he as king of Egypt. When he had lived thirty years, then stood his brother in his stead, on the day of his burial.

“To be associated with this excellent invention, the names of the royal scribe, Kagabu, the scribe Hora, and the scribe Merimapu. Edited by the scribe Annana, the possessor of this roll.

May the God Thoth keep from destruction all the words contained in this roll."

[Several interesting touches of contemporaneous life are noticeable in this story. The court, for example, is seen employing washermen, instead of washerwomen; and their chief or boss was evidently responsible for the quality of their work; an arrangement common in the East, expressly described in other papyri of that age, and explanatory of the fates of the head butler and head baker in the Mosaic story of Joseph.

As another instance, may be cited the careful selection of her time by the beauty (as in the Hebrew story of Esther and Ahasuerus) when she wished to obtain a difficult favor.

The elder brother's wife sitting braiding her hair, recalls to the traveler's recollection the elaborate pendant tresses of important personages figured on the monuments of the Third Empire.

The temptation of Joseph may be a paraphrase of the temptation of Batai, redrawn from a Syrian or Arabian point of view. Here, told to a Pharaoh's son, it is the tale of a peasant's love; there, told to peasants, it is the story of the amours of a court. Both pictures may be copied after some more antique original; for love and fealty, jealousy and revenge, remorse and retribution have made themselves this universal dress of legend in all ages, and among all people, from the earliest inhabitation of the planet.

As the Hebrew story contains fragments of Arameean or Mesopotamian history, we may expect the Egyptian legend to give us correspondingly valuable hints of the earlier Egyptian history. Its author, or editor, the scribe Annana, has interwoven with it certain mystical or mythological elements. In fact, he makes use of the love story to introduce what seems to be a purposely obscured piece of priestly tradition, not only of the then recent civil and religious commotions of the country, but also of the far more ancient, and perhaps equally violent introduction of new deities into the national religious system by Pharaohs of the First Empire.

The Sun-god's daughter was made in the Cedar Mountain, that is, Mount Lebanon, and brought to Egypt by order of Pharaoh, to be his wife or chief concubine, and consequently to be one of the chief priestesses of the kingdom. This looks like a traditional statement of the fact of the introduction of sun worship

from Syria into Egypt. This Sun-god of Syria is not Baal (the Assyrian "Shining Bel"), but Aten, Adonis, Adoni, Adonai, "the Lord" of the Hebrew Scriptures, represented by the solar disk, worshiped by the Hyksos Pharaohs of the XVIIth dynasty, and by that part of the Hyksos nation, afterward, which continued to live, in a subjugated condition, in the Delta, after the other part had been driven back into Syria by the native Pharaohs of the XVIIIth and XIXth dynasties. When one of the Pharaohs' Amunhotep, of the XVIIIth dynasty (the son of a Syrian concubine of his father, as is supposed) restored for a time the worship of the Hyksos god (of his mother's family?) he repudiated the Theban Amun from his name, and assumed the name chu-n-Aten, persecuting the Theban Amun worshipers, and erasing the name Amun from the monuments of the Empire, and especially from the Cartouches of his ancestors, the first and second Amunhotep. Hor-m-heb, the last Pharaoh of the XVIIth dynasty, restored many of these defaced Cartouches.* Menephta, our scribe Annana's princely pupil, did the same for both the figure and name of Amun. He records the fact himself on one of the faces of the great obelisk at Karnac. And yet, while thus showing his attachment to the Theban and Memphite Pantheon, he followed his father's example, in various politic concessions and indulgences to the worship of the god popular among the Hyksos of the Delta.

Recent discoveries show that different Rameside monarchs of the XIXth and XXth dynasties erected temples to the Sun-god of Syria, and set up their own statutes in such temples, in order to keep the foreign element of the Delta quiet; while they conciliated the up-country people, the Copts of Memphis, Abydos and Thebes, by preserving the worship of Ptah, Amun, Thoth, etc., as the State religion. And no doubt this policy was pursued by the Pharaohs of subsequent dynasties, until the XXVIth, when Psammetichus, having his capital on the shore of the Delta and sympathising more therefore with Greece and Phœnicia than with Ethiopia, stamped out the last embers of southern Amun worship and Egyptian patriotism together by destroying Thebes, in fact leaving very little for the mithraic sun-worshipping Persians

* See memoir on this subject, by Hincks, in the *Trans. R. Irish Acad.* 1844.

under Cambyses to do in that line. It was the cue for the Greek historians to hold up the ruins of the Nile-valley as proofs of the barbarism of the Persians. But we now know that Cambyses and Darius illustrated the temples of Egyptian deities precisely as did the Ramesides, and were probably influenced to do so by a similar State policy. That Carnak and Luxor and Quornah and Medfnet Abu are dreadful and pitiable ruins, we are to thank the Greek mercenaries of the Lybian Psammetichus, whose army must have been composed of just such ruffians from the northern shores of the Mediterranean as now habitually rob and assassinate, and almost without interference, in the modern city of Alexandria.

There seems to have existed an eternal feud between the population of the Delta and the inhabitants of the proper Valley of the Nile extending from the Pyramids six hundred miles southward to the Cataract. Set or Sutech, if not the most ancient god of the Delta, was as old as Osiris, and always plainly opposed to that God of Egypt proper; quite as much as Aten was afterward to Amun-Ra. Under the Second Empire (XI, XII d.) the hawk and the cock-eared jackal, Horus and Seth, represented on the banners of the Pharaohs Upper and Lower Egypt. Nothing shows more plainly the long standing divergence of religious creeds.*

Everything about it shows that the Egyptian Dead Book or

* The figure of Set was erased by the Thebans from the Cartouche of out Meneptha's grandfather, Seti I, (Second Pharaoh of the XIXth dynasty), on the great columns of Luxor, and the crook of Osiris was cut as if coming out of the erased figure's hands. The monarch was thus renamed Osirei I. One of the earliest traces of Osiris is found in the well known legend on the lid of the coffin of Men-Kau Ra (Fourth King of the IV. dynasty, and builder of the Third Pyramid of Gizeh) preserved in the British Museum. "O, Osiris, King of Upper and Lower Egypt, immortal Menkaura! Child of heaven! born of Nu-t! begotten of Seb! Thy mother Nu-t stretches over thee the Abyss of heaven. She makes thee divine, annihilating thy foes, immortal Menkaura!" Chapter 64, one of the most important in the Ritual, carries a title purporting that it was discovered in the time of this Mencheres by prince Hortutef during his visit to one of the temples of Hermopolis. Herodotus relates that Mencheres was traditionally one of the most religious of kings (Recherches, p. 65). The great horizontal cartouche seen half way up the face of the column is that of Seti Meneptha. The top of the feathered cap of a colossal figure of the god Amun is seen coming out of the sand which covers up almost thirty feet of the column.

Ritual, was not original, in the form known to us, but a manufacture of the priests of Heliopolis, or On, the Oxford of the Delta; was first employed at Memphis, near the mouth of the Valley; and was carried gradually up to Thebes, Nubia, and into Ethiopia. Lepsius shows how it grew gradually to its present size and form, by the edition of gloss upon gloss; which, like the branches of a Banyan tree, rooted themselves in the original soil, and having branches of their own, came to form all together a matted mass, of various ages, with a common character. It takes scarcely any notice of the great Theban Trinity, Amun, Mut and Khons. Tum (Atum) and Set, gods of the Delta, Demiurge and Devil, play as prominent a part in its formularies, with Osiris, Isis and Nephthys, deities of Abydos (between Memphis and Thebes). Thoth justifies the corpse; Anubis embalms it; Horus defends it on its perilous path to Amenti. Ptah, Athor and Chnum are also mentioned; and even Chem the phallic Amun, once. But in its most important passages, the god Ra, the sun pure and simple, assumes so leading a character that we must either conceive of an aboriginal sun-worship established at Thebes long previous to the Amun-worship; or, that sun-worship, aboriginal in the Delta on account of its Syrian population, gradually invaded and ascended the Nile Valley and got mixed up in various proportions with the other and equally ancient African worships.

On the sarcophagus of Mentu-hotep, a noble of XIth dynasty (that is a thousand years earlier than our Fairy Tale) is painted the oldest copy of the text of the Ritual yet found; older than the famous Turin Papyrus by more than two thousand years. The 17th Chapter begins the inscription, and runs thus: (Lepsius. *Ælteste Texte*). "To the ever gracious Ra (the sun) Mentu-hotep, Master of the Palace, reciteth this chapter of the resurrection on the day of days in Hades. May the word happen! I am Tum, a being who am one. I am Ra in his first dominion. I am the great god self-existing, the creator of his name, lord of gods, whom none of the gods can stop. I was yesterday, and will be to-morrow, *Osiris namely*. A fighting place of the gods has been prepared, as I said. *The fighting place is the West land namely*. I know the name of that great god who is there. Glory of Ra is his name. I am that great Bennu (Phoenix) honored is On. It is the accomplishment of what is. *What is that? Osiris*

namely. That which is, is the ever and eternal. I am Chem in his avatar. My two feathers have been set upon my head. What is that? His two feathers are those of Horus namely, the protector of his father? His two feathers are the two Uraei on the forehead of his father Tum. I am in my land; I have arrived at my dwelling places. What is that? It is the Sun Mountain of his father Tum. I am come to my home. I appear in my land. I step into my province. I dwell with my father Tum to the end of days."

Compared with the diffuse repetitions and numerous glosses of the Turin Papyrus this short chapter wears a very archaic and original aspect. But glosses have already crept even into this ancient text. They are marked by a change of color on the coffin, and by italics in Lepsius' translation (given in English above). They show that Tum was the Adam, the first mythologic idea of Egypt. Ra the sun comes next. Osiris, Horus and Chem appear only in the glosses. And this agrees with their absence from the monuments of the First Empire, another thousand years still further back.

The presence of Ra in this text is the important point.* The monuments of UserKaF, first Pharaoh of the Vth dynasty (next to that of the great pyramid builders) show the obelisk capped with the solar disk.† The name of the third Pharaoh of the IVth dynasty who built the second pyramid, Ra-Sha-F, commences with the solar disk, pronounced last: *Shafra*.‡ His immediate predecessor (on the tablet of Seti I.) was also a sun-worshiper,

* Tat-Ka-Ra, one of the last kings of the Vth dynasty, calls himself Son of the Sun; a title rare indeed at that time, but afterward common enough. The first king of the VIth dynasty (TeTA on the Seti I. tablet of Abydos) is called on the cenotaph of the priest Sabu Abeba, who was one of his subjects, SeRa-TeTA "Son of the Sun Teta," the goose and disk being placed *inside* the Cartouche as part of the king's proper name. I judge that it was done partly to distinguish him from the old TeTA, second king of the Ist dynasty, who, if he worshipped anything, certainly knew nothing about Amun Ra, or any other sun-god. The sepulchral stele of Hapa, son of Seta, found at Abydos, repeats this cartouche of SeRaTeTA.

† Recherches. De Rouge, p. 79.

‡ Or. cheFRa; or, Chephen; he is the first who is known to have assumed the title of Son of the Sun. His banner name was Hor-User-Her Sa Ra: "Horus of the mighty heart, Son of the Sun."

Tet-F-Ra. The tablet gives even one still earlier, NeferKaRa,* near the end of the IIIrd dynasty. Sun-worship was therefore established in Egypt, at least at Memphis, as early as the beginning of the IVth dynasty.

But we can go back still a little further, and this time by the help of our fairy tale. It is evident from the whole tenor of the story, that the Sun-god's daughter and the sacred bull of Egypt are placed in strong opposition, and yet curiously allied. They are introduced into Egypt in very different ways. The Pharaoh receives the sun-goddess with the highest personal honor. The common people receive the bull with a national enthusiasm. The one is a palace exotic, the other an indigenous grain. The Egyptians hold a festival because their own old Apis has reappeared. Pharaoh alone loves the Syrian Thammuz.

On the other hand there was a foreign connection between these two opposed deities. The Sun-goddess was made for the Apis, and he loved her. She betrayed and slew him. Still he loved her. She again slew him. He made himself her child. Sun-worship in the palace suppressed the national worship for a time—then fostered it—finally married it. The story seems to be a mystical account of the revival of Egyptianism from some Syrian solar persecution, like that carried on by the fanatic chu-en-Aten of the XVIIIth dynasty, but at a much earlier date. Although we may also form the theory that the scribe Annana was one of those sagacious men, who in all ages know how to mould the minds destined to rule an empire, by instilling a state policy which shall compromise between opposing factions or a lofty eclecticism which can mix and neutralize the acids and bases of society. He may have married the sacred bull to the daughter of the sun to teach the young Menephta to respect all creeds alike. The Asiatic conquests of his father, the greatest of all the Ramseses, had weakened, instead of strengthening his empire. The return wave ruined Egypt. She never was herself again. Memphis became oriental, as Cairo is now. Foreigners crowded the city and the plain. The indigenous and exotic religions strove with and debased each other, and the glories of the Classic Empire were but

* The tablet of Saggara puts this name as the 5th in the IIrd dynasty; but where there is evidently a mistake, the Seti tablet must be followed. The naming of On,—the City of the Sun at the head of the Delta,—in the body of the text, shows where the sun-worshipping parts of the Ritual came from.

a thin laid varnish on worm-eaten wood. The Sun-god's daughter had at last killed the Sacred Bull.

But we see traces of authentic history in the story still older even than the apparent original appearance of sun-worship into Egypt in the III and IVth dynasties. And what has been said is only introductory to the statement of this curious fact.

Only four proper names appear in the story: Anepu and Batau, its two heroes; Hor-m-achu (Harmachis) the Sun-god; and Chnum,* his agent in creating the beauty. This last, Chnum, was a form of Amun Ra, *i. e.* the Sun introduced into the worship of the Thebaid. Chnum, in the story, is the representative agent of the Sun-god of Mt. Lebanon. Hor-m-achu is the monumental name of the Great Sphinx of Gizeh. Although it is called the Sun-god by the author of the story, under the influence of the predominating Mithrism of his own age, no connection between the Sun and the Sphinx when it was first cut, has been demonstrated. The name Hor-m-achu (spelled with a hawk, M, and the black disk between two hills) occurs in the stele found in the tomb of Chufu's (Cheops') daughter, in connection with descriptions of the building of temples near it to Isis and Osiris,† but narrates its own *restoration*. It must therefore have been an old deity when Sun-worship entered Egypt.

Anepu, the elder brother, is the aboriginal African god, called by the Greeks Anubis, and universally represented, even in the most ancient sepulchral legends, as guardian of the dead, or tutelary god of the tombs, the mummy deity, the jackal being his emblem. On the later monuments, he has a jackal head and two high plumes, like Osiris. After Osiris became supreme god of Egypt, Anubis was made his son. But this was one of those innumerable modifications and combinations of the Pantheon which have reduced it to a mass of almost inextricable confusion. How could the jackal Anubis originally be the son of Osiris, when the great enemy of Osiris (both in his own and in his other form of


* Chap. 36 of the ritual, entitled: On stopping the tortoise, with a vignette of the Deceased turning back a tortoise, read: "Coming against me, with closed lips! I am Chnum, Lord of Shennu, messenger of the Words of the Gods to Ra, my tongue is the messenger of its Lords" (Birch). The sacred Scriptures of the far east were written on tortoise shells.

† Recherches, p. 49.

Horus) was Set, the Jackal Sphinx? We must look upon Anubis in Upper and Seth in Lower Egypt as the common representatives, during the early part of the First Empire, previous to the formation of the Osiris Pantheon, of the aboriginal Death Jackal god of North East Africa.

The presence of Anepu in our story as one of the chief actors, as taking away the life of his brother, then giving it back, then introducing him as the sacred bull to the worship of the nation, finally as governing the nation and becoming Pharaoh—stamps the myth with an aspect of the highest antiquity.

The great name in the story, however, is Batau, the younger brother. If we can place Batau in the First Empire, before the appearance of Solar and Osirian Worship, in the IIIrd or IVth dynasties, then Anubis worship, as Anepu, the *elder* brother, "enough older to be his father," is carried back to an aboriginal, probably ante-Menian position.

I find then this name in the Ninth Cartouche of the Tablet of Kings uncovered in the Corridor of the palace of Seti I. (XIX Dy.) at Abydos (100 miles be-^a  low Thebes), corresponding to the Boethós, first king of the second dynasty, of Manetho's lists. The cartouche seen in fig. *b*, is explained by the word BaTAU, (fig. *a*. with the determinative *a branch* meaning something wooden,) found in chapter 36 of the Ritual beginning:

"Oh, bringer of the boat to this dreadful shore! *Anchor*. Tell me my name.

Answer. Lord of the earth in a box is thy name. *Rudder*. Tell me my name.

Answer. Trampler on Hapi is thy name.

Rope. Tell me my name.

Answer. The hair which Anepu brings for his work of embalm ing the dead, is thy name," etc.

Birch translates the word Batau in this place, *holes for ropes*. De Rougé thinks it is the name of a piece of the sacred boat (all the details of which are successively named in this curious chapter



of the Ritual) of the shape of the last letter in the cartouche, fig. *b*.

But how strange to encounter, in this chapter of the Ritual containing the names of our two brothers, the hair which played so fatal a part in the tragedy of our story. It is here part of the apparatus of Anepu, as the original Death-god of Egypt.

On the Tablet of Kings, discovered a few years ago in one of the Saqqara tombs (20 miles south of Cairo), the third cartouche (fig. *c*.) reads Neter Bau, "God of Souls," a very remarkable title for so early a king of Egypt. By the help of a fragment of the Royal Papyrus of Turin, it appears not only probable but almost certain, that Neter-bau was a surname of the Pharaoh Batau. The coincidence of all this with the prominence given to the younger brother's soul in our tale, cannot be accidental.

It is equally remarkable that the next cartouche No. 10, of the Tablet of Seti I, reads Ka Kau, Manetho's Kaiechos, who, he says, introduced bull worship into Egypt. KaKau means phonetically "bull of bulls;" but pictorially, "worshiper of bulls." The Turin Papyrus gives the ideograph for a bull; but our cartouche and the corresponding cartouche of the Saqqara tablet give three phalluses (Kau) after the letter Ka. It is therefore entirely proper to read, "the all-begetting bull."*

KaKau is in his turn followed on the tablet by Manetho's Binotheris, BeN-Neter-N, in whose name the ram occurs as second letter instead of the more usual form of N. It was the ram-headed god Chnum, whom the Sun-god in our story employed to manufacture Batau's wife. If KaKau was the Pharaoh who introduced the worship of Apis, or Mnevis, or both, BeN-Neter-N may have introduced the worship of the buck Mendes.

* De Rougé prefers: "the male of males," referring to the vignette of Chapter 148 of the Ritual in Lepsius, T. B. where the sacred Bull is called "the male of seven mystic cows," and "generator of males and females." Ka is too frequently used for cows, she goats, etc., to allow us to believe that it originally meant male procreation alone. Kau, earth, is also feminine, like the Greek *Gea, Ge*. I see no good objection against the use of this Egyptian Ka-Ka in etymology for discovering the origin of many European words; for example, the robber Cacus in the story of Hercules; the Greek adjective *kakos* bad; the Cock sacred to Esculap, and the type of perpetual procreating power, the English word cock vulgarly used still for the phallus; etc., etc.

Thus gradually was the animal worship of the First Empire reduced to form. Senta was perhaps the first to offer the trussed goose, Skar-nefer-ka, to formulate the worship of what afterwards became the Sokari-Osiris; and so on, until Neferkara gave himself up to Sun-worship under the form of Ra, which became the favorite state religion of the Pyramid builders.]

J. PETER LESLEY.

SHIP-BUILDING AND THE TARIFF.

THE legislation and general policy of the country would be much simplified and relieved if in all cases we could deal with real interests and actual necessities. While the representatives of these interests are often mistaken as to the true policy to secure their own best advancement, they are at least always genuine in their expressions, and we can have the satisfaction of relieving them, or of giving a reason why they cannot be relieved. But we have, in fact, a large class of declaimers to deal with—persons representing no real interests, but all the more vehement as writers, and speakers. They fill our journals with cheap and abundant writing—so cheap and so abundant that the plethora is a great and also an indefinable source of mischief, since we do not know when and where the real complaint comes in and the sham begins. Anxious to neglect no real duty, and faithfully to attend to all practical measures of relief to any suffering interest, we are torn with conflicting emotions over the woes these profuse writers depict, not knowing at any moment whether we are crying over a real calamity or a well simulated pretense of one.

Most of all, perhaps, have these lamenting writers exhausted themselves on ship-building. The war necessarily brought great losses and great disturbance to that interest, and it was a national duty to help it whenever help could be wisely given. For a time there was a great surplus of vessels of all classes afloat, due to the excess of weak structures called for during the war, and these dangerous hulks offered to carry at rates so low that there was no inducement to build new ships or better ones. Some hundreds of well-worn ships, brigs and barks lay about the chief British ports,

offering high commissions to any shipping house that would load them at even two thirds the regular price per ton; and so the carrying trade was demoralized at a time when labor and materials were still too high to build new vessels to advantage. This continued from 1865 to 1871—a long and somewhat discouraging period, it must be admitted.

But nothing could cure it; nothing but mere lapse of time, and the destruction of the older vessels so afloat. By 1871 this time had come, and the new demands set ship-builders to devising means for renewed work. In 1872 they got to work, naturally and easily, and the year just closed has a good account to render of every form of ship-building in the United States adapted to the present order of things. New vessels on the Delaware have made a splendid growth, such as no Clyde experience can exceed, and their prospects for 1873 are exceptionally brilliant. Still more satisfactory, in one sense, has been the renewal of wooden ship-building in every yard of the East, from Boston to Calais, and the construction there of some two hundred vessels of an aggregate of seventy-five thousand tons of the best new forms for trade in that section—chiefly three-masted schooners. And so quietly has this work been taken up and carried forward that it bursts upon us in statistical results in the first instance, and in a general expression of exultation over work already done—not a promise of something which some disaster might still defeat in execution.

This is the briefest summary of ship-building history as a fact; but of its literature, as we may call it, or of its reports and investigations in Congress; its declamatory writing in the newspapers and reviews; its agitations in boards of trade and commercial conventions, we have a far different and less satisfactory record to make. To those who read these essays only, and never looked-up the facts, the ship-building question doubtless appeared to be one of those great, fundamental errors of the time, on which, if the policy of the country were not changed, the country itself would be made a wreck. Several public-spirited Eastern gentlemen, with the aid of New York editors and a powerful body in Congress, had joined in making a fearful case of this, which, for magnitude and for the imminence of its dangers, seemed at times within the last two years to threaten overwhelming disasters. If

we have really passed the turning point for the better, it may do no practical good to here rehearse the painful story so often told us, or to renew the poignant sense of danger with which many of us were filled as we read Mr. Lynch's report in the House, or heard some one tell of (for surely no man read the proceedings) the debates in the great commercial conventions called by the Boston board of trade.

And now, ship-building having restored itself in pursuance of the most natural and even necessary principles, perhaps we may say that a flavor of free-trade propagandism all along appeared to penetrate and inspire the most that has been said and done about ship-building for the past five years. For ourselves—the conservative element of the country—our attitude was passive and deprecatory of the promised calamities, rather than disposed to deny anything that might be construed to be against the revival of ship-building. Indeed, we were willing to concede almost anything that would secure a return to prosperity, only show us certainly what that thing was. The chief point of attack was the tariff; this, it was always said, must be got out of the way, or ship-building would never revive. Doubting the necessity for such extreme measures, we only argued as to this question of necessity; we did not refuse to sacrifice even this, if it were proved to be really necessary. Never were assailed people so passive as we have been; and now, as the light lifts on the background, down in Maine, we see that all the contest in the case was conducted by a few outlying skirmishers; the real ship-builders have been at home at work all the time, and a handsome account for the whole year 1872 they now render to us, with great satisfaction, and not a word of complaint against anybody or any law.

Suppose, therefore, that we hereafter take the representatives of this interest from the ship-yards themselves, and dismiss the orators and declaimers altogether. The future was never so full of hope. In Maine they are certain of doing more and better work in 1873 than in any year of the past; and on the Delaware the promise is even far greater. Several of the finest iron steamers ever built are near completion, and two or three times as many are set down for their place as soon as these are off the stocks. At Philadelphia, Chester and Wilmington there are great works

established, and contracts of the most important character are proposed for nations of the East, as well as for the ordinary trans-Atlantic trade.

Very soon we propose to give a complete list of these vessels of our section of the Union, and to copy, at that time, the summary for the East, which the papers of Maine have just now published.

LORIN BLODGET.

PICTURES OF CHRIST.

FROM its rudest beginnings in the very earliest times, art has ever been the devoted handmaid of religion. All ancient art was but the necessary outgrowth of the religious feeling of mankind; and in proportion as this feeling was gross or spiritualized did it leave its impress upon art. To this may be attributed the high degree of excellence attained by the Greeks in sculpture and architecture.

But it is Christianity especially that has called forth the highest service of art. It is to the inspiration of Christianity that we owe the sublime and soul-entrancing strains of Bach, Palestrina and Handel; as well as those immortal conceptions which have glorified the names of Michael Angelo, Raphael and Da Vinci. What else could have inspired those poems in stone, the Gothic cathedrals of the middle ages—that miracle of beauty, the cathedral of Milan; the cathedral of Strasburg, that *opus gloriosum* of Erwin Von Steinbach, and many others.

The many representations of our Blessed Lord in painting, and in engravings and photographs copied from them, have so familiarized us with the conventional type of features given to Him by artists, that we are forced to the conclusion that they may all be traced to a few common originals. Christian art dates from a very early period.

On the authority of Eusebius we are told that St. Luke added the profession of a painter to that of a physician, and that he painted a portrait of Christ as well as several Madonnas. Although among the Jews carved images and those who made them were held in the greatest detestation, yet it is said that Nicodemus, the same who came to Jesus by night, was by profession a sculptor,

and that he carved the image of Christ which is still worshiped at Lucca, and to which allusion is made by Dante in the *Inferno* :

“ Here the hallowed vision saves not.”

But undoubtedly the most authentic of the early portraits of our Lord are now among the most carefully guarded treasures of the Vatican, in antique mosaics, wall paintings, basso-relievos of marble taken from Christian sarcophagi, fragments of glass, seals, gems, etc. All these interesting memorials of ancient Christian art were removed here from the catacombs, which were closed and all access to them forbidden by Pope Damasus, A. D. 365, so that they must all be of an age prior to that. Tertullian, who wrote about A. D. 160, speaks as if it were in his day, and had been for some time past, the common practice among Christians to ornament the chalice and other eucharistic vessels with portraits of the Saviour and His apostles. Many specimens of these have been preserved. Some of them are of gold, most of them of glass, in rich colors, green, blue, lilac and scarlet, enameled with gold. Besides these, the lacrymatories or tear-vessels, in common use among the Christians in the catacombs, were generally adorned with sacred portraits or monograms; and little metal images of our Lord were laid upon the breasts of the dead. It seems that a favorite mode of depicting the Saviour was in the character of the Good Shepherd. Sometimes He is in the midst of His flock with the seven-reeded pipe of Pan in His hand. Again He is seen with the lost sheep on His shoulder taking it back to the flock. In one instance He is represented performing the miracle at Cana of Galilee, turning the water into wine; in another raising Lazarus from the dead.

Sometimes He is represented with all the attributes of youth, sometimes in the maturity of manhood; but in all—sculpture and painting—the artist gives the same cast of countenance, the oval features, the flowing, waving hair, parted in the middle, the pointed beard, the straight nose, and above all the same loving, gentle look. From this we would argue that the type of features with which we are so familiar in pictures of our Lord is not merely the ideal creation of the artist's mind, but the very semblance of those features which veiled His divinity while He walked here upon earth, in mortal form. It is scarcely probable, considering the intense and passionate devotion with which He inspired His fol-

lowers, that no one of them all would attempt to figure Him in some shape or other. So that we may safely conclude that as there was in the first place the living model to copy from, the pictures thus taken, with tradition, guided the artist for the first two or three centuries.

One of the mosaics now in the Vatican differs materially from the other representations of our Lord, and is probably the work of a heathen artist. Here He is depicted as a heathen philosopher with a Roman toga, and sitting on a curule chair. Another image of our Saviour, of which there is mention in ancient times, was that in possession of the Emperor Alexander Severus, who wishing to have in his *lararium* busts of the representatives of all religions, placed it beside those of Orpheus and Apollonius of Tyanea.

After the time of Constantine, when Christianity had become the religion of the empire, and there was no longer any necessity for Christian art to bury itself in the catacombs, it "emerged above ground," as Lord Lindsey observes; and then so distinctly was Byzantine art identified with Christian art, that in time the two terms became synonymous. And now the original conception of the person of our Lord was handed down from one generation of painters to another, until at last it degenerated into a dry, hard mannerism, devoid of beauty and grace. The Byzantine Madonnas and Christs are characterized by stiffness and lankiness, and by the duskiness of their coloring. However repugnant they are to our truer instincts of art, they cannot fail to be interesting from the fact that they influenced in a great measure the early Italian painters, Cimabue, Giotto, Perugino and Raphael, who by the force of their genius once more infused into painting the freshness and beauty of a new life.

The revival of art in Italy which began in the 13th century, and which reached its highest perfection in the 16th, was but the outgrowth of the religious enthusiasm and devotion of that period.

True, the overthrow of the Byzantine empire, in 1204, and the consequent influx of Byzantine artists into Italy, gave an impulse to declining art in the west; but this was a subsidiary, not the predisposing cause; for without the intense religious feeling which pervaded the whole of Italy at that time, art would never have blossomed forth in such peerless glory.

The early painters wrought not for fame or reward, but out of the fullness of their heart's devotion. They strove to impress upon canvas their heart's conception of the meekness and purity of the Virgin Mother, and the yearning, all-enduring love and tenderness of her Divine Son.

The art of this period was essentially religious, and so intimately connected were religion and art during the middle ages that painting itself was regarded as a religious exercise. A manual in use among the monks of those times, and which has been translated by M. Didron, contains minute directions for painting, among the chief of which were prayer and meditation. Fra Angelica, also called Il Beato, the Blessed, was wont to say that he who would represent Christ, should always live with Christ; and surely the gentle *frate* carried out his principles, for he was meek and unostentatious, and was never known to begin any work without the consecration of prayer.

How much more spiritual are all his creations than those of Andrea Del Sarto, whose works show not a trace of real feeling and devotion, and whose model for his Madonnas were the sensual features of his worthless wife.

It cannot be denied that to Catholicism belongs the glory of cherishing and fostering Christian art. Protestantism, whatever may be its capabilities in other directions, is too unemotional and deficient in the fine ardor of devotion which inspired the old painters. Protestantism cannot boast of one great name in Christian art, for the representative men of that school of modern art which approximates most nearly to the spirit of the old painters are Catholics. Cornelius was born in the Catholic Church; while Overbeck and Von Schadow were insensibly led to adopt her faith during the evolution of their artist life.

It is around the Divine person of our Blessed Lord, that "all Christian art revolves, as a system round a sun." What higher ideal could the artist set for himself than the portrayal of that sacred face with all the mingled expressions of those qualities which were manifested in the union of the Godhead with the human nature—the mild benignity, the ineffable tenderness, the Divine love and compassion, together with that deep, mysterious sadness which chastened all! What wonder that to depict all this should be considered the very highest effort which creative genius should achieve! Raphael certainly excels in the look of youthful

and ideal loveliness which he gives to his Christs. The "Christ in the Sepulchre," and "The Transfiguration," are good examples of this. Then there are Ary Schaffer's heads of Christ in the "Christus Consolateur" and "Christus Remunerateur," which are full of heavenly and spiritual expression. But, perhaps, the highest conception that has ever been realized upon canvas is Da Vinci's head of our Saviour in the "Last Supper." One whose gentle art nature was in full sympathy with this subject, thus wrote of it: "In spite of all that fatality and folly have done to dim and defeature it, the essential divinity which once was impressed upon it, still shines forth with obscured, but inextinguishable grandeur.

Mild, sad majesty, sorrow sharp as the blade of death, and the grace of a spiritual sweetness which the treason of friends and the triumph of enemies disturbs not, but deepens, are stamped in glorious power upon this matchless face. The flowing hair, the bowing head, the submitting expostulation of the hands, form certainly the worthiest image of the Blessed Saviour that ever came from mortal thought."

Sculpture, from the nature of the material to be worked upon, is not well adapted for the purpose of depicting the mild glory of Him whom we love to contemplate as the merciful Redeemer, but best symbolizes the strength, majesty and dignity of the Greek hero gods. Still a wide celebrity has been awarded to two statues of Christ by modern artists—the one by Thorwaldsen in the cathedral at Copenhagen, and the other by Dannecker, now at Stuttgart, and upon which he bestowed the loving labor of eight years.

The most venerated relic in the cathedral of Genoa is a picture which is said to have been painted by St. Luke, and which came into the possession of Abgarus, King of Edessa, shortly after the death of our Saviour, and was removed from Edessa to Genoa in the 10th century.

Eusebius quotes ecclesiastical writings to show that this picture existed in the royal library of Edessa, in the middle of the 2nd century, and was then believed to be a work of the apostolic age. There are numerous versions of the legend relating to this picture, all conflicting somewhat in detail. According to one of the Apocryphal Gospels, Abgarus sends his tabellarius, or secretary, Ananias, to Christ, praying Him to come and see him. Christ answered

that He could not come, but that He would send one of His disciples; and accordingly after his death, Thaddeus, one of the Seventy, was sent to Abgarus with a portrait painted by Luke.

Another legend is that Abgarus, who was afflicted with leprosy, sent Ananias to beg Christ to come and heal him, and if He could not come, to allow Ananias, who was a skillful painter, to take His portrait, so that, at least, he might have that. When Ananias finds Christ He is performing miracles, and so Ananias, who is unable to come near for the crowd, mounts an eminence near by and begins to take the likeness of Christ, but he is unable to make any progress on account of the miraculous light which seemed to emanate from His face. Christ, knowing the contents of the letter which Ananias had with him, sent Thomas to bring the messenger to Him. Then writing His answer to Abgarus, He gave it to Ananias to give to his master. But as Ananias still lingered, Jesus called for some water, washed His face therein and wiped it on a napkin, and lo, there remained on the cloth the impress of His Divine features. This He gave to Ananias, charging him to take it to Abgarus, that his longing might be satisfied and his disease cured. On the journey homeward, Ananias passed by a certain city, but remained outside the city gates for the night, and hid the portrait in a heap of bricks. At midnight the inhabitants of the city discovered the heap of bricks to be on fire. When Ananias was found, he owned the supernatural character of the picture from which light was seen to issue, but he was allowed to go on his way unmolested. The inhabitants of the city, however, kept a brick which had come in contact with the cloth and which had miraculously received the impression of the sacred image. Ananias reached his destination in safety, and gave the the letter and sacred portrait to Abgarus, who was immediately healed.

When he heard of the death of Christ, he was so enraged at the Jews that he was only prevented by the Romans from making war upon them.

Another legend says that the woman who had been healed by touching the hem of Christ's garment was named Veronica or Berenici. She greatly longed for a picture of Christ. So she brought a cloth to Luke, who painted upon it a picture of the Lord. But although Luke and herself thought it wonderfully like Him, when they saw His face it was widely different. A

second and a third picture were taken with no better success. Then Jesus said, "All of Luke's art is in vain, for my face is only known to Him who sent me." Then he bade the woman to go to her house and prepare a meal for Him, which she did joyfully. And when Jesus came to her house He asked for water. After He had washed His face, He wiped it upon a napkin, which received a miraculous portrait of His features. This He gave to Veronica, saying, "This is like me, and will do great things." After the crucifixion, Titus and Vespasian were both afflicted with grievous maladies. They sought out Veronica, who went to Rome with the sacred picture, by means of which both were cured.

A still later story is, that Veronica was a woman who, while our Saviour was fainting under the burden of His cross while on His way to Calvary, came out of her house and compassionately wiped His face with her veil or handkerchief. Her house is still shown in the Via Dolorosa.

The Veronica in the cathedral of Genoa is enclosed in a silver shrine, upon which is depicted, in bold relief, all the miraculous cures which it has performed. It is regarded as so sacred that it is shown but upon one day in the year. Another Veronica in St. Peter's, also attributed to a miraculous origin, is allowed to be seen by no one but the Pope and his necessary attendant after absolution and communion on Palm Sunday. Veronica is a corruption of *vera icon*—true image. It was customary for pilgrims to Rome to wear upon their persons a copy of this sacred image as evidence that they had been there. The pilgrim in Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* had the Vernicle "served upon his cappe." There is also an allusion to this in "*Piers Plowman*."

Eusebius and other ecclesiastical writers make mention of a monument at Pancas (Cæsarea Philippi), which consisted of two figures—Christ and the woman whom He had healed. In one of the Apocryphal Gospels we read that Veronica, the woman who was healed of the issue of blood, was wealthy, and wishing to show her gratitude for the miracle effected upon her, she sent a petition to Herod, asking to be allowed to erect a monument for that purpose. His answer was in these words: "This cure which hath befallen thee, O woman, is worthy of a very great monument. Therefore, go and erect such a monument as thou wilt, knowing, by thy zeal, Him who healed thee." Accordingly, she erected

two statues, made of molten brass, mingled with certain portions of gold and silver. We may, then, the more readily accept the testimony of Eusebius concerning the statues at Pancas and the Abgarus picture, inasmuch as he was strenuously opposed to the pictures or images of Christ, and seriously reproved Constantia, the sister of the Emperor, for wishing to have one.

There were two widely different opinions held by the early Church respecting the personal appearance of our Lord. Clement of Alexandria, Justin and Tertullian supposed that His external appearance was without beauty—was ugly and repulsive. Celsus the Epicurean, ridiculed the Christians for believing that their God was of a mean and ill-favored aspect. This view cannot be otherwise than repugnant to our feelings, and was indignantly refuted by Jerome, Chrysostom and others of the church fathers, who as vehemently upheld the contrary opinion. The tradition of Christ's ugliness arose, no doubt, from the desire of identifying Him with the Messiah of Isaiah's prophecy. The Jews have a tradition that the pretended Christ of the Christians was a fair and beautiful youth, and one of their Rabbins argues from this, that He could not be the Christ prophesied by Isaiah.

John of Damascus, a Greek theologian of the eighth century, says: "Christ was of stately form, beautiful eyes, fine formed nose, curling hair, figure slightly bent, and in the prime of life, black beard, more frequently like His hair, of the color of wine, His complexion, like His mother's, of the color of wheat, long fingers, sonorous voice and of sweet eloquence." All the old legends assume the resemblance between the Virgin and her Son. Dante alludes to this in the *Paradiso*:

"Now raise thy view
Unto the visage most resembling Christ."

Longfellow, too, in his "Divine Tragedy," makes a most graceful use of these old traditions. In the description of the wedding at Cana of Galilee the master of the feast asks:

"Who is the youth with the dark, azure eyes,
And hair in color like unto wine,
Parted upon his forehead, and behind
Falling in flowing locks?

————— How serene

His aspect is! manly, yet womanly."

And the paranymp replies:

"Most beautiful among the sons of men!
Oft known to weep, but never known to laugh."

Again he is asked :

"And tell me, she with eyes of olive tint,
And skin as fair as wheat, and pale brown hair,
The woman at his side?"

And he answers,

"His mother—Mary."

Didron mentions a tradition current among the peasants of Champagne and Picardy that Jesus was a blonde. Sometimes the legend gives Him brown hair instead of wine-colored. In one version of the Lentulus letter it is said to "flow in those beautiful shades which no united colors can match."

Below is given a copy of the celebrated letter of Lentulus, predecessor of Pilate in the proconsulship of Judea, to the Roman Senate:

"At this time appeared a man, who is still living and endowed with power. His name is Jesus Christ. His disciples call Him the Son of God. Others regard him as a powerful prophet. He raises the dead to life, and heals the sick of every description of infirmity. This man is of lofty stature and well proportioned; His countenance severe and virtuous, so that he inspires beholders with feelings both of fear and love. The hair of his head is of the color of wine, and from the top of the head to the ears straight and without radiance, but it descends from the ears to the shoulders in shining curls. From the shoulders the hair flows down the back, divided into two portions, after the manner of the Nazarenes. His forehead is clear and without wrinkle; his face free from blemish and slightly tinged with red; his physiognomy noble and gracious; the nose and mouth are faultless; his beard is abundant, the same color as the hair, and forked; his eyes are blue and very brilliant. In reproofing or censuring, he is awe-inspiring; in exhorting and teaching, his speech is gentle and caressing. His countenance is marvelous in seriousness and grace. He has never once been seen to laugh, but many have seen him weep. He is slender in person; his hands are straight and long; his arms beautiful. Grave and solemn in his discourse, his language is simple and quiet. In appearance he is the most beautiful of the children of men."

It has been said that this letter is a forgery of the 9th or 11th

centuries. Kugler says that it may possibly belong to the 3d century. The description is evidently taken from the portraits in the catacombs and other existing representations.

Whatever may have been the physiognomy of Jesus, we are sure that it could not be otherwise than radiantly beautiful; for it is not possible that One who was possessed of every spiritual grace and beauty should not also be the very perfection of physical grace and loveliness.

“Was it not a thing to rise on death
 With its remembered light, that face of thine,
 Redeemer, dimmed by this world's misty breath,
 Yet mournfully, mysteriously divine!
 Oh! that calm, sorrowful, prophetic eye,
 With its dark depths of grief, love, majesty,
 And the pale glory of the brow.”

M. A. LLOYD.

HORACE GREELEY.

THE death of Mr. Greeley was the only event that could have brought out the actual popular feeling for the man's real greatness. His candidacy had made him the butt of all the vile abuse that a well-known American must expect to encounter in such a struggle, a state of things which will more and more lead to the nomination of obscurities and vacuities—plenty enough already in the short list—to that office, such men being recognized by the political parties as the only safe nominees. All at once the vile attempts at mirth, attempts to associate an honored name with the laughter of fools, were checked. He had gone where our words of blame or praise could not reach him, and the laughs and mockers suddenly discovered how deeply they revered the man and gathered around that open coffin. Only the acrid voice of William Lloyd Garrison broke the silence by his protest; alas that the first leader in the anti-slavery cause should have spent his later years chiefly in detracting from the glory of his great victory!

Mr. Greeley was a scion of that Scotch-Irish stock that has played so large a part in our history. His family belonged to the little Scotch-Irish group of settlements around Belfast (Me.) and Londonderry (N. H.), and when he was still a lad, removed

to the larger area occupied by their kindred in our own State. By their firesides were preserved the traditions of the great massacre of 1641, which Father Burke tells us never took place. They, like the other Scotch-Irish of New England, came to America before the second great struggle that the Garrison Colony of Ireland sustained for its existence (1688-1694). Mr. Greeley embodied their sterling qualities of character, their staunchness, their dauntless courage, their plainness of speech, their grasp of moral principle as the deepest root of things, their contempt for shams and make-believes, while the influence of American culture had freed him from the narrowness of view that detracts from their many excellencies. He and his family, however, had given up the severe and earnest theology of their fathers, and adopted that of the Restorationist Universalists.

His great achievement as an editor was in breaking down the conventional barriers that kept the press from free speech on all topics of interest. It was almost an impertinence in the ante-*Tribune* days for an editor to touch on many topics of the widest public interest. His earnest style of address—*Men and Brethren*—gave offense and excited ridicule at first; but as the man's moral earnestness made itself visible, that respect, always sincere though not always reverential, that was felt for the *Tribune's* editor, took the place of every other emotion. His great services in the anti-slavery struggle have been made familiar to us by the eulogies of the last few weeks, as have those in the advocacy of protective doctrines. On the latter head he was stronger upon the rule-of-thumb arguments for practical men than upon the philosophic theory. He suited his arguments to counting-houses, not to the study of the scholar, although he accepted Mr. Carey's philosophic statement of the protectionist doctrines most fully.

It seems to us a very high merit in the man that he retained to the last such a capacity for moral indignation. It was a temptation of his position to take rascality and falsehood as a matter of course, and treat it merely with the jeering and sneering laughter of the cynic. Mr. Greeley never fell so low as to accept roguery as the natural outcome of human nature; to the last he had a fiery furnace of wrath in him, fit to burn up the sins of the world.

He would be fiercely and passionately in earnest, and speak out his just anger in the sort of plain speech that the Bible uses, and

that is commonly supposed to favor another type of theology than the Universalist one.

His most singular service to the nation has received but very slight notice at the hands of his eulogists, and was but poorly appreciated during his life. We mean his unwearied assertion of the sanctities of family life as the basis of all society. From 1848, the date of his great controversy on Free Love with Mr. Owen, up to his death, he was the single prominent political man who saw how dangerous to social stability, and how subversive of all social order, that heresy must be. To him marriage was a taking "for richer and for poorer, for better and for worse, till death do us part," or longer. He could not look on the theory of its being a conventional and dissoluble compact, without utter abhorrence. To him the affections upon which the family life rests were not the silly impulse of a moment's sense of "affinity," but the flower of the will, the outgrowth of solemn and earnest determination. His whole life bore protest against the looser view; his own wife was not a woman likely to make most men happy in the married relation, although in most respects an excellent woman. He said of her not long before his death that he married her for love, and had loved her ever since.

His philanthropy was of the sort that recalled the old days when the word won its honors, when it was not the name of a profession in which men drew fat salaries and led an easy life. Nor was it of the acrid, censorious sort, that combines kicks with half-pence. He even took pity on the shiftless good-for-nothings that were born with no capacity for getting on, holding that the better endowed members of the race owed them a helping hand; this was the secret motive to many of the acts that led people to regard him as soft-headed as well as soft-hearted, and robbed him of much of the credit he deserved as a shrewd student of human nature. On the other hand, he preached endlessly and with some inconsistency against the ceaseless alms-giving, that only robs the poor of their self-respect, and imparts no help and no impulse to a permanent improvement of their condition.

The nation has lost in him one of its best and noblest advisers; one who made mistakes when questions were suddenly sprung upon him, but one who discerned more clearly than any other—as a bitter opponent confessed—the long drifts of public opinion, and

helped to direct them wisely. His last great political declaration—that for universal amnesty—we regard as eminently illustrative of this fact, and the day is not far distant when his services in promoting the Christian principle of generous forgiveness will be acknowledged as they ought. Peace to his ashes.

NO GAME FOR CUPID.

Love in a melancholy way
Through a great city walked, one day ;
The city's name I shall not say.
His bright blue eyes with tears were dim,
And (what was stranger still for him)
To flirt he did not even try
With pretty girls who passed him by,
But with a mournful glance he eyed
The quiver hanging by his side,
His bow first tested well, to see
If out of order it could be,
And next his arrow points did feel,
But found them keen and sharp as steel ;
Then pouting cried: " I aim with care,
My bow's well strung—my arrow's fair,
But human hearts have grown so tough,
That nothing can be sharp enough,
Unless indeed the golden dart,
Which pierces through the hardest heart.
Of these I only had a few ;
And now my stock I've quite run through.
What shall I do? It's very clear
I can't buy more ; not that they're dear—
I'd pay well for a little fun—
But there are none in market ; none
Available at present. Stay !
There goes a man who is, they say,
The greatest swell in town ; if he
Will lend a helping hand to me
I soon can have enough of game.

He ought to do it. 'Tis a shame
 To spoil my sport." Then Cupid ran
 Eager to overtake the man :
 His feet were swift ; he reached him soon,
 And in soft accents craved his boon.
 " I have a favor to implore,
 Kind sir, of you. I have no more
 Gold arrows ; and 'tis now ' the mode'
 To be quite proof against the wood,
 But you can make them ' all the go,'
 If you will but oblige me so,
 As to stand still. I'll hurt, I know,
 A little bit ; but, here below,
 One always has to suffer pain
 For what is a decided gain ;
 And when the first keen pang is 'oer,
 I know you'll thank me evermore :
 Your heart, I own, is very tough ;
 But then, if I stand close enough,
 And by some blows drive in the dart,
 When once it's lodged within your heart
 I really think I'll make you smart.
 Come now ! Do say you'll let me try,"
 Said coaxing Cupid, with a sigh.
 The poor man fidgeted awhile ;
 Then answered, with a nervous smile :
 " Well, Cupid—aw—I'll let you see
Precisely how it stands with me.
 What with the flow'rs a fellah sends,
 In party season, to his friends ;
 With champagne suppers, concerts, plays,
 The opera, and other ways
 Of spending money, one runs through
 One's cash, and hardly makes it do.
 I can't keep up with the cravats,
 Nor with the latest things in hats ;
 Horses now cost so much that I
 Keep but one pair ; cigars are high,
 And then you know one's in a mannow

Compelled to smoke the best Havannaw.
Don't talk to me of a poor wife!
What! spend the best years of one's life
Cooped up within some baby house,
Dining off scraps—like any mouse?
And then to be in love, too! aw—
'Twould really be too great a boaw!
Doesn't a man feel shaky—eh?
And cold, and warm, and ev'ry way
At once? 'Tis even said he feels
At last *no appetite for meals!*
No, Cupid, no! I'm sure you'll see
You're asking far too much of me.
I might consent, if girls spent less,
Than now, upon their idol dress.
We men economize, you know;
But with these women 'tis not so.
The silly creatures must suppose
They're valued by us for their clothes.
My conscience leads me to condemn
The follies which I see—in *them*.
Well, they have but themselves to thank
If they're old maids. There goes Miss Blank—
It really is a monstrous pity
She wears such clothes! Here, in the city
Beauty itself is scarce worth while,
Unless accompanied by style.
'Tis said her family are poor;
But she might spend a little more.
Why, if she did, she'd be a belle!
So much depends on dressing well;
But I must make a call—which way
Do you go? Down? Well, then, good-day!"
The little god, transfixed with grief,
Would in his tears have sought relief,
But that he saw a maid approach
(About to step into her coach),
Whom all men honored as a belle—
Who was both good and kind as well.

Her dimpled charms encouraged Love,
Who coaxed (as was described above)
And begged her hard to let him try
To pierce her heart; then asked her why
She should for golden arrows sigh?
"What! do you take me for a fool?
Or for a girl just fresh from school?"
The injured damsel did reply—
"Though you know Paris hats are high,
And velvet costs immensely nigh
Twice what it did, you ask this? fie!
Cupid, when you're as old as I,
You will not need to question why!"
She turned to step into her coach,
After a glance of stern reproach,
Then stopped (her heart with pity bled
To see the tears young Cupid shed);
"'Tis not worth while," she said, and smiled,
"To be put out with such a child."
Then laid her jeweled hand, so fair,
Right gently on his sunny hair,
And smoothed it with a sister's care,
Wishing (so envious are girls)
That she could rob him of his curls.
"Dear, if you've used your golden darts,"
She cried, "then cease to sport with hearts;
You're far too young for that game. Pray
Amuse yourself some other way—
Go with some other boys to play."
She stooped to give the child a kiss,
Then called her groom. "Your orders, Miss"
(Answered the footman, bowing low)—
"Where do you next intend to go?"
"Open the carriage door. I'll stop,"
She said, "at the *first dry-goods shop!*"
As to poor Love, he did not play
With other boys; but went away
Alone, and had a little cry;
Then wiped the tear-drop from his eye

Right manfully, and said: "I'll hie
 Into the country—there to try
 My fortunes. Surely, in the hearts
 Of simple folk I'll drive my darts."
 Then, with his eager little feet,
 He threaded through the crowded street.
 At last he saw the fields ahead,
 When on, with greater zeal he sped,
 Until he trod on flowers sweet,
 And crushed out perfumes with his feet.
 As through a field his pathway lay,
 Two lassies tripped a little way
 Ahead; and he o'erheard one say
 Shaking her head with earnest frown,
 "No, no! I'll never wed a clown,
 But some rich gentleman from town;
 One who will buy me a new gown
 Whene'er I choose, and let his bride
 Drive in a carriage by his side."
 Poor Cupid listened to no more;
 His dimpled feet were tired and sore,
 And all his hopes of sport were o'er.
 So in despair his form he flung
 The grasses and the flow'rs among.
 Oh! bitter tears the child did weep;
 At last he sobbed himself asleep,
 And sleeping still he doth remain.
I wonder when he'll wake again!

E. C. W.

 THE MONTH.

SOME time ago we heard from Japan that its brilliant young despot had devised a religion for his empire, if not for the world, which should satisfy all conditions and by its simplicity commend itself to every one. Later reports show that the Mikado has learnt by his contact with the subject that it is by no means a simple one. A deputation of priests has been sent out to study the faiths

of the rest of the world and report what they see. If these gentlemen are "credible persons with eyes," the report will be of very great interest to us outsiders, but most likely the absence of any true critical faculty in its authors will deprive it of all value. These childish intellects of the far East are the last people in the world to pronounce a just judgment upon a problem so complex and difficult, that many of the greatest minds of civilization gave it up in despair.

WE congratulate the city and its chief library company upon the decision of Judge Mercur, that even if the company have accepted the bequest of Dr. Rush, they are not bound to put up their new building at Broad and Christian, whatever the executor of the will may say. The institution would have been buried out of sight at that distance, a quarter of a mile below the old city line and in the direction in which the growth of the city is slightest. Far better secure a site on North Broad street, near the new Academy of the Fine Arts.

AT a time when we are patiently looking on at the destruction of local independence in parts of the Union, Prussia is taking steps to establish local self-government. The great reforms of Stein, the establishment of popular education, land-banks and tenant-right laws, and the abolition of the remnants of serfdom, have done their work in the last fifty years. The *bauer* of our day is another man than the one that Stein found; he has *geist* and *cultur*; he owns his own land and reads the *Kreutz-zeitung*. He cannot be kept any longer in the tutelage that seemed natural enough, when the *junkers*, the *raths* and the *pfarrer* were the only persons in the parish that knew how the world went on. Even Bismarck sees that the change must come and prepares for it accordingly. He has even broken definitively with the landed aristocracy of the *Herrenhaus* rather than leave them in their old position of local autocracy. In so doing he has subjected them to a series of humiliations that they will never forgive; aristocracies have long memories, and the chancellor has probably forever lost his *prestige* as the real head of the Reich, the man who could practically unite all parties in the prosecution of a vigorous policy.

In strange contrast to this manly civil policy is the sordid squabbling and petty interference with which Bismarck is treating the Catholic Church. The expulsion of the Jesuits, as much for their misdeeds of two hundred and fifty years ago as from any present fear of their influence, is an act without justification. So is the closing of those churches in Posen, that united in a special service to put that province under the protection of "the sacred heart." With all his strength the chancellor has his weakness, the weakness of a High Lutheran from Pomerania.

ENGLAND has on her hands now the problem that Stein solved half a century ago—what shall be done with the *bauer*. Her farm laborers are up in arms against the oppressions of the tenant farmers, and are making a very manly struggle for better wages. The trouble is confined to the purely Saxon parts of England, where there are little or no manufactures. Many of the discontented workmen in going northward, have found abundance of work and fair wages, in the shires with the pluck and thrift and push of the Norse race have given shape to society and distributed wealth among all classes.

The trouble lies deeper than any remedy proposed. The whole status of English agriculture is wrong and unnatural. The country imports at least one-fourth of all the breadstuffs she uses, while the soil is capable of producing perhaps ten times as much as is now grown upon it. If some of the pains taken to develop her manufactures had been expended in training the farmers in scientific methods, all classes would be better off to-day. There is no reason why the country should not be *autarkes* as regards the production of food.

THE English High Church party have made an almost grotesque struggle to prevent Dean Stanley from becoming one of the select preachers at Oxford. They gave notice of their purpose through the papers and rallied the non-resident members of their party to vote in the Convocation. The Liberals, however, were equally alert and secured a majority of sixty-two in support of the Vice-Chancellor's nomination. The demonstration has its meaning; it tells Liberal premiers what a swarm of hornets they will have about their ears if they nominate Stanley to a bishopric.

It is curious how large a number of the English Broad Church leaders belonged to a single family connection. A recent book about the Hare family brings out the fact that Stanley, the Hares, F. D. Maurice and John Sterling were all related by kinship or marriage; and Sir Wm. Jones was another relation.

MR. FROUDE and Father Burke have closed their historical duel, the former having gone back to Europe. Mr. Froude's lectures were not the careful and thorough pieces of work that the public had a right to expect of him, but he made out all his points pretty thoroughly as against the Father. 1. That there was no nationality in Ireland and no immediate likelihood of any when the Normans—Father Burke's ancestors among them—invaded the island, but only a sort of universal Donnybrook Fair, where every one was fighting with and slaughtering everybody else, like so many Kilkenny cats. 2. The invasion was undertaken with the authority of the Pope, an authority then regarded by all Europe, and still by the Irish people, as sufficient to decide the right or wrong of the act. 3. The general tenor of the English treatment of Ireland has been well-meaning, the worst part of their conduct being gross and disastrous blunders and mistakes, and the biggest mistake of all being their failure to bring the country at once under a vigorous police. 4. The Scotch and English colony established during the reign of James was planted with no infliction of wrong or outrage upon the Irish people, was an immense benefit to the country at large, and had no interests not in common with those of the whole people. For a long period both parties acted in unison, but suddenly and with no just provocation, the Catholics rose in 1641 and deluged the colony with blood and massacre, thus laying the foundation of all Irish party-work and sectarian bitterness. Whatever wrongs the Celtic Irish may have suffered at the hands of the Irish Protestants, history must pronounce to have been provoked by previous outrage. 5. The assumption that Ireland has especial claim upon America's sympathy, because of aid and comfort in her day of small things and of struggle for life and independence, is without foundation. The Celtic Irish had not begun to emigrate to this country, and the Irish in the ranks of the Revolutionary armies were Protestants—the English and the Scotch of Ireland. The Catholic Irish, through their recognized heads and

representatives, pledged their unwavering loyalty to the House of Hanover, and violently condemned the disloyal colonists.

These are Mr. Froude's points. We fail to see where Father Burke has successfully assailed any of them. The third of them furnishes the most tempting field for hostile criticism; it covers most ground, and admits of most muddling. But even here the Father failed to effect any dislodgment of his adversary.

Mr. Melline's controversy with Mr. Froude about Mary, Queen of Scots, has nothing to do with the latter's visit to America, and is in suspense until he has access to his papers at home.

BOOK NOTICES.

HISTORY OF ENGLISH LITERATURE: by H. A. Taine, abridged from the translation of H. Van Laun, and edited with chronological table, notes and index, by John Fiske, assistant librarian and late lecturer on Philosophy in Harvard University. Pp: 502. New York: Holt & Williams.

The Class Room Taine is a very careful adaptation of the first great history of English literature to purposes of instruction. It is no honor to English and American authorship that that work is from the pen of a Frenchman, but we must bow to the facts. We have no book to set beside M. Taine's, nor are we likely soon to have one. The genius of the Anglo-Saxon is not for system; he lays out his strength to best advantage on monographs, and has not the German fondness for thoroughness, and the French for completeness.

M. Taine's philosophy of the subject may be called a positive-ist one. To him the literature of a period has nothing arbitrary or accidental in it; the book is the outgrowth of the times and their men, not chiefly of the man. It could not be otherwise than it is, and any criticism that supposes it could, is impertinent. In a word he is at the other pole from Prof. Kingsley and Mr. Carlyle, to whom the will of the individual great genius or hero is everything. Either view, we think, is one-sided, but Taine's is the happier of the two to start from in treating English literature. It forces its author away from mere literary details, such as fill Wharton's book, and compels him to study the great books of England in connection with her great periods of political and religious history.

M. Taine's style is brilliant in the extreme, and his mastery of facts is remarkable. His book has run the gauntlet of the keenest English criticism, substantially without impairment of its

authority. To most English readers it is a new world that the lively Frenchman introduces them to, a world of their own at the same time. They had no idea that so much could be said of the old writers, and said so well. It is a substantial English dish dressed up with careful French *cuisine* and the piquant sauce of wit and epigram.

Mr. Fiske's abridgment omits the chapters that relate to cotemporary authors and prunes away the Frenchman's exuberance in the earlier chapters; so as to bring the two large volumes into a moderate sized one of 468 pages. To this he has added thirty pages of chronological tables from Mr. Henry Morley, and careful index. He is careful always to let M. Taine tell the story in his own words. If his book has any fault it is that it is still too little abridged for a text-book. The time that can be devoted to any one topic in a four years' college curriculum does not admit of recitation upon 468 pages of this size, and the teacher that purposes to use it will have to abridge it over again.

MYTHS AND MYTH MAKERS: Old Tales and Superstitions interpreted by Comparative Mythology. By John Fiske, Assistant Librarian, etc., at Howard College. Pp. 251. Boston: Jas. R. Osgood & Co. For sale by Claxton, Remsen & Haffelfinger.

The reader of *Middlemarch* will remember the clerical pedant whom Dorothea marries in the belief that he is a great and wise man, and who is busied with a *Key to all the Mythologies*. A book of the same plane as Bishop Warburton's dissertations in his vastly witty and often scurrilous *Divine Legation of Moses*, and as Jacob Bryant's *Mythology*. The science of Mythology had already passed from its mechanical and uncertain to its dynamical and scientific stage, under the hands of Creuzer, Mone and their compeers, but Mr. Casaubon was still working hard in the old fields, impatient of every sort of criticism. Dasent and Baring Gould have done much to convey into English literature the results of those German explorations, and to enlarge the field by their own studies, and now Mr. Fiske we believe is the first American to give us a book on the same subject.

His book does not weary the reader with long dissertations. It plunges *in medias res* with Homeric promptness, giving explanations and theory as they are needed. Every one, old and young, will find it full of curious interest. The rarest old wives tales and nursery rhymes, to say nothing of the currently accepted fictions of history and literature, are here shown to have an unexpected meaning and significance, and are traced away over land and sea to the huts and tents of strange people. The unity of mankind has here strong proofs in the uniformity of these child-

like traditions, that carry us back to the days when men found all nature instinct with life.

THE UNITY OF LAW as exhibited in the relations of Physical, Social, Mental and Moral Science. By Henry C. Carey. Pp. 433 8vo. Philadelphia: Henry Carey Baird, Industrial Publisher, (406 Walnut st.) Price \$3.50.

Mr. Carey's views on social science have one mark of truth: their unceasing growth into larger and fuller completeness. He has had to give the public "line upon line," to reiterate and repeat himself, but every successive book has been an advance in point of clearness and consistency, since his essay on *Wages* in 1837. This growth has not always been of his own doing either; he confesses that his friend and disciple, Mr. E. Pershine Smith has been the one to suggest missing links and to help the edifice to completeness.

The present book, which is possibly its author's last systematic statement of the whole matter, is a thorough carrying out of the great idea which occurs everywhere in his earlier works; all sciences are the same in their ultimate principles; all laws converge toward the hand that holds the reins of the universe. Trace them upward and at last you reach Bacon's conclusion, "the end of philosophy is the intuition of unity."

Nothing is more characteristic of Mr. Carey's school than this refusal to abstract questions of national economy from those of general science, and to ignore the analogies furnished by co-ordinate branches. It is this that gives a living, immediate interest to what they write, and widely distinguishes their books from those of the English school. The latter are a sort of economical geometries, starting from a few abstract axioms and maxims and working on to conclusions hardly less abstracted from human interests, save where they outrage all human feelings.

We regard the present book as the best piece of literary work that Mr. Carey has done, and rejoice that various associations of manufacturers have done so much to secure its wide circulation.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

The Two Ysondes, and other Verses; by Edward Ellis. London: Basil Montagu Pickering, 196 Piccadilly. 1872.

Life Lessons from the Book of Proverbs; by W. S. Perry, D.D. New York: T. Whittaker.

Getting On in the World, or Hints on Success in Life; by William Mathews, LL.D. Chicago: S. C. Griggs & Co. 1873. For sale by Claxton, Remsen & Haffelfinger.

Circulars of Information of the Bureau of Education for Novem-

ber and December, 1871, and January, March, June and July, 1872. Washington: Government Printing Office.

Fleurange; by Madame Augustus Craven. Translated. New York: The Catholic Publication Society. 1873.

Spicy, a Novel; by Mrs. Martha J. Lamb. With illustrations. New York: D. Appleton & Co. For sale by Porter & Coates.

The Atlantic Almanac. 1873. Boston: James R. Osgood & Co. For sale by Claxton, Remsen & Haffelfinger.

Physics and Politics; by Walter Bagehot. New York: D. Appleton & Co. For sale by Porter & Coates.

Heavenly Blessedness; What is it and how attained, In a series of discourses on the Beatitudes; By the Rev. Chauncey Giles. London: James Speirs, 36 Bloomsbury street, 1872. For sale by E. H. Swinney, New York, and Claxton, Remsen & Haffelfinger, Philadelphia.

New Church Tracts: Jesus, the Root, the Offspring, and the Bright and Morning Star; By Dr. Bayley, of London. Popular Series, No. 4.

The Atonement; Whereon was the Law Written which Man Broke; By the Rev. George Rush, Late Professor of Hebrew, New York University. Popular Series, No. 6.

The River of Life; By the Rev. E. A. Beaman. Popular Series, No. 7.

The Death of the Body, a Step in the Life of Man; a Sermon by Rev. Chauncey Giles, of New York. Popular Series, No. 8.

The Resurrection of Man; by the Rev. Chauncey Giles, of New York. Popular Series, No. 9.

All published by E. H. Swinney, New York. 1872-73.

The Servant Girl of the Period the Greatest Plague of Life: What Mr. and Mrs. Honeydew learned of Housekeeping; by Charles Chamberlain, Jr. New York: J. S. Redfield. 1873. Price, 75 cents.

A Practical Guide to Administrators, Guardians and Assignees, Containing full and complete instructions for the settlement of estates; together with all necessary forms, explanations and directions; By John I. Pinkerton. West Chester: Moore & Company.

Memoirs of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Vol. X. The Penn and Logan Correspondence, Vol. II., 1700-50; from the original letters in possession of the Logan family, with notes by the late Mrs. Deborah Logan; Edited with additional notes by Edward Armstrong, M. A. Philadelphia: Printed by J. B. Lippincott & Co., for the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, and sold by John Pennington & Son. 1872.

Catalogue of the paintings and other objects of interest belonging to the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. Philadelphia: Collins, Printer. 1872.

THE
PENN MONTHLY.

FEBRUARY, 1873.

THE TAX SYSTEM OF PENNSYLVANIA.

THE title of this paper has been objected to on the ground that there is no system of taxation in Pennsylvania. This is intelligent and comprehensive criticism. Instead of a system we have a mass of laws of greater or less generality, and a jumble of conflicting judicial decisions.

Taxes are levied without regard to any principle, and collected by means of machinery which is cumbrous, costly and wasteful. That natural reluctance to pay taxes which may be variously interpreted as significant of man's Edenic or Darwinian origin is intensified by the consciousness of their flagrant inequality. They abound in trifling wrongs, which outrage and anger humble citizens, and in gigantic confiscations which warn enterprise and industry away from the commonwealth.

These evils are largely the result of a natural error on the part of the founders of the State, who had so earnestly protested against taxation without representation that they could not apprehend any danger in taxation by representatives. In no other way can I account for the fact that the Constitution of Pennsylvania, like the original Constitutions of other of the old States, fixes no principle of taxation, and leaves the power to the legislature, to be exercised without rule or limitation. Owing to this it is of no avail to invoke principles of equity for the construction of even doubtful tax laws, and in ruling a question in favor of the State and against

a citizen, one of our courts has said: "In Pennsylvania there is no constitutional restriction upon the power of taxation. To provide for the wants of the government under our Constitution the power of the legislature is arbitrary and unrestricted. They have the same power to tax the property of the citizen twice or thrice as they have to tax it once. Against the taxing power, or the statutes providing for the manner in which the taxes shall be levied and collected, it is no argument to say that the taxes are onerous, unequal, inequitable or unjust, and to all such arguments, when attempted to be used, it is a sufficient answer to say, thus saith the law."*

As the absence of any constitutional limitation upon the taxing power has frequently been referred to by our courts, it would be worth while to inquire if in other States it is otherwise, and if so whether the consequences have been beneficial. It is difficult to get at the facts, and such compilation of them as I have been able to make may aid in their further and thorough investigation.

The Constitution of Arkansas provides as follows: "All property subject to taxation shall be taxed according to its value—that value to be ascertained in such manner as the General Assembly may direct, making the same equal and uniform throughout the State. No species of property from which a tax may be collected shall be taxed higher than another species of property of equal value. *Provided*, the General Assembly shall have the power to tax merchants, bankers, peddlers and privileges in such manner as may be prescribed by law." The privileges mentioned and excepted have been construed to be such as are created by law, and not such as may be based on the general prohibition of a common law right.

The Constitution of Alabama, adopted in 1865, provides that "all lands liable to taxation in the State should be taxed in proportion to their value."

The Constitution of California, Article XI. Sec. 13, says: "Taxation shall be equal and uniform throughout the State. All property in the State shall be taxed in proportion to its value to be ascertained as directed by law." Florida, Tit. 4, Chapter 4,

* Judge Maynard, in the case of *McKeon v. The County of Northampton*—affirmed by the Supreme Court.

Sec. 1, says: "The General Assembly shall devise and adopt a system of revenue having regard to an equal and uniform mode of taxation to be general throughout the State." Indiana, Art. X. Sec. 1: "The General Assembly shall provide by law for a uniform and equal rate of assessment and taxation, and shall prescribe such regulations as shall secure a just valuation for taxation of all property real and personal," excepting certain classes. Illinois, Art. IX. Sec. 2: "The General Assembly shall provide for levying a tax by valuation, so that every person and corporation shall pay a tax in proportion to the value of his or her property," excepting certain things which are left in the discretion of the legislature. Kansas, Art. XI. Sec. 1: "The legislature shall provide for an uniform and equal rate of assessment and taxation." Louisiana Constitution of 1868, Tit. VI. Art. 118: "Taxation shall be equal and uniform throughout the State. All property shall be taxed in proportion to its value." Maine, Art. IX. Sec. 8: "All taxes on real estate assessed by authority of this State shall be apportioned and assessed equally, according to the true value thereof." Missouri, Bill of Rights, Art. I. Sec. 30: "That all property subject to taxation ought to be taxed in proportion to the value." Minnesota, Art. IX. Sec. 1: "All taxes to be raised in this State shall be as nearly equal as may be, and all property on which taxes are to be levied shall have a cash valuation, and be equalized and uniform throughout the State." The Constitution of Wisconsin provides that "the rule of taxation shall be uniform and taxes shall be levied on such property as the legislature may prescribe." West Virginia, Art. VIII. Sec. 1: "Taxation shall be equal and uniform throughout the State, and all property, both real and personal, shall be taxed in proportion to its value, to be ascertained as directed by law. No one species of property from which a tax may be collected shall be taxed higher than any other species of property of equal value." Ohio, Art. XII. Sec. 2: "Laws shall be passed taxing by a uniform rule moneys, etc., investments in stocks, joint stock companies, etc. And also all real and personal property at its true value in money," subject to certain exceptions. Art. XIII. Sec. 4: "The property of corporations now existing or hereafter created, shall forever be subject to taxation, the same as the property of individuals." The Constitution of Tennessee has the same ample

and careful provisions as that of West Virginia in nearly the same phraseology. The Constitution of Texas provides that "taxation shall be equal and uniform throughout the State."

Some of the States constitute equality the universal rule of taxation, while others except from its operations charities and certain occupations and privileges which they leave within the discretion of the legislature.

States not cited above and having no constitutional provisions on the subject of the taxing power, have adopted revenue laws which are general in their operations, and of the most equitable character, to which I shall hereafter refer.

The codes of the States show that constitutional limitations of the taxing power are apparently effective, for the laws are found to be generally in accordance with them, and the courts have pronounced invalid acts of the legislature in conflict with them. Such decisions have been incidentally brought into view in the courts of this State, and an important Californian tax case has been denied authority by our judges because the Constitution of that State limits the taxing power, which that of Pennsylvania does not.

In the case of *Hammett v. The City of Philadelphia* our Supreme Court asserted, with respect to the taxing power, that it was subject to necessary limitations, one of which it attempted to establish, and an Act of the legislature was held to be unconstitutional because it authorized the city to levy a local tax for the general benefit. This decision was rendered by a divided court. One of the judges dissented most vigorously, and after consideration he filed a supplemental opinion expressing further dissent. When the decision was affirmed upon re-argument two of the judges refused their concurrence, and I conclude that there are no definable limits to the taxing power of the legislature, or they are so obscure as to be always disputable.

The exercise by irresponsible agents of arbitrary power over the property and occupations of the inhabitants of our busy and wealthy State has had such results as might be anticipated, and it is charitable to attribute to it much of the injury done to the people and a large part of the evil practices which disgrace the legislature. The law-makers have had unlimited freedom in singling out objects to bear such burdens as they might choose to impose,

and they have used this power in such fashion that some of those who are most endangered by it have thought it expedient to pay the sort of tribute which Lowland graziers were glad to give to Rob Roy, justifying the practice to themselves by reasons like those which satisfied the easy conscience of Baillie Nichol Jarvie. "Its clean again our statute law, that must be owned," said the baillie, "the levying and paying black-mail are baith punishable, but if the law cannot protect my barn and byre, wherefore suld I not engage wi' a Hieland gentleman that can?" Such tributaries, in their immunity from outrage, are probably not shocked by the misfortunes of less powerful or less politic neighbors who are unable to "save their barns and byre from being harried when the lang nights come in."

With the increase of wealth and business and growth of luxury there has been constant increase in the expenses of government, and the sums which may be levied for this purpose have become so great that the power of apportioning them at pleasure is always dangerous, and with respect to certain interests which are especially worthy of the fostering care of the State, it has become destructive.

The taxes imposed upon such industrial associations as manufacturing, mining and improvement companies are of this oppressive character, and their effects are so injurious politically and socially that it is worth while to give the matter attentive consideration. Our State borrowed its customs and laws in the main from a people to whom the spirit of association is not natural, and who have done little to aid its development. Nations differ widely in this respect, and a history of industrial associations, tracing their origin and exhibiting their purposes and methods, would illustrate the social characteristics of race, as also the influence of climate, the spirit of laws, and the springs and course of civilization. The sentiment which should give such associations natural development seems not to be strong in the English speaking people when compared with the Germans and French, in whom it is much weaker than in the nations reaching toward the Orient.

In this country there is as yet little thought of the social and political tendencies of industrial associations, which have attained only to such partial development as purely business needs have required, and even in this form they have suffered from popular jealousy and the ignorance and unskillfulness of legislation.

In Europe the situation is different, the important part which the spirit of association is enacting in human affairs is recognized, and governments which, in principle and policy, are hostile to it, are obliged to study it, to treat it with liberality, and to patronize with the purpose of directing it. The Prussian, French and English laws under which co-operative associations and industrial partnerships are organized, make careful provision for their promotion, and confer upon them corporate rights, while keeping them within the sphere of governmental observation.

We are more and less fortunate than the subjects of other powers, for our State government has no anxieties and little prevision, and our legislators will never trouble themselves to inquire concerning the life of the world and the progress of ideas, things which should be to them of supreme concern. The regard which our State bestows upon industrial associations is so peculiar that one is at a loss to know which to admire most—the ignorance which enacted or the popular patience which endures laws so impolitic, unsocial and oppressive, that they would cause a revolt against any European government attempting to enforce them upon its subjects.

In Pennsylvania associations for business purposes are generally of capitalists, though there are a few composed of workingmen, and the industries of the State have been largely carried forward by corporations, a charter being almost indispensable to the successful management of operations which require the outlay of large sums of money to be repaid during a series of years. The burdens which the State imposes upon such corporations are clearly set forth in the last message of Governor Geary, from which I quote as follows:

“ Heretofore on several occasions I have invited the attention of the Legislature to the importance of adopting a more liberal policy toward those citizens who are engaged in industrial enterprises, which employ large numbers of workingmen, and tend to develop the resources of the commonwealth. Involving great risks, and requiring for their successful conduct a large amount of capital, these operations have been, in the main, conducted by means of associations, organized under the general laws which regulate the incorporation of manufacturing, mining and improvement companies. These laws, while they resemble in their principal features the liberal systems in force in other States, fail in their

ostensible purpose of encouraging manufacturing industry, because the privileges they grant are enormously burdened with taxation.

"This may be illustrated by supposing the case of twenty persons, who each subscribe five thousand dollars to the stock of a company organized for the purpose of producing oil, or mining ore or coal, or manufacturing cotton or woolen goods, iron or steel, or any other commodity. The fund thus created must be expended in lands, buildings and permanent improvements, *which are taxable for all purposes to the same extent as if they were owned by an individual operator.* In addition to this the company must pay a *bonus of one-fourth of one per cent. to the commonwealth upon its stock, amounting to the sum of two hundred and fifty dollars.* It is thereafter liable to an annual tax upon its capital stock at the rate of *one-half mill for each one per cent. of dividends made or declared.* In case of no dividends having been made or declared, *then three mills upon the appraised value of the stock.* Also, *a tax of three per cent. upon the entire amount of net earnings or income.* Also, *a tax of five per cent. on all interest paid to bondholders and other creditors.* (For all these taxes, see Act of May 1, 1868.)*

"An individual, wealthy enough to furnish a hundred thousand dollars in similar business would be wholly free from these exactions. The State imposes none of these burdens upon him. It does not keep an espionage upon his business, or demand from him sworn statements of his annual profits. It discriminates in his favor against the association of small capitalists, which it professes to encourage. And without sharing in any of the stockholder's risks, it makes itself a partner in their profits and follows them with a grasping hand and a never-ceasing official vigilance of an inquisitorial character over their affairs."

It has been commonly understood that it was the purpose of the Legislature to exempt from the tax on net earnings, such manufacturing companies as made dividends, but unfortunately the language of the Act was rather popular than technical, and made a question for the courts which have a fatal facility in ruling all tax questions against the citizen.† The Act passed in 1864 imposed

*This was in part a compilation of prior laws.

†The case of the Credit Mobilier of America is a striking exception to this general tendency of our courts. This notorious corporation divided nearly ten million dollars among its stockholders without payment of taxes, the Supreme Court having twice overruled the judgments of the Court of Common Pleas of Dauphin county, making it liable to taxation. Judge Agnew dissented.

a tax of three per cent. upon the net earnings of "all companies and corporations doing business in the commonwealth" * * * * "not paying a tax to the State upon dividends under existing laws." Manufacturing companies were paying, and had long paid under the Acts of 1844 and 1859, a tax which was with good reason called a tax on dividends, because by the former Act it is assessed "at the rate of one-half mill for each one per cent. of a dividend," etc., and by the latter it is assessed "at the rate of one-half mill for each one per cent. of a dividend made or declared," the Acts providing further that when no dividends are made there shall be a direct tax of three mills upon a valuation of the capital stock.

Though each Act in general terms proposes to regulate tax upon capital stock of corporations, two taxes were really imposed, one upon dividends, and in default of dividends a different tax upon capital stock. The net earnings tax provided for by the Act of 1864 might have been construed to apply only to those corporations which have few stockholders and manage their business like individual proprietors, making no dividends and returning their stock at a nominal valuation, for the reason that it could not be said to have any market price. It was generally understood that it was the purpose of the Act to reach such companies only and corporations making dividends, upon which they paid a five per cent. tax, supposed that they were exempt from the tax on net earnings. They may have looked into the Digest of Laws, and if so, they found the provisions of the Acts of 1844 and 1859 indexed under the head of "Tax on Dividends," as is the case to this day.* They would have found the same language used in numerous private acts of the legislature when referring to the five per cent. tax. Their security was, however, unfounded, for upon a case made against a manufacturing company, which has a most noble sphere of usefulness, and of whose achievements the State might well be proud if it had done anything to aid them, it was ruled that the tax paid by the company—rated and assessed upon its declared dividends, digested as a tax on dividends, referred to by the Legislature as the tax on dividends, and called a tax on dividends by the people of the commonwealth—was not a tax

* Purdon's Digest, State Taxes. See Edition 1861.

upon dividends at all, but a tax upon capital stock graduated by dividends, and, as a consequence, large arrears of the tax on net earnings were recovered from the corporation with an added penalty of twelve per cent. per annum.*

It may be supposed that the legislature immediately redressed this unexpected injury. Not at all. Repeatedly asked to do so, it has repeatedly refused, though it could not be pretended that the revenue from this source was needed while a perpetual balance of several millions of dollars was in the hands of the treasurer, from which the State derived no benefit.

This tax upon net earnings of companies, which, as to its most injurious effects, may be said to be of judicial invention, has not been in any way mitigated by the courts, which have most harshly ruled that it includes the rewards of such work as mining coal and pumping oil, and these industries are taxed upon so-called net earnings which are really a proportional exhaustion of capital and often but its partial return to stockholders without any profit.†

The perpetual exaction by the State of eight per cent. of the annual earnings of all manufacturing, mining and improvement companies, and industrial and co-operative associations, has the effect of preventing their formation, it has forced some of them out of existence, and it is hindering the development of the commonwealth.

The day of unquestioned manufacturing supremacy has passed for Pennsylvania. Intelligent citizens are aware of this, and it has not escaped the attention of foreigners. An article by Hugo Hartmann, in the *Berg und Huttenmaennische Zeitung* of Oct. 25, 1872, says, with reference to Pennsylvania: "This State, which has so long held the first place in the production of iron, may, in spite of the more favorable prospects in its southern part, soon be surpassed by the far West, if it does not make vigorous exertions. It is true that to Pennsylvania, and to its farsighted and energetic engineers, belongs the honor to have brought to a successful issue the employment of anthracite for the extraction of pig iron, for it was so early as July in 1840 that a favorable result was obtained from a high furnace charged with this fuel, * * * * and now

* Case of the Phoenix Iron Company.

† Cases of Ocean Oil Company and Penn Gas Coal Company, etc.

about 1,000,000 tons annually are produced in that way. Certainly a great triumph; but of what use is it if, in this rich country, other still better sources of supply are developed, whose union has every prospect of putting into the background the old reputation of Pennsylvania.

So long, indeed, as the importations of Scotch and other foreign pig iron continues to augment, there is no near probability that the old works will lose their custom, or that the new ones will find no buyers for their products, and for this reason the optimists imagine that Pennsylvania, which has been so long looked upon as the iron-producer of the nation, will yet, by reason of the newly discovered ore beds in the southern part of the State, maintain the first rank in this department (of industry). Others are not of that opinion.**

What is here said of the iron industry may be more emphatically asserted of steel in the new processes of its manufacture, which must be numbered ere long with the first industries of the nation and of the world.

Pennsylvania must learn that capital and labor may find other fields, where nature has been as liberal, in States which do not obtain their revenues in the easy and informal disregard of common right with which Prince John carried off the purse of Isaac of York, or exact tribute in the more effective way adopted by Front de Boeuf. Miles of factories have been erected in New Jersey by Pennsylvanians, and every day the capital of our State is drawn away to found industrial establishments which would be set up within its borders were it not for the sinister aspect of the tax laws.

I have looked in vain in the codes of every State in the Union for such inventions as enrollment taxes on charters of manufacturing companies, bonus on their capital, and tax on their net earnings, superadded to taxes upon stock and all other taxes borne by the property represented by it.

Governor Geary is right in saying that in other States "stock in manufacturing companies is generally taxed at its value, like other personal property, but first the value of all real estate represented by the stock is deducted, and made taxable like the

* Translated by Joseph Wharton.

property of other individuals in the region where the lands are located."

The code of Alabama excepts from its taxes on Acts of incorporation, all Acts incorporating manufacturing companies, and they are subject to a tax upon the value of their capital stock of one half of one per cent., any portion which is invested in property being first deducted. Georgia imposes an equal tax according to its value upon the stock and earnings of corporations. Michigan, by Act of 1853, levied a tax of one-half of one per cent. upon the paid up capital stock of corporations for manufacturing purposes in lieu of all other State taxes. Wisconsin taxes as personal property such portion of the capital of incorporated companies liable to taxation on their capital as shall not be invested in real estate. The code of West Virginia taxes the real and personal property of corporations at their value, deducting debts, etc., and provides that where the capital of a company is assessed the property represented by it shall not be, and in such case the stockholders are not obliged to list their stock. The laws of Vermont, Rhode Island and Ohio are similar; the property of corporations is taxed as other property, and, as provided by the code of Vermont, "in assessing shareholders for their stock in any manufacturing company there shall first be deducted from the value thereof the value of the machinery and real estate belonging to the company." The code of New Jersey taxes all real and personal property subject to taxation at its actual value, exempting so much of the property of incorporated companies represented by the capital stock thereof as is taxed in the hands of the stockholders. Lands of corporations may be exempt by charter. In Arkansas, Indiana, Iowa, Illinois, Kansas, Missouri and Minnesota, the laws are in accordance with the principles of equality of taxation which their constitutions establish.

The revised code of New Hampshire, Chapter 49, Sec. 5, which includes in its enumeration of personal property subject to tax the stock of corporations within the State, excepts stock in manufacturing companies. Section 6 provides that stock in corporations shall not be taxed if the nature and purposes of the corporation be such that no dividend of its profits can be made. Section 7 enacts that no statute provision shall be so construed as to subject any stock to double taxation, and it is provided by a subse-

quent section that towns may by vote exempt from taxation, for a term not exceeding ten years, any establishment therein and the capital it employs in the manufacture of cotton or wool or both.

The Constitution of Connecticut is silent on the subject of taxation, but its code is equitable and liberal, the property, real and personal, of corporations being valued like that of individuals, and stockholders are exempt from taxation on their shares.

By the code of Massachusetts stocks in moneyed corporations are included in personal property liable to taxation, but it is provided that "no income shall be taxed which is derived from property subject to taxation," and "in assessing the stockholders for their shares in any manufacturing corporation there shall first be deducted from the value thereof the value of the machinery and real estate belonging to such corporation."

The revised code of Maine, Title 1, chapter 6, sec. 14, provides that "all machinery employed in any branch of manufactures, and all goods manufactured and unmanufactured, and all real estate belonging to any corporation, shall be assessed in the town or place where they are employed, and in assessing the stockholders for their shares their proportional part of the value of such machinery, goods and real estate shall be deducted from the value of the shares." Section 9 is as follows: "All manufacturing establishments and all establishments for refining, purifying or any way enhancing the value of any article or articles already manufactured, hereafter erected by individuals or incorporated companies, and all the machinery and capital used for operating the same, together with all such machinery hereafter put into such buildings already erected, when the amount of capital exceeds the sum of two thousand dollars, are exempt from taxation for a term not exceeding ten years from the time the city or town in which such manufacturing establishments or refineries may be located, shall in a legal manner assent to such exemption, which assent shall have the force of a contract and be binding for the time specified."

In addition to the liberal provisions of their laws, such is the desire in States east and west of us to encourage the establishment of manufactures, that towns not only vote them exemption from taxation, but also give their promoters a large bonus. The governor has alluded to this practice in his message, and as examples

of it I may cite the city of Joliet, Illinois, which gave \$175,000 to the company that erected the rolling mill and steel works in that place, and the town of La Grange, Missouri, which has given a larger bounty to a similar enterprise.

If we care to listen we may hear a chorus of silvery voices in every part of the land, inviting by the assurance of justice and the offer of exceptional favors the men who wish to associate to mine ores or coal, to weave cloth, to manufacture iron or steel, or engage in any of the industries which make States prosperous and their people healthful and intelligent. These invitations will surely call away many of our best citizens, for Pennsylvania offers to such associations perpetual annoyance and exceptional injury.

It can do no harm to speak out openly and characterize the policy of our State according to its deserts. The matter cannot be kept in a corner. It is a subject of national interest, and has been drawn into the discussion of measures affecting the policy of the general government. It has been repeatedly charged by free-trade members of Congress that Pennsylvania raised her revenues by exceptional taxes upon manufactures, and the amount of income realized by the State from enrollment taxes on acts incorporating manufacturing companies, bonus on their capital, tax on their stock and tax on their net earnings, as reported by the Auditor General of the State, may be found set forth at large in free-trade speeches upon tariff bills. I admit that the facts are as our adversaries have stated them, and they would be an argument as well as a reproach if protective tariffs were for the benefit of Pennsylvania alone. They are for the general good, and our miserably unwise tax system merely tends to partially neutralize their beneficial influences by placing Pennsylvania at a disadvantage with respect to her sister States. If the Legislature is not determined to refuse consideration of measures affecting the general good, we may hope that the recommendations of the governor's message will be heeded. His forcible condemnation of the folly of imposing cumulative burdens upon industrial associations concludes as fol-

“Nothing but very strong necessity could justify such a variety of taxes upon the same thing. And if any justification ever existed, I believe it to exist no longer. The time has come when, with proper diligence in collecting, and economy in expenditures,

the State can well afford a reduction of taxation ; and legislation in that direction should be such as to relieve the undue burdens of taxation from every form of productive industry. Governor Hartranft in his inaugural address renews these recommendations in well-chosen and forcible words. I would, therefore, recommend that the enrollment tax upon private Acts chartering industrial companies, and the bonus upon stock of such companies when organized under general laws, be considered a full equivalent to the commonwealth for the privileges of a charter; and that all State taxes upon capital stock, net earnings and dividends of manufacturing, mining and improvement companies, and all co-operative associations, be repealed. This reduction will amount to \$549,554.23—the sum collected last year. I also recommend the repeal of that source of revenue known in the auditor general's report as "Tax on Loans," which amounts to \$492,407.28.

"It is confidently believed that with these proposed reductions, which amount to \$1,041,961.51, the State can still pay all her current expenses, the interest on the public debt, and make an annual reduction of at least one million five hundred thousand dollars upon the principal."

I have cited the case of industrial associations for the reason that it is a good illustration of the evils which have resulted from the absence of a constitutional provision, limiting the power of the legislature, and defining principles of taxation. Other cases of as great hardship could be found. Interests capable of defending themselves are perhaps as much injured in the end as those which are defenseless, and what all persons and corporations liable to taxation should most supremely desire, is exact justice, which can be found only in absolute equality, from which nothing shall be excepted save those occupations which are created by law or which are deemed proper subjects of police regulation in most civilized States.

One great and growing evil would be abolished by providing that no property should be exempt from taxation except such as in accordance with general laws belongs to the public, or is wholly dedicated to public use, free from every form of sectarian control. Equality is so good a thing that we had better have it, and if other good things are delayed, we can wait for them.

There should be no reason for dealing differently with associations and individuals, for no injurious franchise should be granted, and charter privileges properly guarded should be easily accessible under general laws. The reason usually given for a different policy lacks force, for a monopoly is the one thing that cannot be made to pay compensatory taxes, and it will always be able to shift exceptional burdens from its own shoulders to those of others. With the strong as with the weak, equality is the only safe rule. There is no power or privilege conferred by law upon an individual or association which may not be equitably taxed according to its value, for any value it possesses will take a tangible form in something which may be appraised like any other property.

Let State taxes be paid directly, and not indirectly, according to the value of all possessions, by everybody, and the strong will pay no more than their share, with which they will be content, and the burden upon the weak will be cheerfully borne, because it will be equitable; while all classes and interests and uses, business, social, charitable and religious, will be concerned to see that there is an honest and economical expenditure of the revenues to which all alike contribute. Is it possible to achieve this reform? Should we not be able to look into the revenue system for the lineaments of the State, without being confronted with the likeness of the coward, the demagogue, and the bandit? And if the State could be thus ennobled would it not elevate the manhood of the citizen? Is it too much to hope that we may be rid of the embarrassments, annoyances, injuries, evasions, corruptions and perjuries which characterize the enactment and administration of our tax laws.

What proportion of moneys at interest is returned for taxation? Who lists his stocks in foreign corporations for the assessor? What percentage of the taxable fees of officers is reported to the auditor general? How many corporations are there who fail to make returns of income? How near is the valuation of real estate to its real worth? What amount of property has, upon fraudulent pretexts, been exempted from taxation in the city of Philadelphia alone?

In the assessment of direct taxes upon real and personal property an effort has been made to apply the rule of equality. I will

not quote here at length the oath which each assessor is obliged to take. It binds him to discover all objects of taxation, and to honestly value each piece of land, with its improvements, and all taxable personal property at the rate or price which he shall believe it would sell for if sold singly and separately at a *bona fide* sale after full public notice. Plain as its provisions are they are generally disregarded, and property is assessed in many counties throughout the State at from a third to a fifth of its value, but as there is no standard when that fixed by the act is abandoned, there are the most flagrant inequalities, the lands in one part of a county being often assessed much lower than in another part, and properties lying along side of each other may be rated, the one at a fifth of its real worth, another at a fiftieth, and another at its full cash value. In such case the power of revision on appeal lodged in boards of county commissioners may be invoked in vain, for the suitor, not in favor in this peculiarly informal, irresponsible, and usually partisan court, may be obliged to say that his property, though rated out of all proportion with that of his neighbors, is not as high as the price he would be willing to take for it. The law which should be his security is invoked for his defeat.

This vicious practice on the part of assessors grew up when lands were subject to a State tax, and was the result of a patriotic effort of each officer to protect his neighbors and constituents against the demands of the State, and it is maintained from habit, or for a defense against county rates since the State tax upon lands has been repealed. It is of such generality and antiquity that it is an authoritative interpretation of the assessor's oath, and it will be difficult for that reason to effect a reform.

In the general system of collecting taxes great improvements may be made. The plan of making the county treasurer the receiver of county taxes has been tried in some counties, and is found to be better than the general system of appointment of a collector for each district by the county commissioners. This power of appointment is often used to reward active township politicians for services rendered to a candidate or the party, and men who are defaulters and bankrupt have been kept afloat by receiving a new duplicate to enable them to settle their indebtedness on an old one, a practice which, like others of which there is occasion to speak, is directly contrary to law.

Usually in each township and borough there is a collector of county rates and levies, a collector of school tax, and a collector of borough or road tax; a system which is full of evils. Generally neither of these officers has enough to do to justify him in attending to his duty, and as a consequence he gives it attention but now and then, or neglects it wholly, and there is consequent embarrassment and loss. There is the further evil that citizens are unable to find out who the collectors are, or to be certain that their taxes are paid, and I can instance the case of one proprietor who is obliged to see and settle with thirty-six collectors in paying taxes on lands lying in a single county of the commonwealth. The evils of this method of collecting taxes are intolerable, and instead of altering it by special and local laws, and patching it a bit now and then, a general and thorough reform should be made.

As many of the wrongs attending the assessment and collection of taxes are contrary to existing laws it will be doubted if they can be remedied by law. It may be asserted that the voluntary system is a failure, and that elective officers cannot be trusted with duties which are unpleasant and which may render them unpopular. It has been proposed to constitute a bureau of assessment, which shall also be a bureau of statistics, in charge of a commissioner having his office at the capital of the State, with assistants in each county, appointed by himself and subject to his direction and control.*

This idea is worthy of consideration, but I am so strongly in favor of the elective system, that wherever it has once been established I dislike to abandon it. It seems like taking a step backward to do so. I think it has justified itself even where there was most doubt of its utility, as for instance in the case of the judiciary of the commonwealth, though the judges who have failed of a re-election would probably file a dissenting opinion.

The necessity of a general revision of the tax laws has been strongly impressed upon the people, and as far back as 1862 the Legislature appointed a special committee of its body charged with the duty of performing this work, which appointment was from time to time renewed.

* Form of bill prepared by Hon. D. J. Morrell, and partially adopted by a committee of the Legislature.

A bill was finally reported. It was based upon a careful examination into the resources and expenses of the State, and would be useful to any committee newly charged with the subject. It failed as a matter of course, for our representatives were at that time too busy passing private bills to give any consideration to a measure which was merely for the common good. Other legislative committees have been appointed since then, but they have accomplished nothing beyond the consolidation of the laws imposing axes for State purposes.

The preparation in detail of a reformed tax system for the State involves much labor and should be conducted in accordance with a constitutional provision requiring the equal taxation of all property at its market value, and carefully prohibiting duplication of taxes. Examination should be made of the codes of the different States and inquiry into their operations. The system provided for the city of Philadelphia should be considered to see how far it is adapted to general use, and criticism upon it should be solicited. It is not advisable to seek for novelty, and the few suggestions which I shall make have no claim to originality.

Every inhabitant should be required annually to list* his property, real and personal, with his valuation of it, to be sworn and delivered to the assessors under proper pains and penalties for negligence or fraudulent concealment of goods. These lists, when consolidated, should be opened to public view and subject to correction upon notice and by evidence, and should contain in detail a statement of the amount due from each tax-payer. One person in each county or district should be charged with the collection of the lists when adjusted and settled, and there should be discounts for prompt payment and penalties for negligence. Copies of the consolidated assessments of each county should be forwarded to the auditor general for consolidation and publication, and his office would thus become a bureau of statistics, and the financial officers of the State would have accurate knowledge of the resources and local burdens of the people of the commonwealth.

It would be necessary to set apart certain classes of property to be returned to the auditor general and taxed for State purposes only, and it may be supposed that there will be difficulty in applying to them the rule of equality. One per cent. upon real and

* To list is to enter upon a schedule.

personal property at a just valuation should be amply sufficient for all purposes, and it is as large a burden as should be imposed. I would favor a constitutional provision making this the maximum rate for State purposes, and providing that it should be reduced to the average rate of taxation upon other property when this average rate is below one per cent.*

In the schedule of property to be taxed for State purposes alone there will necessarily be placed railroads, canals, banks, telegraph, express and transporting companies, insurance agencies, and other natural and artificial persons having property distributed throughout the commonwealth and inseparable from privileges on franchises, or in some cases having nothing taxable except the earnings of business.

The case of a railroad company is probably as difficult as any other, but its property is never worth more than the average value of its stocks and bonds, from which the value of all its property that is severable from its franchises and liable to local taxes should be deducted, to get at the valuation upon which it should be taxed for State purposes. I would propose this in lieu of all other direct and indirect taxes, such as the tax on capital and gross receipts and tonnage and coal, etc.

It may be that no railroad company pays directly into the treasury as large a sum as the maximum rate of one per cent. upon its property would amount to, and my proposition, if deemed at all worthy of attention, may be regarded with disfavor by the managers of this most important and powerful interest. A ten per cent. stock pays one-half of one per cent. upon capital under existing tax laws. Nearly one-half per cent. more must be made up now by the various other taxes mentioned above, by local taxes upon real estate, and by indirect exactions of various kinds which it would not be advisable to particularize. I doubt if the burden upon this interest would be increased even if taxed at the maximum rate, and it would be something to be safe from mercenary assaults, to be free from the necessity of placating petty and prominent officials, hungry politicians and scheming demagogues. Under the

*According to the estimates of the Census Bureau this is now less than one-half of one per cent. of the true value of the real and personal property of the State, which will be reported at \$3,808,340,112. The total amount of taxes except State and National, will be reported at \$18,731,225.

strong shield of a constitutional provision such as I have suggested, these corporations, great and small, could go about their business like other folks, and the only concern they could have in affairs of State would be in common with other citizens: to see that they were administered with honesty and economy.

There are sources of State revenue other than those I have indicated which should be maintained, among which I may mention the tax on offices, which has an interesting history. As long ago as 1810 it was enacted that the prothonotaries and clerks of all the courts of the commonwealth, and all the registers of wills and recorders of deeds should make annually a sworn return of all fees received by them, and pay into the treasury of the State fifty per cent. of the surplus of these receipts above the sum of fifteen hundred dollars set apart in the first instance for the officer. This law is still in operation, though modified by the Act of 1868, and the Legislature had apparently exhausted ingenuity in devising powers for enforcing it. It should have brought into the treasury at least a quarter of a million dollars annually. What it did produce was an exceedingly trivial sum, and in spite of the duties with respect to its collection imposed upon courts, auditors, governors, and auditors general, it was so completely evaded that we must suppose the vigilance shown in hunting up taxable industries to have been wearied out before it reached the case of those nimble politicians who were the favored occupants of exceedingly lucrative offices.

The Legislature of 1868, the same Legislature which grouped together and re-enacted as one measure the complicated and atrocious taxes upon the industries of the State, took pity upon the officials whose fees were taxable, and passed an Act which allowed them two thousand dollars and all office expenses before giving the State its share of fees, and relieved the governor and the auditor general from all unpleasant responsibility by making the report of auditors appointed by the courts to examine the accounts of officers the basis of settlement with the State and conclusive upon everybody. Thenceforward evasions became easy, and, though even in this modified form of the law, the State should receive a large sum as its share of the emoluments of office, it appears by the finance report of 1871 that but ten officials were found to have a taxable surplus and paid a little over twenty thousand

dollars, which was probably one-tenth of the sum honestly due to the commonwealth.

The responsibility for this evasion rests with the courts, which, with extreme complaisance, appoint, at the suggestion of the officers liable to taxation, auditors of their accounts, who will not make any unpleasant inquiries concerning the fees received by their patrons, or report any taxable surplus to the auditor general.

I think the laws taxing the emoluments of officers may be so amended as to make collection of the tax possible, but it will be quite useless, I fear, to ask the Legislature to employ its ingenuity upon this subject.

It would seem to be within the scope of such a paper as this to propose a form of constitutional provision on the subject of taxation, and such an act as would embody a complete tax system for the State. I must plead that I have not had time to prepare the former because it must be so brief, or the latter because it must be so voluminous, and I shall consider my labor well spent if it furnishes useful hints to those whose duty it is to consider and act upon these subjects.

I might continue at length to point out particular evils and suggest special remedies, but I forbear. In looking over the field, I find no power that is not constantly abused and no duty that is not generally evaded. The tax laws, based upon no principle, and in many cases the result of the ignorance and prejudice of legislators, are not felt to be of moral obligation: Conscientious citizens, who would scorn to falsify a business account or defraud a neighbor of a cent, feel justified in concealing their property from the assessor of taxes. I believe that all this can be changed, and that taxes openly and equitably levied will be cheerfully paid. I think a sentiment may be created which will stigmatize the attempt to evade taxes as being more dishonorable than any other fraud, because it robs the community. In purifying the sources of revenue its issues might be made more pure. If one side of the account is honest the other will tend to become also honest. When justice thus transforms the State, loyalty will ennoble the citizen.

It is with such lofty aims as these, and in the faith of their accomplishment, that the representatives of the people should proceed to the long-deferred duty of framing a tax system for the State of Pennsylvania.

CYRUS ELDER.

THE CHILDHOOD AND YOUTH OF LUTHER.

FIRST PAPER.

THE early training and education of the men who have exerted a mighty influence upon their own times is a subject of especial interest. Especially is this true of the leaders in religious, social or political revolution; we can indeed only understand the revolution itself when we study its author as one that through his early years grew up amid the old state of things, and perhaps seemed even to himself thoroughly receptive to its influences and devoted to its ideas, although he was all the while in training for a revolt from them. We can see how some one side of the old system suggested to his mind thoughts that it had no power to awaken in minds of lesser calibre, or how he explored to all their logical consequences the methods and principles which others accepted in an acquiescent way.

To most readers the reformer Luther is a topic of especial interest in this regard. Next to the Apostles that founded Christendom, he is the man who has most palpably given shape to the institutions and methods of our Christian society, and has most powerfully stamped his own idiosyncrasy upon the thoughts of the modern world. What Comte would like to have been, Luther was. The materials for the closer study of his life are exceedingly abundant; besides three contemporary narratives by his friends (Melancthon, Mathesius and Ratzenberger), and one by a hostile critic (Cochlaeus), we have, scattered up and down through the twenty folio volumes of his works, continual and suggestive allusions to his early experiences and surroundings. Carl Jürgens, in his *Life of Luther, up to the Controversy about Indulgences*,¹ has collected these in a work of more than German patience and thoroughness, which leaves hardly anything more to be desired, except that its author had been briefer. We have taken him as our chief, but by no means exclusive, authority in the account which here follows, endeavoring so far as possible to let Luther

¹*Luther von seiner Geburt bis zur Arbläss-streite*, 1483-1517., III. Bde. 8vo., [pp. xxxviii ar.d 698; viii and 744; viii and 696.] Leipzig: 1846-7.

tell his own story in such vigorous and idiomatic English as he himself would have employed.

"These 'friends' of mine have made such close search that they do cry out that I was born in Bohemia, brought up at Prague and taught out of Wiclif's books, in which, as they will have it, my father was well read, and, to pass by nothing, they have even explained my name from the Bohemian."¹

"Nobody—my Spalatin—can better tell you of my parentage than the Counts von Mansfield. I believe that those heroes have still name and honor enough in the Reich to merit credence in this matter. I suspect that this [Bohemian] fabrication has been spread by Ochsenfurt, the Leipzig theologian, the same that would have us believe that Eck was slain, that he might curry favor with us. He is a fellow that can neither be at peace himself, nor suffer others to be so, always ready to do hurt, and of no ability, either.

"But I was born at Eisleben [Nov. 10, 1483, between eleven o'clock and midnight] and was baptized [next day, being Saint Martin's Day] in St. Peter's church of that town. This I do not remember, but I take it on the word of my parents [Hans and Margaretha Ludher] and of my townsmen. My parents had come from [the village of Mohra, my father's birth-place] near Eisenach to that town. For Eisenach contains nearly all my kindred [by the mother's side chiefly], and there I am acknowledged and known to this day, because I was at school there four years. In no town am I better known. I trust that they would not be such fools as to think me the son of [Hans] Luther, and to regard me—one as his nephew, another as his uncle, yet another as his cousin—if they knew that my father and mother were Bohemians, and not their own flesh and blood.

"The rest of my life [after those four years] I passed in the University of Erfurt, and then in its Monastery, until I came to Wittenberg [as a professor], but was [first of all] at school at Magdeburg a year, my fourteenth."²

"Luther is indeed a very common name among us, especially in Saxony, and means a lord (*Herr*) of the people (*Leute*). The name is rightly spelled with a *ü* or a *y*, followed by a *th*, instead of the weak *d* [as was once used], and the Saxons to this day call the worthy Kaiser Lothaire *Kaiser Lydher*. Scaliger writes his name *Lutherius* or *Lutherus*. From this name comes *Lotharingia*, *Ludheringen* [French *Lorraine*] *i. e.*, Luther's abode, so called

¹A Declaration of Certain Articles (1520).

²Letter to Spalatin of January 14, 1520. (De Wette, *Luthers Briefe*, I. 390.)

after the uncle of Karl the Great, whom the historians call Lothaire."¹

Six months after Martin's birth his father fixed his home at Mansfeld, a mining town at the foot of the Hartz, and lived there till his death, in 1530. He was a hard-working man, severe to himself and to others, but affectionate and devout in a manly, undemonstrative way, and gifted with a clear, strong understanding. Not less severe, but very different in character, was Luther's mother, Margaretha Lindemann by her maiden name, a person of stern and ascetic piety, who lead a life even more full of hardship and self-denial than that of other German women of her class. His father had been born into the *bauer* or agricultural class—we shall call them "boors"—but being a younger son, he had to push his own fortune and chose mining. By taking up his residence in Mansfeld, he entered the burger or citizen class, to which his wife belonged, and in which Martin was brought up.

"I have often, in talking with Philip about [astrology], told him my whole life in its order, how one thing came after another, and how I passed it. I am a boor's son. My father, grandfather and forefathers were simple boors. Then he tells me [by astrology, that] I would have become a head-man, magistrate, bailiff, and filled whatever other offices they have in the villages, or at any rate a man higher in place than the rest. Then, I tell him, my father was brought to Mansfeld and became a miner there, therefore I am. But that I was to become a Baccalaureus, a Magister, a Monk, and so forth, that is not in the stars. . . That I was to take to wife a runaway nun, and beget of her several children—who hath seen that in the stars?"²

"My father was a poor miner, and my mother used to carry faggots on her back, while she had us children to bring up. She led a very toilsome—*blutsauer*—life of it, beyond anything that we see among people nowadays."³

"People should not flog their children too hard. My father once flogged me so sorely that I fled from him, and had an aversion to him, until he accustomed me to himself again."⁴

"My parents dealt very severely with me, so that I thereby was made timid. My mother once flogged me for a sorry nut, until

¹*Namens-buchlein* (1537).

²*Tischreden* (Berlin, 1844-8): lxx. § 3.

³Jürgens I, 16.

⁴*Tischreden*, xliii. § 69.

the blood came. It was her severe and earnest life that was the cause of my entering the monastery. However, at heart she meant well, *sed non potuerunt discernere ingenia, secundum quae essent temperandae correctiones.* Quia people should so punish that the apple go with the rod."¹

"She had (says Mathesius) many virtues befitting an honorable matron, and in especial she was of notable modesty and piety, and given to earnest prayer, so that other honorable women looked upon her as an ensample of virtue and propriety."

From the first Hans Luther seems to have designed his son for one of the learned professions, and with this view cultivated the acquaintance of such "clerks" as Mansfeld could boast, and welcomed them to his frugal table, that little Martin might profit by their talk. It was traditional that school-going should begin not later than the seventh year, and it must have been at a still earlier age that Martin began to attend the Latin school of Mansfeld. In an inscription in a Bible, written 1544, he says:

"To my good old friend, Nicholas Omeler, who more than once, when I was a weakling and a child, has carried me to and from school in his arms, when neither of us knew that one brother-in-law was carrying the other."²

From the first he was a hard student, spurred on by the severity of parents and teachers, and the hard, yet beneficent, necessities of poverty. He says:

"Rich folks' children are seldom worth much; they are careless, arrogant, proud, and suppose that they need not learn, when they have enough without to keep them. But on the other hand poor folks' sons must needs work their way up in the world, and have much to endure. And, albeit, they have nothing whereof to be proud or boast, yet do they learn to trust God, to restrain themselves and hold their peace. The poor fear God; therefore God giveth them good heads, wherewith to study and learn to some purpose, and become men of learning and of understanding, and able to instruct princes, and kings and Kaisers by their wisdom."³

He needed to be a zealous student if he would profit by such schools as Germany then had, and that in an out of the way place like Mansfeld was more likely to be worse than better than most. They were, as he says, founded in the interests of the clerical class,

¹*Tischreden* xliii. § 155.

²De Wette, v. 709.

³House-postil (Rorer's); Sermon on Luke i. 39-56 (1535.)

and no pains were spared to draw the more likely lads into the religious orders.

"Was it not a most wretched affair that heretofore a lad had to study twenty years or more, just to learn so much bad Latin as he needed to become a parson and say mass, and happy was the man that got so far; happy the mother that bore such a son. And withal he was and remained his life-long a poor unlearned man, that was good for nothing—'neither to hatch nor to lay eggs.' Such teachers and masters they must needs be everywhere, that knew nothing good and right to teach; yea! even the wise ones of them knew not how one should learn or teach anything. Whose fault was it? There were no books to be had, save such silly ones as the monks and sophists [the school-men] made. What could be the outcome thereof, but scholars and teachers as silly as the books they had in use? 'A daw hatches no doves,' and a fool makes none wise."¹

"Not a single science was at that time rightly taught. Of which of them did any one rightly point out or know the right profit and use, even if we regard only the little that was taught in the lads' schools. So much was there lacking ere they could be rightly taught."

"Is it not before your very eyes that one can now teach a lad in three years, so that he knows more in his fifteenth or eighteenth year, than aforetime all the High Schools [Universities] and cloisters knew? Yea! what did they used to learn in High Schools and cloisters, save to turn out asses, and wooden block-heads? Twenty, forty years some of them studied, and yet knew neither Latin nor German."²

He had no opinion of the services of the religious orders and the secular clergy in promoting popular education; they had even, he declared, perverted the old educational foundations, like that of Karl the Great at Fulda:

"The drones have driven the bees from this bee-hive, and the monks and canons have shared with the poor school-masters, as did that boor with Mercury, that at the god's suit and his own promise that he would give to the Church half of whatever fell to his lot, did give *ad pios usus* the outside of the nuts and the inside of the dates, and ate the rest himself."

The ordinary text-books in these clerical schools were the Latin grammar of that Donatus under whom Jerome studied in the

¹To the Councillors of all the Cities of German land, that they set up and sustain Christian schools (1524.)

²*Ibidem.*

³Matthesius, xii: *Predigt.*

fourth century, and the *Doctrinale* of Alexander, a Franciscan of the thirteenth century, another grammatical treatise. When the children got to reading (if they ever did), it was in the *Moral Distichs* of Dionysius Cato, the *Eclogues* of Theodulus, the *Regule Pueriles* and the wretched productions of Mancinus or Cardinal Hugo. The very highest text-books were the *De Consolatione* of Boethius, the *Fables* of Esop and the *Comedies* of Terence, or those of his Christian imitator Hrotswitha.

At Mansfeld, Mathesius tells us, our Martin learnt "his Ten Commandments, Apostles' Creed, Pater Noster, Donatus, Child's Grammar, Cisio Janus and Church Music."

The first three formed the basis of the Mediaeval Catechisms as also of Luther's own and that of the Church of England. In the twelfth century it was the rule to begin to teach these and the *Ave Maria* when a lad was seven years old.

"Catechism means an instruction whereby they used to teach and show heathens that would become Christians what they should believe, do, cease doing and know in Christendom..... Fort his instruction or teaching I know no simpler or better order than that which hath held since Christendom began, and still holdeth, to wit, the three chapters: the Ten Commandments, the Belief and the Pater Noster. In these three chapters standeth simply and shortly almost all that a Christian hath need to know."¹

Of *Donatus* we have spoken already; the *Child's Grammar* was a simpler version of Priscian, treated by the scholastic method. The *Cisio Janus* was a wonderful piece of manufacture, that had doubtless been the torment of lads without number. It was a Latin Calendar of the Church year, embodied in mnemonic verses, made up of the first syllable of the name of the month and of the saints to whom its days were dedicated, and some portion of the names of each of the immovable feasts. Hence its name from its opening words, which mark that the first feast in January was that of the Circumcision. Here is a specimen:

Cisio Janus Epy sibi vendicat Oc Feli Mar An.

Prisca Fab Ag Vincenti Pan Pol car nobile lumen.

Of all his studies the last or Church music (*Christliche gesange*, Christian airs or tunes in contrast to secular music) made the deepest impression upon the lad's mind. This branch of his education it was that gave to his naturally devout mind its power

¹ German Mass and Ordering of Divine Service. (1526)

of poetical and musical expression, which contributed so mightily to his success as a reformer. Thousands who knew nothing of the assailant of Indulgences were stirred to the depths of their being by his *Ein feste Burg*, which still secures him a hearing with those who know nothing of his writings and little of his history. The Church's music was one of the attractive sides that the old Church presented to the lad, and very firm and fast was the hold that it took of him. He mentions among "the good things in popedom" (*i. e.*, of the pre-Reformation times) that "they used to sing fine hymns. Fine and beautiful songs, Latin and German, were made by the old Christians, as we sing :

Christ is risen again
Out of all that pain ;
Let us all rejoice to-day—
Christ will be our cheer alway.

And in the sequence :

Agnus redemit oves ;
Christus innocens Patri
Reconciliavit peccatores.
Mors et Vita duello
Confluxere mirando ;
Dux Vitæ mortuus
Regnat vivus.

"He that made that song, be he who ne may, must have had a high and Christian understanding, that he paints this picture so finely and killfully." He complains that these things were not heeded in old times as they ought to be ; they were sung "from the heart, but there were no preachers then that could tell us what it meant. At Christmas they sang :

A little child so lovely
Is born to us to-day.

"At Whitsuntide, in the mass, they sang that good song :

God be praised and blessed,
Who Himself hath fed us,

and so forth. But of it all they understood never a letter nor a tittle of it, but presently betook themselves to something else and forgot the beautiful words."

Of the Christmas hymn, just quoted, he says: "Who ever made it hath hit off the matter well, to wit: that the little child, Christ, is our only cheer; great and excellent words, to the which we ought to give heed with all earnestness. The Holy Ghost himself must have taught the poet to sing them." At the

same time, we find him lamenting the scarcity of good Christian hymns, and setting himself to supply the want.

But his work bears the same testimony as his words to the deep root that the old Church music had taken in his mind. Of his thirty-five grand hymns, eleven are either translations or expansions of Latin hymns or sequences, and four are based on earlier German hymns, that were used on pilgrimages. Several of those that are from Latin came to him through the German. So again with Church music; he was a thorough conservative, even in his bold adaptations. Old Church tunes and Gregorian chaunts were the basis upon which he built, and much that the monks had composed in honor of Our Lady was transferred by Luther to new uses. He indicates at once his views of policy and his personal feeling in his preface to a collection of funeral music (Latin and German), which was published only three years before his death:

“We have taken as a good example the beautiful music or airs—*gesänge*—that even in popedom were used in their vigils, masses for the dead, and burials, some of which we have had printed in this book; and with time either we ourselves will add to the number, or some one that can do it better than we. But we have set the music to other words, that we may bravely set off our article of the resurrection, not purgatory with its pain and satisfaction, because of which their dead cannot sleep or rest. The airs and the notes are precious; it were a pity that they should be lost to us; but if the text be un-Christian or out of keeping with them, let it go.

“..... They have also, in good sooth, many masterly and beautiful pieces of music or airs, especially in their foundations and parsonages, albeit the text that they set off therewith is by far too nasty and idolatrous. Therefore we uncliothe such idolatrous, dead and stupid text, and strip from it the fair music, and set it to the living, holy Word of God, that it may be sung to His praise and honor; that this fair adornment of music may in its right use serve its dear Creator and His Christians.

“..... Yet it is not our meaning that these notes be sung in this wise in all churches; let each several church hold to their own notes according to their book and their use. For I myself, also, like not to hear it when, in a response or an air, the notes are displaced—sung otherwise in our church than I was used to hear them in my youth. It is alteration of the text, not of the notes, that must be seen to.”¹

So scarce were school-books that a single copy—the property

Begrabnis-gesänge (1543.)

of the master—sufficed for the whole school, and for lack of paper writing was practiced upon slates.

It has something in it that marks the man, that he has a good word for his old text-books, at least for the best of them. It shows how free he was from the insolence of the mere humanist. He says :

“Some one should render Esop’s Fables into German, and bring them into a fine order, for that is a book that no single man made, for very many great people in every age of the world have had a hand in it. And it is an especial grace of God that the little book by Cato and Esop’s Fables have been kept in the schools. They are both profitable and noble little books. The Cato has good sayings, and his *Præcepta* are right profitable for this life, but Esop has fine, lovely *res et picturas*. . . . And as far as I can judge and understand, there are, after the Bible, no better books than Cato’s *Scripta* and the *Fables* of Esop.”¹

Yet he also says : “How grieved am I to this day that I read not more poets and histories, and also that none taught me the same.”²

But the worse the apparatus the more laborious the work of learning. Only the brightest minds achieved any measure of success, while to all, with cheerful impartiality, the stimulus of the lash was vigorously applied. One of the things he urges with most emphasis in later life is the necessity of making the schools more of an attraction to the young and less of such a terror, as they had been to him. He used to tell that he had been soundly flogged fifteen times in one forenoon.

“Unfit school-masters often ruin fine minds by their blustering and storming, their whippings and blows, dealing no other with children than does the stock-master with thieves.”³

“As school-masters once were the schools were just jails and hells, and the masters were tyrants and jailers, for the poor children were flogged without stint or stop, and learnt with great toil and but slight profit.”⁴

“It is now by God’s grace so ordered that the children can learn with joy and sport, be it tongues or other arts or histories. And it is no more the hell and the purgatory of the schools that we went to, where we were murdered over the *casualibus* and tem-

¹ *Tischreden*, LXXX. § 14.

² To the Councillor of the German cities (1524.)

³ *Tischreden*, XLIII. § 155.

⁴ *Enarrationes in Genesis* (1546.)

poralibus, and where, with all that flogging, shuddering, anguish and wretchedness, we learnt just nothing worth while."¹

"In old times the young were brought up with altogether too much harshness, so that some gave them the name of martyrs while they were at school."²

But to the cheerful, elastic spirit of the child these things could not altogether darken those first days of life; there was no doubt much to justify him in looking back upon this youth as "life's blossom," as he calls it. Sunshine and snow-fall, flowers and birds, apples and nuts, spring-time and harvest, new breeches and birthday cakes were as real at the foot of the Hartz as anywhere in the world, before or since. High tides of joy there were, Easters and Christmases, Shrove Tuesdays and All-Hallow Eves, weddings and christenings, church spectacles and miracle plays, holy song in church and school, and brave ballads by the fire-side, and manifold sights and sounds to gladden young hearts that had not lost the power to draw enjoyment out of little things. Even the wretched monotony of school-time was broken in upon by such shows as that of Palm Sunday, when

" . . . They rode the holy ass and strewed palms. Thus was it done for the young folks' sake, that they might the better grasp and hold the history [with such lively results, that] latterly the pope brought this child's play into the church."³

He sometimes recalls pictures that, seen in his youth, had fixed themselves upon his mental retina. "They used to paint it on the walls how Christ went down, and, with a chorister's cap on His head and a banner in His hand, draws near to the gates of hell and therewith smites down Satan and drives him off, takes hell by storm and fetches forth them that are His. Just as on Easter eve they set up a play for the children. And it likes me well that these things should be thus depicted, played, sung or said before the simple."⁴

But the asceticism of the times set rigid limits to these innocent enjoyments.

"When I was a boy all plays were forbidden, so that card-makers, pipers and players were not let come to the sacrament,

¹To the Councilors of the German Cities (1524).

²*Enarrationes in Genesim* (1546.)

³House Postill (Rörer); Sermon on Palm-Sunday (1534.)

⁴Sermon at Torgau (1533.)

and any that had taken part in plays, dances and other spectacles and dramas, or had but looked on and were standing by, had to tell of it in confession."¹

"The Pope condemned dances because he was a foe to lawful marriage."²

His intercourse with his elders and his equals in age exerted, of course, the most influence upon him. The lad whom Omeler used to carry to and from school, we may well suppose, was one that drew out the love of many hearts. He was deeply touched, we are told, on awakening in the middle of the night and finding his severe and reserved father kneeling at his child's bedside in earnest prayer that his Martin might grow up a good and useful man. In one of his sermons he recalls a Malthusian saying of Hans Luther's, which seems to show that the miner felt the struggle for existence very keenly.

"I have often heard my dear father say: 'He had it of his parents, my grandparents, that there were far more men upon earth who ate there, than all the sheaves in all the fields of the whole world would make, if gathered together.'"³

Hans Luther, however, by dint of hard work, rose to a moderate competency, becoming the owner of two smelting furnaces in Mansfeld—where most master-miners owned but a single furnace—and dying the incumbent of a local magistracy, and worth two thousand guilders. The business was not unprofitable, but it was exceedingly full of risk and hardship. Luther, in preaching on Genesis (1546) says that he could cite many examples of "brothers of Laban in his native city who had gathered much gold and goods into a purse with holes therein, so that their gear was spent as fast as gotten." In preaching on the injunction to take no thought for the morrow, he says:

"Behold how things go on in the mines, with what painstaking they dig and search; yet it often happens that where they do most hope to find ore, and where the promise is fairest, as if it would turn out pure gold, there they find nothing, or the vein stops suddenly, or disappears under their hands. Again another place that they held as good for nought, and let lie untouched, gives full often the richest yield; and one that hath ventured all his havings therein hath no gain, while another from a beggar becometh a lord, and in ten years more a beggar again.

¹*Tischreden*, iv. § 126.

²De Wette, vi. 345.

³Sermon on the Resurrection, (1545 or 1546.)

In short we may say, 'It is not in the seeking but in the bestowing, not in the finding but in the fortune, when good hap and blessing go therewith.'¹

It was his delight in late years to identify himself with the mining class. He used to say that as God lets us trace His works under the earth by mining, so had the Pope been brought to light by a miner of Mansfeld. On a Shrove Tuesday at Wittemberg some one pointed out among the mummers a company of honest slate-quarriers playing his favorite game of chess. He claimed them as "my dear father's comrades of the pick," and had a good word for their amusement: "For folk that stick all week under ground must once in a while be allowed an honest passtime and refreshment, and encouraged to take it;" and indeed in no calling was the contrast between feast days and working days so great, and none threw themselves with more *abandon* into the enjoyments that filled up the interspaces of their dangerous and unpleasant handicraft.

Matthesius, who preached and labored among the miners of the Joachimsthal, says that Luther received frequent visits from them, and was brought pieces of ore as gifts. He entertained them in his house at Wittemberg, as indeed *berg-raths* and miners from other districts of the Hartz. He knew how to suit himself to their ways, to talk in miner's fashion and be of good cheer with them. He took pleasure in hearing them sing, learnt their miners' songs and the airs to which they sang them, and passed round the grace-cup with them. From merry jest he passed readily to serious reflection, to speak of "spiritual mining," and enforce his meaning by images and pictures gathered from their work. His translation of the Bible—of the Psalms especially—is not wanting in traces of his origin among the mines of the Hartz, and his lively recollection of them. The miner's son had a quick eye and an understanding heart.

Everywhere throughout his writings the profound influence exerted by the varied aspects of nature, as seen in old Thuringia, is traceable. Though preached in sandy Wittemberg, his sermons fairly overflow with the parables of her fields and her mountainsides, of her seed-times and harvests. The birds of the air were his especial favorites; a whole book might be made of the letters

¹Exposition of Matthew v-vii. (1532.)

and passages in which he shows his tender and humorous sympathy with these little, trustful fellow-creatures; he seems to have almost regarded them as his fellow-Christians. It was—in part—this feeling for nature, a rare gift in that pedantic age, that kept him always so fresh, child-like and unworldly, and fitted him to translate the Bible in that plain, simple, homely¹ way, that has made his version the chief German classic, and has given it such a hold upon the people that the scholarship of Germany hardly dares to correct its short comings, and can produce no version that will take its place. Noteworthy is it that he began the translation, and finished a large portion of it, among the natural beauties and solitudes of the Thuringian Wartburg.

“Thuringia,” he says, speaking after the terrible desolations that accompanied the uprising of the boors, “was once a very fruitful land, but now it lies under an utter malediction, mayhap because of the greediness of the boors. Our sandy little country has still the blessing in that it far surpasses it, and is fruitful.”

“Thuringia has a black, slimy soil, that makes it hard traveling to the way farer, if the ground be still wet after rains, which make roads bad.”²

“Germany is a right good land, has enough of everything that man should have to sustain this life richly. It has all sorts of fruits, corn, wine, grains, salt, mines, or whatever is wont to come out of the earth or grow upon it”³

This Thuringia was the very kernel of German nationality, the first German region that rallied from the confusions of the vast migration of nations that attended the overthrow of the Roman Empire. In speech, manners, character and history, this was, and is, the Keystone State of Germany. The traditions of the Niebelungers were hers; her territory once stretched to the Rhinebank; her old capital of Mayence was long in the popular feeling and tradition the representative city of Germany, as truly Paris of France, or Rome of Italy. The land was full of legendary wealth and folk-lore; the songs of the people kept alive the old saga of Dieterich von Bern (Theoderic of Verona) and the *Raben-schlacht* or Battle of the Raven (the conquest of Ravenna, A. D. 493), in a simpler and less romantic form than the Mediæval poet has

¹ We use the word only in its best sense, not as indicating lack of literary power and dignity.

² *Tischreden*, lxxvi. § 16.

³ *Ibid* lxxvi. § 2.

given them (in connection with the far older and more mythological *Siegfried-saga*) in the *Nibelungenlied*. With what was thus kept alive in the memory of the people and their stories of "once upon a time," Luther shows his familiarity in a host of passing notices, most of which are rather contemptuous indeed, but they enable us to imagine how the winter nights went on, to the hum of spinning-wheels, by Thuringian firesides, when he was young. In his *Exposition of the Pater Noster* (1518) he complains that these and other fables were made the matter of sermons. In what way this was done we may gather from his book *Against the New Prophets*, in which he charges them with fanciful and far-fetched allegorical expositions of the Bible, "as if I out of Dieterich von Bern would make Christ—out of the Giant that he fought with the Devil—out of the Dwarf, humility—out of his Captivity, the death of Christ." He alludes to Dieterich's "prowess" in one of his sermons, and in another calls him and Hildebrand and Roland "giants," and Roland "a great murderer and devourer of the people." He classes the sagas in which those heroes figure with "the stories that the good wives and maidens tell at the spinning-wheel," with "the sayings such as vagabond rogues use," and with the profane and in part useless and harmful Folk-books, such as the *Parson of Kalenberg*. Urging the reverence shown for God's Word by his friends as proof of their true character, he asks: "Who then are they that are Christians? Are they those that read *Marcolfus* [and *Solomon*,] or *Dieterich von Bern* or *Ulenspiegel*." In another place he says: "If the story of Dieterich von Bern be told, it is easy to listen to it as if for the first time."

The *Tannhauser-saga* was also not unknown to him; he speaks "Frau Venus, by others called Frau Hulde" and her witch-treasures. He knew also of the popular belief common to so many nations, that the greatest and most loved of rulers—in this case Frederick Barbarosa—was not dead but sleeping till this signal for his return to his beloved and longing people:

"I heard a prophecy in the land, when I was still a child, that Kaiser Frederick would yet rescue the Holy Sepulcher."¹

These stray notices, in whatever tone or mood they were uttered, show that the traditions of his people had sunk deeply into the lad's mind and had come to form part of his mental furniture.

¹Of the abuse of the Mass (1522).

SPEECH-DAY AT HAILEYBURY.

ON a bright pleasant June day some English friends invited me to go with them to Haileybury for "Speech-day." Nothing loath to leave London, and its whirl of excitement, I joined them very readily, and was prepared from the start to enjoy everything. The railroad ride was enlivened by two or three young English girls, by a staid and sober English mother, by a learned divine, and by an Eton boy and Cambridge fellow, each of whom gave me some preparatory information, a good deal influenced by the relation he bore to the public school we were about to visit. The old Eton boy thought there was no such school as Eton, but in his capacity as Fellow of Trinity he had been an Examiner at Haileybury, and he was not backward in praising the diligent study of the Haileyburians. The clergyman and the matron had each a boy at Haileybury, and they looked on the new school, for such is Haileybury as compared to Eton or the other great public schools, with special affection for its freedom from many of the qualities that in parental eyes are no advantage to the young Etonians. The girls liked everything their brothers liked, and were not a little pleased with the opportunity of showing their knowledge of college life to an American.

Arrived at Haileybury, I soon made acquaintance with its externals. The buildings belong to the period, now nearly half a century back, when the East India Company established Haileybury as a training school for its future employees, but with the change in the East India Company, by which the government of India became part of the Imperial system, Haileybury was no longer needed, and it was sold to a private corporation which established on the old site a public school on the basis of the older and greater schools, but with the distinctive character of a school for sons of persons of limited means and belonging to the Church of England. The buildings were old, and yet not old enough to be made beautiful by time, but they were well arranged and well suited for the purpose. A large quadrangle of fairly proportioned, but rather barrack-like looking buildings, contained the different school-rooms, dormitories, master's house, chapel and dining-hall, and beyond these were the play-grounds; here, as in all English

schools, a very important part of the school life and training. The dormitories were sets of rooms, of a fairly modern arrangement, neat and comfortable, furnished by the boys according to their own taste, and showing signs of the holiday haste and preparation for the great event of the year—Speech-day. In spite of the hurry and bustle that marked both teachers and scholars, the latter found time to begin a cricket match, and to finish a game of ball, while the masters were welcoming the parents and friends of their pupils, discussing publicly the affairs of the school, and privately those of the scholars, and I used the time to get some insight into the arrangement of the corps of instructors, and the school circular, which gave the names of twenty-two instructors, under a head master, with the following details :

This school has been established for the education of the sons of the clergy and laity. The religious training is in accordance with the doctrines and formularies of the Church of England.

The education is similar to that of our best public schools, in classics, mathematics, and modern languages.

No pupil will be admitted to the school, except with the special sanction of the master, under twelve or above fourteen years of age.

There is an entrance examination in which boys must reach a certain standard according to age. The principal subjects of this examination are Latin and Greek grammar and construing. Arithmetic and French are also required.

There is a modern side, limited in numbers, to which boys are admitted who are designed for some branch of the public services (civil or military), or for civil engineering. If any vacancies remain after such boys have been provided for, the claims of others are considered. Boys may pass from the classical into the modern side, or enter it direct. In either case there is an entrance examination in Latin, French, mathematics, and English dictation.

The payment of £100 constitutes the person paying a life donor, who shall have the continuous right of having one pupil in the school on his nomination; and shall be eligible as a life governor.

Donors paying 35 guineas have one nomination *only*, the right to be exercised in turn, as vacancies occur.

In case a life donor die before he or she have nominated a pupil, the council may, at the option of his or her representatives, either return the donation, or admit a pupil nominated by them at such time as, had the life donor lived, the right of nomination might have been exercised.

Pupils *not* nominated, are required to pay—

Sons of laymen, seventy guineas per annum.

Sons of clergymen, sixty guineas per annum.

Pupils, if nominated by life donors or donors, are required to pay—

Sons of laymen, sixty guineas per annum.

Sons of clergymen, fifty guineas per annum.

Every pupil will also be required to pay per term, for medical attendance, 7s.; for house master, 14s.; and for sanatorium expenses, 7s.

An entrance fee of two guineas is required from each pupil on his admission, for the use of plate and linen.

EXTRAS:—

Instrumental music—entrance fee, 10s. 6d., and £1 11s. 6d. per term.

Drawing—£1 1s. per term.

Private tuition in classics or mathematics, £3 3s. per term.

Charges will be made for books, stationery and breakages.

Every boy on the modern side is charged £2 2s. per term as “supplementary tuition fee,” which covers all expense for all kinds of extra instruction required in special subjects.

The average of the payments for a full year, tradesmen's bills and all extras included, is as follows: Eight lowest bills, £66 0s. 6d.: eight highest, £112 15s. 1d. General average, £89 7s. 9d.

Two scholarships of £30 per annum, and one of £20 per annum, will be open to competition annually to all boys, whether at the school or not, under the age of fourteen.

Two exhibitions, value £50 per annum, will be open to competition annually to all boys at the school under the age of nineteen, and will be tenable for a period not exceeding four years at Oxford or Cambridge.

The year is divided into three terms, with holidays at Christmas, Easter, and the autumn.

Pupils cannot remain in the lower school after sixteen, or in the

college after eighteen years of age, except they be in the sixth form, without special leave from the master.

Previously to the removal of a pupil a term's notice, or a term's payment, will be required.

The terminal charge for board and tuition must be paid in advance, a fortnight before the commencement of each term.

Before long we were ushered into the chapel, and the regular services of the day soon began. A large audience of attractive-looking people followed closely all the exercises, and indeed it required no little interest in them to sit for two or three hours of a bright June day, listening to speeches, recitations and essays, relieved only by the capital singing of the boys in four-part songs and glees. Very good music it was, too, by Mendelssohn, Barnby and other good masters, and set to very good words, for the songs were Shakespeare's, Burns', Longfellow's, and other such goodly song writers. The distribution of prizes, consisting of books and money, was cleverly broken up into different places and parts of the programme, so as to give a knot of boys their rewards immediately after their own verses and essays, and thus the interest in their work was heightened by seeing them get the reward of it in kind and of a more substantial sort than the applause which followed their well-turned Latin verses or Greek prose. The programme consisted of three sets of Latin verses Alcaics, translated from Cowper, Hexameters and Elegiacs; of Latin prose, translated from Motley and Clarendon; of Greek prose and verse. Then scenes from Racine's *Les Plaideurs*, from Artistophanes' *Acharnians* and from Shakespeare's *Henry IV.*, besides prize essays in divinity, history, natural sciences, and in French and German, twenty in all, and there were about fifty men named for different parts of the programme, with about twenty-five different subjects, some of the recitations from plays having half a dozen different parts, but the pieces were short and well spoken. The quality of the work was very good. How far the boys deserved the merit of its being so well done was not easily ascertained, for the printed paper giving the English verses with their Greek and Latin translations stated that "these exercises were printed with some correction." The elocution was good, too, with the characteristic marks of English training; the diction and enunciation were simple and almost severe; there was an absence of gesticulation, and the few gestures

were unstudied, while the occasional lapse into such peculiarities as the English pronunciation of Latin, where the German was generally used, attracted unfavorable attention, and so did the unfamiliar sound of knowledge, with the accent on the o in the first syllable, and some other less striking instances, but throughout there was marked evidence of the fact that English peculiarities are breaking down before the steady progress of all English-speaking people to one standard of good English common to all educated men and women and the surrender of those eccentricities of speech which seem almost inborn and invincible. The public schools, however, are the great and influential training schools, and as they enforce a better and higher standard of colorless purity of speech, the result will be seen at the universities, in the pulpit, at the bar and in that last and highest of all the forums of speech-making—parliament itself—where, as yet, the new school is only being slowly admitted. Part of the day's work was the distribution of prizes by the head master, and his brief address to each boy was marked by some strongly characteristic words, serving to show that no boy was to be praised for only gaining a prize, unless in doing so he had distinguished himself by real merit, and unless that merit was part of his whole school-work and life. The applause of the school, too, was given in very different proportions, and was plainly meant to show that the estimate of the school-boy companions of the prizeman was often strongly at variance with that of the judges who awarded the prizes, and as these judges were almost always men quite outside the school and its influence, there was a sort of public opinion that thus criticized their work, but in no way undid it or affected the validity of their judgment. A very large and lucrative field is opened to fellows and graduates of the universities who are either teaching in their own colleges or elsewhere, or studying in London, by this business of entrusting the examination for prizes in the public schools to men whose fitness is attested by their own success in similar contests on the greater stage of university honors, and no small part of the asting value of a public school prize is due to the fact that it is gained, not by the suffrages of the masters and teachers of the school itself, but by the strangers who have no interest and are subject to no influence that can affect the result of the work done by the men who are candidates for the prizes. The school-work

is kept quite by itself, and even there conduct, good or bad, is regulated by entirely other means, and a man's standing is in no wise made to depend upon his more or less diligent attention to mere rules of discipline or habits of behavior. The fact that whipping, in one form or other, is still maintained in the public schools, is proof enough that English school-boys are not at all exempt from ordinary failings of boys, but it certainly does seem a step in advance when scholarship and conduct have their own rewards and punishments.

The regular work of speech-day over, there was again an adjournment to the playing-grounds, and while the boys went to work quite methodically at their racket, cricket and foot-ball, the guests were gathered at a great table, where, after a simple, wholesome lunch, speeches were made, and the prosperity of the school and the good wishes for its success by its old friends and by its newest visitor were toasted with a good deal of enthusiasm, for teaching in England is now one of the learned professions, all the more honored, perhaps, because its rewards are of the slenderest and its honors of the fewest, but the head master of a public school is a man among men, and Haileybury fortunately has a master who feels the importance of the post he fills and holds his own bravely. Without pretending to rival the aristocratic splendor of Eton, the lesser glories of Harrow or the more modern fame of Rugby, Haileybury ranks with the great schools of a later day, such as Marlborough, Wellington, Cheltenham and other such useful institutions. With the enormous advance of education in the great ruling body of Englishmen now a days—the all-powerful middle class—the old schools were unable to meet the demand for good instruction, not so dear as it was to all but the comparatively small number on their foundations, and not so much bound up with the traditions that have grown up with their growth, and are often as strong as the real business of the school itself. Thus Eton and Harrow, without their excess of athletic sports, would almost cease to be great, and although they both turn out good scholars and men who do good work at the universities and in later life, yet there is a strong feeling that a boy who cannot sacrifice a good deal of time of his own and money of his father's to the traditions of the school, to cricket and boating and all the lesser sports, had better go elsewhere. And so without at

all complaining or caring ever to reform it, Englishmen of different church faith or professions or views have quietly established new schools or reorganized old ones on plans that, both as to cost of living and instruction, suit their purposes and their wishes, and these schools are growing, but in no wise at the expense or to the prejudice of the old schools.

There is no notion in England that instruction is the better for being absolutely free, or that the less it costs the better it is. In England as in Germany, public schools are not synonymous as they are here with free schools, and on the continent and in England every man is called upon to pay, not in all cases a great deal or even the same sum, but always something toward the expense of the instruction of his children. In Germany the government gives largely and liberally to the expenses of public instruction, but the parent pays too. In England the cost is more often defrayed by old-established foundations and by prizes and scholarships as rewards for distinctions, but still men are made to feel that what is worth having is worth paying for, and they do pay for it too. Nearly all the new means of popular instruction, workingmen's colleges, technical schools, and other similar aids in the great advance made by the teaching class toward the untaught who urge the demand for education, have found imitation here, but one such, spoken of to me by an assistant master at a great English public school, is, I believe, still unknown here. This is instruction by correspondence; and it is best explained by the subjoined circular, in which its plan is set forth. In England it is feasible, because at the public schools and at the universities there are gathered together great numbers of men whose business is teaching. Here it is hardly practicable, because, up to this time, we have had no opportunity for intellectual centralization, and our large number of colleges and universities are all too weakly supplied with teaching power to be able to give any sufficient aid to work outside of the regular course of instruction. Still the subject is of sufficient interest to be referred to here, and an examination of the plan as set forth in the circular will explain its purpose and working for all immediate needs.

The system of instruction by correspondence, which has now been in operation for a year, has been found by experience sufficiently successful to render its continuance desira

More than one hundred women availed themselves of the assistance thus offered. Of these the teachers report that to those possessed of sufficient intelligence to define and grapple with the difficulties of the subject (even when they are unable to solve them), and sufficient application to carry out honestly and perseveringly the directions of their teachers, this system seems to afford valuable assistance. Where the success is more doubtful, the failure is probably oftenest due to the want of previous discipline in intellectual work. It is impossible for any one to derive the full benefit from teaching by correspondence, who is not already accustomed to some extent to serious study. For the future, the teachers will generally be prepared to advise their correspondents, after the first or second paper, whether they are likely to benefit by the course or not.

It may be well to impress upon all who may desire to avail themselves of the instruction thus offered :

1. That it does not claim to be more than an assistance in self-education.
2. That it should not be adopted as a method of learning the *rudiments* of a new language or science, unless the learner be prepared to make considerable efforts.
3. That it cannot be regarded as an adequate substitute for efficient oral teaching when that can be obtained.

The instruction is given by means of

- (1) General directions as to the reading of books :
- (2) Papers of questions set from time to time, and the answers looked over and returned with comments :
- (3) Solutions of difficulties met with by the student in the course of reading.

(*Questions should be put by the students in as clear and concise a manner as possible.*)

The following is a list of the subjects and teachers for 1872, 1873 :

*1. *English Literature* :

Rev. W. W. Skeat, Cambridge.

C. W. Moule, Esq., Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.

J. W. Hales, Esq., London.

Rev. D. C. Tovey, Trinity College, Cambridge.

T. N. Toller, Esq., Christ's College, Cambridge.

[Candidates for instruction in English literature are requested

to inform the Secretary whether they are preparing for the Cambridge Women's Examination, or wish to study a particular author or period, *e. g.* Early English, the Elizabethan age, the age of Queen Anne, etc.]

*2. *English History*: Oscar Browning, Esq., Eton College, Windsor.

5. *Greek*: J. Peile, Esq., Christ's College, Cambridge.

4. *Latin*: Rev. A. Holmes, Clare College, Cambridge.

5. *Geometry, Algebra and higher Mathematics*: J. Stuart, Esq., Trinity College, Cambridge.

6. *Arithmetic*: W. H. H. Hudson, Esq., St. John's College, Cambridge.

*7. *Logic*: Rev. J. Venn, Petersfield House, Cambridge.

*8. *Political Economy*: H. Sidgwick, Esq., Trinity College, Cambridge.

H. S. Foxwell, Esq., St. John's College, Cambridge.

9. *Geology*: Rev. T. G. Bonney, St. John's College, Cambridge.

10. *Botany*: F. E. Kitchener, Esq., Rugby.

The work having been found to be more laborious than was anticipated, it is proposed to raise the fee for each year's course to £4. 4s., except in the case of those engaged in, or preparing for, the profession of education, who will pay two guineas. A fund is in course of formation, from which further assistance in the payment of the fees can be obtained if necessary by application to the secretary. The right is reserved to each teacher of discontinuing the correspondence with any pupil, the fee being returned. The duration of the course will be somewhat lengthened, and will extend as far as possible over the three Cambridge terms; *i. e.*, from the 14th of October to the end of May, with short intervals at the discretion of the teacher.

The correspondence will be carried on at fortnightly or monthly intervals, according to the nature of the subject.

RULES OF CAMBRIDGE LENDING LIBRARY.

1. Subscribers on the annual payment of £1 are entitled to the loan of any of the books recommended by the syndicate for the

*The correspondence in these subjects will be carried on at monthly intervals.

use of candidates who are preparing for the Cambridge Examination for women over 18, and also of any books recommended by the teachers, which bear upon the subjects they are reading.

2. The books will be sent to subscribers by book post *pre-paid*. The carriage of the books when returned must be paid by the subscriber.

3. Three volumes (not necessarily of the same work), may be had at the same time, and kept for any period not exceeding three months.

4. All subscriptions will commence on the 14th of October in each year, and no books will be exchanged or given out after the 14th of June following, but books previously issued may be retained till the 14th of October.

This additional burthen voluntarily assumed by the public school teachers is a proof of the capacity for work of Englishmen in all professions, one of the standing wonders of every American who sees his English friends at their work. The explanation is not an easy one, and yet a visit to a great English public school goes a great way to help one on in his inquiries. The training of the boys is so well made up both of intellectual and physical parts, that the one part is not educated at the expense of the other, or where this is done, the brain is made to give way to the bone and muscles, so that the English boy is rarely stunted by too much brain-work and too little field sport. The excess of athletics which has been largely deplored of late, is in no wise a proof that boys cannot be good scholars as well as good cricketers, or good boating men, but it is an evidence of the fact that just as soon as men begin to overtax their strength in the hot rivalry of their open air exercises, watchful men warn them to stop it.

Then comes the great business of subdivision of labor, carried to its absolute limits in public school life, where, subject to the control of the head master, whose teaching work is very small, although very important, each master or teacher has the constant care of a small number of boys, in their whole life and business, besides taking regular classes for instruction in set branches. Thus the boy is never without a watchful eye, and his "dame," as the tutor, in whose house and under whose care he lives, is still lovingly called, gets more work out of his boys in their leisure hours

than do his regular masters in school hours, yet each takes care that the full task allotted to him is fully accomplished. With this constant training of one mind and master on the one hand, and with the varying influences of the different masters through whose schools or forms the boy advances, until he comes under the moulding hand of the head master, the boy is never allowed to rest satisfied with doing only as well as do the other boys in his class, he has the wholesome rivalry of the boys who live with him in his tutor's or dame's house. There is always a double process of teaching and being taught, for in his ambition to make his house, that is the lads under his tutor's roof and care, do their best, he takes some part in their work, both at the books and in the field, and "coaches" them and learns in teaching and helping them to learn to do their work. This close intimacy is in the main one of the real reasons of the intense fondness and sturdy affection with which Englishmen look back on their public school days.

The lad who comes at very tender years to his public school begins at once to live two lives; as part of the great body of pupils, he slowly finds his place, and in slow progress of years works his way up in his classes. As one of the "house" in which he makes his home, he becomes the member of a family of never more than twenty or thirty boys, who live in the closest intimacy, but always under the most constant watchfulness of their tutor, whose business it is to look after their every movement and habit, as well as their studies. The "class" or form of the school may often change, as it is almost sure to do, from term to term, but the "house" varies only by occasional losses and gains, and as lads of the same family succeed each other in steady course of descents, there are even instances of rooms in a public school and in one of the colleges at a university having been occupied by one family for a hundred years. The tone of feeling and thought is that of a family in which one generation hands down to the next all its traditions, its faiths and its acts, and these in turn are as strong in their influence, if they are good and wholesome, as the actual prescribed laws of the school or the positive rules of the house. Each house has its own course of instruction, both in the regular school work and in as many different directions as the zeal and industry and predilection of the master in charge can suggest, and although the actual number of teach-

ing hours in an English public school is very small, the rest of the time is largely used for the work that is done in the house under the tutor's own eye and hand. Now, just as all this house work is training for school, so each house has its own cricket and boat and other field sports, and in them the lads are trained in a sort of subsidiary way for the greater clubs that make the schools famous and serve to maintain the wholesome rivalry with other public schools. The contests between the 'Varsity boat clubs, racing crews, and between the Eton and Harrow cricket "elevens," are almost world famous; but there are similar "matches" constantly on foot between the other public schools, which stand on something of the same social and scholarly level, and all these are but outward illustrations of the same kind of contests (in scholarship) which are constantly going on for the prizes at the universities between the lads who come from the public schools. Haileybury has its list of honorem and prizemen, each year's catalogue gives them in detail, and it thus does its share in supplying the abundant material which is always ready to fill the great and growing opportunities furnished by the universities for increased numbers of students. The universities and the public schools are in fact part of the system of higher education, and in this respect it would be well if in this country we could establish a somewhat similar connection between our schools, both those in private hands and those of our public school system, and the local university nearest to them. Cannot some such plan be devised to give a greater field of usefulness to our own university?

SYRACUSE REVISITED.

I WENT to Syracuse when I was a Sophomore. It was a callow brood of thirty, if I remember right, that set sail from Athens, led by a keen and rare Grecian of the older type of scholarship. Upon benches to which those of the Athenian triremes were as down, we followed the great fleet out from the harbor of the Piraeus on its track to the shores of Sicily, saw the disembarking, the marches, the ups and downs of the weary siege, until the beleaguering army was itself blockaded, broken up and cap-

tured; nor did our journey end until the suffering and groans had ceased from the quarry-prisons and the plaintive songs of the captives had died away from the Syracusan streets.

I will not say how many years had gone by, but the memory of that former journey was still fresh, when I found myself one hot February afternoon in a lazy Sicilian train that sauntered down the eastern coast of the island. Skirting the base of *Ætna*, we had passed Catania, and the black boulders that Polyphemus hurled after Ulysses, lying amidst the surf where they fell, and were entering upon a country of sterile hills and valleys, when my companion, a polyglot Russian in spectacles and a Baedeker, suddenly looked out of the window with the remark, "I think *that* shall be Sirakooza," and, sure enough, there before us lay the familiar sickle-shaped island in bright relief against the blue back ground of the Mediterranean.

There is a heaven of the Italian imagination, dearer than all the visions of the Florentine, dearer than the gorgeous pictures of the Church, dearer even than "far niente," waiting for some later mystic to throw the gates ajar, through whose crevices only faint hints escape—glimmerings—such as one sees in dim remembrance, dreaming of Italy.

In rattling carts, drawn by the smallest of celestial ponies, the righteous canter eternally up and down the pave of the nine circles, brandishing whips of inexhaustible torpedo power; dogs there are in shadowy troops to bark behind them and be run over in that happy land; they race, they intertwine, they crash together in the mazy course, and from beneath their phantom wheels cherubim plunge for dear life, screaming, into the jasper archways.

A faint realization of this bliss was the career of our delighted driver, when, having rescued our small luggage at the station and deposited it at the prehistoric *Locanda del Sole*, we started forth on a tour of exploration. I had had some vague plans of doing matters in a sequence of my own, but while sitting down to the inevitable omelet that responded to a call for something to eat "*subito*," a head peered in at the door with the remark, "Wanta-*gaide?*" and finding that no refusal was made, the body followed with the further ejaculation, "*Aispicklingish.*" The Slavonian and I looked at one another, hesitated, and were lost. It was

Felice Vallerio, condescendingly Anglicized by himself into Philip Vallery, to meet the requirements of barbarian tongues. Felice the Imperious, voluble *et tenax propositi*, who had stormed us unwary, and in whose hands we were as wax.

After all I don't know but that it is as well to inoculate one's self, in these cases of guide and flower-girl epidemics, by employing or investing. The unimpressible British obstinacy may perhaps succeed in damming the torrent of their pertinacious eloquence, but I, more nervous and less firm, have found immunity cheaply purchased by submission; and the lordly protection of your affable swindler is a study of itself.

Two strangers in Syracuse!! Windows and doorways are filled with Phrygian caps and shining female heads. The wrangling of the fish-market lulls. Even the ardor of the chase, that never-ending occupation of Italian mothers and their prototypes in the Zoological Gardens, flags for a moment as the blue-eyed forestieri whirl along through draw-bridges, demi-lunes, scarps and all the pedantic intricacy of seventeenth century fortification, till the city gates are passed. An open meadow with a solitary shattered column in the centre, and at last a dusty lane, hedged by huge thorny cacti on either hand.

The crazy wagon brings up with a jerk in front of a yellow-white façade, and Felice announces the church of San Giovanni. "What is here?" asks my Russian, who has been diligently studying his Baedeker and finds no special mention of the edifice. He does his duty manfully by the conventional Objects of Interest, but there are points where a line must be drawn even by the most long-suffering.

"The entrance to the Catacombs, perhaps they are not in the book." Felice looks at the guide-book system from the extreme conservative cicerone point of view, as an infringement upon the right divine of the Italian nation to swindle the coming, fleece the parting guest. He therefore rejoices over every omission to notice the smallest object which occurs in those almost omniscient red volumes "Verlag von K. Baedeker, Koblenz."

But the Catacombs were there, marked with the asterisk which indicates something specially worth attention, and poor dilapidated San Giovanni was there too, so we pulled aside the heavy leather that swung before the door and stepped in. A faint aroma

from long-extinguished censers hung upon the chilly air of the interior, and silence befitting the entrance to a city of the dead brooded over all. The silence and its appropriate suggestions had but little chance, however, for Felice had managed to get hold of a bell leading somewhere, and was adding to its janglings his vociferations for somebody to come. At last, through a narrow doorway, a bent figure entered, "an old, weak, palsy-stricken, church-yard thing," shielding with a thin hand the spark of a little antique lamp. With a reverence to the signori proportioned to the magnitude of the *tip* in expectancy, he led the way through the sacristy to a steep stairway, and a descent of half a minute brought us to a rock-hewn gallery leading off into darkness. From this main avenue countless passages branched off, their walls covered with trough-like excavations, some large, some small. "Reglar bunks," as Felice forcibly put it, "babies up there, grown folks down below."

Catacombs, however, are no longer wonders in these days of universal travel, and there is a slight monotony about their appearance hardly favorable to detailed description. These, so far as they are connected with Christian history, have no particular individuality. There is the usual number of XP; rude symbols of the early Church cover the walls, interspersed with half-obliterated Greek inscriptions, and a curious white cross, that appears only when the light strikes it at a particular angle, is a source of much wonder and admiration to the guides.

But the Christians were but modern tenants of this subterranean city, whose origin, like its extent, is shrouded in uncertainty; the passages have been explored for a long distance, but as yet only partially, and there are strange legends of men being lost in their windings and coming to the surface miles away upon the Catanian coast. Various have been the explanations given of their purpose and the period to which they belong; but whether they are quarries of the Hellenic epoch, mortuary chambers of the still more ancient Phœnician times, or the burrows of that semi-mythical race of Sicani, whom, like the Etruscans, the mists of early ages magnify into phantom forms of demi-gods and giants, research has failed to show. As Thomas Fuller said of the pyramids: "Doting with age, they have forgotten the names of their founders."

Nor does tradition help one much in a country overflowed by so many distinct waves of conquest, that have obliterated or swept into the interior the different races, leaving only the fossils of their successive periods. Here one sees columns, whose awkward proportions betray their Roman origin, imbedded in a wall pierced with Norman windows, and a delicate Grecian capital scarcely sustaining the weight of a Byzantine archway, the crystallized remains of distinct civilizations. But the people are as modern in their ways as the Neapolitans, and to them antiquity means the time when "I Saraceni," used to descend upon the coast, and these subterranean caves were places of refuge.

The windings of many passages at last terminated in a small cruciform gallery, whose low arches bore the emblems of the Evangelists, and in the apsidal end of one arm stood a rough stone altar.

This was evidently the climax. The bent seneschal had straightened himself up to observe the effect upon his audience, and was nodding triumphant approval, while Felice related how the great San Paolo had said mass and preached there on his way to Rome.

They must have been disappointed, for the Russian was politely skeptical, and the American's thoughts, I fear, had wandered away into dear sinful Pagan times. Ah, Felice mio, these strange caverns belong to an antiquity in whose presence your Christianity makes but small noise in centuries. Beautiful are the kneeling forms of saints, and the soft radiance of madonna eyes, beautiful is the light falling aslant on white clouds of incense, and the loud chanting from dim cathedral aisles; but it is not these that we have come out hither for to see, but a reed shaken by the wind, the flower of the antique world, broken and bruised by the trampling of priestly feet, the mourning spirit of a lost civilization, a wanderer and an outcast from palaces enriched with the spoils of her shrines. It is the sights and sounds, and odors of Sicily, not Palestine, that we are seeking, caro mio. Show us great Pan striding at noonday through the thickets, and Demeter wandering sadly from door to door. Arouse those fellows in the cellarage of *Ætna*, and let the winds laden with fragrance of lotus-blossoms bear to us the clanging of their hammers mingled with the shouting and the horn-blasts that herald the triumph of Galat —. "Yes,

signori, he *did* say mass there, and underneath is the tomb of the holy San Marciano, and there to the left is a column of torture. Worn smooth it is on the side where they bound the blessed martyrs, and O, miraculous, on the fifteenth of every July it sweat greatly!"

O antique seneschal, cease that pantomimic nodding, and leads us from this dank tomb into upper air and sunlight.

Dionysius the First, tyrant of Syracuse, was a remarkable man. Not content with furnishing the simile of the sword of Damocles, which, with that of the Augean stables, and one or two others, is one of the most valuable boons that antiquity has bequeathed to us, he set himself to work and built a prison of such conformation that the wretched inmates could have no secrets, their very whisperings being conveyed by certain acoustic contrivances to an apartment which he called his Ear. There the eaves-droppings were caught, and matrimony and the clumsier rack thus rendered superfluous as a means of eliminating confessions. One hardly likes to think of such a genius in his old age, driven from his throne and forced to maintain himself amid only the dim shadow of his former tyranny by keeping school at Corinth—though it was Diocletian too, wasn't it, who voluntarily spent his last years in the training of young cabbage-heads?

Well, when I heard Felice's direction to the driver: "All' Orrecchio di Dionysio," the old story flashed across my mind, and this time there was no hesitation about dismounting when the carriage stopped at a gateway upon a rocky hillside, the entrance to the Latomia, or quarry, del Paradiso. From a narrow passage we emerged into a circular crater cut in the rock, five hundred feet in diameter and over ninety deep, with perpendicular walls which the luxuriance of tropical foliage has covered with thick drapery. In the center rose a tower-like mass of rock, and the mouths of caves appeared at intervals in the ragged overhanging sides.

The peculiarities of one of these have earned it the name of the Orrecchio. The walls taper upward in an ogive curve, sixty feet high, winding back into the rock in the form of an S, and such are its acoustic properties that the least sound is prolonged in an infinity of echoes. The cocking of my Sharp's repeater became the ticking of innumerable clocks, and its report deafened us with a perfect, *salvo*. According to the guide-books, the most remark-

able convergance of sound occurs just at the top of the opening, which point is reached by means of a rope from above ; and dear old snobbish, garrulous Murray adds : "The English tourist of to-day may, perhaps, desire to accomplish this feat, when he is told that the Prince of Wales, on his recent visit to Syracuse, did not hesitate to be let down in a chair from the face of the cliff." As even this failed to arouse a spirit of emulation in my breast, I was content to follow the foot-steps of a small boy, who perched me in an aperture leading from the interior apex to the hillside above, at which point the whispers of the others at the farther end, two hundred feet away, and the faint tearing of a scrap of paper were distinctly audible.

It certainly answers to the description of Dionysius's prison in a remarkable manner, but unfortunately for tradition, the name Orecchio was first given to it by the painter Caravaggio, who was struck with the correspondence.

That the Latomie, of which there are several upon the northern ridge of the city, served as prisons, there is, however, the strongest evidence. One of them, called de' Cappucini, was probably the pit into which the captive army of Nicias was thrust down, and whose horrors, as pictured in the glowing pages of Thucydides, scenes nearer home have taught us to look upon as not exaggerated.

The damp of evening was beginning to fall upon the gloomy depths of the Latomia del Paradiso as we emerged, and ascending the hill to the westward, entered the Grecian theater. Hewn in the rock the seats rise in a series of semi-circles, the outermost nearly five hundred feet across, fronting the land-locked bay and the yellow towers of Syracuse. The stream from a mill above, fed by an antique aqueduct, flows in a little cascade down one side and disappears beneath the stage, whose columns and costly marbles have long since vanished. Mounting by its brink the steps to the summit, we threw ourselves down upon some seats, whose half-obliterated inscriptions marked them the property of some Grecian "stockholder," and lay while the sun went down magnificently behind the western mountains.

"Go to Naples," a friend of mine had said to me just before leaving home, "go to Naples, because, thank God, there are no pictures there." I did better. I crossed the straits of Messina.

Oh, to eyes weary with Kugler and the catalogues, the inexpressible relief of the soft evening light upon the meadows of the Anapus, those gray olive orchards dotted with the pink of almond trees in bloom and fringed with the darker foliage of the orange; while beyond, the yellow coast-line, brightly marked against the Mediterranean, lost itself in hazy distance; churches forgotten, and the nearest picture-gallery three hundred miles away.

Sicily will soon cease to be the terra incognita that she was of old. Already the tide of invalids has begun to flow toward her sunny shores, and the railways are intersecting her "spoilt earth;" but though the one may hackney her antiquities and the other drown in smoke the perfume of her orange groves, they cannot steal the color from her glowing sky and sea, nor smooth the ruggedness of the volcanic crags that lie at Ætna's feet.

I fear the fatal Lotus-breath hung over us that afternoon; the neglected guide-book fell from my Russian's hands, and I was scarcely combating the inclination to yield myself up to eternal drowsiness (in which case you see I should not have been bored with writing this article) when a plaintive murmur that mingled with the quiet tune of the mill-stream stole upon my dreamy mood, winning me back to revery and then to consciousness. It was Felice, whose heart, softened by the sweet influences, was pouring forth the story of his woes. "I was too in America, gentlemen, as fisherman in Florida. Lived just like gentleman myself, with nigger to wait on me and five-a-dollars a day." America was a wonderful place, and he was very comfortable there, but the war came, and poor Felice had to go into the Southern navy. This was not quite so agreeable, and one day when in a pilot-boat he was fired at by a United States frigate and so "damscared" that he took the first opportunity of deserting, and got back to Sicily again, where, though very poor and much worked, he meant to stay. Wise Felice! O my friend, let us share his toil, lying here always on these rock-hewn seats, content—

"With half-shut eyes ever to seem
Falling asleep in a half dream.
To dream and dream like yonder amber light
Which will not leave the myrrh-bush on the height."

"Excuse, but it is the hour of dinner at the Locanda and one should not be late."

The ancient kitchen del Sole did well by us that evening, and

we shared its excellent table d'hôte with an affable Hollander (der Fliegende we named him afterward, so constantly did he reappear upon our path) hobnobbing together in many languages, the sole strangers in the Grecian city.

The moon, that had sparkled upon Arethusa as we finished our evening pipes by her side, was still shining in the west when Felice called us for an early start, and the sleepy guards smiled pityingly at the insanity of the restless Inglesi, as we rattled by their gateway, bound for the distant Epipolæ.

Your penetrating mind, dear sir or madam, has by this time discerned one effect at least of the Syracusan air. Even in the dangerous Sophomore times, when this journey began, the quiet streets of Philadelphia were never outraged by the shouting of Grecian dithyrambs, nor were the ears of friends wont to be lacerated with an unusual number of classic allusions; but here the practiced nil-admirari-ism of years has melted in a single afternoon and bristling pedantry set in, whose very ecstasy has roused us to this sunrise start. Now of course *you* don't care a straw to know whether the so-called Euryale or the Belvedere was the key of the Epipolæ, or whereabouts the Helorine Way crossed from the Plemmyrium, and kindred trifles. Certainly not. But did it occur to you that the ancestors of this mutton-chop I am breakfasting on used to browse on the hillsides where those lazy shepherds of Theocritus lay in the shade and bag-piped all day long? Nay, that perhaps they were the ones that Eurylochus stole at the Fiume di Nisi, just above here on the coast? Who was Eurylochus? Sir, I perceive that you are a vile Whig, a Philistine and an enemy of all true culture; you will have the kindness to hand me that dish of honey from Hybla, you recollect the line about it in ———. My Russian was wiser and went willingly along over ground so redolent of history and myth, a hard morning's scramble upon huge ruined walls and half-filled fosses, ending with a voyage among the tufted spears of bamboo and papyrus tassels of the Anapus, to the fountain of Cyane. Now if it had not been for our little difference just now about the Epipolæ, I would have told you a pretty story apropos of this same fountain, the intense blue of whose clear depths seemed to warrant the assertion of old travelers that it was impossible to fathom them, but as it is, you must find it for yourself in Lemprière.

Like that inebriate bird on still St. Mary's Lake, our boat floated double on the placid pool, while beneath large lotus-eating fish swung lazily about, and skurried away when I let down our stone water-jug with the tow rope for a sounding line, six fathoms clear before it rested on the gravel; the audacity of which proceeding appeared to shock the guides, who still profess to believe in the bottomless story.

Half a mile across the marsh stands the Olympieum, or all that is left of it, two broken Dorick columns, which the somewhat unromantic British Admiralty has painted red, to serve as land marks for vessels entering the harbor. Once within the inclosure

the temple stood the statue of Olympic Zeus, whose golden robe, "too heavy in summer and too cold in winter," was carried off by that delightful Dionysius, most of whose freaks seem to have been perpetrated with a view to possible bon mots. A cheerful time his courtiers had on the watch for lumbering witticisms, with the prospect of a visit to the Orecchio before them in case of a failure to appreciate their excellence. One, however, decidedly floored the intolerable prig (isn't the story somewhere in Sanford and Merton, bundled up with the Grateful Turk and the Wonderful Cure of the Gout?) Philoxenus his name was who declined to admire his master's verses and was sent below to meditate upon his lack of taste. After a week or so of recusancy he was brought up for another chance. Again Dionysius poured forth a batch of leaden hexameters amid the applause of the court, whereupon our friend quietly turned to his guards with the remark: "Take me back to the quarries." He was set at liberty.

It took at least a half hour in the cool depths of a wine cellar, over tall, fragrant glasses of Muscat, to recover from the effect of our morning's work in the broiling sun, and willingly would we have stayed longer, listening to the old merchant prattling away in the soft bastard Italian of the South, but Felice was inexorable. There was still to see the Museum and the Venus, some temples and—not quite so confidently—"Il Cattedrale." In vain did my poor friend plead in choicest Tuscan that we did not want any more antiquities, but were "amici della bella natura"; in vain did I add my protest, better understood, in our own more

forcible vernacular. He consented to let us off from the Cathedral, but Il Museo, the pride of his city—nevaire!

The amount of taste and industry displayed in the formation of these local collections throughout Italy is remarkable. From the magnificent treasury of antiquities at Naples, to have seen which is a liberal education, down to little Taormina, whose old custodian was quite touching in his devotion to the infinitesimal Museo and "il mio professore" at Palermo, they are alike distinguished by evidences of intelligent care.

That of Syracuse is rich in specimens of the pottery, for which the city was once famous, but its chief treasure is the Landolina Venus, a statue, the remoteness of whose position alone excuses the neglect with which it has been treated by critics.

Just risen from the sea, the goddess bends slightly forward in the conventional attitude of the Venus de Medici, her left hand drawing upward a thin web of drapery, which the wind blows strongly back, and at her feet the dolphin emblem writhes. The marble is discolored and the head has been lost, but beauty still lingers in every line of her light form, clothing it with a soft voluptuous grace, which one looks for vainly in the bourgeoisie queen of the Capitol, or the somewhat indiscreet young person at Naples.

Beside the Venus there are several colossal heads of the best period of Grecian art, and a figure of Æsculapius, together forming a collection of which Syracuse is justly proud.

The urbane director of the Museum, Signor Politi, furnished us with specimens of papyrus paper of his own manufacture, inscribed appropriately in Greek, and rescued us from further inflictions of Felice's zeal by inviting us to his house, where we concluded the afternoon with a pleasant chat about the wonders of his town.

Again did the old Locanda open its capacious *Sala di mangiare* to us on our return, and this time we were joined at dinner by a party of Russians, who had wandered there, heaven knows how, for they seemed to have no special object in view, and were going to leave the next day. These northern barbarians have a most provoking habit of addressing you in your own language, and I was not at all surprised when one turned to me and in perfect English inquired whether I had been long in Syracuse; but they by no means ex-

pected a return of the compliment, and were a good deal disconcerted when my friend somewhat hurriedly put them a question in their own querulous guttural tongue. I never could eliminate from him what had been the subject of their previous conversation, but fear they were engaging in that custom, which once obtained even in civilized countries, of making personal remarks. Another moonlight walk upon the sea-wall, where troops of boys in white, harbingers of the approaching carnival, were disporting themselves with sticks and bladders; another look from the housetop upon the fair Sicilian meadows in the morning sun, and my Syracusan trip is over, for the only train starts early, and the stormers of the Epipolae need a good long sleep after their labors.

Felice the Faithful was on hand almost at dawn and followed us to the station. I at first feared from this extreme assiduity hat, unlike poor Banquo, he had some speculation in his eyes, but it proved to be only a last office of friendly attention, and the poor fellow really looked dejected when the shrill "Partenza!" was heard above the slamming of the carriage doors.

Old mariners, outward bound, as they lost sight of the shining shield of Minerva upon her stately temple there, threw into the sea an offering of ashes mingled with frankincense; but I, in the meagre romance of modern travel, had nothing to cast toward it except some cinders and a fragrant load of nicotine, nor had I time to knock from my pipe even that small tribute, ere we had rushed past a huge black promontory, and Syracuse was hidden from my sight.

J. C. FRALEY.

THE MONTH.

THE American who can read, with no sense of humiliation, the testimony taken by the Congressional Committee, in regard to the way in which Credit Mobilier stock was placed in Congress, is not to be envied. The curious apathy with which the matters is generally received, is largely due to the fact that the investigation takes place in the lull that follows the presidential struggle; partly also to the fact that both parties are ashamed of the equivocal position in which trusted leaders are found. But one of these days we will waken up to the fact that the men upon whom we were disposed to lean, in our distrust of minor political lights, are many of them found to be unworthy of the public confidence. The next political campaign will break down many a shell of reputation that the present session has seen emptied of all valuable content.

OF course the postal laws are up for revision, the most notable proposal being to reduce the postage on letters to English rates. It would not be wise to do so, unless the free use of the mails by Members of Congress, and editors of county newspapers and of periodicals in general, be once for all abolished. At present Congress keeps up the former by tying it tightly to the latter. When the editors find that the abolition of the franking privilege means that they must pay postage on their exchanges, and especially when the editors of the country papers discover that their valuable sheets will no longer be carried free of postage each through their own county, those staunch advocates of reform and economy draw in their horns very rapidly. The clamor for no more franking with which Congress opened last year was suddenly hushed when the cleverly drawn bill for that purpose was published and had passed the House; nothing of an outcry has been heard since.

THE Japanese in their new reformatory fervor are throwing out bold ideas. One of them proposes to get rid of their undeveloped, monosyllabic and agrammatical language, and adopt that of England and America, with such improvements as will suit it to Japan and the nineteenth century, such as phonetic spelling, and the regular conjugation of all its verbs. The proposal is not less curious than absurd, but it is an absurdity that is quite equaled by some notions on the subject that we often hear ventilated nearer home, such as the speculation that English is destined to become a world-wide language. Let us hope that a merciful Providence has better things in store for mankind, than uniformity of

language. The instinctive yearning after outward and formal unity which characterizes superficial minds, comes out in strange shapes.

BULWER's death deprives us of another great second-rate novelist, a painter of human surfaces rather than a revealer of human depths. His later works, from the *The Caxtons* on, show a very wonderful increase of literary power in comparative old age, such as is hardly paralleled in any other mental history.

NAPOLEON's death is the event of the month, and has been the means of bringing out very curiously one of John Bull's best traits of character—his willingness to give aid and comfort to a man that is down, just because he is down. Had Napoleon III. died in the Tuileries, he would probably not have received half as many tokens of respect and regard from the English people, much as England owed to the sovereign who realized two English ideas of

foreign policy—the humiliation of Russia and the unity of Italy, the two good deeds for which the man will be remembered by posterity. The event has also surprisingly evinced the strength of French Imperialism, a majority of the Parisian organs of public opinion boldly eulogizing the ex-Emperor, and men of all rank and classes—from Generals of the army to workingmen—making Chiselhurst a Mecca of pilgrimage. The best security of the Republic against this latent Imperialist strength is the character of the family of adventurers and adventuresses that gathered to the funeral. The only two heads that are worth more than the wigs worn on them, Eugene's and "Plon Plon's," at once became logger-heads as to future plans.

NEW BOOKS.

THE COMPLETE POETICAL WORKS of John Greenleaf Whittier. Household edition. Pp. 395. Same publishers and booksellers.

This book is a marvel of book making, in its compactness, its handiness, and its clearness. The pages are double-columned, yet the book is printed in type of large, clear face.

Of its contents we need say nothing to most readers. It contains the entire works—down to the very latest—of our chief lyric singer; poems that are at once poetry and history, that reflect the rise, the course and the triumph of a great struggle for human rights, and also stir the hearts of men to their depths by the vigor of their passion and the force of their clear, pure English. One poem, for instance, "Massachusetts to Virginia" (pp 62-3), is memorable as having won a brilliant Kentuckian student at Harvard into the ranks of the Abolitionists and having thus given the anti-slavery cause a life-long advocate.

HORNEHURST RECTORY. By Sister Mary Francis Clare. Two volumes in one. Pp. 705. New York: D. J. Sadlier & Company. For sale by Peter F. Cunningham, 216 South Third st., Philadelphia.

THE LIFE OF FATHER MATTHEW, the People's *Soggarth Aroon*. Pp. 218. Same author, publisher and bookseller.

The rapid growth of Catholic literature in England and America is a sign of the times that is calculated to strike dismay into those valiant Protestants who tremble for civil and religious freedom whenever they meet a priest or hear of a Jesuit. Much of this growth is due to the "Tractarian Movement" and the subsequent secessions from the English Church. From those venerable institutions that Catholics had founded and endowed, but from which Catholics had been excluded for almost two cen-

turies, there came forth many of the most cultivated scholars that they ever nurtured, who set themselves to defend the old faith against the new. Newman, Ward, Faber, Oxenham—these are but the more illustrious names of a great company of zealous and scholarly men who fought or are still fighting the battle of the old Church against that in which they were educated.

Our authoress in so far resembles these Oxonians that she too is a convert from Protestantism, and exhibits the ripe fruits of English culture. She is a writer of mental fertility and literary aptness, and the wide-spread popularity of her many books shows how well she has adapted them to a wide-spread demand.

Her novel is uneven in its merits, but still a very fair piece of literary work. It is of course controversial throughout, and hits off many of the anomalies of the English Church, and the practical inconsistencies of the Anglo-Catholics, very cleverly. It is in temper and spirit a whole world above the corresponding productions on the other side, from the pen of Charlotte Elizabeth, Grace Kennedy and James Grant. But we must say that it illustrates the rule of woman's unfairness in controversy, as every "tendency novel" from their pen must. It would be very easy to supply "companion pictures" from strictly Roman Catholic writers on clerical discipline, to many of the awkward situations into which she puts the English rectors of her story. Only that which is characteristic should be, even in a novel, presented as such.

We like her Father Matthew much better. It is a racy, fresh life-like picture of a valiant, devoted, public-spirited man, a man of broad sympathies and full of keen Irish wit. O'Connell's influence is fading away with every year, but the hold that Father Matthew has upon the Irish heart deepens as fast. He saw the great moral weakness of his race to be love of drink, and he struck at it like a man.

A BIOGRAPHICAL DICTIONARY, for the use of Schools and Families, being a comprehensive account of the principal personages of history, with date and place of birth, etc., to which are added complete Chronological Tables, showing the rulers of the principal countries of the world. By Rev. Reuben Parsons, D. D. Pp. 362. Same publishers and booksellers.

A manual of biography, with a definite and distinct purpose, both in its selections and its delineations of character. It is intended as a handy book for Catholic schools and families, and while it is not violent, it is decidedly partisan. Of course, it does not aim at very great completeness, but its selection of names and of facts is very fair. Of Carlyle, Dr. Parsons says: "In 1837 he produced his *French Revolution*, which is much

admired by his countrymen, though dashed off like the work of a madman and in a ridiculously bitter vein. During a course of lectures in 1840, in London, he took occasion to manifest his 'hero-worship' tendencies in a fulsome eulogy on Frederick 'the Great,' whose life he published in 1864."

SUNDAY HALF-HOURS WITH THE GREAT PREACHERS: With brief Biographical Notices and an Index. By M. Laird Simons. Pp. 846. Philadelphia. Porter & Coates.

We must pronounce this volume to be the best selection of sermons that we have ever seen. There are of course names omitted that we would have inserted. The great mediæval preachers, and those of the Roman Catholic Church since the Reformation, are not represented. The older Protestant divines of England and Scotland, except Latimer, Jeremy Taylor and Bunyan, are omitted. Some modern names are given that will help the book to sell, but do not deserve to stand beside the older preachers.

The denominational range is very wide: *Patristic*—Augustine, Chrysostom; *Lutheran*—Martin Luther, Tholuck, F. W. Krummacher; *Episcopalian*—Latimer, Jeremy Taylor, John Wesley, George Whitfield, Rowland Hill, J. H. Newman, Henry Melville, Thomas Arnold, Dean Stanley, Bishops McIlvaine and Potter, F. W. Robertson, Charles Kingsley, Goulburn, and Treadwell Walden; *Methodists*—Dr. McClintock, Bishops Simpson, Thomson and Ames, Morley Punshon, Drs. Fowler and Stockton; *Baptists*—Bunyan, Dr. Wayland, John Foster, Hall and Spurgeon. *Presbyterians*—Calvin, Knox, Saurin, De Presense, D'Aubigne, Chalmers, Ed. Irving, Drs. Mason, Hanna, Guthrie, and Hodge, Archibald Alexander and Albert Barnes; *Congregationalists*—Jonathan Edwards, Timothy Dwight, Robert Phillips, Newman Hall; *Liberals*—Dr. Channing and Dr. Chapin. Several of the preachers are represented by steel engravings, which are not badly done; although in one or two the features are smoothed down from their native strength and roughness—notably so with Martin Luther. D'Aubigne's is very fine; Bishop M'Ilvaine's flatters him grossly.

Such a range of selection from the great masterpieces gives a reader some idea of the immense outlay of mental power that has secured for the pulpit a place of respect and influence without parallel in the history of mankind. No other form of literature has ever reached so large a portion of our race, not even the newspaper. No other has shared so greatly in the vast revolutions that have shaken society. In an age when the pulpit is tempted to fall back on its *prestige* and do slovenly and careless work, such books will help to raise the standard of the popular demand for pulpit excellence. It were unfair to expect a Barrow

or a Tauler in every country pulpit, but the people have a right to expect the result of the most thoughtful and earnest work that the preacher is capable of.

THE DOCTOR'S DILEMMA ; A Novel. By Hesba Stretton. New York : D. Appleton & Co. For sale by Porter & Coates. Price 75 cents.

The Doctor's Dilemma is the title of a very pleasantly written tale by Hesba Stretton, an authoress already known to some of our readers, through her Christmas stories, published a few years ago, together with short tales, by Dickens and other writers of less note. It is refreshing to find a novel so pure and unaffected both in idea and expression in the midst of the stilted and often ungrammatical trash with which the market is deluged. The plot is sufficiently complicated and excited without overstepping the bounds of probability, and one's interest in the fate of the hero and heroine is sustained to the end, as much, perhaps, by the agreeable simplicity of the style, as by anything very remarkable in the characters of the young people. Tardiff is an admirable conception, but we must admit that he is a most exceptional fisherman. The doctor himself is the embodiment of a woman's idea of tenderness and honor, though his treatment of Julia seems at first a little selfish and inconsiderate, while Julia, in spite of her trials, is the least interesting and agreeable person in the whole book, and one can scarcely forgive her for her too great willingness to marry the doctor, notwithstanding his lack of love for her.

The book is well worth reading by any one who is capable of appreciating something better than the highly seasoned romances of Miss Broughton and writers of her stamp.

CALIFORNIA FOR HEALTH, PLEASURE AND RESIDENCE. By Chas. Nordhoff. 1872. New York : Harper & Brothers. For sale by J. B. Lippincott & Co.

This writer has collected together a number of useful notes on all sorts of subjects connected with the *subjective* and *objective* of a trip to California. The publishers have presented it with fifty-seven illustrations on very good, slightly tinted paper.

The object of the book may be gathered from the device and motto on the title-page, which provoke a smile at their present application from those who remember the edition of Whewell's Elements of Morality, from the same house, adorned in a similar manner. "*Lampadia echontes diadosothoin allaloiis*," or, as some of those who have visited the same scenes would translate it, "Having lost your own tail, advise others to cut theirs off."

On the whole, an agreeable, chatty book like this is always pleasant to read when one has no more urgent work, and its pic-

tures and statistics seem to furnish internal proof that it is not exaggerated or tinted.

Still, we must say, that as a picture of life as it is, these and a host of other "Across the Continent" sketches are inaccurate. One interweaves an accidental meeting, or a pleasant incident, so easily into a narrative that the careless reader has a vague idea that Brigham Young is in perpetual waiting to board the cars and pleasantly entertain anybody who happens to be "not a too unhappy traveler." The wood-cuts are exceedingly well done, and the letter-press is lively and entertaining, but both are pictures rather than photographs. As an example of the habit of writing for effect, we may mention, among scores of other instances, the very elysium of car-riding on page 23. Whoever met such servants? Whoever went comfortably in a car going at twenty-two miles an hour? On page 30 Mr. Nordhoff says: "From the hour you leave Omaha you will find everything new, curious and wonderful—the plains with their buffalo, antelope and prairie dogs, the mountains which, as you leave Cheyenne, rear thin snow-clad summits." Now, this is all very beautiful; but we would like to ask Mr. Nordhoff, if he should open his eyes suddenly almost anywhere on the five hundred miles between Cheyenne and Omaha, if he would see anything wonderful or curious or essentially different from the same sort of prairie land in Iowa or Indiana? Did he ever hear of any one who saw a buffalo on this railroad route? How many antelopes did he observe between the two oceans from the cars?

Let no one suppose these little floridisms invalidate the accuracy of the whole book. The latter part, which is chiefly concerned with scenes and descriptions of southern California, is very instructive, contains undoubtedly much true information agreeably put together, and agrees very well with what we have heard from the lips of Mr. Nordhoff's host—Gen. Beale, of Chester.

THE EARTH A GREAT MAGNET: *A Lecture delivered before the Yale Scientific Club, February 14th, 1872.* By Alfred Marshall Mayer, Ph. D., Professor of Physics in the Stevens Institute of Technology. Charles C. Chatfield & Co. Small 8vo., paper. Pp. 76.

This little pamphlet is No. 9 of the "University Series," a publication which comprises monographs on scientific subjects, treated in a popular way by hands that are all of them masters in their several departments of scientific research. Professor Mayer's brochure is by no means the least interesting member of the series thus far published. Starting with the text—"Magnus magnes ipse est globus terrestris," the professor has succeeded not only in clearly demonstrating the proposition it states, but also in collecting in the limited space of 76 small octavo pages, most, if not all,

of the principal facts which the researches of modern savants have discovered concerning terrestrial magnetism. This is done in so clear and lucid a manner, that even one totally unacquainted with the principles of the science cannot fail to comprehend his reasoning and find himself interested in the subject—a result which is probably, in no small degree, owing to the singular freedom of the little pamphlet from technical detail and the charming style in which it is written. Even the experiments with which the lecture abounded are so described that the unscientific reader has no difficulty in following and thoroughly understanding them. We will not attempt to give anything like a synopsis of this little pamphlet, but we hope that none of our readers will fail to peruse it attentively; they will find the labor of doing so amply repaid—if in nothing else, at least by the food for thought that they will find in it, and by the realization of those vast, silent and mysterious agencies of nature surrounding us on all sides, that it will bring home to them.

DOMESTICATED TROUT: *How to Breed and Grow Them.* By Livingstone Stone, A. M. Boston: James R. Osgood & Co., 1872. Pp.—347. Received from Porter & Coates.

Mr. Stone is the proprietor of "The Cold Spring Trout Ponds" at Charlestown, N. H., which was the first establishment of this sort undertaken in New England, and which, under his management, has met with signal success. In this work, which is of course largely drawn from the author's own experience, he gives very full directions both as to the best way of constructing trout-breeding works and the machinery necessary for the success of the operation, and also as to the proper manner of conducting the process itself. In an appendix he gives a valuable list of works relating to the subject of Fish Culture, and a very full index adds no little to the usefulness of his book. We should say that this work would be an invaluable *vade mecum* to any one engaged in trout, or, in fact, in any sort of fish breeding for commercial purposes.

As a sort of supplement to Mr. Stone's book, comes the "Report of the Commissioners for the Restoration of the Inland Fisheries for the year 1871, including his special report to the Senate on the subject of Fish Ladders." Harrisburg: B. Singerly, State Printer, 1872. Received from John Penington & Son, 127 South Seventh street.

This is well worthy of perusal, as it shows what has thus far been done by our State authorities to repeople our waters with what will one day be an important article of food for all classes. The report contains several valuable suggestions for future legislation on this subject.

THE RISE OF THE REPUBLIC OF THE UNITED STATES; by Richard Frothingham. Boston: Little, Brown & Company, 1872. 8vo., pp. 640.

The purpose of Mr. Frothingham's work is to sketch the political history of the rise of the Republic of the United States; to show how public opinion was formed and directed; how the fundamental principles were embodied into institutions and laws. The title of the work implies something more than this, for it is a history of the rise of the republic only as regards the formation of the union of the thirteen colonies; the governments of the several colonies, both in political usages and principles, are scarcely treated, although they had much influence in the establishment of the Republic. The title is not good, but the work is done with honesty and care that deserve high praise.

In the first chapter, the ideas of local self-government and of national union are brought forward in such a way that prominence is given to the doctrine that man was created in the Divine image, and destined for immortality; that in the sight of God all men are equal; that the State ought to exist for man, and that man is superior to the State, which ought to be fashioned for his use; and that justice, protection, and the common good ought to be the aim of government.

Mr. Frothingham does not attempt to show the *why* of the E. Pluribus Unum, but to display an order of facts that seem to show the *how* it came to pass—a class of events that mark the continuous blending of diversity and unity in the formation of the public opinion that evolved the one from the many; or how the United States came to be the United States, free from the benumbing influences of centralization on the one hand, and from the fatal dangers of disintegration on the other. He traces the origin and progress of the idea of local self-government, which developed into the State, and the idea of union, which developed into the Nation, in a very clear and forcible manner.

In the second chapter he shows how the two elements of local government and union were first combined in a common polity in the New England confederacy, formed in 1643.

In the third, fourth and fifth chapters he shows how aggression on the principle of local-self-government led to revolution and inter-colonial correspondence, and how common danger occasioned the calling of a Congress. These chapters contain a very comprehensive and complete account of the events which led the different colonies to appreciate that they had common interests, and that their safety was in union. This necessity was felt not only as a protection against the aggression of England, but also to aid their internal relations; the currency, weights and measures, and regulations of trade should be applicable to all the colonies; this they knew. Then comes the discussion of the stamp act, and

the English legislation down to the day of independence. The influence of these acts upon public sentiment, and the revolutionary action of both the people and Congress, are made very clear and interesting. The chapter on the birth of the nation shows how the people of these thirteen united colonies, by the Declaration of Independence, decreed their existence as an independent State. This part of the book has great merit, and deserves especial praise for the able exposition of events during the early days of Congress.

Mr. Frothingham does not seem able to appreciate honest differences of judgment; he cannot see the highest love of country in such men as John Dickinson, John Jay and Robert Morris, because they were not advocates of early independence; but this is a small fault. The work is well worth both reading and having, and we recommend it.

THE FORMS OF WATER IN CLOUDS AND RIVERS, ICE AND GLACIERS.

By John Tyndall, LL. D., F. R. S. 12 mo., pp. 192. Published by D. Appleton & Co., New York. For sale in Philadelphia by Porter & Coates. Price \$1.50.

Professor Tyndall, in the volume just published, has presented a noble illustration of the acuteness and subtlety of his intellectual powers, the scope and insight of his scientific vision, his command of the appropriate language of exposition, and the peculiar grace with which he always presents the results of his intricate scientific research.

His style is more popular in the present volume than in any of his previous works. The work is done in a very familiar way, and with very homely illustration, but not with the slightest sacrifice of dignity. It throws a great deal of light on many points of general interest in the philosophy of nature. In the beginning he declares that ice has its origin in the heat of the sun. He arrives at this conclusion by a clear and beautiful analytic process. In his study of rivers and glaciers he takes into account not their actual appearances only, but also their causes and effects. He traces a river from the point where it empties itself into the sea, backward to its source, ending either in a spring or in a mere thread of water, a mountain torrent, in a hill or mountain country; he then shows that these streamlets and springs are fed by rains, and by the melting of snow and glaciers, and that rain and snow and glaciers are in turn produced by clouds, formed by the condensation of vapor caused by the heat of the sun. Thus by tracing backward without any break in the chain of occurrences, the river from its end to its real beginning, we come at length to the sun. He goes thoroughly into the formation, the motion and the effects of glaciers, and shows that in their motion they are governed by the same laws which govern rivers.

This very attractive volume is the first installment of the "International Scientific Series." Among the subjects which will be treated in this series are the most significant problems of modern science. The character and scope of the works will be best shown by a reference to the names and subjects in the list; the discussion of "Bodily Motion and Consciousness" has been intrusted to Professor T. H. Huxley; "The Antiquity of Man" to Sir John Lubbock; "The Study of Sociology" to Mr. Herbert Spencer; Modern Linguistic Science" to Professor A. C. Ramsay; "Food and Diet," "Relations of Mind and Body," "The New Chemistry" and "Form and Habit in Flowering Plants," to other distinguished scientists.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

Memoirs of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Vol. IX. The Penn and Logan Correspondence, Vol. I. Philadelphia: Printed by J. B. Lippincott & Co., for the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, and sold by John Penington & Son: 1872.

Frank Fairleigh. By Frank E. Smedley, with illustrations by George Cruikshank. Philadelphia: T. B. Peterson & Bro. Price 75 cents.

Yale Lectures on Preaching; By Henry Ward Beecher. New York: J. B. Ford & Co., 1872.

Lectures to Young Men, on Various Important Subjects. By Henry Ward Beecher. New York: J. B. Ford & Co., 1873.

Madame de Chamblay, a Novel. By Alexander Dumas. Philadelphia: T. B. Peterson & Bro. Illustrated, Pp. 134. Price 50 cents.

The Spy: A Tale of Neutral Ground. By J. Fenimore Cooper. Illustrated with drawings by F. O. C. Darley. New York: D. Appleton & Co. For sale by Porter & Coates. Pp. 179. Price 75 cents.

A Memorial of Alice and Phoebe Carey, with some of their later poems. By Mary Clemmer Ames. Illustrated by two portraits on steel. New York: Hurd & Houghton, 1873. For sale by Porter & Coates. Pp. 351. Price \$2.

Manual of Land Surveying, with Tables. By David Murray, A. M., Ph. D. New York: J. W. Schermerhorn & Co., 1872. For sale by J. B. Lippincott & Co.

The Great Events of History, from the Creation of Man till the Present Time. By William Francis Collier, LL.D., Trinity College, Dublin. Edited by an experienced American teacher. New York: J. W. Schermerhorn & Co. For sale by J. B. Lippincott & Co.

The Greatest Plague of Life, or the Adventures of a Lady in Search of a Good Servant. By a Lady who has been almost "Worried to Death." Philadelphia: T. B. Peterson & Co. Price 50 cents.

THE
PENN MONTHLY.

MARCH, 1873.

THE CONQUEST OF SPAIN BY THE ARAB-MOORS.

I PROPOSE to contribute to the PENN MONTHLY a series of papers, in which shall be traced the movement of the Mohammedans into Spain, and the foundation of that power which, for nearly eight hundred years, they wielded in the peninsula. The subject, which has been treated by numerous authors, is so clouded with romance, that it is often difficult to discern the true history. Beautiful and stirring legends, although known to be fabulous, are eagerly accepted in place of truth, and the danger is great that events of such marvelous importance shall forever rank with the fabulous legends of early Rome, and the mythical legends of King Arthur.

The more recent publication of Arabian chronicles, in translations, has presented real, veritable material for the history at least on their side, and I have hoped that the judicious use of these will enable me to give a more correct, if not so romantic, account of this wonderful conquest. The best—I had almost said the only—authorities accessible to the general reader, are Condé's *Dominacion de los Arabes en España*, and Gayangos' *The Mohammedan Dynasties in Spain*, translated from the Arabic compilation of *Ahmed Ibn Mohammed Al Makkari*. The former work contains numerous errors, amid valuable details. The latter is the book. Gayangos, the friend of Prescott and Irving, has corrected the mistakes of Al Makkari, and in copious notes and

illustrations, occupying more space than the current history of the Arabian compiler, has completed and adjusted the record, throwing light upon what is obscure, and brushing away the Arabian fables, which, be it said, are few and unimportant when compared with those found in the narratives of the Spanish historians. In matters of general interest, where Spanish affairs are concerned and where prejudice is not paramount, I have drawn from the work of *Mariana*.

Although the rise and early progress of Islam are well known to most readers, I have found it necessary to present a sketch of both, as constituting at once the motive and antecedent of the conquest; to conduct the reader from Mecca to Tangier, before suddenly crossing from Tangier to Gibraltar—from African obscurity to European fame.

I.

ISLAM ON ITS MARCH.

The hejira, or flight of Mohammed from Mecca, on Friday, July 16, 622, from which the Moslemah arrange their calendar, was an event fraught with momentous consequences to European history. Its results were so rapidly produced that an Arabian writer justly calls Spain "the prize of the race, won by the horsemen who, at the utmost speed of their chargers, subdued the regions of the east and west."

The Arabians, descendants through Ishmael from the loins of Abraham, and proud of what may be called the bar-sinister in their escutcheon, were still in that state of childhood which was ready to receive a new creed from the hands of the illustrious man, who proposed and expounded it as a special revelation from heaven. Like a current of electricity, it galvanized the inert mass of dark puppets; and with the vital motion came coherence and an aim.

Before the advent of the prophet, Arabia was of little importance to history. Unknown to the West, it was to the more eastern nations, in name and nature, *Ereb*—a far West. It lay between two distinct civilizations, and shared the benefits of neither. It comprised a well-defined territory; it had a peninsular security; it enjoyed a variety of climates. If the deserts were barren, Yemen was fertile and lovely.

The Arabians had a very ancient and powerful language, little contaminated by surrounding dialects, and capable of a varied and noble literature, of which they already had a promising beginning.

They were divided, by the diverse nature of the country—desert and mountain and fertile zones—into numerous petty kabilahs or tribes, each governed by its own sheik. These tribes, incited by jealousy, were making constant raids upon each other. There were a few towns in which society verged toward civilization; but the borders of the deserts, and the oases upon the sands were alive with roving bands, who, tending scant flocks and herds, and making predatory war upon their brethren and neighbors, lived the life which had been predicted for the descendants of the bond-maiden; their hand was against every man and every man's hand against them.

They were, however, a people strong and active in body, quick and receptive in mind, frugal in life, remarkable for skill in arms, and ready for a better fortune if it should dawn upon them. They only needed union and a purpose. One religious nucleus they had, and that was the magic well-spring, which by an expressive onomatopœia, to represent the gurgling waters, they called *Zemzem*. This was the spring which had miraculously burst forth from the desert sands to slake the death-thirst of their progenitor, Ishmael, when Hagar and he were fainting in the fierce noontide heat. Around it a city had arisen, and that city was Mecca. In a sacred structure fondly fabled to have been built by Ishmael himself, was a square called the Kaaba, in which was a black stone of unknown antiquity and miraculous virtue. This was considered the pædium of the nation, and was placed in charge of priests selected from the kabilah of the *Koreish*, the most elevated of their tribes in national rank. Such a religion as they had, they claimed to have received from Abraham and Ishmael. The truth is it was a very vague and unsettled creed, drawn chiefly from nature, aided by an ardent fancy. They worshiped the stars—*Sabah*, the host of heaven—upon the rising and setting of which their prognostics of agriculture and pasturage depended. They adored angels and their images as interceders for them with a very distant God. *Allat*, *Aluzza* and *Manah* were the three whom they called the daughters of God. Among the different sects were cherished the

antediluvian idols: *Wadd* represented as a man, *Saiva* as a woman, *Yaghuth* as a lion, *Yauk* as a horse, and *Nasr* as an eagle. They prayed at stated times during the day, offered burnt sacrifices, and made pilgrimages to a place near Harran. It is manifest that certain features of the religion of Isaac had been adopted by the sons of Ishmael. They had a barbarous notion of woman's rights, or rather of the rights of little women. It was a misfortune to have daughters, so they let them live to the age of six, and then, saying to the mother, "Perfume and adorn her that I may carry her to her mother," they buried most of them alive.

I have spoken of the tincture of Judaism in their creed. Among them were Jews who had fled from the devastation of Judea by the Romans, and who with characteristic tenacity worshiped the God of their fathers in a strange land. Christianity was neither unknown nor entirely inoperative in Arabia. Tradition asserts that it had been preached in Arabia by St. Paul; and Arabians are mentioned in the motley crowd, which beheld with astonishment the outpouring of the Spirit on the first Christian Pentecost. We know certainly that it had become the established creed of the all-absorbing Roman Empire under Constantine in the beginning of the fourth century. Thus its claims were known, and its tenets had been discussed by the best Arabian intellects. So too the system of Zoroaster, as adopted by the Persian Magi had a slight but constant influence upon the religion of Arabia.

It was upon this condition of the people and in this period of their history—called the age of ignorance—that Mohammed rose like a splendid luminary. His philosophic mind saw their capabilities, their needs, and the glorious future which lay before their well directed enterprise.

He was born in Mecca, in the province of Hedja, about the year 571 of the kabilah of the Koreish, and was the descendant in ten unbroken generations of that Fehr, surnamed Koreish, from whom a new prophet, should one come, would certainly spring.¹ Like most men who have swayed the wills of multitudes, Mohammed was endowed with a remarkable personal magnetism. Men and women loved and trusted him. His features shine clearly through the mists of intervening centuries; his oval face, long

¹See table in Sales' Koran, Preliminary Discourse.

and arched eyebrows, large, restless, black eyes, soft skin, clear complexion, full, dark beard, elastic, springy step. He was ambitious, but in the main unselfish; extremely temperate, modest, gentle, and passionately fond of children. A devotee to both his convictions and his fancies, he saw strange visions coming and passing like fever dreams. In the stillness of the night he heard spirit-voices calling upon him to cry aloud in the name of the Lord, and he answered, "What shall I cry?" His beautiful smile, so attractive to all around him, may have been the prophetic light claimed by his adherents to have shone in his face. His remarkable personality thus prepared his immediate circle of friends and acquaintances to receive his religion. Mohammedanism claims entire freedom from idolatry. I have always thought the failing case to be the God-like supremacy of the prophet over his adherents. Those who lived with him licked his spittle from the ground, and treasured the hairs which fell from his head or beard; and since that time if Allah rules the Moslem heaven, the interests of earth are presented almost entirely "in the name of the prophet."

It is not my purpose to give the well known events of his career. This man, whom a hero-worshiper has chosen as the representative prophet,¹ but who was in truth no prophet at all, availed himself of his own powers and the state of the nation, and set to himself the task of preparing—that is of creating and composing—a new creed, not only for Arabia, but for the whole world. He accomplished it, and well. It was devised with rare judgment and skill. It contained the Jewish history and accepted the Hebrew prophets. It acknowledged the mission of Christ, and ranked Him as a prophet and apostle,² but not as God or as equal to God. It prudently retained many features of the Sabæan worship.

These diverse, but not conflicting elements, were united in a harmonious system of doctrines, morals and practices, all irradiated by that greatest of truths, the unity and personality of God.

And this creed was not the work of a philosopher in his study,

¹ He is by no means the truest of prophets; but I do esteem him a true one."—*Carlyle, Heroes and Hero Worship, Lect. II.*

² Jesus is to return to earth, embrace Mohammedism, and slay Antichrist.
—*Salé, Prelim. Dis.*

pen in hand, consulting books, and constructing his Mosaics with æsthetic satisfaction. He fasted in solitude, he prayed and meditated with tears and groans; and then, emerging from his hermitage an enthusiast and fanatic, but, at this period, no impostor, he proclaimed his great scheme of faith and worship. He proclaimed and preached it: for the Koran, in its present form, contains much that was afterward revealed, and is a compilation by his successors of what he left and taught. He uttered no uncertain note. Every sermon, like every chapter¹ of the Koran, began with the auspiciatory formula, "In the name of the most merciful God." He called his system *Islam*,² which means resignation or self devotion to God. Islam is set forth in articles of faith and practice, a glance at which will inform us of its modern and composite character, although to endue it with the reverence belonging to antiquity, its founder claimed that it had been the true religion from the fall of Adam to the death of Abel. The division is into two parts, *Imân*, faith, and *Din*, religion or practice. The single fundamental point of faith is found in the confession of belief: *La I 'laha illa Allah, Mohammed Resoul Allah*;—"there is no God but Allah, Mohammed is the Apostle of Allah." The great strength of the creed was thus set forth in the unity of God in opposition to the "gods many" of heathenism, and to all forms of idolatry. It opposed, too, the orthodox Christian doctrine of a Trinity, the holy mystery of which the materialistic Arabians were not ready to receive.

Faith was subdivided into six distinct branches: 1. Belief in God; 2. In His angels who perform His will among mortals;³ 3. Faith in the scriptures of the Koran; 4. In the prophets; 5. In the resurrection and the day of judgment; 6. In predestination, or God's absolute decree and predetermination of both good and evil.

Complementary to these tenets of Faith in doctrine were the following titles of practice: 1. Prayer, with precedent purification; 2. Alms; 3. Fasting; 4. The pilgrimage to Mecca.

¹ Except the 9th, for reasons given. See Sales' *Koran*.

² "Verily, the true religion in the sight of God is Islam."—*Al Koran*, ch. III.

³ Chief of these were *Gabriel*, the medium of God's revelations; *Michael*, the friend of the Jews; *Azrael*, the angel of death, and *Israfil*, who will sound the trumpet at the resurrection. *Eblis* was the devil, whose name indicates despair.

The Scriptures, which contained everything necessary to salvation, were comprised in the *Koran*. This name, from the Arabic word *Karaa*, to read, has the full force of the Greek *Biblia*, the books, and of the Latin *Scripturæ*, the writings.

In presenting the earlier portions of the *Koran*, Mohammed conceded that God had revealed His will in writing to the earlier prophets—Adam, Seth, Enoch and Abraham—but that these Scriptures had been lost. Then, by Divine inspiration, Moses had written the Pentateuch, and David many of the Psalms. The record of Jesus was found in the Gospels; and now Mohammed had been commissioned as the last of the Apostles, and the seal of the prophets, and had presented God's latest revelation in the *Koran*. To satisfy the taste of a people remarkable for their keen enjoyment of sensual pleasures, he conceived a heaven which intensified and eternally prolonged these pleasures; and to deter them from sin he provided an analogous hell, at once horrible and eternal. On a white stone of immense size, hidden from all eyes, and placed near the throne of the Almighty, all events past and future were inscribed, and man's destiny was as inflexible and irremediable as that sung by the Parcæ of an olden mythology to their revolving spindles—*stabili Fatorum numine*—all that should happen to the earth and its helpless inhabitants.

The Moslem prayed five times in every twenty-four hours, facing toward Mecca; the *Kebla*, or direction in which they turned, having been changed from Jerusalem to Mecca. The times of prayer were *azohbi*, before sunrise; *adohar*, afternoon; *almagreb*, before sunset; *alaxá*, just after sunset, and also before the first watch of the night. The purification just before prayer was made with water when it could be had, and when otherwise, as in the desert, with white sand. Fasting was frequent and systematic; there were two Lenten seasons in the year. Of these, the great fast, based upon religion and hygiene, was kept in the month *Ramadan*, with great rigor. The pilgrimage to Mecca was to be yearly, if possible in the month *Dulhagía*, the last in the Mohammedan year;¹ but there were many

¹ The months were computed from new moon to new moon, and were alternately of thirty and twenty-nine days. They are Maharrem, Safer, Rabié 1, Rabié 2, Jumada 1, Jumada 2, Regeb, Xaban, Ramadan, Xawal, Dylcada and Dulhagía.

exemptions for obvious reasons, such as age, childhood and woman's weakness. Circumcision, long practiced among Eastern nations, was adopted as a rite in the new religion. Polygamy was legalized and restrained; the number of wives which each believer might take was limited to four.

I have thought it necessary to enter into these few particulars because Islam was the great moral motor of Arabian power and civilization, and these commonly known facts must be kept in mind in the consideration of Arabian progress.

Such, in brief, was the creed presented by such a man, intellectually towering above his fellows, to a waiting and receptive people, a people worthy of it, or of a better one, grand as it was. It appealed to their lively intelligence; it modulated and established their ancient and beautiful language as only a great epic can do; it utilized their mobility, their endurance, their skill in arms, by banding them together for conquest; it subsidized the strong, fleet and beautiful breed of horses, making of horse and rider the finest light cavalry in the world.

Awakened from their quiet and ignorance by the new cry, "the voice of one crying in the wilderness," they sprang into marshaled ranks and were ready to do deeds of national daring.

They had needed a creed and a teacher to reclaim them from idolatry and give them religious coherence; a statesman who could unite them into a nation and show them that in union alone was national strength; a leader who could forecast those great plans of conquest, the only limit to which was the subjugation of the surrounding world. All these characters they found in their prophet.

At the age of twenty-five, Mohammed had married a widow named Kadijah, who was forty years old. His new creed, for a short time despised and resisted, from the first found favor in her eyes and in those of Ali, his nephew, who was also his son-in-law, having married his daughter Fatima. The party aroused against the prophet on the first promulgation of his doctrine, compelled him to flee from Mecca to Medina, and gave his creed that incipient motion which, like that of a mighty pendulum, should increase in scope and power, until it should describe wide arcs of oscillation over the East and over the West.

On the death of Kadijah, the prophet, with the fond fancy of

an old man, had married Ayesha, a girl of nine or ten years, the daughter of a man named *Abdallah* Athic, who, according to a strange Arabian custom, has come down to us in history as *Abu Becre*, "the father of the girl." Thus were presented rival claims to the succession—those of Abu Becre, the father-in-law, and those of Ali, the son-in-law—claims which have affected the orthodoxy and influenced the politics of the Mohammedans from that day to this.

In the eleventh year of the hejira, June 6, A. D. 632, and in the sixty-third year of his age, the prophet commended his creed, his people and his soul to Allah, and expired in the arms of Ayesha; but his mission was fully accomplished, his religion was a success, and his people were marshaled for conquest. He had named no successor, and no mode of electing one; but his companions assembled at once to supply his place. There was an enthusiastic party in favor of Ali; but woman's influence, combined with a desire to avert a quarrel between the people of Medina and those of Mecca, was potent enough to cause the election of Abu Becre as the first khalif, or *successor*.

Without an investigation of the rival claims, we may say that the choice was by no means injudicious; the venerable chief vindicated his fitness by issuing a manifesto, summoning the nation to arms, and inciting them to conquer Syria from the Infidel. The new war was to propagate the faith, and to place all nations under the control of believers. Dusky swarms in white turbans flocked to the standard. Inadequate arms and scanty clothing were more than counterbalanced by zeal and hope. The first victories would equip them. The camp grew in dimensions around Medina, and Kaled was appointed to lead the eager body at once to Damascus.

The instructions of the khalif were at once prudent and philanthropic. The generals were to be considerate of their troops, for they were all, the meanest of them, *Moslemah*, children of the true faith. The commander was to take counsel of his officers; it was victory, and not individual fame for which they should fight. To the troops he enjoined absolute obedience. To fight was honorable, to conquer was the reward direct from the hand of Allah, to die for the faith was the greatest glory, and after death came the eternal joys of Paradise.

The khalif directed moderation and even friendship to the vanquished, and protection to the conquered territory. No trees should be cut down—they were of inestimable value in those warm lands; no fields should be ravaged; no dwellings burned; no supplies, except what were needed as stores, should be taken. Quarter should be given to those who asked it. In no case should the old, women, children, monks and hermits be molested. Such were the first instructions of the first khalif to his armies; such the spirit with which Islam began its march. It cannot be doubted that they frequently in after times deviated from these benevolent rules; but in so doing they imitated their fierce enemies, or occasionally acted under the wild influence of the *certaminis gaudia*, that Berserker fury, which transforms men into lions and tigers.

Mohammedanism, like Christianity, was soon to be divided into numerous sects. Chief among these was that of the *Sonnites*, or orthodox; so named for their adherence to the *Sonna*, or collection of the traditional sayings and doings of the prophet. It may be compared to the *Mishnu* and *Gemara* of the Jewish Talmud, and was regarded by those who accepted it as a supplement to the *Koran*. The *Sonnites* considered all other sects as heretical, or schismatic. The dissidents were very numerous; the largest and most respectable body being that of the *Shiites*, whose views were based upon historical polity. They rejected the claims and the khalifates of *Abu Becre*, *Oman* and *Othman*, the first three khalifs, and upheld *Ali* as the rightful claimant, from the day of *Mohammed's* death. They were ever afterward the supporters of the *Fatimite* khalifs, so called from *Fatima*, the daughter of *Mohammed* and wife of *Ali*.

Out of the *Koran* the *Mohammedan* publicists drew the great body of their civil law, which is to be principally found in four great digests, each tinctured by the religious or sectarian views of its compiler. The four doctors, or *Imáms*, who produced them were *Abu Hanifa*, *Malik Ibn Ans*, *Al Shafei* and *Ibn Hanat*, all of whom were *Sonnites*. The principal authority, received in *Spain* soon after the accession of the *Ommyades* to the throne of *Corдова*, was that of *Malik Ibn Ans*.

The remaining history must be brief: Under *Waled*, the general of *Abu Becre*, the faithful made themselves masters of

Damascus, easily wresting it from the Eastern Roman Empire of Heraclius on the 23d of August, 634. Persia, long cursed by intestine wars, was the next field of victory. From Persia they turned their arms eastward and westward. Near the pyramids of Egypt they laid the foundations of a city, which they called *E/ Kahira*, or victory, a name which has been corrupted into Cairo. They seized Alexandria, a capital of ancient fame and existing splendor. They found there, it is said, forty thousand palaces, four hundred theaters, and a cluster of forty thousand tributary Jews. Six millions of Copts bowed beneath their yoke, and the conquest of Egypt was complete. Yet in ignorance of the value of books, these men of the sword and of faith gave over the magnificent library of Alexandria to the flames. The story has been doubted, but there is strong evidence of its truth. When John the Grammarian begged for its preservation, Amru, the Arabian general in Egypt, wrote to the khalif for orders: "Either its books agree with the Koran or they do not; if they do, they are not needed; if they do not, they should be destroyed;" and they went to feed the ovens and heat the baths of the city. Thus the grandest, manifold annals of the ancient world were lost—an irreparable loss—to history.

Omar had succeeded Abu Becre. The heated factions intrigued, and he was assassinated in 643. Again the expectant Ali was defeated, and Othman became khalif.

For ten years the westward movement was slow into Africa proper. This was in part due to the strength and system of the factions—the adherents of Ali and the party in power. The immediate issue was the assassination of Othman as he sat with the open Koran in his lap. And now the party of Ali had become so strong that, by something like a popular election at Medina, he was placed upon the throne of Mohammed. But this success of Ali was by no means the end of trouble. By it the Fatimite party was temporarily successful, but their success virtually declared the former khalifs usurpers, and threatened that schism of the faith which was afterward represented by the conflicting doctrines of the Sonnites and Shiites, the former called by D'Herbelot "the Catholics of Moslemism," and the latter "a Protestant sect, whose green slippers were an abomination to their enemies." The suspicion and contention around the khalif's throne obliged

Ali to check the foreign career of his troops, in order to protect his power at home. He found an uncompromising enemy in Moavia, the general of Othman, who had a large force in the field, and who refused to recognize the validity of his election. Besides, Ayesha, the widow of the prophet, and daughter of the first khalif, was still living, and denied his claims. She even took the field against him.

Thus Ali, having vindicated his pretensions, and having tasted the sweets of authority for a very brief period, fell, like his two predecessors, under the knife of the assassin, sincerely mourned by his admiring adherents. To them it was not a mere choice, but a principle. They called and considered him *Wasi*, the executor of Mohammed; *Mortada*, beloved of God; *Esed Allah Algalid*, the victorious lion of God. Among the Persian converts he was known as *Faid Alanwar*, the distributor of lights and graces, and *Shah Mordman*, the king of men. I dwell upon this character of Ali, because his claims were to operate long after his death in the deposition and dethronement of rival dynasties.

This Moavia, or more correctly Muawiyah Ibn Abi Sufyan, a near relative of the prophet, and of the house of Ummeyyah, had declared himself khalif before the death of Ali, and now proceeded to make good his claims. With him was established the dynasty of the Ommyades, which was to play so distinguished a part in the future history.

And here we must pause for a moment, to note the important change in the seat of the khalifate from Medina to Damascus, which was to be the headquarters hereafter of the house of Ummeyyah. It was a great step, prompted by a wise judgment. The city was beautiful for situation. Mohammed had called it an earthly paradise, and when he beheld it from a rocky eminence, refused to enter it, because, he said, only one paradise was allotted to man, and he preferred that which awaited him hereafter. It was more central than Mecca or Medina; it had a good Mediterranean port at Beirut, only fifty-eight miles distant; caravans converged to it with the trade of Bagdad, Mecca and Aleppo; and by Beirut and Acre it was in ready sea communication with the northern coast of Africa. It presented peculiar attractions to the inhabitants of the rocks and sands of Arabia; its minarets have

been compared to "a fleet sailing through a sea of verdure." Abana and Pharpar, the modern Barada and Phege, watered it in full flow. The enthusiastic description of Lamartine¹ presents it to us as it appeared to the Arabian eye. They saw as he did, from a fissure in a rocky summit—"le plus magnifique et la plus etrange horizon qui est jamais etonne un regard d'homme." The eye falls at first upon a city surrounded by its walls of black and yellow marble, flanked from distance to distance by innumerable square towers, crowned with sculptured battlements, over which rise forests of minarets of every form; furrowed by the seven branches of its rivers, and its brooks without number. Thus the vision extends in a labyrinth of flower gardens, fruit trees and sycamores.

This change in the seat of government was made by Muawiyah in the year 673. From this point were directed the conquests of Islam in all directions until the overthrow of the Ommyades, and the accession of the house of Al Abas, known as the Abbassides, in 746.²

With this slight statement of the rise of the khalifate and the claims of the rival houses, we may leave the chronicle of the khalifs behind us. It is not german to our present purpose to pursue their fortunes. As we proceed westward in northern Africa, with their victorious generals, their names and deeds grow dim, while those of their conquering Ameer absorb all our interest. These generals advanced step by step, fighting hard for what they earned, subduing, proselyting, founding cities, building mosques, establishing schools. *Allah il Allah*—God is God, found everywhere an answering echo, *Allah achbar*—God is victorious; until Ocba, strong in arms and in the faith, having founded or rebuilt the city of Kairwan, pushed forward to where the river Sus rolls its tribute into the Atlantic, and spurring his steed into the surf until the waves reached his saddle girths, cried out, "O Allah, if these deep waters did not restrain me, I would press still onward to carry further the knowledge of thy sacred name and holy law."

But the Berbers gathered in his rear, and caused him to halt and temporize. To subdue them, and to transform them from

¹Voyage en Orient.

²So called from Al Abas, the uncle of Mohammed.

enemies into valiant soldiers of the faith, was the work of another commander, upon the consideration of whose labors and success we now enter.

 II.

PREPARATIONS FOR THE CONQUEST.

The victorious general whose proud fortune it was to carry the arms and faith of the prophet into Spain, was Musa, or Moses, the son of Nosseyr. His father Nosseyr was a manumitted slave of Abdu-l-'aziz, the khalif's brother, and Musa, during his youth and before his appearance at the head of an army in Africa, had displayed the high qualities which caused his preferment to that important command. When, at an earlier period, the khalif, Abdu-l-malek had appointed his younger brother to the government of Basrah, Musa was considered so sagacious that he had been sent with him as wizar and counselor.¹ And when Abdul-a-zis Ibn-Meruan was made governor of Egypt, he re-called Hassan, the general appointed by the khalif, and gave the command in Mauritania to Musa. The speedy arrival of Hassan with the news of successful battles against the Berbers, inflamed the Moslem curiosity and zeal, and so vindicated the generalship of Hassan, that an order of the khalif confirmed him in his possession, but Abdu-l-'aziz, with a rare sagacity in reading character, and exercising a bold discretion, refused to obey the order, tore the diploma of Hassan in pieces, and wrote ardent letters to the khalif² in defense of his action. The successor of Mohammed was angry, but the rapid advance and successive victories of Musa, and the brilliant tokens of conquest in the amount of booty, and the number of slaves which the khalif received, appeased his wrath and reconciled him to the change of commanders. From Abdu-l-'aziz Musa received a general letter of conquest wherever in Northern Africa enemies of the faith could be found.³

In a few words we may trace the lineaments of this distinguished

¹ Al-makkari. *i. App. lii.*

² Al-makkari. *i. App. liv.*

³ His appointment was not, however, ratified by the khalif until ten years later, A. H. 88. *Mahom. Dyn. i. 510.*

chieftain. His portrait has been drawn by friendly and hostile hand. Eliminating all prejudice, he was a remarkable man, an accomplished general, a valiant soldier, an enthusiast in religion, instant in prayer, an eloquent preacher, and if he was to the Spanish historian a ferocious man, he is also allowed to have been prudent in his counsels and ready in execution.¹

Once in a season of great drought, he prayed fervently for rain, and refreshing torrents had followed in answer to his petition. The very words of that prayer were constantly repeated, and were even used nine centuries after by the Moriscoes in southern Spain.²

Nor were supernatural auguries of his success wanting to his credulous troops. On his arrival to take command, while reviewing the first division of his army, a sparrow flew down and lighted upon the folds of his robe upon his breast. Catching the bird, he cut its throat, smeared his garments with its blood, and plucking its feathers scattered them in the air, crying out: "By the Master of the Ka'bah! victory is ours, if such be the will of the Almighty."³ The Arab historians report at length his sermons and harangues to the soldiers; and although we may doubt their authenticity, they are valuable as traditions of the power of his eloquence.

Such was the man to whom was reserved the conquest of Spain. He remodeled his army; paid the troops three times their arrears of pay, and told them to imitate him in his well-doing, and reprove him when they found him in error. It is not to our purpose to describe in detail his conquests in Africa.

The regions watered by the Sus, as it flows through western Africa, are called by the Arabs *Sus-el-Adani*, or that nearest to eastern Africa, and *Sus-el-Aksa*, or the farthest. To this Atlantic limit Musa led his armies with constant movement—first invading the frontiers of *el Adani*, and soon making his power felt throughout the whole land. His diplomacy was equal to his soldieryship. To appease the khalif, and to retain the favor of the governor of Egypt, he sent vast booty and many slaves, and thus bought the sanction of his mercenary superiors.

¹Hombre feroz, en sus consejos prudente, y en la execucion pronto. *Mariana* ii. 283.

²*Mahom. Dyn. i. 801.*

³*Ib. i. App. iv.*

On the other hand, turning to his enemies, who, having felt the power of his arm, were ready to treat with him, he taxed his eloquence to make them believe that they were engaged in an unnatural strife, because they were *Aulad-Arabi*, the sons of the Arabs, of the same race, and destined to share in the same victorious fortunes as himself and his Eastern troops.

This was a master stroke of policy. There were, in reality, too many points of congeniality between the invaders and the invaded for even the most ignorant and unreflecting to doubt the advantage of their union. They were similar in their nomadic or semi-nomadic habits; among them were traditions of identity of origin. Some of them were nominal Christians in belief, made so by the power of the lower empire; among them were many Jews, who were the easy allies of the Moslems, who did less indignity to the prophet, in that they rejected the Nazarene, and who honored him for his adoption of their theogonical and historical books; who, in a word, found a common origin in the loins of Abraham and the semi-brotherhood of Isaac and Ishmael. The most ignorant of the Berbers were idolators, but many of them had been already moslemized by contact with the earlier invaders.

The results of this policy were immediate and cheering. Southward, from Kairwan, the people of Gadames and along the upper line of the great desert joined his standard to the number of twelve thousand picked men. The war in Africa was at an end; a powerful auxiliary instrument was placed in Musa's hands, while in Egypt and Damascus the encomiums were loud of a commander who could convert a realm to the Faith without the shedding of blood.

It was now the year 88 of the hejira (A. D. 706). In view of these great successes, the khalif confirmed and enlarged the appointment which Musa had received from Abdu-l-Azir in the year 79¹, nearly ten years before. He was now to be supreme commander, subject only to the khalif, with the title of Ameer of Africa. Large reinforcements were sent him from Egypt, who should strengthen the faith and cement the bonds of the converted nations; and thus, without the knowledge of the khalif, with Africa and Mauritania nominally moslemized, he was making ready for the greatest exploit yet proposed to the Arabian arms,

the one of far more immediate concern to Europe, its Christianity and its growing civilization.

To second him in his coming adventures, Musa had six sons,² four of whom figure largely in his history. Of these the eldest, Abdullah, had, as early as A.D. 704, conducted the first Moslem fleet from Eastern Africa into the Mediterranean, with which he had landed on the shores of Sicily and ravaged its coasts. Abdullah was now placed in command of the frontier of Kairwan. Abdu-l-Azis, his second son, kept up the communication between this sea-coast frontier, through what are now Tripoli and Barca, with Egypt; while from the valley of Sus-el Aksa, whither he had penetrated, his son Marwan, marched upon Tangiers, the ancient capital of Mauritania Tingitana.

It is a question of little moment to which of the Arabian captains Tangier surrendered: Musa, Merwan and Tarik have each been mentioned as the taker of the town. What we know is that, as soon as it surrendered, Musa garrisoned it with a force variously stated at from ten thousand to nineteen thousand men?

Rising in gentle amphitheater from the sea, and looking directly across to the bluffs of Spain from the center of its broad-armed bay, Tangier has been called the key of the straits; while it had changed nationalities, true to its name,¹ it had never been captured by assault.

The command of the garrison was given to one who had proved himself tireless and active in the advance, Tarik Ibn-Zeyad Ibn-Abdillah, a man of whose origin there are conflicting accounts, but who is represented in some chronicles as a Berber,² who united to his native character the enthusiasm of a proselyte. He is also known as Tarik-el-Tuerto, or the one-eyed.

This restless spirit did not long remain inactive. He directed his arms against Ceuta or Septa, then held by a Gothic general for the king of Spain, but he was not successful in capturing it.

What had now been done may be regarded as the prologue to the magnificent drama of the conquest of Spain. The invaders had secured their *point d'appui*, and Musa established his African power firmly by placing among the conquered allies Arabians

¹ Tandja, the city protected by the Lord.

² It is more probable that he was an Oriental, who played so prominent a part in the conversion of the Berbes, that he was greatly honored by them.

learned in theology, who taught them the doctrines of the Koran, and gave moral consolidation to a mixed people who had received the blood and been confused by the tenets of Numidians, Romans, Vandals and Greeks, but the majority of whom were native Berbers—children of the soil. Thus he was making the Moors, whom he had called Aulad-Arabi, true sons of the Arabs in religious faith and practice. Without this conversion of an entire people—this moral preliminary—his efforts would have been painful and slow, if not entirely vain.

If now we leave the Arabian invaders for a brief space, to cast a glance across the strait, we shall find the Gothic monarchy of Spain in no condition to resist the threatened incursion. The contrast is great and striking. The Arabians, as we have seen, had been for nearly a century in the field and in motion. Soldiers for three generations, every man was reduced to muscle and was in fighting order. Their successive conquests had given them wealth and prestige, added to endurance and experience. They were soldiers of the Faith, and the meanest among them might aspire to the highest earthly honors, while he was sure of immortal joys in heaven. Thus to brave hardship and suffering was their daily lot; to fight was their vocation; to die was happiness. Their long and arduous campaigns had taught them practical strategy, the military grasp of a territory; while in battle they had acquired a system of tactics suited to the age, and great skill in arms.

Very different was the condition of things in the Peninsula.

Western Rome had fallen supine under the Northern sword; Spain had submitted to the Goths; and now these Goths had expended their vigor and had become Romans in effeminacy, while the Arab-Moors were the finest and readiest troops in the world. Such, without questioning the coming history, were the conditions of the future struggle. The Goths stationary and feeble; the Arab-Moors pledged to attack and conquer them, and in all points able to redeem their pledge. The prophecy is quoted traditionally of Mohammed, or of his wife Ayesha: "I have seen before my eyes the East and the West, and every one of the regions comprised in them shall be subdued to my people." In fulfillment of this prophecy, they had reached the straits, and could see as in a picture the green land on the opposite side. They held Tangier in a grasp of steel. The last stronghold of

the Goths was Ceuta, and the longing eyes of Musa and his generals were fixed on the green island of Andalus. Conquer it he would; but how? The plan of the campaign was not yet devised.

The miserable condition of Spain will disclose itself at every step, but we must now pause to give a few statistics of its immediate antecedents. From these we may at least philosophize, without being satisfied of the exact dates and details of events. We have entered upon the region of chronicle, full of legend and tradition, where historians disagree, and where it is exceedingly difficult to discern the truth. The Arabians knew but little of the Goths, whom they despised, and they constantly ignore their own defeats. On the other hand the Spanish historians willfully conceal or misrepresent the Arabian history, because it contains the humiliating story of their own disasters. Even Mariana, the best of the standard authorities, calls them "a ruthless warlike nation, hostile to science and polite literature," while all the world knows that they introduced into Spain a culture far beyond any that the West could boast; that to them is due the literature, science and art, mathematical analysis, chemistry and pharmacy, upon which our present civilization is built, as upon an enduring foundation. The Arabians garnered and preserved in the schools of Seville, Cordova and Toledo, that matchless Greek learning, the knowledge of which had been lost in western Europe.

When the Gothic king Egica died, in November 701, his son Wittiza, who had been appointed governor of Galicia, hastened to Toledo, and was anointed king on the 15th of November in that year. The first years of his reign were full of promise; to the expectant court he set an example of regular life, and a determination to repress evil.¹ Those who had been unjustly exiled he recalled, and restored their possessions. But it was the early promise of a Nero, the false manifesto of a Henry VIII. He soon plunged into a career of private vice and public crime. To gratify his vanity, he surrounded himself with flatterers; to satisfy his lusts he took numerous concubines, and encouraged his cour-

¹Verdad es que al principio, Wittiza dio muestra de buen principe, de querer volver por la inocencia, y reprimir la maldad. *Mariana ii.* 369.

tiers to do so. He went much further, he permitted the priests and monks to marry, or to keep mistresses.¹ and human frailty, with such august example, found the permission a pleasant one. He gave the Jews new privileges, which were a scandal in Christian eyes. By bold edicts, he set the pope at defiance, and at length shook off his allegiance entirely; and when the church of Toledo opposed him in these wicked measures, he declared that it should have two husbands or primates, and thus he appointed his brother in blood and in sin, Oppas, joint archbishop of Toledo, and metropolitan of Spain. In order to bring this about, he had first deposed the pious but feeble Bishop Gunderik,² and appointed Sindaredo in his stead; and now under the two husbands, Sindaredo and Oppas, the refractory bride of Christ was reduced to a sordid and servile submission.

These disorders and debaucheries disgusted the court and the people, whom they could not fail to contaminate; in the midst of their folly, they scorned the fool, and began to cast their eyes to the lineage of a former monarch, Chindasuinto, with the purpose of bringing it to the throne. Wittiza divined the purpose, and made haste to defeat it.

Recesuinto, the son of Chindasuinto, had died, leaving no heir, and had been succeeded by the good Wamba, in the year 672; but in those stormy times the reigns were short, and there were still living two sons of Chindasuinto—Theodofredo and Favila, the former duke of Cordova, and the latter duke of Cantabria and Biscay, to whom the hearts of the people turned for help in this sore emergency. These Wittiza determined to destroy, with their offspring. Theodofredo wisely kept himself out of the king's reach, but Favila, not so prudent, was taken and put to death; and Wittiza was guilty of the monstrous crime of seizing and outraging his wife. But a son of Favila, named Pelayo, escaped, and was to become famous as the center of a valiant band, who were to begin the restoration of the Spanish monarchy, after the Arab-Moors had entirely subverted that of the Goths. Thus the wicked work of Wittiza was but half accomplished. The blood which he had

¹Ley abominable y fea, pero que a muchos, y a los mas dio gusto. *Ib. ii.* 370.

²*Mariana ii.* 373.

shed was to spring up in the form of valiant soldiers, the bulwark of Christendom against the infidel Saracens.¹

When the Gothic monarch could no longer fail to see how odious he had become to all his people, he determined to enfeeble, if he could not pacify them. He gave orders to dismantle the fortresses and destroy the strong walls of most of the Spanish cities, that treason might not shelter itself in citadels. He exempted, among others, Toledo, and even strengthened it, as a stronghold for himself; and the distant posts in the north of Leon and Astoga, which should secure his power.

Vaunting as a reason the tranquillity of the realm, and claiming to act in the interests of peace, he disarmed the people. Thus, while in the words of the chronicle, "Wittiza, the wicked, taught all Spain to sin," he left the sinners impotent against any retributive revolution or invasion.²

Whether Wittiza came to a tragical end, having been killed in a conspiracy of which Roderik was the head,³ or whether, when at the acme of his ill-doing, he died a natural death, is by no means clear; but it is certain that in the tenth year of his reign (early in the year 711) he died, and such was the contest for the throne, and the odium upon his lineage, that his sons, Eba and Siseburto, were not acceptable to the people.⁴ It is stated, and is not improbable, that the widow of Wittiza was declared regent pending the minority of her son.

¹ Amid many conflicting accounts, the historian must establish his hypothesis, and work out the solution which seems most probable. Some assert that Theodofredo was the father of Roderik, while modern researches have proved this to be improbable. Mariana states the complex lineage thus: The daughter of Chindasuinto had married a valiant Greek exile of the lower empire, named Ardebasto, and their son, Ervizio, reigned for a few months only. Ervizio left a daughter named Cixilona, who married Egica, the nephew of Wamba. From this marriage sprang Wittiza and Oppas, and a daughter who is supposed to have married Count Julian. There is nothing which positively controverts this statement. What follows is much more doubtful. It is that Theodofredo, the second son of Chindasuinto by his wife Ricilona, was the father of Roderik—"peste tison y fuego de Espana."

² I must not fail to mention that Wittiza is not without a historic champion, in Don Gregorio Mayans.—*Defensa de Wittiza, Valencia, 1772.*

³ *Rodericus Toletanus*, Bishop Roderik of Toledo.

⁴ These very names are doubtful. Iben-el-Kuttayah (quoted by Al makkari) calls the sons of Wittiza—Almond, Romalah, and Artabas.

But all claimants were doomed to disappointment when Roderik seized the throne, and became the king of all Gothic Spain. Discarding the opinion that he was the son of Theodofredo, and that he was even of royal blood,¹ we may be sure that he was one of the principal families, and that he had attained a high reputation as a distinguished cavalry commander. He had gathered around him a strong party of adherents, who hoped to enrich themselves by his elevation, and had, during the reign of Wittiza, been promoted to stations of honor and power.

The opportunity came, and he seized it; headed a rebellion at Cordova, which grew by rapid accretion, and met with little opposition in placing the crown upon his own head. Indeed many have thought that he was called to the throne by the grandees of the court.² Both stories are probably true; they helped him to do what he was determined and able to do for himself. The people of Spain seem to have thought his accession a remedy for all existing evils. Of great physical strength, accustomed to toils and hunger, to extremes of cold and heat, and loss of sleep, his heart was brave enough to dare any adventure.³ He was extremely liberal, and had a physical magnetism which drew all men to him.

But there was a potent and poisonous anodyne in the crown and mantle of a Gothic king. Roderik already an old man fell at once into the luxurious and enervate condition of his predecessors, and while the techbir was sounding its wild alarm just across the strait he and his lotus-eating court were dreaming away the hours, in fatal ignorance of their danger. The picture drawn by the historian is *grandemente miserable*. The time was passed at the festive board, with delicate dishes and wine, catering to luxurious vice, while the feasters had lost all their skill in arms, and were impotent should they be brought to blows with an enemy.⁴

¹ So says Al-mak., Mah. Dyn. i. 254. Ibn Hayyan, in his *Muktabis*, says the same.

² Por voto, como muchos sienten, de los grandes. *Mar. ii.* 375.

³ El cuerpo endurecido con los trabajos, acostumbrado a la hambre, frio y calores falta de sueno; el corazon osado para acometer qualquiera hazana. *Mar. ii.* 376.

⁴ Todo era convitas, manjares delicados y vino * * * pero muy inhables ponaacudir a las armas fe. *Mar. ii.* 375.

He improved and ornamented the palace at Cordova, which the Moors afterward called by his name; but he pursued the policy of Wittiza in demolishing the remaining strongholds in Castile and Andalusia, and thus madly facilitated the task of the coming Saracens. It is said, but is hardly probable, that he recalled Pelayo, and made him his *protospatorio*. It is more certain that he feared the sons of Wittiza, who had fled at his accession into Mauritania, and were probably quiet fomentors of the treason which cost him his throne.

There is nothing to contradict the story that Roderik had married, before his accession, a Moorish princess named Elyata. The vessel in which she had been voyaging had been driven ashore at Denia, a fortress on the Mediterranean under his command, and when it came careering upon the shore it was at first thought to be but the *avant courier* of an African invasion. It proved to be a helpless bark containing a great treasure. The Moorish maiden and her attendants were hospitably cared for, and after the first sadness of her captivity was over, she submitted cheerfully to her fate. She embraced Christianity, and became the willing bride of Roderik,¹ under the name of Exilona; but she was to become more famous as connected with the tragical fate of another husband, into whose hands she fell when Roderik had passed away from the stormy scene.

Let us recur briefly to the military situation at this juncture. The only stronghold of the Goths on the African coast was now the town of Ceuta—a corruption of septem, from the seven hills on which it was built—with its comarca, which was strongly garrisoned, and commanded by a general called by the Spaniards Julian, and by the Moors Ilyan, and whose real name was probably Celianus or Olianus.² Jutting out into the sea, just west of Ceuta, is a rocky promontory three miles long, and connected with the main land by a narrow isthmus. This peninsula, known to the ancients as *Mons Abyle*, seems to beckon to *Mons Calpe* on the Spanish shore, since known as the Rock of Gibraltar, and the two are called the Pillars of Hercules, upon which, in recognition

¹The romance of the story may be found in one of Irving's charming Spanish papers—*The loves of Roderik and Exilona*.

²The chronicle of King Alonzo calls him Illan, which, with the liquid *l*, would be pronounced *Ilyan*.

of the timid navigation of the ancient world, were inscribed the words *Ne plus ultra*. The strait or narrow passage between, opened in some primeval convulsion of the earth,¹ is about twelve miles in length from Cape Spartel to Ceuta in Africa, and from Cape Trafalgar to Europa point on the Spanish coast. The narrowest point is at Tarifa, where the distance across is about twelve miles. A constant current eastward from the Atlantic of about two miles an hour supplies the losses of the Mediterranean, by evaporation, and makes western navigation difficult when western storms prevail.²

Just west of Gibraltar, on the Spanish coast, is the bay, formed by the headlands of Cabrita and Europa points; it is five miles wide by about eight miles in length, and although exposed to the sudden fury of a wind called "the levanter"—"the tyrant of Gibraltar"³—is a tolerable harbor which in modern times has been rendered more secure by the moles of Gibraltar. Algeciras, the *Portus Albus* of the Romans, lies on the western shore of the bay nine miles around from Gibraltar; it was called by the Arab-Moors *Jeziratu l-Khadra*, or the Green Island, which name is now transferred to the small island lying near it called *Isla Verde*.

I have spared the reader the pains of searching for these topographical details, that his fancy may not be trammelled in realizing the picture of the eventful passage soon to be made, which was to change the complexion of Spanish history for all coming time. Events might delay or hasten it, but it was imminent and certain. Northern Africa was conquered; nothing remained to tempt the moving mass of eastern valor and fanaticism, and Musa was already counseling with Tarik to make preparations for a descent on Andalus, when an unforeseen event occurred which anticipated their fondest hopes and, opening the gates of Spain, ushered them into a fair field and no favor, which was all that they wanted, within its borders.

HENRY COPPÉE.

¹ The geological formation of the Spanish headlands belongs to the African, and differs from the Spanish inland. The Phœnicians had a tradition that a canal had been cut across an isthmus which united the continents, and by its gradual widening had become the strait.

²O'Shea.

THE CHILDHOOD AND YOUTH OF LUTHER.

SECOND PAPER.

SOMETIME in 1497, probably quite early in the year, Luther set out for Magdeburg to attend a school recently opened by the Franciscans, and from this time he knew Mansfeld only as an occasional visitor to his father's house. A comrade went with him, Hans Reinecke, "who grew up to be an able man, and earned great regard in these lands by reason of his worth" (Melanchthon). Luther's friendship for Reinecke was a life-long one; we find him writing in 1536 to Reinecke "as to my best friend," to console him for the death of his wife; when Reinecke himself died, two years later, during a severe illness of Luther's, it was thought best to put off telling him of it. He writes to a Magdeburg burgomaster who claimed old acquaintance:

"It is true that I did meet you at the house of Dr. Paul Moss-hauer (not in your own), when he was an official and you were at sundry times his guest, while I and Hans Reinecke were attending the school of the Null-brothers."¹

Going to school away from home was no light matter in those days to a lad of Luther's class, or even to one whose parents were better provided with worldly goods. He was sent forth with a mere pittance and his father's blessing, full indeed of thirst for knowledge, but bid to shift for himself during these years of his apprenticeship to the Muses, his *wander jahre*. He and his fellows begged their bread from door to door, singing either songs composed to excite the compassion of the people, or German hymns at the great festivals of the Church year. In some cases, if a city stinted its charities too closely, or the school were insufficient, the scholars betook themselves in a body to some other. For this and other reasons they were organized in a sort of guild, in which the older scholars or *bacchantes* bore rule, and the younger fagged. When we recollect that some of them spent ten, twenty or thirty years in going to school, we can see how the habits and tastes fostered by this vagabond life took deep root in congenial minds, and the poor scholar sank into the vagabond rogue, quack-salver

¹ De Wette iv. 686-9; v. 126; ii. 212 (Letter to Claus Sturm, 1524).

or ballad-singer—a transformation that often took place. This usage lasted till Luther's later years, and in a measure to our own days. He says :

“ Despise me not those comrades that cry before your door *Pan-em propter Deum*, and sing the bread roundelay, thou that hearest (as this Psalm says) that great princes and lords sing also. I too was just such a colt to gather pieces—*parteken-hengst*—and before now have got my bread at the doors of the houses, especially at Eisenach, my own dear city, albeit afterward my dear father with all love and faithfulness did keep me at Erfurt University, and helped me to where I am by the toilsome sweat of his brow and his labor. But for all that I was just such a colt.”¹

Their mendicant expeditions were sometimes extended from the towns to the neighboring villages, and at Christmas especially they seem to have taken the place filled in England by the waits. Luther says :

“Once upon a time, when I was a little lad, it happened thus to me and my comrades, with whom I used to gather the pieces wherewith to support us in our studies. For it was at Christmas and we were going through the hamlets from house to house, and singing in four parts the customary hymns about the little child Jesus born in Bethlehem.”²

“We happened before a boor's farm-house that stood by itself at the end of the village, and when the boor heard us sing he came forth and asked with coarse boorish words : ‘Where are ye, ye rogues?’ and at the same time brought some sausages with him to give us. But we were sore affrighted, so that we fled this way and that, albeit we knew of no just cause for fright, and the boor with great good will would give us the sausages—save that very likely

¹Sermon, that the Children be kept at School (1530).

²Perhaps the Christmas hymn already quoted, or possibly one of the bilingual hymns (Latin and German), which formed the transition from the hymns of the Church service to those that were purely popular. These would be especially suitable to the use of these young Latinists in singing to the common people. Of the few that are still preserved, one begins :

“ *Puer natus in Bethlehem,
Bethlehem,
Unde gaudet Jerusalem ;
Hallelujah !*

“ *Ein kind gebohr'n zu Bethlehem,
Bethlehem.
Des freuet sich Jerusalem ;
Alleluja !*”

we were made timid by daily threats and cruelty, such as the school-masters were wont to use upon the poor scholars, and so took fright the readier at any sudden alarm. But at last the boor called us back from our flight, and we laid aside our fear and ran to him and had of him the sausages that he was holding out to us."

For all this he was no advocate of coddling children; he thought that "... young folk should learn to endure suffering and hardship, for it will do them no harm."¹

We have seen him ascribe the superior ability of poor folk's children to the privations to which they were subjected. He says that such children

"..... grew up on bread and water handsome, fuller and stronger in body than those of the rich, that had every day their fill of sodden and roast, and of everything that is good."²

"Were we to use simple food without the outlandish condiments that tickle the palate, then would we, doubtless, enjoy longer life. When I was a lad, the more part even of the rich drank water, and ate the simplest food, and the easiest to get. Some scarcely ever tasted wine up to their thirtieth year. Nowadays the very lads are used to wine, and to those foreign and highly spiced dishes. What wonder is it, then, if they do not live out half their days, and very few of them reach their fiftieth year? As the eating of an apple brought in death, so we are giving up what was left us of life for the sake of luxury and variety in eating."³

"To me our Lord God hath given a sound body up to my fiftieth year."

This last statement is to be taken with some allowance, as meaning that he was kept free from illness of a chronic or malignant type. Ratzenberger, who was court physician to the Elector of Saxony and attended Luther's own family, tells us that Luther was ill of a violent fever during this stay in Magdeburg, and that one day when the people of the house were all at church, he crept on his hands and knees to the kitchen, and took a gulp of cold water, which, according to the medical ideas current at that time, and even as late as the present century, ought to have been the end of him; but nobody in our days will think it due to miraculous interposition that he was fully cured. He could hardly have maintained unimpaired health while leading a life of such hardship, unless he had possessed a constitution of remarkable strength. He evidently desired to save other lads from such

¹*Enarrationes in Genesis* xliii. 23 (1546).

²*Enarrationes in xv. Psalmos Graduum* (1540).

³*Enarrationes in Genesis*; xi. 10 (1546).

experiences, for he proposes to the burghers to set up schools that should make it needless:

“Mayhap you will say: ‘Yes; but who can make shift to spare his children and bring them up like lords? They must stay at home and work.’ I answer: It is not my meaning that you should set up such schools as we have had heretofore, where a lad was learning his *Donatus* and his *Alexander* for twenty or it may be thirty years, and never learned them at that. It is another world now, and goes on after another sort. My meaning is that one let his lads go to such schools [as ye see I would have] one or two hours a day, and be none the less busy at home the rest of the time, learning a craft or what ye will, that thus the two may go together while these folks are young and can wait.”¹

What sort of a school this of the Franciscans at Eisenach was, we can guess from his unvaried style of contemptuous allusion to the schools that were carried on by the religious orders, where (as he said) the children learnt nothing but to read, sing and pray. We have some direct and specific evidence in the fact that he calls them nullities—*null-brothers*,—and also in the brevity of his stay at Magdeburg; he calls it a year, but it must have been something less.² It was of course a *trivial* school, one where the *trivium* or lower three of the seven liberal arts were taught, to wit: grammar, logic and rhetoric. The discipline was modeled upon that of the cloister, and was exceedingly severe in the wrong direction:

“Solomon [in Ecclesiastes xi. 9] is a right kingly schoolmaster. He forbids not the youth to consort with the people or to make merry, as the monks do with their scholars, whereby these become mere wooden blockheads, as even Anselm, the mother of all monks, [!] has said: ‘For a young man to be thus enervated and withdrawn from fellowship with the people, is as if a fine young tree, that is able to bear fruit, were to be planted in a narrow pot.’ For in this case the Monks played the gaoler with the youths that they taught (as people put birds in cages) that they might

¹ Exhortation to the Councilors of the German cities (1524).

² Luther's memory for dates and numbers we believe was not his strongest point. He entered the University of Erfurt in 1501 in his eighteenth year; he says he spent his previous four years at Eisenach, and the year before that, his fourteenth, at Magdeburg. These last data must be taken as spoken loosely to avoid regarding them as inaccurate. Ericus—a dubious authority—(following Röser?) makes Luther say that he was certainly born in 1484, which he certainly was not; but probably he did say so. He could not recal with certainty in later years the date of his visit to Rome.

not see nor hear people, nor consort with any. But it is perilous for the young to be thus alone, thus disparted from every one. Therefore should young people be let see and hear and gain all sorts of experience, that they may attain to good breeding and acquit themselves with credit. Nothing good is effected by such overbearing, monkish constraint, which is altogether hurtful to young people. Frolick and delight are as highly needful to them as is their eating and drinking, for they make them so much the better in health."¹

It is noteworthy that his allusions to Magdeburg are exceedingly few, although it was, at the time of his stay, the home of quite a number of churchmen, who were characterized by the boldest reformatory spirit. The Archbishop Ernest was one of these, but the greatest was Andreas Proles, an Augustinian who nearly anticipated our Martin by beginning the Reformation himself, and who prophesied that it was close at hand. So too Dr. John Scheyring and Andrew Kaugisdorf² were preaching in the Cathedral, and Ludolph Kastrik in the Southwark, of Magdeburg; all of them notable for their free and bold censures of faults of the clergy. But the lad seems to have come into contact with none of them; in later years he speaks of Proles as one of whom he had heard, but had never known at first hand. Here, however, is one very distinct recollection that he did carry away from the city:

"I have seen with these eyes, as I in my fourteenth year was going to school at Magdeburg, a prince of Anhalt, to wit the brother of the prebendary that was afterward Bishop Adolph of Merseburg, going about the wide streets in the cowl of the barefooted monks and begging bread, yea! and carrying the sack like an ass, and bending under its weight to the ground, while his comrade brother walked beside him at his ease. They had so stunned him that he did all the other work of the Convent like any brother of them all, and had so worn himself with fastings, vigils and scourgings that he looked the image of death, mere skin and bone in sooth. He died also very soon after, for he could not long endure such a life. I believe that there are many still alive in Magdeburg that have seen it also."²

¹*Ecclesiastes Salomonis cum Annotationibus* (1532.)

²Kaugisdorf was driven out by the cardinal archbishop in 1522 as a Lutheran, and through Luther's good offices became pastor of Eulenberg. Luther says that the cardinal had not his like left in the whole see, but we infer from several graceful and delicate letters of intercession that the Reformer wrote to him, that he was a man of uneasy, impatient and exacting disposition, soured by the long course of annoyance and persecution that had culminated in his banishment from Magdeburg when he was quite an old man.

² Answer to Duke George's Allegation (1532). Cf. *Tischreden* xxix, § 38.

Somewhere before the close of 1497 he began to attend the Latin school of St. George's parish in Eisenach, "my own dear city," which "contains nearly all my kindred" and where "I was at school four years" (1497-1501). He was still a poor scholar, dependent upon the charity of strangers, and leading the life that still excites the compassion of those who visit Berlin. We are told of them:

"When in winter the icy December storm roared through the streets and the chill wind whirled in eddying gusts about the wide, deserted squares, bearing with it flakes of snow and drops of still colder rain, and the passengers, shivering and blue, hastened rapidly by, there was something sad in the sight of the little troop of children making their way through the bustle and noise of the streets, and singing their hymns with trembling voices (changed by the cold into a plaintive *tremolo*), in front of houses from whose windows the bright lights of warm and cosy rooms threw their rays upon the wet, dirty, cold streets without. The little lads, with their grotesque hats and plaited coats, could not but excite a smile of sympathy. When they have sung one of their choral songs, or the well-known school-song,

Glad praises to the Lord,
Ye youthful choirs sing,

then one of the poor children draws forth from under his mantle a dark lantern, mounts the narrow steps of the house, and rings or knocks.—'Who is there?' asks a voice. 'The choristers'—*currrende-schuler* or *currrendaner*—'beg for a little gift.' Often the answer is a surly 'No;' often the voice of a shrewish, stingy old woman croaks forth some abuse of the petitioner, and even when a more generous hand opens to meet him, it opens only—in most cases—to bestow upon the needy scholars a few groschen."¹

Traditions tells how Luther's company sang before house after house one winter's day and received only harshness and rebuff, until they had lost nearly all hopefulness. Martin was utterly down-hearted, full of thoughts of giving up school-going and his hope to be one day a great clerk. At last they came to the house of Conrad Cotta, in St. George's street, where his good wife Ursula received them with cheery welcome and such substantial kindness that all hearts grew light again. Certain it is that this

¹ Translated from *Der Hausfreund* for *Every Saturday*. The writer adds that since 1851 efforts have been made to put the *currrende-jugend* on a better footing. Every citizen who subscribes two thalers a year receives a monthly visit from the choristers, who sing their chorals in-doors during the visit. The quality of the singing has been much improved by the change, and the exposure to all weathers, that ruined many fine voices, has ceased.

Frau Cotta of St. George's street was drawn to our Martin by his devout and earnest manner and his fine singing in their parish church—from which that street took its name—and welcomed him to her home and table. From that day she was his hostess, and taught him lessons that were to stand him in as good stead as any that he was learning at the parish school:

“Well said my hostess at Eisenach, that there is no dearer thing on earth than the love of woman—*Frauen-liebe*—to whose lot soever it may fall in the fear of God.”

The state of mind and the drift of thought that made this womanly lesson important and useful to the lad he has himself described.

“When I was a young lad wedlock and the married state were looked upon as something sinful and dishonorable. Whoever had a mind to the life of married people committed sin thereby, but whoever would lead a life holy and well-pleasing to God, let him not take a wife, but live ‘chastely,’ or take the vow of ‘chastity.’ Therefore many were to be found that when their wives died became monks or parsons.”¹

“When I was a lad I knew that the married state was to that degree evil spoken of by reason of the godless and unclean life of them that were in wedlock, that I held it for truth that I could well think upon the married life without sin, for it had been beaten into everybody, and all held it for truth, that whoever would live in a state holy and well-pleasing to God must live unwed and take the vows of the single life.”²

This Eisenach school was in so far better than that of the Franciscans at Magdeburg in that its master—John Trebonius—was ranked for his love of learning and his Latin poetry among the humanists. He was therefore the better fitted to excite a fondness for study in his pupils. He was also noted in that closely-capped³ and punctilious age for uncovering to his scholars, as he entered the class, out of respect to the possible chancellors, doctors and burgomasters who stood before him. He taught his boys

¹*Tischreden* xliii. § 182.

²*Enarrationes in Genesin* xx. 2. (1546).

³Our forefathers wore hats and caps at home and out of doors, and even at their meals. That Hadrian went round the Roman world bare-headed was in their eyes one of the hardly credible things of history. The High church-party gibed at the Puritans that they would next be for coming to the Sacrament with their hats on as they did at their own tables. One or two ultra-Puritans—Baptists, we think—did at last go to that length.

a better grammatical method than most, and a purer Latin style, but not a word of Greek, nor did he put into their hands the great Roman classics. Not till Luther went to the University, in his eighteenth year, did he meet with Cicero, Virgil and Livy.

On the other hand, we are told, the most zealous desire for learning was enkindled in him, and he began to feel his first inclination to the University, which he now learnt to regard as "the fountain head of all the arts and the center of all science and study."

PUBLIC SCHOOL EDUCATION IN FRANCE.

IN spite of the violent discussion that has been going on in France on the subject of public education, it is still in a very unsatisfactory condition. Few modern improvements have been introduced, and most of the old abuses are still part of the existing system. Judged by the standard of the government of Louis Phillipe, there has been a marked reaction and visible decay ever since that reign, when there were energetic efforts made to spread education throughout the working-classes and the peasantry, and when higher education was put on a broad basis. The law of 1833 is one of the most lasting and honorable of Guizot's works, and under it and by his direction, supported by the legislature of that day, the best men were sent throughout Europe to study the systems of education, and to bring home the fruits of their researches in all the leading countries of the continent.

Saint Marc Girardin went to South Germany, and Victor Cousin to Holland and North Germany. Coming back, they pointed out with characteristic clearness the reforms which were needed in the universities of France. The school question was again taken bravely in hand by Carnot, as minister of education, in 1848, but after the fatal second of December it was postponed, first under de Falloux's ultramontane ministry, and then under that of Fortoul and the imperial dynasty, only to be revived with greater energy than ever when the Liberal party once more got control of France.

Ernest Renan was one of the first and foremost of Frenchmen to endeavor to unite France and Germany by closer intellectual

alliance, and this he sought to do by pointing out the advantages of German universities over the system or want of it existing in France. Jules Simon, an author and orator of strongly marked democratic impulses, followed, with almost pathetic and sentimental appeals, in favor of free but compulsory education as the one great necessity, and did his best to secure the favorable action of the government in the improvement and increase of elementary schools. This and similar reforms were strongly urged and advocated by the leaders of the liberal press. Nefftzer and Edmond Scherer in the *Temps*; Ernest Bersot and Edward Laboulaye in the *Journal des Debats*; Charles Dollfus in the *Revue Germanique*; Emil de Laveleye in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*. They all united in waging war on the inactivity of the Government, and in demanding more money and a better use of it for public schools.

The Protestants of France were among the first to take the initiative, and in these reforms, as in so many others, showing their moral and intellectual superiority over the vast majority of Catholic France. Alsace and the Protestant parishes of Danbs showed the smallest number of uneducated inhabitants and the largest number of popular libraries, in proportion to their population.

A Lutheran pastor named Meyer established, in the poorest quarter of Paris, schools for the poor, and worked with such zeal that up to the time of the siege their good effect was plainly marked. The present leaders of liberal protestantism in science and the church, Colani and Coquerel, advocated in every way a better system of education for the people as the best way of securing their moral and material good. At least one of the ministers of the Second Empire, Victor Duruy, did his best to prepare the draughts of good laws on the subject, but he was deficient in ability and energy, so that Rouher and the empress carried their side of the question, opposing successfully compulsory education, and maintaining the ascendancy of the clergy in such public schools as existed.

Why was this the result of so much agitation, and why did the plans of 1830 show only the failures of 1872? Guizot and Victor Cousin had been too ambitious to limit their labor to public schools. Duruy was too timid to maintain his own opinion

against that of the other ministers, and even Jules Simon, now that he is a minister, finds it easy to forget what he prescribed, as a deputy, as the remedy for existing evils. The majority in the nation is clearly indifferent to any reform, and yet without popular support, the mere passage of good laws will be ineffective to secure any good effect. Compulsory education, which has produced such good results in Prussia and is now on trial in the United States, is, and is likely to remain, a dead letter in Italy and Spain. The educated classes in France have never done their share in the great task of public education. The Roman Catholic Church looks upon public schools as inimical, and tolerates them only when they are in her own keeping. The democracy is more inclined to hasty and radical measures than to quiet and gradual reforms, as well as more bent on lessening the power of its opponents than on securing a firm footing for its own principles. The school question became at last a mere party question, and the result was a confusion of polemics as to elementary schools and religious instruction in them, as if this were their only purpose, and their whole existence was made to depend on its success or failure. One of the most striking causes of the inferiority of France in its late struggles was the fact of the national ignorance of all other countries and their institutions. Few Frenchmen have learned to look beyond their own borders, to use foreign experience by applying it to their own needs. The newspapers fought a good fight against the Abbé Gaume in his effort to stop the study of the classics, without knowing that the same battle had been won in Germany in 1820. The foolish novelties of Fortoul were almost an exact repetition of the reforms which Joseph the Second tried to introduce in Austria, and were followed by the same intellectual downfall. The same France which has been the victim of more revolutions than any other country in Europe is more disinclined than any of these countries to real reforms, and is afraid to shake off the chains of miserable prejudices. The scholars of the high schools learn the same exercises which Rollin taught their grandfathers, and the elementary schools still use the books written by Bossuet for the Dauphin. Late events have destroyed all illusions and created a well-founded doubt of the old self-satisfaction. The best men see the necessity of a complete revolution, but a peaceable one, and demand changes as thor-

ough as those made by Prussia after the battle of Jena. One of the most learned philologists and professors of the College of France, Michel Bréal, has written a striking and manly book on the question of popular education, proposing thoroughgoing reform to cure existing evils. He speaks as one who knows both other countries and his own. He was one of Bopp's best pupils in Berlin. He knows the university, but he also knows the elementary and high schools, their organization, their methods, their aims and the books they use. A Jew by birth, he is free from any of the current church influences, and he is bold enough to speak his mind and to be unmoved by the present popular abuse of Germany. The title of his work is, "Quelques mots sur l'instruction publique en France," and the contents of it will be summarized in the following pages. Elementary instruction is of very recent introduction in France; accepted as a principle of both the republic and the empire, it became a living fact only under the law passed by Guizot in 1833, and since then it has lived as best it could.

While Holland, Sweden, Denmark have had numerous schools for two centuries, while Frederic the First introduced public schools, and Frederic the Second made attendance in them compulsory in Prussia, France exhibited the painful contrast of an excess of culture in the higher classes, and an utter indifference to instruction in the lower. This was largely due to the prejudices of the Roman Catholic Church; the extinction of "heresy" in the sixteenth century, was also fatal to the efforts of the Huguenots to spread popular education; their aim was well shown in the address of the Parliament of Orleans, in 1500, where the Huguenots were in the majority: *Levée d'une contribution sur les bénéfécies ecclesiastiques, pour raisonnablement stipendier des pedagogues et gens lettrés en toutes villes et villages pour l'instruction de la pauvre jeunesse du plat pays et soient tenus les peres et meres à peine d'amende à envoyer les dits enfants à l'ecole et à ce faire soient contraints par les seigneurs et les juges ordinaires.* Protestantism was the true leader of compulsory education, for every church member was bidden to read his Bible, and from simple citizens to highest magistrate, made responsible for the eternal welfare of the souls of those entrusted to his care. The Catholic clergy never forgot that public schools had their birth in 1789,

while the advocates of popular education looked on the priest as inimical, and the teacher as the representative of liberal principles.

The church established its own schools, and by attracting to them nearly a third of the pupils widened the breach, and helped to keep down the standard of public instruction by making its own far from satisfactory. In spite of many good schools in the cities and many good pupils everywhere, the schools on the average are very bad, and bad as they are, very few, or we should not find three fourths of the population of France altogether illiterate. The first remedy for existing evils is to improve the condition of the teachers. Now they are unconditionally subject to the town councils and mayors. These look on that teacher as best, who manages to keep friends with mayor, priests and fathers of families, and this can only be done by yielding to old prejudices and being ready for every political change. Under the second empire, the teachers were active electioneering agents, and they were rewarded for their success or punished for their failure in this field of duty. Gambetta sought to make them apostles of the radical republic, and as such preferred that they should teach the fathers the principles of 1789, rather than instruct the children in their A B Cs. Their material condition was bad under all circumstances, and in spite of plentiful laws on the subject. Jules Simon reported in 1870 that there were 19,423 teachers with a yearly salary of less than 700 francs, say \$125, and that after five years of service, so that their daily average pay of one franc eighty centimes, say thirty cents, was less than that of custom house and police officers. Their pensions were only on an average of one in twenty, and after fifteen years' service. The lucky ones got only a maximum of 900 francs, say \$180. Their own means of education were insufficient too; the normal schools were bad enough, when, in 1854, under the pretense that the pay was insufficient for well educated men, the standard was lowered still more. The instructors were taken from the gymnasias or high schools, where their main duties still lay, and from the public school teachers, who had little leisure and less zeal for these extra duties. It was even looked upon as a loss of dignity for a teacher or professor to be taken from a high school to be put in charge of a normal school. No assistance was given to the pupils to go abroad

for instruction or to find practical opportunity for it at home. They were so trained that they looked upon their scholars as the non-commissioned officers look on the soldiers in the ranks, commanding their attention by sharp words and sometimes by blows, and knowing nothing and teaching nothing unless it was prescribed by authority. The effort to secure teachers' meetings failed for want of any common topics of interest in their profession. Their "Journals" were a fair transcript of the sort of instruction supplied. Breal says the contents of one number were leading articles on general politics, iron plated ships, highways, court proceedings, a stock list, and a new novel. Of course all the decrees of the minister of education, and all appointments or changes in the school personelle were faithfully chronicled, but not a word on the questions of instruction, its methods and its science. Now a fair test of excellence of public school education may be made by an examination of three leading subjects, grammar, geography, history. But the books used in each of these branches are of the most superficial and unsatisfactory kind. French is taught as if it were one of the dead languages, and very badly done at that. The universal ignorance of geography has become a by-word and reproach to Frenchmen since the events of the late war with Germany revealed its extent and influence in all classes. The schools are mainly responsible for this ignorance. They make it only a matter of memory, and names of mountains, rivers and cities are put each by themselves, so that the pupil has forgotten the one before he gets to the other, and never knows the country to which all three belong. Frenchmen are just as ignorant of the topography of their own country, and of its political and commercial relations. Outside of their own provinces they know less and have as little interest as for the affairs of Africa or Asia.

The centralization that has made Paris what it is, has systematically ignored all the rest of France. The other provinces have lost all their old identity and have no new ties to each other, so that in spite of the high sounding phrases of the various governments that carried on the war with Prussia, many of the departments, it is said, never furnished their contingents of men or material. The popular ignorance of all foreign countries was astonishing, and Frenchmen were surprised as much by the indif-

ference of other countries to the fate of France as by the more immediate results of the war.

This it is, too, that makes the French bad colonists, and even Algiers, one of their own provinces, is a terra incognita to the bulk of the people, who ought to be its best immigrants. In history, too, the French schools go little beyond mere memorizing, and the school histories are so exclusively devoted to French conquests and glory that little space is left for other and more useful information. There are almost no popular elementary books to teach the ancient history of the provinces of France, of Lorraine, of Normandy, of Languedoc, with their heroes that once filled all Europe with their fame; all history begins in French books with the French monarchy, and the monuments of an earlier day that meet the eye, and often make the fame of a town, are rarely known as part of a glory that belongs to the France of a past time. Even the mere ability to read is rarely reached, and if public schools only excite a love of reading they do good, yet of a hundred wounded men visited by Gabriel Monod, only four or five cared to read at all, and only two to read a book of any real value. Indeed the authors of France show in their style and subjects that they do not write for the masses of their countrymen. Moliere and La Fontaine were no more limited in the class they sought to address than are Lamartine, and Victor Hugo and Alfred de Musset, with their elegancies of speech, and niceties of style, that imply high culture in their readers. Even the statesmen and political writers, such as Tocqueville, Laboulaye, Vacherot, Jules Simon, seek in vain to popularize the important principles which they advocate with such eloquence. Thus the distance is daily growing wider between the two classes; on the one hand those who think, who lead and follow intelligently the leaders of public opinion, and on the other those who are ignorant alike of politics, of literature, of all that can come to them only by books and reading; even the works of the so-called popular leaders, of Rousseau, of Proudhon, of Louis Blanc, are too full of abstract discussions to reach the masses for whom they are meant.

The schools are responsible for the disasters that have overwhelmed France, for instead of giving real instruction they have simply perpetuated the ignorance and the blunders of earlier

generations. The unlimited confidence of Frenchmen in themselves was taught in every school book. Even Duruy, in his school histories, measured everything by a comparison with France, and always to the advantage of his own country, so that Frenchmen of every rank, and of all opinions, were taught the needlessness of ever looking beyond their own borders for any good thing, or of ever fearing any danger from without. Now that the natural result of all this is shown in the catastrophies of the late war, there is still an unwillingness to give up the old system, but until that is supplanted by a newer and better common school education, there is little gained from the past, little to be hoped for the future.

TO HERBERT SPENCER.

Thine angel hides from thee the secret things
 Of heavenly truth and our Lord's grace divine.
 Great task is thine to give the law that binds
 In one all facts of nature and of life—
 A work for human intellect alone,
 A lowly, patient, unassisted work,
 Spoiled by one ray from upper sphere let in.
 With Christian faith we wait, but cannot help,
 Well if we hinder not by causeless fear.
 One day, with every touch and line complete,
 This work of noble art, of science grand,
 Perchance may bear the flood of heavenly light,
 And to its earthly meaning, pure and clear,
 Will add a fuller, richer spirit-sense.

A. M.

THE COSMICAL EFFECTS OF ADAM'S FALL.

"Of man's first disobedience, and the fruit
 "Of that forbidden tree whose mortal taste
 "Brought death into the world." * *
 "She plucked, she eat;
 "Earth felt the wound, and nature from her seat,

"Sighing through all her works, gave signs of woe
 "That all was lost. * * * * *
 "Earth trembled from her entrails, as again
 "In pangs, and nature gave a second groan;
 "Sky lowered, and muttering thunder some sad drops
 "Wept at completing of the mortal sin
 "Original; while Adam took no thought,
 "Eating his fill."

Milton.

"For we know that the whole creation groaneth and travaileth in pain
 together until now."

St. Paul.

MAN is by nature a moral and religious being; and the truth of the Christian religion is established upon its own proper evidence. Man is also by nature a rational and inquisitive being; and the truth of science, when ascertained, rests likewise upon its appropriate evidence. The nature of religion is to reject no truth; the vocation of science is to embrace all truth. To array science against religion, or religion against science, is therefore unnatural; to suppose a real antagonism between them is absurd. Error may conflict with error, and must conflict with truth; but truth cannot conflict with truth; every truth must be consistent with every other; for all truth is one.

The apparent contradictions which, from time to time, emerge between science and revealed religion, arise mostly from hasty generalizations or ill-founded theories on the one side, or from false interpretations of Scripture or baseless prejudices on the other. The antipathies, the virulence, the odium of the strife belong to the disputants, not to the subjects in dispute. The antagonism is not between science and religion, but between some scientists and some religionists; and the conflict does not result from the knowledge, but from the ignorance, the one-sidedness, the narrow-mindedness of the combatants on either side.

It would be easy to illustrate from manifold instances how the attacks of scientific men upon religion are based, not upon established and admitted scientific truths, but upon premature conclusions and plausible theories. But it is proposed, in this paper, to invite attention to a case in which the collision arises from prevailing religious dogmas based only upon traditional and popular prejudice and a false, or at least arbitrary, interpretation of Scripture.

The dogmas or notions referred to are those to which Milton is supposed to have given expression :

(1) That decay, corruption and death had never been known upon earth, among any of God's creatures, until Adam's fall.

(2) That consequent upon man's transgression there ensued a grand physical catastrophe, a stupendous cosmical disturbance and derangement, an instantaneous blight and ruin through all the works of nature, in earth and air, and sky and orbs of heaven, in organic and inorganic things, in animal and vegetable forms, in gases and in rocks, in light and heat, and in electric forces.

(3) The now carnivorous beasts, which before had lived a happy family in graminivorous gentleness, then first began to grow long teeth, to ravin, to tear and devour their fellows, and one species of animals to feed upon another. Then comets began to blaze athwart the sky, and sun and stars to dart disastrous rays, and extremes of heat and cold to blast the face of nature. Then lightnings began to flash, thunders to roll, and tempests to sweep the earth and heaven. Then the central terrestrial fires began to smoulder, volcanoes to belch and blaze, and earthquakes to heave the solid ground—in short, "nature sighing through all her works, gave signs of woe that all was lost."

Now, this being preached as a revealed truth of God's Word, as a dogma of the Christian religion, science is utterly scandalized; she asserts, on the contrary :

(1) That long before any period to which the creation of Adam can be assigned consistently with Biblical history, long before the introduction of the present race of man upon earth as ascertained by geological observations, even though that creation or introduction were put back not to six thousand, but to sixty times six thousand years, there had been innumerable races and generations of animals—saurians, iguanodons, megatheria—which had lived and died upon the earth. Nor can this be denied, except upon the principle of reasoning, upon which some theologians, when pressed by paleontological discoveries, have suggested that the fossil bones may never have belonged to any animals at all, but may be mere imitations originally made *in situ* as they are found.

(2) That there are no marks of such a catastrophe or cataclysm

as is alleged to have supervened on the earth soon after the introduction of the human race; that, on the contrary, the earth seems never before to have been so fit for human habitation and use as it has been since that time; that for untold ages, before and while the saurian and megatherian monsters lived, man could not have existed upon its surface at all; and that so far from the alleged blight, degeneracy and ruin in animal and vegetable forms, it is manifest that those which accompany man in the human period are an advance in structural complexity and completeness upon their predecessors.

(3) It is evident from the structure and teeth of paleontological fossils that carnivorous animals existed before the human period. And of existing species of carnivora it is preposterous to suppose that the lions, hyenas, lynxes, bears and wolves, for example, had their teeth and stomachs remodeled in consequence of Adam's eating the forbidden fruit; not to say that if they had, then, before that remodeling, they were not lions, hyenas, lynxes, bears or wolves at all. Even in the Garden of Eden itself there is nothing in reason to hinder that the larger fishes, if Paradise contained an aquarium or piscina, lived on the smaller fry and lower forms of life; the birds on insects, and the beasts of prey on weaker species. And that even there there should have been decay in vegetable forms, withering leaves and falling petals, and rotting pulp and dying seeds, is required by the fundamental laws of vegetable growth and propagation. Vegetable growth cannot be conceived without decay. How could the blades of grass continue to grow in length without ever falling down and becoming food for their successors? How could a tree grow from the first sprouting to its full height without shedding even its initial leaves? And, except a corn of wheat fall into the ground and die it abideth alone. Moreover, the pulp of food-producing fruits must have rotted in the earth with the dying seeds; and if man and beast lived on vegetables, then must there have been vegetable decay and decomposition in the very process of digestion. Any other theory would make the scenes of Paradise, not to say the rest of the organic world, a collection of vegetable and animal wax-work.

Further, science sees undoubted evidence that the laws of nature in the celestial and terrestrial spaces were the same before

the human period as they have been since. The laws of gravitation, cohesion and chemical affinity remain unchanged; the laws of climate with reference to the length of the days, and as resulting from the different direction of the sun's rays in different zones, remain the same now that they were before. If a change in the position of the axis of the earth has at any time taken place, whether suddenly or gradually, it would imply no radical deterioration, but only a transfer of climatic advantages from one part of the earth's surface to another. So far from the climates of the temperate zones being worse now than they were before, there was a time when these climates were such that man could not have existed on those parts of the earth at all, when the regions which are now most beautiful and fertile were imbedded in solid ice or swept by giant glaciers; and, that electricity and mighty tempests and volcanoes and earthquakes were among the agencies, and beneficent agencies, of nature, then as well as now, is beyond all reasonable dispute.

Thus the issue is joined, and a deadly conflict between science and religion seems inevitable; a conflict, too, in which religion is threatened with no less than a disastrous overthrow; notwithstanding the remarkable fact that what is here assumed to be her cause is to this day zealously defended by the leading theologians and the best exegetical talent of the English Church.

Now, under such circumstances, it is a no less remarkable fact that these Miltonic assumptions, however beautiful in personification or poetic in imagery; however profound in philosophy, or magnificent in conception; however supported by Platonic or Oriental ideas, by patristic authority or ecclesiastical tradition or popular acceptation, are, nevertheless, not positively affirmed or necessarily implied in one solitary text in the Christian Scriptures.

Let us look first at the original story of the Fall and its consequences. Here we find that:—

(1). Man is sentenced to undergo the penalty of death, and return to the dust from which he was taken.

(2). The ground is "cursed" for man's sake, in that it shall produce thorns and thistles, and thus man's tillage shall become to him a painful toil.

These results, together with a special denunciation to the serpent and the woman, are absolutely all the disastrous consequen-

ces of the Fall, of an external nature, recognized or intimated in the inspired history ; if we except the very significant fact that the sinning pair are, for themselves and their posterity, forthwith thrust out of Paradise. There is not a syllable about the far-reaching cosmical changes of the poetic representation ; and not a syllable about the death of any other creature but man himself—or about any change in the form or constitution or mode of life, whether advantageous or disadvantageous, of any other creature besides man and the serpent.

Taking the story, therefore, in its naked and simple literalness, without attempting to soften or explain anything, whether symbolically or otherwise, we find that the universal cosmical shock and ruin dwindle down to the earth's producing thorns and thistles, for in that the curse upon the ground consisted ; the introduction of death is only in relation to man, who from immortal becomes mortal and is thus degraded to a level with the beasts that perish, and not they degraded to a level with him ; the great change among the carnivora and in the whole animal economy is contracted to the single malediction upon the serpent, whatever that may mean. To suppose that the whole physical creation felt the shock of man's fall, or even that the terrestrial system of things, of agencies and laws, were thereby thrown into commotion and disorder, or to suppose that the death of the lower animals is a consequence of Adam's sin, so far as the authority of the biblical record is concerned, is one of the most sheer and baseless assumptions that ever gained currency among sensible men.

Here, then, we might dismiss the question ; but it may be worth while to consider whether, in fact, upon a fair and reasonable interpretation of the literal story, we have ground to believe that *any change whatever* in the constitution of physical or animal nature resulted from the fall, except in man himself. Man sinned and man was punished. That is all. The ground could not be punished ; and, if we except the serpent, no other sensitive creature is said to have suffered change or punishment but man. That the alternation of light and darkness, of day and night, is a blessing and not a curse, let Milton testify, in Adam's morning hymn. That the varying round of seasons is no malediction, but a beauty and a glory of God's creation, a source of gratitude and not of complaint, let the sweet verse of Thomson bear witness.

Earthquakes, tempests and electric agencies are all good in their places, are blessings and benefits. If they were abstracted from our terrestrial system of things, we know not what might be the result, but probably a catastrophe vastly more disastrous than that which is fabled to have been the result of the fall. Thorns and thistles, too, are in themselves beautiful and "good," manifesting the wisdom and glory of their Maker; and, whatever be their character, it is not likely that they were first created after man's fall. But especially we must remember that man, before his fall, was placed in a beautiful garden planted by God himself with every tree that was pleasant to the eye and desirable for its fruit; and that man was placed in it to dress it and keep it. This garden we must of course presume to have had great advantages, for its cultivators, over the world outside. If the world without had been, before man's fall, as free from thorns and thistles and from everything disagreeable or cumbersome, and as abundant in fruits and delights, as the garden was, what meaning was there in the planting of the garden at all? When, therefore, man was driven out of the garden, may he not have found the thorns and thistles already there to receive him, and so the ground have been cursed for his sake, that is, in its unfruitfulness and production of noisome weeds, made a curse to him and for his (not its own) punishment? May it not be that the change was not in the ground, but in man's relation to it? May not the ground, though remaining as it was before, be said to become accursed in being brought into such a relation to man as to become a curse to him? Just as God is said to have set the rainbow in the cloud after the flood, as a sign; not that the rainbow did not exist or was never seen before, but that thenceforward it was appointed to a new purpose.

In like manner we may interpret the curse upon the serpent also. We see that the curse consisted in what, as a matter of fact, is now common to the whole serpent kind. But was this serpent the progenitor of all serpents in their multitudinous species, large and small, that now crawl upon the surface of the earth? If so, it would be a good entering wedge for Darwinism. But it seems hardly likely to have been the case; and, if not, then is it likely that all the other species would be degraded from some nobler form for his fault? But they must have been, or else they were already in this degraded form; and the serpent-tempter

himself, if degraded from some more noble form to theirs, was not a serpent before; and so the animal that tempted Eve was no serpent at all, and we end in contradicting ourselves. But whether this animal was the progenitor of all the species of serpents or not, if we interpret as we do in the case of the rainbow-sign, we may say that, though in fact he went upon his belly before and ate the dirt, or lived on dirt, this grovelling condition was thenceforth to stand in a new relation, to be a mark of degradation associated with his act of enmity to mankind. Thus, the serpent (who, as serpent, could be guilty of no moral fault) was cursed, not by any change in his physical structure or constitution, but by attaching to it, *for man*, a new reference or significance; and the new significance was quite as striking and appropriate for its purpose as was that of the rainbow. How far this serpent, in his deed and the curse pronounced upon him, symbolized and represented that old serpent, the devil, who possessed him and spoke by his mouth, it is aside from our present purpose to consider; we are dealing with the literal and phenomenal facts of the case.

As for the so-called "curse of labor," activity and exercise are blessings, labor may become a happiness and an honor; and it is to be observed that before his fall Adam had the garden to dress and keep. Labor is not called a curse in the story; but if a curse, it consisted chiefly, we may well presume, in a *subjective* change in man himself, in a moral change consequent upon his moral fault, in the loss of cheerful elasticity of mind, in a spirit of indolence, self-indulgence and impatience, whereby that effort which had been and should have been but joyous play, but pleasurable and wholesome exertion, became a heavy burden of toil and drudgery. Partly also it may have had *objective* conditions. Man was thrust out from the beautiful garden into the wild and unkempt world without. His efforts became exacting, and their rewards precarious. Now labor, even though exhausting, is sweetened by the attainment of its ends, and the abundance of its fruits. But when these fruits are scanty and their attainment uncertain and often frustrated, labor becomes a grievous burden and a bitter cup.

Man was originally intended for immortality; if he had not sinned he would never have died. Yet the original command to him was, to increase and multiply and replenish the earth and subdue it. If

he had not fallen under the sentence of death, and had thus multiplied his progeny, it is easy to suggest how the bounds of Paradise might have been enlarged to meet the wants of the growing family; and how, without tasting of death or of pain, man might have been translated, under some appropriate law, to some higher spiritual sphere, for which his nature was evidently fitted and intended. But as for the lower animals, religion does not teach nor science show that they are fitted or designed for any higher sphere; and if they had propagated without dying or being removed elsewhere, any one species of them, even the smallest above the infusoria, propagating at the present rate, would, before this time, have so overstocked the earth that they would have covered its whole surface to the depth of many miles.

Thus this grand cataclysmic theory itself collapses, "giving signs of woe, that all is lost." This, so far as the historical basis is concerned. But it may be said that, in this respect, the agency of Satan, in connection with man's fall, its moral and spiritual character and consequences, and their entailment upon Adam's posterity, will fare no better; for they, too, are not mentioned in the original story. This may be admitted; but the answer is that they are taught in other parts of Scripture; or, if they are not, they can neither be asserted nor assailed as a part of revealed religion.

We may hereupon be met with the rejoinder that this Miltonian doctrine is also taught in other parts of Scripture. We are aware that this is generally presumed, but those who assert it are challenged to produce their texts and show where this teaching is unequivocally found. Though there may be many passages into which it may be read by poetic fancy or gratuitous assumption or arbitrary analogies, or a *petitio principii*, it is believed there is but one out of which it can pretend to be extracted with the least degree of exegetic plausibility—and that is the passage from St. Paul, which is placed at the head of this article. To the consideration of this passage, therefore, the whole discussion is narrowed down; for the "coming of death into the world," spoken of in Rom. v., it is plain, refers exclusively to the death of man, for it is immediately added, "and so death passed (not upon all animated creatures, but) upon all men, for that all have sinned."

Let us attempt a critical examination of this passage in Rom.

viii. in the light of the context. Now, the plausibility of the poetic and popular interpretation depends very much upon the phrase translated "the whole creation," in the 22d verse. We shall endeavor to show (1) that *πασα ἡ κτίσις* should here be translated "every creature," and (2) that *κτίσις* here and throughout the context means *the human creature*, means *man*, neither more nor less.

But we shall convey our idea more clearly by giving a slightly paraphrased version of the whole paragraph as we understand it:

"18. For I reckon that the sufferings of this present time are not worthy to be compared with the glory which shall be revealed [by coming] into us;

"19. For the earnest expectation of the creature waiteth for the revelation of the sons of God;

"20. For the creature was subjected to vanity [to the emptiness of this mortal state, to corruption and death] not of its own choice [or because the thing was in itself preferred], but because of the result had in view by him who so subjected the same,

"21. To wit, that the creature itself also shall be set free from the bondage of this corruption into the liberty of the glory of the children of God;

"22. For we know that every creature groaneth and travaileth [and hath groaned and travailed] in inward pangs and longings until now;

"23. And not only so in the past, but at this present also we ourselves, though we have the first fruits of the Spirit, even we ourselves groan within ourselves, waiting for the adoption, that is, the redemption of our body;

"24. For in hope—in this hope—we have been saved [that is, have received the gift and assurance of our *complete* salvation]."

Now, it is evident that the thesis of the whole paragraph is given in verse 18, for all that follows is step by step connected with it by the illative particle "for." But in verse 18, "the glory is to be revealed," *εἰς ἡμᾶς*, *i. e.*, coming *into us*, to be a matter of inward conscious experience in us Christians, not in us as among the irrational animals, but as among intelligent men. "The creature," therefore, of verse 19, certainly *may* mean no more than if the apostle had said "*our* earnest expectation *as men*, and by the very constitution of our natures;" and, we may add,

it *must* mean this, for "the glory to be revealed" was to be revealed *to us*, to us men, and to the apprehension of our intelligence as men, and no other "creature" on earth could properly be said *to wait for* that glory, for the revelation and consummation of "the sonship to God," for "the adoption," that is, for the resurrection from the dead, "the redemption of our body," (as is clear from verse 23), which is also declared, in verse 21, to be *designed for "the creature."* But we have no reason from Scripture to presume that any other creature than man will be raised from the dead, and thus made free from the bondage of corruption and brought into the liberty of the glory of the children of God.

Then follows *πασα ἐ κτισις*, "every creature," in the 22d verse; which, according to the context, simply means "all mankind," as precisely the same phrase is translated and understood in Mark xvi. 15, and Col. i. 23. These are, also, the only other places where the phrase is found in the New Testament. "Go ye into all the world, *εις τον κοσμον ἀπαντα*, and preach the Gospel to every creature, *πασε τε κτισει.*" Now nobody ever understood this to mean, either poetically, or Platonically, or practically, that the Gospel was to be preached throughout the material cosmos, to every created thing in the universe, to sun, moon and stars, and throughout "earth's entrails," to the lightnings, winds, and waves, and all the forces of nature, to rivers, mountains, plains, and rocks, and dust, to every tree, and shrub, and plant, and flower; or even to every sensitive creature on earth, to every beast, and bird, and creeping thing, and tiny insect, to the fierce tenants of the forest, or the more gentle graminivora of the field, to oxen, sheep and horses, to cats and dogs, to rats and mice, to bats, and toads, and frogs, and vermin, or (begging St. Anthony's pardon) to mollusks and the finny tribes. Such ideas are worse than puerile; they are utterly monstrous, and almost horrible, unfit even to be uttered; and we feel that an apology is due to the reader for placing them before his eyes. *Πασε τε κτισει* means simply "to all mankind," neither more nor less; and so every reader of common sense immediately understands it, without the slightest hesitation or difficulty. In like manner, in Col. i. 23, "the Gospel which has been preached to every creature that is under heaven"—whether we read, with the received text, *εν πασε τε κτισει, or*

with others, *ἐν πάσῃ κτίσει ἢ*, and even though we should choose to translate "in (or to) the whole creation that is under heaven," we should understand the meaning simply to be "among all mankind." Similar synecdochical phrases are familiar in all languages, as "tout le monde" in French, and "everybody" in English; where *monde* does not mean the universe of things, but simply *men*, and, not only so, the phrase is not to be pressed as absolutely including even *all men*; and the expression "everybody" does not include all the *bodies* in the material cosmos, but only men, and not necessarily all of those. So with *πᾶσα ἢ κτίσις* in the Greek.

Thus we get a consistent interpretation of the whole passage, and we see that the other interpretation is neither required by the text, nor consistent with the context, nor with the *usus loquendi* of the New Testament; and the poetical theory of the great cosmical *bouleversement* upon Adam's fall loses its last hold upon Scripture authority.

The theory of the introduction of death into the world, the death of the lower animals as well as of man, in consequence of the Fall, it has been attempted to reconcile with the facts of paleontology by suggesting that the death of those unnumbered races and generations of animals that lived and died and became utterly extinct ages on ages before the creation of man, was a grand system of prolepsis, that their death was after all in consequence of Adam's sin, but took place by way of anticipation. The suggestion is ingenious, but, with all its ingenuity, is manifestly preposterous. It abandons and even annihilates the theory which it is brought to defend. For (1) the theory is understood to refer to a practical and experienced order of antecedents and *consequents* in time, and not to the order of the Divine plan in predestination, into whose details it is not given to man to look. But if we *will* regard things from that proleptical point of view, then not only that one event or fact of the death of animals, but all facts and events whatever in the creation or providence of God which preceded the Fall of man, we may presume and say were the consequences of that Fall—all that comes before is the consequence of what follows after; that is, it is, in the Divine provision, arranged with reference to it, is conformed and harmonized with it beforehand:—and thus the whole idea of antecedents and consequents is simply inverted. But (2) this suggestion annihili-

lates at a stroke the grand cataclysmic theory which it is brought to defend. For if all the consequences of man's Fall were originally arranged and actually introduced into the constitution of the cosmos with reference to and in anticipation of that event, then, upon its occurrence, no *change* at all was needed, or could be accounted for by it, since all its consequences had taken place before. The cataclysmic theory, therefore, and the proleptic theory may be left to devour one another at their leisure.

We will refer to one more suggestion from the other side, and then conclude. It is this; that, as there is to be a regeneration, a restoration, a renovation of *all things*, a new heaven and a new earth, at the final consummation, so it is to be presumed that the primitive condition of the cosmos before man's Fall, which is finally to be restored, was very different from its present condition. In reply, we might call attention to the Apostle's phrase, "new heavens and new earth, *wherein dwelleth righteousness*," and suggest that it is chiefly moral and spiritual renovation that is referred to. Or, we might suggest that the physical world is then to be fitted for the residence of the spiritual or resurrection bodies of the saints. But it is not to be presumed that Adam's body was a spiritual body before his Fall. Adam's body was made of the dust of the ground, and when, at his original creation, God breathed into his nostrils the breath of life, he "became a living soul;" and so, argues the Apostle, he had a *psychical*, or animal, or "natural" body. "There is a natural" (psychical) "body," he says, "and there is a spiritual" (pneumatical) "body; and *so* it is written, the first man Adam was made a living soul" (*ψυχή*); "the last Adam was made a quickening spirit" (*πνεῦμα*) "Howbeit, that was not first which is spiritual, but that which is natural, and afterward that which is spiritual. The first man is of the earth, earthy; the second man is the Lord from heaven; and as we have borne the image of the earthy, we shall also bear the image of the heavenly." Thus it is abundantly evident that man's original body before the Fall was not a spiritual body; and, consequently, if the final regeneration is to include a fitting of the physical world for the abode and use of spiritual bodies, it will not be a restoration of that constitution which fitted it for the abode of unfallen man. We might suggest, moreover, that that final renovation will be the *coming down* of the city of God

from heaven, or the restoration of *Paradise* itself by Milton's "greater man," and its extension over all the earth; rather than a restoration of the state of the world as it existed outside of Paradise before man's fall. This view would be confirmed by the apocalyptic vision of the "new heaven and the new earth;" Rev. xxi. and xxii. This is represented as "the holy city, the new Jerusalem, coming down from God out of heaven." "and in the midst of the street of it, and on either side of the river, was there *the tree of life*, which bare twelve manner of fruits, and yielded her fruit every month, and the leaves of the tree were for the healing of the nations."

But beside and beyond all these suggestions there is one feature of "the new earth," taken even in the strictly literal and physical aspect, and whether referring to its condition before or after the descent of the new Jerusalem, which demonstrates that it is not to be a restoration of the earth to its condition before the Fall of man. Unquestionably, before Adam was made, and when he was made, a large portion of the surface of the earth was occupied, as it is now, by the sea. This appears expressly from the account of the six days' work in Genesis; for, on the third day, "the gathering together of the waters God called seas," and when he blessed his creature, man, he gave him "dominion over the fish of the sea." But in that "new earth," which the Revelator saw, we are expressly told, "there was no more sea."

Now poetry is good, and rhetoric is good, and fanciful speculations may be good, in their places. But sober truth and facts are also good; and such being the truth and the facts, why should we longer insist upon burdening our religion with a load of scientific absurdities which neither we nor our fathers were able to bear?

D. R. GOODWIN.

THE MONTH.

[It is not designed to discuss here all the chief topics of current interest, but only those upon which we have something to say.]

THE establishment of the republic in Spain is the event of the month. Our experience of the Spanish-American republics

makes most people discount the prospects of the new order of things. The immediate future is not promising. A Federalist and a Centralist party already divide the Republican ranks; the former apparently in the majority. They hope to propitiate the different sections of the country by giving some political scope to those local peculiarities that have come down from the ancient history of the country, and are, therefore, associated with its most ancient traditions. There are very decided and marked differences between the different provinces—once kingdoms—of Spain. The infusion of Moorish and German elements in the southern and Mediterranean provinces, as well the larger presence of the old Gothic and Vandal blood, has produced a more varied and mobile population, open to the influence of new ideas. The northern or more Celtic provinces are far less intelligent, and, therefore, more under the influence of the only educated class or clerisy that are widely spread among them—the church clergy. Hence the prevalence of conservative ideas in this Spanish Britany,—among these Basques and Celtiberians of a past world, where Don Carlos seems to be *de facto* the sovereign.

We can hardly indorse the language in which Gen. Sickles congratulates the new republic (in our behalf) on the dignified method of its inauguration. The quarrel with the young king was in regard to the appointment of a notorious assassin to an important position in the army during the resistance to the Carlists. The king demanded his removal, and when the Cortes sustained the ministry in refusing it, he made his departing bow—the most graceful and dignified proceeding of his whole life.

OUR Constitutional Convention marks a new era in the history of politics in our State. The day has gone by when our people are to be led by the nose by catch-words and phrases. Fifty years ago men dared hardly speak under their breath against that notorious instrument of all corruptionists, the *quasi* secret ballot. More has been said against it in a single week, than was said during half a century, and measures to abolish it have been boldly proposed, with what result we, at this writing, cannot say. Among the objectors to the change are some who plead that the voter's freedom is as much endangered by great corporations in the mining districts, as it is in the country parts of England by the

great land-owners. As the case actually is, with all the protection that the ballot-box gives, the great corporations lead their employees to the polls like sheep, and vote them in masses. The ballot-box secures no secrecy to the voter; it protects nobody but the "repeater" and the "stuffer." Every one in our city, for instance, that votes at all, votes with virtual publicity, or is looked upon as exceptionally close and secret about it. Thus we have heard the president of our greatest corporation found fault with because "nobody ever knew how he voted."

A VERY considerable stir has been caused in the coal trade by the Reading R.R. proposing to undertake the sale of coal in the great cities. This great corporation is a vast mining corporation, and has a controlling interest in most of the mining companies. It has no means to protect the capital invested in the coal regions, while the price of coal is left in control of other parties at our end of the line. Its proposal is, therefore, natural and right enough, whether it be the best for the interest of its own stockholders or not. There is also, we believe, some truth in the statement that the coal that the corporation is most interested in pressing on the market, is of a quality inferior to that of some other mines.

WHAT shall we say of Colfax? All who thought well of the man in the past are puzzled to know what to think of him, although a few of his political opponents seem inclined to accept his explanations as satisfactory. There are but three possible hypotheses, (1) that the man is guilty and has forced several members of his own family into committing perjury in order to set up a weak defense. (2.) His memory has been destroyed by the excessive use of tobacco, which has once already occasioned him a severe illness. This theory would have seemed more plausible *before* the recent defense than since. (3). That Mr. Colfax is an innocent man and has told the whole truth in regard to the matter, but is the victim of a wonderful concatenation of circumstances, and a not less wonderful (because useless) conspiracy of individuals. The likelihood of this theory, however, is fatally impaired by the manner in which Mr. Colfax repudiated *all* connection with the Credit Mobilier last summer.

THE shortness of the popular memory is strikingly exemplified by the common remark that this is the severest winter of recent years. It has been a winter of very extensive and destructive storms, and has given us the worst walking and the most sleighing of any since 1856-7. But an unusually severe winter it has not been, that which just preceded it being far more marked by protracted cold weather. The severe and bitter frosts of a year ago have had no parallel in our recent experiences.

THE counting of the electoral vote for President and Vice President has brought to public notice the dangers and absurdities of the present system of choosing our Chief Magistrate, and the consequent propriety of sweeping changes in the Constitution. The main purpose of the authors of our present arrangements has been entirely defeated by the shape that partisan organizations and methods have taken, and the cumbersome machinery of the electoral colleges now serves no purpose whatever. It is to be hoped that this is not the only part of the Constitution that will be changed. Let the Presidential term be extended to ten years and a re-election forbidden. Bring all civil officials except members of the Cabinet and foreign Ministers, under the tenure of office that now applies to the judges—"for life or good behavior." And abolish all the local restrictions that prevent citizens of one State from being elected to the service of another, either in the State Government or in Congress. This last amendment would do much to give breadth and true nationality of spirit to our public men. It would deter men of foresight from giving themselves up to the petty and selfish aims of a district, by the hope that their self-denial and really public spirit would meet with appreciation elsewhere; "a prophet hath honor save in his own country and in his father's house." It would relieve our younger and weaker States from the necessity of sending Caldwells, Pomeroy's, and other corruptibilities and vacuities to the United States Senate, without impairing beyond measure the care exercised by Congressmen to promote the special interests of their constituents. As it is, Congressmen are mere local errand-boys to the national struggle for the loaves and the fishes, and Ruskin's gibe was not without its truth: "There is no *res publica* in America, only a multitudinous *res privata*."

NEW BOOKS.

THE HISTORY OF THE CONSOLIDATION OF THE CITY OF PHILADELPHIA. By Eli K. Price. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott, & Co., 1873. Pp. 140.

Mr. Price, the honored father of the Consolidation Act under which Philadelphia exists, has done both well and wisely in gathering together and perpetuating in one record the story of the evils of the old system of the city, with its nine surrounding districts and its one overriding county; the method adopted for the cure of these evils by a law to consolidate all in one government for the city of Philadelphia, and the good results that have shown themselves in the score of years that have passed since the Act of Consolidation became the fundamental law of the city. No one better knows the history that needed to be told, and the necessity for telling it; for the generations that have come and gone since 1854 look on the existing system as one that must always have existed, since it seems to be so natural that the city, with its common interests running into every part of its breadth and width, should almost of necessity have one common government. Yet Mr. Price, as one of our own municipal legislators, and as a representative of the city in the State legislature, as a busy and successful lawyer, as a man entrusted with the management of large estates and conversant with the interests of men of all classes and occupations, was one of the first to see that the accident of half a score of municipalities where one city now governs, was an anomaly that could be cured, and he now sees how well his work has stood the test of time. Fortunately, twenty years ago it was easy to secure the co-operation of men representing the most important interests of all parts of the city in a task for the public good, and their services met a prompt recognition in the almost unopposed passage of the measures recommended by them. Their names and their action deserve to be perpetuated, that they may be honored and their examples followed; and this task Mr. Price has performed with loving fidelity—unless, indeed, his modest mention and reference to his own services may fail to do full justice to his zealous labor in this, as in so many other, important reforms in our municipal government.

The opinion that Mr. Price expresses as to the necessity of preserving the events of our city history, by retrospective publications from decade to decade, is well supported by the clear, succinct and satisfactory manner in which he has executed the task in his history of the city's consolidation.

We commend it, therefore, very heartily to all our citizens—to the old, as a grateful reminiscence of their earlier lives; to the

young, as a lesson of how to cure existing evils by wise and well-considered legislation; to our city legislators and officers, as showing the extent and important nature of the duties entrusted to them; to the legislature of the State, as an instructive manual of the kind of legislation that they are always safe in adopting; to the Constitutional Convention, as an evidence of the power over municipal affairs that should be entrusted to the city and the State respectively; and to the general reader, as a timely monograph on our local history.

THE SERVANT-GIRL OF THE PERIOD THE GREATEST PLAGUE OF LIFE. What Mr. and Mrs. Honeydew learned of Housekeeping. By Charles Chamberlain, Jr. New York: J. S. Redfield, 1873. Crown 8 vo. Price 75 cents.

The title of this little book is capable of moving most of us to our inmost souls. We are all profoundly conscious that a stiff-necked, ignorant and perverse generation of servants rule our homes and our wives, and we know that housekeeping was quite another thing in the young days of our grandmother or even of our mother. Though decidedly unbelieving as to the superior charms of old times in general, we can sigh in unison with our parents for the "good old days" when servants attended quietly and properly to their duties and treated their mistresses with respect. This servant question has become the most important social problem of our day, and we hope before long to treat it at some length in the *PENN MONTHLY* and explain our own remedies, which are at least simple and practicable, and which would, we think, prove efficacious. Mr. Chamberlain's book disappointed us. It is hastily and carelessly written in the form of a story, explaining what Mr. and Mrs. Honeydew learned of housekeeping, and how, after suffering a year under kitchen tyranny, they finally found comfort in the apartment system. It is unpleasant to read of an *overly* indulgent mother, as the author calls Mrs. Honeydew's parent, but notwithstanding this and many other blemishes, we are confident that the book will interest, arouse and indignantly excite our young housekeepers who have not yet rendered themselves callous to the thousand miseries of every-day domestic life.

A LONELY LIFE. By J. A. St. John Blythe, author of "Wise as a Serpent." T. B. Peterson & Brothers.

The publishers' catalogue at the end is, we confess, the first thing that takes our attention on opening this book. A novel which goes out into the world in the company of such titles as "The Pioneer's Daughter and the Unknown Countess," "Linda,

or the Young Pilot of the Belle Creole," "Dow's Patent Sermons" (What are Patent Sermons?), "The Reformed Gambler" and "The Rector's Wife, or the Valley of a Hundred Fires," naturally calls forth expectation. Does the "Lonely Life" belong to this awe-inspiring class, or, on the other hand, do the alliterative romances of one Mrs. Ann S. Stephens claim it for their own, compelling one to regard it with the dark distrust with which "Palaces and Prisons," "Fashion and Famine," "Silent Struggles," etc., inspire a reader of ordinary courage? What, one stops to consider, would be the final mental condition of a man who had gone through this list of startling fictions. Vile should be the body on which the experiment is to be tried. But not to carry out this irrelevant train of thought, which is hardly fair to that desolate existence we have undertaken to review, let us say that Harold Seton, Mr. J. A. St. John Blythe's eremitic hero, is presented to us in a convent garden of southern Spain, the local scenery being much of the drop curtain order, the effect of which is heightened by the introduction of a very melodramatic monk, to whom Mr. Seton, after clearing himself of any possible suspicions as to his Protestant orthodoxy, raised by his popish propinquity, undertakes to unfold his innermost thoughts. That they understood each other we are given to believe, and though we may not question, we cannot but envy the powers of apprehension which allowed their possessors to grasp such a dialogue as this:

"My son," he said, laying his hand on the young man's arm, "have you counted the cost?"

"I think I have. But where (sic) is the use of the question? What other course is open to me? At least," he added, with a slightly haughty ring in his tone, "that an honorable man could for a moment propose to himself."

"True, true," replied the man, thoughtfully, "the ways of God are very mysterious." If Providence, it may be remarked in passing, were half as mysterious as these interlocutors, piety, always perhaps difficult, would end by becoming impossible. Light, however, is let in finally, and with the aid of some facts imparted by a respectable butler in the confidence of the Seton family, together with a series of magnanimous conversations between a hero and a cousin next in the order of succession, we begin to see that the former of these is in the situation of Sir Boyle Roach's friend, "a fine fellow if he had not been changed at his birth." In other words, his wet nurse did not realize the ideal of domestic fidelity displayed by the butler, but contrived to involve the infant charge entrusted to her care in the general uncertainty which hung round her own family relations. Hence the "Lonely Life," for Mr. Seton resolves that he will not complicate matters further by marrying, or by begetting children to disar-

range the Seton pedigree, but will rather fly for refuge to a curacy, (on the principle apparently of Hood's cockney farmer, who put up his hay wet for fear it should be set fire to) and in the course of time becomes a vicar.

His first pastoral success is the conversion of a young lady who, before her change of heart, expressed herself in this manner: (Mr. Seton)—“How did you know I was riding”? (Young lady)—“I heard your horse kicking up no end of a shine on the gravel just now, and I was awfully pleased, because Mrs. Thornton can't bear the gravel to be cut up.”

“That is not a right reason for pleasure, Miss Battersby.” “Don't call me Miss Battersby, or I shall be getting confused in your mind with my sister Nelly, who's all chignon and train. I'm Agnes Battersby, and it's no use to lecture me. I'm past praying for,” etc. Of the completeness of her reformation we may take as a proof her patient submission to rubbish of this sort. “Don't you know, then, that men have a natural tendency, if left to themselves, to deteriorate, and that for that very reason women were given a higher and more refined nature morally and socially in order that association with them might check that tendency. If you fail to exercise that refining influence you fail to make use of a great power for good which, etc., etc. If you lower your own social tone you run the risk of inflicting a moral injury upon every man with whom you come in contact by lowering his respect for women in general, and that is a most serious injury to any man.” That the *Lonely Life* becomes more densely lonely with every page, and that the hero conceives a hopeless passion, follows of course. And we will not describe how the unfortunate clergyman devotes himself to the sanitary reform of his parochial town, builds a hospital, catches a fever, and reverts at last back to the picturesque monk who, becoming for the first time really intelligible, blesses the death-bed of his Anglican friend, and brings one not any too soon to the last chapter with the satisfactory feeling on our part that though not rich or well connected, we at least know who are our father and mother, and are not called upon to go into the church to please our first cousins.

PHYSICS AND POLITICS. By Walter Bagehot. New York: D. Appleton & Co.

The object of the work is to point out the application of the principles of inheritance to political society. The substance of the work is that everything demands moderation in progress; that in the beginning physical strength is always an element of national strength; that the better and truer graces of humanity, which are adornments and sources of power when security is attained, are in the beginning only hinderances to advancement. Mr. Bagehot

believes in the theory of evolution in politics as well as in science. The work, although in many places there is digression, is well done, and is the most careful that has been issued in this department. There are chapters on the Preliminary Age; the Use of Conflict; Nation-making; the Age of Discussion, and Verifiable Progress Politically Considered.

FLEURANGE. By Madame Augustus Craven. Translated from the French by M. P. T. New York: The Catholic Publication Society, 1872.

Modern French novels may be broadly divided into two classes: one containing works which are so false in morality and so low in tone that they *ought not* to be read, and the other and smaller class embracing the moral novels, which are generally so rapid and dull that they *cannot* be read.

The noble qualities of the French romance once charmed the world, and, indeed, a high standard of style has always been maintained by the better class of writers, in part owing to the salutary influence which the academy has exerted, and in part to the very nature and structure of the language. The slovenly and inexact style which is so prevalent among American writers and among the writers of other nations cannot be produced in a language so precise and elegant as the French, the purity of which has always been jealously guarded. The exceptions to our above division of modern French novels are, however, so numerous as to give us some ground for encouragement. Octave Feuillet and Edmond About have each written romances sufficiently proper in tone and yet by no means deficient in cleverness and interest, but M. Feuillet soiled his reputation by producing one of the most vicious novels of the day (M. de Camours) and M. About could not refrain from writing *L'Infâme* and *Madelon*. We must not, however, forget that we owe both them and a number of other French writers of our day a debt of gratitude for many pleasant hours passed in their company. Among these writers Madame Craven must be assigned a prominent place. Madame Craven is the daughter of M. de la Ferronnays, who was the French ambassador at the Russian Court after the Bourbon restoration.

She possessed the long and brotherly friendship of Montalembert, and lived in the intimacy of Madame Swetchine and Lacordaire. She is the niece of the Duke of Blacas, and the grandniece and god-child of the Duchess of Tourzel.

In *Fleurange*, her last work, she describes the intrigues of St. Petersburg, the interior life of the Czar's household and of the Lamianoff palace with an accuracy which could only be acquired by the personal knowledge gained by a residence in Russia. As the wife of a diplomatist she has had a varied and broad experi-

ence of European life and manners, which has enabled her to draw her characters with bold and accurate as well as clever lines.

Any one who has been so fortunate as to enjoy the friendship of a gentleman of the North of Italy (and more particularly of Milan) will recognize and enjoy the finish of her portrait of the Italian Marquis, "one of those men who converse brilliantly on every subject, and who know how to excite an interest in what they are talking about, whether it be fashionable gossip, a political novelty, or a social and literary question, and who have no other fault than that of treating these subjects as if they were all of equal interest!" Madame Craven's heroine is the daughter of a French artist, who gave her the Italian name of Fior Angelo, or Fleurange, in his own language. She is educated in an Italian convent near Perugia by the Madre Maddalena, whose counsels are a constant source of strength to her in her after struggles. When quite a young girl she loses her father and becomes a member of the household of a German uncle, a learned professor living in Frankfort. Here she lives happily, beloved by all her cousins, but especially by Clement, who is the German hero of the story.

Family misfortunes and reverses again change her lot, and she leaves her German relatives to accept the position of companion to a Russian lady of rank, the Princess Lamianoff. The princess is a well-drawn character—a thorough woman of the world, proud of her wealth, of her title, of her palaces in Florence and at St. Petersburg, of her handsome son George, and even proud of the beauty and charms of her humble companion Fleurange. Her son, Count Georges de Walden, a slave to his passion for Fleurange, is amorous and inconstant—but handsome and charming. Driven by *ennui* into Republican plots and rebellion in Russia, his party are beaten and he is made a prisoner. The efforts of Fleurange in his behalf—her journey to St. Petersburg and the account of her stay there form the most interesting, as they are the best written, portions of the book. In every position in which she is placed Fleurange conducts herself with charming and well-bred grace; she appears equally at home in the learned household of the German professor, in the Florentine palace of the Princess Lamianoff, or in the magnificent Court of St. Petersburg. The growing strength and beauty of her character is developed with singular felicity.

Roman Catholic literature is deeply indebted to Madame Craven for her representation of the power of religion in practical life. The noble language of the Madre Maddalena in the advice given by her to Fleurange after the deep disappointment which resulted from the journey to Russia, is truly Catholic. There is nothing argumentative or controvertial in the religious passages; indeed there is no mention or apparent thought of any other form of religion than that of Roman Catholicism.

Fleurange can be highly recommended as a story which possesses the merits of a good plot and a noble style. Although containing highly dramatic situations and scenes full of passion, the passion is pure, and the dramatic situations are natural and produced without strain.

The most prudish can read it without a blush, and yet the book has sufficient power and interest to satisfy the most insatiate devourer of novels.

Madame Craven's *Memoirs of her family (Recit d'une Sœur)* published some years since, enjoyed great popularity and went through twenty-four editions, while six editions of *Fleurange* have been already required to supply the Parisian demand.

TRUTH AND ERROR. By Rev. Henry A. Braun, D. D., author of "Curious Questions." Pp. 160. New York: D. & J. Sadlier & Co. For sale by H. McGrath, 1019 Walnut st.

A treatise by a thoughtful Catholic writer, in which orthodox Protestants will find very little to excite their dissent. Dr. Braun writes against the tendency to universal skepticism that pervades much modern thinking, and springs from the belief that man is only capable of knowing the shows and appearances of things, is confined to the phenomenal world. Dr. Braun in his preface specifies Dr. McCosh of Princeton as a laborer in the same field of argument. Toward the close he calls in the doctrinal decisions of his own church, but not in a way to excite any sectarian opposition. His book will help Christians of opposite schools to see the ground that they occupy in common as against the common enemy. We bid him "God speed!"

A MEMORIAL OF ALICE AND PHEBE CAREY, with some of their later poems. By Mary Clemmer Ames, (with two portraits on steel) Pp. xii., 351. New York: published by Hurd & Houghton. Philadelphia. For sale by Porter & Coates.

Two women that combined in rare harmony womanly gifts and womanly graces, were among the dead of 1871. Their early life was one of poverty, toil and suffering. In their riper years they were honored and rewarded for their literary work, and widely beloved for the personal excellencies that their writings revealed. Seldom have two maiden sisters been so sorrowed over by the community at large.

Mrs. Ames has given us a clever and womanly book about them, full of tender reverence and appreciation, rather wanting in method, system and anecdote, rather too abundant in praise and estimate. The last 112 pages are occupied with the poems that the sisters did not live to collect from the periodicals in which they made their first appearance.

MANUAL OF LAND SURVEYING—With Tables; by David Murray, A. M., Ph. D. New York: J. W. Schermerhorn & Co., 1872. For sale by J. B. Lippincott & Co.

This work describes minutely the details of the preliminary field operations, that form the basis of the measurements of lines and areas, such as the selection and establishment of bases, and the instruments used in measuring them, and the determination of a true meridian, and consequently magnetic variations. Also, the manner of working up the results of field-notes and plotting, as an auxiliary to which the author has introduced all the geometric and trigonometrical principles and formulæ which bear upon the subject. The use of surveying and drawing instruments is described in connection with certain hypothetical conditions which may arise in practice, the solutions of which are given.

The entire work, with the tables of logarithms, is a valuable compilation of such data as are necessary for an ordinary knowledge of surveying, and is in general well arranged, but we do not find any new methods or solutions, and the drawings of some of the instruments fail to represent truly the present condition of the art. The old and laborious method of measuring by the chain being largely replaced in preliminary surveys by the more expeditious and less expensive method of the stadia, something should be added on this head as well as on the use of the gradiometer in place of the level.

The angular co-ordinates, formerly used with the plane table, have rendered that instrument of but little value, whereas its conversion into a stadia makes it invaluable for all varieties of details and contours. By a description of some of these more recent improvements in instruments and their applications, the work would be found more fully to meet the requirements of modern science, and be a valuable addition to scientific texts.

L. M. H.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

Lady Sweetapple; or Three to One. By George Webbe Dasent, D. C. L. With Illustrations. New York: D. Appleton & Co. For sale by Porter & Coates. Pp. 241. Price 75 cents.

Adventures of an Attorney in Search of Practice. By Samuel Warren. Chicago: James Cockcroft & Co., 1872. Pp. 422. Price \$2.25.

Teachings of Jesus. New York: Collins & Brother. Pp. 44. Price 25 cents.

Queens. By E. B. Emery. Boston: Estes & Lauriat. For sale by Porter & Coates.

The Prophecies of Isaiah: a new and critical translation from Franz

Delitzsch, D. D., Professor in the University of Erlangen. Philadelphia: The Lutheran Bookstore, 1872.

Circular of Information of the Bureau of Education for November, 1872. American Education at the International Exposition, to be held at Vienna in 1873. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1872.

The Eagle's Nest. Ten lectures on the Relation of Natural Science to Art, given before the University of Oxford, in Lent Term, 1872. By John Ruskin. New York: John Wiley, & Son, 1873. Price \$1.50

United States Register or Blue Book for 1873. Philadelphia: I. Disturnell.

An Open Question. A Novel. By James De Mille, with illustrations by Alfred Fredericks. New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1873. For sale by Porter & Coates. Pp. 233. Price \$1.00.

Lewis Arundel. By Frank E. Smedley. Philadelphia: T. B. Peterson & Bros. Pp. 288. Price \$1.00.

A Manuel of Pottery and Porcelain for American Collectors. By John H. Treadwell. New York: G. P. Putnam & Sons. London: Sampson, Low & Co., 1872. For sale by J. B. Lippincott & Co. Pp. 161. Price \$2.75.

The Elocutionist's Annual. By J. W. Shoemaker, A. M. Philadelphia: J. W. Doughaday & Co., 1873. Pp. 194. Price 25 cents

MUSIC RECEIVED.—Beware. By Ch. Gounod Little Bunch of Roses. By J. T. Knight. Eugene Waltzes. By Grace E. Pratt. Fantasie. Labert & Stark. Under the Buttercups. By Wm. A. Huntley. Oh! May'st Thou Dream of Me; Duetto. By Gabriel. Minnie, Darling, I'll be Waiting, and The Robins are Calling for You. By George Dana.

Boston: G. D. Russell & Co

THE
PENN MONTHLY.

APRIL, 1873.

THE MONTH.

FROM England we learn that the ministerial crisis is over, Mr. Disraeli having declined to form a new government, and Mr. Gladstone having consented to resume office. In the House of Commons, on the evening of the 20th, each explained his position, Mr. Gladstone having a word to say as to the summary refusal of the Conservatives to form a ministry when requested, being in his opinion, "not fully in accord with the exigencies of the case, nor with parliamentary usage," and Mr. Disraeli, on the other hand, frankly admitting, after the most approved manner of parliamentary admissions, that he and his colleagues were unable to form any ministry which could conduct the Government with the present Parliament. Strictly speaking, this ministerial crisis possesses no political importance, for no issue was formed upon any constitutional question, nor upon any point of sufficient moment to make necessary the creation of a new Parliament and a change of ministry; but it is of value to England, and instructive to the world at large, as affording a view of the current of thought in England and Ireland which otherwise would not be generally perceived. The Irish University Bill came before Parliament in its natural order, though perhaps prematurely, the last of the three great matters of reform, which Mr. Gladstone had promised to the Irish people, and that he conscientiously endeavored to fulfill his pledges can hardly be doubted. The failure of the mea-

sure seemed to arise from the inherent difficulties in all questions involving material differences of opinion in Ireland between the adherents of the Church of England and the Roman Catholics. In the effort to apply to the solution of the case liberal principles of government, independently of religious questions, Mr. Gladstone hit upon a compromise, which, like all compromises under such circumstances, has proved eminently unsuccessful. According to the provisions of the bill, the Queen's University was to be abolished and a new college, to be called the University of Dublin, to be established. The control was to be in a Board of Council of twenty-eight, and Trinity College was to be the nucleus for the organization of the new University. After 1875 this Council was to assume entire control, and to receive into the Board representatives from certain colleges named in the bill, and also to affiliate such others as might desire it, each college, if containing fifty students, being entitled to one representative in the Board of Council, and if containing one hundred and fifty students, being entitled to two representatives. Now, the Roman Catholics are not willing to accept this, because their own colleges, having no endowment, could not compete with their wealthy rivals, and would occupy a minor position in the new plan of affiliation. They would rather leave things as they are, and hope for the recognition by the government some day of the claims of their college to receive endowments. Trinity College, on the other hand, enters its protest, "that the standard of attainment necessary for an academic degree would be lessened by the affiliation of small provincial schools or colleges, inasmuch as the standard must necessarily be accommodated to that of the weakest of the affiliated institutions." So that the main plan of the scheme is not acceptable to either of the two parties most interested. But the most extraordinary features of the bill are the clauses prohibiting the appointment of professors of Theology, Modern History and Mental and Moral Philosophy, and providing that in the examinations no disqualification is to attach to candidates "for adopting in Modern History, Moral and Mental Philosophy, Law, Medicine, or any other branch of learning, any particular theory in preference to any other received theory." The first of these undoubtedly renders the bill obnoxious to all advocates of a liberal education. In these days of progress and reform in matters of

education, a university without a curriculum of modern history and philosophy would be an anomaly, and a graduate of such a university would be to many educated men intellectually a curiosity. In the peculiar circumstances existing in Ireland, as the result of England's policy, there may perhaps be something to say in support of such a plan, but with all, except the strictest advocates for paternal government, the measure would be vastly unpopular. As to the "Conscience" clause, as it may be called, it would, if fully applied, in effect make examinations a mere empty form, for however ignorant of principles the candidate might be, his "theory," to which the examiners must respectfully bow, would undoubtedly help him through. The fate of this bill certainly shows that educational reform in Ireland cannot be accomplished so long as it is necessary to resort to weak expedients, and efforts at compromise where no compromise is possible.

NOTHING of great importance has occurred in Spain and France during the last month. The Carlists, led by an enthusiastic priest, the curé of Santa Cruz, have been distinguishing themselves by attacking defenseless towns and unprotected railway trains. We hear, however, that the government forces have recently given them a severe whipping, and captured the curé's mother and sister, who will be held as hostages. We have had a dispatch or two referring, with the delicious vagueness characteristic of the cable newsman, to the proclamation at Barcelona of a Federal Republic, and the departure thither, post-haste, of Figueras, with the intention of putting a stop to the movement. A later dispatch mentions a telegram from him to his colleagues, stating that the misguided people of Barcelona seem determined to support the party of decentralization. Considering all things, it is wonderful that Spain has progressed through the past few weeks with so little trouble and disturbance. Whether the end be Alphonso, Carlos, Monpensier, or a Republic like our own, she is at this time in a state of transition. And France, as a Rhode Island deacon said of himself, remains "in a state of quo." It is amusing to note how un-republican the French idea of government really is. Paris continues in a state of siege, the Assembly in a constant effervescence. The reports of the sittings sparkle all over with "incidents," "movements" and "sensations." Presi-

dent Thiers still manages to keep it in order by the aid of timely colds and intermitted indispositions, but there is not perfect peace. At one time an obnoxious prince is summarily expelled the country, at another an injudicious journal is suppressed. Meantime the Radicals are urging one another to bide their time; dissension divides the monarchical ranks; death has deprived the Bonapartes of their leader and their cause, and for the nonce, greener fields and newer pastures have attracted the choice spirits of the Commune to Madrid.

MR. BOUTWELL'S election to the Sénate would be an event of great importance if the policy of the Treasury were likely to be changed by his retirement from the Cabinet. Such, however, is not the case. The President has appointed as his successor Judge Richardson, who will carry on the department, without doubt, in the light of the gospel according to Boutwell. He is said to be a man of character and ability, and has the merit of knowing the duties of his office. In this respect the appointment is a good one, and the busy speculations of Washington correspondents as to the other Cabinet offices are set at rest by the re-appointment of all the late incumbents. These officers have been generally efficient, and among the constant changes of our rotatory system it is satisfactory to find that the President is not wholly a believer in the ingenious theory, that the fact that a man has held an office long enough to understand all its duties is a sufficient reason for dismissing him. The idea that offices are schools in which men are to be taught certain duties which, when they have become proficient, they must never be suffered to discharge, is confined to America. It does not seem to be a part of General Grant's political creed. It is singular, however, that, with his evident good intentions and the judgment which his friends say he possesses, he should have made as many mistakes in appointments as he certainly has. No President since Washington ever went into office so entirely untrammelled as Grant, and from none were greater things expected. And yet it must be said that that expectation has not been fulfilled. The material he had to use was often bad, but his appointments have been disappointments in nine cases out of ten. But now that he has entered on his new term, with the experience which, as he himself says, will be of service to him, there

is reason to hope for better things. One feature of some of his most severely criticised appointments is to be commended. He has made it possible for a man to step into the highest offices without passing through all the lower ones in succession. A President may in the future disregard the "claims" of the politician and party hack, and choose his highest assistants from the ranks of those whose purity and modesty have hitherto kept their virtue and ability out of the service of the State.

THE Inaugural ceremonies passed off without accident. The day was blustering and cold, and to stand in the streets, as thousands did for hours, was a test of patriotism which they bore well. It is sad to think how slight was their reward. A larger attendance of "fellow-citizens," a greater display of bunting, and a more expensive and less successful ball than usual seem to have been the chief features of the occasion. Of the latter (the ball), we are told that no device succeeded in warming the building in which it was held. Everything was cold, including the collation, and the attempt of a white man to arouse some warmth of feeling in the company, by promenading and dancing with a colored beauty, failed to melt the most conservative. The President was there, with the new Vice-president and other dignitaries, but they soon departed to less frigid scenes. If one may place implicit reliance in the newspaper accounts, there must be something in the vice-presidential office provocative of smiles. Mr. Colfax's proficiency has become proverbial, and now we are told that "Mr. Wilson was radiant with smiles;" and again, "the new Vice-president was smiling on every one." It is a satisfaction to know that although one luminary sank beneath a cloud, his successor, in the language of the P. R., "came up smiling."

The chief interest of the occasion centered in the President's address. It is, on the whole, simple, direct, and manly. After a few general remarks, in which he expresses his belief that "the civilized world is tending toward Republicanism," he touches upon the negro question with the sensible remark that "social equality is not a subject to be legislated upon." "Give him (the negro) access to schools, and, when he travels let him feel that his conduct will regulate the treatment and the fare he will receive." This is excellent advice to his white countrymen.

Alluding to Santo Domingo he reiterates his belief that the acquisition of that island would have blessed both them that gave and them that took, but declares that he will, in the future, decline to recommend any plan "for the acquisition of territory, unless it has the support of the people;" a wise determination, which, taken some years ago, would have saved him much annoyance and the Republican party some severe trials. He then goes on to enumerate the various subjects to which his efforts shall be directed, remarking of the Civil Service Reform, that "the spirit of the rules adopted will be maintained." He is no doubt perfectly sincere when he says that he looks forward with anxiety to a release from the responsibilities which have weighed upon him so heavily since 1861. He will certainly have earned repose when he shall have completed the sixteenth year of his memorable public service. One can hardly turn from the inaugural, however, without wishing that the President had not thought it necessary to speak of the annoyances to which he has been subjected in the manner in which he did. "I performed a conscientious duty," he says in conclusion, "without asking promotion or command, and without a revengeful feeling toward any section or individual. Notwithstanding this, throughout the war, and from my candidacy for my present office in 1868 to the close of the last presidential campaign, I have been the subject of abuse and slander scarcely ever equaled in political history, which to-day, I feel I can disregard in view of your verdict, which I gratefully accept as my vindication." Slandered and abused he has been, no doubt, but so has been every other public man in this and every other country. Washington had his full proportion of it, and so had Jackson and Clay and Webster. Lincoln bore more than his own share, for he was the target for all the arrows that were aimed at the principles he defended as well as for those that sought to injure his country, and, less happy than the rest, he died in the harness. No one was ever more abused than the late Mr. Greeley, and it seems a little unfortunate that General Grant should have marred the effect of his address by an allusion to himself in questionable taste. He has been especially blest in having passed through his trials to this happy time, when all over the land there seems to be arising the dawn of "an era of good feeling," and the lion and the lamb are giving evidences

of a disposition to lie down together. There will no doubt be many an aspirant for the place of the little child who shall lead them in the direction of the White House four years hence. By that time, indeed, nails now pared to smoothness will have grown to harmful length, but, for the moment, everything is lovely, and full of peace.

THE Credit Mobilier business is finally at an end. A debate in a House densely crowded with ladies relieved the emotions of the members, furnished them with mail matter for distribution among their constituents and amused the highly intelligent audience that had fought valiantly for seats in the gallery and on the floor. Mr. Ames, seating himself behind a huge bouquet, calmly awaited the attack of his enemies. His champion and friend, General Butler, sallied forth upon them armed to the teeth. In Mr. Ames he saw nothing but injured innocence, and, while he spoke of so much virtue in distress, the subject of his eulogy watered his flowers with an occasional timely tear. The spectacle of the enfeebled Mr. Brooks stretched at length upon a sofa, moved many a manly heart and convinced numbers of reflecting minds of the weakness of the charges against him. It surprised no one to learn that the House declined to expel the chief culprits, although no speaker seems to have quoted the parable concerning the casting of the first stone, or the proverb about glass houses. It is to be hoped that the tone of the House is not a fair reflection of that of the people, and, if one can judge by that of the press, it would not seem to be. Unfortunately, the latter has no little of the spirit of Southey's "Devil" when a trifle indisposed. Since the exposure it has been very severe on the wickedness of the Congressional world, and the sinful lusts of the Congressional flesh. If it did not in this represent the popular feeling we are in a bad way.

To the enthusiastic philosophers who so frequently refer to "the great heart of the American people" as to a court from which there can be no appeal because it is infallible, we must look for an explanation of a phenomenon to which we have been treated during the past month. Mr. Colfax, at South Bend, and Mr. Ames, at Easton, have been the recipients of the most flattering

Alluding to Santo Domingo he reiterates his belief that the acquisition of that island would have blessed both them that gave and them that took, but declares that he will, in the future, decline to recommend any plan "for the acquisition of territory, unless it has the support of the people;" a wise determination, which, taken some years ago, would have saved him much annoyance and the Republican party some severe trials. He then goes on to enumerate the various subjects to which his efforts shall be directed, remarking of the Civil Service Reform, that "the spirit of the rules adopted will be maintained." He is no doubt perfectly sincere when he says that he looks forward with anxiety to a release from the responsibilities which have weighed upon him so heavily since 1861. He will certainly have earned repose when he shall have completed the sixteenth year of his memorable public service. One can hardly turn from the inaugural, however, without wishing that the President had not thought it necessary to speak of the annoyances to which he has been subjected in the manner in which he did. "I performed a conscientious duty," he says in conclusion, "without asking promotion or command, and without a revengeful feeling toward any section or individual. Notwithstanding this, throughout the war, and from my candidacy for my present office in 1868 to the close of the last presidential campaign, I have been the subject of abuse and slander scarcely ever equaled in political history, which to-day, I feel I can disregard in view of your verdict, which I gratefully accept as my vindication." Slandered and abused he has been, no doubt, but so has been every other public man in this and every other country. Washington had his full proportion of it, and so had Jackson and Clay and Webster. Lincoln bore more than his own share, for he was the target for all the arrows that were aimed at the principles he defended as well as for those that sought to injure his country, and, less happy than the rest, he died in the harness. No one was ever more abused than the late Mr. Greeley, and it seems a little unfortunate that General Grant should have marred the effect of his address by an allusion to himself in questionable taste. He has been especially blest in having passed through his trials to this happy time, when all over the land there seems to be arising the dawn of "an era of good feeling," and the lion and the lamb are giving evidences

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attentions. In Indiana, the first has been pronounced by the great heart of his countrymen a much injured man, and a model for all future statesmen. In Massachusetts, the other has figured in the character of a Christian martyr, rescued from the arena by miraculous interposition, and has been held up to the admiration of mankind amid equally violent palpitations of the organ above referred to. Now, if either of these gentlemen be entitled to credit on his oath, the other is utterly unworthy of belief, and if the more plausible story of the two be a true one, both men alike are guilty of bribery in the public service. There would, therefore, seem to be some trouble about the popular organ of which we have heard so much. A fatty degeneration, perhaps, or something equally terrible. The political "Doctor" who, knowing the land's disease, will, in these days, "purge it to a sound and pristine health," will certainly deserve to be applauded "to the very echo."

THE last state of the Forty-second Congress was much worse than the first. In addition to the Credit Mobilier revelations, reflecting as they did upon members of both Houses, many of whom had up to that time enjoyed, as they seemed to deserve, the public confidence, we have had some spectacles of the most painful character. In the House of Representatives a bill was introduced to increase the pay of the President, Vice-president, Cabinet and Judges of the Supreme Court—a very commendable measure. Few persons could be found to object to the bill thus far. The salaries of these officers have for many years been at much too low a figure, and there is something absurd in maintaining that of the Chief Magistrate at the sum named by Washington as the probable cost of the office in his day. The rise in everything since then has been prodigious, and the purchasing power of money has greatly fallen, and little can be said against the proposition to increase the salaries of the Executive and Judicial members of the government. The ministers who represent us abroad are also notoriously ill-paid, and something might properly have been done for them. But the wise gentlemen who controlled this bill determined to treat it as many a proper measure has been treated before; to make its shoulders bear the weight of an improper one. They first tacked on an amendment increasing their

own pay twenty-five hundred dollars. The question whether or not this was in good taste apart, they had reason for urging this too. The cost of living in Washington is great, and the figure named is not excessive. Thus far secure, they sprang on the House, in the last days of the last session of the Congress, an amendment to make this increase apply to themselves as well as to their successors. Here, then, was the real reason for so much zeal in behalf of an ill-paid President and impecunious judges. *Hinc illa lachrymæ!* No one proposed to give the President the addition to his salary for the last term as well as the next. Charity begins at home. A few of the better class voted against this, and spoke against it—the mass remained silent—two or three bold spirits urged it with vehemence and skill—notably one of argentivorous fame, with force and dexterity, and the amendment passed. The Speaker drew himself out of the crowd by declining to consider the measure applicable to his office, and soon afterward the House adjourned. Thus, amid a shower of greenbacks, the Forty-second Congress passed into history.

MR. DISRAELI said, the other day, in commenting on a proposed measure, that “it was well to remind the House occasionally, that it had the functions of a senate as well as those of a vestry.” It may become necessary to remind the United States Senate that it is not simply a Quarter Sessions jury. For a number of weeks its time has been occupied with questions involving the honor of several of its members. It has failed to be prompt; it has failed to satisfy the country; it has failed to act worthily of its own dignity and fame. A Vice-president and nine Senators make a long list of distinguished accused.

Three terribly inculpated persons ceased to be Senators on the fourth of March; a fourth has been the subject of a report out of which nothing can be made; another refuses to notice the accusations against him. The affairs of three new Senators are, it is said, to be investigated, but at the present writing Mr. Alexander Caldwell, of Kansas, is the most imposing figure in the dock. He has been shown to be guilty of having bought at least two votes, of having paid \$15,000 for the withdrawal of a dangerous rival, and of other corrupt practices at his election to the Senate. The committee of investigation, judging, perhaps, that

the Senate which had refused to believe ill of Pomeroy and Clayton and suffered Patterson's case to pass without censure, would hardly be up to the point of expelling Caldwell, reported a resolution declaring his seat vacant. This has given rise to a debate in which several questions have been discussed. Some who are in favor of Caldwell's expulsion, doubt the power of the Senate to inquire into the matters preceding his election. Others fear to establish a precedent, and take refuge behind technicalities. The Senate chamber has listened to legal arguments by Mr. Thurman and Mr. Carpenter, and has endured a whole broadside of Mr. Logan's logic. Mr. Conkling, in a long and modest speech, thinks Mr. Caldwell should not be expelled, because to bribe a rival to withdraw with a check for \$15,000, if one can afford so large a sum, is, in his (Mr. Conkling's) opinion, not a whit worse than to take money in pay for political speeches, which, he grieves to learn, Mr. Schurz has done. Mr. Cameron's defense of the immaculate Caldwell is drowned in pouring rain which drives the Senate into adjournment—to ponder, perhaps, on Mr. Conkling's opinion of Mr. Schurz's wickedness, or on the idea of another Senator that the culprit should not suffer because he is only known to have bribed two voters, while he had, at his election, a majority of six. And so, illumined, occasionally, by arguments like these the dull debate drags along from day to day. The country waits and watches with a steady gaze, and all the while, Caldwell sits, serenely, in the Senate, calmly confiding in the protection of his own virtue. Poor, defenseless man!

GOVERNOR DIX, of New York, has fully justified those who built their hopes upon his firmness and manliness of character. In refusing to commute the sentence of Foster he resisted as terrible a pressure as ever sought to sway a man's judgment. In a calm and earnest letter to Dr. Tyng, who was foremost in seeking to save Foster's life, the Governor gives his reasons for doing what he conceives to be his duty. They are such as one would expect from him. With a tenderness that is morbid, for which we are remarkable in this country, we forget that when a jury has pronounced upon a man's guilt, and the courts have determined that he has been lawfully tried and found guilty, his punishment becomes a question of the execution of the laws. A jury is not re-

quired to consider the consequences, but the act itself, and to find, not whether a man shall be imprisoned for life or put to death, but whether or not he is guilty of the offense with which he is charged. For certain crimes the wisdom of mankind, directed and modified by experience, has fixed certain punishments, and he deserves well of his country who, unmoved by fear or favor and undismayed by responsibility, stands firmly by his duty, as he understands it, and executes the command of that law which is the safeguard of us all.

THE CONQUEST OF SPAIN BY THE ARAB-MOORS.

III.—THE TREASON OF ILYAN.

IT will be conceded that the first cause of the conquest of Spain is to be found in the judgment, tenacity, valor and skill of Musa Ibn Nosseyr, who had confronted on the opposite side of the narrow channel an enervate nation with the power and purpose to invade it. To this should be added the energy and fidelity of his generals, and especially of Tarik el Tuerto, who had urged the crossing, and was to be sent at the head of the expedition.

The second or immediate cause is to be found in a doubtful legend, full, however, of a real philosophy. Indeed the historian who neglects legends because they are fabulous, abandons foolishly the most brilliant and valuable materials from which history is to be written. The hero of the legend is Count Ilyan; the heroine, his daughter. As this story is mentioned by most of the historians, Arabian and Spanish, and as it contains an important truth, it is proper that it should be given, in outline at least, in these pages. If it be not true in fact, as an allegory it is full of truth. Count Ilyan, the lord or sahib of Ceuta, was a man whose identity and whose power cannot be questioned, but whose office and position are not so easily defined.

It is even difficult to discover the extent of the possessions, and the nature of their tenure, held by the Gothic monarchs in Spain at the time of the coming of the Arabs; but we may gather

that, when Musa appeared, the governors of Tangier and Ceuta held but slack allegiance to the kings at Toledo. They were rather tributary princes in their strongholds, whose power had grown formidable by reason of the indolence of the Gothic monarchs, their distance from the capital, and the lack of ready communication. During the reign of Wittiza they had been fighting against the Moors, and keeping the districts in subjection, in his name indeed, since he had sent them troops and munitions of war, and because they formed the outlying picket of the realm. But there were factions in the state; and it will be readily seen that the hope of preferment or reward, or the instinct of revenge, might cause them to join even a national enemy in order to destroy a wicked and oppressive sovereign. Such, in a bold statement, was exactly the case. Ilyan had a quarrel with the king, and was tempted in an evil hour to seek his revenge, by ushering the Arabian arms into Spain, with the general understanding or hope, doubtless, that, when Roderik should be deposed and a large booty secured, they should return to Africa and be content to dwell there. Mad act, fatal logic, and vain hope!

Ilyan is made to bear several characters. He was a *Comes Spatharorium* of the king. He was *al Mukaddam*, or *adelantado*; a very independent sort of subject, a sort of vice-king. Holding both sides of the strait, and being a very powerful lord, he seems to have added to his fortune by a monopoly of commerce, and therefore figures in some of the Arabian histories as a "Berber merchant." He is said to have married the sister of Wittiza, and to have been disaffected by the treatment which the sons of Wittiza had received through the usurpation of Roderik. They had gone over, upon the new accession, to Africa, and had presented their grievances to Ilyan. In the internal confusion incident to the change in dynasty, reinforcements were no longer sent him, and while this slackened his allegiance, it threw him also upon his own resources and self-reliance. His army was recruited from among the Berbers. He was resolute, brave, and without a spice of patriotism. The Spain of Roderik was no home for him. The country was ripe for revolt. Many wanted only an amelioration of the evils. Ilyan and the sons of Wittiza wanted vengeance on Roderik at any cost. But a fair excuse for the treason was not yet matured in his mind. He had resiste

all incursions of the Moors into his territory, but he would resist no longer: he would invite them; and he sought for a plausible reason for doing so.

Woman's wrongs have asserted themselves in history far more powerfully than woman's rights. The sacredness of woman's chastity has been defended by the most unchaste of peoples. The long and famous siege of Troy was undertaken to punish the abduction of Helen by Paris, the king's son. The fall of the tottering Roman kingdom was due to the violation of the chaste Lucretia by Sextus, the son of Tarquin, and the very name of king was thenceforth abhorred in the land. The sacrifice of Virginia brought back the Tribunes and extended the liberty of the people. So, according to the chronicle, the seduction of Count Ilyan's daughter gave cause and shape to the nascent treason; and the historic results were even more remarkable than those in Grecian and Roman story.

It was the custom in Gothic Spain, as in most other monarchies of Europe, for the children of the grandees to be brought up at court. The boys learned to use arms and became acquainted with knightly functions; they formed the young body-guard of the king. The girls were in attendance upon the queen, and learned to sing, to dance and to embroider; in short, to prepare themselves, by that ornamental education which has been the curse of woman in all ages, for such fitting and dowered marriages as the king should order them.¹ For generals on distant service this custom was peculiarly advantageous. Their children were cared and provided for in the best manner during their absence. Thus it happened that while Ilyan and his wife were living at Ceuta, their very young and beautiful daughter Florinda was at court in attendance upon the queen of Roderik. The story which, as it is mentioned by nearly every historian, Spanish and Arabian, has a probable germ of truth, is decked in the garments of romantic fiction in the chronicle of *El Rasis*.² It is related that the king saw her as the elders saw Susanna, in the bath, disporting with her companions, and that the demon of lust possessed him:³ that he either overcame her scruples, or resorted to vio-

¹ *Mariana, II. 377-8.*

² From which Irving has drawn his Legend of Don Roderik.

³ Avino que jugando con sus ignales, descubrió gran parte de su cuerpo.

lence, and robbed her of her honor. The unhappy girl sent a trusty messenger with a token and a letter to her father, then at his post at Ceuta. "O my father," she wrote, "would that the earth had swallowed me up before I found myself in condition to write these lines to thee."¹ A square tower on the edge of the Tagus, and at the foot of the hill on which the palace stood, is still pointed out as *El bano de la cava* but recent examination has dispelled the illusion, as the existence of the ruins of two piers, rising just above the water, shows it to be the entrance of a bridge. (N. A. WELLS, *Picturesque Antiquities of Spain*. 113.)

Considering the story of Florinda's seduction as true, without the dramatic additions of legendists, we are prepared for the following conduct of Count Ilyan. He disguised his anger, immediately crossed the stormy strait—it was in January—went to court, and took his daughter away, on the plea of her mother's illness, and at once proceeded to conclude a bargain with Musa for the delivery of Spain into his hands. Of the exact mode of his communication with the Arabian general there are several accounts. Some say he chattered with Tarik, the lieutenant of Musa, at Tangier; others, that as soon as he returned from Spain to Africa he went to visit Musa at Kairwan. It is most probable that he did at first neither, but sent an urgent and eloquent letter in which he solicited him at once to attempt the invasion; to "hasten to that country where the palaces are built of gold and silver, and those who dwell in them are like women, owing to the exuberance of their comforts and the abundance of their riches."²

Thus the treason of Count Ilyan was prepared, and only awaited the acceptance of his invitation to be consummated. To those who weigh legends in the scales of just judgment, the story is full of meaning, whether its detailed events are true or not. It throws great light upon the history. It shows us the anarchy of the realm; the disaffection of the great nobles holding military commands; the parties formed against Roderik as a usurper whose government had failed to atone for the wrong. It displays this monarch steeped in lust and in luxury, a keeper of no faith, an

¹ Oxala que la tierra se me abriera, antes que me viera puesta en condicion describir estos renglones, etc.—*Mariana*.

² Reyhānu-l-albāb, of Mohammed Ibn Ibrāhīm quoted by Gayangos. 1,516, note 1.

outrager of innocence, deserving of punishment and tempting to treason by his crimes. The fated Florinda, mythical or real, is traced by tradition to the sea-shore, and then having played her short but tragic part in the history, she disappears. On his way back to Ceuta, Ilyan passed through Malaga, and tradition points to a gate opening upon the shore in that city, which is called to this day¹ "The gate of Cava," for the poor girl, for no fault of her own, was to bear the name of a strumpet, given by the Goths, because Spain was lost when she was dishonored, and accepted by the Arabians, who guard their women with locks and gratings and eunuchs, because it seemed impossible that she should lose her virtue, without her own complicity in the act.²

But if Ilyan's treason was the immediate cause of the Arabian invasion, there were many other influences operating to give it force and success. There were, as we have seen, many disaffected persons of high station in Spain. To these Ilyan spoke long and earnestly, and to each according to his special character. There was gold for all, fame for the ambitious, power for the aspiring, and a goodly land in which to enjoy them all.

The injured and oppressed Jews became an important constituent of the conspiracy. To them the gentlest master was the one to serve, and they found themselves constantly changing their al-

¹ Cosa recibida de padres a hijos.—*Mari*. II. 380.

² I place in a note, because I do not wish to mar the connected story by perplexing doubts, the fact, that, to the best Spanish historians, this romantic history is full of fog and mist. The Marquis of Mondejar, in his *Advertencias*, considers the curious doubts thrown not only upon the story of Florinda, but also upon the crime of Roderik. In the ancient chronicles of Isidore Pacensis, Dulcideo, Emilianense and Abelda, there is no mention of Ilyan or Cava; and so the Marquis regards the whole thing as a Moorish fiction, adopted by Dr. Josef Pellicer, in his *Annales de España*. San Pedro Pascual thinks Wittiza was the guilty king, and not Roderik, who he says was not elected until after the Moors entered Spain. (*Mariana*, II. 382, note.) But, on the other hand, for every author who has failed to mention the story, there are two who have presented it, and the Arab accounts have a simple causality which looks very much like truth. Al Khosequi, as quoted by Al Makk. (I. 255), says that when Ilyan went to take away his daughter, both the king and himself dissembled. The king asked him to get him some Barbary hawks (shadhankah) for hunting, and Ilyan answered: "Doubt not, O King, but that I will soon be back, and by the faith of the Messiah, I will never feel satisfied until I bring thee such shadhankah as thou never sawest in thy life."

legiance, in accordance with their treatment. The seventeenth council of Toledo, which sat in 694, had persecuted them, and they were ready for any change; and frequently afterward in those troubled times of Spanish history, they seem to have held the balance of power, through the influence of their unity and their wealth.¹

The real influence of the Jews throughout the Spanish history must be gathered in spite of the reluctant mention of them and their deeds, by both Spanish and Arabian chroniclers, to both of whom they were an alien race. They gladly listened to Count Ilyan, and supplied men and money to scheme.

Further, to give facility to his project, Ilyan represented to Roderik that as Spain was within her own borders in a state of peace, his chief concern should be the northern frontier, and the hostile activity of the Franks² on the one hand; and the Moslems on the African shore. He should, therefore, send to these frontiers all his remaining arms and horses, and keep his kingdom from foreign invasion. The wonder is that Roderik did not suspect his wily general. The troops sent to Ilyan were to become partakers of the rebellion.

Legends of this critical period abound, and like elevated vanes, indicate the historic current, and are therefore worthy of notice. A king of Cadiz, says one of these, had a beautiful daughter, whose hand was sought by many of the other kings of Andalus—"for that country was then ruled by several kings, each having estates not extending over more than one or two cities." The fair prize limited the number of aspirants by declaring that she would have no husband but "a sage king." Upon this announcement, only two of her admirers were willing to have their wisdom brought to an ordeal, and the following were the tasks she imposed upon them. Of one she demanded the construction of a wheel to draw water into Andalus; to the other she entrusted the invention or discovery of a talisman to preserve the island from the invasion of the Berbers. The labor of the first was successful. The hydraulic machine erected in the strait to a great height upon

¹ When the Moslems in turn began to persecute them for their money, in the 11th century, they turned to the Christians, and brought in Alonzo VI., of Castile and Leon in 1085.

² *Mari*, 2,379.

arches, received the water from a neighboring mountain, and pouring it upon a mighty wheel sent the refreshing streams into Cadiz. Such is the legend which tells of the real viaduct by means of which pure water was carried into Cadiz from the main land across an arm of the sea, and traces of which were visible as late as the seventeenth century.¹

The task imposed upon the second aspirant seems to have been more difficult, and is of greater interest to our studies. He too built an imposing construction upon the border of the strait. Upon a solid foundation the white mass rose high in air, and on its summit he placed a colossal statue of copper and iron, representing in feature and garb a Berber; the right arm was extended, pointing toward the sea; in the hand were a padlock and keys; and by his magic power he kept the ships of the Berbers from landing on the soil of Spain. But the wonders of the water wheel were the first to be completed, and the maker of the magic statue, who was just giving it the finishing touch, threw himself down in his chagrin, "by which means the other prince, freed from his rival, became the master of the lady, of the wheel and of the charm."² The second part of this legend is not without its philosophy; it tells of the early fears of Berber invasion; of the menace of chains and imprisonment should they venture to cross, and of the heart-sinking which came upon the Goths, as the rumors became louder and stronger of the Arab gathering in northern Africa.

It is in this connection that another legend must be referred to which has been introduced into every history, and which, notwithstanding its manifestly fabulous details, is full of the truth as an allegory. Upon it is founded the ponderous epic of Southey, and the romaunt of Walter Scott, and it figures with great interest in the graceful paper of Irving, to which I have already referred. Narrated in improvisatore style in the principal cities, among Jews, Muz-Arabs and Arab-Moors, in the patois of commingled dialects called *aljamia*, it passed and repassed between the Christian Spaniard and his Eastern foes, until it became assimilated in a history which is unhappily too full of the imaginative and romantic.³ The principal features of the story may be thus

¹ *Gayangos*, 1,515, note 39.

² Al makk.—*Gayangos*, 1,261.

³ *Gayangos*, 1, 515, note 41.

stated: In or near Toledo was a stately palace, built by a wise king, who had predicted an invasion of Spain by people from Africa; but in one of the halls was a magic spell, which, so long as it remained unbroken, would secure the country from such an incursion. Each Gothic monarch had, upon his accession, placed a padlock upon the door, and when Roderik came to the throne, twenty-seven such locks closed the portal and fortified the talisman. The keys were lost, and no monarch had ever dreamed of invading the secrecy, until in an evil hour a restless curiosity urged Roderik to do so. He declared it to be an ancient jest, which it was high time to expose.

It was in vain that his fearful counselors endeavored to dissuade him from the rash act; in vain that they urged the good judgment and prudent example of such a line of kings. They went so far as to offer, if it was treasure he sought, to collect the desired sum among themselves and place it in his coffers. He was proof against all entreaty; he had the locks forced and the doors thrown open, and entered with his train. There were no treasures, but the fears and portents of his courtiers were at once realized, when they saw, besides the jeweled table of Solomon, in another apartment, an urn containing a parchment roll, and a painting, in which were depicted horsemen dressed in skins, with locks of coarse hair. The horses were Arabian; the arms were spears and scimitars. The parchment was speedily unrolled, and upon it was an inscription declaring that when that palace should be forced, the spell of safety would be broken, and the people represented in the picture should enter, overthrow, and occupy the Gothic seats in Spain.¹ "Some," says the simple historian, "regard all this as a fable,"² and a fable it certainly is; the days of necromancy have disappeared; no trace of such a palace has ever since been found; the legend must share the fate of the thousands of others which cluster around the cradle of a new historic order, even when it descends from heaven; but the framers of the legend, accustomed to the illustrative language of apologue and parable, have depicted as in a fairy tale the grand features of the men and of the time. In it we discover the portents of Fate, the uneasy

¹ Por erte genta sera en breve destruida Espana.—*Mariana.*

² Algunos tienen todo esto por fabula.—*Ib.*

fears of Roderik, conscious of deserving punishment, combined with a temerity which desired to know and was determined to resist the retribution. The Arab-Moors needed no heralding prophecy to announce their coming. They had come, and Roderick felt it. The enchanted palace was but a paraphrase for the immediate future of the realm now being rapidly disclosed; and the motto fabled to have been found there, was already written in letters of flame, to all who had eyes to see, upon the gates of the royal and ancient city of Toledo.

The stirring events which are to follow will be related in the next chapter. Before closing this a verdict should be attempted upon the conduct of Count Ilyan. Whether it was treason, in the modern acceptation of the word or not, it cannot be justified by a strict and abstract standard. It was done to gratify personal anger and private revenge. It compromised a nation. It gave Spain up to pillage and desolation. It introduced into a Christian country a false creed, which threatened destruction to our holy faith, or rather to its tenure and its progress. Whether considered in its intention or its immediate consequences, it was flagrant evil. But it behooves the historian to point out, as some slight palliation of the wrong, those conditions which seem in some degree to remove the act from the modern standards of judgment.

It was still fresh in the minds of men that Roman conquest and oppression had given way before Gothic usurpation; that among the Goths there was no established principle of succession to the throne; that Roderik himself was a usurper, and that to dethrone a reigning monarch was only successful revolution. Again, the degeneracy of the Gothic monarchs invited to revolt, and was a premium upon anarchy. What terms were the people bound to keep with such kings as Wittiza and Roderik? To secure themselves in luxurious lust, they had razed the strong walls of cities and had disarmed the citizens. They had dismantled Spain that it might not rise against them in potent anger. It began to be manifest to the thoughtful, that the wicked dynasty could only be overthrown by foreign enemies, and the fabled prophecies of coming Moors were suggestive of a plan which, whatever its other consequences might be, would at least accomplish this.

And even on the score of religion there is something to be said.

The Christianity of Spain had become almost nominal. Wittiza and Roderik felt its power no more than did Cæsar the spiritual value of the Pantheistic pontificate of Rome. The pope had been set at naught, the doctrines contemned, the rule of holy living among the bishops and clergy laughed at. As far as any practical value could attach to the Christian system, it was no better than Islam, among a people who jeered at all religion and were governed by none.

So, too, the mists that envelope the person and power of Ilyan obscure the question upon which we endeavor to render our verdict. Had he, by long command, become rather a Berber prince in Mauritania, tributary to the Gothic crown, than a Gothic general merely commanding these distant outposts, and in constant communication with his king? The more these questions are studied, the juster will be our judgment of a man who applied the torch—when other torches would not have long been wanting—and set the peninsula in a blaze of fire, the embers of which have not yet been wholly trampled out.

IV.—THE LANDING AT GIBRALTAR AND THE INLAND MARCH.

Musa, as we have seen, had long been casting glances of covetous desire upon Gesira Andalus, the verdant land across the narrow sea, and had long determined to attempt its conquest, not without a steady faith that Allah would reveal the best mode of action. The proposal of Ilyan seemed like a miraculous answer to his prayer, and quickened his purpose. He was glad to be assured that he would meet with but slight resistance, on account of the state of anarchy which existed in the kingdom. He would find, besides the powerful aid of Ilyan, confederates in the injured sons of Wittiza, who were wandering in exile, and whose reappearance in any ranks would raise up a party in their favor. A few vigorous blows, Ilyan said, would put him in undisputed possession of the coveted peninsula of Andalus.

Delighted as he was, Musa prudently restrained the exhibition of his joy, but made haste to test the reality of the prospect. He took measures to assure himself of the good faith of Ilyan—for all men naturally distrust traitors and deserters. By means of single spies and scouts, he informed himself of the topography of

the country, and was able to some extent to corroborate the statements of Ilyan concerning the condition of the realm, the turbulence of the nobles and the impotence of the people. He found the hatred of all classes against Roderik more widely spread than even Ilyan had declared. The country was said to be very attractive; the climate varied, but mild; the scenery was in every direction beautiful; the rivers numerous and lordly; the mountain ranges beautiful to see, full of metals and inclosing valleys and vegas of extraordinary fertility. It would be a grand glory to conquer such a land for God and the prophet.

The very grandeur of the project made it so momentous and exceptional, however, that he deemed it necessary to secure the khalif's permission to accomplish it. Swift couriers, on relays and in reliefs, bore to the khalif Al-Walid despatches, in which, with the enthusiasm of a soldier and the eloquence of a preacher, Musa pictured to the successor of Mohammed the immense value of the prize and the miraculous ease of its attainment; he ventured also to cite his own already astonishing progress as a token of a brilliant success. The strait, he told him, was not an ocean, but a narrow channel, whose shores were everywhere distinct to the eye.

Al-Walid lost no time in sending his sanction, but prudently cautioned Musa to explore with light troops, and not to expose the moslemah "to be lost in an ocean of dangers and horrors." For the first time a Mohammedan army was to enter Spain for purposes of conquest. There had been former landings by piratical or isolated bands, only for spoil, and hasty retreat. Isidore Pacensis speaks of several such incursions not long before, in the reigns of Egica and Wittiza, in one of which Theodomir "had triumphed over those who came in a naval armament."¹ These bands had not penetrated into the interior, but had been content with the desultory pillage of the coast. Now the invasion was to be made by an army, a nation, a race; elements in all respects diametrically opposed to those which existed in Gothic Spain. Japhet and Shem had come by diverse routes to confront each other.

In August, 710 (Ramadan A. H. 91), Musa commissioned a mauli, or freedman named Tarif Abu Zar'ah to make the first important

¹ *Mariana, II. 381, note.*

reconnoissance. Embarking, in four large boats, one hundred horse and four hundred foot, Tarif, accompanied by Count Ilyan to guide the expedition and give proof of his good faith, set sail from Tangier, and running directly across the strait, landed at "an island situated opposite to another island close to Andalus." The place of landing, called Jezirah al Khadrah, the green island, received the name of the leader of the expedition, and is now called Tarifa. Remaining there for one day, he moved inland, burning the crops and churches, and capturing large stores of booty and cattle, and as many prisoners of the higher rank as he could conveniently guard. With these, after penetrating as far as Algesiras, he re-embarked, and presented himself with his captives before Musa.

Other expeditions of a reconnoitering character their doubtless were, and there is no little confusion among them in the chronicles, but it is certain that in this manner Musa, aided by the knowledge and urgency of Count Ilyan, was ready for an intelligent advance. The conquest was exceedingly popular in the Moslem ranks. Large numbers of Berbers flocked to the standards of Ilyan and Musa. Every believer burned to be a conqueror. The country became in their eyes an earthly paradise. It reproduced the best features of their Arabian home. The sky was as serene as that of Syria; the climate rivaled that of Yemen, which the poets called Araby the blest. There were fruits and flowers in endless variety and beauty. The rich ores of its mountains had been renowned from the days of Phenician adventure. The harbors were spacious, deep and land-locked. Jezirah Andalus was the successful rival of Jezirah-l-Arabi.

The returning party of Tarif had announced that they had met with no opposition, and that while the malcontents did not dissemble their joy, the simple natives exhibited a consternation mingled with imbecility. To them it promised only a change of oppression.

And now all was eager activity in the Moslem host. Never, since the swarms of Abu Becr marched to besiege Damascus, had so grand a prospect opened before them. Boat-wrights were set at work to prepare a flotilla capable of transporting an army across with its munitions of war. Armorers were busy. Horses were inspected and collected. A plan of campaign was carefully

digested, and the conduct of the invasion was confided to Tarik Ibn Zeyad Ibn Abdillah, a person of great distinction, whose prowess had been noted in the movement to Tangier, and who had been urgent in his counsels to Musa to undertake it.¹

There are conflicting accounts of his origin and condition. Some writers represent him to have been a Berber, a mauli or liberated slave of Musa, who had suddenly risen to military eminence. Others make him a free-born man of the tribe of Sadjf. He was more probably a native of Hamdám in Persia, and is called in the Spanish histories *Tarik el Tuerto* or the one eyed.² He had been military governor of Tangiers, a post which was now confided to Meruan, the son of Musa. The appointment of Tarik to the command increased the enthusiasm of the troops, so that many were obliged to remain behind who were eager to go.

At last all things were ready, and the crossing began. Seven thousand ardent moslemah, the greater part Berbers, with, it is said, at first only three hundred native Arabians, were taken over by the ships,³ passing and repassing. Some may have set out directly from Ceuta, and a few directly from Tangier, but a considerable number sailed from Tangier to Ceuta and thence over to Spain. Ilyan, at the request of Musa, accompanied the expedition, and provided some of the boats for it. Tarik remained to see the army embark, and was the last man to cross. When he stepped on board, the religious spirit of Musa burst forth. With a devotion worthy of all imitation, he fell on his knees, and prayed with tearful utterance for the success of the expedition. As the boat which carried Tarik was crossing the strait, he fell asleep, and saw in a dream the prophet standing in the midst of those who had shared his flight from Mecca to Medina, and those who had

¹ The first expedition led by Tarif has been confounded with that of Tarik which followed; or rather Tarik appears, in Conde and other works as the leader of both. Tarif is ignored. Gayangos establishes the existence of Tarif so fully that we must adopt him, although he never appears in the later history.

² *Persona de gran cuenta, dado que faltaba un ojo.—Mar. 11,386.*

³ Mariana says that in order to avoid suspicion merchant vessels were used. Mondejar regards this as absurd. There was no marked distinction between merchant and war vessels; and the number rather than the kind of ships would excite astonishment; but the Goths were not ready to resist the landing.

received and protected him in Medina. All were with drawn swords and bent bows, and Mohammed said,—“Take courage, O Tarik, and accomplish what thou art destined to perform.”¹ This was a presage of victory, and was of course at once related to the general’s followers, whom it inspired with additional zeal and valor. Whatever credit we may attach to the vision, the effect was indisputable.

It is a puzzling, but fortunately unimportant question, as to the exact spot where Tarik landed. Drinkwater says, but with no appearance of having made careful investigation of the matter: “On the isthmus between Mons Calpe and the continent.” That is, on the plain just behind the rock now called “the neutral ground,” exempt at present from either Spanish or English occupancy. There, indeed, he may have deployed his forces, but in moderate weather, and with ordinary precaution, the extremity of the rock was a nearer and easier point, and so it is probable that the majority of the troops landed between Europa point and Little Europa point. On an elevated flat, just above, are the ruins of a Moorish tower or castle. When a portion of it was pulled down, it disclosed the date of its completion as 725, and it was manifestly intended as a cover in case of retreat, and otherwise a stronghold, keeping up communication and signals with Africa.²

Another omen was needed for the troops, and was not wanting. While Tarik was leading the first advance into the open country, he was met by an old woman of Algesiras, whose husband had been a seer. She had heard him predict the conquest, and describe the conqueror—a man of prominent forehead, with a hairy mole on his left shoulder.³ Tarik bared his shoulder, and displayed the fortunate protuberance.⁴

The traveler in Spain may readily reproduce to his imagination this celebrated landing of the Arab-Moors on the rock of Gibraltar. Not only is the external nature around, below and above him just as it encircled them, but the illusion is more perfect still. Let him take the steamer from Cadiz to Tangier, and he will arrive

¹ Al. Mak., 1, 1267.

² Drinkwater, Capt. John, siege of Gibraltar.

³ A sign of good luck among the Orientals.

⁴ Almak, 1, 267.

in the offing, where, from the shallowness of the water, he must go ashore in the rude boats manned by Berbers, both boats and boatmen being but little changed since the days of the conquest—flotillas of just such boats took Tarik across—and when his boat nears the shore the water becomes so shoal that stalwart Moors wading out will seize him and carry him in rather unstable equilibrium to the land. In the low houses and narrow streets of the dirty town, rising in amphitheater from the water, he will find the same Oriental life; confined bazaars, the market-place, with its asses and camels; Moorish pickpockets, in turban and burnous; veiled and shrouded women, dropping their coverings, when not watched, to display very doubtful charms—just as they, no doubt, displayed them to the impassioned warriors of Tarik. In the turbaned captain of the port his fancy may find for the time a Musa, son of Nosseyr, superintending the embarkation. Some military Berber who has lost an eye, and there are many such, may figure as Tarik el Tuerto, and some lordly valet de place, with red sandals and bare legs, bearing the name of the false prophet, will usher him into the same Berber life as that of a thousand years ago. Islam, unchanged, dwells in the mosque, barred against the Christian infidel. In a word, in the Tangier of to-day he sees the Tangier of Musa and Tarik. Once more balanced in the arms of wading Berbers, and rocked in their rude boat, he reaches the steamer, and sets out on the track of Tarik. In front is the island of Tarifa; before him to the right soon rises in elephantine proportions the famous Rock, then, and since, a mountain of histories. He passes Europa point to his safe harbor behind the mole. Then he climbs the mountain to the signal tower, and from its needle-like elevation, he looks upon an exquisite picture of nature and of history, a complete map of the famous strait. At his feet far below is Europa point, jutting out in greeting to the African promontory; on his right the bay of Gibraltar; opposite, on the African coast, the town of Ceuta gleams white against its seven hills. Nor is it only a map, but a beautifully colored map—the green and gray of the Spanish shore, the deep, deep blue of the Mediterranean; the lighter perspective blue of Africa, clearly defined—all gently checkered perhaps by the varying shadows of the clouds which are scudding under the sun. As he gazes it needs no vivid imagination to see the wonderful drama of the conquest

unfolding. The numerous vessels, in bay and sea, are the fleet of Tarik; the drum-beat and trumpets of the British band, playing upon the Alameda, rise fitfully to his ear, and are pressed into fancy's service as the clanging horns and kettle-drums of the Arab-Moors. Centuries recede, and he stands on the rock of Tarik, at the coming of Tarik; and sees, and feels, and keeps time, with pulse and foot to the grand quickstep which is ushering Arabian civilization into Spain.

The landing of Tarik was completed on Thursday, April 30, 711, (8th Regeb., A. H. 92);¹ and the rock upon which he set foot was called by his enthusiastic followers *Jebel Tarik*,² which has become Gibraltar. It also appears, however, in the Arab chronicles as *Jebalu-l-Fatah*—the portal or entrance, or mountain of victory. Some weak resistance or show of it on the part of the inhabitants quickly gathered together from fear and curiosity, was at once put down, and perhaps necessitated the landing of portions of the army at different points.

The story that Tarik burnt his boats to take away all hope of retreat is neither new nor true, notwithstanding its appearance in the annals of the Nubian biographer.³ It is but a device to exaggerate the Arabian hardihood and valor. It is far more likely that they were kept plying between the continents, and held in readiness to bring over the reinforcements, which would soon be needed, and to keep open constant communication with Musa.⁴

The movements which preceded and brought on the decisive battle are confused and obscure; nor are we even certain as to the persons who first led the Goths to confront the Moors and dispute their further progress. A valiant Goth called Theodo-

¹ For the date of the landing, which has been differently stated by numerous authors, see the elaborate note of Gayangos 1,522, fixing the date as given above.

² Mons Abyla was named either in honor of the ancient Moses, or the modern Musa, *Jebel Musa*, but it lacked a European celebrity to immortalize it.

³ Sherif Edrisi.

⁴ Burning ships did good service for Julian at the Euphrates, and afterward for Cortes at Vera Cruz, but the former did it under strong necessity to keep the fleet from falling into the hands of the garrison of Ctesiphon, and the latter had no possible use for his, save a caravel to bear tidings to Spain.

mir, governor of South-eastern Andalusia, appears dimly upon the scene at the head of a hasty levy of seventeen hundred men, watching the advance, and sending despatches to Roderik. In many of the chronicles Theodomir becomes Sancho and in others Sancho is Iñigo. The number of Christian names given to one person by the later Spaniards renders it not improbable that these were all names of the same leader, especially as Sancho is mentioned as a cousin of the king. Be this as it may, the danger had become imminent, and one or more reconnoitering parties were informing Roderik of the Moslem advance. They told him the astounding news of an army which might have "dropped from heaven or sprung up through the earth," so sudden and unexpected was the apparition. "And now, my lord," said Theodomir, "since the matter is thus, I entreat you to succor us with all speed, and with the largest force you can muster. Come yourself also in person, for that will be better than all."

This despatch, handed down by tradition, did not find Roderik at Toledo. He had taken the advice of Julian and sent a force to the northern frontier, and while Theodomir was retreating before the advance of Tarik, Roderik was in person quelling an insurrection at Pampeluna, incited, it is suggested, by the party of the sons of Wittiza. As soon as the momentous news reached him, he exhibited much of his earlier energy and fire. He sent in all directions throughout the kingdom to levy troops. All who were of age were required to join the standard¹, and follow his rapid advance southward. The first concentration was at Cordova, and here Roderik reviewed a large but motley force, the characteristics of which differ according to the nationality of the chronicler. To the Arabians it seemed good to exalt the equipment of an army which they were to conquer, and so we are told that the force of the Gothic monarch was fully provided with all kinds of weapons and military stores.² The Spanish historian, on the other hand, seeks for some solace in their defeat, by an exaggeration of their weak and miserable condition. "What a force!" he exclaims. "The army was composed of all sorts of rubbish, gathered without discrimination; with but little drill; they had

¹ *Mar.*, II. 389.

² *Al Makk*, I. 269.

neither strength in their bodies nor valor in their minds; the squadrons were badly formed; the arms eaten with rust; the horses lean or weak, unaccustomed to bear dust, heat, and stormy weather."¹ The greater part of the men were armed only with slings or sticks. "They were marvelous cowards, without courage and even without the strength to endure the toils and discomforts of war."²

And this army contained, besides, the elements of treason; for, in obedience to the summons of the king, the sons of Wittiza joined him, it is said, with a contingent at Cordova, but such was their distrust, that they would not venture themselves or their troops inside the town, but remained outside the walls. He discerned, too, in the councils of war, the danger of treason, when the rapid rush of affairs made it impossible for him to crush it. All must be cast upon the hazard of the die; he must blindly abide the result.

A considerable cavalry force was sent forward to aid Theodomir in delaying the advance of the Moors, while with unwonted industry the king organized his own large army, so large that he was not without hope, in spite of all mishaps, to drive the invaders back into the sea.

Thus the two armies approached each other, the main body of the Moors marching forward until they reached Medina Sidonia, and the force of Roderik to the banks of the Guadalete, in detachments, through Cadiz and Xeres de la Frontera. The advance forces, principally cavalry, had numerous skirmishes, in which the advantage was almost always with the Moslemah.³

As soon as he had landed, Tarik had divided his force into numerous detachments, and scoured the coast and moved inland, keeping his bands within rallying distance, taking all the supplies he needed and destroying the rest which he could not use; demanding tribute or dictating apostasy to the affrighted people whom he found in his course, and who had dared to remain behind in the general panic. He was now, however, to encounter

¹ *Mariana, II.* 389.

² *Ib.*

³ Tuvieron encuentros y escaramuzas en que los nuestros llevaron siempre lo peor.—*Mar., II.* 387.

an army resolute to fight; Spain was not to fall without a severe struggle and much bloodshed.

It will be forever impossible to determine the exact spot upon which the great battle took place, if indeed it did take place on one "foughten field." The river Guadalete flows across the plain of Sidonia for seventy-five miles, and empties by two mouths into the bay of Cadiz. The banks of this river have been accepted by the general chronicle as the scene of the encounter. It was a dividing line; it was a fair field, and the movements of the two armies were so timed that they would meet just about in that locality. No traces remain to identify the spot, and it is now asserted that the course of the river has been decidedly changed since the battle was fought.¹ The general phrase "on the banks of the Guadalete in the territory of Sidonia," is very vague, for Sidonia, as a comarca, includes the cities of Arcos, Xeres, Algesiras, Tarifa, Cadiz and Bejer. It is further said that the battle took place "near the lake or gulf," which is probably the lake of *La Jauda* near the town of Medina Sidonia. The better opinion² is that there were numerous partial conflicts, ending in one great struggle, which took place not on the banks of the river, but nearer the town of Medina Sidonia. This view is quite compatible with the general statement, as the depot of the Gothic army may well have been at Xeres, and the fords of the Guadalete strongly guarded. There is still pointed out on the bank of the river a small hill called *El Real de Don Rodrigo*, which in this view of the matter may have been the general headquarters of the king during the earlier in the series of actions.

The importance of the exact site, however curious to discover, sinks into insignificance in view of the momentous interests at stake, the fate of a kingdom and a nation, and the fortunes of the most imposing false religion which had ever been devised by man; the illustration of the principle propounded afterward by Raleigh to Queen Elizabeth, that the invaders can only lose a battle, but the invaded may lose a kingdom. Never were greater interests involved, nor a battle more decisive. The Goths were fighting

¹ I was thus informed, on the spot, in 1870.

² This is the judgment of Gayangos (I. 526), which must be received with great respect.

for their homes, and in the interests of a dynasty which had been three hundred years in possession, but they were full of melancholy forebodings, as the sad dreams and predictions of the chronicles indicate.¹ The Arab-Moors were moving in the flush of a continued conquest which should increase their power and vindicate the divine inspiration of their prophet. Every victory strengthened their faith, and every accession of faith nerved their arms. Thus it was that twelve thousand Moors dared to assault a force of eight times their numbers, and were sanguine of victory. The alternative of disaster was ignored, and if it entered at all into the mind of Tarik and his men, they reached forward in desire to a heavenly paradise so alluring that the hazard was at once attractive and exciting.

HENRY COPPÉE.

WHAT SHALL PHILADELPHIA DO FOR ITS PAUPERS?

TO provide public support for its poor—those who are unable to support themselves—is now generally recognized as an imperative duty of society. How best to discharge this duty so as to accomplish the greatest amount of good with the smallest amount of harm, has become one of the most interesting questions in social science. It is not my purpose now to discuss the general subject of pauperism. My paper will be confined to the narrower sweep of pauperism as it is provided for in this city, for the purpose of showing how far this provision accomplishes its objects under the requirements of a wise economy and an enlightened humanity. Our paupers are the wards of the city, and it is incumbent on every citizen to know whether they receive that care which the public sentiment of our time regards as a matter of right.

In providing for the support and care of its paupers, every community is bound to see that certain requisites are kept in view, viz., these—the burden upon the tax-payers must be rendered as light as possible by a judicious expenditure of money; the mode adopted must furnish no encouragement to pauperism; and, lastly, it must furnish relief in the most efficient and humane manner,

¹ *Mariana*, II. 389.

thus ensuring, where it is possible, a return at the earliest moment of the power of self-support. Let us see now to what extent these requisites are obtained by Philadelphia in the means it has provided for the care and relief of its pauper classes.

In a continuous pile of buildings, just across the Schuylkill, it has gathered them together, from 3,600 to 4,000 in number, varying with the season, and constituting one seething mass of infirmity, disease, vice and insanity. To understand the merits of the questions we are to consider, it will be necessary to indicate particularly the different elements which make up this heterogeneous mass of humanity.

In the first place, we have those who, in consequence of misfortune, or sickness, or innate shiftlessness, or feebleness resulting from vicious indulgences, have become unable to support themselves. Secondly, we have those who are laboring under actual disease, and become inmates of the hospital. Thirdly, we have those who are both paupers and insane. Fourthly, we have children, some without parents, some deserted by parents, and some foundlings. On last New Year's day the first class numbered about 1,716; the second, 1,025; the third 895; and the fourth 104.

In regard to the first requisite in any system of public support, that of rigid economy, or, more properly speaking, of a small expenditure, certainly no fault can be found with the Philadelphia almshouse. For the year 1872 the average cost was \$1.77 per person per week.

Now, after allowing the broadest margin for the results of superior frugality, honesty and skill, the cost of supporting our paupers seems at first sight far below what might have been expected. For the pauper proper, whose only misfortune it is to be desperately poor, and who is supposed to require only shelter with such and so much food as will keep soul and body together, the figure may not be regarded as remarkably low. But when we consider the large amount of attendance, nursing, medicines and extra diets required for all the other classes, it is difficult to see how the average cost can be much less than that of the most frugal living compatible with health, out of a poor-house. Suspicion arises, at first thought, that economy has been carried too far for the best interests of all concerned. What foundation there is for this suspicion will appear on a closer examination of the

condition of the several departments of the institution. Our attention will first be directed to that of the insane department.

The great advance that has been made of late years in the care of the insane—an advance which we owe to the progress of science and philanthropy—is now manifested in certain principles of management which may be regarded as established. No community can disregard them without incurring the censure of being careless of one of its most sacred duties. In order to cure the curable and insure a reasonable amount of comfort to the incurable, we are bound to provide for them pure air, ample room, proper food, occupation and medication suitable to their condition, and exemption from needless annoyance and exposure. How far the first two requisites—air and room—have been provided in the buildings occupied by the insane at the almshouse, a few facts will show. The space occupied by these patients and their attendants, while within doors, is not, I may safely say, more than half of what is declared by competent authorities to be the lowest limit compatible with the hygienic conditions of a hospital. An accurate calculation, for which I have not the requisite figures at present, would probably show that one-third of the proper space would come nearer the truth than one-half. Most of the lodging-rooms are six feet by ten, and are occupied at night generally by two, and frequently by three, persons. The rest of the patients are disposed of in large dormitories containing about thirty beds, with a few more placed directly on the floor. Of course these patients disturb one another, as persons less excitable would, and for many, sound, regular sleep is out of the question. With those in the single rooms the case is still worse, for they not only breathe a highly vitiated air, but they are in danger from the destructive propensities of one another. If homicide is not committed every night in the year, it certainly is not for lack of fitting occasion and opportunity. Twice within the last few months it was prevented by the merest accident. Now, it is well understood by medical men that if there is one bodily condition more restorative in mental diseases than another, it is sleep, and here we see how it is provided for at the Blockley.

This crowded condition is accompanied by another very serious evil. It is well known that nothing contributes more to the peace, quiet and good nature of the insane than ample scope and

range of movement, and that huddling them together in close proximity produces constant excitement, noise, quarreling and collision utterly preventive of recovery or comfort.

The evils of this crowded condition became so obvious that the municipal government ordered the erection of two more buildings capable of lodging in a proper way 144 patients. They were opened about two years ago, but as the annual increase of patients, during the last five or six years, has been about 77, the relative capacity of the institution is no larger than it was when this addition was made.

In regard to another of the above-named requisites in the management of a hospital for the insane, viz., means of occupation, the deficiency could scarcely be greater, while its ordinary consequences are rendered all the more deplorable by the crowded state of the house. There can be few more pitiable spectacles than that witnessed there every day, of hundreds of men overcharged with nervous excitement, whose restless movements are confined to the limits of a narrow hall, and of as many more, silent and depressed, crouching down in corners and by-places—all of them worrying one another, and speedily losing from sheer inaction whatever of mind their disease may have left. If there is anything well settled in regard to the management of the insane, it is the paramount importance of occupation, the restorative effect of which surpasses that of any other agency, or, I might safely say, of all other agencies together. In every hospital in France, Germany and Great Britain, every patient is employed who has the slightest inclination for employment, while those who are listless and indifferent and self-absorbed, become interested in what is passing around them, and are more easily lured into some active and healthful exercise of mind. On the ample farm or in the numerous workshops, every patient is employed except such as are prostrated by sickness or deprived of all self-control by the violence of mental excitement. In this country the employment most favored is that of farming and gardening, because it is that which requires the least preparatory training and has the advantage which all out-of-door employment has over that which is pursued within doors. In this part of the country it has the additional merit of being the most profitable pecuniarily. Accordingly, no hospital has been erected here of late years without a

considerable quantity of land attached to it—not one, if I recollect aright, with less than one acre to every male patient. Our duty to the insane committed to our charge will not be performed in the manner required by the advanced sentiment of our time, without giving them the means of agricultural employment; and that implies a removal of the hospital some ten or twelve miles into the country, and a farm of at least 400 acres.

Again, the close proximity of our hospital to a large city exposes the patients to the interference of a multitude of people who, as loafers, idlers, or sight-seers, are always ready to bestow their leisure upon others. They take up the time of the employes, they give the patients what they ought not to have, such as money, tobacco, matches; they tell them what they ought not to hear, such as news about their domestic affairs; and make remarks about patients which reach their friends and cause anxiety and distress. Some, bent on a higher degree of iniquity, break into the building, through doors or windows.

Another reason for removal is that the present association of the insane with paupers is attended with no benefit to either class, but with much discomfort and trouble to both. We have no right to subject the respectable poor to the constant spectacle of misery more deplorable than their own, nor ought the misfortune of being insane to draw upon any one the pains and penalties of pauperism. There are many insane in this community, whose friends, unable to pay the high prices of the corporate hospitals, would gladly avail themselves of the privileges of our hospital, and pay according to their means, if it could be done without virtually acknowledging themselves to be paupers.

I might mention other evils incident to our present method of caring for the insane, but my limits oblige me to hasten to another part of the subject.

The paupers proper are subjected to the same kind of interference from outsiders, that the insane are, adding much to the difficulty incident to their care under the most favorable circumstances. But the principal evil is the unavoidable idleness arising from the lack of suitable means of employment. True, some are employed in manufactures; such as making shoes, weaving cloth, making tin and wooden ware, accomplishing some iron-work and plumbing, but there still remains a considerable number who are

unfitted for any handicraft, but who might do good service on the land. Besides, all this work, except that which is done in repairs, is unprofitable, costing for the most part nearly if not quite as much as it would to buy the articles in the market. It is supposed, I know, that the House of Correction now building will make large drafts upon the almshouse, and probably it will, but it is difficult to see how that will remove the evil we complain of. Those who are idle here because ignorant of any skilled work, and incapable of learning, would be idle there, for the same reason, so that nothing would be gained economically by separating them from the general mass of paupers.

For the various reasons mentioned, I regard it as necessary to the best interests of all concerned that this department of the almshouse, as well as the insane, should be separated from the others, and placed in the country, within an easy distance of the city, with plenty of land to till.

Among the various departments of the almshouse is the general hospital for the subjects of bodily illness. The number of patients at this time is about one thousand. The medical staff, unexceptionally, is composed of men eminently qualified for their duties, by their skill, zeal and fidelity. The city hospital in such a community as this, should be second to no other in the country, in its power to promote the comfort and restoration of its patients. It should be an establishment which, in all its appointments and appliances, should be a model worthy of imitation, and an object of honest pride to the city. Such, however, is not the fact. The institution does not, by any means, fulfill in the highest degree the proper purposes of a hospital, and is not one which we may be fond of showing to visitors acquainted with the hospitals of other cities. I have time to indicate only very briefly its principal defects.

First and foremost is its crowded condition. With a capacity for about five hundred patients, it now has under care nearly one thousand. Not only are beds placed as closely as possible along the sides of the wards, but a large proportion of the patients lie on beds laid about on the floor in every available corner. There can be no surer way of making well people sick than that of crowding them together in their sleeping-rooms at night. For a still stronger reason such arrangements must be followed by simi-

lar effects when applied to the sick, and our hospital furnishes no exception to the general rule, and the evil thus produced is not alleviated by any of those contrivances for frequently changing the air, such as steam-coils, or fires in the air-flues, or fans. Hot-air furnaces furnish the only artificial ventilation; and, when they are not in use, the only dependence is on the doors and windows; and when these are closed at night, as they must be most of the time, the same air is repeatedly breathed by the patients. It needs no stretch of wisdom to see that such a state of things—crowded dormitories, and no artificial ventilation—must be a serious drawback on the curative influences of the hospital. It is well understood by medical men that the sanitary condition of a hospital is affected by the state of the air within the wards, more than by any other agency, and it is only folly to prepare for every other requirement and leave the air to take care of itself. I would not have it understood that the air of the Blockley Hospital is less pure than it might be expected in the absence of any artificial ventilation, because, considering the means used, it is uncommonly free from impurity. Still, we cannot ignore the evidence of its presence, in some degree. There, as everywhere else, bad air impairs the vital energies of the sick, thus thwarting the restorative influence of other measures, and depriving the system of that conservative power which is especially required after surgical operations.

Another adverse circumstance is found in the condition of the floors, walls and ceilings. The floors, badly laid in the first place, have been steadily suffering a process of deterioration, which now appears in the shape of holes, knots, splinters, and wide cracks necessarily filled with dirt, and sending out noxious exhalations after every washing. The walls, originally rough, have not been deprived by annual whitewashings of their power to retain effluvia full of the latent germs of disease. However trivial these things may seem at first sight, no thinking person connected with hospitals will deny the fact of their immense influence upon the hygienic state of the house.

Another adverse circumstance is indicated by the character of the nursing, which is performed chiefly by discharged patients who are ostensibly restored, but who are hardly adequate to any steady employment, and are willing for little or no pay to help in

the wards. By means of a few good nurses they are made as efficient as any people can be who are poorly compensated, and who feel only a corresponding degree of responsibility. If any service under the sun requires, in the highest degree, vigor of body and soundness of mind, it is that of attending upon the sick. No hospital can achieve the highest measure of success, whose attendants are not well paid, and in possession of all the strength and elasticity which only good health can supply. I ought to state that this kind of service is the result of economical considerations proceeding from the natural principle of saving the public from each and every expense that can possibly be dispensed with. I have no fault to find with the motive, but I doubt if the public are not, in the long run, actual losers by the arrangement.

From this same mistaken but imperative economy, very little has been done toward producing those mental influences so favorable to the recovery of the sick. Very often it is not so much the pills or the potions which the patient takes that determine the result of the case, as it is the feelings and thoughts that he entertains. Especially is this so with the victim of chronic disease. His own troubles, which are bad enough, are not likely to be lightened by the constant sight of others as wretched as himself, and, as a matter of course, he becomes despondent and little cares whether he lives or dies. This is the great obstacle which the hospital physician is obliged to encounter, and which is sufficient very often to thwart his most skillful efforts to effect recovery. He knows that whatever tends to draw his patient's thoughts off from himself, to suggest cheerful reflections, to excite a healthy interest in matters foreign to himself and his surroundings, it is one of the legitimate functions of a hospital to provide. Pictures on the walls, flowers in their season on the tables, books and newspapers without stint, the means of playing at popular games—all have a restorative influence, and no hospital that lacks them can claim to be considered as fully prepared for its allotted work. The reproach of such imperfection our hospital must bear, for it has scarcely any of those things.

Last, but not least, is that great crowning evil which, sooner or later, blasts all hospitals which have not met the deteriorating effects of long-continued use by an increasing process of repairs and improvements. It is a curious fact, but none the less true,

that there is in all hospitals a tendency to produce an atmospheric condition within their walls, exceedingly adverse to the restoration of health, and especially to those conservative efforts of the constitution necessary to recovery after surgical operations. Of all places in the world, a hospital should be that in which the sick should find the most chances for relief, and yet not unfrequently it presents the least. In this particular, the Philadelphia hospital is remarkably faulty. Patients do not readily recover after severe operations, the mortality on such occasions being exceedingly large. Indeed, not unfrequently the surgeons refrain from operating on that account, even though the patient may be suffering under a mortal disease, sure to destroy life if no operation is performed. At the earnest, I might say, the peremptory solicitation of the surgeons, an appropriation of \$5,000 has been made this year, for a building outside the almshouse walls, for this class of cases. Of course it can be only a make-shift unworthy of the honor of the city, but it will be the means of saving many lives.

In the plan I propose for the disposal of the different classes of subjects at the almshouse, the sick are to remain where they are. A hospital like this is a necessity of a large city, and though, like the other departments, it suffers somewhat from this proximity, yet this evil is more than balanced by unquestionable advantages. One is that it is easy of access, and this is an indispensable requisite of such an institution. Speedy and easy transportation is required for the safety of the patients, whose ailments might be aggravated in getting to and from a railway. Close proximity to the city is also required for the efficient performance of the medical service, as that implies the daily visits of from four to twelve medical gentlemen, some of them being made in the night, and some at a sudden call. The surroundings are as favorable as they well could be in such a populous community. As a school of instruction, too, for which it has been justly distinguished, it has fully done its part in drawing to Philadelphia young men who are preparing to enter the profession. The parts of the almshouse, vacated by the paupers, the insane and the children, would furnish the desirable amount of room, and all that it could thus get would be none too much. But to fit it properly for its work, every floor should be relaid, the walls replastered and finished with putty coat, the interior arrangements made more convenient, an efficient method

of warming and a forced ventilation provided. Books, pictures, flowers and amusements should be introduced, not merely as a matter of ornamentation, but as a necessity—as an indispensable means for producing salutary mental influences. All these improvements will fall far short of the end in view, if the hospital is to be managed in the spirit of a pauper establishment. The paramount consideration must be, not how cheaply the patients can be kept, but how speedily they can be cured, and how far their sufferings can be alleviated.

No department of the almshouse has occasioned so much solicitude to the guardians and all others concerned in its management, as the lying-in-hospital. The number of women who came under its care during the year 1872, was 209. By the rules of the house they are required to stay fifteen months and nurse the children, but the rule is not unfrequently evaded. The best results of hospital care could not be expected from this class of persons, but after making every allowance on the score of constitution and habits, there is reason to believe that much of the sickness and death is produced by causes peculiar to the establishment. It is understood and admitted by medical men that the death-rate in lying-in hospitals is larger on the whole than it is in private practice. Their statistics show a vast difference among them in this particular, some of them showing a mortality much less than that of some private practice. During the last five years the average mortality at the Blockley has been one in twenty-two. Of the twenty-one hospitals, the statistics of which I have examined, not one shows so great a mortality as this, while in several the mortality has been less than one in two hundred. By statistics like these, by the testimony of the physicians, and by my own observation, I am led to the conclusion that the mortality would be greatly lessened under different arrangements. This conclusion will be strengthened by considering certain incidents and conditions of the hospital that bear directly on the health of its inmates.

In common with all establishments of the kind, it shares in the fatal results that flow from the congregation of large numbers passing through this notable process of nature. Puerperal fever, that scourge of lying-in hospitals, has frequently appeared within its walls, in its most appalling forms, carrying off, one year, one

in eighteen of all the patients under treatment. Its ravages were stayed by removing the women into the open grounds and sheltering them in sheds. Like other hospitals, too, this retains attached to its floors and ceilings, in some inscrutable manner, the germs of disease, ever ready, under favoring conditions, to be developed into some active form. Not a season passes in which this result is not apprehended, and frequently no amount of care can entirely prevent it.

In this as well as other departments, the old wretched policy has prevailed of employing paupers for nurses. Occasionally, a good one is thus obtained, but it needs little knowledge of human nature to perceive what kind of service can be expected from unpaid, or poorly paid, irresponsible women.

Besides the contagion of disease so active at the Blockley, there is contagion of another description, no less deplorable in its effects—that of vice. Lying-in hospitals are never schools of virtue, but if their inmates leave them morally worse than when they entered, we are bound to ask whether this sad result could not be prevented by some practicable change. Exposed as these women are, by lack of suitable means of classification, to others of their sex of the lowest morals, all of them more or less degraded by habits of intemperance, disease and sin, it would be little short of a miracle, if any one left without being all the more decidedly prepared to pursue the kind of life thus begun. And yet among these sinners are many in the very morning of life, more the victims of circumstance than the willing slaves of vicious propensities, anxious, if possible, to retrace their steps; but deserted and cast out, they readily yield to the wiles of temptation, especially when it comes in the shape of kindness and sympathy. These patients, at the end of the first month, if not before, should be sent to an establishment in the country, for the purpose of obtaining better sanitary conditions and shielding them from bad associations. For the others I am not sure that any change of location is practicable, even if desirable. The necessities of the case require close proximity to the city, and by the removal of some of the other departments sufficient room would be gained to prevent the evils of crowding, and permit a suitable classification. The interior of the house should be completely reconstructed, and better architectural arrangements provided fo

meeting the varying conditions of the patients. The whole system of pauper nursing should be abolished, and a corps of reliable nurses employed at fair wages. These changes would unquestionably effect the saving of many lives, and every year they are delayed will only add so many more deaths to our charge.

There only remains to be considered that department of the almshouse called the Children's Asylum, averaging about one hundred inmates. It is composed of children sent from the obstetrical wards as soon as they are weaned, of those who come into the house at a later period and of foundlings. They are well cared for, and I doubt if much could be done *there* that would increase their comfort or prolong their lives. Their food is abundant and of the most suitable kind, and they have the best medical attendance and faithful nursing. And yet the mortality in the asylum is very large. It is no part of my purpose to dwell upon this fact. It will be enough for those who wish to learn its details to refer to the carefully prepared paper read two winters ago to the association by Dr. Parry of this city. From this we learn that while about thirty per cent. of all the children in Philadelphia, two years old and under, died, the mortality of the corresponding class in the asylum was over seventy-three per cent. During the last two or three years the death rate has lessened, but still it is much higher than it is in common life. This excessive mortality can be charged to no single cause, but results from a combination of adverse influences, and therefore the evil would not be abated by the removal of any one of them alone, some, indeed, being beyond all human reach. But it is clearly our duty to do what we can in this direction—to dispose of these children in the manner which has been satisfactorily shown to be most conducive to health. Among the things on this subject which may be regarded as settled, is this, that foundlings thrive better in the country, even when nursed by hand, than they do in the city, though in charge of wet nurses. Unquestionably, the best disposition of the asylum would be to place it in the country with room enough around it to afford ample play grounds, and give it the necessary seclusion. If, however, it should be concluded to keep it where it is, the building should be thoroughly reconstructed, and the apartments differently arranged.

That a change of some kind, if not precisely that here advo-

cated, in the disposal of our pauper classes, is needed, can scarcely be questioned, and it becomes only a matter of time. It would seem to need little argument to prove that the city cannot afford to keep its paupers on land worth one dollar the square foot. If a change of location is to be made, the sooner it is accomplished the better. The present buildings need extensive repairs to make them habitable, but it is money thrown away to lay it out on buildings soon to be abandoned. The Insane Department alone requires an immediate outlay of \$10,000 or \$15,000 on the roofs and floors, and as much more would be spent by any prudent landlord on other parts of the structure. There or somewhere else more patients must be provided for in order to meet the regular increase of the insane. The need of more room is as imperative now as it was two years ago when the new buildings were called for. To continue this crowding together of the insane, as is still done at Blockley, is simply to perpetrate a great crime against humanity. To ignore the fact and to be reckless of the consequences, is no better in point of morals, than it would be for a railway company to use a bridge after it had been pronounced defective and dangerous. Removing the insane, the children and the paupers proper, into the country, ample room, but none too much, would be obtained for the hospital, while the land outside the present inclosures could be put into the market, if not previously given away. It has been proposed to remove our paupers, of all descriptions, I suppose, to buildings erected for them on the grounds occupied by the House of Correction. I trust this project will be abandoned. Besides the sanitary and moral evils which make the association of such large numbers exceedingly objectionable, the House of Correction would render all the other departments disreputable. We could commit no greater breach of moral propriety than thus to place upon a single honest pauper, sane or insane, the stigma of crime.

ISAAC RAY.

THE CHILDHOOD AND YOUTH OF LUTHER.

THIRD PAPER.

THUS far we have been occupied chiefly with the formal schooling that occupied the first eighteen years of this eventful life. What of that which was informal? He, too, came under the teaching of "that living time, which for twenty or thirty years struggles unceasingly with men through actions and opinions, tossing them to and fro as on the waves of a sea,"—that "spiritual climate of man," in comparison with which "mere education is the hot-house and forcing-pit"—that "present which ceases not for a moment, but eternally repeats itself, and which with joy and sorrow, with towns and books, with friends and enemies, in short, with thousand-handed life, presses and seizes on us." (*Richter.*) What record have we of *that*?

We have already noticed the traces of his early acquaintance with the Folk-lore of his age; we have much less clear evidence of his acquaintance with that popular literature, which sprang up in such luxuriance during the closing years of the fifteenth century. Sebastian Brandt, Gailer von Kaisersberg, and others of the period, had begun to lay the foundations of a truly national literature, and a multitude of Folks-books were widely disseminated by the ever cheaper art of the printer. Most of these were either devotional works, prepared by the regular clergy, or satirical attacks on the morals and manners of the age. But they seem to have excited no interest in young Martin's mind.

It was the golden age of the Folks-songs of Germany, and by these he was not uninfluenced. He quotes one as his mother's song:

Mir und dir ist Niemand huld:
Dass ist unser beider Schuld¹

He says that this art of song was more common than the printing; was a weapon of local enmity: "The farm-workers—*lands-knechte*—make a song of their enemies, if they be killed or put to flight."² In those days everything was made the subject of a fine

¹Preface to the Refutation of the Anabaptists' Confession (by Urbanna Phegius), 1835.

²House-Postill (Rorer): Sermon on Matt. 5, 20-26.

new song (*ein hubsch neue Lied*), that was hawked about from hamlet to hamlet. These ballads possessed no great literary merit, but they kept alive public spirit, disseminated news from home and abroad, and even awakened a sense of national unity in those degenerate days. They also gave the rulers a taste of the people's mother-wit in homely counsels, and in bitter complaints of the Reich and its princes, of the Church and its clergy. In a word, they fulfilled in a measure the same function as did the prose *Zeitungs* of the next age, while they illustrated in their province that paradox of literary history, that poetry comes before prose. Luther seems to have learned by the experience of the years in which he, like others, was dependent upon them for information, how greatly they both reflected and influenced the popular mind. He writes, in 1536, to Wenceslaus Linck, of Nurnberg:

Prithee let some lad or other gather up all the German pictures, rhymes, ballads, books, and master-songs by your German poets, engravers, and printers, that are drawn, made up, and printed this year, for I have a reason to be glad to have them.¹

We may well suppose that what he would gather up historical knowledge in regard to the nation and his native province, and read eagerly anything of that sort that he could lay his hands on. We have seen him express his lasting regret "that I read not more histories, and that none taught me the same." We may justly infer the warmth of his interest from the heat of his complaints of the neglect of the subject. He says:

And what have we Germans more to lament than that of our forefathers for thousands of years we have no histories and examples, and know almost nothing of our extraction, save what we must use the histories of other nations to learn, that mayhap are fain to mention us if they would do honor to themselves. For since God's work goes on without ceasing—as Christ says: My Father worketh hitherto and I work—so it cannot fail but that in every time something remarkable took place, that it were worth while to take note of, and although it could not all be gathered up, yet so that the weightiest passages were set down briefly, as was proposed by those that made songs about Dieterich von Bern and other giants, and have thereby given us many great things in a sort both short and simple.

But there is need of an able man who shall have the heart of a lion to write the truth dauntlessly. For the more part do so write, that to please their patrons and friends they do pass by

¹ De Wette, iv. 681.

the faults and mischances of their times, or put the best face upon them; or again, out of good-will to their own land, or misliking of foreigners, they do adorn or sully their histories, according as they bear love or ill-will to any. Thereby the histories come to be despised, and God's work is shamefully beclouded.¹

Oh, how many fine histories and sayings might we have had now, that took place and were current in German lands, of which we know just nothing. That was because no one was there to write them down, or if they were written, no one kept the books. Therefore, is it that nobody in other land knows anything of us Germans, and all the world must needs talk of "German beasts, that can do nothing, save fight, and gorge, and soak." But the Greeks and Latins, yea! and the Hebrews, too, have their deeds written down so closely and curiously, that where even a woman or a child did or said anything uncommon, that must all the world read and know; all the while we are Germans, forever Germans, and Germans we will remain.²

What was his place, and that of his father's house, in this great half-awakened German nation, whose later history has so grandly vindicated his aspirations for her? We have seen him boast that he was a boor of the boors, but the boast was true in the letter only. He was in truth a burgher of the burghers. His youth was spent in the cities; he came in contact with the peasant farmers only when he visited his kinsmen at Möhra, or when he with the other Current children went out in companies to sing through the hamlets, and to seek a share of the good things that hung drying in the smoke of the wide chimneys of the farmers' kitchens. No one can read his pleas for education, addressed to the burgesses of the cities, without perceiving how thorough his acquaintance with the city's modes of thought, that enabled him to give them one home-thrust after another in every sentence of his argument.

These burghers of his were marked by a shrewd intelligence and mother-wit that could not be blinded to the existing disorders in Church and State. Their "eye to the main chance" had often brought them into collision with the spirituality, and these affrays had taught them that the motives of the clergy were not always above question, nor their power without its limits. They possessed a large measure of freedom, even when they were nominally under a feudal superior, and were not only tenacious of "the

¹ Preface to the German translation of Capella's History of Duke Francis of Milan (1538).

² To the Councilors of the German Cities, that they set up Schools (1524).

liberties" of the municipality, but were, in every quarter and at every opportunity, carrying on a struggle to enlarge them. The important aid that they were able to render to the Reich and its princes in times of emergency, by furnishing subsidies of men and of money, helped to the success of their efforts, and as they acted with one heart and mind, they had the strength of a vigorous unity. Luther, who returned to the burgher class when he left the monastery in 1524, is never tired of dwelling upon the public spirit that still prevailed in these smaller municipal communities, after it had died out of the Reich at large. He often says, and the saying was in all likelihood one of their maxims:

He that will live in a city, let him know and abide by its laws, if he would share in the benefits.

In opening up the meaning of the sacrament as a *communio*, he says:

As in a city its name, honor, freedom, commerce, usages, manners, help, succor, defense and the like, are the common right of all the burghers thereof; so again is every jeopardy, be it of fire or water, foe or death, loss or leprosy, or the like. For he that will share the advantage must cast his lot with the rest, and give like measure in requiting love with love. Hence is it seen that he that wrongs a burgher, wrongs the whole city; he that doth well by one, deserveth the good-will and thanks of all the rest.¹

It was a favorite saying with him—Burgher owes burgher a brand—and he explains it as meaning:

If any one will be a burgher, he must stand by his neighbors in jeopardy, burning and loss. He that will live in a community, must also bear and suffer the burdens, jeopardies and losses thereof, although not he brought these about, but his neighbor; even as he partakes of its peace, profit, safety, welfare and freedom, although mayhap he had no hand in gaining these and bringing them about

The burgher's life—he marks—called for unwavering steadfastness, and that they do not hesitate nor lack the will to give up body and life for their sakes, that live under the same law of the city. In his eyes Nurnberg—the home of Dürer, Pirckheimer and his friend Wenceslaus Linck—was the model city of Germany:

Nurnberg shineth in sooth in all Germany like a sun among moon and stars, and mightily moveth other cities, by whatever is in vogue

¹Sermon of the highly worthy Sacrament (1519.)

²Epistle concerning the Hard Book against the Boors (1525.)

there. . . . I know thus much about Nurnberg that, God be thanked, it hath many fine Christian burghers in it, who heartily and cheerfully do what they ought, when they but know it or are told of it, which repute it hath not alone with me, but everywhere.¹

Nurnberg hath had the best and the cleverest people for its council of any; since they are now dead, all is over and done with it. . . . Nurnberg lies in a dry, sandy and unfruitful place, according to the saying: *Deus non uni cuncta dat*. The better the country the more shiftless, stupid and coarse the people. . . . Nurnberg is a rich and well-ordered city, wherein there is good policy, yea for it hath good people.²

The spirit of independence cherished by the circumstances in which the cities were placed, could not be limited by rule, as its activity was often not defined by any law, save the unwritten law of necessity. The burgher was as ready to defend himself as his city, if he thought the need sufficient. Luther said from the pulpit once:

If the government did not put down those that break the peace, then would I take my house-pike and defend the peace of my home myself, and were I to thrust through to him that made uproar, then would I cry out, "Here! God's and the Emperor's law, before which, of us two, I will give answer with the better conscience."³

In spite of his continual and respectful intercourse with people high in place, he never lost the burgher's contempt for the pride of mere blood and birth, unaccompanied by personal merit. He speaks of those

. . . . that turn out proud asses, and pride themselves on the virtues of their fathers, but themselves take no heed to pattern by them, and dream that they are staunch heroes, because they are come of heroes so staunch as if the devil were to boast that he was made of angelic kind, and on that score alone were to set up to be an angel and God's child, being the while God's enemy

He was not afraid to remind his hearers that Christ "had whores and rogues among his forefathers," and delighted to call attention to the fact that it was fishermen, tax-gatherers and the

¹Letter to Lazarus Spengler (1530).

²*Tischreden* lxxvi. § 13.

³Three sermons preached at Wittenberg at Michaelmas, 1533.

⁴Narrations in Genesis (1546), of the Jews and their Lies (1543.)

⁵Sermons on the First Book of Moses (1527.)

like that by the preaching of the Gospel brought the old world to its end and the new to its beginning. He says that

God will not that born lords alone bear rule, but will join with them His beggars, and since the former neither can nor will, the latter must, rule the world.

"A saying—says Jürgens—fully exemplified in him, to whom the princes of Germany listened as to an oracle, and who even in his absence was the man of most influence in princely courts and at the Diets of the Reich, who spoke to kings and electors like an equal, and brought them under the rod like any other rogues."

He was a burgher then, in feeling and education, not a boor; evidently not in sympathy with the class into which his father had been born. We fear that he cannot be acquitted of grossly misunderstanding the rights and the grievances of that class—a misunderstanding which amounts to a fault in one who put himself forward as a judge of those rights and grievances during the uprising of the boors. Even burghers were shocked by the harshness of his speech, and he was obliged to write an apologetic "*Epistle Concerning the Hard Book against the Boors.*" He thought the life of the peasant farmer was honorable and peaceful; that they had fine and noble means of sustaining life; that they had safe and good days and pleasant work—an arcadian picture that shows how much slighter had been his contact with this class, than with the miners and burghers. As to themselves, he complains of their covetousness, the rarity of true and merciful Christians among them, their sins as a class against God and man, their ingratitude—which they shared with the nobles!—for all the good things that God had given them. It was their greediness that had called down God's curse upon his native Thuringia.

Perhaps this limitation of the man was essential to the success of his work; the cities were the centers of intellectual life, and from them the Reformation spread through the surrounding country. A reformer must of all things be able to speak to the burghers in their own speech, and to bring his teaching "home to their business and bosoms." Had Luther been a broader man, freer from the prejudices of a class, it must have been at the expense of his intensity and real power.

He shared deeply in the burghers' affection for the great Kaisers, who had kept Germany in order, and had driven out her enemies

in times that stood in strong contrast to his own days, as public spirit had now sunk to its lowest ebb, and the princes of the Reich had already in large measure destroyed its authority and unity by raising themselves to sovereignty :

When Germany had but one master, no man could take unjust advantage of us, as under Kaiser Henry [the Saxon, 919-936], that was father of Otho [the First, 936-973]; then it was well with Germany. The three Kaisers that came after him, the Othos, ruled very well, and withstood the King of France, who threatened them that he would come [in 978] with such strength that he would drink up the Rhine. Kaiser Otho [the Second], though, gave him this answer: He would cover his land and kingdom with straw-hats—*schaub-huten*—and so it happened.¹

In Duke William's time no noble would have had the insolence to defy his prince, and hold land and castles in his despite; then he could not but hunt them out with a strong hand, and take their castles by storm and raze them to the ground.²

There is no nation more despised than the Germans. Italians call us beasts. France and England make a mock of us, as do all other lands. Who knows what God intends to yet make of us Germans, although we have well deserved a good scourging at His hands.

Germany is like a fine, stout nag, that has no lack of fodder or of anything else that he needs. But he wants a rider. Now, just as a strong horse without a rider to govern him, runs astray this way and that, so Germany, though mighty enough in its strength and its people, is in sore need of a good head and ruler.³

This was a lesson that he could hardly have learned from the humanists, scholastics and monks with whom he lived at Erfurt, and still less from the Elector's placemen and servants whom he met at Wittenberg; it carries us back to the Burgher circles of Mansfeld and Eisenach. It was there that he drank in with his growth the faith in the Reich and its unity, which we have seen so grandly justified. His patriotism was always German rather than Saxon. When at a later date he justified the princes in their resistance to the Kaiser it was not on the grounds that courtly jurists and theologians afterward devised—that the princes had a divine right of sovereignty—but by falling back on the old German conception of freedom—by taking ground that would equally justify their subjects, in a like case, in revolting against them :

¹ *Tischreden.*, lxvi.

² To the Pastors, that they preach against the usurers (1540).

³ *Tischreden* lxxvi. § 9.

Should the Kaiser begin a war against us, he would do so either against the ministry of the Gospel and our religion, to root out the same, or against all policy and statesmanship, against the worldly and domestic government, to unsettle the same; in which case he is a tyrant. Here now there is need to ask: May a man contend for the right, pure doctrine and religion? Yea, a man must contend for wife and child, household and underlings, whom we are bound to defend from unrighteous force. If I live and have the strength, then will I write an "Admonition to All Ranks in the Matter of Defense in case of Need," to wit, that every one is to shield them that are his against unrighteous force.¹

The German princes—said an Englishman—are official persons; they bear the sword wherewith it behooves them to defend their subjects against unrighteous force. No—replied Luther—for a prince as against the Kaiser is a private and single person.²

In 1522 he preached in the Castle Church at Weimar before the Saxon princes, and said in the course of his sermon:

Thus shall a prince hold fast to God—should the Kaiser or King take away his lands, then shall he bear it patiently and say: "Now, I thank God that I am eased of my office; would to God that I had ruled righteously and defended my neighbors. God's will be done with me."

Luther's earlier years were spent during the reign of the good and well beloved Kaiser Maximilian (1493-1519), "the last of the knights." He had many faults, but he was a man of true culture, of ready wit and of fine, princely manners. He was, above all, an earnest patriot, and strove hard to restore life and spirit to the Reich, but was continually thwarted by the princes, who would abate no jot of their usurped power even when the enemies of the nation were pressing it both on the east and on the west, and by the Roman Curia, whose huge drafts upon the money of the impoverished nation, seriously crippled its finances and disabled it from holding the eastern frontier of Christendom against the Turks. The popular instinct fastened itself to the man lovingly, and the common people delighted in stories of his wit and wisdom, his public spirit and his knightly grace. Luther has preserved some of them:

When I was a young lad, there were fine, lofty, understanding, able folks, ready both for counsel and for action; such as Kaiser Maximilian, in Germany, King Sigismund, in Poland, King Lad-

¹ *Tischreden* lxiv. § 1.

² *Tischreden* lxiv. § 1a. 1

islaw in Bohemia, King Ferdinand, in Spain; wise and great minded princes all. There were, likewise, fine, devout bishops, like those of Wurtzburg, Cologne, that would, without doubt, have received this doctrine with glad and joyful hearts, had they lived in our days.¹

Kaiser Maximilian, it is told, once upon a time said: There were three kings in the world, to wit, he, the Kaiser, the King of France and the King of England. He himself was a king of kings, for when he enjoined anything upon his princes, if it pleased them they did it; if not, not. The King of France, though, was a king of asses, for whatever he bade his folk do, do they must, like so many asses, and his princes had to obey him. But the King of England was a king of the people, for whatever he enjoined upon them, that did they gladly, and loved their lord the king like true liegemen.²

As a rebellious boor is knocked on the head, so should a rebellious noble, count or prince be knocked on the head also, one as well as the other, and yet no wrong done to any one. Kaiser Maximilian, I trow, could very well have svng a fine song—*ein liedlein*—about unruly, rebellious princes and nobles, that would gladly have rid the land of each other, and have butted their heads against their neighbors.³

Maximilian and King Louis [XII.] of France made a compact, wherein they would fain include the Pope. When he had agreed thereunto, and they to confirm the same had received the sacrament thereafter in three parts—to each a part—the Pope broke the compact within a year, and went over to the Venetians. When the Kaiser heard of it, it is told that he said: “We three that are accounted the heads of Christendom, are the grossest, most desperate and most foresworn miscreants under heaven! We are faithless, not only to each other, but to God.”⁴

Kaiser Maximilian was an eminent hero and champion, and nobly gifted of God, and withal a fine, courtly, discreet man, so that the Elector of Saxony preferred him to all the princes that he had ever seen, or that had lived in his days, and said of him: “He was ready alike for jest or for earnest.” As his Kaiserly majesty was once asked about the government of this present world, he laughed and said: “God hath ordered both polities well, giving the spiritual to a drunken parson”—he meant thereby Pope Julius II.—“and the secular to a chamois-climber,” for his majesty took great delight in hunting the chamois.⁵

¹*Tischreden* lxii. § 3.

²*Tischreden* xlv. § 32.

³Whether soldiers can be in a state of salvation (1526).

⁴*Tischreden*, lxiii. § 9.

⁵*Tischreden* lxii. § 23.

In arguing with the burghers, that their children ought to be kept at school, he appeals to their much loved Kaiser, as to one who put honor upon learning:

I have heard it told of the worthy dear Kaiser Maximilian, when the great houses murmured thereat, that he used scholars—*schreiber*—so continually on his embassies and otherwise, that he should¹ have said: “What am I to do? They will be of no use themselves, so I needs must take scholars into service.” And further: “I can make knights, but doctors I cannot make.” So have I also heard of a nobleman that he said: “I will have my son study; it is no great art to hang two bones over a horse, and become a rider; that he has learned of me already;” and it was well and finely said.²

It is especially pleasant to find how often and with what hearty reverence our Luther speaks of the saint so dear to the popular heart, Elizabeth of Thuringia, the fair and noble lady, whom Montalembert and Kingsley have reproduced to our loving reverence. Long did the tradition of her kind deeds and gracious sayings linger among the Thuringian peasants and burghers, upon whom she took such tender pity in her life-time, as she found her master, not in any throned Italian, but in the suffering and the poor that crowded her palace-gates, and in the lepers and the plague-smitten that thronged the scanty and ill-tended hospitals and lazar-houses of her adopted Thuringia. Even those that rebelled against the existing church system, could contemplate with satisfaction the life of one who was a princess, a wife and a mother, yet confessedly more holy in those relations than the women who had renounced them to lead “the perfect life.” However her spiritual advisers might torment and perplex her conscience, and drive her to austerities, there shone through her life and acts a single-hearted loyalty to Christ, and disclosed to the people one more spiritual than the spirituality. Luther classes her among those great and good Christians, of whose saintship there could be no doubt:

.....I believe, indeed, that Elizabeth of Marburg is a saint; also St. Augustine, Jerome, Bernard; but I will not stake my life on it nor commit my soul to them.

In a sermon he holds her up to the people as an example of the

¹ There is certainly provincial usage, and I think old English authority, for this subjunctive use of should, in telling another person's story without expressing either doubt or credence.

² A sermon: that the Children be kept at School (1530).

true love that seeks not its own, but is ready to impart to others, which is most active and strongest toward the poor, the evil, the foolish, the sick and its own enemies, since it finds all its hands full, has at all times enough, and sees all occasions fit for exercise of long-suffering, patience, forbearance, service and well-doing; whose command makes all men equal before God, and enjoins upon the king himself to hold the beggar dearer than his crown, and to give up life for him, if need were. He speaks elsewhere of "her simple, godly and powerful judgment about matters, that every one prized," and praised her labor of love toward beggars and lepers. He says that

..... She once came into a cloister and found that our Lord's passion was finely painted on the walls, and said: "The outlay might well have been spared to relieve the bodily wants of the needy, for we should rather bear such things painted in our hearts."¹

In his later years he kept with great care a goblet that was said to have been hers. All the Thuringian comes out in his reverence for her.

THE PHILOSOPHY OF PENAL LEGISLATION.

SOCIETY being the condition outside of which man cannot attain to moral order, its preservation is for society the highest of rights, and for the individual, the first and highest of duties. This absolute and inalienable right society can only enforce by means of compulsion and repression, which thus also become rights inherent in society. The right of compulsion society exercises when she compels those services on the part of the individual which are necessary to her well-being, and which he fails to give to her freely. The right of repression is exercised when society seeks to anticipate and prevent those acts on the part of her individual members which would endanger her security. Exercised within these limits, compulsion and repression are perfectly legitimate, for they are absolutely necessary, not simply for the preservation of any particular form of social development, but for the preservation of the social order itself, in its most general and universal sense.

¹ Church-Postill (Sermon on St. Stephen's Day).

It is not difficult to see, almost at a glance, within what limits the right of compulsion should be exercised. Having for its end, only the forcing of a duty on the part of the individual of which society stands in need, whether it be the use of his arm as a soldier, or the payment of his proportion of the public expenses, its extent is limited; the right to exercise it ceases the moment the end is secured or the need removed. But the question is more complicated when we come to consider the right of repression. If the right is to extend only to the prevention of acts which endanger the well-being of the social order, it becomes almost a nullity, an incumbrance, an unrealizable idea. The right must be extended beyond the actual dangerous act, and reach those results which spring out of it. Not only the acts of the criminal who is already within the grasp of the law must be repressed, but the repression must be of such a character as will deter any who otherwise might be tempted to follow his pernicious example. The right of repression, therefore, can only be exercised efficiently by means of intimidation; without it, it is perhaps worse than useless. Intimidation, in fact, is nothing but the right of repression in its most active and efficacious form, and upon it, as thus grounded in the right of society to preserve her own existence by the repression of those forces that endanger her security, all penal law rests.

The right of self-preservation, as exercised by society, is not governed by the laws that govern the same right as exercised by the individual. With the latter the right ceases as soon as the occasion ceases. To carry it any further is to degrade it into vengeance, to put into its place either interest or passion. With society the case is different; to violate laws which are necessary for the well-being of the social order, is to commit a crime against the whole of that order. He who does so has attacked the rights of all, he has attacked his own rights. The rights he has attacked, he has by attacking denied, and in denying them, he declares himself ready to attack them again. Thus proclaiming himself an enemy to the laws of the social order, he ceases, as far as his own rights are concerned, to possess any claim for protection from those laws. It is in this sense that Kant said: "If you steal from another, you steal from yourself. If you dishonor or strike another, you dishonor, you strike yourself. If you kill your fellow-man, you pronounce a sentence of death upon yourself." All

that a man takes away from the rights of another, he loses from his own rights, and by every violation of laws ordained for the well-being of society, he becomes an antagonistic and dangerous force in the bosom of society, which she may, nay *must*, restrain, repress and overcome, for the sake of her own safety, and in order to carry out the purposes of her creation. How is society to crush that intelligent force which has thus become a source of danger? It is not by keeping it constantly within her reach and subjecting it to a perpetual restraint; to do so, would be to enter into an unremitting and unending struggle with it, which even if possible, would not answer the desired end. But after each aggression society must inflict such a punishment upon the aggressor, as not only he will be unwilling to undergo again, but which all others will be afraid to risk. Does not intimidation consist precisely in this?

Society is an organic whole. A wrong done to the rights of any one individual, wrongs the rights of all. When a murder, a robbery, a crime of any sort has been perpetrated, all tremble lest they should be the next victims. All have that confidence shaken which up to that moment they have felt in the protective power of the laws. This fear, this loss of confidence, is in itself an evil endangering society, an injury requiring immediate reparation. This reparation society must, in very self-defense, if for no other motive, hasten to give. How shall the reparation be given? By the re-establishment of the sense of security, by a restoration of the public confidence—in short, by means of repression sufficient to prevent for the future, as far as may be possible, the recurrence of the same or similar crimes. He whose criminal acts have brought about this loss of confidence, this sense of insecurity, should undergo such a punishment as will, by restraining himself and others like him from the future commission of similar acts, restore to the community that sense of safety under the laws that is so necessary for its happiness and well-being. It is only a penal code founded upon such principles that can avoid being arbitrary, and in which the punishment will never go beyond a reparation of the injury committed and the necessity of defense, and these two are after all but one and the same thing. The punishment will be sufficient when it removes the sense of insecurity inspired by the crime and the danger that threatened society as resulting from the crime.

Resting upon such principles, penal legislation can keep pace with the progress that man makes in civilization, and can become more humane and mild in proportion as man and society advance in those paths that lead to the true development and perfection of humanity. No rigor of the penal code will then be considered as fixed and unchangeable. Upon such principles and such principles alone, can be justified the disappearance from the penal law of such terrible adjuncts to punishment as torture, branding and the like. It is upon such principles alone that penal legislation has made any progress in the past, and it is only through them that it can make any true progress in the future.

There is a school which would fain hold that penal laws rest upon the principle of expiation. In a system based upon such a principle there can be no determinate relation between the crime and its punishment, for it is impossible for human wisdom to determine what species or what amount of suffering is the natural expiation for any given crime. A penal code founded on such a principle must of necessity be arbitrary, and will from the very necessity of varying the punishment according to the degree of perversity with which the crime has been committed, and of injury resulting from it, be inevitably led into paths of cruelty and torture. The friends of this theory have, it is true, endeavored to inclose its action within the limits of the needs of society, which is after all to confound it with the right of self defense, a fatal inconsistency. If the doctrine of expiation is to prevail at all, it must penetrate wherever the hand of the law can reach, and no infraction of the law, of whatever nature it may be, must be suffered to remain unpunished. But then, no more responsibility, no more liberty—it is the inquisition restored. It then becomes necessary to seek out evil wherever it may exist, in order that it may be punished—*expiated*. Finally, there is no room under such a principle for any pity, indulgence or mercy toward the criminal, nor can the law entertain any thought of his ultimate reformation. When, however, penal legislation is founded upon the principle of self-defense, the law, having no end but to protect and defend society, is naturally impelled to seek to do this by eradicating from the heart of the criminal the germ of disorder. The reformation of the criminal, without being the end of the law, comes

in as an aid to the attainment of its end, and thus justice seeks as an auxiliary the principle of charity, of mercy.

The means whereby the ends of penal legislation are sought to be obtained are called by the general name of punishments, and without pausing here to define this term, it will be sufficient to examine if there are not some general principles which should govern their infliction, while keeping them subordinate to the principles upon which rest the right of society to inflict them.

In the first place, it is evident that the punishment must not pass the limits within which the *right* of punishment is inclosed; that is, the punishment should not go beyond the ends of penal justice. There is in any given case a maximum of severity which the law should not exceed. This severity is such as is shown by experience and reason, and by the general laws of human nature, to be sufficient to give a sure safeguard against the crime. If the punishment passes this limit, it, to a great extent, defeats its own end and violates the principle upon which it is based. The punishment must, in the next place, be *personal*; that is, so chosen that as far as the nature of things will permit, its severity will weigh on the criminal alone. It is true that punishment can never be entirely and purely personal. The criminal whom the law must punish is a human being, and is bound as other men are, by the ties of family and friendship, and it is impossible to prevent those who are thus bound to him from suffering when he is punished. Joint responsibility must enter into punishment because it is in society, in nature, and in the constitution of humanity. But to make use of this joint responsibility as a *means* of punishment—to punish the guilty *through* the innocent—is to reverse the relative position of society and the criminal. Again, the punishment should be proportionate, not only to the crime but also to the particular conditions which surround the criminal. The age, sex, social condition, should be taken into consideration. While there should be but one law for rich and poor, there should not be one punishment. A fine of a few hundred dollars, which would probably beggar a poor man for life, or the non-payment of which would consign him to hopeless imprisonment, would be but a trifle to a rich man, and he might even come to consider crime as a luxury to be purchased with his surplus wealth. There should also be a certain *analogy* between the crime and its pun-

ishment, otherwise penal legislation would be more apt to be governed by mere chance than by any fixed and determined rules. This analogy must, however, be a strictly moral analogy, and never a material analogy, as seems too often to have been the aim of penal legislation. This moral analogy is to be reached by depriving the criminal of those rights which he has despised, abused or violated in others. The material analogy consists in *copying* the crime in the punishment. Such was the Tartarus of Greek Mythology and the Inferno of Dante. But the essence of justice is not to be thus attained. To attempt to carry such an analogy into practice is to render justice sometimes cruel and often ridiculous, in the end it is but the *lex talionis*, "an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth." Man even in the deepest degradation is always a moral being, possessing conscience, reason, and will; and he cannot be treated as a wise man would not treat his beast of burden. The punishment must be made to find its reason in the consciousness of the criminal, so that even while experiencing the pain arising from it, he is at the same time, at least to himself, forced to acknowledge its justice. Finally, the punishment must be *certain*. Crimes are more effectually repressed by the certainty than by the severity of their punishment. The uncertainty arises chiefly from a disregard, on the part of the legislator, of the principles upon which rests the right to punish, and which should govern the nature of the punishment and the manner of its infliction. Not finding a just reason in the nature of things for the punishment, society will often grant impunity to the criminal rather than inflict it upon him, and thus the law defeats its own purpose. It is in the certainty of the punishment that lies its chief intimidative power.

Punishment thus understood can no longer be arbitrary, capricious and violent; it rests firmly upon the immutable laws of reason and justice. To the punishment may now be joined any true means which will tend toward the amendment of the criminal, for the first step toward amendment is the *sense of justice* passing from the penal law, through the sentence of the judge, into the consciousness of the criminal. But under the pretext of a reformation of the criminal, penal law must not encourage him in his wickedness by a sentimental and culpable weakness. The reformation of the criminal is not to be brought about by any

lightening of his punishment, but by the improvement of his sentiments and morals while separated from the corrupting influence of others like himself, by the seeds of morality and of knowledge that are sown in his heart, and, alas, how large a portion of crime has its origin in ignorance, by the habits of industry and temperance that are grafted upon his life, and, finally, when his punishment is ended, by placing him in such a position that whatever of good he may thus have had engrafted upon him, may have a fair chance to develop and bear fruit. Thus a dangerous and destructive force in the body politic may be restored to its useful and normal condition. Guided by these principles of humanity and justice, penal law can forever bid farewell to all those horrors and abominations which, under the name of punishments, have formally composed this branch of penal legislation. No more mutilations, no more cruelties, no more punishments which degrade both body and soul, such as are still to be found lurking here and there, hiding themselves under the dust of antiquity, in the penal codes of almost every civilized nation of Europe. But why speak of Europe, as long as even in our own land the whipping-post is still standing at our doors, and the lash still falls on the backs of American citizens. The only effect of such punishments is to defeat the end of punishment, and to so harden the criminal that all reformation is rendered improbable if not impossible, and they inevitably recoil back upon the society that inflicts them, degrading human nature and retarding the progress of true civilization.

But there is a question which now presents itself, that involves the true test of this whole theory of punishment. This is also one of those "questions of the day" that are continually presenting themselves for solution, and which, until solved, are the stumbling-blocks in the pathway of a developing humanity. Does the inalienable right of self-preservation, as exercised by society in the manner that has been discussed, give to society the right to dispose of the life of him who has become a source of danger to her? Is the death penalty a legitimate means of intimidation for the purposes of repression and reparation?

This, as has already been said, is one of the "questions of the day," and is one that is now forcing itself toward a solution. Like all social questions, it slumbered quietly in the bosom of

humanity until the conditions favorable to its development became present, when it at once presented itself, and has ever since continued to present itself with greater or less prominence, and the day must come, if it has not dawned already, in which it must be solved. The history of this question, though it is both instructive and interesting, is foreign to the object of this inquiry. It will be sufficient to state that Beccaria, in the latter part of the last century, in his celebrated treatise on "*Crimes and their Punishments*," was the first to start this question, and that since then it has continued to press its claims with ever-increasing power and vigor, until to-day it is a question upon which the philosophical world is fairly divided into two clearly defined and openly antagonistic parties.

The defenders of capital punishment having abandoned torture as an aid to punishment, have renounced with it the doctrine of expiation, and there remains but two grounds upon which they base the right of society over the life of the criminal. *First.* Traditional, abstract, metaphysical right, the use of which remains submitted to reason and the force of circumstances. The death penalty, they say, has been in use from time immemorial. It is inscribed on the codes of all nations, and is inherent in the laws of human nature. *Second.* Society has a right to defend herself. She is bound to exercise that right, especially in behalf of those whom, in receiving into her body corporate, she deprives of their natural rights of self-defense by substituting herself in place of that right in order to preserve for them the most certain enjoyment of security, liberty and happiness. If to do so it becomes necessary to punish him who endangers that enjoyment, even by depriving him of life itself, she can, nay, she must do so.

The first of these propositions is utterly false and worthless. There is not a single error in favor of which the authority of tradition and of custom cannot be equally invoked. Slavery, primogeniture, religious persecution, in fact everything that an enlightened age and Christianized civilization has learned to despise, were errors almost as old as the human race, and have been regarded as sacred among all nations. To defend them to-day is the effort of a school of philosophy whose peculiar mission seems to be, in apologizing for the past, to render the present more glorious.

The second proposition is true. The life of an individual is, as far as society is concerned, no more an inalienable right in him than his liberty. Inviolability exists only within the limits of our rights, and is lost the moment we relinquish our rights for the purpose of attacking those of another. Society has the right of self-defense, and if she can only defend herself by means of the death penalty, it is not only perfectly legitimate, but her absolute duty, to make use of it. It is not necessary—as has sometimes been contended—that she should wait until the whole social order shall be threatened in order to justify herself in the use of this means of repression and intimidation ; it is sufficient that the right of an individual be threatened, for in the social order each one has entrusted his natural right of self-defense, to a certain extent at least, to society.

But is this means—for after all the death penalty is but a means to an end—necessary? Does it answer the purpose for which it is designed better than any other would do? And, finally, is it a punishment which, better than any other punishment, answers the requirements which the principles of punishment demand. These are the true points at issue and upon their answer alone should depend the abolition of the death penalty. It is through the application of the principles which alone should govern in the infliction of punishments, that the changes that have taken place in penal legislation in this respect during the last two centuries can be accounted for. On what other grounds can we account for or justify the almost total disappearance of this terrible punishment from the penal code of almost all civilized nations. In our own country, but one alone in the whole dark catalogue of crimes has attached to it the penalty of death ; and the time may not be far distant when this, too, shall have disappeared, when the scaffold shall have taken its place beside the rack and the wheel in the lumber-rooms, where are stored the discarded, worn-out and useless weapons of civilization, and be no more seen except in the museums of antiquarians and the chamber of horrors of some future Tussaud's wax-work exhibition. But if the death penalty is to be abolished, it must not be abolished as slavery and religious persecution have been abolished, because they were wrong in themselves, but because man has made such progress in his grand onward march toward perfection that it has *come to be* no longer a

legitimate means of repression and reparation—that is to say, that it is a punishment that goes beyond the ends of penal justice, being a severity which reason and experience has shown to be not the best safeguard against the crime that it seeks to prevent.

JAMES L. FERRIERE.

THE NEW YORK EXHIBITION OF WATER COLORS.

THE promise of the present winter's exhibition was of a pleasure beyond the usual one of being a yearly increase in the number and quality of the nation's paintings in water colors. This year we were to have a collection of drawings and water colors, principally drawings by the most prominent English artists. Our first impression was one of disappointment, at the small number represented, but they nevertheless furnish a tolerable standard, to judge the peculiar excellences and weaknesses of the English school. We are told the pictures were collected in three weeks, and I suppose it is owing to this fact that so few of the English etchers are represented. Seymour, Hayden and P. G. Hammerton, for instance, are already too well-known in America to pass over, and of our own countryman, James Whistler, there is not even an unfinished vagary. Mr. Edwin Edwards has a series of beautiful etchings, mostly studies of landscapes, faithful and yet fresh, as etching seems so fit to be. "The Chestnuts" are fine manly work, and the "Haunted House" is bewitched in good earnest.

Mr. Du Maurier is so familiar to us in *Punch*, that we are surprised to find his well-known large comfortable manner on the academy walls. The style is so good one can't help wondering why our wood-draughtsmen do not use it more. It has, too, the advantage of being easily rendered by the engraver, though it must be confessed it seems in all cases cold.

Miss Paterson seems to have lost some of her coldness in the brocaded dress of "A Young Girl." The embarrassed action of her right hand is very pretty, whether the young men be lovers or not. The originals of the illustrations to "The Wandering Heir," reprinted in Harper, are here, and very beautiful is one of Mr. Felde's—"Father, father." Mr. Small's "Kill Him," is rich and

strong. On the whole, we are surprised to find how neatly the cut reproduces the drawing, and wish the same perfection might be reached among our own engravers. We shall be obliged, I suppose, on account of the past, to look at two monster india-ink drawings by Doré for "The Borders of the Sea." They have all his worst points, stringy water and impossible rock, and to console us for these a cave and a cuttle-fish!

Mr. W. T. Richards has gone inland this time, and we have six or eight White Mountain studies, very elaborate in detail, and delighting to those who are ambitious of discovery, by a stage-coach or a squirrel in the intricacies of a mountain road. Edward Moran, also from Philadelphia, has a stormy coast in his usual beautiful drawing. For myself, I prefer Thomas Moran's rich Yellowstone country. There are two or three in the exhibition, and although I am not sure that the freaks of nature are the manifestations we most love, I am convinced that Mr. Moran gives them to us with true scientific pleasure, and perhaps scientific indifference. The schools of science and of impression in art seem to be growing farther and farther apart, and it is curious to see an observer like Mr. Moran turn aside to give us a couple of blots—fantastic "suggestions," he calls them, full of weirdness and dream—a door through which one might enter a fantasia of Hoffman's—the water through which Childe Rolande might wade. If you are of a kind to dislike being made to think or follow the floating ends of odd fancies, turn to Du Maurier's drawings—pictures which say exactly what they intend to say, and never leave disorderly threads of thought for us to pick up and weave together for ourselves. How definite and self-satisfied is his fair matron. She has no doubt of herself; like Rosamond Lydgate, she is never anything less than the perfection of propriety; and her children are as nice as she—they are clever enough to say funny things, but you are quite sure they are clean and won't put their fingers into their plates. They are, in fact, well bred, and in pictures I prefer them less proper.

Cleanliness, not of work—which can never be too clean—but of model, seems to be the trouble with most of the flowers which form so large a part of water color exhibitions. Miss McDonald's are very good, strong and brilliant. But does she not see that nature is not so tidy with her children? They are for the most part

dusty and ragged and wayworn. One might almost say many of them cannot take a high polish any more than some poor little children—water don't count. Miss Bridges, in her tender, low-toned grasses and flowers, gives us another phase, which we might call the remembrance of the month, to which each one belongs. Her birds are full of life and nicely put together. The landscape is almost too much neglected. A little more drawing would add to our faith in the birds.

Mme. Hegg, well known to Americans who have lived on the continent, has a pretty group of flowers, also Revoise; but the execution outruns the feeling, and the real primary object of the picture is forgotten by the clever right hand working on without orders from head-quarters. Miss Chandler's "Clematis" on the paper is nicely drawn, and gives the effect of embroidery. It recalls faintly the beautiful needle-work of Miss Fanny Dixwell, whose gorgeous decorations deserve to be more widely known than they are. The insoluble problem of sunlight in paint seems to be more nearly reached by the water colorists than by others. Mr. R. Swain Gifford and Mr. Louis C. Tiffany have tried it with the Eastern sun. It lies along the Cairo streets, whitens the fountains, turns the dust of the desert to cloud or fog, gilds the gold of the mosques and paints the children, and yet for all I like it best when the after glow bathes the "Tomb of a Saint" in one of the smallest of Mr. Gifford's pictures. Mr. Tiffany has the same warm color, and his "Lazy Life in Morocco" would be a real pleasure if his want of drawing did not make itself felt wherever he attempts the human figure. The Moorish ones are quite lost under their heavy drapery. A little study of Japanese objects by Jules Jacquemart shows us that perfection of drawing is the first essential—a lesson our American hurry finds it hard to learn. The sunlight problem is worked out very far by Mr. E. K. Johnson in "The Rival Florists." In front of a brick house, overgrown with roses, sit two enthusiastic gentlemen on either side of a table covered with plants, bulbs and bottles. A gardener is carrying away specimens, and two young girls, both very pretty, sit in the doorway, smiling mischievously. The glare tires the eye, but it is a most brilliant conquering of difficulties.

Two elaborate architectural paintings, that is, paintings of buildings (Nuremberg and Prague) by Prout, show the old school of English water color—to my mind in many ways superior. A

few scratches of Ruskin's are interesting, as anything of his must be to us, who have to thank him, in spite of his political economy, for much sound advice, and often our first bending into the sunshine of art. A pen and ink drawing of Gilbert Stuart by himself, hastily scrawled in a letter to a friend, hangs below the gem of the exhibition: Washington Alston's drawing in pen and ink—"Mother and Child"—for the picture in the possession of a gentleman in Philadelphia. Here, we cannot help exclaiming, is the great art which depends neither on sunlight or shadow, the east or the west, but on its own great soul. Here placidity is not self-satisfaction, nor repose dullness, nor architecture the portrait of a church, nor thoughtfulness discontent. It is the comprehensive, not merely the daily, life of a mother.

The winter exhibition of water colors and drawings opens the picture season, and is followed by two or three auctions of private and public collections. Mr. Rosseter's furniture and pictures were very interesting, especially the furniture, the carved wood and inlaid work, unusual for beauty of design and genuineness. The sale was a bad one, many of the pictures not bringing the bare price of the canvas. The same fate has befallen Mr. Brevoort, and is a warning to the artists who think auction will make up for real interest in art. That there is real desire to buy pictures, and buy good ones, is shown in the last sale of foreign pictures, called Boston collection, and if Americans do not sell their pictures the fault may lie somewhere else than in the buyers. Certainly, nothing will be gained by auctions in which a well-known name can be bought for the price of a maul-stick. It is the fashion to say that Boston is the market for the best pictures, native and foreign, and the collection just sold shows a good many excellent works, but with the usual preponderance of glaring French drapery and insipid German dough. Let us only think of the goodness, and begin with a curious Tissot—an old German church with varnished stalls, a confessional at which a woman kneels, and in the middle waiting her turn at the confession, Goethe's Margaret in the fantastic dress of the fifteenth century, gazing with a dreadful young despair into the future. The dress oppresses you, the church is dark and heavy, the white bandages bound around the head, covering brow and chin, are like the cloths of the dead. Few persons would live with such a picture. Beside it, a bright little

open-air lambinet is trivial, but trivial like the fresh, stupid peasant girl. Dupré, too, has a sweet, quiet sunset, and Corop (Early Summer) fairly bathes one in transparent moist atmosphere.

Geo. Tuness sends from Rome a view of the Campagna in early spring, full of beautiful color, but shocking one somewhat by the monotony of his little round sheep, all coming toward you in a motionless way. W. T. Richards, the usual wintry coast—cold and sad. Two not very good examples of Zamacois, are nevertheless interesting, as the steps of so interesting a man must be—a man who at twenty-eight was already a master, and whose death was a loss to all lovers of good art. A Guardsman, by Roybet, makes you stop and ponder. Diaz and Rousseau are both represented, and there are two or three things by the too well-known Meyer von Bremen. At last, quite by chance, one comes upon a stretch of land, with the wash of the sea over it, leaving spaces here and there of water, to reflect the intensely light-blue sky; between sand and sky, black sea and a long line of hurrying clouds, between you and the scene, is air—through the clouds sweeps the wind, the gray sand and the bits of mirror look soft as if your foot would sink in—it is almost salt. This is Courbet, the Communist, whom even the Thier's Government spares, but whose pictures the salon refuse—on political account. If you are of my mind you will be quite satisfied with the collection.

THE WINTER ELF.

Dance upon the strange-blown drift,
Breaking weary chains of things,
Regions wild with hourly shift,
Crag that ne'er a like shade flings!
Whirl across the blackened pond
Mock the cranberries through the ice
(Cheeks of me as red and round
But snow-heart and form of ice;
Crystal qualls are likest me
Half-made of the Arctic sea.)

Slip the glorious mad inclines—
 Holaho ! the windy hill !
 Shot between the snow-bent pines
 Down the tongueless plunging rill !
 Tease the white owl as he broods
 Hid among the netted brake
 In the hollow (feathery roods
 Purple all a snowy lake) !
 Pluck the brittle of flower-whorls
 Peeping brown through frosty snow,
 Crack the steep and dazzling curls,
 Plash them in the wave below !
 Sail upon a crisping sea ;
 Hear my white ships dash and groan ;
 Chase the fog's weird imagery ;
 Jeer the northwind's lordly tone !

Is the nature mine
 Devil's or divine ?

Look, the silly press of mortals,
 Toilsome, anxious, blind and tame
 Birth or death, a painful name !
 Mine is not to pass the portals ;
 Memory finds me still the same.

Sometimes in the blinding sleet
 Swift before a man I fleet
 Heart-flake white, a rosy face,
 Limb or body not a trace ;
 Thinks he dreams, but should it stay,
 I'm his own god from that day !

God or devil ; things should bevil

What is good and what is evil ?

Curious human face that striveth,
 Grim set to the bitter death !
 When the raving west-wind driveth
 Tons of snow with laden breath !
 Then upon the prairie group
 Lightly from the blast I stoop
 Close the ugly staring eyes,
 Smooth the savage glare, arise

Neither sad,
 No, nor glad ;
 Only wonder as I hurry
 On the broad back of the skurry,
 Why men hold relentless strife
 For a bubble called a life.

February 15, 1873.

NEW BOOKS.

KRITISCHE GESCHICHTE DER ALLGEMEINEN PRINCIPIEN DER MECHANIK. Von Dr. D. Duehring, Docenten an der Berliner Universität: pub. Grieben, Berlin. 1873. 512 pages.

THE fact that the above work has received the first prize offered by the faculty of the University of Göttingen (Germany) gives it a strong recommendation, and indeed, it is an excellent work, one of the few books which treats the subject without algebraic symbols and formulas, although the greatest part of its contents consists of mathematical discussions. The absence of these mathematical expressions, however, do not restrict the perception or detract from the exactness and conciseness of the treatment.

The book is divided into four sections, to wit: Fundamental laws of Dynamics, and Galileo as founder of Dynamics. The times of Huyghens and Newton, times of general formation of the principles in mechanics and analytical development up to Lagrange. The nineteenth century.

Beginning with Leonardo da Vinci, the famous painter (1452), whose manuscripts plainly show his knowledge of the law of the descent of bodies on an inclined plane and of the law of free descent; J. B. Benedetti, 1570, was the first philosopher to express the law that bodies of unequal weights fall in the same time through equal spaces in vacuo. This is the more important as at these times the views of Aristotle, that bodies of unequal weights fall in unequal times through the same height in vacuo, were still in existence. Guido Ulaldi made use of the principle of virtual moments to explain the laws of the lever; whether this important principle was already known to da Vinci, as it appears from a few of his remarks, never could be fully ascertained.

Galileo as the founder of Dynamics (1572-1604).

Mr. D. looks upon Galileo as the representative of the following doctrines, to wit: free descent of bodies, motion on the inclined plane, motion of projectiles in the parabola, direct and indirect impact, and the oscillation of the pendulum. To stand his ground

Mr. D. quotes freely from Galileo, and from the copious literature of the contemporaries and successors of Galileo, and it appears worthy of consideration to cite the law of free descent by Galileo, which he expresses in the following way: Bodies falling freely describe spaces proportional to the squares of their respective times, as Mr. D. subsequently remarks that the merits of Newton had been somewhat overestimated, especially by his (Newton's) countrymen, who represent him as the discoverer of the laws of universal gravitation, while Galileo and Kepler laid down these laws long before. As to the laws of Kepler we have, 1. The areas described by the radius-vector of a planet (or a line from the sun to the planet), are proportional to the times. 2. The orbit of a planet is an ellipse, of which the sun occupies one of its foci. 3. The squares of the period of revolution of the planets are proportional to the cubes of their mean distances from the sun, or of the semi-major axes of their orbits.

Huyghens and Newton.

Huyghens' (1624 to 1695) axiom, introduced by him in mechanics, is that the common centre of gravity of a group of bodies capable of rotating by their own weight about a horizontal axis ascends to the original height, but never farther on. This is the same axiom, which introduced Leibnitz to lay down the doctrine of the living forces. In close connection with this enters the investigation of the simple and compound pendulum, the center of oscillation and suspension, as likewise the tautochronism of motion in the inverted cycloid and his practical applications of the pendulum for regulating clock work. Besides this the determination of the centrifugal force and the doctrine of direct and indirect impact belong to the elaborate performances of this eminent man.

Newton (p 642-1727). Mr. Duehring remarks here in his introduction that it does not matter in a critical history of mechanics whether the dynamical principles refer to cosmic or terrestrial phenomena with respect to their essentiality, and that the merits of Newton who introduced these principles to heavenly bodies, must be measured by the same scale as those of his predecessor and contemporary, Galileo and Huyghens.

M. Duehring divides Newton's works into three distinct parts: 1. Newton's conception of gravitation. 2. The mechanical constitution of the curvilinear motion, and 3. The formation of fundamental principles with respect to their dynamical relations.

The celebrated philosopher, Newton, by examining the observations upon the planets that had been made by the renowned Kepler, and by combining Galileo's law of free descent and Huyghen's law of centrifugal force, discovered that attraction is inversely proportional to the squares of the distances. His application of the radius of curvature to prove the orbit of a planet to be a conic section (ellipse), is another of this ingenious man's infer-

ences. Highly important for further progress in future times, was the introduction of the calculus of variation (differential and integral calculus) in the solution of mathematical problems.

The last two sections contain an abundant literature of the progress of mathematical science, various systems and their representations, and finally a short discussion on heat as an elementary principle in mechanics.

MADAME DE CHAMBLAY. By Alexander Dumas. Philadelphia: T. B. Peterson & Bro. Illustrated. Pp. 134. Price 50 cts.

What Scott, and to some extent Bulwer, have been to English readers, Dumas is to a Frenchman: a connected series of stories, told with real Gallic art, illustrate the history of his country. He takes here and there a bolder license than his insular rivals; but in the main he leaves a correct and vivid impression of the old régime. One of his best novels, "The Three Guardsmen," is historical; the best of all, "The Count of Monte Cristo," gives a lively idea of the Hundred Days and the character of Louis XVIII. But apart from such merits, Dumas is eminently readable in his light, easy flow of narrative, with touches here and there of real artistic power. Every page carries on the action. The author recognizes that he is, above all, a story-teller. He is not a character-monger. With the art of Thackeray, of George Eliot, of Balzac, he has nothing in common. His puppets dance well; they represent dramatically a love scene, a battle, a court intrigue; they amuse us, and in so doing they help us to remember the sequence of events. Let us add that they talk very good French, bright, descriptive, epigrammatic.

"Madame de Chamblay" is a story of private life in France, supposed to be told to the author by his friend Max de Villiers. The heroine is the wife of an inveterate gambler, who, by his recklessness and bad luck, is rapidly dissipating her fortune. He is, besides, an epileptic, and though charming in his manners to his guests, is not so amusing in private life, alternately presenting pistols at his wife and falling livid and convulsed upon the floor of her dressing-room. It will not be surprising to hear that her feelings toward him are those of "positive aversion," and that Max, who recommends himself as the benefactor of her *protégés*, and her own fast friend, soon wins her heart. The affair progresses with a rapidity and *abandon* which rather take away our Anglo-Saxon breath; but the love making is very pretty, and if we could entirely forget the disagreeable husband in the background, a feat in which a Frenchman finds no difficulty, it will be a sweet and simple story of two congenial young people. To do the author justice, the story, apart from the existence of the husband, contains nothing that can offend our national ideas of propriety. There is a good deal of French religion, of the *bon Dieu* order;

one very wicked priest, whom the hero utterly confounds ; and one very devoted and pious priest, who goes about doing good, in the last stages of consumption. Madame de Chamblay has the second sight, and being thrown into a magnetic sleep by Max, can tell him what is passing at any distance. She has, moreover, presentiments of approaching danger, and of the means to escape it; and by the help of these rather unfair advantages gets the better of the epileptic gambler and the evil-minded priest, and eventually goes off to Martinique with Max, while M. de Chamblay, in the most accommodating manner, dies of delirium-tremens, and leaves the lovers to their full happiness.

The translator has done his work fairly, as translators go, but here and there we find a solecism. Can any public be so ignorant in this age of Internationals, as to stick at *Monsieur*, or its contraction *M.*, instead of the English *Mr.*? The translator evidently thinks that some of his readers may be in this predicament, and writes accordingly "*Mr.* de Chamblay," "*Mr.* de Villiers," with the oddest effect. In other cases again we have the French idiom undiluted: "She, the first one, came to me;" "It is not such a pleasant life, that of a convent." Once more, we have inelegant and ungrammatical phrases, which are probably the result of haste: "The countess went up to the vault and *laid* down on the marble slab;" "A Nightingale was singing in the bush over the tomb of a young girl. When he heard me pass he became silent. The steps of a living man frightened this courtesan (*sic*) of the dead." But for such blunders of haste we have a wide charity, knowing something of a translator's rate of pay, and feeling, with Dickens, that you cannot get all the cardinal virtues for six hundred a year. The book, as a whole, has given us sincere pleasure. The character of the countess, bating a little extravagance, is sweet and natural; the incidents flow on easily, and Dumas' literary workmanship is so much above that of the English three-volume fiction, that the inveterate novel reader will rather be the better for the change.

ENIGMAS OF LIFE. [*Contents*: Realizable Ideals; Malthus Notwithstanding; Non-survival of the Fittest; Limits and Directions of Human Development; The Significance of Life; De Profundis; Elsewhere.] By W. R. Greg. Pp. 322. Boston: Jas. R. Osgood & Company. For sale by Porter and Coates.

"What sort of general outlook upon the universe may a man possess, who rejects Christianity, but retains his childhood's beliefs in a Supreme Intelligence and a life to come, but in an apologetic way, with a certain sense that those beliefs are rather invincible prejudices than rational convictions? Can such a one hold fast to the faith in 'one Divine far-off event, to which the

whole creation moves?' Or must he, like Schopenhauer, relapse into the pessimism, which has its deep root in the constitutional melancholy of the northern nations, and think in the gloomy tone of the *Ed-Ida* and the *Nibelungen-lied*?" These are the questions to which Mr. Grey addresses himself, being concerned to find a cheerful and hopeful answer to them. His negative creed is to be found in his *Creed of Christendom*; here we have that which is positive. His text-books are the writings of men of science and economists, not of prophets and apostles. We especially relish the masterly handling of the Malthusian heresy, to which an appendix is devoted. In this he takes the ground that no country is anything like over-populated; that the discoveries of agricultural chemistry show us that not an acre of Europe is now producing more than a fragment of what it might—statements that are the commonplaces of American and the paradoxes of English economists. The chapter "Malthus Notwithstanding," may be summed up in one of its quotations from Herbert Spencer: "The excess of fertility [in the race] has rendered the process of civilization inevitable; and the process of civilization must inevitably diminish fertility, and at last destroy its excess."

HARVARD ELECTIVES.—The HARVARD CATALOGUE for 1872-3 is a very instructive document to those who desire information in regard to the practical working of the system of *Elective Studies*. This system has, as is well known, been in operation at Harvard for the last two college years. The number of "electives" is so large that it would appear as if all possible tastes had been consulted, and the result, as showing what is likely to be the choice of the average young American in the selection of his college studies when left to himself, as we find it set forth in this Catalogue, is extremely curious and interesting.

The plan of study at Harvard is substantially this: In the Freshman class, all the studies, which differ very little from those pursued in all colleges (and certainly do not differ in being more difficult), are pursued by the whole class.

In the Sophomore class, each student spends four hours a week on Physics, Rhetoric, History and elementary French, but he must devote, in addition, eight hours a week to any four courses of study selected from the list given in the table below, giving two hours a week to each course.

In the Junior class, the required studies are Logic, Political Economy, Physics and Rhetoric, which occupy six hours a week. In like manner as the Sophomore, the Junior selects, from the list referred to such subjects as he prefers, the only restriction being that he shall take three courses from that list and devote three hours a week to each.

In the Senior class, the only required exercise appears to be four "*Forensics*" (written arguments), and the student must select from the list four courses of study, each occupying three hours a week. The following tabular statement will show the preferences of the young men. It would have added to the value of the information given in the Catalogue on this subject, had all the electives taken by each student been given. As it is, the table can only show the general bent or tendency, which is sufficient for our purpose.

It is to be remembered that, for the purposes of election, the great departments of study are subdivided, so that a young man may not only choose Latin, for instance, but may select from five or six courses of Latin study, each connected with a particular subject or particular authors.

HARVARD ELECTIVES, 1872-3.

| | <u>Sophomores.</u> | <u>Juniors.</u> | <u>Seniors.</u> |
|---------------------|--------------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| | 166 students. | 162 stu. | 131 stu. |
| Greek, | 146 | 43 | 27 |
| Latin, | 144 | 81 | 28 |
| Mathematics (pure), | 30 | 11 | 5 |
| " (applied), | 41 | 8 | 7 |
| English Language, | 3 | 10 | Literature, 30 |
| Logic, | 21 | Metaphysics, 14 | Philosophy, 43 |
| History, | 10 | 75 | 118 |
| Chemistry, | 79 | Laboratory, 35 | 15 |
| Physics, | | 28 | 21 |
| Mineralogy, | | | 21 |
| Physical Geography, | 28 | Botany, 66 | Nat. Hist., 58 |
| Political Economy, | | | 65 |
| German, | 119 | 86 | 47 |
| French, | 36 | 49 | 20 |
| Italian, | 19 | 2 | 8 |
| Spanish, | 3 | 3 | 3 |

This is a very significant statement. The following, among other deductions, may be made from it, viz. :

First, That it is possible for a young man to remain four years at Harvard and graduate with the Degree of Bachelor of Arts without any more knowledge of Latin, Greek or Mathematics than he gains during Freshman year.

Second, That as a matter of fact the study of the Classics has grown into disfavor at Harvard, nearly four-fifths of the Senior Class having given up Latin and Greek.

Third, That the study of the Mathematics—the only true basis of scientific or technical training—seem to have been in like man-

ner almost abandoned by the higher classes, only 19 Juniors out of 162, and 12 Seniors out of 131, choosing either pure or applied mathematics as an "elective" study.

Fourth, That even that sort of practical instruction which is given in applied science in the chemical and physical laboratories attracts comparatively few of the advanced students—63 of the Juniors and 36 of the Seniors.

Fifth, That the students are permitted to change their electives at the beginning of each college year, with this result: that no continuous, systematic plan of study, with a definite view, is followed by the large majority of their number.

Sixth, That the favorite "electives" of the two higher classes are, History (75 Juniors, 118 Seniors), Political Economy (65 Seniors), Botany (66 Juniors) Natural History (58 Seniors), German (86 Juniors, 47 Seniors), Philosophy (43 Seniors).

This is a sad and discouraging result to those who have been firm in the belief that the American "young man," if given absolute freedom of choice, would select those studies which would be best suited for his special training. It is equally discouraging to those who are trying, in other colleges, to raise the standard of scholarship, to find that the result of the experiment in the oldest and best endowed college in this country, is such as we have stated.

DR. J. J. J. VON DÖLLINGER'S FABLES RESPECTING THE POPES IN THE MIDDLE AGES. Translated by Alfred Plummer.

Ejusdem: The Prophetic Spirit and the Prophecies of the Christian Era. Translated with Introduction and Notes. By Henry B. Smith, D. D., Professor in Union Theological Seminary, N. Y. One volume. Pp. 463. Published by Dodd & Mead, New York. For sale by Claxton, Remsen & Haffelfinger.

These two treatises, by the great leader of the Alt-Katholik party, are concerned with the by-paths of theological history, but they have a purpose. They are meant to show how great an influence upon the more ordinary facts has been exerted by fables and false prophecies. The most interesting chapters of the first work are those that treat of two topics of dispute in the early controversy between Rome and Protestantism—Pope Joan and the Donation of Constantine. The Roman controversialists were clearly right as regards the former, and wrong in respect to the latter. No popess ever ruled in the Holy See, and no grant of "Italy and the isles west of it" was ever made to Sylvester. But the interest in our days fastens most closely to the chapter on Honorius and his condemnation as a heretic by the Sixth General Council, a subject discussed in Huber's *Janus*, and in solid volumes in half the languages of Europe, since Döllinger gave us all the substantial data in this volume.

The second work is still more curious, though of less controversial interest. The most striking chapter, perhaps, is in regard to Joachim of Flores, who plays a prominent part in Longfellow's last—and still unpublished—volume of his great Epic of Christendom. The list of these Christian prophets might be easily continued to our own day, and Arnold's *Church and Heresy History* gives long lists for the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

LECTURES TO YOUNG MEN, on Various Important Subjects. By Henry Ward Beecher. New Edition, with additional Lectures: Pp. 280. New York. J. B. Ford & Co.

YALE LECTURES ON PREACHING.—By Henry Ward Beecher. (Delivered before the Theological Department of Yale College, as the First Series in the Regular Course of the "Lyman Beecher Lectureship on Preaching.") From Phonographic Reports. Pp. 263. Same publishers.

This young and vigorous publishing house are issuing a uniform series of Mr. Beecher's books. The two received represent the earliest and the latest stages of Mr. Beecher's career. The first were delivered in Indianapolis in 1844, when Beecher was pastor of the Second Presbyterian Church, and the place had about four thousand inhabitants. The preacher was almost unknown to fame. A year or so before, the *N. Y. Observer* refused to accept a dozen letters from him in payment of a debt of \$15. But the lectures made their mark, caught the public ear, and helped him into Plymouth pulpit. In them we find every element of Mr. Beecher's great power already manifest, his geniality, his grasp of common life, his great earnestness, his vigorous vocabulary, his moral inspiration.

In his last volume he stands before the sucking theologians of Yale to tell them how to preach. The sight of them carries him back to his own youngest days. He overflows in reminiscences of Lawrenceburg, his first charge; he tells them he was sexton and preacher both; how he worked for weeks on his first real sermon—that "awakened" seventeen men—and cried all the way home; how he caught the young men of the place by guile, setting them to take care of each other. None of his books is more genial, more witty, more full of the man, and of autobiographical recollections. It is a book of universal interest.

A DAY IN CAPERNAUM.—From the German of Franz Delitzsch. By J. G. Morris. Pp. 298. 12 mo. Lutheran Board of Publication.

Of all the attempts to reproduce in the style of modern fiction a picture of the greatest of lives, either in whole or in part, this seems to us the most careful and scientific. The author, as Prof.

Krauth shows in an appended notice of his literary and theological career, is a deeply learned student of Jewish literature, both biblical and talmudic, and incapable, therefore, of the gross, anachronisms that disfigure the works of Ware, Martineau, and even Strauss. He does not always keep so clear of the subtler anachronisms of thought and expression, and his picture of Christ falls short of the majesty of the Gospels; but then, as even Theodore Parker says, only Christ could have imagined Christ.

The same house have issued in equally tasteful form, an account of Hans Egede, the missionary to Greenland, one of the first to break in upon the stolid indifference, long displayed by the Protestant churches to the moral and spiritual state of the heathen. The book, also a translation from the German, is story enough to enchain the young folk, while it closely follows the actual history.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

Lars; a Pastoral of Norway. By Bayard Taylor. Boston: James R. Osgood & Co. 1873. For sale by Claxton, Remsen & Haffelfinger. Pp. 144. Price, \$1.50.

Lectures on Light, Delivered in the United States in 1872-3. By John Tyndall, L.L.D., F. R. S., Professor of Natural Philosophy in the Royal Institution. With an Appendix. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1873. For sale by Porter & Coates. Pp. 194.

The Pilot; A Tale of the Sea. By J. Fenimore Cooper. Illustrated from Drawings by F. O. C. Darley. New York: D. Appleton & Co. For sale by Porter & Coates. Pp. 184. Paper. Price, 75 cents.

Tom Racquet and His Three Maiden Aunts. By Frank E. Smedley. Philadelphia: T. B. Peterson & Bros. Pp. 244. Price, 75 cents.

Illustrations of the Influence of the Mind upon the Body in Health and in Disease; Designed to Elucidate the Action of the Imagination. By Daniel Hack Tuke, M. D., M. R. C. P. Philadelphia: Henry C. Lea. 1873. Pp. 416. Price, \$3.25.

Enigmas of Life. By W. R. Greg. Boston: James R. Osgood & Co. 1873. For sale by Porter & Coates.

Diamond Leaves from the Lives of the Dimond Family. By an Old, Old Bachelor. Macedon, N. Y.: Published by the Author. 1872.

The Electra of Sophocles. By J. G. Brincklé. Philadelphia: John Campbell & Son. 1873. Pp. 92.

Lakeville; or Substance and Shadow. By Mary Healy, author of A Summer's Romance, etc. With Illustrations. Pp. 238. New York: D. Appleton & Co. For sale by Porter & Coates. Paper. Price, \$1.

THE
PENN MONTHLY.

MAY, 1873.

THE MONTH.

MR. GLADSTONE and his colleagues have resumed office. There seems to be still much opposition to the effect of the Treaty of Washington. A motion was lately made by the Right Hon. Gathorne Hardy, praying that the government be instructed to dissent from the three international rules adopted by the Court of Arbitration at Geneva. After much debate the motion was withdrawn. The second reading of the Burials bill was carried in the House of Commons after violent opposition, by a vote of 280 to 217. The English Budget for the past year has been presented, and is unusually favorable. The public debt has been reduced during the year by £6,861,000. The actual revenue exceeded the estimated revenue by £4,762,775. In consequence of this the income tax has been diminished by a penny on the pound, and the duties on sugar have been reduced fifty per cent.

THE FRENCH ASSEMBLY has ratified, without a dissenting voice, the treaty lately signed by M. Thiers and Count Von Arnim providing for the more speedy payment of the war indemnity and the evacuation of French soil. Elections to fill vacancies in the representations of several departments in the Assembly were held on the 27th of April, the result of which was not yet ascertained when we went to press. After an excited debate upon the report

of the special committee appointed to investigate the arrest of Prince Napoleon and his expulsion from France, a bill, proposed by M. Dufaure on the part of the government, exiling the whole Bonaparte family, was adopted by a vote of 347 to 291. In the debate on the Lyons Municipality bill, the Duc de Grammont used language in his reply to M. L. Royer, a radical, which was regarded by M. Grevy as improper, and was called to order by the latter. Upon this, the members of the Right threatened to quit the chamber, after which M. Grevy intimated that he should resign, which he accordingly did on the first of April. Monsieur Buffet was elected to succeed him as president of the Assembly. The suit which has been pending in Paris for some time against the directors of the Transcontinental Railway has resulted in the infliction of a severe penalty upon Gen. Fremont, and others who have defrauded the stockholders. The conviction of fraud of a man who was once nominated as a candidate for the Presidency of the United States, following close upon the disclosure of the disgraceful conduct of Gen. Sickles in the Erie matter, together with the more than suspicious behavior of Gen. Schenck in the matter of the Little Emma Mining Company, form a spectacle which must greatly enhance the admiration felt by the citizens of toppling monarchies for the institutions, the rulers and the people of the great republic.

IN SPAIN, affairs appear to be more than ever unsettled. In the effort to reach a state of equilibrium by the establishment of a republic, the pendulum seems to have been swinging too far the other way, as must necessarily be the case when a change for which the people are unprepared is suddenly made. The very efforts at reform made by the new republic have had the effect of more completely demoralizing an already demoralized people, and tend to produce immediate results quite the reverse of those which the true principles of the new form of government would properly dictate. The praiseworthy act of the abolition of slavery in one of the most important of the Spanish possessions has apparently reacted upon the popular mind by suggesting the abolition of all sorts of things which seem to the people, excited with half-formed republican ideas, so many forms of slavery at home. Thus conscription has been instantly abolished, and in the present critical

condition of affairs the army is thereby greatly demoralized, and many of their best soldiers are deserting the ranks at a time when every man is most needed. Under these circumstances, we are not surprised to hear, on the one hand, that the Carlists are for the time gaining ground, and on the other hand, that the Communists, mostly foreign representatives of that political creed, are indulging in the hope of fastening upon Spain their peculiar plan of government. It is difficult to foresee what this seething caldron will produce, but at least Spain has now, if she can control the present excitement, an opportunity such as she has never had before, to establish a government which will command the respect and admiration of the world.

MR. RUSKIN, while moralizing on the theme that this age has distinguished itself in the acquisition of the destructive and the loss of the æsthetic arts, says that England of to-day will, in the eyes of the future historian, be chiefly remarkable for covering glass with pictures she could not paint, and killing her factory-women in the manufacture of cartridges with which she would not fight. The truth of one part of Mr. Ruskin's proposition seems on the point of being tested by the Khivan expedition, which, by the latest news, appears to be steadily advancing to the very border of what is substantially British dominion. The results of the campaign it is not now possible to predict; indeed, an army which moves with grand-dukes and without newspaper correspondents, is in itself a subject which the American mind cannot fairly be expected to grasp.

ONE more chapter in the history of that remarkable, if unprepossessing nation—the Dutch—is being begun in an out-of-the-way corner of Sumatra. The Atcheenese, a semi-independent Malay tribe, who had been living for some hundred of years under the protection of the British East India Company, have, since the last treaty between England and Holland, been left to themselves, a liberty which, according to their enemies, they have abused in various manners, principally by harrying the possessions of their Batavian neighbors, who at once organized against the Atcheenese capital an attack fated to result in entire

discomfiture, and which, according to opposition at home, is but the beginning of the end to the Dutch dominion in the East.

Such a consummation will not seem altogether a catastrophe, to those who know anything of the relations of Oriental heathenism and Christianity, as represented by that people of whom Mr. Motley has succeeded in writing so much beautiful sentiment.

THE details of the San Salvador catastrophe bear out the accuracy of the first report which told of the complete destruction of the place, for one small convent and the wooden facade of the cathedral church scarcely suffice to constitute a municipality, even in Central America. Our representative and his family escaped with the loss, as he described it, "of alike his house and his statistics." What his statistics were we are not informed, but one may be forgiven the hope that when Mr. Biddle's successor comes to be appointed, the political-economists will not be forgotten.

THE result of the official inquiry at Halifax, in regard to the loss of the steamer Atlantic, is far from satisfactory. That a fully laden steamer, of one of the most important of the lines crossing the Atlantic, should go to pieces upon a well-known coast, where the soundings are most accurately laid down upon the charts, is in itself a calamity sufficiently dreadful; it seems a mockery to intensify the feeling of horror which it has created by such a decision as this Halifax Court of Inquiry has made. After a careful investigation of all the facts, the opinion is pronounced that the captain of the Atlantic blundered grossly in estimating the position of his ship, and that even if the ship had been in the position estimated by him when the course was set, and he went below, she would certainly have run ashore. That the most ordinary precautions which should be used in approaching a dangerous coast had been neglected, and although the ship was in soundings for eight hours before she struck, the lead was not once used, and no look-out was stationed at the mast-head. Upon this finding of the facts, the Halifax court pronounced its sentence against Captain Williams. *Suspension of his certificate for two years.* We do not wish to express an opinion as to Captain Williams's con-

duct, but anything more absurd than this decision it would be difficult to imagine. A decision resting entirely upon the ground of the gross negligence and incompetency of the captain of the vessel, and yet in effect maintaining that to the world at large, his future services are of far more importance than five hundred and fifty human lives. Let us hope that the British Board of Trade, before whom this matter should come, will arrive at a decision, more consistent with the facts upon which their judgment may be based, and affording assurance of at least such security upon the ocean as may be expected in vessels commanded by intelligent and careful officers.

A CLEVER book was published a few months ago, which consisted of the Mother Goose melodies set to serious thoughts. The familiar verse beginning, "Three men of Gotham went to sea in a boat," was not, however, if we remember, included in the collection, but was left to be treated in a still graver method by Mr. Plimsoll to-day. That this gentleman is in the main right, there is little question, and all, or nearly all, he says about the iniquitous sacrifice of human life in the British shipping service, through the loss of unseaworthy vessels, is, by the newspapers at least, accepted as accurate and well founded. The course of true philanthropy never did run smooth, however, and the sailor's champion finds himself sunk by a Mr. P., whose ship, the *Livonia*, had been the subject of Mr. Plimsoll's animadversion. As members of the "press-gang" our sympathies are not unnaturally with the defendant in libel.

LORD ECHO, the head of the English rifle volunteers, has recently been making himself conspicuous in quite a different line, and has succeeded in postponing, if not averting, the destruction of Northumberland House, famous through its lion. This relic of the Jacobin age is a fair example of the style of its time, and standing as it does now in the Strand, in the busiest part of London, is interesting as a sort of architectural anachronism, and its demolition if unnecessary, as Lord Echo maintains, is assuredly to be deprecated. The noble lord has, however, a larger purpose before him than the thwarting of the Duke of Richmond's very promising real estate speculation, and at a meeting of those sym-

pathizing with his views, held recently in London, urges the adoption by the government of some scheme by which the removal and erection of buildings, the opening and widening of streets, etc., etc. shall be controlled in a way to preserve such good architecture as London possesses, and to prevent, as far as possible, ugliness and bad taste from gaining an upper hand, as they promise now to do. In other words, a sort of æsthetic despotism, which is needed everywhere, but which unfortunately is possible nowhere in these days of "the liberty of the subject."

SOME discussion has recently arisen in the newspapers from the publication of Mr. Curtis's letter to the President, resigning his place on the Civil Service Board. The truth is, in a word, that Mr. Curtis very properly considered the recent appointments in New York and Baltimore violations of the letter as well as the spirit of the rules. The President is doubtless sincere in his expressed desire to carry out the needed reform, but is evidently unable to appreciate the true question, for which inability perhaps he is not to blame; breadth of area and quickness of apprehension being like reading and writing, according to another magistrate, the gift of nature. He wishes to adhere to the rules whenever he has no desire to break them. "I am always reasonable," says that exemplar of filial piety, the daughter of King Bobeche in *Barbe Bleue*, "and I *will* have my own way." A true reform, of the civil service is evidently not yet attainable, but it must come some day if this government is to stand. The selfish opposition of the politicians is as nothing in its path, or in that of any other reform, when compared with that most disheartening obstacle, the apathy of the people. It is a sad thing, too, to see the President letting go the grand opportunities that are daily slipping through his half-willing fingers.

THE United States Senate having wasted many precious hours in vain groping through that darkness of its own creation which enveloped the case of Mr. Caldwell, failed to take action in the Louisiana matters, although many, even of the President's supporters, were of opinion that neither Mr. Kellogg nor Mr. McEnery were properly elected to the governorship. The anticipated result has come, and the power of the military has been found

necessary to stop a small civil war in Grant parish, in that State. What poor Artemus Ward said of us generally, might be no less a truth in the mouth of a Louisianian, that "we are governed too much." One governor and one legislature is as much as Pennsylvania has been able to support, and her sister State can hardly be expected to flourish with a double allowance. As a consequence of the present condition things, business is at a stand-still in New Orleans, and there is a bright prospect for those enterprising spirits who enjoy a civilization in which, as Phenix said of California's early days, "all night long may be heard the pleasant pop of the pistol and occasionally the cheerful shriek of of the victim."

THE whole story of the wretched Modoc murder is too familiar to call for any repetition; it is enough to say that the Indians are not yet conquered, and it appears to lie entirely with them, whether they will be, or not. If they keep together and offer battle, the invitation thus held out to the United States troops to exterminate them, will of course, be accepted; if, however, the Indians break up into small bands, they can have everything their own way during most of the summer, and make the Shasta valley and, indeed, a large portion of both Upper California and Lower Oregon, uninhabitable for months to come.

Some of the bitterer of the opposition to the Administration, contend that the Modocs were a harmless tribe, never so much as heard of a year ago, and if not meddled with, would have continued so, but that the government contractors, using the Peace Commission as their cat's-paw, have not rested till they could get these possible purchasers of bad rum and shoddy blankets, into a reservation where trade with the ingenious Yankee should be substituted for less dangerous, if more exciting buffalo-hunt. But making all allowance for the corruption of the supply-agents and the weakness of the pacificators, the fatal objection to this theory is the fact that it is entirely to the genius of Captain Jack that the Modocs, as a dangerous body, owe their existence. He both collected them together and inspired them with deviltry. And it should be remembered that the reservation system is admitted by everyone to be the only possible alternative to extermination.

Gen. Crook who has been left alone, announces what bids fair

to be a lasting peace with the Apaches, who having lost two hundred warriors in the last campaign, begin to see that Mr. Vincent Collyer does not entirely represent the Caucasian character. That a general Indian war is possible there is reason to believe, but that it will be the last, is certain, and General Grant may confidently look forward to a final settlement of the Indian question, one way or other, long, perhaps, before his term expires.

THAT pure and patriotic body, the Pennsylvania legislature, has adjourned. This happy event would not require special notice here were it not for some of the circumstances which attended it. The last night of the session was occupied by the House with the fun and frolic "customary," says the reporter, calmly, "on the occasion." With yells and screams and roars of laughter, born, it is charitable to believe, of unnumbered stirrup cups, the departing legislators greeted the hour of adjournment. To vary the monotony of the orgie, a motion was made to invite Senator McClure to address the House, and a committee was sent to find that gentleman. The speech which followed, as judged by the printed copy in the newspapers of the next day, was one of brilliancy and boldness. Every sentence contained a stinging truth couched in the wittiest form. "I know of no body of men, either of the present or past, that has so broadly and deeply experimented in the line of individual and official profligacy," was among the things told these hilarious gentlemen. And every word was greeted with laughter and shouts. There have been few more sickening spectacles than this of the representatives of the people receiving with laughter every allusion to their wickedness, and applauding the story of their infamy. It ought to make the people reflect, if it does not.

This episode of the speech over, the sports of the evening took a warlike turn. The air was filled with public documents, with which gentlemen, safely intrenched behind their desks, bombarding each other and the chair. Unfortunately, but one person was seriously hurt. A file of bills weighing half a pound alighted on the head of an individual from the interior of the State, who was thus made suddenly aware of the weight of legislation he had been helping to impose upon the Commonwealth. This reminds one of the surgical operation recommended by Sidney Smith as a

means of introducing a joke into a Scotchman's head, and if generally adopted as an efficacious way of getting bills through the skulls of our law-givers, would be beneficial in more ways than one. Certainly as long as honest constituencies are willing for one reason or other to be represented by dishonest men, it would cause very little mourning outside of the patient's district if the operation were always attended with fatal results. Unhappily there seem to be as many bad fish left in the political sea as have yet been caught.

ALL business has been depressed during the last month by the extreme stringency and uncertainty of the money market, caused by withdrawing currency from circulation by a powerful clique in New York, by the demand for money in the country districts to make the April settlements, and partly by the real scarcity of currency. We do not urge the reissue of the reserve legal-tender notes held by Mr. Richardson, for the evils arising from such a course would in the end bear with particular hardship upon salaried men, the laboring classes, and all those living upon fixed incomes. We do, however, recognize the necessity of maintaining the steadiness of the measure of value, so that when an engagement is made to pay a certain sum of money, that sum when the time of payment arrives shall possess the same value that it did when the contract was made. To maintain the measure of value unchanged, the currency must not be increased while the monetary requirements of the people remain unchanged, otherwise the measure of value will be depreciated; neither must the currency remain at the same amount when the monetary requirements of the people are increased, otherwise the measure of value will be enhanced. Under a true monetary system, the amount of the currency and the requirements of the country will always be commensurate; that is, the currency increasing and diminishing according to the natural law of supply and demand.

It is useless to talk of a return to specie payments, for that cannot be done with safety until the pecuniary resources of the country grow up to the present issue of legal tenders, and until it measures the value of commodities upon the same relative basis as that by which such value is measured in foreign countries. As we

must, for a long time to come, have a paper currency, the question for us to decide is in what shape shall that currency be issued.

There are three distinct forms in which a paper currency can be established : 1. As issued by the State. 2. By a single bank, or by several banks restricted in number. 3. By banks established on the principle of freedom and competition. The two main points to be kept in view in deciding which of these systems is the best are : first, the validity of the note, that is its constant acceptability by the people as a valid tender in payment of debts and all transfers of property ; and, second, the steadiness of the measure of value. A State currency of course attains the first of these objects fully. State notes are at all times a valid tender, both taxes and government expenses being paid in these notes. They thus have a value independent of their being convertible into gold. Whether there is much specie or none at all, these notes are always a legal tender. But a State currency does not insure the unchangeableness of the measure of value, for the amount of the note issues has no necessary connection with the monetary requirements of the people, and, therefore, gives no security for the maintenance of the measure of value. There is great liability to excess, thus producing a depreciation of the note and an advance in the price of commodities. This liability to excess is a very serious objection to State currency. The increase in the issue of the notes inflates prices, creditors losing, and debtors gaining, and a spirit of gambling is generated, which is inimical to the interests of honest industry, and very demoralizing in its effects upon the community at large.

Mr. Richardson's claim that he has the power to expand the currency to the extent of forty-four million dollars in this manner, was the chief cause of anxiety during the month. A great squeeze was engineered for the purpose of making him come to the relief of merchants and manufacturers in making their spring settlements. Mr. Richardson has learned wisdom since the Boston fire, and has left the currency as it was. The expectation that he would issue the notes produced a feverish state of suspense. At times it was reported that aid was to be granted, which reports gave encouragement ; then these reports were denied, and there was a relapse. The money market reflected the varying opinions on this subject, and the rate of interest varied from 6 per cent. per

annum to $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. per day. These rates were all paid on loans secured by approved collateral; mercantile paper was entirely neglected. The trouble was not confined to Wall street speculators. This clearly proves that a new issue of legal tenders would do no good, for such an issue would not insure that the value of the note should be always the same relatively to merchandise and other kinds of property.

A single bank of issue, or a number of banks fixed by law, with notes secured in the manner of the National bank notes, cannot meet the requirements of trade, for while the note is always a valid tender in payment of debts, there is no power of increasing the issue within reach of the banks, to meet the monetary requirements of the people. This system, then, is little better than the former. We urge as a remedy to the troubles of the past month the passage by the next Congress of a Free Banking Law. This would render the rate of interest in a great measure steady, for the amount of currency would increase and diminish in accordance with the natural law of supply and demand. If you secure the notes of the banks by a deposit of United States bonds with the Treasury Department, there is no danger to the public in free banking from over-issue of notes.

The value of money, as of every other commodity, depends upon the law of supply and demand, and the only way in which the supply can be regulated on natural conditions is by means of free competition.

O navis, referent in mare te novi
 Fluctus? O, quid agis? Fortiter occupa
 Portum. Tu, nisi ventis
 Debes ludibrium cave.

THE WORK OF A CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION.

READ BEFORE THE PHILADELPHIA SOCIAL SCIENCE ASSOCIATION,
 MARCH, 1873.

EVER since the establishment of the Constitution of the United States, written instruments defining and limiting the powers of what are in this country the co-ordinate branches of government have been looked on as essential to the preservation of our liberties. It was necessary, when that famous docu-

ment was first discussed, to lay down certain general principles, which, up to that time, had had a doubtful application or a construction unfavorable to the views which were henceforth to prevail. These changes in the theory of government required to be so plainly set forth that he that ran might read, and to be guarded by some force at once vigilant and incorruptible. It was thus that it was given to the legislature to enact laws, which the executive was to see carried out, while their constitutionality—that is, their harmony with the principles laid down in the written charter, which we call a constitution—might be inquired into by any one who doubted it, and decided by the judiciary. In England the legislature is supreme, the king being represented by the premier, who must be a member of one of the houses of parliament. He belongs usually to the popular branch, and the judiciary having no power to inquire into the constitutionality of an act, there is neither a veto by the king, nor the power to arrest the operation of an act by the courts, and even the House of Lords generally exercises its legal prerogative by modifying bills passed by the lower house, rather than by rejecting them altogether. And this distinction between the theory of the government of the United States and that of Great Britain, from which country we have derived the greater part of what is valuable in the Constitution of the United States, must be kept constantly in mind and applied as the touchstone, which shall assure us in our quest for what is beneficial, whether what we may borrow for the future will be homogeneous with that which we have taken in the past.

In this country, following the example of the Federal government, each State has had from time to time a constitution, of which not a few of the later ones might have asked the authors of their being

“*Damnosa quid non imminuit dies?
Aetas parentum, pejor avis, tulit
Nos nequiores, mox daturos
Progeniem vitiosorem.*”

They make, when you view their long and ill-ranged line, a very sorry array, brightened up here and there with a pet theory, in vogue at the time, stuck like a bright feather in the cap of a ragged soldier, to draw attention by its fluttering gaudiness from

the tatters and holes which are visible in that which is mainly important to comfort and decency.¹

There is among the ignorant classes in this country a deep-rooted belief in rapid and easy cures. Quack medicines are sold the million, and if only there be enough mystery in the composition of the prescription, the most innocent compound and the most baleful drug may be vended with equal ease.

We believe that this misapplied credulity has much to do with the success of hastily-fashioned constitutions; if they be long enough, and if they offer a specious though delusive remedy, and above all if the evil to be removed be severely enough felt, they are swallowed with faith, if not with relish. *Omne ignotum pro magifico est*, and to many an inexperienced mind the ingredient of novelty is not the least of charms. The hearing and propounding of some new thing have not wholly lost for the modern American the charm they once possessed for the ancient Athenian.

Each quarter or third of a century there seems to be a point of time when nearly the whole of our community is attacked with an epidemic of reform. Weary of the sight of political crimes, the only variety in which is their greater or less development; moved at last by the importunities of the press, a feeling arises, which soon becomes universal, and demands a change with all the force which the enthusiasm of a popular movement lends to the voice of the people. It is then that the legislature, forced to give way to the popular current, submits to a plebiscite the question of changing the fundamental law of the State. A constitutional convention is called, deliberates, retires. Its work is placed before the people. Tired of the old love, which in its day had its due share of attention, the heart turns with ardor to the new, and transfers to it all that admiration which in the former case is felt to have been misplaced.

¹Thus, in the Constitution of Illinois, while cumulative voting has been introduced, the fallacy of the very theory of which we shall endeavor to demonstrate, the judges of the Supreme Court are *elected for short terms of five years*. Is not this to expose the State body to the easily-contracted disease of pecuniary corruption, and then to apply the panacea of minority representation in order to show how easily the cure may be effected;—to dull the palm which should be so sensitive in rendering justice, in order quickly to substitute another not yet grown callous and subject it to the same operation?

The present time seems to be one in which a high though passing wave of popular sentiment is sweeping across the country, demanding a reform. In the Federal as in the State government, the accustomed sight of pigmies plundering a sleeping giant has at last grown startling, and in his deep repose the latter begins to show signs of uneasiness. Committee is piled upon committee, report upon report; nay, in Pennsylvania the people have decided to change the Constitution under which they have been living since 1838, and a convention is now engaged in drawing up something that will suit the popular taste of 1873 better than the antiquated fashions of thirty years since. New Jersey and Ohio are following the same course, which in its turn will be again imitated, and so on to the end of the chapter.

At such a period, therefore, it seems not amiss to discuss the question, so often put, so diversely answered, what should be the work of a constitutional convention? And, in order to answer this question properly, it may be of use to us to ask one or two others. What is to be the theory on which the Constitution is to be framed? How far can such a theory be expressed in a practical form?

A constitution, according to the view we take of it, should not be a mere abstract and general declaration of rights and liberties. For if this were enough the work were quickly done, and each convention would come to an end after it had recommended to the future legislator to dispense justice in mercy, to respect the rights of all, to infringe upon the privileges of none. It will be seen, as soon as we examine it critically, how anomalous in its character is the legislative body which we call a constitutional convention. By its very existence it demonstrates the imperfection of our form of government. We dare not, disguise the fact as our self-love may prompt us to do, trust our legislature with the whole and with the true work of legislation. This consideration at once enables us to answer the questions put a moment ago. Governed as we are, it is necessary to elect sentinels to see that the false shepherd does not fleece his flock too closely. In addition, therefore, to the declaration of the great principles of our government, many clear and positive restrictions should form a part of the instrument. "Thou shalt not" should, as in the

Mosaic code, form a large proportion of all the commandments given.

But is there no other help for it, it will be asked? Is the theory of American government to continue an ill-devised system of checks, constantly getting out of order, and becoming obsolete, (for no human ingenuity can foresee all the methods of infringing the law to which the future will give birth)? How long, we ask in tribulation, must we suffer from these things? Just so long as we are content to choose our upright and able legislative body each third of a century instead of each year; just so long as we permit the most ignorant and the most corrupt of the men who live about us to plot in taverns political stratagems which bear fruit in high offices; just so long as we regard the nominations as of but little importance, and march like sheep to the polls in order to give our suffrages to men and measures whom we alike despise, because our neighbor gives his, as unwillingly, to what is no better. Would you have a panacea for the disease which has eaten so deeply into the whole body? Forget party hates where party politics are not involved. Recollect that the adverse factions are but the flint and steel from the collision of which the fire of truth is to be struck, and directly they cease to serve their purpose they should be flung away, and recourse had to fresh materials. Go to the nominating conventions, and do not re-enact the tedious farce of rousing from the deep lethargy which has benumbed, after the mischief has been done, and then endeavoring to restrain its complete operation. Until, however, the happy time shall come when legislatures shall be equal to conventions in honesty and in intelligence, written constitutions will continue to be in vogue, and, in order to be effective they must treat the legislator as he is, not as he ought to be, and must enact, not such restrictions as might or would be good provided he had as high a sense of honor as it is his duty to possess, but such as will be of avail against him, low-toned and ignorant as on an average he now is.

Among the abuses which at present exist in many of the State constitutions, and which are capable of being altogether removed or greatly lessened, seem to be the following:

1. The undue influence of the Federal upon the State government. The remedy is of a simple nature and in many States has

been adopted. It is to make all elective officers hold for terms that will expire in years in which there are no Federal elections. Suppose, for instance, that the governor's term was made to last either two or four years, that of the State senator four, and that of the State representative two. In such a case the governor, half the senators, and all of the representatives might be elected one year after the election of the president (which time would also be a year distant from any congressional election); the other half of the senators (the governor if his term were to last but two years), and a new house of representatives being chosen two years afterward, at the end of the third year of the president's term. If the present scheme were now in operation, a president and members of congress would be chosen in 1872; in 1873, State representatives, half of the State senate and a governor; in 1874, another congressional election, while the other half of the State senate and a new house of State representatives would be chosen in 1875.

2. The second great evil of which we have to speak is the union of municipal or local and political or general elections, which prevails so extensively at present. By this means men are, in a moment of party passion, induced to condemn an excellent man, and to support a bad one, as he is found on the ticket which they are opposed to, or advocate. It would be a great gain to fix all municipal elections in the spring, thus distinctly setting before the community the fact that such elections were not in any way political. This is now the case in Ohio and in several of the New England States, and is found extremely beneficial.

3. There is another evil which has attained its vast proportions so rapidly as to dishearten all but the most courageous and sanguine. It is too well known to need comment that but a small proportion of the men who are most fit through education, wealth and leisure to fill the position of legislators, are willing to enter the lists with competitors to defeat whom is no glory, to be vanquished by whom

"Were low indeed,

"That were an ignominy and shame beneath

"This downfall."

The rich are frequently accused by those who search for truth on the surface, because they are unwilling to enter a contest, the very waging of which is degrading even though the right side be successful.

There seem to be two difficulties which bar every path to reform. Whether they are capable of being readily removed or not will be judged of when they are mentioned.

When we speak of the legislator whose equal we would fain have in this country, we look neither to France, to Rome, nor to Athens, but to that country from which we have derived nearly all of our liberties that are truly valuable, and we see with sadness that in the parent country the legislative and judiciary serve the people much more honestly and wisely than here. Why is it that there is no instance on record of a corrupt English judge in the last one hundred and fifty years? Why is the average member of the House of Commons, socially, morally and intellectually so superior to the average legislator in this country? Why is it that public opinion is outraged almost daily by witnessing conduct in our public officers which is not known in any civilized country in Christendom? Would that there were some one in the highest of our legislative halls who would, with the dignity of an ancient Roman, shake from his senatorial robe the smutches which his comrades have cast upon it, and exclaim, as did Brutus when the itching palm of Cassius stung him beyond all endurance :

"What! shall we now
 "Contaminate our fingers with base bribes,
 "And sell the mighty space of our large honors
 "For as much trash as may be grasped thus?
 "I'd rather be a dog, and bay the moon,
 "Than such a Roman."

We shall not attempt to suggest all the causes, the long-continued working of which has produced the low public tone which exists at present. But there is one most potent reason we frequently overlook; we forget too often that the laborer is worthy of his hire. Our plan in this country seems to be to secure men for services which require the bravest hearts, the wisest heads, and the greatest experience, at rates for which we can tempt the vilest and most ignorant to work for us, only because, after the legitimate meal is concluded, they are allowed to plunder to their hearts' content, and carry away from it fragments which far exceed the original repast. One cannot too strongly deprecate a system the very contemplation of which must fill him with shame. When it was proposed several years ago to raise by a quarter the salaries of the

Judges of the Supreme Court, at Washington, which amounted to less than one-third of the professional income of several hundred lawyers in Pennsylvania, New York and Massachusetts, it was reserved for the illustrious Butler, distinguished alike in the arts of peace and war, to insist that the judiciary was well enough paid, "and besides," said he, "there are hundreds of lawyers who would be glad to change places with them now." But if the salaries of those same judges were reduced to a quarter of the pittance which is now grudged them, there would be hundreds and hundreds of thousands of men who would be glad to exchange with the present incumbents; nay, if the occupants of our almshouses were admitted as competitors, we should have an innumerable throng ready to barter, on easy terms, their poverty, degradation and vice, against the extremely small salary attached to the position of judge, and if their deeds were to equal their will, our law would soon at least merit the praise of originality.

But surely such fallacies as these are not worthy of repetition in our day, and those who reflect are convinced that the salary and honor combined will, in the long run, exactly gauge the man who takes it, and that the State will get just such men to serve her as are well paid by the wages she offers.

It may not be amiss to state a fact which will at least give high sanction for largely-increased judicial salaries. The early Congress which first fixed the salaries of the Judges of the Supreme Court of the United States, discussed the subject with attention, and fixed a sum which was then avowedly greater than that made annually by the leaders of the bar in any part of the country, in order that not only honor but precuniary motives might tempt from their private practice into the service of the United States the men most worthy to fill the lofty position. "Your legislature may be corrupt," said Gerry, "and your executive aspiring, but a firm, independent judiciary will stop the course of devastation—at least it will shield individuals from rapine and injustice." Fisher Ames said that in the four New England States \$1,500 a year for the Chief Justice of the United States "would be an object sufficient to excite the attention of men of the first abilities in those States," Mr. Vining said: "There are many gentlemen in the practice of the law whose abilities command a greater income than \$3,000 per annum; can it be expected

“ that such persons will relinquish their lucrative professions “merely in order to serve the United States?” The salary of the Chief Justice was then fixed at \$6,000, and that of the Associate Judges at \$3,500, these sums being more considerable than that mentioned as the probable amount of the highest professional income of that time. Now what attraction is held forth to the man who, successful in business and ripe in years, promises to the community, not by lightly-taken oaths, but by his experience and probity, a worthy representative? It is not social position; it is not money. There was a proposition suggested a few days ago by one of the committees of the Constitutional Convention of Pennsylvania to pay the legislators of that State \$1,200 *per annum*; but this was thought too large by many members and, an amendment was pressed to limit the salary to \$700. The reasoning urged in support of it was that three months was a sufficient time in which to pass the requisite laws (as if debate were of no importance); and that three months' service at \$1,200 was at the rate of \$4,800 a year. But there can be no greater mistake than such a mode of computation; for in our large cities intellectual labor of the first order is so well paid that even \$4,800 would be but a trifling attraction to the man of the requisite ability, while he might almost as well serve for a year as for three months; for no business which requires constant care and attention will permit an absence from it for that length of time.

This seems to us a subject of such vast importance, that we may be pardoned for dwelling a moment longer upon it. The average income of the first lawyers, physicians and merchants ranges in the principal Atlantic States from \$25,000 a year up to a much higher figure. It is such men whom it is desirable to have in the legislature. Now there is but one way to accomplish this end, for the people will never be willing to give large salaries. Membership in the legislature may be made an attractive position. The time may come when a man who has been successful in business will think that his position in the community is raised by his nomination as a representative. Such, however, is not now the case, for it is well-known that almost no thoroughly capable, middle-aged man will consent to be a candidate for the legislature in any large city. If he is in business he cannot afford to leave it; if he has been successful in life and looks to the enjoyments

this world's good things, he is unwilling to spend three dreary winter months in some provincial town in the interior of the State where he can have no intellectual amusement whatever, and where, oftentimes, the physical atmosphere is, as in Harrisburg, as unhealthy as the moral.

The only cure for this evil is to remove the capital of the State to its great commercial and intellectual center. Such a change would operate at once beneficially. Instead of such members as usually represent New York and Philadelphia in Albany and Harrisburg, cities might be as respectably represented in the State Legislature as they have been in their constitutional conventions. It could work no inconvenience to the country members—the additional distance from any part of the State, being in point of time but a few hours, while the legitimate facilities for honest and wise legislation would be multiplied a thousand-fold. Men and measures would be subjected to a severer criticism and many a man who would serve his State with alacrity, even at a large pecuniary sacrifice, were it possible to do so without giving up his means of subsistence, would gladly be a candidate for office. It may be objected that though all this be true the Constitution is not the proper place in which to decide as to the site of the capital, that such a question should come before the legislature alone. But if the legislature willfully closes its ears to the voice of reason, charm she never so wisely, what more proper appeal can there be than from the unjust steward to the badly served master; from the legislator to the people? If the question be a vital one, and in the opinion of many it is more important than the prohibition of special legislation, what more appropriate way to decide it than by submitting the question, in a separate article, if necessary, to the people who are injured, and feel that they are injured, and yet lack redress? Is the question of the influence of the community in which the laws of a commonwealth are fashioned of so little importance to those who are to gain or lose by the effect of these laws? Evil communications corrupt good manners, and if you would have your legislators pure and able you must give them the means as well as the inducements to remain so.

And here we may be permitted to advert to another topic of almost equal importance; we mean those regulations which ren-

der the Supreme Court of the State far less efficient than it would otherwise be by compelling it to take complexion from several different communities, instead of permitting its character to be moulded by one homogeneous bar. The dependence of the bench upon the bar, of the judge upon the advocate, needs but to be stated to be understood. The influence of the leading lawyers in any city sends its electric spark through the whole body, and gives shape to what would otherwise be a veritable chaos. What would be the effect upon any bar if each tyro were to propound legal views, original with himself, and had not the ripe experience of his leader to lop off his redundancies and complement his inexperience? The chaotic condition of the speaker's mind would extend to the well ordered judicial brain, if from the beginning of the term to the end of it the judge were to hear, and the counsel but to suggest some new thing, without regard to the highly valued precedent whose worth, like good wine, is enhanced by its age. Now, to a certain extent, the same confused result is produced by the necessity of sitting in several places, under which the judges of the supreme courts of most of our States now labor. It is owing, among other reasons, to this constant change and subjection to fresh influences that there is so much disagreement in that court whose decisions should never, if possible, be pronounced with a dissenting voice.

There cannot be too great simplicity in the theory upon which the judiciary of a State is formed. Every unnecessary multiplication of judges and intermediate courts is a direct injury to every one within their jurisdiction. The judicial system of New York has become a bye-word among lawyers, as much for the unjust delays to which innocent parties are subjected, as for the venality of the sworn ministers of justice. He who, in that State, demands his rights at the hands of justice, must first serve a period of probation upon the bed of Procrustes, whose malicious devices have lost none of their efficacy by being entrusted to the hands of legal assassins.

The system of Pennsylvania has always been simple, and until lately it has been reasonably rapid. Five judges of the Supreme Court, including the chief justice, have until within a year been able to dispose annually of the work before them. Owing to the large increase of litigation, a natural result of the increase in wealth

and population, that court now finds itself overburdened; to relieve it of this severe load, without impairing its general efficiency, will, during the present month, occupy the close attention of the Constitutional Convention of that State.

We do not believe that any advantage will result from two of the proposed changes. Five judges in a court of appeals can do the same work as fifty, as regards *hearing arguments*, the most important part of a judge's duty. It is true that the greater the number of the members of the court, the fewer opinions will each be obliged to write. This is purchasing a small profit at a large price. The increase of homogeneousness and agreement in opinion will be in an inverse ratio to that of the number of the judges; and there are many subjects, as every lawyer knows, on which it is most important to have the law firmly and forever settled, in the place of a fluctuating series of decisions, from which it is impossible to tell how long the last may be the ruling authority. If the present salaries of the judges of the Supreme Court were brought more into relation with the professional incomes of the gentlemen practicing before them, five judges could do the work of a dozen, and do it far better. A salary of fifteen thousand dollars a year, appointment during good behavior, and a retiring pension during life, on a sliding scale which should be greater or less according to the term of actual service, would command the very best legal ability in this State; but that sum should be the minimum. While aware of the danger which arises when the duties of a Legislature are sought to be performed by a Constitutional Convention, we believe that experience will show that there are some legislative duties which will not be performed at all, if entrusted to those who have hitherto so grossly neglected them. A sailor who is drowning will not reject a floating log, because a life-preserver or a rope would be a more nautical and appropriate support in his unpleasant situation.

We believe that a clause should be introduced into the constitutions of all our States prescribing a minimum limit to the salary of the members of the Judiciary. If some such salary were paid judges could hire assistants to do the mechanical part of their business and post them on minutiae, as is now universally the case among leading lawyers everywhere, and in England among the judges. Written opinions, the bane of a judge's life, would be

no longer necessary, and no one but the yearly reporter would regret the decreasing size of the yearly reports.

The establishment of intermediate courts is not only undesirable but injudicious. As Lord Selborne lately said when advocating his Judiciary bill in the House of Lords, experience has shown that an unsuccessful suitor will almost invariably try all the remedies which are offered to him. If the theory of our present system be examined, the anomaly of more than two courts, will at once be seen. The supreme courts of our different States hear appeals from all the county courts of the State in which they exercise jurisdiction. Theoretically the object of the higher tribunal is to establish one consistent common law, which may prevail through the whole State, otherwise there would be constant collisions between courts of co-ordinate jurisdiction. This is the true sphere of the Court of Appeals; and the power of correcting errors is merely an incident appendant thereto. If it were not so, a court should be established to re-hear all cases about which the Supreme Court differed, and so on *ad infinitum*. This being admitted, intermediate tribunals render the object to be obtained more remote, and it is no justification that they are to deal with small sums. It is the principle, not the amount, which should send a case to the Supreme Court. If, therefore, a system could be devised to prevent sham cases from interrupting and delaying the court of final jurisdiction, and of punishing those who thus sinned, the object sought for would be gained without sacrificing anything. Now this is just what a judicious system of costs accomplishes. If A sues B, and A's claim is manifestly unreasonable, he should reimburse his adversary for the trouble and inconvenience to which he has improperly put him, provided they can be estimated in dollars and cents. This is just what a system of costs properly wielded would accomplish, and if a full discretionary power to remit or apportion were lodged in the hands of the judge, we do not hesitate to say that we believe that more than one-half of the cases now brought would sink into that oblivion from which they should never have emerged.

The well-considered decisions of the bench would then establish the law on foundations deeply enough laid to support the ingenious additions of their own successors, so that the after-coming architect might continue to fulfill the comprehensive plan

of his predecessor, without impairing the stability of the foundation, or being obliged to adopt a system in discordance with the old one on account of the exigencies of changing times.

It may not be, perhaps, out of place, while speaking of the judiciary, whose fame is so dear to every lawyer, that he watches with the jealous eye of the lover their slightest foibles—to grapple with the great question as to the relative merits of an elective and appointed judiciary. Nor can we better give strength to what we advocate than by quoting the words of one whom, contrary to their habit, his fellow-townsmen have made a prophet in his own country. In one of those charming biographical sketches, in which Mr. Binney's pen shows a grace and elegance commensurate with the vigor of his understanding, and the unerring correctness of his judgment, he concludes with some remarks, the truth of which deserves to be emphasized by being written in letters of gold: "Mr. Ingersoll's day at the bar," said Mr. Binney, "was the day of judicial tenure during good behavior. It ought not to be forgotten what sort of men were made at the bar by that tenure of judicial office, any more than we should forget who were the judges that adorned and shed their influence upon all around them. We are now under the direction of a fearful mandate which compels our judges to enter the arena of a popular election for their offices, and for a term of years so short as to keep the source of their elevation to the bench continually before their eyes. At least once in the life of every judge, we may suppose he will be compelled by necessity, much stronger than at first, to enter the same field; and the greater the necessity, the less will his eyes ever close upon the fact. It is this fact, reëligibility to office, with the hope of reëlection, that puts a cord around the neck of every one of them during the whole term of his office. It is transcendently worse than the principle of original election at the polls. Doubtless there is more than one of the judges who had rather be strangled by the cord than do a thing unworthy of his place; but the personal characteristics of a few are no grounds of inference as to the many; nor are even the mischiefs already apparent a rule to measure the mischiefs that are in reserve. We must confess that a system is perilous which holds out to its best judge, if he displeases a powerful party, nothing better than the poor-house, which a

"late eminent chief justice saw before him, and committed the
 "great fault of his life by confessing and avoiding it. The mind
 "of the public of all parties is becoming apprehensive upon the
 "subject; and well may it be so even among party men, for par-
 "ties change suddenly, and once in every five or ten years we
 "may be sure that the chalice will come round to the lips of those
 "who have drugged it. No man can be too apprehensive of the
 "evil who thinks the law worth preserving as a security for what
 "he possesses, and no lawyer who regards it as a security for his
 "honor and reputation. For what can it give if either of the
 "wheels of the instrument receive a twist or bias through party
 "fear or favor, or it be so ignorantly and presumptuously gov-
 "erned, as to let them cut and eat into each other, until they
 "work falsely or uncertainly. A leasehold elective
 "tenure by the judiciary is a frightful solecism in such a govern-
 "ment. It enfeebles the guarantee of other guarantees—the trial
 "by jury—the writ of *habeas corpus*—the freedom and purity of
 "elections by the people—and the true liberty and responsibility
 "of the Press. The certainty and permanence of the law
 "depend in great degree upon the judges; and all experience
 "misleads us, and the very demonstrations of reason are fallacies,
 "if the certainty and permanence of the judicial office by the
 "tenure of good behavior are not inseparably connected with a
 "righteous, as well as with a scientific administration of the law.
 "What can experience or foresight predict for the result of a sys-
 "tem by which a body of men, set apart to enforce the whole
 "law at all times, whatever may be the opposition to it, and
 "whose duty is never so important and essential as when it does
 "so against the passions of a present majority at the polls, is made
 "to depend for office upon the fluctuating temper of a majority,
 "and not upon the virtue of their own conduct?
 "In our cities and principal towns, the bar is a large and diver-
 "sified body. Venal politicians—leaders in the popu-
 "lar current—minglers in it for the purpose of leading it, or at
 "least of turning the force of its waters to their own wheels—
 "adepts in polishing up, or in blowing upon or dulling the names
 "of candidates for judicial office—students in the art of ferreting
 "out the infirmities of judges and tracking the path of their fears
 "—such men are always to be found in such a body, and to be

“found in most abundance at the bar of a court that has a weak
“constitution. It is there that thrift waits upon them. There is
“no need that the pregnant hinges of their knees should be
“crooked to the judges, if they only be to those who make them.
“ It is no comfort to think that the people, or at least
“a large number of them, must be present sufferers from such a
“state of things, and that finally all of them must take their turn,
“for the whole people must suffer from a disordered bar.
“Where is the independent bench that can habitually exercise
“the restraining power, or the deterrent power, to prevent such
“faults of the bar from whipping the virtues out of court, or break-
“ing down their influence upon the mass? And if the bench—
“not individual judges of the bench, as the constitution makes
“it—cannot steadily and uniformly, without special virtue or par-
“ticular effort, repress the professional misconduct of every mem-
“ber of the bar, whatever be his popular influence and connec-
“tions, what honor or esteem will professional distinction obtain
“from the world, and what sanction will professional integrity
“have at the bar?”

And not only should tenure of office continue during good behavior, but some modest stipend should follow the judge into retirement, and spread comfort about him as he descends the path of life, not in the light of a reward, for his services are not to be measured by a pecuniary standard, but enough to keep the wolf from the door after the strength and vigor of the man have been worn out in his master's service. A pension might be so graded as to be an incentive to protracted exertion if there be any doubters who regard the office of Judge as overpaid. Would it not operate as a keen incentive to a judge to work as long as he had strength of body and mind sufficient, if he were sure that if he served faithfully on the bench for twenty years he might retire on an annual pension equal to his salary, if for fifteen years on one equal to three-quarters, and if for ten years on one equal to half of that sum?

There are several duties requiring more judgment than labor which might be admirably performed by retired members of the Supreme Court. None of the prerogatives of the governor has been so much abused as the pardoning power. In Massachusetts, a man convicted by one of the courts can have his sentence re-

mitted only upon a recommendation to that effect signed by a majority of the Governor's Council. A most admirable provision; and the subject we have been discussing suggests the means of forming such a body, of whose conservatism, experience and ability no one could have a doubt. We should suggest the formation of such a council, to be composed of all the retired members of the Supreme Court not actually incapacitated from serving by bodily or mental infirmity; that to this council should be first referred all petitions for pardon, and that the governor should never be allowed even to entertain such a proposition, until three-quarters of that court had declared it as their opinion that the case deserved the governor's interference.

We should also suggest, that no appointment, either of judge or other officer, should be made by the governor without the consent of two-thirds of his council. This system is, with modifications, pursued in Massachusetts, and is no doubt a principal reason for the continuance to the present day of its justly famous judiciary. Lastly, we would give to the same body the sole power of deciding all the contested elections of members of the legislature. By the creation of such a council, composed in the manner indicated, the members of which would always be a check upon improper executive appointments, all danger of placing that power in the hands of the governor would be removed, and we should have a judiciary of which every member would be worthy of his high office, and would reflect in his person the dignity of the great commonwealth which he served. The addition of this council as a new power in our government, composed as it would be, of the most eminent lawyers of the State, whose experience equaled their sagacity and integrity, would entail no increased expense upon the commonwealth, and would enable her to derive valuable counsel from her retired public servants.

We need not say that there should be a provision forbidding any person who had once held the office of Judge under the new system, from practicing again, after retiring from the Bench.

In speaking of the Supreme Court, we must not forget to notice a silly and illogical provision in almost all of the present constitutions, by which each person who is made a member of that court attains in rotation, if he live long enough, the rank of Chief Justice. It is not difficult to show that the defenders of the

present system are involved on the horns of an embarrassing dilemma, for either the office is of small importance and the invidious distinction should be altogether abolished, or it is of moment and must therefore require natural gifts for its exercise, with which one of the judges must be more richly endowed than the rest. If the latter view be the correct one, the Chief Justice should hold office, not for the last few years of his judicial life only, but should be appointed to the position upon the occurrence of a vacancy.

The people of many of our States are at last becoming convinced that the direct election by the citizens of every State officer, from the Judge of the Supreme Court to the constable of the precinct, is not only mischievous, but that it is an abuse which puts logic to flight, and which cries against the very theory of representative government.

In this country there are three coördinate branches in the government, and the good results expected from their harmonious adjustment can only be obtained by making their orbits parallel and not conflicting. In the executive should be lodged with proper limitations the appointing power, and it is with alarm that we view the shortsighted reforms which are attained, or seem to be attained, by throwing the executive and legislative robes over the judicial ermine. Have we advanced so little in the art of government as to believe that the work of a corrupt legislature, stamped with the approval of a weak or dishonest governor, can be amended by depriving the governor and the legislature of their proper executive and legislative prerogatives and delegating them to the people or transferring them to the judiciary? The theory of our government—and in this respect may it never be changed, however far from its original purity it may have been brought by corrupt practices—is that a judge should be selected because his mind is the rich depository of legal wisdom; because he is acute in discrimination, unwearied in attention, honest in judgment, firm and unyielding in decision. Capacity to choose a member of a park commission, or to appoint a man upon a board of trusts for city charities, should never form part of the qualification of a judge, as the exercise of that capacity is sometimes one of his duties.*

*In Philadelphia, as in other cities, the Court of Common Pleas has been entrusted with many powers wholly incongruous with its judicial duties, among others those just mentioned.

The remedy is to choose good legislators, to elect an honest and able governor, and not to give to the judiciary powers stolen from the other departments of the government. Let him to whom the one talent has been given be held severely responsible for its improvement, but do not overburden him who has already ten, with the care of yet another, because the first confidence has been misplaced, and the second has not. No judiciary can long stand erect under such a burden. In many States where it has not already fallen it is beginning to show signs of weakness. If the system be not radically amended, we shall have to lament, and that at no remote period, that, while the impure governor is not rendered upright, the honest and faithful judiciary will have been morally broken down and rendered of no avail as a check, owing to the foolish desire to make it carry more than it can properly support.

There are, however, certain offices, the filling of which might and should be left to the judiciary—those, namely, which are connected with the administration of the details of court business, such as prothonotaries, clerks, etc. It is not only to correct the flagrant abuses of the present elective system, grotesque and unreasonable as it appears to be, that the change adverted to is advocated; it is because no one but the court itself can as properly judge of the qualifications of those men with whom the judge is in daily contact, and whose acts, though ministerial, are of no little importance in securing the rapid operation of the law.

There is another class of judicial officers, about whose character there is but little difference of opinion, except perhaps in their own ranks; for, as Theseus said of the players: "If we imagine no worse of them than they of themselves, they may pass for excellent men." The justice of the peace in our large cities is a disgrace to American civilization, and unless the community soon makes a desperate effort, and rids itself of the poisonous matter which is leavening the whole mass, amputation must eventually take the place of the still potent purge.

From the justice of the peace proceeds a very large proportion of all that is corrupt and vicious in the political administration of the large cities. A majority of the men who now hold the position are incapable of exercising its important functions through their character, their associations, and their dense ignorance. So

keenly has the evil been felt in a community which is far from courting changes, that, but a few weeks ago, a presentment of the grand jury of Philadelphia recommended that the office should be altogether done away with by legislative enactment.

But the duties attached to the position cannot, unfortunately, be handed over to the already overworked judges of the county courts, and to abolish the name would be but to introduce the wolf under a new disguise, and deprive the community of the only weapon left in its defense—a constant and suspicious vigilance.

But efficient changes may be made which will ensure the progress of reform by the easiest of paths—that of prevention. we would suggest :

1st. That the present pernicious system of fees, the most corrupting of all bad influences, be wholly done away with in high and low places, and that every State and city officer be paid a fixed salary.

2d. That the justices of the peace should be appointed by the unanimous consent of all of the judges of the county in which they exercised jurisdiction, but that they should be subject to summary removal by the governor or by a bare majority (or in case of an even number by half) of the whole number of judges of the same county.

3rd. That every justice of the peace should be a member of the Bar, and that in addition he should, upon receiving his appointment, be obliged to pass a particular examination upon certain branches of law most necessary for the proper discharge of his duties.

4th. That the board of examiners should always be the same as that appointed for the examination of persons desiring admittance to the Bar, but that the examination itself should be a special one, more stringent in its character, to be conducted separately, and that admission should be left entirely to the discretion of the board and that any one vote of the board of examiners (the voting to be by ballot) should be enough to exclude a candidate. The advantages of these changes are so evident that it seems hardly necessary to discuss them.

In regard to the executive department, besides the suggestions already made as to length of tenure, limitation of the pardoning power, and appointment of the judiciary with the aid of the

governor's council (for without the latter restriction it would be far better to have recourse, as of old, to the clumsy machinery of a nominating convention), a word or two may be said about some of the officers immediately connected with the administration of the government.

In almost all of the States the attorney-general is elected by the people, as well as the governor, and secretary of the State. Pennsylvania, though in an evil moment she forsook that course which had adorned her supreme bench with so many great judges, to adopt one which, even at the time it was suggested, was of too doubtful expediency, may at least be proud that she has not swerved at the dictates of popular sentimentality, and entrusted the selection of the attorney-general to the unthinking mob which too often takes the place of the nominating conventions, theoretically so perfect. It is a fact difficult to be explained by those who favor the elective system throughout, that, in Pennsylvania, where both have been tried at the same time in the selection of judge of the supreme court and of attorney general, men have been *appointed* by the governor to fill the latter position fully equal, to say the least, both intellectually and morally, to those who have been *elected* to the position of judge by the suffrages of the unerring people.¹

So well, indeed, has that State been satisfied with its appointed attorney-generals, that the convention now sitting will probably entertain no amendment looking in another direction. But all that has been said of the attorney-general might be urged with equal force as to the judiciary.

The present system, which provides in almost all cases for the

¹Among the attorney-generals of Pennsylvania (all appointed by the governors) have been Jared Ingersoll, one of the leaders of the Philadelphia Bar, at the end of the last century; Richard Rush, Ellis Lewis (Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the State, and one of the ablest lawyers ever on the Bench); John M. Read, the present Chief Justice; George M. Dallas, Vice-president of the United States; William M. Meredith, for many years the leader of the Philadelphia Bar, one of the three counsel chosen by the President of the United States to advocate the cause of this country before the Geneva Tribunal, and president of the Constitutional Convention of Pennsylvania now in session at Philadelphia; Thomas Sergeant, Associate Judge of the Supreme Court; and Judges Kane and Brewster, as well as many others of considerable legal reputation.

election of the State treasurer by the people, is founded upon a false basis. That officer should be not merely the depository of State funds, but the financial adviser of the governor. Now how can the fitness of a candidate, whose qualifications before their actual exercise can necessarily be known but to a few, be determined by the nominating conventions of a State like New York, Pennsylvania or Ohio? The system which places in power a Boutwell or a Richardson, unpalatable as they undoubtedly are to all but to the master mind which selected them, is preferable to one in which a less honest and more popular financier would be elected by universal suffrage. This officer, should, in our opinion, be nominated by the executive, with limitations if you will, and should be with the attorney-general an *ex officio* member of the legislature, without a vote, but with a seat upon the floor of the House of Representatives, like the territorial delegates in Congress.

There is another officer whose selection should no longer continue in the hands of men who compose the nominating conventions of our large districts. The prosecuting officer of the county should be to the judiciary what the soldier who attacks the enemy is to him who guards the citadel. The necessary qualifications for the position are most inconsistent with the arts one must practice to gain either popularity or office. It is no longer rare to see men holding this position against the wishes of a majority of the community which they are supposed to represent, and their official power is often exercised in a way to shock every man whose sensitiveness of judgment has not been depraved by long practice in the illicit arts of pandering to those whose suffrages are important. All that has been said of the judge applies with redoubled force to the prosecuting attorney, for in the latter case equal independence is necessary with a more determined resolution. He who accuses requires more courage than he who holds the power of conviction.

We should suggest as a remedy, the appointment of the district attorney by the governor, with the unanimous approval of his council, giving to the former the power of summary removal. The term of office might be made to last during the governor's tenure.

We now come to the consideration of that body whose reckless

acts have done more to necessitate reform, and to create abundant material for it, than those of both of the other branches of the government combined. And in this respect little good can be done by written laws allowed to sleep by a negligent community. If you will be honestly governed, you must elect honest men to govern you, and this is both the burden and refrain of the argument. Written restrictions are like walls reared by man against the aggression of the ocean; a single moment of repose, an instant's parleying with the enemy, will open the way to the evils which it has been the work of years to exclude, and the artificial fabric that has been erected with so much toil will crumble to its foundations in the twinkling of an eye.

Something, however, may be gained by adopting the well-tryed experiments of other States and by introducing innovations where their absolute necessity has been demonstrated. Of the former class is a large number of members of the House of Representatives. Apart from the more obvious vices of the system which now generally prevails, there is one, we think, frequently lost sight of, and which might be materially diminished. This is the difficulty of making personal worth felt in a large constituency, and the existence of strict party discipline, which becomes necessary to manœuvre successfully the vast array of voters on either side, in consequence of which the identity and individuality of each one is almost wholly lost. In several of our large cities a State senator is obliged to address himself to a constituency of from 30,000 to 50,000 voters. All possibility of intelligent combination is of course lost in this incoherent mass, limited as it is not by any community of interest, but by curious mathematical figures, which have sprung fully armed for their defense from the ingenious brain of some master in the art of gerrymandering.

Now, if the number of the members of the legislature of a State were sufficiently large to render small constituencies possible, a lasting reform might be effected. The sure result would be that each voter would take more interest, because he would exercise more influence in the election, and the candidate for office could canvass his district far more easily and efficiently. A man's character as it is known among his neighbors is a far more accurate test of his moral worth than the scandalous inuendoes or the fulsome praises of a campaign newspaper. Such a character would

be his principal recommendation to office. Hearsay would give way to personal observation, and to be unknown would no longer be the highest recommendation for office.

Another important result from such a system would be the much greater difficulty in packing conventions, and the greater facility with which party discipline might be broken. It is true that the dishonest man would, relatively, still have an equal share in the selection of the candidate, but, isolated, his power is gone, and his helplessness at once becomes apparent.

In Massachusetts, which has a population of 1,443,000, there are 240 members of the House of Representatives. Estimating one voter to every 6 inhabitants, we shall have about 240,000 voters in that State. In other words, there is one representative in the State Legislature to every 1,000 voters, and one senator (40 in all) to every 6,000 voters. In closely populated States, like New York, Pennsylvania and Ohio, the number 2,000 might be taken as the basis of one representative. This would give, in round numbers, 400 members of the house for New York, 300 for Pennsylvania and 250 for Ohio.

As to the Senate, that body should not be chosen in the same manner as the House. With two bodies we gain, it is true, more deliberation, but the upper house is of the same general character as the lower, contrary to the theory which suggested the French House of Peers, the French Senate, and the Senate of the United States, and to the result of those events which has given to England its hereditary House of Lords.

A suggestion has been advanced to make each county a unit, which should be represented in the State Senate, as the State is in Congress. The objections to such a project are, however, extremely forcible, for owing to the very slight prevalence of that country life which exists in England, France and Germany, and by means of which the representative of a country district is frequently a large proprietor, and in every way fitted for the position, in this country the intellect of the community centers in the large cities, and it would be most unjust to give to New York or Philadelphia no more representation even in the conservative branch of the legislature than the inhabitants of the thinly populated agricultural and mining counties.

The simplest and most efficient remedy for the evils mentioned

would be to select the upper house from the whole State, making each senator a representative not of the east or of the west, but of the whole community. The nominations, if made by men from all parts of the State, would rescue the large cities from their present deputies, while a great advance would be reached by electing a body of men before whom all local laws must come for final approval, and who were restrained by no warped patriotism to protect the interests of a given spot. This would indeed be analogous to the United States Senate, for the State alone, and not the component parts, would be represented in the same way as she now is by her governor and by her supreme court. By the formation of such an upper house, special legislation would receive a severe blow and a much more effective one than by attempting to restrain a torrent which must one day overleap all barriers.

Local heart burnings would die out, the number of senators from a city would represent the intelligence of its politicians, and would be greater or less according to its deserts. Finally, the importance of such a council to the governor could hardly be overestimated, especially if his power of appointment were to be largely increased and subjected to the approval of the senate. The plan we believe has never been tried in this country; we should therefore feel more hesitation in advocating it, were its peculiar merits less apparent, or were there less objections to other propositions of a different nature.

No subject has of late years more fully attracted the attention of political thinkers than that which is variously known as Proportional or Minority Representation. The principles advocated by the adherents of this reform promise so much that we should be guilty of negligence in not subjecting all that has been suggested to a thorough examination and rigid criticism. Of the various schemes proposed (of the Hare system, owing to its complexity we shall not speak) there are three principal ones, each of which promises to accomplish more easily than its fellow the object sought for, viz. : that of championing successfully the rights of the unprotected minority. These are known as the cumulative vote, the limited vote [proposed by Prof. Craik] and the system of proportional representation, whose birth-place was Philadelphia, and whose author was Mr. Thomas Gilpin, of that city.

When we find that the system born in Philadelphia in 1844, has

traversed the ocean, and has calmed the frequent political broils of the revolutionary inhabitants of Geneva, we may be inclined to examine it with the more attention, and to yield it our earnest though tardy commendation. Before discussing the advantages of this system, however, let us point out the defects of the other two, that by contrast the former may appear to still greater advantage.

The principles of cumulative voting are best explained by illustration. Suppose that there are in any district ten members of the legislature to be elected. The first mentioned system says, You may either give one vote to each candidate or two to any five, or all to one, or lastly, you may give as many to any one as you please, and may scatter your remaining votes among the others. Now the obvious advantage of this system is, that you may, by cumulating all your vote upon the heads of one or two candidates, elect them, though you be in the minority, and thus gain a representation which by the old system would be denied you.

Thus if there be five Democratic and five Republican candidates for office, and but five places to fill, with a constituency consisting of 20,000 Democrats and 30,000 Republicans, by the old system the party in power could have apportioned the district into five smaller ones, consisting each of 6,000 Republicans and 4,000 Democrats, and thus have filled five-fifths (or all) of the offices while representing a party which polled but three-fifths of the votes. Now apply here the principle of cumulative voting, by giving each voter five votes, and allowing him to divide them as he pleases. In this case the Democrats can give an equal number of votes to their two most popular candidates, who will together have 100,000 ($20,000 \times 5$) or 50,000 a piece, while the Republicans will give each of their three candidates 50,000 ($\frac{30,000 \times 5}{3}$) votes—the latter number,—that is, all the votes cast divided by the whole number of offices to fill, ($\frac{50,000 \text{ voters} \times 5 \text{ votes to each person}}{5, \text{ whole number of offices to fill}} = 50,000 \text{ votes}$), being that necessary to a choice.

Such is the principle of cumulative voting. But the great objection to the system is, that it overleaps its object in seeking to defend the rights of the minority, and frequently invades those of the majority. A minority should have representation, but not a majority of the representatives, and any system that can be so manipulated as to produce this result should be at least looked at

with suspicion if not summarily rejected. Now the more popular any one candidate is, the more danger of the abuse of a system which enables a man to get five or ten times as many votes as his fellow-candidate on the same ticket. In the school board election in London, there were seven persons to elect, and twenty-five thousand voters; 11,600 voters gave Miss Garret 47,800 votes. The Catholic candidate was supported by a small but well disciplined minority of 1,857, who cast 9,000 ballots (or nearly their solid vote) for him, and he was accordingly elected. Suppose, now, that each man had given all his seven votes to his candidate; the vote for Miss Garret would represent nearly seven thousand voters, ($\frac{48,000}{7} =$ nearly 7,000) while that for the Catholic candidate would represent no more than 1,300 ($\frac{9,000}{7} = 1,300$ nearly). In other words 1,300 voters received by the cumulative system as much representation with an unpopular candidate as 7,000 with a popular one. In Illinois, too, where the cumulative system of voting has been adopted by their constitution of 1869, a minority of voters succeeded at a recent election in securing a majority of offices.

The next plan to be discussed is that called the Limited vote. This was incorporated, in England, in the reform bill of 1867, in certain newly-made districts electing each three representatives. By it a large majority of the members of the present convention of Pennsylvania was chosen, it was also used in the election of the delegates at large to the last constitutional convention of New York, and in the choice of members of the Court of Appeals of that State.

The principal objections to this system may be shown by the following illustrations: Suppose that in any district there are 4,000 Democrats and 6,300 Republicans, with three offices to fill. Here the Democrats having over one-third of the whole number of voters should have at least one representative, yet the Republicans by a skillful division of their forces can easily secure all three. Thus:

| Republicans, | Democrats, | Total number of votes, |
|--------------|------------|------------------------|
| 6,300. | 4,000. | 10,300. |

A, B and C represent the three Republican candidates, the Democrats have but two, D and E, as they cannot possibly elect more than that number, and each voter is allowed to

vote for two candidates. The Republicans divide their voters into three bodies of 2,100 each and both parties vote as follows :

| REPUBLICAN CANDIDATES. | | | DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATES. | | | | | | | | |
|------------------------|-------|-------|------------------------|------|------|------|------|--|---|--|--|
| A, | B, | C, | } | D, | E, | } | | | | | |
| 2100 | 2100 | | | 2100 | 4000 | | 4000 | | | | |
| | 2100 | 2100 | | 2100 | | | | | | | |
| 2100 | | 2100 | | 2100 | | | | | | | |
| 4200 | | | 4200 | | | 4200 | | | 6300 whole number of Republican voters. | | |

Thus the total vote for A, B and C exceeds by 200 that given to D and E, and the Republicans elect all of their candidates, while the Democrats do not elect any. Again, suppose a district consisting of 12,100 voters, of whom 4,100 are Democrats and 8,000 Republicans, and that three offices are to be filled. In this case if one of the Republican candidates is very popular, while the other two are liked equally by the party, the Democratic minority may chance to get two out of the three offices, and thus gain twice as much representation for 4,100 voters as is given to 8,000. Suppose as before that A, B and C are the Republican candidates, and D and E those of their opponents. The Republicans, among whom A is popular with all, while D and E only represent the views of particular sections of the same party, give 4,000 votes to A and B and 4000 to A and C. The Democrats, however, only put two candidates forward and give 4,100 votes to each. Thus:

| REPUBLICAN CANDIDATES. | | | DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATES. | | | | | | | | |
|------------------------|-------|-------|------------------------|------|------|------|------|--|---|--|--|
| A, | B, | C, | } | D, | E, | } | | | | | |
| 4000 | 4000 | | | 4000 | 4100 | | 4100 | | | | |
| 4000 | | 4000 | | 4000 | 4100 | | 4100 | | | | |
| 8000 | 4000 | 4000 | | 8000 | | | | | | | |
| 8000 | | | 4000 | | | 4100 | | | 8000 whole number of Republican voters. | | |

Thus A, the popular Republican, is elected with D and E the two Democrats, who have each received 100 more votes than B and C, the other two Republicans; in other words 2,050 Democratic receive as much representation as 8,000 Republican votes.*

*We have used in the above examples figures which could readily be comprehended by every reader. Those persons, however, who have received a mathematical training may desire to see the theory rather than the illustration. To them we suggest the following formula :

- Let x = the number of voters belonging to the stronger party.
 m = the number of voters belonging to the weaker party.
 n = the number of candidates for whom each may vote.

The Gilpin system is the only one which deals equal justice to all. By it each party gets a proportional representation commensurate to its share of the whole vote cast. All the votes are represented except the small surpluses not sufficient to elect a whole

o = the whole number of offices to be filled.

Then, the dominant party *can always* fill *all* the offices wherever the following formula holds good: $x = o + o \cdot \frac{m}{n}$. In other words, the majority can always elect all of its candidates where the number of voters belonging to the majority (x) exceeds, by the whole number of offices to be filled (o), the number of voters belonging to the party in the minority (m), multiplied by the whole number of offices to be filled (o), and divided by the number of candidates for which each person may vote (n). The truth of this formula will be seen by applying any numbers to the known quantities.

Thus, suppose 1,973 votes represent the minority in any district, and there be 11 offices to fill, and each voter is allowed to vote for 7 candidates,

$$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{Here } o = 11 \\ m = 1973 \\ n = 7 \end{array} \right\} \begin{array}{l} \text{and } x \text{ (the majority)} = o + m \cdot \frac{o}{n} \\ \text{or } x = 11 + 1973 \times \frac{11}{7} = \frac{77 + 21703}{7} = \frac{21780}{7} \\ \text{or } x = 3111 \end{array}$$

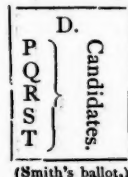
Let the Republican candidates be represented by the first eleven letters of the alphabet. Now the Democrats cannot, by any possibility, give more votes to any one candidate than the whole number of their voters, which is 1,973. The Republicans, however, divide into 11 (o) bands, consisting each of $\frac{2111}{11} = 282$ voters, and vote as follows, each man voting for seven candidates.

| | A | B | C | D | E | F | G | H | I | K | L |
|----|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|
| 1 | 282 | | | | | | | | | | |
| 2 | | 282 | | | | | | | | | |
| 3 | | | 282 | | | | | | | | |
| 4 | | | | 282 | | | | | | | |
| 5 | | | | | 282 | | | | | | |
| 6 | 282 | | | | | 282 | | | | | |
| 7 | | 282 | | | | | 282 | | | | |
| 8 | 282 | | 282 | | | | | 282 | | | |
| 9 | | 282 | | 282 | | | | | 282 | | |
| 10 | 282 | | 282 | | 282 | | | | | 282 | |
| 11 | | 282 | | 282 | | 282 | | | | | 282 |
| | 1974 | 1974 | 1974 | 1974 | 1974 | 1974 | 1974 | 1974 | 1974 | 1974 | 1974 |

Thus it will be seen that each Republican candidate has received one more vote than any Democrat. All the former are therefore elected, and 3,111 votes have received 11 representatives, while 1,973 votes, which amount to nearly two-thirds of the Republican vote, have received no representation whatever.

representative. The Gilpin plan, with the modifications which seem necessary, is as follows :

Suppose R and D represent the two great parties engaged in any political contest ; that there are 6,000 of the former party and 4,000 of the latter, and that there are 5 offices to be filled. In such a case the D voters receive a blank ticket with D marked at the head of it and the R men a similar blank ticket with R marked at the head. The D and R could of course be written as well as printed in which case an entire blank would be sufficient. The 4,000 Ds then fill up their tickets with any names they please, the whole number not to exceed the whole number of offices to be filled, which in this case would be five. The 6,000 Rs do the same. The votes are then counted, reckoning, not by the names of the candidates, but by the parties whose names head the list, *i. e.*, the Ds and the Rs, of which there are respectively 4,000 and 6,000. The number of votes necessary for a single representative is then calculated by dividing the whole number of votes by the whole number of candidates (in this case $\frac{10000}{5} = 2,000$ votes necessary to a choice), and exactly as many candidates are allowed each party as there are multiples of the number of votes necessary for one choice in the whole number cast by that party (in the present illustration $\frac{4000 \text{ whole number of D's}}{2000 \text{ necessary to a choice}} = 2$ Ds elected; and $\frac{6000 \text{ whole number of R's}}{2000 \text{ necessary to a choice}} = 3$ Rs elected). So far nothing can be simpler, but now the question arises how to tell which D. and which R candidates are elected, as each elector has been at liberty to vote for any five persons he pleased. The answer is that the preference of each voter is indicated by the order in which they occur upon his ballot. Suppose the ballot to be



(Smith's ballot.)

here the D at the top shows that Smith desires a Democrat to be elected, and that P is his first choice, and so on to T, his last. The person whose name occurs oftener than that of anyone else upon the ballots is the first choice of the Ds, the person whose

name occurs oftenest in the second place on the D ballots is the second choice of the latter party, and so on. So with the other party. The only difficulty which has been suggested as counterbalancing the evident advantages of this plan, is the occurrence of mixed and scratched tickets, and third parties, and this we believe to be entirely imaginary. For, to continue our illustration, suppose the existence in the last case of a third party who call themselves Liberals, and whom we shall denote by L. All that is necessary for them in order to gain proportional representation is to adopt a ballot headed L, and vote for their candidates as do the Ds and Rs in the former example. As soon as there are 2,000 Ls, that party will have one representative; as soon as there are 4,000, two, etc. The difficulty of scratched tickets is wholly obviated by the suggestion of having blank ballots and compelling the person voting to fill them up himself, as is now the case in England under the new ballot bill. The only possible objection is in the occurrence of a mixed ticket, that is to say where an R wishes to vote for two R and for one D candidates, or *vice versa*. In this case, if he head his ticket R, the D candidate upon it will have but little chance of election, because the votes which he has received from the R party instead of being counted with those he has received from the D party, will be reckoned separately, and will only entitle him to a place so low on the R list that he may not be elected on that ticket. It is perhaps a sufficient answer to this difficulty that in our large communities, with the vast array of voters, mixed tickets are rarely used, and of small weight, therefore, in the selection of any candidate, and that the introduction of a system by which perfect proportional representation was gained, would benefit the community far more than the removal of what is felt to be a possible safeguard in extreme peril rather than an effective weapon in the daily contests of life. But even this apparent difficulty might be greatly diminished by the constant use of a third party ticket in small communities, such as that designated above as the L ticket, a sufficient number of both Republicans and Democrats voting together to ensure representation to the new ticket. The candidate elected on that ticket would be chosen by the method heretofore indicated.

The Gilpin system, as has thus been shown, is the only one which has been hitherto proposed which insures a just proportional

representation to the minority, while it avoids the possibility of being misused by either party, because it invades the rights of none. It might, however, be supposed from what has been said, that proportional representation could only occur where the parties possessed exactly the quota of votes sufficient to elect one candidate, or exact multiples of that number. This, in the illustration given, was 2,000. Now it is evident that as long as the Democrats poll exactly that number of votes or even multiples of it, as 4,000, 6,000 or 8,000, they will be entitled to one, two, three or four representatives respectively. But, says the objector, your Democratic party may poll 3,900 votes and your Republican party 6,100. In such a case, if there are five offices to fill, it would be most unjust to give four of them to the Republicans, who have but an extremely small excess over the number of votes necessary to elect three men, and but one to the Democrats, whose whole vote only lacks by a small number that necessary to elect two representatives. In other words, would you not in such a case be giving one representative to one hundred Republican votes (the excess above the number necessary to return two members), while you allowed 1,900 Democratic votes no representation, they lacking by 100 the number necessary for a choice, viz. : 2,000? A practical solution for this difficulty would be found by making the constituencies extremely small and the districts proportionally large. Thus in the case above referred to, where there are 10,000 voters, suppose that the number necessary for a choice be diminished from 2,000 to 1,000, and suppose that the district be enlarged by adding to it another where the vote stood 8,100 Republicans to 1,900 Democrats. By the former mode of reckoning, the first Democratic district would have but one representative for its 3,900 votes, while in the second the party would not be sufficiently numerous to elect even one. 5,800 Democrats, therefore, in two districts would have but one representative, while 14,200 Republicans, or not quite three times the number of the Democrats, would elect nine times as many representatives as the former. Now apply our remedy. We shall have one district consisting of 20,000 voters, of whom 14,200 are Republicans and 5,800 are Democrats. Of the 20 members to be chosen 5 will belong to the latter party and 15 to the former, which will be an almost exactly proportional representation. But a rule can be

laid down by which the system may be rendered almost absolutely proportional in every case, even where the district is small and there are but few offices to fill.

It is as follows: In every district the number of offices to be filled by one party shall bear the same ratio to the whole number of offices to be filled as the whole number of voters of that party does to the whole number of votes cast; and wherever, after observing this rule, there shall still be an office vacant, and neither party shall have enough votes beyond those already represented to make up the quota necessary for a choice, that party of which the number of such votes shall be the greatest shall receive the additional representative. Thus, in the former case, where there are 3,900 Democrats and 6,100 Republicans, with five offices to fill, and 2,000 votes necessary to a choice, we apply our rule by first assigning 2,000 Democrats one representative, and 6,000 Republicans three; there remains one office to fill, with 1,900 Democrats and 100 Republicans represented—and as the former number exceeds the latter it is allowed the additional representative. In other words, we apply the proportional system until, with one office to fill, we reach numbers on both sides, either of which is by itself less than the necessary quota, and here we apply the system of simple majorities now in use.

So much for the system—a few words for the *modus operandi* of the election. And here it would be well to apply, almost unchanged, the directions incorporated in the English ballot bill of 1872. Those applicable to ourselves are as follows:

There are three persons inside the voting-booth—the inspector of elections, who is appointed by the (State) government, and an agent of each of the opposite candidates. [Here where we shall frequently have a number of offices to fill at once, the principal one to be elected, as the mayor, when on the same ticket with members of councils, or some person designated by him might choose agents for the party. This is infinitely preferable to having them appointed by the majority of the board of aldermen as at present, or even by the court, which cannot be sufficiently acquainted with the characters of these men.] The ballots are

in blank, with a counterfoil¹ attached to each, and upon the ballot and counterfoil is inscribed the same number, but so, that when folded, it cannot be seen. [Upon the ballots should be printed the name of the office or offices to be filled.] All the ballots are kept by the inspector, and are given by him, one to each registered voter, provided no objection be made to his voting; in the latter case a differently colored ballot is used, and the case is afterward investigated and the vote rejected if improper. No more than one ballot is given to any voter, unless he prove to the satisfaction of the inspector that the former one has been destroyed. Each ballot thus given, together with its counterfoil, is stamped on its back by the inspector with an official seal. [Here it might show the precinct where the vote was cast.] The elector then writes on his ticket the names of those persons whom he desires to see elected. [If there be several offices of the same kind to fill, the order in which the names are written would indicate his preference.] He then, in the full view of the inspector and both agents, separates his ballot from the counterfoil attached to it, and showing the official stamp, without which it would not be admitted, deposits the counterfoil in a sealed box, arranged in in such a way that the counterfoils may be put in but cannot be withdrawn without breaking the seal, and deposits his ballot in another box. The box containing the counterfoils are deposited in some safe place, and unless the election be contested its con-

¹ The English ballot in use since the summer of 1872 (See 35 and 36 Vic. ch. 33) is as follows :

| FORM OF BALLOT. | CANDIDATES. | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|--|--|--------------|--------|--------------|---|--------|---|---|---------|---|---|-------|---|---|-----------|---|
| COUNTERFOIL. No. 2329. NOTE.—This counterfoil is to have a number to correspond with that on the back of the ballot paper. [A. R. FABER.] | <table border="1"> <tr> <td style="text-align: center;">1</td> <td style="text-align: center;">Brown,</td> <td style="text-align: center;">(residence.)</td> </tr> <tr> <td style="text-align: center;">2</td> <td style="text-align: center;">Jones,</td> <td style="text-align: center;">"</td> </tr> <tr> <td style="text-align: center;">3</td> <td style="text-align: center;">Merton,</td> <td style="text-align: center;">"</td> </tr> <tr> <td style="text-align: center;">4</td> <td style="text-align: center;">Smith</td> <td style="text-align: center;">"</td> </tr> <tr> <td style="text-align: center;">5</td> <td style="text-align: center;">Traverse,</td> <td style="text-align: center;">"</td> </tr> </table> | 1 | Brown, | (residence.) | 2 | Jones, | " | 3 | Merton, | " | 4 | Smith | " | 5 | Traverse, | " |
| 1 | Brown, | (residence.) | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 2 | Jones, | " | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 3 | Merton, | " | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 4 | Smith | " | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 5 | Traverse, | " | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |

FORM OF BACK OF BALLOT.

No. 2329

Election for ——— county (or borough or ward.)

NOTE.—The number on the ballot is to correspond with that on the counterfoil.

The name in brackets on the counterfoil is the name of the voter (A. R. Faber), and is a desirable addition to the English plan, because while it serves to identify the voter, yet being on the counterfoil, entire secrecy is maintained even toward the election officers, except in case of a contested election.

tents are burned at the end of six months. If the election be disputed, however, the box is opened, and the ballots can readily be identified by those voting by recalling the number.

The ballots are regularly counted, including those of which the color indicates doubt as to the validity of the vote; this question is decided by the inspector, with a right of appeal from his decision.

The only additional suggestion to be made is that proposed by the committee on elections in the Pennsylvania convention, viz. : that the name of the voter be written by him, or in case of inability to write, by some one in his presence *on the counterfoil*, thus affording an additional security against fraudulent voting and at the same time ensuring the secrecy of the ballot.

A provision forbidding voting to be carried on in any tavern or house of public entertainment, and placing the public school houses at the disposition of voters, seems most desirable. Nothing tends more to lower the value of elections in popular estimation than the disgraceful associations linked with them, and the rising generation is tempted to look upon the present local habitation and the name of the general election as upon things equally degraded and degrading.

A few words in conclusion about special legislation. In England, where the popular branch of the legislature acts almost without restriction, the prime minister, who is the king's representative, being a member of Parliament, and the House of Lords exercising more forcibly its moral influence than its legal power of veto upon the lower house—in England, where special legislation can neither be vetoed nor declared unconstitutional, we rarely hear complaints of the exercise of a power the misuse of which in this country fills the least apprehensive with alarm.

It has been proposed lately to forbid special legislation almost altogether, and thus to cure the mischief by preventing it. Now it is unquestionably true that legislatures daily pass bills which imperil more and more the life and property of the citizens. It is a fact in the recollection of many lawyers in Pennsylvania, that in one instance a husband and wife were divorced by act of assembly of that State without the knowledge or consent of either of them. Discovering soon afterward the illegal and immoral life which they had been leading since the passage of the act, for little had

they thought that their matrimonial life had been severed unknown to both of them, they set out in great alarm to the house of a worthy priest, and by his kindly offices, were each married for the second time to the other, though neither of them had lost their first partner.

Marriage in some of the constitutions of our States has been left at the complete mercy of the legislature. In Massachusetts, Ohio, Illinois, New Jersey and some other States, it is wisely provided that the courts only, with the assistance of a jury when necessary, shall pronounce upon the necessity of a divorce. This is unquestionably the place where the power should be lodged.

There is, however, much that will always be necessary, and which can only be performed by the legislature. Railroad bills in England are first referred to a special committee of the House of Commons—their scope and purpose is explained by the counsel of the road, and those opposed to the scheme are heard in their turn. The committee deliberates upon it, and approves or disapproves—but in either case upon due consideration—if the latter, the proposed bill dies; if the former, it is reported favorably to the House, and passes without debate.

If now a body of wealthy, practical and experienced men could be selected, whose knowledge of the world would enable them to reject improper schemes, while their pecuniary independence would render bribery ineffectual, a clause might be inserted in the Constitution requiring all special legislation to be referred to them, and forbidding the legislature to pass any private bill which had not received the assent of two-thirds of their number. The State Senate, we think, would be such a body, if our suggestion in regard to its selection were to be adopted.

But a proviso which now exists in the constitutions of New York and of Ohio, if inserted in that of Pennsylvania, might check to a small degree the evils from which we suffer. In those States a bill to become a law must receive the assent of a majority of the whole number of members of each house—in other words, a law must be approved by a quorum, and not by a majority only of a quorum, and all the yeas and nays should be entered upon the statute-book. There should also be a proviso requiring every bill to be read at full length three several times, on different days, before its passage.

In view of the troubles which the religious element has introduced in New York, it might be well to adopt a provision to the effect that no sectarian appropriations should ever be made to any school or other institution under the control or part control of the State.

We should also advocate the introduction of a provision repealing all present laws, and forbidding the enactment of any future ones, which place a pecuniary limit upon the damages which may be recovered from a corporation where death or serious injuries are the result of the negligence or carelessness of any of the employés of such corporation. Till we have such a constitutional proviso, one of the privileges most prized by freemen—that of personal security of life and limb—will be under the almost unlimited control of reckless and powerful corporations.

Such are a few of the ideas which the subject under discussion has suggested to the writer of this article, and in asking for them a fair hearing, it is rather in the capacity of one who has collected the contributions of others than of one who calls attention to that which he has himself fabricated. If much shall have appeared uninteresting, much obscure, he begs that the fault may be ascribed to the deficiencies of him who treats the subject, rather than to the tameness of the latter. In his justification he may be permitted to plead the excuse which, perhaps, should have prefaced these pages.

Fungar vice cotis, acutum

Reddere quæ ferrum valet, exsors ipsa secandi.

The experiments of two thousand years in the art of government appear to have enabled man to have advanced so little that his progress, when measured by time, seems almost infinitesimal. Occasionally, however, he makes more rapid strides in short intervals than in the ages which precede and follow. Let us hope that we are living in one of those epochs, and that the deliberative bodies now sitting, and soon about to meet to revise the fundamental law of their respective States, may be gifted with a double portion of wisdom for their task. If the present convention of Pennsylvania shall have convinced the people of that State of the small efficiency of governmental machinery without skilled workmen to direct it, and shall have stamped with its approval an instrument, the elasticity of which shall render it enduring, while too great a complication in its parts, shall not impair its efficiency, the people of that State will accept the new order of things with the

same alacrity with which they decided to have a new Constitution, and will declare by their suffrages that the work of a Constitutional Convention has at length been properly performed.

A. SYDNEY BIDDLE.

THE CONQUEST OF SPAIN BY THE ARAB-MOORS.

V.—THE BATTLE IN THE PLAINS OF SIDONIA, COMMONLY CALLED THE BATTLE OF THE GUADALETE.

THE army of Roderik was about ninety thousand strong.¹ A respectable number, clothed in mail, was disposed in the front, and a small portion of the better armed were held in reserve. Behind the front rank he placed the main force, which, in the haste of the emergency, he had been unable to supply with defensive armor, and whose weapons of offense were motley in the extreme—rude lances, bows, knives, sticks and slings.

Mere numbers, thus imperfectly equipped, were hardly an advantage, for they were, besides, unskilled in the use of arms, and unused to the perils of battle. He had no competent generals to aid in giving cohesion to such a force, and there was no bond of union between the officers and the men. Among the officers were many who were disaffected, and who only awaited the slightest prospect of defeat to leave their ranks, while the men who were suspicious, but not certain of the projected treason, had no stomach for the fight.

On the other hand, the troops of Tarik were united, thoroughly disciplined, entirely obedient, accustomed to move in large bodies, enthusiastic for their leader, and inspired by the prestige of the advance. There was also in the field, on their side, a large contingent under Julian, who had a perfect understanding with the traitors in Roderik's camp. The seven thousand men who had crossed with Tarik, had already been reinforced by Musa with

¹The numbers are variously stated by Arabian and Spanish historians. Some report 100,000 cavalry alone; others reduce the force to 40,000 all told. The number I have stated seems to be the proper mean between the conflicting accounts.

five thousand more, so that he advanced to the field with twelve thousand men, most of them cavalry.

As soon as he had certain intelligence of the numbers and near approach of the Gothic army, Tarik collected his scattered detachments, and went to meet the enemy on the ground which he had already chosen; or rather, the two armies arrived together on the field, and encamped within sight of each other. In the early days, before the manufacture of gunpowder, the fighting was much more compact; the field was more contracted. The distance of an arrow-flight was the farthest point of contact, and the battle must be decided by hand to hand conflict. Like a light cloud on the surrounding hills, a panic-stricken crowd of old men, women and children hung as impotent, but interested, spectators.

The faint light of the dawn on Sunday, the 25th of the moon Ramazan (July 26, 711) disclosed the advance of both armies to the fight. It was the morning of a bright, sultry summer's day. Spanish clarions sounded the note of defiance, which was responded to by the Moorish trumpets and the shrill roll of kettle drums. The earth shook under the martial tread, and the outcries of the opposing hosts filled the air.¹ It was then that Rodrik is reported to have exclaimed: "By the faith of the Messiah, these are the very men I saw painted on the scroll found in the mansion of science at Toledo."² The words are unimportant; his fears were verified, but with this realization of his fears his courage rose, and he did all that man could do, by precept and example, to avert the dreaded issue.

He had probably traveled to the field in a litter placed between two mules, having over his head an awning richly adorned with precious stones, pearls, rubies and emeralds;³ the conveyance differing from the common one ever since in use, only in its ornaments. He was now an old man, and thus spared himself the fatigues of the road. His first appearance among the troops, when set in battle array, was in an ivory chariot, lined with cloth of gold and rich embroideries, according to the custom of the Gothic kings⁴ on going into battle. Tradition has ventured to preserve

¹Condé, I. c. x.

²Al Mak. I. 273.

³Al Mak. I. 271.

⁴Mar. II. 391. "Un carro de marfil vestido de tela de oro y recamado conforme a la costumbre que los Reyes Godos tenian quando entraban en las batallas."

the address made by Roderik to his troops, but as he cannot be supposed to have harangued ninety thousand men, we may receive the address as the substance of what he told his generals, before the engagement began. The speech is as veritable as those in Livy and Sallust. The historian must often be content to allow his imagination to lead his judgment, and, without knowing what really took place, he must be satisfied to relate what must have been, or what, under the circumstances, was most probable. Thus, and to a certain extent, we accept the tradition. From his moving throne of ivory he told his men that he was glad the time had come to avenge the insults offered to the nation and to the holy faith by this rabble, abhorred of God and man.¹ Up to this time, he said, the Moors had made war upon eunuchs; puffed up by their slight first success, God had blinded them in letting them fall into the snare. He had collected a large army, whose duty was only prompt and valorous action. "Remember," he said, "your antecedents, the valor of your Gothic ancestors, the Christian religion, under whose auspices and for whose defense we fight."² Then descending from his chariot, he mounted his war-horse Orelia, and took his station on the field.³ His treasures, for safety, and for use in case of disaster, and his military stores, were brought to the head-quarters in carts.

The first movements of the battle on Sunday, the first day, consisted of shocks and counter-shocks, experimental advances and retreats in different parts of the field; a general trial of strength and prowess, with no decisive advantage on either side. Night came to put an end to the conflict, and it was spent in brief repose and in preparation to renew the fight on the morrow.

On Monday, July 27, at the dawn, the conflict again began, and the events of the day before were re-enacted, with like indecisive results. But the disparity of numbers made it manifest to the Moors that such a condition of things was greatly to their

¹Al Makkari says, he came to the field in a *litter*; Condé and others, that he rode upon it in an ivory chariot, and his appearance on horseback is mentioned by all writers. I have ventured to believe, that the *litter* and the chariot are not different mentions of the same mode of conveyance, but that he used both in the order stated.

²"Canalla aborrecibile a Dios y a los hombres."—*Ibid.*

³The whole address may be read in Mariana.

injury. They could not afford to lose equal numbers with the enemy, and they had already lost more. On the other hand, the Goths had taken heart anew, and were pressing them vigorously with the evident hope of overpowering them with numbers, and driving them back into the strait.

It was in this despondent condition of the Moorish troops, that the bold speech and dashing valor of the one-eyed leader turned the scale. On the morning of Tuesday, the third day, he rode through the ranks, exhorting, beseeching, reasoning, inspiring. He saw that on the first vigorous onset of the Goths, his troops were ready to give way. Continually reminding them of the thanks due to Allah, for the mighty deeds already performed by the Moslemah, he rebuked their despondency, and represented the horrors of retreat. "Whither can you fly! The enemy is in your front and the sea at your back. By Allah, there is no salvation for you but in your courage. Consider your situation; here you are on this island,¹ like so many orphans cast upon the world; you will soon be met by a powerful enemy, surrounding you on all sides like the infuriated billows of a tempestuous sea, and sending against you his countless warriors drowned in steel, and provided with every store and description of arms. * * * Do not think that I impose upon you a task from which I shrink myself, or that I try to conceal from you the dangers attending this expedition." He allured them by speaking of the Grecian maidens², "as handsome as Huris, and waiting for their embraces;" he implored them by the promise of reward, "both in this world and in the future;" and he ended the impassioned harangue with the shout "On warriors and believers; do as you see me do, Guala! Guala! (*Allah to aid.*) I will attack the tyrant³ and either kill him or he shall kill me."⁴

It is easy to see in fancy this dark warrior, superbly mounted and caparisoned, his one eye gleaming with "the light of battle," galloping hither and thither among his men; stopping for a moment here and there, and ejaculating, not in one place but in

¹The peninsula is always called an island by the Arab chroniclers

²A confusion of terms which springs from the use of the word *Rûm*, or belonging to the Roman Empire.

³*Tâghiyah* has the force of *turannos*.

⁴The address of Tarik is reported by Mariana and Al Makkari, in full.

many, and in detached utterances, the words which contain the substance of his traditional address. Let the imagination also conjure up the blare of Gothic trumpets and clanging of the metal drums of the Moors; the answering countenances of the reinspired soldiers, the shrill cries of assenting ardor, and we are ready for the onset, which was so terrible that the Arabian historian calls it "the falling together of mountains and valleys."

Both armies press forward to the fight. Fancying that he recognizes Roderik by his resplendent armor and brilliant staff, Tarik rides furiously upon a general of meaner rank, cuts his way through a mass of Spanish soldiers, and cleaves him to the ground with a mortal stroke. The Moors believe he has killed the king; the Christians are appalled at the fury of his onset; and, although they know the king is not slain, they make faint array against the new attack of the enemy.

Just at this critical time, that defection took place in the Christian ranks which seems to have at once decided the issue of the battle. Bishop Oppas, with a strong contingent, drew off to join Count Ilyan. The sons of Wittiza, who, some chroniclers say, had been placed on the wings of the army by the infatuated king, left him to his fate. They had sent word to Tarik secretly, before the battle, that if he would restore to them their father's possessions, confiscated by Roderik,¹ they would join him to overthrow the usurper. This he had consented to do, and on the strength of his promise, they deserted in the midst of the battle.² A forward movement of the Moors along their whole line, aided by these large desertions, turned the tide. According to the mode of defection pre-arranged by the sons of Wittiza, the wings gave way without receiving the shock of battle, and thus the whole brunt was borne by Roderik in the center. The Christian host was struck as by paralysis, the palsy became a panic, and the panic prompted a retreat, which soon became a rout. Every soldier turned his back in flight, leaving treasure and arms, forgetting the dead and wounded: they scattered like dead leaves in an autumn gale, in utter confusion, throughout the surrounding country. No time was given for the dissipated mass to coalesce. The Moslem advance, orderly and systematic as it

¹The principal item was 3,000 farms.

²See also the opinion of Gayangos. Note I, 527-8.

was furious, became a pursuit, which was only relaxed when the dripping sabers of the Moslem cavalry were sheathed "for lack of argument," or to rest the worn-out horses and men.

If, as is asserted, the battle begun on Sunday, July 25th, and ended on Sunday, August 1st (from the 28th of Ramazan to the 5th of Xawal), there must be included, besides the three days of actual encounter, four days of pursuit by the organized detachments, including their return.

It is of course impossible to arrive at anything like an accurate statement of the numbers killed, wounded and missing, on either side. On that of the Gothic-Spaniards it was a hideous ruin, a complete disaster; thousands lay dead upon the field of battle, and the high roads and by-ways of retreat and pursuit were tracked by corpses; the wounded dragged themselves into fields as far from the roads as possible to die, as the shouting horsemen passed by like a whirlwind. This single battle had despoiled Spain of all her array and her strength, and is marked in her annals as pre-eminently unfortunate, gloomy and tearful.¹ Their country was helpless, open to the Moorish invaders, and their king had disappeared.

Of the Moslem losses we have a better ground of judgment. The victorious army took large spoils—supplies, arms, horses, carts; and in robbing the bodies, rings and ornaments of gold, from those of the nobles; and silver decorations from the common soldiers. These collected together, Tarik divided according to an equitable rule into five portions, of which one was retained to be at the disposal of the commander, while the other four were distributed among his troops. It is distinctly stated that he gave four-fifths of his booty to *nine thousand* Moslemah; and as he had, with the original seven thousand who crossed the strait with him, and the five thousand sent by Musa as a reinforcement, twelve thousand men, it follows that his losses amounted to three thousand.² Considering the losses on either side equal, up to the moment when the Goths were struck with panic, we may be safe

¹"A la verdad esta sola batalla despojó a España de todo su arreo y valor. Día aciago, jornada trista y llorosa."—*Mar.* II. 393.

²It is unnecessary to do more than mention the curious error of Gibbon, when he says: "The plain of Xeres was overspread with 16,000 of their dead bodies."

in computing their actual losses at three times greater than those of the Arab-Moors. But the computation of numerical loss is of little importance when we consider that the Goths had lost everything, and the Moors had subjugated a nation and won a kingdom at one blow.

In the interval between the first pursuit and the organization for a systematic advance, Tarik sent a brief report to Musa of what had happened from the day he crossed the strait until the consummation of the victory. Either honestly mistaken, or, which is more likely, to crown his deeds with dramatic effect, he also sent the head of the noble knight he had slain with his own hand, as that of king Roderik.

And here let us pause for a moment to consider the fate of that unfortunate monarch. Spanish chroniclers and Arabian historians alike describe the royal state with which he appeared upon the field, and most of them refer to it as a proof of his effeminacy. Gibbon, in his high-sounding phrase, has declared that "Alaric would have blushed at the sight of his unworthy successor, sustaining on his head a diadem of pearls, encumbered with a flowing robe of gold and silken embroidery, and reclining on a litter or car drawn by two white mules."¹ The censure is unjust. Roderik was an old man,² and traveled to the field in the manner best calculated to husband his strength until the day of battle; he was a king, and came in regal state, by litter or by chariot, befittingly adorned, and every traveler in Spain and Spanish countries well knows that mules for steadiness and endurance are the best animals for carriage use. That in the battle he fought on horseback, is conceded in the report of Tarik; and Mariana, who exhausts his vocabulary in abuse of the man, allows that he "fought among the foremost, seeking the points of weakness and danger, like a common, brave soldier."³ We may add to this, that the beauty and fleetness of his milk-white steed, Orelia,⁴ have been celebrated in serious history as well as in legend and poetry. His fate is uncertain, and lends another to the curious fables, like that of Arthur, which have pleased the fancy and exercised the credulity

¹Decline and Fall, V. c. li.

²Gayangos says 85.

³Mariana, II. 393.

⁴"Equus qui Orelia dicebatur."—*Rodrigo, De Reb. Hisp.*, lib III. cxxiii.

of posterity. The most generally received account of his disappearance is that, finding the day lost, he fled with his panic-stricken army and weak from his wounds, borne down by the weight of his armor, he was drowned in the marshes of the Guadalete, or that, in that spot, he had been killed by the pursuers. It seems to be proved that his war-horse, with a golden saddle set with rubies, was found riderless, and that near him were a crown, a purple mantle, and a sandal embroidered with rubies and emeralds.

This fact gives color to another conjecture, that he threw off his royal robes and insignia in order to escape detection, when he found his horse impeded by the mud; that he struck off on foot in the open country away from the pursuit, and saved his life by disguising his personality. There is a story which, to say the least, is legendary, that he was finally sheltered by religious charity, and during the brief remainder of his existence, expiated his follies and his faults in the garb and cell of a hermit. Alonzo IV. (the Monk), whose accession to the throne was in the year 925, when Abduraham III. was Khalif of Cordova, wrote to Sebastian, Bishop of Salamanca, "The path of Roderik's flight is not known. In our modern times, when we ourselves peopled the city of Viso and its comarcas, wresting it from the power of the infidels, there was found in a certain hermitage or church a sepulchral stone, on the cover of which was seen an epitaph—'Hic requiescit Rodericus, ultimus Rex Gothorum.'"¹ This story is more than doubtful, but it is suggestive. It shows that the belief in his death was not currently entertained. Although most of the Arabian writers think he was killed on the field, they mention the doubt, and one of them with effective simplicity concludes the matter by saying, "But God only knows what became of him."² All that is clearly known is that he disappeared, and there is a poetic justice in this. Death or oblivion was the only fitting finale for him who in one battle had lost "the fame of the past, the hope of the future, and the dominion which for three hundred years had lasted, all destroyed by this ferocious and cruel race."³ That he met his fate in punishment

¹And also in the "Coronica del Rey Don Alonso"—"despues a tiempo en la ciudad de Viso en tierra de Portugal fué fallado un monumento en que estava escrito—'aqui yaze el Rey Rodrigo, el postrimero rey de los Godos.'"—*Ségunda parte.*

²Al Mak., I. 274. ³Mar., II. 393.

for his own crimes may be conceded, but it is curious to find such conflicting accounts of the immediate cause of his disaster. The Arabian historian from whom Condé has drawn his account, says, "Such are the misfortunes that may happen to monarchs when they take a conspicuous place in the midst of the battle," while Gibbon cites a platitude of Ben Hazil of Granada—"Such is the fate of those kings who withdraw themselves from a field of battle;" and the reader will add after reading either statement, such is the folly of those who make idle comments upon events which speak for themselves.

We may now pause, after these details to consider their philosophy. Historic philosophy, based upon the inexorable logic of human life, has its laws, as invariable as those of organic nature or of exact science. The Goths who had come into France and thence into Spain, had established themselves as masters, by the impetuosity of their movements and the freshness and strength of their character. Their dominion had lasted for three centuries; more than thirty kings of their race had ruled in Spain.

But they had become stationary and sluggish by reason of the climate of their new abode, and because Africa had no attractions to be compared with those of central and southern Spain. They had little mental culture to take the place of warlike achievement, and thus they came to regard sensual pleasure as the chief good. Sheltered by the Pyrenees from their fiercer Frankish cousins their feats of arms had degenerated into the suppression of an occasional rebellion, or a feud of sections, easily adjusted. Their religion had been fertile of pomps and ceremonies, pleasing to the eye and lulling to the soul. They had become consolidated, but every element of consolidation was an element of torpor. As we look, on the other hand, at the Arab-Moors, how striking is the contrast. A mobile and ardent race, daily trained in arms, by actual battle, inured to hardship, keen in search of adventure, they were burning not only to conquer but to possess. Their first zeal grew warmer, from day to day, for a creed which had so wondrously vindicated its claims by carrying its warriors eastward to India and westward over all that was known of Africa, and which now threatened the conquest of the civilized world. And so when this dark and stormy wave burst upon the irresolute,

lazy Goths, they fell before it, and were swept away—swept in eddying whirl into the defiles of the Asturians, while the turbaned host, unimpeded, partitioned the land, and even rushed by to encounter Christian Europe on the plains of Touraine.

It is by no means astonishing that history is full of curious similitudes, or rather repetitions. The defects and faults of human nature, the violations of law, are the same in all ages; and like causes produce like results. The mind naturally adverts to a series of events quite similar, which marks the conquest of England by the Normans in the eleventh century. Like the Gothic monarchs of Spain, the Saxon kings of England became vicious, sensual and impotent. The people were better than their rulers, but were either influenced by their vices, or rendered harmless by their oppression. Civil dissensions robbed them of the strength which harmony alone imparts. Just across the English Channel—like the Moors in Africa across the Strait of Gibraltar—the Northmen vikings had established a vigorous, independent state, and burned to enlarge it by conquest. The treason of Count Julian finds its counterpart in the coalition formed against Harold by his brother Tostig and Harald Hardrada. The analogy is still more remarkable. The fleet of William crossed the channel to Pevensey and marched inward to Senlac, just as Tarik landed at Gibraltar and advanced to the plains of Sidonia. As on those plains the day seemed to go against the Moors, so the Norman attack was repelled by Harold; but the personal valor of William, like that of Tarik, turned the tide of fortune. Harold, the Saxon king, fell on the field, to complete the comparison with the disappearance of Roderik, and Saxon England, like Gothic Spain, was lost, as the issue of a single battle.

This curious series of similar facts and events would be without value, if they did not teach the nations a great moral lesson. They warn us to avoid effeminacy; to cherish national honor and probity; to guard the country against the danger of hostile encroachments; to exalt personal character and independence. They teach us that sloth and lust, and lies and cruelty, being sown like the wind, will give the same abundant harvest in Saxon England and Gothic Spain—a whirlwind, which smites the monarch, destroys the dominion—and gives perhaps new oppressors to the innocent and long-suffering people.

VI.—THE ADVANCE OF TARIK.

After having despatched his report to Musa, who was still in Africa, and after having advanced to the immediate and easy conquest of Xeres, Moron, Carmona, and Ezija,¹ Tarik set busily to work to reorganize his army. To repair the losses he had sustained, crowds of Arabs and Berbers came flocking across the strait, with or without orders, and were readily received into his diminished ranks. He had determined not to lose a moment in pushing forward the conquest to its completion. His army was divided into new detachments, to strike out in every direction; the ardor of his troops was unabated, and their hopes high, when, in the midst of his preparations, he was stunned by the reception of a peremptory order from Musa, severely reprimanding him for having made the attack at all, and directing that he should remain where he was, upon the field of battle—as Musa supposed—and there await further instructions. The ground of this order Musa stated to be the danger of proceeding into an unknown territory of such extent and resources, with so inadequate a force. Tarik was also reminded that the khalif had enjoined the greatest prudence and care for the safety of the Moslemah.

But the after conduct of Musa renders it evident that he was actuated more by jealousy than by prudence. He was angry that his zealous subordinate had achieved so brilliant a success without the presence of the chief. He was unwilling that Tarik should add to his fame, and he stayed his march that he might join him with all his available force, reap all the laurels that remained, and appropriate those already won.

The head of the Gothic knight, which Tarik had sent him as that of Roderik, he had embalmed; and he sent it to the Khalif Al Waled at Damascus. With it he transmitted a glowing account of the crossing, the terrible battle which *he* had directed, the glorious victory he had achieved, and in which he forgot to mention the part played by Tarik in the eventful drama. His dispatch was a model which has been cleverly copied by many modern generals.

¹ "The inhabitants of Ezija being numerous and brave, and having with them some remnants of Roderik's army, made a desperate defense."—*Al Mak.* I. 275.

But Tarik was a warrior, whose fiery temper could ill brook such restraint. He received Musa's commands with astonishment, discussed them with impatience, and determined to disobey them. To make a show of caution and prudence, he assembled his chief officers in council, and laid the case before them. Imbued with his spirit, they were of his opinion. Instant advance, was the unanimous cry. There was no insubordination; no strictures even were passed upon Musa's orders. They expressed the opinion that if Musa knew the condition of affairs, he would give very different orders; and that the use of a wise discretion was the prerogative of a commander under such circumstances. Most clamorous in the council was heard the voice of Ilyan. Either his vengeance was not yet fully appeased, or he feared lest, in giving the Goths time to rally, the tables might be turned and he might receive due retribution for his treason. He urged a vigorous advance without a moment's delay. The dissipation of the Spanish army, which had contained all their best warriors, and the death of the king, had appalled every Gothic heart. By at once availing of these terrors, without giving them time to recover their spirit or allowing them place to reorganize, the conquest would be immediately and forever complete. "Hasten, therefore," he concluded, "to penetrate into the provinces, and occupy the chief cities without delay; for, if thou canst make thyself master of them, but more especially of the capital, thou wilt have nothing to fear; and if thou follow my advice thou wilt thyself take a division, and march toward Toledo, where their great men are by this time assembled to deliberate upon their affairs, and unite under a chief of their choosing."¹

The purpose of Tarik being thus fortified by the advice of Ilyan and the concurrence of the council of war, he at once proceeded to carry it out. In order to strike additional terror into the hearts of the enemy, he resorted to a simple but appalling stratagem. He ordered his men to cook some of the bodies of the Gothic dead in the large copper vessels, used in preparing food for the troops, within sight of his prisoners. These he caused to be cut into joints, as if for a banquet of his men. He then permitted some of the captives to escape that they might spread the report

¹Al Mak., I. 277.

of this horrible cannibalism, and frighten the Christians into more abject terror.

He then reviewed his eager forces; they were divided into three detachments, beside the main body. The first he confided to the cavalry commander who had led the advance, a Greek, or Christian renegado, called Mugheyth Ar-Rúmi. His instructions were to proceed direct against Cordova, a large and wealthy city on the Guadalquivir, the river being navigable to that point.

The second division was commanded by Zeyd Ibn Kassed Askseki, whose instructions were to overrun the district of Malaga, and leaving terror and devastation behind him, to rejoin Tarik in his northward march, by the way of Jaen. A subdivision of this force, constituting the third detachment, was to push on and conquer Gharnattá (Granada), the capital of Al-birah (Illiberis or Elvira). The main body, commanded by Tarik in person, marched at once, probably by way of Cordova, upon Toledo, the Gothic capital.

Let us follow, in the order of their enumeration, the fortunes of these detachments. Mugheyth Ar-Rúmi, the commander of the first, while still a child had been taken prisoner in an incursion made by the Moslemah into Róm (the Greek empire); had been educated carefully, and, when of age, had been liberated, and in due time promoted to a command in the Moslem army of Africa. He was as accomplished as a writer as a soldier, and he had earned this separate command by his courage and skill.¹ He advanced without delay upon Cordova. This fine city, destined to be the brilliant capital of the Spanish khalifate, is situated on the right or northern bank of the Guadalquivir. Some fugitives from the fatal field had entered it, and as the river lay between them and the enemy, they were not disposed to surrender the town without an effort at resistance. It was rather an impulse than a hope which prompted their determination. The common people were in great terror. They had hoped, that when Roderik was dethroned, Tarik would be content with his rich spoils and return to Africa; it now began to dawn upon them that he meant complete conquest and permanent occupancy. Mugheyth reached the river bank opposite Cordova, and encamped

¹Al Mak., II. 15.

in a forest of pines. By means of captives, whom he sent into the city he summoned the garrison to surrender. These were the alternatives he offered:—All who yielded themselves should be subjected to a moderate tribute; place and pay should be given to those who adopted the Moslem faith. If the town resisted he would not undertake to restrain the savage fury of his troops, but would put all the inhabitants to the sword. It is probable that Tarik had accompanied Mugheyth as far as Cordova, and even halted before the city for a few days, but, impatient of delay, he left the capture to his lieutenant, and pushed on to Toledo.¹ The people of Cordova were not disposed to succumb without an effort. They could hold out long enough to test the Moslem attack, and when the city must fall could retire northward.

Mugheyth, taking advantage of a night of storm, selected a thousand horsemen, and mounting foot soldiers behind them, *en voltigeur*, crossed the river. A shepherd whom he had captured acted as guide, and informed him of the weakness of the garrison. Most of the people had already fled to Toledo; the governor held the town with only four hundred cavalry and a few of the inhabitants, entirely unskilled in the use of arms.

The rain had turned to hail, which drowned the trampling of the horses' hoofs, and the shepherd directed Mugheyth to a breach in the wall, through which an entrance might be effected. At the foot of the breach was a tree, by means of which a soldier, after some hard climbing, was able to reach it. Mugheyth unrolled his turban, which served for a rope, and in a short time a number of men were upon the top of the wall. They were ordered to enter the city and proceed at once to open the gates. This was done; all who resisted were killed, and before day Cordova was in the hands of the Moslemah. Some of the remaining inhabitants had fled; the rest implored his clemency, which he granted, but he punished their vain resistance by imposing so heavy a tribute that it was called "the tribute of blood."

But the conquest of Cordova was not yet complete. In the western part of the city was a large and strong church, that of St. George. In this the brave governor, with his four hundred men, had fortified or barricaded himself, and determined to hold it to the fatal extremity. Mugheyth had established himself in the royal palace, and could employ some portion of his force in

reducing and appalling the surrounding country, but the church-citadel touched his honor and his generalship. The great enigma was how they were supplied with water. By means of a Soudan slave of his, who had been captured by the Goths, and who had escaped from them, the Arabian commander learned that there was an underground communication from the church to a well-spring outside. By diligent search the spring was found and the communication cut off. Reduced to the last extremity, the garrison was again summoned, but refused to surrender. He then set fire to the church, and the brave defenders were most of them burnt up.¹ Very few contrived to escape, but among them was the governor. There is a romantic story, by no means probable, that Mugheyth pursued him and captured him with his own hand. So brave a man was a fit present for the khalif and a living testimony to the valor of his conqueror, and so Mugheyth intended to send him to Damascus. But Tarik first, and afterward Musa, contested his possession, and at a later day, rather than abandon his prisoner and his purpose, Mugheyth, says the story, slew him with his own hand.²

The final reduction of Cordova left Mugheyth free for further conquests. It was now the end of August, 711. Taking hostages from among the principal men, and placing, as elsewhere, the chief authority in the hands of the Jews, he left a garrison of sufficient strength, and spread his troops right and left as far as prudence would permit, awaiting the developments of Tarik's advance.

Meanwhile the second division, under Zeyd Ibn Kassed, had overrun the district of Malaga, and entered the capital with but little resistance. The sub-division already referred to moved upon Gharnatta, the *medina* or capital of the district of Al-birah. In the latter place a great many Jews were found, who hailed the appearance of the invaders, and who found in the Berber ranks many of their brethren who had been converted to the faith of Islam. Into their hand Zeyd gave the government, and this work accomplished, by the end of November he proceeded to

¹Al. Mak., I. 293.

²This caused a quarrel between the generals, which had some bearing upon the later fortunes or misfortunes of Musa.

join Tarik according to former instructions. The supremacy given to the Jews caused Granada to be called, in all its earlier history, Gharnattah-Al-Yahood,¹ Granada of the Jews.

We now reach the more important movement of the main body under Tarik. From Cordova, or by a more direct route, for his line of march is not exactly known, he had marched to Toledo. This city, the ancient *Toletum*, had been chosen with good cause by the Gothic monarchs as their capital. It was central, salubrious, and strong by nature. Like Rome, it stands on seven hills. In the time of Livy² it was a small place, but fortified by its position. Julius Cæsar had made it a place of arms, and Augustus had placed one of the chief magistracies there. Leovigild had removed thence from Seville, and the good Wamba had increased its strength and adorned it with palaces as a fitting metropolis. Thus improved, it was among the exempted cities when Wittiza had dismantled so many strongholds. Standing erect on its rocky heights, it commands the surrounding country and finds a natural fortification in the narrow but rapid flow of the Tagus,³ which more than half surrounds it in a sweeping curve.

The walls and amphitheatres of the Romans had been adopted and improved by the Goths. It was the court of Roderik and the capital of Gothic Spain. It was early renowned for the manufacture of arms; swords of exquisite temper had been fashioned there,⁴ before the Arabs brought into Spain their secret of making Damascus steel.

Here, if anywhere, after the fatal battle, the stand should have been made; but the case was hopeless. There were no munitions of war; there was no sufficient store of provisions. The principal leaders had perished with Roderik, and the remnant of the flying army had only passed through Toledo, in their rapid north.

¹There are conflicting accounts of the Moslem movements in the south-east of Spain. Some historians ascribe the taking of Malaga and Granada to Musa and his sons. I have here given the most probable account, and, I may add, the most natural. Musa did not arrive in Spain until March or April, 712, and simple prudence would have prompted Tarik to make this movement to guard his flank and rear.

²Urbs parva sed loco munita. XXXV. 22.

³ *Tajo*, the rent or fissure in the mountain.

⁴ "It is a sword of Spain, the ice-brook's temper."—*Othello*, V. 2.

ern route, to impress upon the inhabitants the terror of the Mohammedan arms. There was not the remotest chance of succor, and so, when the city was summoned by Tarik, they only hesitated that they might obtain better terms, and then opened the gates to the enemy.

He demanded that they should give up their horses and arms, to make any revolt impotent. All who chose to leave the place might do so, but they must also leave their goods behind. To those who remained, and who should pay tribute, the free exercise of their religion was allowed; but they were to build no more churches without permission, and they were to have no religious processions which might be a cover for plots and revolts, and which, perhaps, the astute commander feared might attract the faithful and shake the faith.¹ With a rare judgment he allowed the people to be governed by their own municipal laws; but they were not permitted to punish those who adopted the Moslem faith.

Upon entering Toledo, Tarik took up his temporary quarters in the palace of Wamba, which had been enlarged and embellished by the luxurious Wittiza. It stood upon a height overlooking the river, and was at once a palace and a citadel,² and was called by the Arab-Moors an Al-cazar,³ a name borrowed from the imperial state of the Cæsars.

Here he found the treasures and art collection of the vanquished king, which were manifold and curious. There were talismans; gold vases filled with jewels of gold and precious stones, pearls, emeralds, rubies and topazes; rich robes, resplendent tunics, costly armor, swords, and other weapons. Here he also found twenty-one manuscripts, containing the Pentateuch, the Psalms, and the Gospels; and, of more value than these, were a number of golden diadems, one for each Gothic monarch who had ruled in Spain; they were richly set with jewels, and upon each was the

¹Condé, I. c. xii.

²The site of the Gothic palace is not accurately known. On the ground occupied by the Alcazar, erected by the Moors, are now a hospital and two convents—the foundling hospital of Santa Cruz and the convents of Conception and of Santa Fè. The present ruined Alcazar is not even on the site of the ancient Moorish palace. It is comparatively modern, the eastern portion having been built by Alonzo VI., and the rest by Philip II.

³The name Alcazar was also applied by the Moors to bazaars and caravan-serais, when large and sumptuous.

name of the wearer, with those of his children, and the dates of his accession and decease. The number of these crowns is variously stated at from twenty-four to twenty-seven. It is not of importance, and there is no exact authority to determine it, but the fact of finding them is significant of the Gothic power and dominion. Doubtless much of the wealth of Toledo had already been carried away by the fugitives northward, some of which, like the table of Solomon, was to be overtaken and seized by the rapid and unrelenting Tarik.

Leaving a garrison in Toledo, and constituting an authoritative council of Jews, the tireless chieftain marched in the track of the flying inhabitants, dispersing or capturing small bands, and placing detachments at strong points. He advanced to Guadalajara (*Wada-l-hyjaráh, the river of stones*), between the mountain range of Castile and Toledo. He crossed the northern range at Buitrago, (*Bab-Tarik, the pass of Tarik*), the narrow mountain gate between New and Old Castile, and at a certain city called *Medinatu-l-Mayidah, the city of the table*, he found that wonderful work of art, the table of Solomon. The historian who wishes to describe it, is embarrassed with his riches; there are so many and so different descriptions of its form and material. Its origin partakes of the marvelous. Some hold to the tradition that it had belonged to the great Jewish monarch, Solomon, the son of David; that it had been brought from the East by the all-conquering Romans; that the victorious Goths had found it among the spoils of the Eternal City, and had brought it with them into Spain. According to some chroniclers it was of pure gold, richly set with precious stones. Others say its top was of a single emerald. Others still make it of gold and silver, having around its periphery three rows of jewels, one of pearls, one of rubies, and one of emeralds. Most writers concur in giving it three hundred and sixty-five feet. The truth seems to be—that it was a table of fine clear green stone, encircled and bound with gold and silver, and richly inlaid with costly woods, in the Arabian style—of which many specimens are still found in Spain—and lavishly ornamented with jewels. It was probably a gift to the church at Toledo; it was the custom for rich lords to make such offerings—shrines, altars, gospel-stands, altar-cloths, and tables. In the fable that Roderik visited the enchanted cavern, it was stated

that he there first saw the table of Solomon. If, therefore, it was captured at *Medinatu-l-Mayida*, which was probably *Medina-Celi*, it must have been carried away by Bishop *Sindaredo* in his flight, and thus the *City of the Table* only means the city at which it was overtaken and captured. Fearing that *Musa* would take it away as soon as he saw it, and even claim that he had captured it himself, *Tarik* had recourse to a stratagem. Of its many feet, there were four larger and more prominent than the rest. *Tarik* removed and concealed one of these as a proof of his exploit, and made good use of it at a future day, as we shall see.

Of the march and route of *Tarik* when he crossed the mountains of Castile, at *Buitrago*, we have confused and conflicting accounts. *Gibbon*, with the doubtful authority of *Roderik* of *Toledo*, takes the conqueror beyond the mountains of *Asturia* to the little town of *Gijon*, on the Bay of *Biscay*. The limit of his progress was "*ubi defuit orbis.*"¹ There is no such Arabian record; the account has no foundation. It is most probable that, leaving a portion of his force in *Guadalajara*, he marched upon *Astorga*, to gain information of the small Gothic forces huddled in the mountain passes, and waiting for a chief to give them cohesion; and that he then began his return march.

It was not without sad misgivings that he turned his face southward. *Musa* had entered Spain in person, and had arrived at *Toledo*; and *Tarik* might expect a rigorous reckoning for his disobedience and his exploits. He could only hope that the latter would more than atone for the former. But envy abhors greatness, and the brilliant deeds of a rival are to the jealous man the deadliest insults.

HENRY COPPÉE.

TO MYSELF.

I sang not well in years ago:
 No chords were struck upon the strings,
 I felt no thrill of joy or woe,
 Nor learned the truth of common things.

I sang not well in latter years:
 For then the gray obscured the gold,

¹*Decline and Fall*, V. c. li.

And all my song was full of tears,
In telling what were best untold.

I sang not well on yesterday :
I sought to mock another's song,
To win the laurel and the bay,
And strive for glory with the strong.

My dream is ended with the night :
I too will sing as songs arise—
My own the measure, grave or light,
And mine, for this, the deeper skies !

S. W. D.

THE CHILDHOOD AND YOUTH OF LUTHER.

FOURTH PAPER.

BUT no aspect of life took such a hold of young Luther's mind as did the Church. His mother's influence especially seems to have been of a sort to deepen all the impressions he received from this quarter. And the Church of the West was in his days a grand and impressive fact, that struck upon all a man's senses, and claimed the homage of all his powers. It was a vast and closely organized corporation, a spiritual Reich, whose Kaiser was thwarted by no Kurfürsts, and was served with zeal and enthusiasm. It laid its hand upon every aspect and transaction of life and society. To a receptive mind like young Luther's it must have seemed the chief fact of the universe. With all his boldness and strength of character, it is to be doubted if he would ever have shaken off its influence, had not his own exceptional experience led him to regard it as devoid of all ethical basis—as therefore a fantastic and unnatural scheme of man's spiritual life. For the lad was mightily predisposed by nature to churchly and ascetic life and modes of thought. The rigid, self-denying ways of a devotee suited itself to his personal idiosyncrasy; he had inherited, among other purely Germanic traits, the drift to melancholy and hypochondria that belongs to the northern races, "the great central ideas" of whose old pagan

faith were "the belief in a heroic struggle between the gods and the powers of nature, the prevision that good was to be overcome, and the faith that it was grander in defeat than evil could be in victory."¹

The ascetic side of the Church's life gave a vent to this hypochondria of the Teutonic race, and Luther took to its voluntary bitterness and darkness, with as much earnestness as a sunnier nature would have shown in the search for "sweetness and light." He tells us in one of his last works that he was "so disposed by nature that he would as lieve as not fast, keep vigil, pray and do good works, to get thereby remission of his sins."² It is said, though upon uncertain authority, that in his early childhood he vowed a pilgrimage to Rome, and that he would "become pious."

The purely secular mind, indeed, was on all sides revolting from the Church's rule; scholars and statesmen and burghers alike were drifting away from her stand-point. But Luther could never have gone out by that gate; he was far too deeply impressed with a sense of the reality of that eternal and spiritual world which underlies this present life as its substance. He might act with the humanists, but he was not of them. He sought deeper foundations than they; Hutten once wrote to him: "Your work, holy man, is of God and will abide; mine is of man and will pass away."

More noteworthy it is that through all those eighteen early years he seems, although a thoughtful and observant lad, to have been as little touched by the reformatory impulses of zealous churchmen. Again and again does his path cross theirs in those years, but he gives no sign of recognition and mental fellowship. John Hilton was dying in prison at Eisenach, in sight of St. George's school, and prophesying the great changes in the Church, that the next generation saw carried out, but Martin knew nothing of him. Across the Hartz lay Bohemia, where the Hussites had carried on such a severe and persistent struggle with the Papal See.

¹ Pearson's *Early and Middle Ages of England* (an admirable book) pp. 73-4. Mr. Pearson regards the Voluspaga, with its prophecy of a new heavens and a new earth, and the later and more cheerful version of the story of Balder, as attempts to reconstruct Odinism, so as to rival the cheering hopes resented by Christianity.

Church-Postil: Sermon on Luke xiv. 1-11.

He tells Eck that "the hobgoblin of John Huss had at all times abode in Germany, and had even waxed greater," and his adversaries at once charged upon him that he was certainly a follower of Huss—probably a Bohemian. But his earlier allusions show that he shared the popular distrust of the great Slavonian, which had been especially excited in Thuringia by the atrocities of the Hussite wars.

Luther was not only a devout, but an unquestioning son of Mother Church.¹ This Church of his fathers, his country and his baptism, was to him a wonderful and glorious fact; none more so. And apart from the great services it had rendered to mankind in the period of chaos and formation, when the old world was passing away and the new had not yet taken shape and put on order—in the ages when the Papacy and the Orders stood forward as the champions of conscience and intellect against brute force and secular tyranny—it still contained a great host of devout and enlightened men, the salt of the earth, who exerted a mighty influence for good. Gerhard Groot, Floris Radewijnssoon, Thomas Hammerlen (and their associates in the brotherhood of the common life), John Wessel and John Wesel had been such in the times just before his own; his earlier years had been shared by many a John Staupitz and an Andreas Proles; when he and his friends were cast out, he still recognized the worth and true piety of such men as Matthew Lange and Berthold Pirstinger of Chiemsee. How deep his early impressions, is seen from his occasional fits of tenderness toward the old Church—"survivals" after long years of open warfare upon her claims. He says:

¹What he writes of his monkish zeal, in the *Preface* to his Latin works (1545), has an application to his earlier life also, as showing him to have belonged to the unqualifiedly churchly party, and not to the reformatory party:

"The reader should know that I was once a monk and a papist of the maddest sort, at the very time that I put my hand to this cause; that I was intoxicated, yea so deeply plunged in the Pope's dogmas, that I was most ready to slay any one that would detract but one syllable from obedience to the Pope, or to stand by and give my countenance to those that slew them. For I was not that mass of ice and chill in defending the Papacy, that Eck and his like are, who seem to me rather to defend the Pope for their own belly's sake, than to go about the thing in earnest. I was in earnest about the matter, as one who had horrible fears of the Last Day, and yet from my inmost heart desired to be saved."

I was baptized in the Pope's house or church—have learnt therein the Catechism and the Scriptures. This honor will I gladly render to my folk and my dear fellow-citizens, and not forget my father's house—will hold him in the greatest honor, will fall at his feet—if he will but let me believe upon my Lord Christ, and hold my conscience free from entanglement.¹

He explicitly rejects the view of those extreme Protestants that deny that the historic stream of Christian life comes down to the Protestant Church through the Latin Church of the West, and who are therefore driven to trace it as flowing in various underground channels, and through small and obscure Mediæval sects. He says, in one of his sharpest controversial treatises, that "by his marvelous power, God had still so upheld Christendom, that even under the Papacy there were left us holy baptism, the reading of the Gospel from the pulpit in the people's own tongue, absolution and ordination, and last of all the prayers, such as the Psalter, Paternoster, the Belief, and the Ten Commandments, as well as many good hymns and airs, both Latin and German. Where such pieces are still left, there certainly the Church and sundry of God's saints are left us, for there are the ordering and the fruits of Christ there; wherefore it is most sure that Christ has been with them that are His, and likewise his Holy Ghost, and in them has upheld the Christian faith, albeit in great weakness."²

He thus continually asserts that "God had at no time deserted the Church, although her life was at times weak, and the true doctrines woefully obscured;" that there were many devout hearts in her communion, whom God by His grace had kept in the right path, and that continually He had raised up preachers of His truth. The Holy Ghost, in his view, had been at all times her life, though not present perhaps in the great mass of her membership, especially not in her ecclesiastical heads.³

He says that the substance of that doctrine, which he regarded as the *articulus ecclesie stantis vel cadentis*—justification by faith—was not unknown in the old Church, that members of the reli-

¹ *Praelectio in Ps. xlv.* (1534).

² Of Masses held in a Corner, etc., (1533).

³ Expositions of Chapters i. and ii., and of Chapters xiv. xiv. of John's Gospel: (1537 and 1538).

gious orders, although they had all their lives dishonored God by their trust in the saints and in their own holiness, yet upon their death-beds were brought to see that their hope of salvation rested only on Christ. Such persons—others besides monks—he had seen and had heard of many more.¹ He said once from the pulpit:

For in that very blindness and darkness it was still the case that they held the crucifix before the eyes of him that was dying, and one of the lay-folk would say: "Look on Jesus, that died on the cross for thee." Thereby many were converted to Christ in dying, although aforetime they had believed those false miracles and had put their trust in idolatry.²

But even these passages show that he looked upon the state of the Church in his early days as a dark one, and no small portion of his writings is devoted to tracing what he saw of its corruptions during those earlier years of his life. In his picture the religious ignorance of priests and people holds a foremost place; he says in a *Concio ad Clerum*:

The old doctrines of the faith of Christ, of love, of prayer, of the cross, of comfort in tribulation, were indeed fallen to the ground; yea! there was not a Doctor in all the world that knew the whole catechism, to wit, the Paternoster, the Ten Commandments and the Belief (to say nothing of understanding and teaching it), as it now—thanks be to God—is taught and learnt, even by young children. In proof whereof I take to witness all their books, both of theologians and of jurists, and if any one can learn but a single head of his catechism out of them, let me die the death.³

The pulpit of those days was indeed active, but not, he tells us, to instruct and enlighten the people. The preachers were shallow legalists:

The monks preached every day their new visions, dreams and opinions, new wonders and examples, and that without stint. There was hardly a monk of them but, when he had been a preacher for two or three years, made a new sermon-book, that for the time must rule the pulpits, and the world was full of such books; and yet they had in the nothing about Christ or faith, but were all about our works and deservings and devoutness, with many false and shameful examples. But when they did their best

¹ *Der Prophet Daniel Deutsch nebst Auslegung des xii. kapitels* (1530).

² House-Postil (Roerer): Sermon on Matth. xxiv. 15-28.

³ Exhortation to the clergy assembled at Augsburg (1530).

in such books, it was the invocation of the saints that they spake of, and "not to forget our order."¹

When the pulpit oratory was more intellectual it did not instruct the people as regards the simple relative duties of life; it did not expound the Bible and help to make it the people's book; the preacher read his text and then took leave of it; the preaching was either fantastic, or it became scholastic and shot over the heads of the commonalty:

For after giving out a text from the gospels, they betook themselves to Lubberland²; one preached out of Aristotle and the ethnic books; another out of the decretals; yet another brought forward questions out of St. Thomas [Aquinas]; another preached of the saints, another of his holy order, another of blue drake—[*blaue ente*, whatever that may be]—yet another of the [plant] Bethlehem star.³

Where a direct influence was exerted or striven for, it was to excite the emotions, not to instruct the mind or convey clear ideas of the truth:

The preacher, the monks most of all, put forth their whole strength to make the people pitiful, to excite their compassion and make them weep. He who could do that well was held to be the best lenten-preacher. Therefore, in such sermons one would hear nothing but a scolding of the Jews for their obdurate wickedness, and about the swords that pierced the heart of the Virgin Mary, and how she wept and parted right piteously from her Son, and the like; and therewith they took up almost all, or at least the best part, of their preaching, which lasted to the seventh, eighth or ninth hour.⁴

The most vivid impression that the teachers of the old Church had left on his mind, and that which was most decidedly affected his whole life, was terror and distrust of God. Instead of a Father in heaven, who was calling forth and cherishing the confidence of His children, he learnt of a great Forbidder, an infinite Exacter—"a hard man, reaping where he had not sown, and gathering where he had not strewed." Even Christ was clothed with the prerogatives of an offended and relentless judge, who

¹Against the Estate of the Pope and the Bishops, falsely called spiritual. (1522.)

²Ger: Schlauraffenland, the land of stupid apes. English: The Land of Co-caigne, Fool's Paradise, Lubberland.

³Of Masses held in a Corner. (1533.)

⁴House-Postil (Dietrich): Of the Profit of Christ's Passion.

would exact to the uttermost, whose great assize was to proceed upon the basis of men's earnings and deserts. The lad's conscience was tormented by this view beyond all expression; his life was made a burden by his ceaseless efforts to balance good works against sins. He says:

Shamefully were we misled in popedom, for they depicted not Christ to us as our Friend, in the sort that the dear prophets and apostles and Christ Himself do, but did portray Him so dreadful that we were more afraid of Him than of Moses, and were of the mind that Moses's doctrine was far easier and more friendly than that of Christ. We, therefore, wist no other than that Christ was a wrathful Judge, to be appeased by our good works and holiness of life, and whose grace was to be won through the merits and intercessions of the saints. Thus not only were we shamefully lied to, and the poor conscience wretchedly deluded; but the grace of God was most highly wronged; Christ's death, His rising from the dead, His ascension to heaven, with all His unspeakable benefits were set at naught; His holy Gospel slandered and condemned; the faith uprooted, and in its stead mere abomination, lies, errors and blasphemies were set up. If that be not darkness, then I know not what is."¹

From my very childhood I used to be affrighted, and would turn pale if I but heard the name of Christ; for I was not taught to hold Him as anything but a stern and wrathful Judge. . . . that would judge me in respect of my works and merits. Therefore did I use at all times to take thought how I might bring many good works with me, whereby to appease Christ the Judge.²

I had no other knowledge of Christ than that I in my thoughts did set Him upon a rainbow, and held Him for a severe Judge. Now since there was no right knowledge of Christ, we fell from Christ to the saints, to call upon the same, that they should be our patrons and mediators. But we had especial recourse to Mary, praying to her and saying: "Oh, thou holy Virgin Mary, show to thy Son, Jesus Christ, thy breast, and get me of Him His grace."³

He overflows with indignation at these unworthy representations of the Divine character, which repelled men from God, instead of drawing them toward Him, and caused.

. . . . that I and others must be affrighted at hearing the very name of Christ.⁴

¹*Enarratio Psalmi II.* (1532).

²House-Postil (Rörer).

³Exhortation to the Clergy assembled at Augsburg. (1530.)

⁴Exposition of Psalm cx.: (1539.)

Already it is all too much forgotten among us, and we, therefore, so live as though we had never been under the Pope's tyranny, and had never felt intolerable wretchedness of heart and conscience wherein he bound us with burdens of unprofitable works, too heavy to be borne, and scared us with false fear of death and hell, and frightened us away from life and heaven, and with all his might drove and thrust us upon the devil.¹

This misrepresentation of God seemed to him not only the means of destroying the comfort of poor consciences, but also a source and root of various sorts of idolatry. He says of it:

When they preach Him to thee as a Judge, and [set thee to asking] how many good works thou shalt do to appease Him, and thou takest it for a truth, then to thee He becomes a Judge and no Saviour. When the heart seeth nought in Him but a wrathful God, speedily there followeth therefrom idolatry, whereby we depict to ourselves a God other than He Himself is in His nature and His being, and seek guidance and help to appease Him—a thing forbidden in God's word—and so fall into desperation.²

We were all shown that we must ourselves atone for our sins, and that Christ at the last day would demand a reckoning of us, how we had rued our sins, and how many good works we had done. And since we never could rue them enough, and do good works enough, and therefore could never be rid of a bootless dismay and fear of His wrath, we were pointed farther to the saints in heaven, as though they were to be go-betweens, betwixt us and Christ. They taught us to call upon His dear mother, and remind her of the breast at which her Son had been suckled, and that she would pray of Him to cease from His wrath against us, and get us His grace. And when our dear lady was not enough, we took to our help the Apostles and other saints; till at last we got to those of whom it is not known that they were saints, yea! or whether the more part of them ever lived at all—St. Anne, St. Barbara, St. Christopher, St. George.³

For we all alike know, and I myself was stuck fast therein like the rest, that we were just taught to put Mary into Christ's stead and office, held Christ to be our wrathful Judge, and Mary our throne of grace, where we had all our comfort and our refuge, if we were not to fall into desperation. Was not that an abominable innovation? Where were the bishops, that took away His office from Christ, and gave it to Mary?—that taught us to fly from Christ and to be afraid of Him as if He were a master of

¹The Papacy and its Members portrayed and described (1527).

²Church-Postil: Second Sermon on Matthew ix. 18-26.

³Exposition of Psalm cx: (1539).

the stocks, and to turn elsewhere our confidence that we owed to Him as the right service of God. Simple idolatry it was that we learnt of the deceivers.¹

How wilt thou get thee rid of their horrible idolatries, that they thought it not enough to honor the saints and to praise God in them, but in sooth made gods of them, and put the noble child—the Mother Mary—in Christ's stead, and fancied Christ to be a Judge and a Tyrant over the wretched consciences, so that all trust and cheer were taken away from Christ and made over to Mary, and thereupon every one turned away from Christ to His saints.²

Very noteworthy is the tone of reverence in which he speaks of "the Mother Mary," even in these passages of complaint. His doctrinal development led him away from her worship, rather than led him to assail it; to the last, and always, he retains a tone of affection for herself, that recalls the days when she was to him, as to his brethren, the warmest, brightest, fairest form in the Church's pantheon, the one embodiment of the Divine tenderness, long-suffering and compassion that the legalism of his teachers had left him. He rejects her worship most vigorously, but because: "Have I faith toward God, then is she my sister." While denying her infallibility, he says, "that without doubt the bishops and the councils had not so much of the Holy Ghost as she." To him she was still *theotokos*: "Right deeply in the hearts of men was implanted the honor that was given to the mother of God." He justifies his dislike of the Jews, by alleging their abuse of Mary. Even in his later years he could say: "It is true that one cannot enough belaud Mary, the high and noble creature." To him she was the "loftiest woman on earth, the noblest jewel, after Christ, in all Christendom." Yet he put her wifely worth above her maidenly worth, and her Son infinitely above herself. He says from the pulpit:

In Popedom they gave praise and renown only to the Mother Mary. True it is, that she is worthy of praise,—can never be praised and renowned enough, so high and lordly is the honor, that she, before all other women on earth, is the mother of this Child. Yet should we so honor and praise the Mother as not to let this Child that is born of her, slip out of our sight and our

¹Against the Estate of the Pope and the Bishops, falsely called spiritua (1522).

²Exposition of the Sermon on the Mount (1532).

hearts, nor think more meanly of this Treasure that is born to us than of the Mother. If we praise the mother it should be as a little drop, but this Child as a great and wide sea.¹

It might be supposed that a young man of genius like Martin Luther would feel himself oppressed by the iron and rigid uniformity of the old Church, and the unyielding severity of her traditions; that he would yearn for larger freedom of movement and greater variety of phase and type in the Church's life. Just the reverse was the case. He tells us that his sense of order was revolted by the confusion and methodless discord that seemed to prevail everywhere. The lack of a supreme Center of faith and hope and Christian thought in the Church's worship, seemed to him to bear only its legitimate fruits in the absence of outward harmony and efficient rule. This disorder seemed to him to be not only leading many to make shipwreck of their faith, but also to be endangering the very life of the Church. The enemy of souls had his agents in the very monastic orders themselves, wild and reckless fellows, whom the popular superstition raised above the control of church authority, so that the most earnest efforts of prelates of the better class were worse than fruitless; with the more sober ecclesiastics, novelty and innovation, the rise and decline of religious fashions, were the order of the day.

In the times of popery the people had got so far as to feel right clearly that they were in need of a help against sin and death, but no one knew where to find such help. Therefore did one call upon the Virgin Mary, and another upon St. Ann; he did this thing, and his fellow did something else, albeit their doings were not only a vain thing, but a culpable and horrible idolatry.²

No monk's dream but must be brought into the pulpit, and some special act of worship grow out of it; and no lie so harmful that it would not be taken for truth, were it but brought forward by some preacher, till at last it got so far that not only was Christ lost sight of, but God as well, and they themselves hardly had any more faith in any article of the Belief; and I dare to say that in a hundred years there were few popes that believed were it but a single one of them.³

How old is the St. Ann idol, the rosary, the Mary crown? How old are the Franciscan Paternoster stones at the doors and gates,

¹ House-Postil, v. 51.

² House-Postil (Dieterich): Sermon on Luke i, 57-80.

³ Exhortations to the Clergy assembled at Augsburg (1530).

and in every corner? How old is the pilgrimage to the Grimmental, to Regensburg, to the Holy Coat at Treves, and many others of the like sort? Were they not all new ten, twenty or thirty years ago?¹

Weak consciences were so held fast and tormented, that no one wist what counsel to give them; and when they had done all that they might, and with all care, yet could they not be at peace and thought they had not done enough. Therefore they ran to and fro, here to this saint and there to that, to Rome, to St. James at Compostello; some barefoot, and some, too, in their harness; and hither and thither on new pilgrimages, especially wheresoever the Virgin Mary, as our shameless monks and parsons feigned, had been gracious and had wrought miracles.²

How did they, in our own times, make asses of the people with such host of pilgrimages—to the Grimmental, to the Oaks, to Treves, and so forth. And I myself have seen monks—and scandalous, wicked rogues, and very savage they were—that yet would drive out the devil and play with him as with a child. But who would tell of all their roguery, and what devilish hobgoblin work was practiced under the name of Christ, Mary and the Holy Rood, St. Cyriac and the rest—practices that these monks drove with all their might, and all the world put up with, for no one durst say a word, were it but under his breath. There was not a pope nor a bishop that preached against it, but all helped it on. And if any one did set his face against it, his voice was drowned, and he was driven into it. Just so, shortly before these times, Bishop Ernest, of Saxony, pulled down such a devil's Church-in-the-fields; but had cause to rue it, for he fell into a sickness and was glad to build it up again.³

THE GODS OF GREECE.

AN ALMOST LITERAL METRICAL TRANSLATION FROM THE GERMAN
OF SCHILLER.

While ye still the lovely world presided,
And in pleasure's gentle leading-band
Still the blessed tribes of mortals guided,
Lovely beings from a fabled land!
And, while yet your blissful rites renownéd

¹Exhortation to the Clergy assembled at Augsburg (1530).

²House-Postil (Dieterich): Sermon on Luke xxi., 25-36.

³Exposition of the Sermon on the Mount (1532).

Shone, how different, different was it ah,
 When thy temple was with garlands crownéd
 Venus Amathusia !

While of poesy the web bewitching
 Charming wound about the real still,
 Through creation force ran, life-enriching,
 And what ne'er again will feel, did feel.
 Nature's nobleness was higher rated,
 So that love might press her to his heart
 All existence showed the initiated—
 All things—of a god, the mark.

Where at present, as relate our sages,
 Soulless rolls a fireball in the sky
 Steered his golden chariot through the ages
 Helios, in silent majesty.
 These ascents the Oreads were keeping,
 In that tree a Dryad had her home,
 From the urns of lovely Naiads leaping
 Fell the stream in silver foam.

For assistance once that laurel shivered,
 Dumb is Tantal's daughter in this stone,
 Lyrinx, plaintive, in yon sedges quivered,
 Philoméla from this copse made moan.
 Tears Demeter shed that rill receivéd
 Mourning her Persephoné amain
 And Cythéra from this hill, bereavéd,
 Called her lovely friend—in vain !

In that age the habitants of heaven
 Still descended to Deucalion's land ;
 By their beauty Pyrrha's maids have driven
 Leto's child to wield the shepherd-wand ;
 For the gods, and men, and men heroic
 Amor linkéd with a lovely cord ;
 Mortals with the gods and men heroic,
 All at Amathus adored.

Gloomy care and sad self-abnegation
From your joyful service was debarred,
For the child of Luck was your relation,
Happiness must beat in every heart.
Beauty only, nothing else, was holy,
Then no pleasure found the god too proud
Where the Muses, chaste of blush and lowly,
Wheresoe'er the Grace, allowed.

Laughed your temples like kings' houses shining,
Yours the fame of each heroic rôle
At the Isthmian games—the crown-assigning—
And the chariots thundered to the goal!
Defly woven soul-inspired dances
Wind about the gorgeous altar-stair;
Brows of grace the victor-crown enhances,
Coronets your fragrant hair.

Evoë! The frolic thyrsus-swinger
And the splendor of the panther pair
Heralded the mighty pleasure-bringer;
Faun and satyr bound before his car!

Round about him leap the Maenads raging,
As their dances serve his wine to praise,
And the host's embrowned cheek engaging
Joyous bids the goblets raise.

Then there strode no skeleton terrific
To the death-bed, but the last life slipped
From the dying in a kiss pacific,
Mute a Genius his torch-light dipped.
Even Orkus' scales a man's relation
Held, while sternly they the judgment proved,
And the heartfelt plaining of the Thracian
Once the very furies moved.

All his joys the happy shade recovers,
In the groves Elysian all that's dear,
Faithful love regains the faithful lover,
And his wonted course the charioteer.

Linus his accustomed lays intoneth,
Sinks Admetus at Alcestis' feet,
There his friend for aye Orestes owneth,
And his arrows, Philoklet.

Prouder honors strengthened then a striver
Firm on virtue's hard and toilsome road,
Great of deed, the illustrious contriver
Climbed the mountains of the blessed abode.
Then to one the dead from death compelling
Silently the immortal concourse bowed ;
Twin Olympians, through the waters swelling,
Leaways to the pilot showed.

Lovely world, where art thou ? Com'st thou never,
Nature's age of blossom, age of grace ?
Only, ah ! the fairy song-land ever
Holds yet fabulous thy magic trace !
Struck by death the mournful landscape grieveth,
Not one mark celestial can I find ;
Warm with life, that glorious picture leaveth
Nothing but the shade behind.

Of those blossoms has the last departed
At the north wind's shuddering fearful blast,
That their all should be to One imparted,
Fated from the real the god-world passed.
Search the starry arch in sad emotion,
Thou, Selené, thou dost not appear—
Through the woods I call and through the ocean,
Empty echoes, ah ! how drear !

Knowing not the joys herself bestoweth,
Never ravished at her perfectness,
Unaware to whom herself she oweth,
Never happier through my happiness—
Callous to her artist's reputation,
Like the dead stroke of the pendulum
Slave, she serveth laws of gravitation,—
Nature, once of gods the home.

For the morrow's birth herself preparing
 Still she diggeth at her daily grave,
 On one ever even axis faring,
 Moon and moon still consciously must slave.
 Listless, to the poet-land receding,
 Home the gods passed, useless, and the sport
 Of a world outgrown their childish leading,
 Buoyant by its own support.

Yes, they got them home, and carried from us
 Beauty, grandeur, all the voices heard
 Once in Nature, every tint and promise ;
 Soulless stayed with us the empty word.
 Snatched from out the time-flood and the hurtle,
 Pindus' heights about they lightly fly :
 That which lives in poesy immortal
 Must, to other living, die.

NEW BOOKS.

SPICY. By Mrs. Martha J. Lamb. New York : D. Appleton & Co.

AN OPEN QUESTION. By J. Demille. New York: D. Appleton & Co.

The scheme of the Appletons to publish a series of American novels has undoubtedly some laudable points, and it is not their fault that the present material is so scanty. But while conceding this we must protest against the publication of the mass of vulgar nonsense which, under the name of *Spicy*, stands at the beginning of the list prefixed to this notice. The gentlemen in the story accost each other after this manner: "Say, look a' here, man," and their retort courteous is, "Quit your nonsense." The heroine is the most beautiful girl "on this continent," and one of her characteristics is that she does not walk "good" in high-heeled boots, probably because she is unaccustomed to boots of any sort, as it appears that for her to run out to meet an arriving friend (in her bare feet), was not circumstance of remark.

"An Open Question" is less unpleasant, but not less foolish than the other novel. The plot, which we will not wrong the author—or our readers—by giving; (and beyond the plot there is nothing in the book) is so impossible, so ludicrous, as not

only to be altogether without interest, but even to make us wonder how the man who had written it could have read it over in an hour of calmness, without wishing that he never had been born.

UP THE NILE BY STEAM is a handbook of 75 pages prepared by the famous "Cook" for the use of his tourists. Besides a great deal of loose talk, such as Cook and his tourists are likely to give and take, it contains three "specially designed" maps by Keith Johnston and an itinerary, with tables of times and distances that are serviceable to stay-at-home travelers, who can here find facts that are always hard to pick out of the undigested map of guide-books and books of travel. The praise given to steamboats on the Nile over the "Dahabeah" of good old-fashioned times, is justifiable in the agent of this new proof of the Khedive's Yankee enterprise. Cook's requirements in the way of clothing for the Nile are few and simple. "The only thing of real use is a white or green muslin veil, trimmed round the hat and covering the neck against the sun; a parasol to be used as a stick, and a pair of gloves." This last item suggests that Cook and his tourists usually belong to the great ungloved, and the rest of the covering would seem little enough, if he did not afterwards add "a warm shawl or a good overcoat." The programmes of Cook's eastern tours are written in a truly Oriental sort of English, and we are sorry to find that the great Cook met so much opposition at the hands of local agents that he has had to take a partner in America for his future travelers to this country. Jenkins was certainly well supplied with an appropriate patronymic. The delightful bosh of Cook's English and his curious admixture of slang and sentiment, of business and religion, do not the less fit Mr. Cook for the class of people who are likely to entrust themselves to his care, and look to him to supply food and shelter as well as history and devotion. There is, indeed, a certain sort of ingenuous freedom in Cook's way of warning his possible customers of the risks they run in the company likely to be gathered together in his parties, and of the mischances that may be met and must be borne. The real use of the book is, however, very much enhanced by its clear, plain account of the items of expense, of the length of time needed for each part of the journey, and of the possibilities that may be achieved, noways in the way of distant travel, with economy of time and money. Whether people who travel in a way to meet one or the other of these two common requirements, are likely to be much wiser than those who stay at home and study thoroughly reliable authorities, is of course a question that Cook neither puts nor answers. This little handbook, nevertheless, has a very serviceable side, and we are not at all sorry to see Cook's agencies established in this country, either to take

Americans around the world or a part way, or to bring English travelers here to see us. What Pullman goes abroad to teach the English and Continental railway traveler of American comforts and luxuries in cars, is no more than Cook can teach us of the way to make travel in this country cheap and good, by introducing modest and moderate hotels and clean and simple railroad restaurants, with common comforts at every station. If Cook has done this for the East, we hope he will do it for us in the West.

MEMOIR OF A BROTHER. By Thomas Hughes. Boston: Osgood & Co., 1873. Pp. 178. Author's edition.

The author of "Tom Brown" has given us a sketch of the original of that much-loved and popular boy; for our dear old Rugby and Oxford friend was the subject of this memoir, George G. Hughes. The contrast of the two lives, that of the ideal boy and that of the real man, is well put, and every reader of the "Tom Brown" books will find a new lesson of English manliness and manfulness in the simple, unaffected, affectionate tribute of the more famous brother to the unconscious subject of so much well-deserved popularity on both sides of the Atlantic. There is, too, a useful moral taught, all without apparent intention of preaching, in the life of the dear elder brother, and in the account of it by the younger, that comes home to us quite as much as to our English cousins, and that is the ever-growing recognition of the value and importance of good men in private life, of the comparative harmlessness for good and evil of public men and public measures, so long as each family has within itself at least one man who, more by practice than by precept, teaches and enforces the example of a life spent in doing what is right, without trying, nay without even knowing how or caring to influence the public mind or opinion on the so-called great public questions of the day. The real good done by such a man as George Hughes, and the real influence on those who read his life as it is here written down for us by "Tom" Hughes, will go further and last longer and be felt more than scores of laws and debates on the making of them, that seem now to fill the world, as if its future depended on them and on all that was said about them in parliament and congress and the newspapers. Indeed the best tribute to the influence of Dr. Arnold as a teacher, for that was the real drift of the "Tom Brown" books, is shown in the simple story as we have it here, of one of his Rugby boys—one who filled no great place in even his own local history, but yet influenced by his wholesome, hearty soundness of life and example, many who worked away at the hard problems of the day, and turning to George Hughes saw him busy in the care of his children and his dependents, and solv-

ing, as part of his daily task, the vexed questions that gain so little answer in the turmoil of party politics or contentious discussion. Few and simple as were the events of his life, these and the comments of his friends and the autobiographical sketch of the author himself, told only to illustrate the subject and round the story, make up the contents of a book that will commend itself to all who read it in the right spirit, not to see why the one brother did not share with the other in public business and in authorship, not to find gossip or news or polemics, but to learn how a life spent in the simple discharge of duty, both as boy and man, as father and brother, can be worth the telling and be well told.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

Pay-Day at Babel, and Odes. By Robert Burton Rodney, U. S. N., author of *Albion and Rosamond*. New York: D. Van Nostrand. 1872.

The First Problem; The Soliloquy of a Rationalistic Chicken. By S. J. Stone, M. A. Reprinted from the Thirty-fifth Thousand of English edition. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co. 1873.

Studies in the History of the Renaissance. By W. H. Pater. London: Macmillan & Co. 1872. For sale by George Gebbie. Price \$2.50.

Rogue et Noire; a Tale of Baden-Baden. From the French, by E. R. Izamo. \$1.50. Philadelphia: Claxton, Remsen & Haffelfinger.

Half-Hour Recreations in Popular Science. No. 7. The Geology of the Stars. By Prof. A. Winchell, of the University of Michigan. Boston: Estes & Lauriat. Price 25 cents. For sale by Claxton, Remsen & Haffelfinger.

Jerusalem, Ancient and Modern. Outlines of its History and Antiquities, with descriptions of its topography, and the principal points of interest in both the ancient and modern city, including the temple as it was in the time of Christ and the recent explorations and excavations, illustrated by plans and wood cuts and by the key-plates of Selous's two great pictures of Jerusalem as it was and as it is. By Rev. Israel B. Warren, D. D. Boston: Elliot, Blakeslee & Noyes. Estes & Lauriat. Pp. 60. For sale by Claxton, Remsen & Haffelfinger. Price \$1.25.

Christian Ethics. By Dr. Adolph Wutke, late Professor of Theology at Halle. With a special preface by Dr. Riehm, Editor of the *Studien und Kritiken*. Translated by John P. Lacroix. 2 volumes. Pp. 378 and 348. Price \$3.50. New York: Methodist Book Concern, Nelson & Phillips, agents. For sale by Perkinpine & Higgins.

History of American Socialisms. By John Humphrey Noyes. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1870. Received from the Oneida Community, N. Y. Pp. 678. Price \$3.

The Trapper's Guide; a Manual of Instruction for capturing all kinds of fur-bearing animals, and curing their skins; with observations on the fur trade, hints on life in the woods, and narratives of trapping and hunting excursions.

By S. Newhouse and other trappers and sportsmen. Third edition. Edited by the Oneida Community, N. Y. New York: Mason, Baker & Pratt. 1872. Pp. 215. Price \$1.50.

THE
PENN MONTHLY.

JUNE, 1873.

THE MONTH.

THE Vienna Exhibition has opened under rather depressing circumstances. On the first of May the Emperor and Empress, accompanied by many distinguished persons, took a walk through the vast building which, according to all the accounts, was "quite full," as an Irishman might say, "of emptiness." The condition of France has not favored her taking her usual prominent part in such exhibitions, and other nations are reported as behindhand. The times seem singularly unfortunate. A few days after the opening, a terrific storm broke in one end of the building and damaged the goods, while the Prater was converted into a lake of mud; there has been a panic among the brokers of the exchange, and the telegraph reports an hundred failures in a day. The newspapers complain of paucity of strangers, and, on the whole, there is a very discouraging state of things. To Americans, of course, the most interesting, as well as annoying, circumstance connected with the exhibition, is the scandal about the representatives of the United States. And surely the most enthusiastic among us can hardly feel that we make a fine appearance in the eyes of the world. The committee of investigation, not having been composed of members of Congress, recommended summary measures, and all the original commissioners have been suspended. Two very fiery and rather incoherent letters from General Van Buren to the President and Mr. Fish, have been made public. To these is appended an affidavit, which, like

a woman's postscript, contains the only thing of weight or importance in the correspondence. No Senator of the United States could have "hurled back" the imputations of corruption more violently than the General has done in this case. But the trouble is that we, the people, are so accustomed to this species of defense in charges of this kind, as to have grown quite callous, and even skeptical. It should be said, however, that the General's affidavit is, thus far, the only thing put in evidence in the controversy. If it be not wickedly false, the position of the Administration is not an enviable one; if, on the other hand, Mr. Fish has evidence sufficient to justify the removal of the General, the disgrace of the latter is richly deserved. The letters referred to would undoubtedly have had greater weight had they been more temperate in tone and contained less personal abuse of Minister Jay, and the writer might well have omitted his expressions of disgust at seeing his place at the inaugural dinner-table usurped by others. It was natural to feel as he shows himself to have done, but it would have been more dignified not to have had it thus set down. Be he ever so innocent, he is not the first man who has labored through the day to see his reward borne off by others, and sat down at evening to cry, "*Sic vos non vobis.*"

KHIVA has yielded to Russian arms. The Khan is a prisoner, and the enterprising generals of the Czar are rapidly pulling down the props that support the northern bulwark of the British Dominion in the East. It is significant to read, in the same dispatch that records the capture of the Khan and the subjugation of his country, quotations from the Russian journals, openly speaking of the weakness and "general debility" of Turkey. With an England unwilling to fight, and a France unable; with Austria and Italy too busy with domestic to meddle with foreign affairs, and a Germany in close alliance with her, Russia may well imagine that she is face to face with the only solution of the Eastern question with which she can rest content. It is to be regretted for her own sake that the extension of her influence and territory has no effect in broadening or liberalizing the theory or the practice of her rulers.

IN the *Blätter für literarische Unterhaltung*, of the 27th of last February, it is stated that the managers of the theaters at Riga

have received from the Chief of the Bureau of Censorship at St. Petersburg, a list of about a hundred dramas, which, having been theretofore freely put on the stage, were thereafter forbidden.

Among others the list specifies LESSING'S *Nathan der Weise*; SCHILLER'S *Fiesco*, *Tell* and his *Kabale und Liebe*; GOETHE'S *Egmont*, and (what is verily incomprehensible) SHAKESPEARE'S *King Lear* and many of his tragedies, and all his historical plays except *Richard the Third*. "Can such things be, and overcome us like a summer's cloud, without our special wonder?"

As the editor of the *Blätter* truly says, the principle which seems to have guided the Russian Censor is an "impenetrable mystery," but we cannot so heartily give assent to the justness of his remarks when he adds, "it is, however, as clear as day that this is a new proof of the determination of the Russian government to put down Germanism in the lands around the Baltic," unless we yield the claim, so dear to the Teutonic heart, of original and exclusive possession, by virtue of appreciation, in William Shakespeare.

ENGLAND has lost one of her greatest men. John Stuart Mill died at Avignon, in the first days of May. We have space only for the briefest sketch of a philosopher who has done more than any other individual to give a directing impulse to modern thought. He was born May 20th, 1806. His father was the distinguished historian of India and utilitarian thinker, James Mill. The son received a most careful and thorough education, but was never sent to a University. His father was an officer of the East India Company, and secured for his son an appointment at the India House. This situation Stuart Mill retained until 1858, when the Sepoy insurrection led to the resumption by the Crown of the immense powers and domains of the company. Mill, upon his retirement, was offered by Lord Stanley a seat in the East India Council; but he had determined to devote the remainder of his life to philosophy and public affairs. In 1865 he was elected Member of Parliament from Westminster, and his speeches in the House of Commons, although delivered in a weak voice and with a hesitating manner, were listened to with the most profound attention, and did much to influence public opinion on the questions which they discussed. He was, alike by descent and conviction,

an advanced Liberal, but differed from his party on some details, especially on the ballot and on the representation of minorities. The former he regarded with cordial dislike ; the latter he did his best to secure, and succeeded, almost in the teeth of the party leaders, in having the experiment of proportional representation fairly tried. At the next general election he was not returned, and thenceforward occupied himself with the political philosophy and the ethical sciences which always lay nearest to his heart.

But Mr. Mill's chief greatness is in his writings. Omitting his minor essays, we come first to his *Logic*, which still remains, perhaps, his most famous work, and which was published in 1843 ; then came the *Essay on Liberty* ; then the *Dissertations and Discussions* ; then the *Principles of Political Economy*, the *Considerations on Representative Government*, and the *Examination of Hamilton's Philosophy*. The *Subjection of Women*, his last volume, bears date in 1869. If any of these can be selected as those which will longest remain associated with their author's name, they will, probably, be the *Logic* and the *Political Economy* ; but on all are the marks of a most original, profound and lucid intellect. The union of such an intellect with a pure and noble morality is a phenomenon too rare not to command our profound admiration.

THE necrology of this year, and indeed of several years past, has contained no American name more distinguished than that of Salmon P. Chase. A man of powerful intellect, of strong character, of lofty integrity, of spotless morals, he had completed a harmonious and successful life. It is said that he was disappointed ; that he sought the presidency, and, failing to secure it, was unhappy. Undoubtedly, his consciousness of great powers, and a natural desire to exercise them in an active field, led him to do that which his best friends could have wished undone. But the ambition of a great man, in a free country, to obtain an office like the presidency, is highly honorable if his means are ; and Mr. Chase used no other. He may be called successful ; he deserves to be called great, who was a leader in the American Senate in its noblest days ; who was a power in the Cabinet with Seward and Stanton, and who sat with honor in the seat of Marshall. It is a striking fact, that there is no man in the United

States to-day to whom men's eyes instinctively turn as the successor of Chief Justice Chase.

THE story of Captain Hall's death, as we have it from the survivors of the *Polaris*, is sad enough and singular. The accounts as yet are meager: that of the ice breaking up and separating the vessel from half of her crew, has been severely criticised. But then there are persons who still cling to the belief that Stanley did not discover Livingstone. The result of this latest vain endeavor to reach the inhospitable Pole, or find the Northern Passage, is not likely to tempt other adventurers to follow, but there will undoubtedly be always found men ready and willing to make the attempt. The dreadful tales of suffering and distress, and often loss of life, that are the chief bequests to us of those who have been sharers in the dangers of these exploring expeditions, certainly go a long way toward inducing us to forgive the hasty rudeness of that impulsive individual who so offended a friend of Sydney Smith's, by anathematizing the North Pole and even speaking disrespectfully of the Equator.

THE President of the United States sees in the Louisiana anarchy one thing at least, and that clearly, his duty, namely, to support the negroes. This satisfaction of calm conviction is perhaps all the more precious that it is peculiarly his own. While the country stands helplessly looking upon the shame it cannot prevent and would not defend, and to its disgrace feels the added pang that the hands into which less than a year ago it laid with such noble confidence the charge of completing the reconciliation of the rebellious States, are the ones now stupidly betraying it, General Grant having put Casey into the Custom House, and kept Kellogg in the Capitol, regards his duty to Louisiana as done. The white men in one county butcher the blacks, and the blacks throughout the State are pillaging the whites. Durell makes his decrees and General Emory shows a high degree of professional fidelity, so that the Administration is well served and chaos continues.

THAT extraordinary spasm, the Illinois farmer's movement, has by this time shown that sudden beginnings do not always imply

sudden endings. The rebellion is a fixed fact and the "Granges" have established their claim to be recognized as belligerents. The revolutionists have not yet formulated their grievances in a satisfactory way, and have even thus early in the affair involved themselves in the free trade and protection controversy. They seem, however, to have dropped their foolish talk about soulless corporations and to perceive that the source of the trouble lies back of the railroads, who by a portion both of the protection and free-trade press are justified in their freight charges. From the multitude of suggestions and theories called forth by this matter, relevant and irrelevant, we may pick out two or three. One point is made that, owing to high duties on their iron, etc., the railroads cannot be expected to carry for less than their present rates. Another is, that a lowering of the rates would simply result in an increase in the supply and the farmers be as far as ever from selling at a profit. Another, that the West should endeavor to create a home demand, and to this end set about manufacturing for themselves. Whether the poor Titans will listen to the voice of reason and learn wisdom in their struggles is problematical; certainly bullying the legislature and bribing the bench will not command any great amount of intelligent sympathy for complainants who put themselves upon the country at large, asking it to do away with the "Dartmouth College" doctrine by an amendment to the Constitution of the United States. The farmers, if they accomplish nothing else, have at least brought us several steps nearer to the real issues of the future, and for this we owe them not a little.

THE Modocs, after another month, are still holding out, and have, as all know, inflicted a deplorable defeat upon our troops, with the loss among others of two brave young officers, Thomas and Harris. The ultimate conquest of this tribe, if such it may be called, cannot be far off, and a general insurrection of the Oregon Indians seems not to be imminent, perhaps because there is not a great deal of fellow-feeling between them and the Modocs. One indicative difference prevails—that of their respective personal nomenclatures, Ellen's Jim, Thacknasty Jake, Bogus Charley, etc., being eminently *Christian* names. When the Modocs are exterminated—and, like Twain's parson, we are anxious to say a good

word over the grave we may call to mind that they only murdered those of us whom they could catch, and spared us allusions to the setting sun, the pale-faces, the Great Father and all the rest of it. The Modocs, however, are not exterminated, and Captain Jack, dressed in General Canby's uniform, leads his men, says the newspaper reporter, "like a brigadier."

THE Peace Policy of the Administration has come through its last ordeal not without credit. The chief committee have written a temperate and reasonable letter, and the howl of the newspapers has nearly subsided. The Quaker party is not as sentimental as formerly, and how far three bullets through the body may modify one's feelings toward the person shooting, an extract from Commissioner Meacham's report will show: "We believe that complete subjugation by the military is the only method to deal with these Indians." Friend Hoag, who has had no such wholesome experience, thinks the government very much to blame in sending certain young engineers into the Cheyenne country; that they were murdered by the Cheyennes, was partly, therefore, the fault of the government in putting them there, and partly their own in being surveyors; for if there is one object more than another which has a painfully exciting effect upon the perhaps too delicate susceptibility of the Indian temperament, it is a theodolite—which means railroads.

By the death of the Hon. Hugh McCallister, the Constitutional Convention lost an excellent member, and the Commonwealth a worthy and valuable citizen. He was a noble specimen of the Scotch-Irish Pennsylvanians—was endowed with all their grit and staunchness of purpose, their clear-headed common sense, their thorough, conscientious uprightness and their almost Celtic vehemence of conviction and energy of action. He was in a great measure a recognized *ensor morum*, even in the exemplary community in which he lived, and his public spirit—an old-fashioned eighteenth century virtue—was manifest on every hand. He took especial interest in agricultural affairs, and was the working trustee of the State Agricultural College, which is situated within a few miles of his home in Bellefonte. To him it owes very much of the success that it has attained to in later

years after long and disheartening struggles with external and internal disadvantages.

On his own model farm he resolved to show that central Pennsylvania could grow on her stony hill-sides as many bushels of corn to the acre as the richest prairies, and he succeeded, raising one year a hundred measured bushels. As a lawyer he was thorough and patient, though not a brilliant orator. His personal character often gave his words great weight with a jury, so that it was never a pleasure to see him "on the other side." In church matters he was a Presbyterian elder, a progressive man of the Old School, who regretted that the rush and hurry of modern church-life had made godliness a matter of public meetings and popular agitation, and less a matter of household training and family culture than in old times, while he was ready to lead on a crusade against established abuses, such as the pew system, to whose abolition in his church and his synod he contributed greatly. In the household circle he was a center of affectionate love and tender reverence to all his family.

PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION.

TO that majority of voters which, in our order of society, is invested with the Sovereignty of the state, elections give their chief opportunity for exertion of power

For the various purposes of government, the domain of our Sovereign is divided and subdivided into an infinity of communities, varying in size and in the interests that unite them from precinct to State. The larger community includes the less, but each is within its sphere independent of others of the same species, and each voter is a member of many kinds of communities. With this labyrinthine subdivision the number of offices required is immense. Most of these offices are filled at short intervals through the choice of the majority of electors in the respective communities. The officers who are not thus elected are dependent upon those who are.

It is, then, through the medium of these agents that our Sovereign transacts his government. Nomination and election are the chief acts of his supremacy, and the success of their results may well be regarded as a gage of our national progress.

How, then, do we stand to-day? Is it progress, or is it retrogression?

A polity such as ours implies an abiding faith in the good intentions of the masses of the voters—a faith in their general desire that the fittest officers be chosen. To this desire a sense of duty and self-interest alike lead. With this vantage ground we are safe, provided the moral sense of the community be kept watchful and its self-interest enlightened. But in this current the progressive forces of society should never rest upon their oars. History is a process, not a condition, and no people can long live secure on the credit of its reputation. The “best government the world ever saw,” like other instruments of Providence, holds its office only on the tenure of good behavior.

A sense of the frailty (for us) of this tenure is forcing itself upon our conviction. We live in an era of transformation. A cluster of sea-board colonies of English freemen has developed into a Continental Empire, whose citizenship is recruited from every species of men, and from every nation. At a time when inventions indefinitely multiply human power, a new race, the spoiled child of fortune, is forming itself to control a new continent, and is exultant in lightly-gained and unexampled wealth. With such alteration of conditions, the whole moral culture of the citizen, the ideals of character, the models of success may themselves undergo change.

In spite, then, of our record of American civic virtue, it is not strange that when demoralization appears, as it does to-day, in every department of government, it should excite, not merely dissatisfaction, but serious alarm. To many observant eyes these signs of the times have seemed portentous of still greater evils. The experience of Spanish-America, close at hand, is ominous, and Greece, Rome, and later, France, have as much to say of the fall, as of the rise, of Republics.

But the future of the Republic lies in the hands of our people, that same people which stifled disunion and suppressed human slavery. It was not ruined by the Democratic party; nor is it

yet ruined by the Republican party; why may it not outgrow both? Let us hope that the evils of to-day may merely precipitate an unremitting and more earnest contest with the ever-present causes of political corruption: which has now grown to be our second slavery, a "peculiar institution" of North and South, and East and West, alike "domestic" in all our States.

The causes which have contributed to our present condition are of course manifold and varied as human life itself. Most effective among them, however, are those institutions of our polity which influence directly the supply of the *personnel* of government. These also are they which offer a conspicuous and attainable mark for practical reform.

Attention has, for example, been well directed to Suffrage, the foundation of our whole system, the practical basis of sovereignty. In this matter of suffrage a popular experiment has been long on trial. Its theory asserts suffrage to be a so-called "right," rather than a privilege. The elective franchise is regarded rather as a necessary property of manhood than as a mere institution of the State. Under this now prevalent doctrine an equal share of sovereignty in proportion to their number is accorded to the irresponsible, the unstable, the ignorant, the alien, the vicious, and the criminal elements of the male population. This equal share of power is granted too in communities of every species, without distinction as to the objects for which such community may have been constituted. Everywhere votes are counted, not weighed. Still further, an important party to-day maintains that this "right" of man is also a right of woman. Again, the passage or strict enforcement of registry laws, the substitution in certain cases of appointment for election, the lengthening of the terms of certain offices, the enlargement of the numbers of deliberative bodies, new methods for discipline and removal of officers, and for securing the better use of the appointing power—these and many other suggestions of reform have been the themes of earnest discussion.

By their side an important place has long and, as I believe, rightly been assigned to Minority or Proportional Representation.

The following paper is an attempt to bring into clear light the nature and history of this theory and to enumerate and discuss the methods hitherto suggested to put it into practice.

In view of popular misunderstanding of the scope of this sub-

ject, attention should be called, at the threshold of discussion, to the fact that Proportional Representation affects only the election of collegial¹ officers—that is, of members of legislative bodies and boards. Three is the lesser limit. Evidently there can be no *proportional* representation of a majority when it elects only one of two—that is, no more than the minority elects—nor, again, of the minority if there be but one officer to elect. The ordinance of the Constitution, which gave to the majority an Adams for President, and a Jefferson for Vice-president to the minority party, is only a seeming exception to this rule.

It will be advantageous clearly to set forth before proceeding further some of the peculiarities of our present election system which it is proposed to improve, premising that inasmuch as the details vary in different States our outline can aim only at approximate correctness.

It is important first to notice that the different communities are often subdivided into districts, electing each a share of the officers for the whole community. Within these districts the practice is as follows—and first of Nomination; that portion of our system which exists in obedience to custom only, and without the sanction of positive law. In each voting district the executive committee-man of each great national party calls a “preliminary meeting.” The plurality of those present nominate candidates for the party convention. A “primary meeting” follows, in which a plurality of those present elect one or more delegates to the convention. In the party convention a majority nominate party candidates for all offices to be filled by election. The number of those active in the first stages is very small, and from first to last the various results are affected by the action of caucuses. Outside of the national party organizations smaller local parties sometimes make nominations by abridgments of the above machinery, and sometimes independent candidates are proposed by themselves or their friends. Then follows Election proper, established and regulated by constitution and statute. In it the

¹I must ask indulgence for the infrequent but here useful word “collegial.” “Three make a college” is an old Latin saying. The term applies equally to all bodies of men acting together, to the voters of France effecting a plebiscite, as well as to a Polish Diet of a hundred thousand, or to a committee of three.

plurality of votes cast determines the election of all the candidates voted on.

Apart from the peculiarities of these divisions into districts, to which our attention will hereafter be more specially drawn, the most noteworthy features of this machinery for choosing officers may be classed as follows:

First, the completeness of the organization of national parties, its undemocratic character and its immense power.

Second, that the final choice of candidates is conditioned by the successive decisions of a hierarchy of pluralities which are themselves more or less under the influence of small knots of men.

Third, that the question practically put to each electing body is, "Shall such and such members of one party, or such and such members of another party, fill certain offices, and represent either the sum of all parties voting, or, if it be the final election, the whole people of the given district?"

Fourth, that the decision of all questions is put, without restriction, into the hands of a plurality or majority of each electing body.

Now, the changes demanded in the interest of equality of representation directly affect the composition of the districts and the third and fourth classes above alluded to, while it is also hoped that they will tend indirectly to relieve us from the evils indicated in the first and second classes.

The rationale of Proportional Representation may be thus simply stated. Of the two kinds of collegial bodies, the electing and the deliberative, the latter is the creature of the former, the trustee and guardian of its interests. In order, then, that it may guard these interests more effectually they are to be represented in proportion. For example, if two-fifths and three-fifths represent the relative strength of the two parties among the voters, then one party should elect its three-fifths, the other its two-fifths, of the members of the representative body. This theory, then, applied to the whole body of voters, gives their various interests each its proper strength in the body elected, and applied within parties, gives to all shades of opinion their proportional weight in the selection of party candidates. Like the provisions of the first article of the Constitution, it would forbid the perform-

ance of certain acts injurious to the interests of the people. It demands a manner of election through which fitter representatives be secured to the people, and that the people be as fairly heard when they speak by deputy in elected bodies as when they speak in person at the ballot-box. The object of reform is thus simply to *make representative bodies really representative.*

It should also at the outset be observed with reference to nomination, that this reform can only affect it indirectly. Proportional representation, when it comes, will come through legislation, and for those great wrongs done by our apparatus of nomination the law provides no direct remedy. But statute and constitution prescribe the method of election; and, happily for the people, here is the very root of the matter, and by changes here the modes of selection within parties will be materially affected.

It is then asked that in the election of a deliberative body the whole constituency of such body *may be so districted and the question submitted to the voters be such and be so decided*, that the various parties of voters may each elect their due proportion of members. Here then we see a demand for the curtailment of the majorities' monopoly of electoral power within each electing district; an infringement of the majesty of "majority rule."

It is, however, common, greatly to magnify the extent of this infringement. Let me, as an advocate of reform, say, before proceeding further, that as for the dignity of this principle of majority rule, it seems to me to stand on the same firm foundation with our primary ideas of the greater and the less, and with our first observations of force. I doubt not that from the origin of society in all bodies politic, public and private—and by such either as electing or deliberative bodies have the chief functions of political society been performed—this rule has been recognized. It may well be said to exist *jure gentium*, by the law common to all nations, to be an integral part of that which in the words of Gaius, "natural reason has ordained among all men." But wide as the sway of this principle has been, it has no claim to exemption from the fate of all other maxims of government and of all other rules of law. The universality of "principles" is a fiction. It is only in pure idea that they can ever be said to be universal. Their influence on action fluctuates from year to year, and it is but the policy of the time that directs their application.

How much of its pristine power in matters of opinion is to-day left in the hands of a majority? We know that freedom of thought and of conscience has grown with the restriction of its province, and that where once it was supreme it is to-day but a king of shreds and patches. Again, what says the wisdom of our time of the jurisdiction of the majority in matter of action, of government its ancient stronghold? The rights of freemen—our constitutional privileges, our system of checks and balances—what do they but simply say to the majority, “thus far shalt thou go and no farther.”

Within the narrow province left it by these limitations, the majority's power remains in the main undisturbed. But what shall we say of the rules governing deliberative bodies, of Parliamentary Law? They transfer the sword of veto power to the hands of the minority. Every two-thirds rule, every three-fourths rule, every rule requiring unanimity annihilates, as far as it goes, the right of decision of the majority. Here is no “*proportional*” representation. This is the true field of *minority* representation, pure, and simple, and here we have it with a vengeance, yet hardly a deliberative body in the world is free from these restraints. And in spite of all, these, too, are counted among the checks and balances that makes civil liberty secure. Evidently, then, even within its legitimate sphere is the application of this principle still open to question. Even if it were sought seriously to disturb the majority's rights of governing, there would be no lack of respected precedents.

But Proportional Representation meditates no such attacks as these within the jurisdiction of this great maxim of government. I have at least not heard the suggestion that the people imitate in their constitutions the famous “Two-thirds Rule” of 1832, by which Democratic national conventions were made helpless to nominate their best men. Popular opinion does not, however, recognize these distinctions: it is over the majority's Right of Government as opposed to the minority's Right of Representation that the war has for years been waged. That confusion of thought should result was inevitable. These expressions, admirable as they are for some uses, are here partial and one-sided. Possibly the speculations of Calhoun and others upon a hierarchy of minorities triumphing in veto power and the right of secession may have

contributed to obscure their sense. It is on account of the inadequacy of other terms that I have emphasized "Proportional" Representation as the one, in my belief, the most fruitful in correct meaning. "Proportional representation of the preferences of voters" rightly carries with it the idea of equality, of justice, of a representation that is truly representative. Without disturbing in its province the rule of the majority, it presents an unanswerable claim for the representation of all.

That a doctrine not merely so harmless, but so beneficent as this, should have met with opposition is, I believe, mainly due to this radical misconception of its nature. This simple development of the very theory of representation has been calmly maintained to be inconsistent with the "fundamental principles of democratic government."

Upon this subject one can unfortunately find traces, even in our Constitutional Conventions, of ignorance as profound, thought as wild, and sentiment as maudlin as might well find itself at home in a French Republican assembly. It is a touch of that same national weakness for generalization, for elevating the temporarily expedient into the universal. That cunningly compounded stimulant of French philosophy, which Jefferson and his friends administered to our people, was certainly for the time a strength-giving tonic; but the much-heralded divine elixir it was not. The reaction came, long and dark, and we are but now emerging from it; yet, looking back from the vantage ground of to-day upon our once provincial past, we thank heaven for the stimulus they gave. But when we hear some of our most "remarkable" statesmen and editors trying to make, or, worse than all, succeeding in making, empty French phrases pass current for Anglo-American political wisdom, then we fervently pray we may soon get the last remnants of the drug out of our systems.

Surely if there be in American Democracy a vital truth, it is that the Right to Decide is one thing and the Right to be Represented is another. The right to decide belongs properly to deliberative bodies, the right to be represented to electing bodies, and neither need invade the province of the other. Their functions are diametrically different, and that majority rule which in the one is the dictate of wisdom, is in the other, except for the choice of single officers, the mere whisper of partisan cunning.

The duty of a deliberative body is to *act*; to act, as we have seen, upon that endless multiplicity of objects which lie within the sphere of government. This sphere is, in free countries, narrowed down by constitution, by statute, and by the "common law" of reason and of morals. * Even within this sphere the law further determines what number of members shall in various cases wield the sovereign power of the whole. It is then within the close confines of these double conditions that the free will of the majority can act in matters of government proper. Here, and only here, is to-day its recognized right of decision. On the other hand, the business of an electing body is one and simple; it is merely to choose its representatives. And what are they but men who are to represent the people? Who, then, has a right to be represented? The people. Has not, then, one fraction of the people the same share in this right which another equal fraction has? In the eyes of that policy that aims at human progress there is but one answer to this question; and, indeed, few will dare to deny in so many words that wherever it is practicable it is also expedient to secure justice and equality before the law.

No one who has dwelt observantly upon our national experience in this matter, and knows the fervor of interest with which many of our best minds have regarded Proportional Representation, can well avoid feeling that, in the light of to-day, still to allow a fraction of voters to choose out of their own number representatives for the whole people, would appear but as the makeshift expedient of a careless time—which neglects to give its best thought to politics, the highest social concern of man. It is only on a small scale, of course, that the existence of such an abuse is still possible to-day. It would be salutary for those who oppose Proportional Representation on "principle," to remember that it is not by the few who to-day talk and write about it that the effective force of this idea is to be measured. They are but the vanguard of the thinking men of this country; the moral sense of the nation is behind them, but, for the most part, stationary—a latent force. Their merit is chiefly that their advance may stimulate the main body to move forward in that line of conquest over false democracy entered upon so long ago.

What, for example, do the voters of Ohio think of this question? Acting as a deliberative body, with the State as one district,

the voters of Ohio, by their majority, said yes to the Constitutional Convention, and the thing was done; it was within the legitimate range of the majority's right of decision. Who thinks of appealing from that decision? Suppose, however, the voters of Ohio, acting as an electing body, were to choose their legislature, as they do their governor, by their general State ticket. What would public opinion say to this application of the "fundamental principles of democratic government?" We should have a unanimous Republican legislature, but we should also have the State up in arms. Party victory is good, but victory like this would shame the victors into retreat, and if that legislature were true to its duty, it would either redistrict the State as now, or else, let us hope, adopt some other and better plan to give fair representation to the Democratic minority. Unless, then, I utterly mistake the tone of opinion, the theory of equality of political rights in matter of representation is not a novelty in this State.

There is, in fact, no justification whatever for indifference or opposition to this reform in the assertion that it is a "new idea," or a "mere theory." The principle lay inclosed in the very seed of representative government, and it has not lacked recognition from American statesmen at any period of our history. Ever since the government was founded, the matter has been from time to time discussed, and if the various changes of our State and national systems, which have had this as their object, could be brought to public notice, they would serve most effectually to point the moral of reform to-day. Our past presents in this connection a most instructive, and, as far as I know, a hitherto untrodden field.

Let us, for example, glance at what we may call our great National Scheme of Proportional Representation. This system of election of Congressmen became popular and was adopted at a period when discussion of methods of reform was in its infancy. The question at any given time, what special change is desirable, depends of course for its answer on the nature of the evils then to be remedied, and on the then state of popular knowledge as to the remedies obtainable. In this case the chief evils were that the majority elected all the representatives and that the caucus controlled the nominations. Nothing was then known even of the various improved systems of elections which are

already in use in various parts of the world. It was to one feature alone of the system, to the district, that the statesmen of that time thought to apply remedial change. In the first years of the government there were, in the various States, three plans of election of Congressmen in use—the General Ticket, in which the State made one district; the County System, where the State contained several districts, electing more or less members, according to their population, and the so-called Single District, where the State was divided into as many districts as there were Congressmen to elect.

As we have before indicated, the manner in which an electing body is "districted" is a matter of immense moment. The methods of nomination, the average character of the candidates, the representation of parties, and, with these, popular opinion and party spirit, are all variously affected by the peculiar formation of the electing districts.

Reviewing the above plans of division, we observe that the County System adapts itself to varying circumstances; and being based upon existing territorial divisions, as well as on the claims of local interests, we naturally look to find it in history first in the order of time and in the range of its influence. Certainly, since the rise of modern representative government this same easy rule of practice has been most commonly observed. It is the natural out-growth of convenience rather than the product of political theory.

The General Ticket is, on the other hand, the full application of that so-called "principle of democratic government," which teaches that the right of representation belongs, not to the people, but to the majority alone, which raises to its highest power in electing bodies that right of decision which in deliberative bodies is, as we have seen, so jealously limited. Under this system, in the words of one of its distinguished defenders in Congress: "The majority elects all the members; the minority have no rights beyond the ballot-box." This "principle" has, however, never been fully applied. I have never heard, at least, that the chronic disease of republics, the majority's tyranny, has ever attacked us in so violent a form. The people of the United States never join in a general election, and the General Ticket is, as we know it in our national elections, merely an extension of the County System. The State lines are granite

barriers, on which party spirit has made no impression, and thus, with us, the General Ticket might better be called a "State system."

The Single District system differs from the others in adapting itself readily neither to existing territorial divisions, nor to those changes of apportionment which must naturally occur from time to time, and hence partakes somewhat of an arbitrary character. It represents a theory of political reform opposed to that of the General Ticket and practically identical with that of our subject.

As regards proportional representation of parties, there is accordingly a very marked difference in these systems. While the General Ticket silences minorities entirely, the County System usually enables the lesser party to succeed in some portions of the constituency, while the Single District, on the other hand, secures an approach even to "full and fair representation." The advantage is evidently due to that law of chances which forbids that the party having a majority in the whole State should have a majority in each separate district; and the greater the number of districts the greater the chance of fair representation of minorities. As compared with the General Ticket, therefore, the County System, and as compared with either, the Single District, indicates a movement of reform. Now it is in this connection a significant fact, that, whereas, in the early years of the government half of the original States elected Representatives by General Ticket, while others maintained the County System, to-day every Congressman, from one end of the country to the other, is chosen in a separate district.

It was, of course, by slow stages that this change was brought about. Within the interval most of the States have been the scene of debate upon, and changes in, their various modes of election. Some of the original States maintained the General Ticket for a long period; new States established it at the beginning of their career, while others adopted it for a time to gratify partisan aims. It was in the smaller States defended chiefly as a bulwark against the oppression of larger States, and also more or less openly as a trenchant weapon in the hands of party. But the presence of the Single District system in some of the States stimulated the movement of reform. Virginia and others had adopted this system at the start, and some new States, among which we are

proud to number Ohio, followed upon their lead. The matter was soon pressed upon the attention of Congress. In 1800 a Constitutional amendment, introducing single districts both in the choice of electors and of representatives, was there discussed. Two years later the legislatures of North Carolina and Vermont urged this amendment upon Congress, and that of New York also pressed an amendment with reference to electors. In North Carolina the interest remained unabated, and her legislature took action repeatedly upon this subject. A bill is said to have passed the Senate in 1812 as to single districts, and later, from 1814 to 1816, the merits of the two systems were debated at great length, and the Single District was supported as giving, in the words of Mr. Pickens, of North Carolina, "a fair representation of the minority, allowing every section its proper and distinct weight, and destroying the power of caucuses and self-appointed committees." In 1816 the legislatures of Virginia and Massachusetts made recommendations to Congress as to the Single District in the choice of electors. In 1820 such a resolution was offered in the House as to representatives and electors. In 1823 an elaborate report in favor of the Single District was presented by the committee on the amendment, of which Mr. MacDuffie was chairman; the General Ticket was pronounced "inconsistent with the true theory of a popular representation," and the necessity "that local minorities should have a fair and full representation in Congress," was fully recognized. Twenty years later, when more than one-fourth of the States still elected by General Ticket, this reform had assumed a more imposing shape; opinion was then stimulated into action by the danger that the General Ticket, already exclusively in use in the choice of presidential electors, might now be universally adopted in congressional elections. Such a proposition had indeed already been discussed in various States, among which were Kentucky, Indiana, Pennsylvania and New York, whose influence might well have turned the scale. On the apportionment under the sixth census an amendment to the bill was proposed compelling the introduction of the Single District system in all the States. The whole question was again debated at great length; but mainly on State-rights grounds. On the merits, the difference of opinion was diametrical; it was well urged against the Single District that it exposed the country to the danger of

“gerrymandering” and other forms of corruption, and lowered the character of the representative ; but also, in the same breath, it was declared that “the exclusive representation of majorities was the only principle reconcilable with the idea of free government !” Mr. Berrien, of Georgia, could, however, say little better for the General Ticket than that the aggregate minority left unrepresented by the Single District might be as great as that left under the General Ticket. On the whole, there was, in the words of Mr. Pendleton, of Ohio, “a singular unanimity in favor of the Single District ;” the General Ticket was denounced “as a matter prejudice and party power,” “outrageous upon the rights of minorities,” “unjust, revolting to every idea of republicanism, disfranchising the minority, the conservative power,” etc. The bill was passed and remained in force until 1852. The General Ticket having subsequently appeared in California and Minnesota, a similar law was passed in 1862, and this chartered injustice vanished, probably forever, from our congressional elections.

In State elections, however, the County System still prevails to some extent. Ohio, for example maintains the rule she adopted as a Territory. Hamilton county, which seventy years ago elected eight representatives and four senators, elects, with her diminished territory, her nine and three still. Here, therefore, the General Ticket is, on a small scale, still preserved, and thus the national scheme of electoral reform has not as yet been fully carried out among us.

What, then, is the judgment of to-day upon the Single District, this scheme of representation, which is still in force in our national elections, and observed to such an extent in the States? How has it served the purposes that brought it into life? Is there anything in it that justifies the country in halting in its progress and resting content with this reform of the past? Surely, he who considers what our statesmen aimed at in establishing this system and compares this with what they have accomplished, cannot believe that they themselves would be satisfied with their work. That its substitution for the General Ticket was a national blessing can hardly admit of a doubt. But the partial reform of one age is the abuse of the next. How does this much-lauded scheme look in the light of to-day?

This Single District system aimed to do three things : to secure proportional representation of parties, to give distinct local inter-

ests a hearing, and to break the power of selfish or corrupt managers of nomination. How does it accomplish these ends?

As for fairness of representation, it is but a lame affair at best. It was said in the debate of 1842, "It is true a choice by districts has its minorities, but what is lost in one district is gained in another." Now if this were literally true, it would not give the best method of representation. The lesser party in one district is not best represented by the party candidate in some remote quarter of the State. But this is never literally true. The scales can never be even. Now one party, now the other, has less than its share; and while the majority usually has the advantage, yet it may happen that the minority of electors elect a majority of representatives. In spite then of this supremacy of local majorities, the majority of the whole constituency may after all be beaten. Our present scheme, then, strikes against "majority rule," and with deadly effect. Reform is to-day not in the interest of the minority alone. The safety of the majority demands it also. Alabama once resorted to the General Ticket on the ground, that if she retained her districts a large Democratic majority of voters would elect a Whig majority to Congress. Such cases do not stand alone. The reform demanded to-day aims, for example, to make impossible such a spectacle as the Ohio Legislature of 1867, when a Republican majority of voters were subjected to the oppressive rule of a Democratic legislature. Had such an accident as this—and at every election we fear its repetition—occurred at a crisis of affairs, a revolution might have resulted.

The argument in favor of the Single District that it gives distinct local interests a hearing, is to-day in part neutralized by the rapidity of travel and the facilities of communication; and in any case the objection told less against large districts than against the irresponsible rule of the State caucus. And, indeed, had this advantage of the Single District but stood alone, it would have been outweighed entirely by the higher average of character of men elected in large districts. In this respect the Single District system is utterly unsatisfactory. It has by no means tended to bring the best men the country had to offer into the public service. There are in every State men better fitted to represent the whole country than a district. The fortunes of local partisan war have

everywhere left in comparative inactivity men who in a larger field would neither have lacked the stimulus to action nor the means of success. It is this "false democracy," as Mr. J. S. Mill has well called it, "giving representation to local majorities alone," that has besides done us great harm in lowering the tone of public opinion as to the true relation of the office-holder to the country. This is one of the serious dangers of the time. The faithful special pleader for his district is too seldom a fit trustee of the public interests of one of the chief nations of the world.

It needs no argument to show that, other things being equal, increased range of selection must necessarily affect the average character of candidates. Indeed, on this point the weight of authority is overwhelming; it comprises the ablest defenders of the General Ticket, and the most candid advocates of the Single District, as well as the champions of more advanced reforms. The excellent report of Mr. MacDuffie, which in a singular degree combines clearness of thought with earnestness for reform, fairly recognizes this objection to his cherished scheme. He maintains, however, that there is nothing to prevent the districts from choosing any man they wish within the State. Unfortunately, experience has destroyed the force of this answer. Residence within the district has been almost invariably regarded as indispensable. In the debate of 1842, Mr. Underwood said of the large district: "It would raise the character of the representative, break the mere shake-hands and grog-shop influence, and require more weight of character to secure an election." The report of the Senate Committee on Electoral Reform, of 1869, strongly expresses this opinion, and, coming from such men, it has great weight. And again, Mr. Mill's praise of the Hare scheme is, in large part, due to Mr. Hare's idea of giving the English voter the opportunity to select his candidates from all Great Britain, rather than from a single borough or county.

Among the positive evils of the Single District "gerrymandering" stands in recognized prominence. Despite the abuse visited for sixty years upon this poisonous weapon of party warfare, it still proves its popularity at each returning census. In addition to this, the practical difficulty of attaining a fair division of population is not unimportant. For example, in 1852, while in the second dis-

trict of Ohio, 76,538 population received one member, there were in the eleventh district 110,280.

As to the looked-for influence of the Single District system in permanently improving the methods of nomination, little that is encouraging can be said to-day. Whatever results may have been attained in the past, it is certain that there is throughout the country a general dissatisfaction as to the way in which nominations are managed. Corruption and chance are seen to be very important elements in determining who the party nominees shall be. How often does one vote for the man whom, of all others, he, individually, would wish to see in office? Half the time we vote with our party not so much because we wish especially to elect our party candidate, as rather because we wish to see his opponent defeated.

But while it is common to hear very plain speaking as to the abuses of party organization, we all know that party is an indispensable feature of our political life. Without it, indeed, democracy is, to a certain extent, a fiction. Party has attained among us an extraordinary activity, and while too much stress can hardly be laid on the abuses that accompany it, it is only hopelessly unpractical reformers who repine at its existence. Americans are a full-grown people. They have arrived at years of discretion, and they are determined to know what "measures" as well as what "men" they are voting for, and in order to secure beyond a peradventure the support of party measures, party organization is indispensable. While, therefore, the citizen does well to show how especially liable our present party organization is to corrupt influences, and to point out and combat those influences, he must also admit that such organization, even if fallen into the very worst hands, may have an indisputable claim upon his allegiance. New parties afford no panacea for these ills, and he who desires progress would do well to recognize that there is no escape from the dilemma but through the gateway of radical reform. Under our present plan of election it may well happen, for example, that, in a great political crisis, the honorable jurist, and statesman X, a Federalist, has opposed to him, as the Republican candidate, the corrupt party hack, M. Notwithstanding this the majority, and the better class of voters, support and elect the latter, and for the inexpugnable reason that the former, though by far the

"best man," is not "sound on the main question." M was, of course, not the best man the Republican party had to offer, but he and his friends had party power and a talent for intrigue; the proper wires had been pulled, and the party convention nominated him. What could the voters do? To "bolt," or to vote for another man of one's own party, would be to endanger the party's chance of success. If the district elected several collegial officers, recourse might, it is true, in case of an outrageous party nomination, be sought in "a mixed ticket," but to vote such is to desert one's party, and as States are now districted, is to jeopardize the party's ultimate success, and it is withal at best but selecting from two party tickets instead of one. Were there, however, any relief from this stifling party pressure, any method by which, without endangering party ends, better men could exert their influence, and voters express their *best* preferences, any chance for successful rebellion against the tyranny of corrupt intriguers, the result would have been different.

It is claimed that Proportional Representation offers a large measure of relief: that it is owing to a vicious system and an unenlightened public opinion that this tyranny exists, and that were these obstacles removed, those who, on good party grounds were resolved to defeat X might have also defeated M, and have carried the election with the equally sound but respectable man A, or the better man B, or possibly the best man C.

We have become so accustomed to our custom of nomination and our system of election that by many the necessity of their continuance is taken for granted. Good citizens reply to the demand for a radical change, that "the only true way to reform is to reform from within." Undoubtedly, a bad system well administered is better than a good system ill administered; and any system whatever must depend for its usefulness on the support of good citizens. But to reform from within although it is a good, is not the only way—and here it is not the best way. Other things being equal, it is a great gain to have a good system. Surely an American ought to know what a political institution means; or are we ready to assure our English friends that there is no difference between an elected House of Commons and an hereditary House of Lords, and that the latter can readily be reformed "from within"?

The radical defect in our party organization is this: It pretends

to represent party, and this pretense is all. It really needs to represent to-day only those good and those not good men who are active in the early stages of nomination—those officials who are recognized as party leaders, and various office-holders and politicians who often by fair means, sometimes by corrupt means, lead the rank and file. This is our *imperium in imperio*. And what is the effect of the rule of this oligarchy in which the best men so often play so unimportant a part? The apparatus by which our party candidates are turned out resembles in many communities a kind of rough game of chance and skill combined. In playing this game with the purpose of winning, conscience and kid gloves are alike out of their element. Whatever his ability, it is singularly difficult for a man of integrity and refinement to “run” primary meetings and manage conventions. It can be done, but rarely. Thousands and thousands of good men make the attempt and serve the state by so doing, and those who do not try fail somewhat of their duty. It must, however, be recognized, in excuse of those who do not try, that they know they are not likely to accomplish anything if they do. The “way of the transgressor” is here so peculiarly easy that one’s “going into the fight” with the burden of a fine sense of honor is too much like the tortoise’s running a race. The less weight one carries of solid character and important occupations the more easy, and at the same time the more attractive, does the race become. This party machinery, which so often defeats the best ends of party, is so very complex that merely to “learn the ropes” requires much time and labor. A certain “natural diplomacy” withal or talent for “log-rolling,” is a further prerequisite of success. Still further, to apply the lessons, to remain a practical politician demands a constant expenditure of time. Now the men whose brains and consciences we wish to see more influential in party management are, for the most part, men of middle age, engrossed in their various avocations, in the support of their families, and in the gratification of their various ambitions. Even if committees, preliminary and primary meetings, conventions, and caucuses, and the rest of party machinery, offered agreeable recreation, many of these gentlemen might well, at the present rate of patriotism, have, or think they have, no time for them.

The popular tyrants, then, of fifty years ago, from which the Sin-

gle District was to free us, "the caucuses and self-appointed committees," are still in power to-day. The problem of reform in nominations is, now as then, how to change the conditions of this game of politics that honest players may have a fairer chance.

On proceeding to the discussion of more advanced schemes of reform we shall see to how great an extent the theory of Proportional Representation has now been developed, and that many improved schemes of election have been widely adopted, to put it into practice. In view of the arguments and facts which have been adduced, and of the recognition which, as we shall see, this simple and just theory has everywhere received, it is no more than right to ask for it a place in our constitutions. The interests of progress now imperatively demand of our Constitutional Conventions a clear enunciation of this principle, and legislatures should be authorized to adopt the best plan known for carrying it into practice. By this double stimulus public opinion would further be moved so to order party government as fully to meet in matter of nomination, the demands of a more elevated public morality.

The following outline of various schemes of reform is of course but a meager one, and it is impossible in a small space fairly to do them justice. The study and subsequent criticism of them were undertaken with a friend, to whom any credit the result may gain is due in equal share.¹

The Limited Vote was first proposed by Professor G. L. Craik, of Queens College, Belfast. His suggestion applied to so-called "three-cornered" districts, and provided that no ballot should contain the names of more than two candidates.

Among the notable examples of the working of this scheme are the Parliamentary elections in certain districts in England electing each three candidates, and in which the amendment to the reform act of 1867, moved by Lord Cairns, introduced the Limited Vote. It has also been applied in New York at the election of five judges of the Court of Appeals, at which no one can vote for more than three, and also in the choice of delegates at large to the Constitutional Convention. There were twenty to elect, and no ballot could contain more than ten votes. In various States,

¹Hon. J. Bryant Walker, late judge of the Superior Court of Cincinnati.

also, when two judges of election are to be elected, no one is allowed to vote for more than one, and the same rule is applied in the choice of supervisors, jury commissioners, etc.

Among the objections that have been urged with much force against this plan, as a general substitute for our present system, are that it aims to give the minority a fixed, and hence necessarily more or less disproportionate, number of representatives; and that it allows even this object to be lost from the ease with which close party combinations may either on the one hand give the majority all the candidates, or on the other secure the minority of voters a majority of representatives.

Another English scheme, the Cumulative Vote, has laid especial claim to popular favor, being said to give unrestricted play to the preferences of voters, and it has been heralded abroad from the Senate Chamber at Washington as the "free ballot" par excellence.

It is in this system that "plumpers" are enthroned; each voter having the right to cast as many votes as there are collegial officers to be voted for; these votes he may divide as he pleases, or he may "cumulate" them all upon one favored candidate.

This plan has been honored before all others by practical adoption. Its first actual trial is said to have taken place in 1856, in an English colony in the islands of Honduras bay. What effect it produced on these remote colonists we do not hear, but great fame has, as we shall see, attended this scheme elsewhere in our hemisphere. An amendment to the English reform act of 1867 was moved by Mr. Lowe, present Chancellor of the Exchequer, introducing the Cumulative Vote in certain parliamentary districts, and although it did not pass, it received the compliment of 178 votes.

In the New York Constitutional Convention, the introduction of this plan was ineffectually urged by Mr. Greeley. Subsequently, in 1869, on the motion of Senator Buckalew, of Pennsylvania, an important movement was made in the Senate to substitute the Cumulative Vote in the election of Congressmen, taking each State as one district, for the present Single District system. A select committee, composed of Senators Buckalew, Anthony, Ferry, Morton, Warner, Rice and Wade, made a report on the subject, and a bill was reported March 2, 1869, by Senator Wade. Under this plan voters in Cincinnati might cast plumpers of twenty votes each for a candidate living in Cleveland. The Senate re-

port declares this change to be a "withdrawal of inconvenient and odious restraint, and as enabling the citizen to exercise his right of suffrage according to his own judgment and discretion, and without compulsion of law." The bill went no further in the Senate. Mr. Buckalew has, however, caused the adoption of the Cumulative Vote in Bloomsburg, and in other towns of Pennsylvania. The greatest glory of this scheme, however, was its adoption in Illinois by the convention, and its ratification by the people of the State. In the report of the Committee on Electoral and Representative Reform (Mr. Medill, chairman), "three-cornered" districts were recommended in the choice of State Representatives, and in these the Cumulative or "unrestricted" vote was adopted, with an important modification, which I suppose to be original, allowing one and a half votes to be cast for one, and one and a half for another candidate; the present method of voting was stigmatized as a "willful inhibition of the rights of the voter." How far the Illinois committee was influenced by the Senate committee we do not learn—(the bill was passed without debate, on the previous question). It is much to be regretted that the discussions of the matter in committee, if any such there were, have not been published. Gentlemen so familiar with the machinery of our elections as the distinguished members of these committees, could certainly, if any one can, show how it is possible that the Cumulative Vote, as a general substitute, can afford a remedy for the evils of the present system.

As for this theory of the voter's "right" to divide votes among candidates as he pleases, it is of course not worth arguing against. The result is the test. The objection that first occurs is, that the more popular the candidate the less chance is there of proportional representation. The people's favorite will get plumpers in profusion, many votes will be wasted, and so a large plurality may elect no more officers than a minority. Oddly enough, at the only trial of the scheme of which I have heard, such was the fact: In the School Board elections in London, in 1870, there were seven to elect, and 25,000 voters; 11,600 voters gave Miss Garrett 47,800 votes. The Catholic candidate, supported by a resolute minority of 1,857, received 9,000 votes, and was elected. 47,800 votes received, then, no more representation than 9,000 votes received. The result hardly needs comment. In districts elect-

ing three, the special dangers of this, but at the same time also the advantages of any, system are reduced to the minimum. The larger the district the more dangerous the peculiarities of this system. Were it tried on such a scale as that of Congressional elections in Ohio, anything like fairness or proportionality would at first be impossible.

Tending, as it plainly must, if unrestrained, to make representation fluctuating and disproportionate, it would eventually compel the tightening of the already oppressive bands of party discipline. In general the scale which, under the present district system, turns now to majority, and now to minority, would be permanently weighed down in favor of the minority.

In France a scheme has been suggested by M. Emile de Girardin, the French economist. He proposed to allow no one to vote for more than one candidate. Here we should see permanently established in power the great evil of the Cumulative Vote; the popularity of one or more of the majority's candidates may enable the minority of electors to elect the majority of candidates. A French writer, M. Herold, proposes as representatives of the minority a fixed number of candidates at large, to be elected to the Assembly by the whole nation. Each man votes for his district candidate, and a candidate at large. Aside from the difficulty of comparing votes, it is probable that well organized majorities would, under this plan, simply elect their candidates at large, in addition to their district candidates.

A plan remotely resembling this was suggested for consideration in the Illinois Constitutional Convention by Mr. Benjamin. A majority shall be necessary to elect in the single districts: any candidate receiving less than a majority, and more than one-fifth of the votes cast, may transfer his votes to an unelected candidate of some other district, and thus secure the latter's election. The practical difficulty of such a course would be obviously immense, and while some good men would undoubtedly be elected, it is not clear that proportional representation would be attained.

The Hare Scheme of Personal Representation has perhaps attracted more general attention than any plan hitherto proposed. Mr. Thomas Hare, a barrister of London, is its author, and his work on Personal Representation, of which various editions

have appeared, has contributed greatly to the interest in electoral reform.

Mr. Hare first developed his plan in a book on the Machinery of Representation in 1857, but has modified it from time to time to meet objections that were urged against it. His system starts with a principle somewhat similar to that of M. de Girardin, that each vote shall count but for one candidate. This is the "actual vote." There is, however, a list of names appended to this "actual" vote, and with the help of these "contingent" votes Mr. Hare promises that each voter shall assist in electing one representative. Each ballot contains a list of names in the order of preference. The first name receives the "actual" vote; all subsequent are "contingent," and become "actual" only when the names of those preceding them have been in turn elected. In plainer phrase, to vote on the Hare plan is to say: "A is my first choice; but if, when the judges count the votes, A gets the quota (viz., number of votes cast divided by number to elect) before they come to my ballot, then they must count my ballot for B. But if they have counted up a quota for B before coming upon my ballot, then it must count for C." Evidently it depends on the order in which the judges of election count the tickets whether one or another is elected. "A thousand men of my thinking vote B second choice; another thousand vote, as we do, for A first, but want M as second choice. If the judges of election count our ballots first, and lay them aside because the quota of 1,000 has elected its man (A) and then come to the other thousand, they count a thousand actual votes for the second name, because the first name (A) is already elected, and so they elect M. Had they counted our vote last instead of first, B would have been elected instead of M." This process goes on until, if the number of candidates is very large, a process of "elimination" is begun, and those who have the smallest "actual" vote are dropped, and their ballots are re-distributed to the next names on the list in the order of preference. This goes on until a sufficient number have obtained the quota, and so the offices are filled.

This system of Personal Representation appeared strange to say at about the same time in England and Denmark, as independent discoveries undoubtedly, but in the latter kingdom the system of M. Andree, Minister of Finance, and a statesman of wide reputa-

tion, was put in practice on a grand scale. It has been tried in this country in various private corporations, as, for example, in the choice of overseers of Harvard University, in 1871, by the alumni of that institution, in which signed ballots were sent by them from different parts of the country by mail, and it was used also in selecting officers of the New England Society of Orange, N. J. The system appears to adapt itself particularly to elections in bodies where the "men" are the chief thing, and not "measures," and where party spirit has little field. From all I have been with scanty materials able to gather, the elections in which this system has been tested in Denmark resemble rather the instances given above than the fierce contests of our great national parties. The constitution of that kingdom seems to have created a class of offices which recall that of the Decurions or Senators in Italian cities. Under the later Christian emperors this honor was so little sought that Jews, heretics and slaves were pressed into the service of the State. Of the eighty members of the Danish Rigsraad, thirty were elected by the people, and they meet but seldom and exert little or no influence. M. Androe was obliged to provide for the case of an elected candidate refusing to serve, and "even a declaration of candidature," says Mr. Hare, "was distasteful."

In Germany also, Mr. Hare's scheme has attracted much support, being advocated among others by the famous South-German publicist, the late Robert von Mohl. Some years since it was, also, the subject of much discussion in the then free city of Frankfort, and in a report of the Committee on Amendment of the Constitution, of which Dr. Passavant was chairman, a peculiar modification of the Hare scheme was proposed. There were 84 to elect; there were to be two separate elections; at the first, 84 names were to be on the tickets, and to each ballot three "actual" votes were given instead of Mr. Hare's single one. After redistributing the extra ballots of those who received more than the quota of "actual" votes on the early counts, those receiving the quota are elected. This election is now at an end, and the remainder of offices are to be filled at a second election, conducted in the regular way. The result of the agitation in Frankfort offers a curious confirmation of what has been said of opinion with regard to the District System as compared with the General Ticket, and of the merits of the former as an ad-

vance toward proportional representation of parties. After much debate, the progressive spirits were unable to overcome the opposition displayed toward the Hare system, even in the simplified form of Dr. Passavant's scheme; they made, however, one step in advance, in spite of all—a very short step, but still in the right direction: they divided their territory into seven districts.

Apart from the objections I have suggested above, the interposition of chance, the facilities given to fraud, and the entire complexity of this scheme, make its introduction at our elections impracticable. The author seems willing to impose on registrars duties which would drive our judges of election crazy; in discussing plans of elimination, he suggests a short arithmetical calculation with each of more than a million ballots.

It must be remembered, however, that Mr. Hare's object is to devise a uniform system for parliamentary elections which shall secure adequate representation to all bodies of voters, and, at the same time, make the House of Commons a council chamber of all the talent and character of the whole empire. Our English cousins have a general election only once every few years. Much that is possible for them is impossible for us, in Ohio, for example, who, every four years, vote twice for State Legislature, twice for members of Congress, and once for presidential electors.

The intricacy of Mr. Hare's system is, however, not necessarily as great as it is often supposed to be. I have given above a sketch of what is usually understood as the Hare system. It was this plan that was praised by Prof. Ware in the Harvard overseers' election, and tried in Orange, N. J., and it was this that Mr. Stanwood ably criticised in the *North American Review* for July, 1871. An examination of the third edition of Mr. Hare's book shows that as long ago as 1865 its author had abandoned the feature of "elimination" so fertile in "mechanical" calculation, and proposed to go no further than Dr. Passavant in his modified scheme: redistribution takes place only of ballots cast for names which have already attained the quota, and after this those below the quota are chosen in order of plurality. Since that time, however, he has returned to his original methods. I am, however, inclined to believe that by thus modifying his plan in the interest of simplicity, the chances of its introduction and usefulness are immensely increased.

The Gilpin Scheme, different from all schemes hitherto described, is that proposed by Mr. Thomas Gilpin of Philadelphia, in a pamphlet bearing date 1844, and dedicated to the American Philosophical Society. His plan bears upon its face the great recommendation of simplicity, and is, indeed, so obvious an application of the principle of equality and justice to representation, so self-evident a development of the theory of representative government that it can hardly fail to have occurred to earlier writers, if any such there were that investigated the subject.

A party that casts a third of votes is simply to have a third of the representatives; the latter are divided up as far as may be in even proportion. The count of votes is to decide, not so much who is elected, as rather, how many offices each party has to fill. Each party is to have an established ticket; those first on the list are elected in order. He alludes to the problems how to take account of scratching and of names added to the lists, but gives no clear solution.

Strange to say, despite its simplicity, his scheme does not appear to have been noticed by those in this country and in England who have been chiefly active in electoral reform. The English plan of the Cumulative Vote has, as we have seen, been carried into practice, while Mr. Gilpin's idea, finding support in Germany and Switzerland, and put into practice in the latter country, now comes back to us with increased claim upon our notice as the "Geneva Free List." Independent discovery is, on this subject, the order of the day. It is not probable that M. Antoine Morin, to whose work on the subject the adoption of this plan is chiefly to be ascribed, had read that of Mr Gilpin.

Since the enlargement of the canton by the treaties of 1815, Geneva has suffered from time to time from the tyranny of majorities. The city of Rousseau has had an admirable opportunity of learning how the maxims of freedom may, by careful application, be turned into empty phrases. After several bloody revolutions a better remedy was found in this election system, and the force that threatened to break up the government was now calmly conducted to a channel of active usefulness.

An ingenious attempt to avoid exciting the prejudice against interference with the majority's control of representation is shown in a plan proposed by Drs. Varrantrapp and Burnitz,

in Frankfort, in 1863. It is based on Mr. Hare's idea of actual and contingent votes; and, as in one of Mr. Hare's plans of elimination, the first choice is counted as one vote, the second as one-half, the the third as one-third, and so on. Applying this, we find its results give exactly proportional representation, and are thus identical with Mr. Gilpin's plan. With 99 votes and three to elect, a majority of 66 voting for A, B, and C, gives A 66 votes; B the second choice, 33; C $16\frac{1}{2}$. The minority gives M 33 votes, and so being greater than C, secures one representative. Counting the votes in this way, we can, without fear for the result, ask the majority the question who shall represent the whole people? Desirable as it may be, however, to avoid disturbing prejudices, we can hardly give up the simple quota plan, merely to arrive at the same results by laborious computation.

The Gilpin plan stands alone in securing with certainty, to each party in the district which votes a "straight" party ticket, as fair a representation as it is possible to obtain. In this respect the other schemes are but lotteries compared with it.

What does it say to those members of the party who are dissatisfied with the regular ticket? How does it affect nomination? The answer here is not as satisfactory. Each party nominates, as it does now, as many candidates as there are offices to be filled. These stand on the ticket in a fixed order, and the number of offices allotted to each party is filled by the party candidates taken from the head of the party list. The order of names is then in the control of the Convention. Objectionable nominees may also manage to get their names high on the list, and the good names may be put lower down, to induce the party to put out its strength, in order to poll enough votes to reach the good names, and yet the party may only succeed in electing the objectionable men.

In large districts, however, this scheme has an immense advantage in matters of nomination, and in representing shades of opinion within parties. It will be possible to "bolt" the regular nominations at will without doing ones party any harm. The dissatisfied can get up a ticket for themselves, put a good man of their party at the head, and, if they cast nearly a quota of votes, they can elect their man. The Young Democrats can thus vote for a Young Democrat, and the Liberal Republicans a Liberal, and this with security of success and without deserting the party colors. In addition,

the "regular" organization, recognizing this danger, is stimulated to make its nominations represent fairly the better elements of the party. The smaller the district, however, the less effective is this check, for in small districts "bolting" may, as to-day, throw the majority of representatives into the hands of the minority party.

Although not perfect the "Philadelphia Free List,"¹ as it may well be called, is, we are inclined to believe, better adapted to meet the facts of the case at our elections than any of the other schemes described. It recognizes the necessity that the voter shall be certain as to the effect of his vote, and in districts of any size whatever it insures proportional representation of parties, and it undeniably improves to a great degree the conditions of the game of nomination. It seems probable that the best and final solution of the problem will be found in some modification of this scheme, through which improved results may be obtained in matter of nominations. In an appendix an attempt at a solution is submitted as a contribution to the discussion of the question. It enables the voters through their preferences expressed on election-day to control the convention if they desire it, and themselves determine the order of candidates on the ticket. If this only serve to suggest a better plan its originators will be content.

In conclusion, I have failed to do my subject justice if I have not shown Proportional Representation to be more than a "mere theory," or "idle dream." It is surely not chimerical to believe that some who are here to-night may live to see the time when it will seem an anachronism in our politics that the best men of a community should exert so little influence in public affairs, and that a majority should choose out of its number representatives for the whole people. There is an old Suabian proverb which I hope, and indeed believe, touches the root of this matter: "This thing has been true so long, that soon it will be true no longer."

APPENDIX.

A SCHEME OF PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION, SUGGESTED BY J. BRYANT WALKER AND S. DANA HORTON.

Rules for the election of legislative bodies and boards, in districts electing three or more members.

¹For a full account of Mr. Gilpin's Scheme, see *Penn Monthly*, July, 1872.

§ I. APPORTIONMENT OF OFFICES *to the tickets voted on.* The offices to be filled shall be divided among the various Tickets, as nearly as possible in proportion to the number of ballots cast for each, excepting that in order to prevent a "tie," whenever a majority of voters would, if the above rule were observed have the same number of offices to fill as the minority the greater number shall belong to the majority.

§ II. RULES FOR APPORTIONING BALLOTS *to the different tickets :*

1. Each distinct list of candidates proposed, containing as many names as there are members of the deliberative body to be elected in the district, shall constitute a Ticket.

2. All ballots containing a full number of names, are first assorted under their respective Tickets.

3. Ballots which do not contain an indication of precedence of choice among the names shall not be counted : but in the absence of other mark, the order of names from above down shall be deemed a sufficient indication.

4. A ballot which contains a part only of the names of a given Ticket and contains no names which are not on this Ticket, shall be counted for such Ticket.

5. A ballot containing names, all of which are on two different known Tickets, shall be counted for that Ticket which receives most votes, exclusive of such ballot.

6. The names remaining on "scratched" ballots shall be counted in the order of preference, neglecting the names "scratched."

Upon the assortment and count of the ballots belonging to the various tickets, the number of offices to be allotted to each ticket is at once determinable on applying the "quota" to the sums of the various party votes. The question which of the party candidates shall fill these offices is at the same time determined in obedience to the following rules :

§ III. SELECTION OF CANDIDATES *to fill the offices assigned to the Ticket.*

The offices thus allotted to a Ticket shall be filled by certain candidates on the ticket in order, beginning with the first, in accordance with the preferences which the voters shall have indicated among the candidates.

§IV. RULES FOR DETERMINING THE VOTERS' ORDER of preference among the candidates:

1. The candidate who is the first choice of the greatest number of voters shall have the first place on the final list; if only one office be allotted to the Ticket, such candidate is elected. That one among the remaining candidates, who, on the greatest number of ballots, stands either first or second in the order of preference, shall have the second place on the final list; if the Ticket elects two he is also elected. That one of the now remaining candidates who on the greatest number of ballots stand either first, second, or third, shall have the third place; if the Ticket elects three he also is elected; and so on.

2. Whenever, in pursuance of the above rules, a candidate would be elected on two Tickets, he shall be deemed elected on that Ticket which receives the greatest number of ballots, and his place on the other Ticket shall be filled by the candidate next in the order of preference.

It may be also provided that vacancies shall be filled by the next name on the final list, arranged as above, of that party on whose ticket the officer whose office becomes vacant was elected.

To illustrate the working of the scheme, suppose that in a district containing 360 voters there are five to elect—we make the numbers small to save space in the table given below—the Republicans nominate five candidates in fixed order, A, B, C, D, E, and proclaim this list *in this order* as the “regular ticket.” The Democrats nominate their five candidates, among whom X is the most popular, but the convention does not bind itself to support any especial order of preference between them. The Young Democrats, however, are exasperated that their leader F was defeated in the regular convention; they meet and nominate their ticket of five, with F at the head, and bind themselves to use their influence to have him voted for as first choice. The liberal Republicans also, dissatisfied with the regular nominations, put up a ticket of five without fixing upon any order among the names. They have among their candidates E, whom the regular convention put too low on its list to make his election possible, and also B, the best man on the regular ticket.

When the votes are assorted under their four tickets it turns out that the Republicans have polled 145, the Democrats 80, the

Young Democrats 62, and the Liberals 73. Dividing 360 by 5, the number of officers, we have 72, as the "quota necessary to elect." The Republicans thus have two offices to fill, the Democrats have one, the Liberals one, and as 62 is the largest fraction of the quota left, the Young Democrats have one office to fill.

The question now is, which of the various party candidates is to fill these offices. The voters have already answered this question by their ballots, and the "tally of choices" kept at the polling places, and reported, of course, at the center of the district, determines what the answer of the voters is. The count may, from its novelty, seem complicated, but under the present statute of Ohio as to the counting of ballots, the chief difference from the present method would be in printed tables, in which the figures are to be written. The following table of the Liberal Republican vote will illustrate the method of ascertaining the decision of the party:

It will be seen from this table that B is the first choice of 40 voters, a majority, and thus stands first on the "final list." E. is the first choice of 17, and the second choice of 43; he thus stands either first or second on 60 ballots. This is indicated in a "sum" column, for which it will be found convenient to leave a special place as below in the table. E has, therefore, the second place.

H is the first choice of none, the second choice of 16, the third choice of 22. In the second "sum" column 38 is the highest number, and H has, therefore, the third place. In the next sum column I stands highest, and thus has the fourth place.

From the zero column it will appear that E's name was absent from, or "scratched," on 10 ballots, G's on 12, H's on 17, I's on 3.

TABLE OF LIBERAL REPUBLICAN VOTES.

| Choice | 1 | 2 | Sum | 3 | Sum | 4 | Sum | 5 | Zero | Sum |
|----------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|----|-----|-----|------|-----|
| B | 40 | 10 | ... | 9 | ... | 3 | ... | 11 | ... | 73 |
| E | 17 | 43 | 60 | 2 | ... | 1 | ... | ... | 10 | 73 |
| G | 10 | 4 | 14 | 17 | 31 | 20 | 51 | 10 | 12 | 73 |
| H | ... | 16 | 16 | 22 | 38 | 13 | ... | 5 | 17 | 73 |
| I | 6 | ... | 6 | 23 | 29 | 30 | 59 | 11 | 3 | 73 |
| Zero.... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 6 | ... | 36 | 42 | |
| Sum..... | 73 | 73 | ... | 73 | ... | 73 | ... | 73 | ... | |

The votes of the party have then, as above indicated, placed their candidates in the the following order : B, 1st E, 2d ; H, 3d ; I, 4th ; G, 5th. B is thus the first choice of the greatest number of voters. But B stands second on the regular ticket, which casts the greatest number of votes, and, in obedience to rule §IV. 2, is elected on that ticket. The Liberal vote is therefore counted for their next best man, E, who stands either first or econd on 60 ballots, and he is therefore elected.

Had the party been strong enough to gain two officers, H would also have been elected, and so on in order. The result of the election is thus :

Republicans, A and B ; Democrats, X ; Liberals, E ; Young Democrats, F.

It will be observed that the above method of counting has the advantage of presenting a check on fraud in the count. The figures of the table, added up either in column or in line, give the same sum, which is that of the whole party vote. A clerk can run over the column in a few moments and detect an error, and so in order to succeed in falsifying returns it is necessary to be very ingenious as well as dishonest. In the "zero column" the "scratches" are counted. For example, in the above table, six ballots had two names and thirty-six only one name "scratched." The fourth place was thus vacant on six tickets, the fifth place on thirty-six.

In canvassing the ballots, the following method has some advantages : The ballots are taken from the box and assorted ; all ballots belonging to one ticket are put together. These, on being filed or fastened together at one end, form, if we have, as above, four parties, four compact bundles, or books of ballots. They may, of course, be filed in any way practicable ; sewing them together with a strong needle and cord, as is sometimes done to-day, would serve the purpose.

A judge of election then reads off the names, as to-day, turning over the ballots as he might the leaves of a book. On his calling the names of first choices, a clerk makes the following count :

LIBERAL REPUBLICAN VOTE—TALLY OF FIRST CHOICES.

| | Sum. |
|---|------|
| B IIII IIII IIII IIII IIII IIII IIII IIII..... | 40 |
| E IIII IIII IIII II..... | 17 |
| G IIII IIII..... | 10 |
| H | .. |
| I IIII I..... | 6 |
| <hr/> | |
| Total..... | 73 |

Transferring the sums of these "tallies," we have the party square as given above. For "tallying" fourth and fifth choices, a "zero column," or else a separate "zero count," will be needed in which to count the "scratched" tickets.

It is here noteworthy that if the calling of names be divided, as it naturally would be, between the judges of election, the difficulty of falsifying the returns is greatly increased. If A calls the wrong name for first or third choices, it will be hard for B, when he calls for the "tally" of second or fourth choices, to make exactly the right transpositions of names; and the "magic square," with its simple additions, at once detects both the fact of error and its exact locality and magnitude.

With reference to the exception in rule I., before alluded to, its necessity may be illustrated in the following manner: If, with 6 to elect, the Republicans cast 34 votes and the Democrats 26, the quota of 10 gives to the Republicans 3 and the Democrats 2 offices to fill. Which party is to elect the other member? Comparing the fractions the Democrats have 6, the Republicans 4. It seems to follow that the Democrats elect the other member. This would, however, make the parties stand 3 to 3 and thus would violate that cardinal rule of proportionality, that a majority must elect a majority, a minority a minority. It was to obviate this that the exception was inserted.

It may appear a fault of this scheme that it compels, as in the instance given above, the counting of a "mixed" ticket as an entirely separate ticket. The objection loses force, however, when the new facts of the case are taken into consideration, and their bearing on the motives which now lead to the concoction of "mixed" tickets and to the voting of independently "mixed" ballots is clearly understood. These motives at once lose their force with the abandonment of our present system. The differ-

ence between the two systems is radical. Under the plan here set forth the parties opposed to us are sure of a representation in proportion to their number. We have a choice of tickets and of men, and as for the candidates on our own ticket whom we dislike, we can still "scratch" them, or else throw them to the bottom of the list.

S. DANA HORTON.

THE CONQUEST OF SPAIN BY THE ARAB-MOORS.

VII.—MUSA AND TARIK—THE CONQUEST COMPLETED.

TARIK returned from his northward march through Zamora and Salamanca, and crossing the Castilian Mountains at Pederinita, where the little river Tormes forces its way through the granite walls, he proceeded to Talavera, near the right bank of the Tagus, on his way to Toledo. At or near Talavera he was met by Musa. I shall give the details of this meeting presently.

This general, after despatching orders to Tarik that he should remain in his encampment in Andalusia, had lost no time in arranging his affairs in Africa. This was a task which required judgment and caution. He must keep open his communication with Egypt, and must consolidate his power in Mauritania, guarding against trouble on his flanks and in his rear.

His eldest son, Abdullah,¹ he made his deputy in Africa, with his head-quarters at Kairwan. He recruited and re-organized the army with which he was to cross. It consisted of ten thousand cavalry and eight thousand infantry. As his great dependence was upon the cavalry, he hoped to mount some portion of his foot on horses which he should capture in Spain. Many months were occupied in these important preliminaries, and it appears that he did not effect the crossing of his army until March, 712, nearly a year after the landing of Tarik. He occupied about two months after his landing in arranging his army for the advance. His staff was distinguished and efficient; with

¹Condé says *Abdu-l-'asis*. I prefer to follow Al. Mak. I. 283.

²The exact numbers are doubtful.—*Id.* I. 536.

him were his three sons Abdu-l-'azis, Abdu-l-'a'la and Meruan, all worthy of their father, and Habib Ibn'Abdah Al Fehri. Twenty-five *Tabis* accompanied him, and numerous noblemen and gentlemen, who had been attracted from Damascus, to win renown or paradise in the van of the all-conquering Moslemah.

It was not until his arrival in Spain, that he learned the full extent of Tarik's exploits and disobedience. Rumors and uncertain statements had reached him before, but the truth now burst upon him, that his general had accomplished the principal work which he had fondly reserved for himself. The conquest of Spain was a fixed fact, and the fame of the conqueror could not be hushed up. Much indeed remained to be done, in occupying places already won, or in extending the Moslem area where there was but little hope of gallant resistance. With regard to Tarik he was at a loss what course to pursue. Immediate vengeance he might take; but to punish Tarik severely was to publish to the world more fully the grand exploits for which he was punished.

Doubtless, from what we know of Musa, he could have done what Tarik did; but he had committed a fatal mistake, and was as angry with himself as with his lieutenant. It was proper that he should send to Tarik to make the first reconnoissance; but when there was a prospect that his army would meet the rapidly assembled, but numerous forces of King Roderik, so far from restraining it, Musa should have been with it. Instead of that, he had confided to a popular and dashing leader a considerable army, which he afterwards increased by reinforcements, and had sent him with an implied discretion, to do what? Manifestly to find the enemy and crush him. Tarik's work was done too well for Musa's peace of mind; he had conquered Spain at one blow, and had followed up his victory, in spite of the ill-judged and envious command of his superior.

But Musa was skillful, energetic and crafty. Tarik was his subordinate, and he could make Tarik's work his own. Upon his arrival in Spain, he sent no second message to Tarik, but observing towards him an ominous silence, he determined to secure the towns which Tarik had surprised, and to overrun such portions of the rich territory as were off the line of Tarik's march. Thus he occupied Xeres and Medina Sidona, and thence marched to Carmona, which had probably revolted after the departure of

Tarik. He placed a garrison in Seville, and subjected its dependencies. Many of the inhabitants fled from this new and powerful incursion, west of the Guadiana. The direction of their flight determined the line of Musa's march. He passed from Andalusia into western Spain and Portugal. By this time he had drawn largely upon his contingent of infantry to form garrisons, but had received a reinforcement of about 8,000 cavalry. With these he had nearly 18,000 horse, and he marched in turn to Sibra, Assonoba, Myrtilles, Beza and other towns, encountering only scattered bands, which fled at his approach, and meeting with but little resistance. But he reached the end of this unopposed movement when he encamped under the walls of Merida. Here he found a more determined spirit than any which had been manifested since the taking of Cordova by Mugheyth Ar-Rúmi.

This city, the *Emerita* of the Romans, might well strike the Arabian commander with admiration for its beauty and strength, and with astonishment that such strongholds should not render the Goths invincible. It stands on the right bank of the Guadiana. It contained many remains of Roman grandeur,¹ chief of which was its splendid bridge twenty-five hundred feet long and supported on eighty-one arches. It has been called the Rome of Spain. Here in the Roman times the veterans (*Emeriti*) were quartered, and the place was called *Emerita Augusta*. A Moorish historian says, with simple admiration, "No man living can fully count the wonders of Merida;" and Musa is said to have declared when he saw it that "all men had united their knowledge and power in enriching it." Its walls were six leagues in extent, ninety feet high and sixty feet wide. It had three thousand seven hundred towers, five castles and eighty-four gates.

What caused Musa to desire its possession, impelled its inhabitants to make a vigorous stand in its defense. When he summoned the city, they returned a proud negative; and sallying forth at the heels of the summoner attacked the Moslem army before its lines had been completed. They were, however, easily repelled and driven back within their walls, to return again and again to the unequal contest. Impressed by the strength of its defenses, Musa spent some time in fortifying his encampment and

¹The Arch of Santiago, built by Trajan; the ruined temples of Diana and Mars; the Amphitheater, the Circus Maximus; the Aqueduct, four miles long.

driving back the sallying parties, while he sent dispatches to his son Abdullah, who had been left in command at Kairwan, to gather all the troops he could spare, and bring them to his assistance.

The bravery and constancy of the Meridans, cast a faint gleam upon the dark picture of Spanish degeneracy and impotence. By their sallies they had already caused considerable loss to the besiegers, and the Arab-Moors had made no progress, when Musa had recourse to a stratagem which gave him a decided advantage, while it dampened the ardor of the besieged. He had found near the river bank, a short distance from the city, a hollow place in the rocky bluff. Here, under cover of the night, he concealed a force of cavalry and infantry. At early dawn he made a feigned attack; the Meridans sallied out to repel it, with great determination. Musa commanded his men to retire before them as if in panic. The Christians followed impetuously, the Moslemah still retreating, until they had passed the place of ambush. Then the concealed troops rushed from their hiding-place with shrill shouts; the retreating Moslemah faced about, and showed a bold front; and the Christian force found itself hemmed in between the two hostile bands. The stratagem was complete, but the sallying party fought with sublime valor, and made the besiegers pay dearly for their success. The combat and the carnage lasted for hours, and when they were ended, but few of the sallying party had escaped to the city.¹

Musa now had recourse to a war engine or contrivance, like the Roman *musculus*, an extended covering, by which he could push across an open space and undermine one of the principal towers with pick-axes, being thus sheltered from the darts and arrows of the besieged. The party of workmen had already made some progress, but, in an interval of rest, they had laid down their picks, and had collected under the shelter, when a band of Christians made a sudden rally, surprised them in their defenseless condition, and put them all to the sword. They lay like slaughtered sheep under their covering, and Musa called the tower *Borju-sh-shohodâ*, "the tower of the martyrs." But gallant as the Meridans had been, they were soon to yield to famine and numbers. Obeying his father's instructions, Abdullah had crossed the strait

¹Conde, I. e. xiii.

with seven thousand African horse and a large force of cross-bowmen, and had marched without delay to join Musa at Merida. The last hopes of the besiegers were now dashed. The Moslem host was overpowering; the Christian force was daily diminishing; their provisions began to fail, and the lower classes, always more readily influenced by selfish motives, were clamorous for a capitulation. With great sorrow the brave leaders found themselves compelled to submit, and asked Musa to grant a safe conduct for a deputation, which they would send him.

This obtained, the deputies were conducted to the splendid pavilion of the Arabian general, where they found an old man with a long white beard, who received them kindly and praised the valor of their resistance. To their bravery he said he would grant more favorable terms than their contumacy deserved, and he appointed the next day for concluding the agreement and entering the city. The next day was the feast of *Al-fitr*, the Mohammedan Easter. In the morning the deputation reappeared at the tent of Musa, ready to accept the terms and deliver up the town. Great was their astonishment on beholding before them, not the venerable chieftain of yesterday, but a man in the prime of life, his beard of a dark brown,¹ and his robes resplendent with gold and jewels. Such a transformation partook of the marvelous in the eyes of the trembling Christians, and inspired them with such fear that Musa might have imposed severer terms; but he was true to his word, and the deputies returned to open the gates and to declare to the people that it was utterly useless to fight with men "who could change their age to youth at their pleasure."²

Thus Merida fell into the hands of the Moslemah, and Musa found, in the vigor of the resistance and the difficulty of capture, some slight solace for his former mortification. Spain, it seemed, was not yet fully conquered, and by skillful despatches he could exalt the siege and reduction of Merida as high, if not higher, than any exploit of his disobedient lieutenant.

¹Hinna or henná was the dye, also used by the Arabian women to dye their nails and eyelids.

²This story is to be found in Condé, I. c. xiii, and Al Mak. I. 285. It may have arisen from the fact that the Moslemah put on rich garments and dressed their beards for Easter.

The following were the terms he made with the city: All the arms and horses were to be given up. The property of all who had fled and of all who had fallen in battle was to be given up to him, with all the public treasures and the property of the church. Those who wished might depart, but he kept many of the principal men as hostages for the good behavior of the citizens. Among those was, it is said, the Queen Exilona, the widow of Roderik, the singular vicissitudes of whose fortune were not yet ended. A captive Moorish maiden, she had married the Gothic king; as captive Christian queen, she was to return to her Mohammedan allegiance and marry one of the sons of Musa.

The conditions being arranged, a portion of the conquering army entered the splendid but grief-stricken city on the Mohammedan Easter-day,¹ July 10, 712.²

But the joy of Musa's triumph was dampened by the intelligence of an insurrection in his rear, at Seville. Still hoping that fortune might desert the infidel, and aided by similar movements at Beja, Niebla and other adjacent towns, the populace of Seville, disregarding the urgent counsels of the better class, rose upon the Moslem garrison, which was small, and killed thirty. The remainder barely escaped, and traveling through by-roads at night, brought Musa the unwelcome intelligence.

He lost no time, but sent his son Abdu-l-'aziz with a large cavalry force to punish the insurgents. As soon as the van of this detachment appeared in the distance, the better class of citizens determined to go out to meet it and explain to the commander the true circumstances, but the rabble would not let them leave the place. The gates were closed, and an unorganized and feeble resistance offered. The result was immediate. Abdu-l-'aziz stormed the gates, and in ignorance of any extenuating circumstances, he began an indiscriminate slaughter of guilty and innocent alike. The rebellion was at once crushed, and Seville, thus terribly schooled, never again ventured to revolt. Strengthening the garrison, Abdu-l-'aziz moved westward to punish Niebla and

¹A solemn fast was kept throughout the month Ramadan, and the 1st of Shawwal was the the passover—Al Fitr.

²Gayangos questions the date, but offers no other which is better attested.

the other insurgent towns, and then returned to make his headquarters at Seville.¹

Meantime Musa, having arranged his affairs at Merida, marched to Toledo and to meet Tarik. On his way he took many towns, dealing clemently with them. When he arrived at Toledo Tarik had not yet returned from the north. There are conflicting accounts as to their place of meeting. It is most probable that Musa moved forward from Toledo and encountered Tarik at or near Talavera, as he was on his way back from Galicia. It was now the beginning of August, 712, and we may easily imagine the feelings of the rival conquerors as they approached each other—Musa, insulted, envious and revengeful, determined to hold to strict account a subordinate who had disobeyed his orders and robbed him of fame; Tarik, doubtful of his reception, neither contrite nor arrogant; neither vaunting his exploits nor acknowledging fault. He brought all his spoils to lay them at Musa's feet, and thus to propitiate his wrath. But he found no greeting. "Why did'st thou disobey my orders?" was the sharp question. "To serve Islam, and because we all believed that had'st thou known the condition of affairs, thou would'st have ordered us to do what we did," was the temperate reply. It was a just claim for that discretion which should always be the prerogative of an officer of large and separate command when he finds himself in the midst of circumstances unknown to and unanticipated by his superior from whom he is separated. Doubtless, the extent of the discretion in such cases will be gauged by the issue, but in this case the brilliant success had vindicated the claim.

He acknowledged his indebtedness to Musa, and reasserted his allegiance. Musa demanded the spoils which Tarik had already offered. Many of the treasures had remained at Toledo in the palace of Roderik. Thither the two generals rode together, Musa dissembling his wrath for the moment.

Arrived at the palace, Musa, surrounded by his officers, demanded the table of Solomon, of which he had heard marvel-

¹A distinction should be made between his military occupation of Seville at this time and his adoption of it as his capital, afterward as the ameer of Spain, when his father Musa had been recalled to Damascus.

ous accounts, and which he designed to make a most acceptable present to the khalif. It has been already said that Tarik, fearing that Musa would rob him not only of the gift, but of the fame of having captured it, had taken the precaution to remove one of its four principal feet and to secrete it. When it was produced, Musa observed the loss and asked where the other foot was. Tarik answered that he had found it so, whereupon Musa ordered its place to be supplied with one of gold, the others being of emerald.¹

Then, thanking all the other generals for the zeal and valor they had displayed, without a mention of their leader, he turned fiercely upon Tarik; again rated him for his disobedience, and struck him with his riding-wand. But Tarik, though entirely subordinate, was by no means servile; he ventured one word of exculpation and remonstrance, and with it a hint of menace: "My desire, O Wali, was to serve Allah and the khalif. My conscience absolves me; and I hope that our sovereign, to whose justice and protection I appeal, will do the same."²

One brave man, himself not without a laudable ambition, was found ready to say a word in favor of the humiliated commander, and but one; that was Mugheyth Ar-Rúmi. He raised his voice in the painful silence that ensued, declaring that the whole army knew and admired the valor and ability of Tarik, and that he and they thought him worthy of the highest honors. But Musa would only listen to the inner voice of envy and anger.

He placed Tarik in strict arrest, giving his command to Ar-Rúmi; and he wrote to the khalif an *ex parte* statement of his insubordination and disobedience, setting these forth in the strongest light, and veiling his exploits as much as possible. He desired to put him to death, but prudently awaited the mandate of the khalif before proceeding to such extremity. The Commander of the Faithful was not entirely ignorant of the truth: the conquest of Tarik had come to his ears from other sources than the dispatches of Musa, perhaps from Tarik himself, and so, even before he had received the account of this interview, he had written to deprecate any rigor, and to retain Tarik in command.

¹More probably of beryl. I have followed Al Mak. I. 287.

²Condé. I. c. xiv.

It would have been manifest to a less ready wit and a less interested person than the Khalif Al-Walid that Tarik was wronged, and further, that the Mohammedan interests in Spain were becoming imperilled by the contentions of his generals.

To remedy one of these evils and to redress the wrongs of Tarik, the khalif, upon the receipt of Musa's letter, sent an order restoring him to his command, on the ground that he would not be deprived of one of the best swords of Islam. As yet it had not entered the mind of the ameer to tamper with the allegiance due to Damascus. Musa disguised his humiliation, and immediately reinstated Tarik, to the great delight of the troops, and ordered him to depart with his army to confirm the conquest in eastern Spain.

But this action of Al-Walid was only the forerunner of something more than humiliating, which was to bring upon Musa and his family a fearful, and in a great degree unmerited, punishment.

Meanwhile Abdu-l-'aziz, who had been appointed to the government of southern Spain, with his military head-quarters at Seville, set his affairs in order, and marched to Murcia, a city and province, then and long afterward known as the land of Tadmir. It was so named from Theodimir, or Sancho, who as we have seen had first resisted the Moselmah when Tarik crossed the strait, who had participated in the decisive battle near the Guadalete, and who had withdrawn from the fatal field with the most considerable Gothic force which then escaped. He was now the most important enemy the Moslems had to encounter. With skill and prudence he annoyed their advance, not in open battle, which his numbers would not allow, but by occupying the mountain passes and defiles, and river fords, and by rapid sallies upon any of their detached parties. Once he was obliged to give battle near Loja. The spot was already historic. It was a strong post during the Roman occupancy,¹ and, as the Arabic name *Lauxa* indicates, it was a *key* to the Vega of Granada: it stands upon the river Genil, which, flowing; below the Alhambra, passes through the Vega, and is buttressed by the mountains of Granada. The Moslemah were again victorious; the force of Theodimir was put to flight by the fierce Moorish cavalry, and did not stop until

¹And was again to figure, when, in 1226, it was wrested from the Moors by Ferdinand III.

it reached Orihuela, a fortified town still in the hands of the Goths, two hundred and fifty miles to the east. As fast as they fled they were followed by the rapid tramp of the enemy. By the time they reached Orihuela, their losses in battle and flight had been so great that Theodomir, when sheltered within the walls, was obliged to have recourse to a stratagem. He required all the women in the town to dress like men, and tie their hair under the chins to look like beards; he placed them on the walls and in the towers, with arms in their hands, and surprised the Arab chief with a warlike array far greater than he had anticipated. While Abdu-l-'azis was preparing with great caution to attack so well defended a citadel, a single Gothic chieftain issued from the principal gate, making signals for a parley. Confronted with Abdu-l-'azis, he spoke with assurance and boldness; he asked peace and security for the town and all its inhabitants in the name of Theodomir, who, he said, would only surrender on such terms as a generous enemy should grant, and a valiant and still capable foe would be justified in receiving. The terms granted were indeed generous, and the agreement was at once made, the Gothic cavalier declaring that he had authority to conclude the matter. The signature of the Christian informed the astonished Moslem that it was with Theodomir himself he had been treating. Equally pleased with the cleverness and confidence of the Goth, Abdu-l-'azis entertained him with honor, and sent him back safe.

The next day the gates of Orihuela were thrown open, and its peaceful occupancy relieved the provinces of Murcia and Valencia for a long period from the evils which attended the conquest in other portions of Spain. When the Arabian commander entered the city, he was as much struck with the slenderness of the garrison as he had been astonished by the numerous force that had manned the walls. Upon this Theodomir disclosed the stratagem, and received from the Moslem new praises for his ready and useful wit.

The treaty has been preserved to us in the *Bibliotheca Arabico-Hispana*. It was drawn up in Latin and in Arabic, and is worth a moment's consideration, as an exhibit of the spirit of the conquerors. In it both contracting parties could invoke "the name of the most merciful God." Theodomir surrendered his seven principal cities—Orihuela, Valencia, Alicante, Mula, Villena, Huete,

and Lorca.¹ He promised to give no aid to the enemies of the Moors; not to permit them to take refuge in his territories, but to give information of their designs as soon as he should discover them. He and each of his *nobles* should pay as yearly tribute a dinar of gold, four measures (modios) of wheat, four of barley, four cántaras of wine (cocidos) and four of vinegar, two batos of honey and two of oil. Each *vassal* should pay half this tribute. In consideration of this, Abdu-l-'azis promised security to life and property, and left the municipal government in the hands of Theodemir. All the people, including the women and children, were free, their religion was unmolested and their temples inviolable. This treaty, which marks the liberality and honorable dealing of the Arab-Moors gives us a glimpse of the spirit which animated the conquerors at that early period, and brings us nearer to the *personnel* of the contracting parties than any other event or stipulation of the time. The thin veil which sometimes confuses the historic outlines, seems here to be drawn aside, and the compact of Orihuela stands in a clear gleam of sunlight.

It was honorably kept. For three days the conqueror was the honored and feted guest of his vanquished foe, and then he departed, without having permitted the slightest injury to the town, to new, valuable and peaceful conquests. He occupied Buzta, Aczi and Jaen without resistance, and then proceeded to the coasts of Malaga.¹

Tarik, upon his reinstatement to his command, lost not a moment in vindicating the khalif's compliment to "one of the best swords among the Moslems." He had shown himself to be the very best. He stripped his troops to the lightest marching order. The infantry were without baggage; they had nothing but their arms. The cavalry equipment was reduced to nose-bags, horse-cloths and copper-kettles. The rations were carried on mules, the *arrieros*, or drivers of which were those least capable of bearing arms. Thus he led a compact, light, mobile mass to the untried fields of north-eastern adventure. Neither chronicle nor tradition has given the exact route of Tarik. This we know, that at

¹Gibbon, who quotes "seven cities," adds an eighth, *Bejar*.

¹This expedition is accredited by some writers to the lieutenants of Tarik; by Al Makkari to Abdu-l-'ala; but by Gayangos, in a note, to Abdu-l-'azis, as above.

first there was a division of territory between Musa and Tarik, but they were to move so as to keep up a communicating distance, and to concentrate, if either should be in peril from numbers, or if strongholds made stubborn resistance. Marching eastward toward the sources of the Tagus, he crossed the province of Molina, and then, by one of its tributaries, he entered the valley of the Ebro.

While Tarik was thus moving eastward, Musa had no less rapidly crossed the mountain ranges to the north-west, and had made himself master of Salamanca and the neighboring cities. Thence he pushed still farther northward to Astorga, on the confines of the mountain retreat to which the flying Goths had betaken themselves. While there he received intelligence that Tarik had met with very determined resistance at Saragossa, a city on the Ebro, which had been built by and named for Cæsar Augustus (Cesarea Augusta). His desire to conquer was stimulated by his old envy, and he moved at once to reinforce Tarik.

Saragossa, on the Ebro, is a city of strategic importance. There several important roads meet, and the fortress at their junction guards the passes of the Pyrenees. There, if anywhere, a stand was to be made against those invaders who seemed determined after conquering Spain to seize the mountain passes and threaten Christendom on the soil of France.¹

Musa lost no time in striking across to the Upper Ebro, and descending the valley of the river to join in the attack on the obstinate city. The siege laid by Tarik had already cut off both succor and provisions, and the arrival of Musa's co-operating force caused the hearts of the Saragossans to sink. Musa was old and avaricious. He had further learned that from all parts of eastern Spain, the other cities, regarding Saragossa as a safe stronghold, had sent thither their treasures, so that the city was full of wealth; and now, on his arrival, he was informed that the besieged were in great straits for want of supplies. Less generous than Tarik or Abdu l'azis, he determined to impose those severe terms known as the Tribute of Blood. The besieged had no

¹The account given is by far the most probable: another, which will be found in Al Makkari, is that Musa sent Tarik to the N. E. to conquer, and that he advanced in his rear to occupy. I have followed the historian of Condé with the sanction of Gayangos, given in a note, I. 544.

alternative; they were obliged to accept conditions which pillaged the churches and stripped the citizens. The treasures collected in the town fell into his hands, and, taking a large number of noble hostages, he left a competent garrison under Hanax Ibn Abdallah As-senani, and departed to occupy without a struggle Huesca and Lerida, and the principal towns of Catalonia.¹ This accomplished, he advanced to the Pyrenees, while Tarik descended the Ebro, and entered the territory of Valencia.

The accounts of Musa's progress into the land of Afranc are conflicting in the extreme. His marches are by some writers accredited to Tarik, but as far as may be clearly known, the Moslem host, probably under his leadership, passed into France by the way of Perpignan, and advanced at that time to Narbonne and Carcassonne. In the former place he is said to have found six large equestrian figures of silver, which he carried away with him among the spoils. One historian takes him then along the sea-coast to Astorga and southward into Portugal; but his line of march has faded from the map, and his marching days as an invader and a conqueror had now reached their end.

VIII.—MUSA AND TARIK DEPOSED FROM THEIR COMMANDS AND ORDERED TO APPEAR BEFORE THE KHALIF.

The story told by Al Makkari that Musa found a mysterious column between Narbonne and Carcassonne, bearing an Arabic inscription,¹ which warned him not to advance farther, is probably either a poetic fancy, founded upon his own sentiments, or it refers to a column which, according to the custom of early conquerors, Musa himself erected and inscribed to mark the limits of his conquests. If we may believe Ibn Khaldún, the enterpris-

¹"Cataluña (Gotha-lunia) constitutes the N. E. corner of the peninsula; in form triangular, with the Mediterranean Sea for its base, it is bounded to the north by the Pyrenees, west by Arragon, south by Valencia..... *This barrier between France and Spain* is intersected by tangled and picturesque tracts, known to the smuggler."—*Ford's Hand-Book of Spain*, I. 391.

¹The fabled inscription is thus given: "O, sons of Ishmael, hither you must arrive and hence you must return, for if you go beyond this stone you will return to your country to make war upon one another and consume your forces by dissensions and civil war." Al Mak. I. 289.

ing ambition of Musa had conceived the project of pushing forward across Europe and reaching Damascus by way of Constantinople, and he had even informed the khalif of his purpose. Such a magnificent plan provoked, it is said, the khalif's envy, and he ordered Musa to abandon it. This, combined with the other circumstances already mentioned, caused him to determine upon the removal of Musa, who had become so powerful and great as to endanger the glory of the khalifate.² From the moment when Tarik had been restored to his command, Musa had been full of misgivings. That act was a humiliation. Odious comparisons were drawn by the troops between the two men, to the manifest detriment of Musa. Tarik was dashing, brave and generous; he divided the spoils with a lavish hand, only retaining a fifth for the khalif. Musa was brave and sagacious, but avaricious and devoured by petty envy; he always contrived to keep the lion's share. There can be no doubt that Tarik, through his friends, communicated with the khalif directly. Thus, criminations and recriminations, both full of error, annoyed the ear of the Commander of the Faithful, and he determined to end the controversy. He sent an order through Mugheyth Ar-Rúmi, directing Musa to turn over his command to competent persons, and to proceed with Tarik to give an account of his government at Damascus.

It is said that when Musa first heard of the order, he offered the envoy half his own share of the spoils to withhold it until he could at least accomplish a more complete incursion into all parts of Spain. While it was thus held in abeyance, or in direct evasion of it as not fixing the exact time when he should surrender his command, he repaired to Lugo, and sent a detachment along the northern coast of Spain—"on the shores of Green Sea"—as far as the Sierra de Covadonga, in which was the cave or Cueva de Anseva, the hiding-place of the small band of Goths, which was afterward known as the Cave of Pelayo, and along the route he left small bands of Arab or Berber settlers. While he was thus pushing forward, a second envoy appeared in the person of *Abú Nasr*,¹ who bore an upbraiding letter, commanding his imme-

²Al Mak. I., app. lxxii.

¹As *Abú Nasr* means the father of victory, it has been considered another name for Mugheyth, who sent a second order urging Musa to obey.

diate return. He was ordered to appoint proper persons to the separate governments in Spain and Africa, and he does not seem to have for a moment thought of entire disobedience. The Arabians in Spain still held to their allegiance. The time had not yet come when a vigorous and sagacious commander could venture to throw off the yoke of Damascus and to declare Moslem Spain and Africa free and independent States; and if it could have been done by a commander strong in the attachment of his troops, Musa was not such a man. He had made divisions and dissensions by his own conduct, and the power of the khalif was strong in proportion as Musa was weak. The part he had now to play was exceedingly difficult, and he played it badly. His sagacity was at fault when he thought it at its very best.

It was very natural that he should delegate his command to his sons, and his sons were clever men, worthy of the preference; but it was not discreet; such family aggrandizement was an insult to the envious khalif. Abdu-l-'aziz was made governor of Spain with his nephew Ayub as second in command. His headquarters were fixed at Seville. The army of Tarik was given to Habib Ibn Abi Obeydah, who had been with Abdu-l-'aziz at the capitulation of Orihuela. The northern frontier was in charge of Naaman Ibn Abdallah. After having arranged his affairs in Spain, he embarked in the latter part of August, 713, (Dulhagia, 94) and crossed over to Mauritania. The government of Tangier and its comarca he entrusted to his son Abdu-l-'ala¹; western Africa was given to Abdu-l-malek, and Africa proper to Abdullah, who had a superior control over the whole of Africa.²

Of the time and manner of Tarik's return to Damascus the ac-

¹So asserted by Condé. Al Mak. says Abdu-l-'ala accompanied Musa to the East.

²To show how injudicious Musa was considered at Damascus, I quote here from the history commonly ascribed to Ibn Koteybah, a conversation which afterward took place between Musa and one of the sons of the khalif Suleyman:—"Whom didst thou appoint to command in thy name in Andalus?" "My son Abdu-l-'aziz," said Musa. "And who is thy lieutenant in Africa proper, Tangier and Sus?" "My son Abdullah," answered Musa. "Thou seemest to me to entertain a very favorable idea of thy sons, since thou didst appoint them to such trusts," replied Suleyman. And Musa answered, "O prince of the believers, who is there in thy dominions who can boast of having sons more accomplished than mine."

counts are conflicting. Some historians assert that he went in the train of Musa. I prefer to believe those who say that unembarrassed by any duties such as those which made the progress of Musa slow, he pushed forward without delay, and arrived at Damascus a long time before Musa.¹ When he arrived he found the khalif absent at the city of Dairmarun, whither Tarik followed him, and when summoned to his presence, appeared with confidence.

The reception of the khalif was kind, and the first conqueror of Spain was for a time the most distinguished man at court. It argued ill for Musa, but promised too much for Tarik; more than the khalif had any idea of bestowing, for even Tarik had become too great for a subject. Tarik was, however, informed that his splendid services were fully known and acknowledged, and his statements entirely trusted. He was recalled, the khalif said, first that his life might not be endangered by the jealous machinations of Musa and his sons, whose influence had become paramount, and secondly, that a clear history of the great events which had taken place in Spain, might now be heard from his own lips. The short address of Tarik in acknowledgment of the khalif's kindness deserves at least to have been truly preserved. He called as witnesses of his conduct, not only the honorable Moslemah of the armies in Spain, but also the Christians whom he had conquered. He called upon all or any to say whether he had ever been cowardly, cruel, or covetous. He could not have better epitomized his character. He had been a valiant warrior, a just man, a loyal subject and a generous enemy. The khalif professed himself well pleased with the man and his words, but Tarik was yet to pass through the severe ordeal of being confronted with Musa.

The arrival of Musa was long delayed, partly because of the pressing business of arranging the several governments, and partly because of the grand state in which he chose to travel. He stayed some time in Kairwan. The caravan with which he moved into eastern Africa astonished the natives by the display of the numerous and rich treasures. In his train were thousands of captives;¹ four hundred Gothic nobles rode at his side, each

¹Musa did not reach Damascus until the 5th Jumada, February, 715, and was therefore a year and a half on his return.

¹The number stated passes belief—30,000.

crowned and girded with gold ; wagons and camels followed in long array, laden with money, precious jewels and spoils. The whole had the air of a triumphal procession, which cou'd not fail further to excite the jealousy of his sovereign. In Egypt he received a grand ovation from the governor, and there, like a monarch, he bestowed gifts, forgave debts, and received homage. Among the Gothic nobles was the governor of Cordova, whom Mugheyth Ar-Rúmi had captured. Musa made another enemy by his grasping spirit. He demanded him at the hands of Ar-Rúmi, that he might present him as his own captive to the khalif. Upon the refusal of Mugheyth, he sprang forward and tore the prisoner from his hands, and then being told that Mugheyth would claim him before the khalif, he cruelly ordered that the Goth should be beheaded.¹

With his grand array he was entering Syria by slow marches, when he received a private letter from Suleyman, the brother and heir of the Khalif Al-Walid, containing the information that the khalif was very ill, with a mortal disease, and could not survive many days. Therefore Suleyman desired Musa to halt with his train, because he wished the incoming splendors of the Spanish conquest to grace his own accession to the throne. But Musa, eager to excuse and ingratiate himself, disregarded Suleyman's request, and hastening into Damascus, he craved an audience with Al Walid. It was now the month of February, 715 (5th Jumada, A. D. 94). The appearance in Syria of the commander whose forces had conquered Spain, with the proofs of the value and glory of his conquest, excited great interest and wonder ; the fact that he had been recalled increased the popular curiosity. The man himself was a hero of romance. From the day when he had received the government of Africa (May, 698), to that in which he arrived at Damascus, almost seventeen years had elapsed, during which he had been in the van of Western progress.

The Khalif Al Walid, although near his end, was able to receive Musa in the mosque. It was on a Friday, and he sat in the *min-bar*, from the top of which he had been preaching, when he heard the shouts : " Here comes Musa, son of Nosseyr ! " Musa ad-

¹Another account says that Mugheyth killed him, that Musa might not have him.

vanced majestically, made his salute, and then at a sign from the khalif introduced and displayed his captives and his treasures, the noble princes adorned with gold, the kings of the Berbers, and the distinguished Moslems who had returned with him. Al-Walid was overcome with pleasure. Three times he removed his own mantle and placed it upon Musa; he gave him fifty thousand dinars, pensions for his sons and for his principal officers; and thus for a time Musa considered his future as secure; he had made, he thought, a moral conquest of Damascus, equal to his conquest of Andalus.¹

But the true ordeal was yet to come. Forty days after this encouraging reception Al-Walid died, and was succeeded by his brother Suleyman. No sooner was the new khalif upon the throne, than he brought Musa before him and examined him closely as to Spanish affairs and his own conduct. For a very short time he dissembled his anger. He asked him numerous questions about the countries and people he had conquered. "Are the Christians a brave people?" "They are" said Musa, "lions in their forts, eagles on their horses, and women in their vessels. Whenever they see an opportunity, they seize upon it immediately, but if they are vanquished they fly swiftly to the tops of their mountains." "And the Berbers?" "The Berbers are like the Arabs in activity, strength, courage, endurance, love of war and hospitality, but they are the most treacherous of men."¹ In answer to the question whether he had always been successful in battle, Musa proudly replied: "Not a banner of mine have they ever borne away, nor have my Moslemah once hesitated to meet them, even though they came upon us as eighty to forty."

Such success in the cause of Islam, notwithstanding Musa's few faults and mistakes, should have been received with the highest honors, and Musa's age should have combined with his long services in averting even the shadow of punishment, but the crafty and cruel Suleyman saw in the brilliant exploits of Musa and his sons too great a fame, and he had resolved to destroy them.

He sent for Tarik, and placed the rival veterans face to face.

¹Ibn Koteybah, quoted by Gayangos I. app. lxxxii.

¹Al Mak. I. 297.

Among the spoils which Musa had presented, and which now lay before the khalif's throne, was the splendid table of Solomon, which has been already described, and of which Musa had declared himself to be the captor. When Tarik had entered the presence, Suleyman asked him whence it came. "I was the finder of it, my lord," said Tarik. "Let us see if there is a defect in it." Upon careful examination, it was discovered that one of the principal legs of emerald or beryl had been taken out and had been replaced by one of gold. "Ask Musa," said Tarik, "whether the table was in this condition when he found it." "It was just so," answered Musa. Upon this Tarik produced from under his mantle the original leg, showed its entire correspondence with the others, and the falsehood of Musa was manifest.

Then the angry khalif turned furiously upon Musa and reproached him for his arrogance and disobedience: "Thou hast run against my will and disobeyed my orders, and, by Allah! I will cut off thy resources, scatter thy friends and seize upon thy treasures."¹ The sentence was severe and unjust in the extreme, and its execution was not delayed. He was to pay into the treasury four millions and thirty thousand gold dinars, and a term was granted in which he might send and collect the sum from his son Abdu-l-'azis in Andalus.² He received the bastinado, and was exposed for a day to a broiling sun, at the close of which he was almost lifeless. He was a ruined man. But his punishment was as yet nothing to what was to come. Suleyman had determined to destroy his family, root and branch.¹

After the departure of Musa from Spain, Abdu-l-'azis displayed great energy and system in the government of Spain, showing that however Musa had exposed himself to the charge of nepotism, he had put the right man in the right place. His armies were busy and successful in Portugal, in northern and eastern Spain, as far as the Pyrenees, and in the mountains of Biscay. He

¹Al Mak. I app. lxxxvii.

²*Ib.*, app. lxxxviii. 3 *Ib.*, I. 294.

³The amount Musa was required to pay into the treasury doubtless comprehended the treasures he had brought. He was besides fined two hundred thousand gold dinars. Of this sum he paid 100,000 himself, and the tribe of Lahm contributed 90,000 in his behalf; the rest was remitted. The process seems to have taken a year, for the fine was levied in February, 716.

made a regular and equitable system of revenue collections. Every province in Spain and in Africa had its receiver-general, whose funds were sent to the common coffer, and thence transmitted to the treasury at Damascus. To bear this accumulated treasure, Abdu-l-'azis, ignorant of his father's downfall, selected ten of his most honorable and trusted councilors, the first of whom was the Habib Ibn Obeydah.

The greedy khalif received this wealth with satisfaction, but at once and secretly dispatched six of those who had brought it on his errand for the destruction of the sons of Musa. They were first directed to repair to Africa and await orders. Thus the children were to suffer for their father's sins, but in the case of Abdu-l-'azis another ostensible reason was not wanting.

It has been seen that upon the death of Roderik he had left a queen, known in the Spanish histories as Exilona, and in the Arabic as Ayela. She is the same who figures in the chronicle of Abulcacim Tarif,¹ and in the drama of Lope de Vega, as the Moorish princess Elyata, who had been shipwrecked on the coast of Spain; who had been baptized and had married Roderik. However this may be, as Exilona she is a real historic character. She was still beautiful and a captive queen; Abdu-l-'azis was a handsome and gallant youth, with a persuasive tongue, and it seemed no difficult task to persuade her to reassume her royal seat and return to the royal creed of her fathers. She became his wife and the monarch of his affections; she was called by the new name, *Omalisman*, or the necklace. The marriage was as happy as it was romantic, and was also conducive to the concord of the Moorish government in Spain; but it gave to Suleyman and the enemies of Musa one pretext for removing and destroying Abdu-l-'azis.

It has been stated that it does not seem to have entered the mind of Musa to tamper with the power of the khalif, but the young and ardent spirit of his son may have thought of such a purpose. He had married the Gothic queen, who, however ready to renounce the Christian faith, was equally ready to regain all her former dignity. It is said, on the authority of the *Coronica General* of Alonzo el Sabio, that she beguiled her husband into wearing the crown and purple robe, and thus making a show of royalty,

¹Perdida de España.

which gave his enemies a ground of complaint against him. It is further said that to require his nobles to enter his presence with the salaam due to kingly power, she prevailed on him to have the door of his audience chamber so low that every person entering it must bend to do so.

Whatever may be the truth of these details, it is patent that the unfortunate and unsuspecting young ameer had been imprudent in his association with the people, and that there were some apparent grounds to the eye of the multitude for the cruel order which was on its way. One of the persons who brought it was his father's old friend and his own, Habib Ibn Obeydah.

The steps taken by the khalif were the following: Having heard that Abdu-l-'aziz resented the treatment his father had received, and had spoken slightly and angrily of the khalif, and even meditated a revolt, he transmitted secret despatches to the six prominent men who had been sent to Abdullah in Africa, informing them that they would be ordered to join Abdu-l-'aziz in Spain, and that when they should arrive there they should concert the time and manner of dispatching him. He then sent open despatches to Abdullah to send these men into Spain, and to Abdu-l-'aziz informing him that they would be sent, and commending them to him for special service.

The bearers of the bloody despatch soon reached their destination, and met to settle the best mode of carrying out their orders. They first sounded Ayûb, Musa's sister's son, who expressed his readiness to be one of the executioners. They next approached Abdullah al Ghafeki, one of the prominent councilors, who was by no means so servile. He said that the reports made to the khalif against Abdu-l-'aziz were utterly false, and entreated them to write to that effect and declare that they could not carry out his orders. The secret could not long be kept. Abdu-l-'aziz was not without a large number of faithful adherents, who, at the first report of the khalif's order, were determined to defend him at all hazards, but the eloquent loyalty of Ibn Wa'lah At-temini, one of the six messengers, prevailed in staying their protecting arms, and he was given over to his fate.

The obedient servants of the khalif, with a number of adherents, secretly proceeded before the dawn to the villa residence of the ameer, called Kenisa-Rebina, a farm near Seville, where

he passed his leisure in the pleasures of domestic retirement. There he had built a mosque, and was constant in his devotions. On the morning referred to he had gone at the hour of prayer, and proceeding to the kiblah he was reading the Koran, when the authorized conspirators burst in upon him, each eager to prove his loyalty to the Commander of the Faithful by dealing a mortal blow. The first blow was struck by Habib Ibn Abi Obeydah. It was not successful. Leaving the kiblah, Abdu-l-'azis took refuge in the body of the mosque, but the crowd broke upon him there, crying, "God is just; He has commanded us to obey our sovereign, and we have no choice but to do so." The unhappy ameer fell under their numerous and repeated strokes; his head was severed from the trunk, hastily embalmed and sent without delay to the expectant khalif.

The mass of the people were astounded and enraged; the production of the khalif's letters did not justify "the deep damnation of his taking off." The first public idea of resistance to the sovereign, or at least of independent action, appears in their choice, as his successor of that Abdullah Al Ghafeki, who had spoken in his favor, and endeavored to shake the purpose of his assassins.

The rest of the sad story need not long detain us. The embalmed head, enclosed in a precious casket, was presented to Suleyman, and might have satisfied his vengeance. But his cruelty was of a harder fiber. Summoning Musa and the envoys to his presence, and surrounded by his principal courtiers, he opened the casket, took out the waxen-featured head, and turning to the unhappy father, exclaimed: "Dost thou know whose head that is?" "Yes," answered Musa, "I do; that is the head of my son Abdu-l-'azis. By the life of Allah, there never was a Moslem who less deserved such unjust treatment. None of thy predecessors would have treated him thus. Thou even wouldst never have done what Allah saw thee do with him, had there been any justice in thee." Paternal grief and anger conquered his prudence, but Suleyman bore with his speech, and giving him the head, that he might "shut the lids of his eyes," contented himself by saying, as the tottering father left the presence with the precious head rolled in the corner of his tunic, "Let Musa alone; he has already been sufficiently pun-

ished," and added, "That old man's spirit is yet unbroken." The last words were not true; there was needed no other drop to fill the cup of Musa's misery. Retiring from the court to Merat Dheran, or, as some say to Wadi-l-korah, he predicted his own death, which took place in September, 716. "Before two days," he said, "there shall die in this town a man whose fame has filled the East and the West."¹ Two days after he died.

The fate of Suleyman looks like a merited and swift retribution. He had learned that the charges against Abdu-l-'azis were untrue. Young and handsome, the idol of his harem, he began to pine away without apparent cause. A prophetic favorite had told him in impromptu verse: "None can deny thy beauty, but all human beauty declines, and thine shall pass away like the flower of the meadow, like the shadow that crosses the sun." He was struck with a deep melancholy, and passed to the great assize not more than a year after the assassination of Abdu-l-'azis, and the death of Musa.

The fate of Musa and his sons is one of many proofs that Islam was the law of submission but not of charity, and also that great services are a burden which all human dynasties seek to fling off and out of remembrance.

The popular choice of Abdullah Al Ghafekí could not stand against the khalif's prestige. The death of Abdu-l-'azis devolved the temporary administration of affairs upon his cousin Ayúb until a permanent successor could be appointed. To strengthen his authority, the generals went through the form of an election, confirming his position.

Doubtless for the double reason of taking a more central position, and making one remove farther from Syria, Ayúb removed the aduana or council-chamber from Seville to Cordova. His short administration of six months (when he was succeeded by Al-Horr) seems to have been vigorous and active. He visited eastern Spain, and especially Saragossa, which had become an eminent city, and rejoiced in a magnificent mosque. There the Arab-Moors made their first plans for the systematic invasion of France through the mountain fastnesses of the Pyrenees.

¹ The historian quoted by Al Makkari asserts that Musa was taken into partial favor by Suleyman, who took him in his suite on a pilgrimage to Mecca, during which he died at Medina. I have followed the account of Condé, as at least the most consistent.

It cannot be doubted that the conduct of the khalif to Musa and his family exerted a strong influence on the Moslems in Spain. It weakened his power and increased their independence. They were ready for action, but they would work for no such rewards as those given to Musa and his son. They would work for themselves, and he might call them back in vain. Martyrdom at Damascus was absurd, and delegated assassins in Spain would thenceforth pursue a dangerous trade. The first step in the independence of Moorish Spain had been taken by the khalif himself.

The next chapter will treat of their incursions into the land of Afranc, which culminated in the battle of Tours.

HENRY COPPÉE.

THE FARMERS' QUESTION.

THE controversy now in progress in the West between the farmers and the railroads attracts universal attention. It is a fine opening, some think, for the organization of a new political party, while others are active in perverting it to the purposes of the free-traders. These last are particularly active, and at Chicago, where some of the papers have a mania on this subject, there is a flood of declamation, ostensibly leveled at the wrongs the farmers suffer through the protective features of the tariff.

No doubt the farmers do suffer very serious losses through the cost of getting to market. It is a result inseparable from the greater fact of having their market at a distance; and it is a law of all markets that those who have crude products to sell must pay the cost of exchanging them for money and goods wherever the money and goods are to be found. When the market is in England and not nearer, the Illinois farmer must bear the cost of sending to England, say four thousand miles, at least. When the market is at New York he has three thousand miles less of transportation to pay for, and some chance to get paying prices. Now why cannot a little reason be applied to the case, and a better result hinted at of creating a consuming market in the cities of Illinois? This is so obvious a truth, and so clear as a mode of relief that it seems incredible that the farmers fail to see it.

All through the West the demand for manufactured goods is enormous, and so well sustained is this demand that production could scarcely go amiss in supplying it. Every form of textile fabrics, every form of manufactured metals, plain goods and fancy goods, necessities and luxuries alike, are eagerly sought and almost recklessly bought and consumed by all classes in the West. Now is the time to inaugurate the thousand industries which exist at the East and in England, and to establish them successfully in a field from which they could never afterward be driven. Now is the time for the Granges to signalize their organization by bringing England to their presence and to their feet, by transplanting the industries by which their necessary merchandise is prepared for them, to the water-power and steam-power of the growing Western cities.

Instead of being an argument for free trade, this revolt of the Granges is the most compact and overwhelming of demonstrations that free trade is impossible without ruin. At the present time perhaps one-fourth of the surplus of Western grain and provision growing goes out of the country to find a market in Europe. Half the entire production is consumed in the United States, in sections more or less remote from the state of origin. Three or four times the amount exported is already consumed at home, and in other States than those of production, but the baleful shadow of the foreign market does much to damage and embarrass the home markets of the East. Suppose the present enormous consumption of the manufacturing States of the East diminished one-half or one-third, as it surely would be if the protective features of the tariff were repealed. Where then would be the relief of the farmers? Suppose the only competitors in the market to buy corn flour or meats were foreign buyers, where would the price be, and what would be left to the farmer after the railroad was paid.

Relief is only to be had by bringing consumers to the farmer's door. Make Chicago, perverse as it is, a manufacturing city. Build in a hundred interior towns duplicates of the factories and workshops of the East, and emulate the fixed and triumphantly successful policy which has made the Eastern cities great. Aid the enterprising man who proposes to establish manufactures by every means in your power, and assure him that so far as possible, the national policy shall be sustained by which alone he can resist

foreign competition. Organize for a sensible and practical business purpose, and by such organization you can remove exactions that are now onerous and annoying, if any such exist on the part of the railroads ; but do not permit yourselves to be handed over to political schemers, or to free trade theorists.

For the people of Chicago who advocate free trade we have always had compassion. The great question to them was that a coat costing thirty dollars in Chicago could be bought for twenty dollars in Toronto, and possibly for ten dollars in London. Blessings so great as free garments are to these free trade writers, justly excite protracted and even desperate struggles to obtain. We have always hoped they might get them, and if ever chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means we will advocate a bill making London garments free to Chicago forever. But beyond this, free trade is a sham, a delusion, a mirage that leads the Western people, above all others, to ruin direct, if they follow it. Free trade makes them go four thousand miles to market when they should not go out of Illinois with the most of it. The railroads will confer a service on the West if they incite home development. Magnificent industries in wool, cotton, iron and copper may as easily be started in Illinois as in Philadelphia. Here these industries make four hundred millions' worth of exchangeable products yearly, and as a consequence, all classes are prosperous, and all markets are good.

The railroads are badly managed, it is quite likely, but will not the farmers manage better than anybody has yet suggested to them, by creating markets at their own doors ; and by exchanging products at the lowest minimum of cost ? If they will, they need never regret the movement now made, nor even the mistakes into which they may be led by the new infusion of energy that incites them to action.

STUDIES IN THE HISTORY OF THE RENAISSANCE.¹

THE Renaissance, of ordinary parlance, begins in St. Peter's and ends in the modern imitations of Palladio; it is confined to architecture; has no fixed origin, and no prospect of a definite termination. Michael Angelo first made it great, and Sir Christopher Wren, popular. With many its claim upon mankind is that it represents comfort and common sense in church building, as opposed to hard benches and symbolic ornament, and while the Gothic movement of the last ten years is not generally loved, but too little is known of Renaissance to enable the upholders of the latter to make an intelligent resistance to the innovation. And yet after all has been said against the true Renaissance that can be said, and every concession that can be made has been made to the party of Pugin, Scott, and Street, and all the rest (for these have in common that their art has no touch of that great revival which Mr. Pater writes so brilliantly and so tenderly about), the fact remains that if in Sculpture, Music and Poetry, the Renaissance is over, its rival has perished too; and if in architecture the elder spirit bears increasing sway (and this is why we cited just a moment ago the names of some living English architects), in Painting the youngest of us have seen the whole of the ephemeral career of the sect called Pre-Raphaelite, and we may conjecture whether, having yielded in one domain to mediævalism, but having in the other seen its downfall there will not come a day when, prevailing over the present phases of art, and conquering where its enemy with no opposition and through inherent weakness failed, the impulse we style Renaissance shall do for the world a second time what it did through the great painters of the 15th century. We paint now with a purpose. Is the time ever to come again when beauty without more shall satisfy us? The Studies in the History of Renaissance, to end this unprofitable introduction, are eight—Aucassin and Nicolette Joachim Du Bellay, Pico Della Mirandula, Lionardo Da Vinci, Sandro Botticelli, Luca Della Robbia, Winckelmann, and the Poetry of Michael

¹ Studies in the History of the Renaissance. By Walter H. Pater, M. A. London and New York: Macmillan & Co. 1873. For sale by George Gebbie. Price \$2.50.

Angelo, which, with a Preface defining the meaning of the term Renaissance, and a Conclusion suggesting the causes of all such awakenings, and the true purpose of Art in general, make up the book. Taking first the "Conclusion," let us leave the special genera of art—Fiction, Painting, Sculpture Poetry, Modelling, Architecture, and putting aside for the present the main theme of the book, let us listen to what a remarkable teacher has to tell about Art itself, not its developments, but its inmost being. Mr. Pater may be wrong in his doctrine, and he certainly is often obscure and mannered in his expression, but by taking from his theory of life and art the charm of the rhetoric in which it is set forth, and by receiving it as a philosophical statement of what claims to be a high truth, we can do him the most justice. Existence is to man (this is his view in substance) made up of sensations, reflections, functions, call them what you will, but yet a succession of momentary impressions or feelings impossible to describe except by saying that they exist, and that they are momentary. And if only through the number and perfection of its parts life is to be more and more to us, it behooves us to know what these parts are and how their number is to be multiplied and what are the best among them. But it will be simpler to let Mr. Pater speak for himself after all, and for that purpose the following extracts will answer :

A counted number of pulses only is given to us of a variegated dramatic life. How may we see in them all that is to be seen in them by the finest senses? How can we pass most swiftly from point to point, and be present always at the focus where the greatest number of vital forces unite in their purest energy.

Not to discriminate every moment some passionate attitude in those about us, and in the brilliance of their gifts, some tragic dividing of forces on their ways is, on this short day of frost and sun, to sleep before evening. With this sense of the splendor of our experience and of its awful brevity gathering all we are into one desperate effort to see and touch, we shall hardly have time to make theories about the things we see and touch.

Well, we are all *condamnés*, as Victor Hugo says : *Les hommes sont tous condamnés a morte avec des sursis indéfinis* ; we have an interval, and then our place knows us no more. Some spend this interval in listlessness, some in high passions, and the wisest in art and song. For our one chance is in expanding that interval, in getting as many pulsations as possible into the given time. High passions give one this quickened sense of life, ecstasy and sorrow of love, political or religious enthusiasm, or the "enthusiasm of humanity." Only be sure it is passion, that it does yield this fruit of a quickened, multiplied consciousness. Of this wisdom the poetic passion, the desire of beauty, the love of art for art's sake, has most, for art comes to you professing frankly to

give nothing but the highest quality to your moments as they pass, and simply for those moments' sake.

And now let us go back to the Renaissance and take first the monograph upon Lionardo, that strange painter. Assuming, to begin with, that the reader's knowledge of Da Vinci is not confined to an acquaintance with the engravings of the Last Supper. and secondly, that upon all who have seen the great artist's other finished works, Modesty and Vanity, for instance, or better than these, his sketches (which in autotype are procurable in this country), there was impressed the bewildering feeling which we ourselves have had, that questioning of spirit as to what manner of man this is, the meaning of his work, and, if it had a purpose, its purpose? Assuming then this state of mind on the student's part, let us open Pater's essay and look for the answer. He does give an answer, acute, and as far as it goes probably right, but not covering the whole case; it is this, that Lionardo had two stimulating motives, curiosity and the desire of beauty. To discover what was unknown, and to create what, in itself, was fair and perfect, was the end all for him. He had no moral purpose, not even an intellectual one; he experimented in chemistry, in mechanics, in engineering, and in the first of these devoted the fruits of his toil to the use of his art, when he improved the colors which he painted; in the other branches of his study he reached scientific results, which he seemed to regard with most unscientific indifference. Even in painting he experimented, but not indifferently except in his grotesques, which being vilely ugly, were only, perhaps, practice lessons in drawing, or, as it were, a trying after chance effects, as a musician may do when he runs his fingers along his instrument, making discord painful to the dullest, but with the hope to wake a harmony more perfect because not sought for through elaborate effort.

Those hideous faces with huge noses, retreating foreheads and projecting lips, were, as we say, thrown off in a careless or a brutal mood (though Mr. Pater makes no such admission), and show how equal in Lionardo's soul was the race between the rival passions. "It is certain," says the author, "that at one period of his life he (Da Vinci) had almost ceased to be an artist."

But after all, his love for beauty conquered the restless spirit that thwarted it, and, of the completeness of the victory, let

the Last Supper, Modesty and Vanity, and that Madonna with the slender lily (we have forgotten the picture's name) be the witnesses. La Gioconda, perhaps, shows the pausing moment in this strife, and for an exquisite description of it too long to be quoted, the reader must go to Mr. Pater's book itself. Let him read at the same time upon pages 103 and 104, the study on the water effects in a series of Lionardo's pictures. Pater's answer to our questions, we have said, is not complete, because for one among other reasons, religion helped in the creation of some of the great Italian's works, and our author's theory would forbid us to think so, and not elaborating this view we may rest the case on that sketch which resembles the Saviour of the Last Supper, but is so incomparably finer. It is a Christ, seen, it is true, through eyes wearied at the mere aspect of the mysteries of faith and sacrifice; and if not doubting, certainly merely curious, but yet a Christ. The St. John the Baptist may be a Bacchus, but no god from Olympus, or beautiful youth from the Florentine streets, can claim to be here under orthodox disguise. It is in very truth that one man, like to whom none have been, or shall be, and who is as really here as on those frescoed monastery walls, where the Angelic Brother who painted them worshiped while he drew his Lord. So much for his works; as for the painter himself, the author may be taken to be right, and speaks for us all in the last passage of the essay, where, waiving a discussion of the question of the reality of Da Vinci's religion raised by the provision in the latter's will, for a certain burning of candles and singing of masses, he says:

"On no theory of religion could these hurried offices be of much consequence. We forget them in speculating how one who had always been so desirous of beauty, but desired it always in such precise and definite forms as hands or flowers or hair, looked forward now into the vague land and experienced the last curiosity."

Though, as Mr. Pater says, the chief interest of the Renaissance lies in Italy in the fifteenth century, yet France had much to do with it; and as an introduction to Joachim Du Bellay, and Aucassin and Nicolette, and as an explanation of what the author means by the word Renaissance, we take the following from his Preface:

"The subjects of the following studies are taken from the history of the Renaissance and touch what I think the chief points in that complex, many-sided movement.

I have explained, in the first of them, what I understand by the word, giving

it a much wider scope than was intended by those who originally used it to denote only that revival of classical antiquity in the fifteenth century which was but one of many results of a general stimulus and enlightening of the human mind, and of which the great aim and achievements of what as Christian art is often falsely opposed to the Renaissance were another result. This outbreak of the human spirit may be traced far into the middle age itself, with its qualities already clearly pronounced, the care for physical beauty, the worship of the body, the breaking down of those limits which the religious system of the middle age imposed on the heart, and the imagination. I have taken, as an example of this movement, the earlier Renaissance within the middle age itself, and as an expression of its qualities, a little composition in early French—not (because it is the best possible expression of them, but because it helps the unity of my series, inasmuch as the Renaissance ends also in France in French poetry, in a phase of which the writings of Joachim du Bellay are in many ways the most perfect illustration.”

Of Aucassin and Nicolette, a French novel, which compares even in immorality favorably with its modern successor, we have the first of the “Studies”—a most charming review—to which is added a short history of the Renaissance, and a clever and a poetic explanation of the effect of Italian influence upon the later French Gothic, not the Flamboyant, in which the decadence strikes through and through, but that exquisite architecture of which Chenonceaux is a famous example, where, as Mr. Pater tells us, the solid Gothic, in its purity and simplicity, is covered without being hidden by a surface of lovely Italian ornament.

Whether Joachim du Bellay deserves the place which is assigned to him by the author is questionable; the writer of a handful of poems, his life passed in obscurity, and a death while his youth was scarcely over, little known in his own land, and except to a scholar here and there unknown beyond it, we find him in the book before us following Lionardo Da Vinci in the succession of criticisms. Why is this? He saw one day some peasants of the Loire country winnowing grain, and he made these verses:

D'UN VANNEUR DE BLE AUX VENTS.

A vous troupe légère
 Qui d'aile passagère
 Par le monde volez
 Et d'un siffiant murmure
 L'ombrageuse verdure
 Doucement esbranlez.
 J'offre ces violettes
 Ces lis et ces fleurettes

Et ces roses icy
 Ces vermeillettes roses
 Sont freschement écloses
 Et ces œillets aussi.

De vostre douce haleine
 Eventez ceste plaine
 Eventez ce sejour
 Ce pendant que j'ahanne¹
 A mon blè que je vanne
 A la chaleur du jour.

"One seems to hear," says the author, "the measured falling of the fans with a child's pleasure on coming across the incident of the first time, in one of those great barns of Du Bellay's own country, La Beauce, the granary of France. A sudden light transfigures a trivial thing a weather vane, a wind-mill, a winnowing flail, the dust in the barn-door; a moment, and the thing has vanished because it was pure effect, but it leaves a relish behind it, a longing that the accident may happen again."

Du Bellay is of the Renaissance, and Mr. Pater's sketch is perfect, like the song of the winnowers. What more is there to be said?

The least satisfactory of the studies, is that on *Mirandula*, and perhaps, therefore, as it is poor only by contrast, should be read first. Of the Florentines of the end of the fifteenth century, its subject is the one that has no place in *Romola*; he serves to point a jeer at *Savanovola*, and is not spoken of again. *Romola* opens with the entry of the French, and it was in the time of the Lilies that Pico died; but one need not wish him in *dramatis personæ* of that novel: his career was dreary enough, described in any way. What would it have been told by George Eliot.

The writer of this knows so little of *Sandro Botticelli* that he passes him by, and of the three Studies, "*Luca Della Robbia*, *Winckelmann*, and the Poetry of *Michael Angelo*," which must be read together, we have not in the limits of our article space to discuss; for opening a new and wide theme, they should be criticised thoroughly or not at all.

A passage from *Winckelmann's* life and we have done:

"He passed through many struggles in early youth, the memory of which ever remained in him as a fruitful cause of dejection. In 1763, in the full emancipation of his spirit, looking over the beautiful Roman prospect he writes, 'One gets spoiled here; but God owed me this; in my youth I suffered too much.'"

H. R.

¹Ahaner to labor at.

NEW BOOKS.

MEMORIALS OF A QUIET LIFE. By Augustus T. C. Hare. Fifth edition. 2 vols., pp. 499 and 482. New York : Routledge, 1873.

In these two volumes, bound into one, of nearly a thousand pages, we have another proof of the rapid growth of a bad habit in literature. The example furnished by Madame Craven, in her "Recit d'une Soeur," and her other family biographies, of publishing to the world the most delicate and intimate relations of family history, and all the incidents, the most sacred as well as the most trivial, in the lives of her nearest and dearest, was bad enough to be excused by the fact that Frenchmen live their lives before the world, and are used to finding a market for their sentiments on every subject, religion, affection, love, courtship, death, and all that goes to make up the sum of private life. Here we have an Englishman, the near relative as well as the namesake of the two brothers, Julius and Augustus Hare, well known by their "Guesses at Truth," and by their active participation in the literary and theological movements of the last generation—coolly making a book by the very simple process of turning out for public gaze the close correspondence and private diaries and journals of his adopted mother, the widow of Augustus Hare. The motive of the book nowhere seems to rise above the merest penny-a-lining. The work of the editor is so slight and so badly done that it deserves no sort of praise, and he ought to be heartily taken to task for so utterly failing in his duty as kinsman and namesake, as to print matters purely private, with which no one outside of those who wrote and those who were to read the letters here printed, had aught to do. It is plain, almost on the surface, that one reason for this shameless exposure of family matters, was to make material for a big book, which he hoped to sell by means of the affectionate regard still entertained by those who knew the two men, Julius and Augustus Hare, either by their books or by reason of their large acquaintance and active participation with the leading men in English letters and politics in the last forty years. Those who know Hare's memoir of John Stirling, where so much was left to be read between the lines, where there was such eloquent reticence and such careful restraint from any inroad upon personal domestic relations—will turn with regret to the pages of this book, and will leave it with impatience and dissatisfaction. The long, wearisome and inane letters and extracts printed here with tiresome and stupid fidelity, are enough to cover out of sight the few brief passages that might have some significance for those who know what an important part in contemporary English history, literary and political, was attributed to the two brothers,

the authors of the "Guesses at Truth," and of so many volumes of sermons, reviews and shorter articles. It is true they were just fading from sight, in view of the greater and better work done by many of their own fellow-students, and by those who, coming after them, have profited by and improved upon their labors, but, unluckily, their name is likely to be weighted down by this book about them, which has every fault that a biography ought not to have.

LAKEVILLE; OR, SUBSTANCE AND SHADOW. By Mary Healy. Appleton.

This not very clever book has an interest and a present value which ought, but which probably will not, bring it into notice, because its chief merit, an admirable picture of the garish life of one of our great Western cities, is too delicately done to be appreciated by a foreigner, who sees, when he sees at all, only broad characteristics, while the story is too completely native in its tone to be anything but ignored by an American. Lakeville is Chicago—the scene of the first chapters; and of the life of those people about whom we here in older part of our country know not a great deal more than we do of the inner feelings and cherished interests of our fellow-citizens, the Alaskans, Miss (?) Healy gives a clear and probably accurate description. That the result is not agreeable is not her fault. How far she appreciates the vulgarity she writes of is hard to say; certainly she tells her story in an unhesitating way which argues some blindness on her part. And after all, for a gentleman to call a young lady "Miss" or for her to speak of her gloves as "kids" is a breach of merely conventional propriety, and if the social legislators of Chicago approve these expressions, that, for Chicago, ends the matter. Perhaps the author is weakest when the subject is her first hero (there are two for the one heroine), for though we are expected to frown upon him as a hardened, unprincipled worldling, it is not once intimated that the Illinois Lothario is of a low order of the American snob, the species with waving hair and large, drooping mustache, predominant upon the fashion-plates of New York tailors, a Stokes of a little higher rank; and yet such he certainly is. That he should have just the place which is assigned him in the curious drama is true to life, but that a woman of character and education should descend into either loving or hating him, and Miss Healy's heroine does both, shows that neither the actual nor the fictitious lady have that sensitiveness of taste which is the last and most difficult to acquire of all the constituents of refinement. The reckless, comfortless existence of a community mad in the pursuit of sudden wealth; its bald, hard almost dreary aspect; its narrow range of feeling, its coarse excitements and its inde-

scribable vulgarity—"Lakeville" sets forth with a fidelity which one cannot altogether understand, so unshrinking is it. And here ends what is in reality the only valuable part of the book. The rest of the story is laid abroad, and though a provincial French household and the character of one of its inmates "une jeune fille bien élevée," are cleverly sketched, this is ground gone over before, and in a way which makes the present author's attempt to be not altogether without presumption. Of the possibilities of culture, which are latent in the Western character, we should gratefully accept as a proof the description of the church of St. Ouen at Rouen, on p. 19.

"As he had predicted, the afternoon was fast waning as they reached the church. It was quite solitary and as they entered, a sense of quiet and peace fell upon them all. The outside with its quaint projecting monster heads, its delicate shafts and rich work had delighted Val, but when, guided by Alick, she stood on a certain spot near the altar, from which one looks down the aisles on the marvelous perfection and harmony, she felt as she had never felt before, how transcendent is the power of beauty in the soul. It is as though the restlessness of the divine spark within us which is the natural yearning after its native perfection were for the instant silenced, satisfied, having found that which it sought."

Nothing extraordinary, we admit, but, nevertheless, the discrimination which chose St. Ouen as the subject of rapture is entitled to encouragement. One cannot help wishing that the author of this work would write again, for to it the highest praise that can be accorded is that it is just good enough to be disappointing in not being better.

LECTURES ON LIGHT. Delivered in the United States, in 1872-1873, by Professor Tyndall. D. Appleton & Company. For sale by Carter & Coates.

As a memorial of his visit to us, and as a help to recall the demonstrations which, at the time, abundance of experiments made really clear, this reproduction of Mr. Tyndall's lectures can justify its existence. But in all diffidence, and speaking "as a fool," a book more useless to an unscientific student can scarcely be cited, and, withal, possessing a clearness of rhetoric, that is absolutely exasperating. However, the work is probably not intended as a manual of instruction at all, still less as a substitute for the lectures delivered in England, which the Appletons have also published, and so all who may be disappointed in their expectations about it have only themselves to find fault with.

LARS: A PASTORAL OF NORWAY. By Bayard Taylor. Boston. James R. Osgood & Co. For sale by Claxton, Remsen & Haffelfinger. \$1.50.

Of this little romance it is scarcely fair to tell the simple plot,

and it will be enough to say that a love of nature, deep and exquisite of its kind, a sublimity of child-like faith and an apparent want of a sense of the ridiculous, real or assumed (presumably the latter), go to the making of the book. Though, to the unregenerate heart, the spiritual experiences of Lars, the hero, may seem so improbable as to be quite nonsensical, the taste which does not greatly enjoy the picture of the windy fells and fiords set in artistic contrast with the soft green lanes and orchards of the Brandywine (for Lars, after having in his native country proved himself "an awkward hand in row," emigrates to Delaware and turns Quaker) had better begin its necessary education on Mr. Taylor's poem.

THE ADVENTURES OF A BROWNIE, as told to my child. By the author of "JOHN HALIFAX GENTLEMAN." New York: Harper & Brothers, 1872. For sale by J. B. Lippincott & Co.

Children will always believe in ghosts and fairies. No process of civilizing can ever eradicate the supernatural elements from the minds of the small savages. For them the dark will always teem with the old mysteries and the inexplicable sounds of night, or its yet more painful stillness, fashion mythologies too strong for all the philosophy of daylight. But whether this faith is to be fraught with misery or pleasure is a question that the exercise of a little tact can easily determine and care secure.

How, in the old days of hideous goblin stories, which inspired a doubtful joy in the brightest sunshine and made night grisly, children were even induced to go to bed alone, is beyond comprehension, and one is surprised that vigil-worn mammas had not long since devised the simple remedy of burning all this trash, and along with it a silly, prating maid or two to make way for better things.

To teach the little people of the nursery that the little people of the moonshine are kindly in their pranks, that it is frolicsome and not malignant mischief that animates the powers of the air, is to drive away the lurking phantoms from beneath the crib and out of the dark corners, divesting bedtime of half its horrors.

All this is apropos of the above charming little story by Miss Mulock about the tricks of Brownie—the "obliging goblin" who haunts every worthy fireside.

ROUGE ET NOIR. By Edmond About. Pp. 236. Philadelphia: Claxton, Remsen & Haffelfinger.

A French writer is generally seen at his best in his shorter stories. The plot is so carefully worked out, the characters are so vivid, and the language is so crisp and sparkling, that a book like this is to a story of the same size by Dickens or Wilkie Collins as a diamond is to a lump of quartz. In the larger works of

French authors we miss the variety and grasp of character which belong to our own novelists. Even in Balzac there is a sense of sameness and of limitation. But to a novelette of two hundred pages one applies a different standard. Wit, *verve* and brightness, with just a dash of pathos, the quick play of feeling and an exquisite sense of the ludicrous—these will redeem even a flimsy plot and conventional characters. A French author is like a French cook, who can dress you a capital dinner out of a knuckle bone and a bunch of salads.

What a Parisian is to a Provençal or a Burgundian, Edmond About is to other Parisians. There is a dance and a sparkle about his sentences which no translation can disguise. His story (whose proper title, by the way, is *Trente-et-Quarante*) begins with a family of three living in a Paris flat; M. le Capitaine Bitterlin, his daughter Emma, and his servant Agatha. The captain is a retired officer of the army, who has fought at Leipsic and Waterloo, and after many years' service has killed a brother officer in a duel, and thrown up his commission. He is a character not common among Frenchmen, but very effective in About's hands: a misanthrope, who has seen the prizes of life fall to others, and is embittered against his race; not without good qualities, such as intrepidity and honor, but a grumbler and a tyrant. He shuts up his daughter from all society and amusement, and is especially on his watch against lovers. Nevertheless, a young Italian, Bartolomeo Narni, who has lost his home and fortune in the rebellion of 1848, sees her at church, and the pair instantaneously fall in love. Agatha is brought into the plot; and after some weeks of hidden meetings Emma tells her father boldly that she wants to be married. He falls into a paroxysm of rage, boxes her ears, sends off poor Agatha, and locks Emma into her own room. The confinement soon makes her sick, and the captain, at his wits' end, adopts his doctor's advice, and takes his daughter away from the dangerous asphalt to Switzerland and Baden. Meo goes in the same coach, and by a lucky manoeuvre devised by a wiser head than his own, puts the captain under an immense obligation, excites his impulse to contradiction, so that he insists upon doing just what Meo secretly wishes, and finally marries Emma with her father's full approbation. How the result is achieved we will leave the reader to discover; but the critical moment is at *Trente-et-Quarante*, at the gambling tables at Baden.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

Fourth Annual Report of the State Board of Charities of Massachusetts, January, 1873. Pp. 473. Boston: Wright & Potter, State Printers.

Play and Profit in My Garden. By Rev. E. P. Roe, author of "Barriers Burned Away." Pp. 349. Price \$1.50. New York: Dodd & Mead. For sale by Smith, English & Co.

American Pioneers and Patriots; Ferdinand De Soto, the Discoverer of the Mississippi. By John S. C. Abbott, Illustrated. Pp. 351. Price, \$1.50. New York: Dodd & Mead. For sale by Smith, English & Co.

Science Primers, Edited by Professors Huxley, Roscoe and Balfour Stewart IV. Physical Geography. By Archibald Geikie, LL.D., F. R. S. With Illustrations. New York: D. Appleton & Co. For sale by Porter & Coates.

Betsy Lee. A Fo'c's'le Yarn. New York: Macmillan & Co, 1872. Pp. 110. Price 75 cents. For sale by Porter & Coates.

The Men of the Third Republic; or the Present Leaders of France, Reprinted from the London Daily News. Philadelphia: Porter & Coates, 1873. Pp. 384.

Rhymes Atween Times. By Thomas MacKellar. Philadelphia: J. B. Lipincott & Co., 1873. Pp. 336.

The American's Hand-Book to Vienna and the Exhibition, comprising all necessary information in regard to Routes, Expenses, Hotels, Boarding-houses, Postage, Moneys, Railway Fares, Steamers, Cabs, Legations, etc., with Time Tables, Maps, etc. By C. W. De Bernardy. Illustrated with a large map of Vienna, a plan of the Exhibition buildings and grounds, etc. Philadelphia: Porter & Coates, 1873. Pp. 89. Price \$1.50.

THE
PENN MONTHLY.

JULY, 1873.

THE MONTH.

THE overthrow of the friend and minister of Louis Philippe by a combination of monarchists headed by a Duc de Broglie would be an odd event in any politics but those of France, even if the ostensible objects were not the elevation to power of a Bonapartist Marshal. And yet, after all, it ought not to surprise any one who has studied the condition of parties, and understands the forces at work in that unhappy country. The elections of Mack, Barodet and Ranc were sure to awaken apprehension in the conservative mind. M. Thiers was equally certain to fan that apprehension into fear and the result was evident. This force of fear, which Gambetta has so well described as influencing the political action of his countrymen, had never a better chance to act. There is a large element in the Assembly which hangs forever like a rag upon the fence, fluttering first on this side and then on that, according to the wind. On this occasion it blew too strongly from the Radical quarter; over to the other side fluttered rag, tag and bobtail, and down, with a rush, came M. Thiers. It is hardly to be expected that the administration of MacMahon will be successful or permanent. It is the weak bridge over the chasm, but whether it leads to that throne which, as Thiers has wittily said, will not hold three, or to the Republic on which Gambetta's single eye is fixed, France may at least praise it if it bear her safely over the dangers that lurk in the next few months.

IN Spain during the last month the effort to establish a permanent government has been accompanied with many difficulties. The elections for the National Assembly, or Cortes, showed a result which was thought at the time to indicate a degree of unanimity sufficient to secure a permanent result, for of the 388 members elected, it was said that 358 were adherents of a Federal Republic, and of this number only 30 were of the extreme wing or "irreconcilables," as they were called. But when the Cortes assembled, it was found that although there was unanimity upon the question of a Federal Republic, there was so great difference as to questions of policy that it was impossible to keep the first cabinet together; and, indeed, after the events of the past month, it is very questionable whether there can be established now in Spain such a Republic as Figueras and Castelar wished. On the ninth of June the Cortes passed the resolution definitely proclaiming the Federal Republic. When, however, on the evening of the same day, the Cortes re-assembled for the purpose of completing the formation of a ministry, there followed a scene of excitement and confusion rarely, if ever, equaled, even in the older Republican representative halls. As the result of this stormy meeting, the list of ministers proposed by Señor Pi y Margall was rejected, and Señor Figueras was induced to remain in office with the old cabinet. But within a fortnight this ministry was compelled to resign, and when called upon to form a new cabinet, Figueras confessed himself unable to do so. For a while there was a dead lock, and the aspect of affairs grew serious, the "irreconcilables," in their determination to gain a voice in the government, even threatening an armed revolution. Then a compromise was agreed upon, and a cabinet formed partly of "ministerials" and partly of "irreconcilables," with Pi y Margall at their head as President of Council, and Minister of the Interior. Since then, it is said, a definite scheme is in preparation for the division of Spain and its colonies into Federal States, and a Federal constitution is to be drawn by a special commission appointed by the Cortes. Whether the present state of affairs will be permanent is very uncertain; compromises in politics generally produce but sorry results, and in the very unsettled condition of the country, the Carlists' insurrection assuming even greater proportions than before, and the army being almost without discipline, it

is doubtful whether there is an opportunity for that calm and thoughtful action which is necessary to maintain their Republic. After all, the result depends mainly upon the personal character and power of those at the head of the government, for we have learned before now that the mere adoption of republican ideas will not make intelligent constituents or legislators, and in a country where from the circumstances of the case the people are not yet able to govern themselves, as is certainly the case now in Spain, the success of such a scheme is mainly dependent upon the ability of those in command to control outbursts of enthusiasm without intelligence, and to instruct by their action the mass of the people in the true principles of a popular government.

LAST month we were betrayed into an error. Khiva is not yet captured. The Russian forces are advancing in two columns, the commander doubtless intending, like the famous General Boum, to concentrate them at a "point unique," the situation of which, unlike that eminent strategist, he knows, and which, no doubt, is Khiva itself. The Atlantic cable has announced two or three engagements and the capture of several unheard-of places by generals with unpronounceable names. But thus far Khiva is not conquered nor the Khan taken prisoner. We had excellent authority for saying so last month—no less than a cable telegram with journalistic comments. It professed to be official, but was entirely untrue. In this age of euphemisms it may be more proper to speak of it as premature.

THE London papers, notably the *Graphic*, are just bringing us pictures and descriptions of the new hall built on Muswell Hill on the outskirts of that city, when the swifter telegraph had already told us of its destruction. One naturally feels a shock on hearing of a fire in the Old World, lest the irreparable loss of some treasure of history or antiquity should be involved. This building is altogether new, however, and its contents were merely a fine organ. The pecuniary damage was very great, and one may beside feel a sentimental, perhaps superstitious regret, that the costly tribute which England had laid at the feet of the beautiful and gracious princess who is to be her queen, should have turned so soon into ashes—*Absit Omen*.

ONE of the most remarkable book sales on record took place at Hanworth Park, near London, on the third of June and the three following days. It was a sale of the collection of Mr. Perkins, one of the firm of Barclay, Perkins & Co., the well known brewers. There were altogether only 865 lots, and they brought in the aggregate, under the auctioneer's hammer, £26,000. The gem of the collection was a copy, printed on vellum, of the "Biblia Sacra Latina," known as the "Mazarin" Bible, from the fact that the first copy of it known to biographers, was discovered in Cardinal Mazarin's library. This brought the extraordinary price of £3,400. A copy of the same book, printed on paper brought £2,690; and the first folio Shakespeare of 1623 sold for £585. Altogether, the result of this sale is the largest sum ever realized for so small a number of books. And it is said that a much larger amount would have been realized had it not been for the usual "knock-out" among the booksellers; "An operation," writes a London correspondent, "compared with which highway robbery is an honorable profession."

DEATH has been busy among the great in the past four weeks. In a season appallingly full of such events, no names have been added to the list more distinguished in their respective countries than those of the historian Von Raumer, and the statesman Rattazzi. The German had completed his work and survived all his contemporaries, but the Italian was comparatively young. Before the latter had commenced his distinguished career, the infirmities of age had compelled Von Raumer to withdraw from public life. Since 1853 he has done little, but his mind remained clear and active to the end. It is probable that there is no man in Italy to take Rattazzi's place. Learned, eloquent and able, he would have been great had he been less selfish, but his usefulness to his country and his age was often negated by his desire to benefit himself. He had not taken a very active part in politics since the removal of the capital to Rome, but he continued to fill a large place in the political world, and Italy may well mourn a man of his ability, experience and force at this time when she most needs all three in the management of her affairs.

WE are often called upon to admire the energy of the American editor and the courage and devotion of his staff. And during the past few weeks that morbidly active journal—the *New York Herald*—has been worthy of enthusiastic admiration. Not content with its African conquests and the profitable imprisonment of two devoted correspondents in the damp dungeons of an effete monarchy of the old world, that representative of American enterprise and culture has “interviewed” the Duc de Broglie in his study and Señor Figueras at his modest home. It has penetrated the mountain fastnesses of Cuba Libre and talked with the itinerant president of that imaginary Republic. It has followed the flittings of that political butterfly, Don Carlos, and pinned him in his tent with the most impertinent questions, and finally forcing its way into the cavernous recesses of Cardinal Antonelli’s confidence, it has given us his confessions in flaring type.

We do not, it is true, gain from all this anything that is very valuable about Spanish or French or Italian politics, nor are we told what may have been the feelings of these distinguished victims on finding themselves impaled for the examination of mankind and the rest of the *Herald’s* subscribers, but we may conjecture that among them is unbounded admiration for the enterprise and impertinence of that remarkable journal.

THE small war-cloud that had risen on the Texan border, has happily dissipated, and the latest news is that the Mexicans are rather gratified than otherwise by Col. McKenzie’s raid into their country, and, to make an undignified comparison, are much in the situation of a livery-stable keeper, who, when his horse is lamed by a customer, finds compensation in making the latter take the animal at three or four prices. So our southern neighbors will waive the insult to their territory, which we were guilty of in chasing certain thieving Kickapoos over the line, upon condition that we will buy the soil we have polluted with our presence. Probably nothing will result from this affair, however, not even an expensive real-estate transaction.

WHEN following Mrs. Glass’s injunction, we have caught our hare, the question what then to do with it, that excellent lady

has made very easy. We have caught our Modocs, not without a chase, but there exists no approved receipt directing the disposition to make of them. Gen. Sherman thinks that the band should have been shot on sight. Gen. Davis came very near giving the clearest possible evidence of his feelings on the point, and a government order arrived in no more than time for saving the whole party of aboriginal rowdies from being hanged in a row on a gibbet outside the U. S. camp. The Attorney General advises a court-martial, citing in support of his opinion some excellent authorities, as well as some such questionable precedents as the Wirtz trial. One of the strongest of his arguments is that we have treated the Indians to a certain extent as belligerents, and therefore their offenses are brought within military jurisdiction; per contra, an act of Congress had taken an opposite view of our relations with the "wards of the government." Be all this as it may, justice will certainly be dealt out to Captain Jack and party, though on the other hand the chances are very few in favor of punishment overtaking the Oregonian volunteers for *their* guilt.

SOME little excitement has been occasioned by reports of interviews with the Esquimaux of Hall's Expedition, from which it was to be gathered that the unfortunate doctor had been poisoned. Secretary Robeson has examined and cross-examined the survivors of the party, and has taken reams of testimony. He has, however, not yet opened his lips, nor attempted to allay the anxiety of the world beneath him. His own opinions and the grounds for it are still shrouded in the clouds which generally envelope great altitudes, and we must remain, for the present, content with the report that has trickled down to us, that there is reason to believe that the explorer died a natural death.

THERE is a legal doctrine, established by the famous Dartmouth College case, upheld and acted upon in every commonwealth in this country, whose soundness no one denies, and which is as integral a part of our law as that requiring trial before punishment. It declares that every charter granted by a State is a contract and within the protection of the provision of the Constitution forbidding the States to pass laws impairing the obligation of such agreements. An act of Legislature of Illinois directly in violation of

this principle was passed, in order to remedy certain alleged wrongs inflicted by the local railroads upon the farmers of that State. Judge Lawrence, an eminent jurist, known with respect throughout the land generally, and especially honored by the profession in which he holds so high an office, when this enactment came before him, did simply his duty. Now let those who have been putting their trust in the fact that amid all our corruption we have at least a judiciary who will save us from utter wreck, mark what followed Judge Lawrence's course, and look well to the foundations of their confidence. The Supreme Court expounds unquestioned law, which is distasteful to the community; then comes an election for judge to fill Lawrence's place, and he is himself candidate. The "Granges," who had the disputed statute passed, determine, at the cost of principle and decency, to push through their scheme, to which a reversal of the late decision is indispensably necessary; therefore not only is Lawrence to be defeated, but some one must be obtained who will run as a candidate, pledged to a decision in favor of the unconstitutional act.

After several rebuffs, the farmers find their man, a certain Craig by name, who is nominated, vigorously supported, and finally elected.

These are the facts which shall speak for themselves. We add no comment, nor apply an epithet. The railroads, on their part, we hear from Iowa, are dissatisfied with a decision of one of the State courts, and announce that they will now find it necessary to their own protection to "secure the election of judges favorable to them," and this statement is published in the newspapers throughout the country, without indication of surprise or disgust. Judge Craig, we had forgotten to say, was, prior to elevation to the bench, counsel for the Burlington & Quincy Railroad. So Balaam may disappoint Barak after all.

SINCE the adjournment of the legislature, municipal matters have been very quiet in Philadelphia, most of the pure patriots who have served the people in a representative capacity, being busily occupied in arranging their renominations and "setting up" matters generally for the fall campaign. This is of course a work which is best done in quietness if not in peace, and the weeks have floated by smoothly and without a ripple. The muni-

cial reformers have, it is true, opened the campaign by nominating candidates for the county offices. The names are those of honored and estimable citizens, whom it is a refreshing thing to find willing to incur the annoyance of candidature. The resolutions of the nominating convention repeat the oft-announced principles of the association, and the question of supporting the ticket is once more put before the conscience of the citizen and the taxpayer. Although there is no doubt who will be the candidates of the party in power, the form of nomination has not yet been gone through with, and of them it is therefore premature to speak. No improvement can, however, be expected in that quarter, and from the Democrats, as a party, there is nothing to hope. The *New York Times*, taking advantage of the timid silence of the local press, has begun to push the cause of the reformers with characteristic energy. It does not hesitate to state facts and comment on them, nor fear to give things their appropriate names. But the fight has not yet opened and the weather is too warm for work, even for reformers. Whatever may be the developments of the next three months, or the result of the campaign, it is just to say that the industry, the public spirit, the vigilance, the activity, and the courage of the men who are engaged in this attempt to check the rapacity of the rings, have been worth to their fellow-citizens all the labor and the money that has been expended, even if their reward has thus far been poor, even in thanks.

LIGHT DUES IN GREAT BRITAIN.

AT the instance of the Boston and the National boards of trade, the Senate of the United States, a year ago, asked for and procured the publication of the correspondence which passed between our own Government and that of Great Britain, during the years 1850 to 1852, in reference to the collection of light dues upon shipping in British ports. When Mr. Abbott Lawrence was Minister at the Court of St. James, he interested himself very much in this question, and having obtained permission from Washington to open negotiations with the English

government, for the relief of American shipping especially from the payment of these charges, he argued the matter with much ability in one or more despatches addressed to Viscount Palmerston, then Secretary of State for foreign affairs. The correspondence, consisting of various letters which passed between Mr. Lawrence and the Department of State at Washington, and the English Foreign Office, appears in Executive Document, No. 57, of the Forty-second Congress. It led to no practical results at the time; but it is not improbable that a fitting opportunity for reopening the negotiations will offer itself before long, and it seems desirable, therefore, that the question, both as to its merits and as to its present position, should be clearly understood in the United States.

It is admitted by English writers on the subject, that the management of British and Irish light-houses is marked by much want of system. In all the maritime countries of the continent of Europe and in the United States, some one governmental department, usually that of marine, with us that of the Treasury, holds undisputed mastership over the coast lights. In England, notwithstanding many improvements introduced during the last twenty years, there is still much confusion and clashing of powers, and an immense amount of correspondence passes back and forth among the various officials. The control of the lights in the different parts of the United Kingdom, is divided among the Brethren of the Trinity House, the Commissioners of Northern Light-houses, the Dublin Ballast Board, and the Board of Trade, and it is not always easy to define and limit with exact precision, the powers and responsibilities of these bodies.

In by-gone days, owners of land upon the English coast were, in many instances, authorized to erect light-houses and to collect tolls for maintaining them from passing vessels, and they made their collections in such a way as greatly to hamper maritime commerce; but by acts of Parliament passed at different times, these private lights have been mostly, if not altogether, bought up, and placed under the same control as the public lights. The Act of 1836, as we learn from Mr. George Dodd, who contributed an interesting paper on the subject to the *British Almanac and Companion* of 1873, made provision for vesting the whole of the light-houses of England and Wales in the Trinity House,

as well as for giving to that corporation some controlling power over the Scotch and Irish light-houses. The crown had a pecuniary interest in some of the light-houses; this interest was sold to the Trinity House for £300,000. The act empowered this body to buy up in like manner all the light-houses belonging to private individuals; the owners were compelled to sell, but the price was to be determined by arbitration. During the six years next succeeding, about £1,250,000 was expended in this way; since then, this large sum has gradually been repaid out of the Trinity House revenues.

The Trinity House, therefore, manages all the public light-houses of England and Wales, those still owned by corporate or local bodies being administered by them, and maintained from the revenues of the corporation or company to which they belong. It possesses and exercises other powers also; it superintends the pilotage of English ports, and it monopolizes the sale of ballast in the port of London. The financial part of the system under which it acts, is complicated by the provisions of its early charters, which regulate some of its expenditures, and which require it to appropriate a portion of its revenues to certain specified charitable purposes. Its total expenditure is about £200,000 annually.

The management of the lights on the Scottish coast and the Isle of Man is vested in the Scotch Board of Commissioners, and that of the Irish lights in the Dublin Ballast Board, a corporation created for the purpose of preserving and improving the port of Dublin. The Elder Brethren of the Trinity House consist chiefly of retired captains in the merchant service; but the members of the two other boards are gentlemen, who serve without compensation, and who do not give much time and attention to the subject. In matters in which the experience of nautical men would be needed, these boards are to some extent under the Trinity House.

Until 1854, the central government had no direct control over the light-house system. The three bodies just referred to exercised their respective functions, and levied tolls on shipping to defray the cost. The tolls varied from a penny down to a sixteenth of a penny a ton of shipping, for each light, paid by those who were, or were supposed to be, benefited by the protection

afforded by the lights. Quoting again from Mr. Dodd: The Trinity House revenues, after meeting all current expenses, paid off a debt which had accumulated for the purchase of private lights, besides contributing to certain chartered benevolent purposes; but the board professed to act on the plan of keeping down the dues as far as practicable, and also sought to make them discriminative, charging the highest toll for those lights which rendered most service.

A great change was made in 1854 by the passage of the Merchant Shipping Act, which consolidated all the various statutes relating to ships and seamen engaged in commerce, as distinguished from the Royal Navy. A new department of the Board of Trade was created with an extensive controlling power in such matters. All the light dues collected for the services rendered by the public or general light-houses on all the coasts of the United Kingdom, were to go into one common fund, called the Mercantile Marine Fund, together with moneys derived from other sources. The Board of Trade manages this fund, and regulates and occasionally readjusts the table of dues.

The coast line of the United Kingdom has been estimated at 9,383 miles. The total number of public light-houses and light-ships in the British Islands, as given in the admiralty list of 1872, irrespective of the harbor and dock-lights of corporations and joint stock companies, is 514.

We have thought that the foregoing statements would be interesting to our readers, but the particular feature of the British light-house system with which we have to do in the present article, is the collection of fees for its maintenance from those who are, or are supposed to be, especially benefited by it. Vessels in ballast, or carrying no freight, are, we believe, exempted; but all others are taxed in proportions depending partly on the size of the ship, and partly on the importance of the light-house by which it is benefited. About seventy per cent. of the tolls thus collected in the United Kingdom is paid by British shipping, the owners of which regard the outlay as a tax upon their enterprise from which they ought to be relieved. Indeed, English ship-owners have long been restive under the payment of these dues. In 1822 the subject was considered with other questions relating to the shipping interest, by a committee of the House of

Commons; in 1834, again in 1845, and once again in 1860, it received the attention of committees of the House, and an inquiry concerning it was made by a Royal Commission appointed in 1858, but which did not report until 1861. Most, if not all these committees, and, we think, the commission also, reported that the levying of light dues upon shipping is unjust in principle. The Select Committee of 1860 gave its approval to "the sound and liberal policy" recommended by the committee of 1845, "that the nation generally should pay the cost of maintenance of lights," and said further: "It need scarcely point out that the ships of the royal navy, revenue, fishing vessels yachts, and ferry-boats are exempt from the payment of light dues; and the present unequal incidence of the tax furnishes additional ground for the removal of the burden altogether from merchant shipping. The justice, as well as the policy, of that course is strengthened by the fact that the large debt of £1,250,000, the result of improvident grants, incurred under the authority of Parliament, for buying up the light-houses held by individuals, has, since 1845, been paid out of the light dues raised by a tax upon shipping; though it was, undoubtedly, the duty of the State to take upon itself that debt. By means of the enormous dues which have been levied, the whole existing system of light-houses has been brought at an estimated outlay of £4,000,000, to its present state; and while the accumulated capital now in hand, would, under judicious management, materially assist in the erection of such additional light-houses as might be called for by the increasing trade of the country, the future annual charge upon the consolidated fund would probably not exceed the interest of the capital already raised by a tax upon ship-owners, for the purchase and erection of our light-houses, and which is now funded for the benefit of the nation."

Notwithstanding these recommendations, however, and the urgency of its citizens who are engaged in ship-owning, the English government has not yet placed the charge of maintaining its light-house system upon the public revenues. To do this, would add one more item to the budget, and might increase taxation; and every succeeding administration has hesitated, not unnaturally, to take a step involving these consequences.

But the American people, and the American government in

their behalf, have cause for complaint in this regard altogether different from, and much stronger than that urged by a part of the British public. The American light-house system is supported from the national revenues; and the American coast line, which, including bays and islands, has a length of more than twenty-one thousand miles, is lighted up and buoyed for the benefit of the commerce of all nations, free of charge. This point was urged by Mr. Lawrence in his despatch to Lord Palmerston, of December 31, 1850, as follows:

“The light-houses, floating lights, buoys and beacons, on the whole sea and lake coast and the United States, were constructed and are maintained by the Federal government; an annual appropriation being made by Congress for these objects. No light dues of any kind are levied, either on vessels of the United States, or on ships of foreign nations. In the year 1792, there were but ten lights in the Union. In the year 1848 there were 270 light-houses, 30 floating lights, and a thousand buoys, besides numerous fixed beacons. There are probably at this time, including those under construction on the Pacific coast, more than three hundred light-houses, with a proportionate number of floating lights, buoys, etc., all of which are given to the use of the world, by the United States, without tax or charge.”¹

Mr. Lawrence further said, by way of contrast to what he had thus stated:

“During the last year there appears to have been levied upon the shipping of the world for light dues, in the United Kingdom, between four and five hundred thousand pounds. Of this, one-fourteenth part was paid by citizens of the United States, while British subjects, with a fleet doubtless equally large in the ports of the

¹The latest report of the United States Light-house Board, the President of which *ex-officio* is the Secretary of the Treasury, under date of August 31, 1872, enumerated the light-houses, light-ships, beacons and buoys in the establishment, as follows:

| | |
|---|-------|
| Sea and lake coast lights,..... | 179 |
| Harbor and river lights,..... | 394 |
| | <hr/> |
| | 573 |
| Light-ships,..... | 22 |
| Fog signals, operated by steam or hot-air engines,..... | 33 |
| Day, or unlighted beacons,..... | 354 |
| Buoys actually in position,..... | 2,762 |
| Light-keepers in service 809, to be increased to present year to 893. | |
| The establishment is divided into twelve geographical districts. | |

United States, have not been taxed at all for the maintenance of lights. The government of the United States, in view of its own liberality, is justifiable in asking Her Majesty's government to do away with this great inequality, and to remove this restriction on commerce."

Lord Palmerston, in his reply, bearing date February 6, 1851, could not but admit that the policy of the American government, in this respect, was a wise and liberal one. After pointing out, that in the United States the coast lights were erected and maintained by the Federal government, and that the government therefore had a right to determine whether it should reimburse itself for this outlay, by levying light dues on shipping, or whether, on the whole, it might not be for the advantage of the United States and more conducive to the general prosperity of the nation, that this charge should be borne by the public, he continued :

"The government of the United States having power to decide this question, has determined, wisely, as Her Majesty's government think, as well as liberally, to free the commerce of the Union from any burden on this account, and to defray out of the national revenue the actual cost of erecting and maintaining the coast lights.

"If the coast lights of the United Kingdom had been established upon the same principle, and if they had been erected and were maintained at the public expense, and if they were managed and administered by a department of the State, it is possible that Her Majesty's government might think that it would be best for the general interest of the nation, that the system of the United States, in regard to these matters, should be adopted by this country, and that the commerce of the United Kingdom should be relieved from the burden of light dues.

"But the British government has not the power to deal with this matter as it pleases. The various lights which are established round the coasts of the United Kingdom, have been erected and are maintained by various corporate bodies, and those corporate bodies are entitled by patents and by acts of Parliament, to levy certain dues upon shipping, in order to raise the necessary income for paying interest on the capital laid out in the construction of the lights, and for providing the means requisite for defraying the expense of maintaining those lights. Her Majesty's government

have no right or power to order these corporate bodies to abstain from levying these dues; and these dues could not be made to cease unless Parliament was to vote such sums as would be necessary to buy up for the public the interest which the private parties concerned have in these lights, nor unless Parliament were at the same time to authorize the government to abolish light dues for the future, and were to charge upon the public revenue the expense of maintaining the lights.

“The expediency of adopting such a course has, indeed, from time to time been suggested, but the question has not hitherto been considered with a view to any practical decision.”

Mr. Lawrence does not seem to have been aware that Parliament had already authorized and directed the purchase of the rights of private parties in the coast lights, and the foreign secretary did not feel called upon, apparently, to give him any information on the subject. On a comparison of the dates, we find ourselves unable to explain parts of Lord Palmerston's reply; but not to dwell on this, it is certain that the only reason put forth by him for non-compliance with Mr. Lawrence's request for the relief of the American shipping interest from the payment of light dues, namely, that this could not be effected without violation of private and vested rights, has long ceased to have any force whatever, seeing that these rights have been extinguished by purchase, and that the government now possesses the power to make its light-house system free, whenever it may see fit to do so.

In the course of a debate upon the subject in the House of Commons, some years later, Lord Palmerston expressed views in harmony with some of the admissions made in his letter to Mr. Lawrence. He said:

“He must confess that he was one of those who thought that, in the abstract, there was a good deal of plausibility in the argument that the expense of these lights ought to be borne by the public, instead of by the shipping interest. Take for analogy on a small scale, the lighting of the streets; we did not call upon the persons who traversed the streets of this great town to pay for their lighting. That expense was paid by the parishes, who stood in the same relation to the lighting of our streets, as the nation occupied to that of our coasts. Upon that analogy, he thought that the nation ought to pay the expense of lighting the coast.”

We think it would be well for our government to consider whether the time has not arrived for the re-opening of the correspondence on this subject with the English foreign office. The time now would certainly be more favorable than when Mr. Lawrence gave so much thought and labor to it, for during the last twenty years the English light-house system has been brought entirely within the control of Parliament; and the question has come to be one of expediency only, as to the desirableness or otherwise, of shifting the burden of maintenance from a particular class to the general public. The ship-owners, and particularly the steamship-owners of Great Britain, are agitating the subject from time to time; but, as we have already said, the American public, which can point to a free light-house system on this side of the Atlantic, has a stronger case than they, and we cannot but think that our government would be doing a good service, if it were to interest itself anew in the matter.

It may be urged that in consequence of the present depressed condition of American shipping interests, we have much less concern in this question than we had in 1850, and in later years, when our tonnage was steadily increasing at the least *pari passu* with that of Great Britain. But in reply to this we might say that neither the American government nor the American people is prepared to admit that there is to be no revival of our ship-owning enterprise. However this may be injuriously affected, temporarily, by the restrictive features of our navigation laws, by our revenue system, and by the condition of our currency, there can be little doubt that, sooner or later, our tonnage interests will experience a return of something like their old prosperity. It might be replied further, that the amount of American shipping which even now enters the ports of Great Britain and Ireland, is sufficiently large to render the payment of these dues a heavy burden. We prefer, however, to put the matter upon broader considerations. We take the ground that the light dues are, after all, paid not so much by the ship-owner as by the property carried by him, that is, by the consumer, or the community at large. These dues like other expenses connected with the sailing of a ship, enter into the account in determining rates of freight; and in the long run, these rates must include expenses of every kind and a profit besides, or ship-owners could not live. This position was taken by

the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Lowe, a few months since, when he was waited upon by a deputation of ship-owners, who came to urge the assumption of the dues by the Treasury. He said "that ship-owners do not pay the light dues, but that they ultimately fall on consumers, in consequence of the proportionate increase in rates of freight;" and he declined, therefore, to recommend the government to take any action in the matter. We are not prepared to admit that this was a proper and full answer to the appeal of the deputation; but certainly it could not be accepted as a sufficient reply to the American government, should it make renewedly a similar request. The American public already supports its own light-house system at an expense annually of more than a million and a half of dollars for maintenance alone,¹ and there is no justice in compelling it to assist in supporting the English light-house system also. Yet it does this, and to an extent not at first thought appreciated. The freight money earned by the steamship lines and sailing vessels trading between the United States and Great Britain, is paid in very much larger proportion by the American than by the English public. We have to meet the entire cost of importation on most of the commodities brought to our shores, and to an important extent, the whole cost of delivering our exported products in British markets is borne by producers here. The cost of immigration from beyond the Atlantic is also borne mainly by the United States, because the higher the rate of passage paid by the immigrant, the less money he has in his pocket when he arrives among us. While, therefore, it may be quite true that *British shipping* contributes seventy per cent. toward the total expense of maintaining the British light-house system, it is not by any means true, consequently, that the

¹The estimates of the American Light-House Establishment for the fiscal year 1873—74, are as follows:

| | |
|--|-----------|
| For repairs and incidental expenses of light-houses..... | \$225,000 |
| “ expenses of fog signals..... | 50,000 |
| “ the salaries of light-keepers..... | 535,800 |
| “ supplies of light-houses..... | 360,837 |
| “ expenses of light-ships..... | 217,732 |
| “ expenses of buoyage..... | 300,000 |

\$1,689,369

During the year 1871—72, the maintenance of the establishment costs \$1,627,504, and the sum of \$1,543,371 was expended in addition for the building of and repairs on light-houses.

British public contributes in this proportion to this object. If the state of the case could be reached with approximate accuracy, it would probably appear that the American public has long been paying, and now pays, quite as much as the British public, toward the expense of lighting the British coasts.

American diplomacy took the lead in securing relief to the shipping of all nations, from the payment of the Sound dues which had been collected, literally from time immemorial, by the Crown of Denmark. These dues were recognized by the treaty of Spire in 1544, and by later treaties, until in 1814 they had come to be recognized throughout Europe. The congress of Vienna did not interfere with them. The United States, while declining to concede the right of Denmark to collect them, was the first to make a proposition to pay to that kingdom a fair indemnity for their abolition, on the supposition that they had been levied for lights and other purposes essential to navigation. The other powers followed with similar proposals, and the result was that Denmark agreed to accept about thirty millions of rigsdollars, a sum representing the capital value of the collections annually made at Elsinore. Of this sum, rather more than half, or more than a million sterling, was paid by Great Britain. The United States paid \$393,011 in American money in London; and in a convention concluded in Washington, April 11, 1857, His Danish Majesty guaranteed the entire freedom of the Sound and the Belts to American vessels, and their cargoes from and forever after the date when the convention should go into effect. The second article of the convention was as follows:

“His Danish Majesty further engages that the passages of the Sound and Belts shall continue to be lighted and buoyed as heretofore, without any charge upon American vessels or their cargoes on passing the Sound and the Belts; and that the present establishments of Danish pilots in these waters shall continue to be maintained by Denmark. His Danish Majesty agrees to make such additions and improvements in regard to the lights, buoys and pilot establishments in these waters, as circumstances and the increasing trade of the Baltic may require. He further engages that no charge shall be made, in consequence of such additions and improvements, on American ships and their cargoes passing through the Sound and the Belts. It is understood however, to

be optional for the masters of American vessels, either to employ in the said waters, Danish pilots, at reasonable rates fixed by the Danish government, or to navigate their vessels without such assistance."

A few years later, a similar settlement was made of the Stade dues levied by Hanover on merchandise and shipping ascending the river Elbe. These tolls dated back to 1308, and the shipping of the world was not exempted from their payment until 1861 or 1862. England paid £155,000 toward their extinguishment, the United States, sixty thousand thalers or about thirty-six thousand dollars. In a convention between the United States and Hanover, concluded at Berlin, November 6, 1861, and exchanged April 29, 1862, it was provided in consideration of the payment of the sum just named, that the tolls hitherto levied on the hulls or cargoes of American vessels, ascending or descending the Elbe, and passing the mouth of the river Schwinge, designated under the name of the Stade or Brunshausen dues, should be completely and forever abolished, and that the works necessary for the free navigation of the Elbe were henceforward to be maintained free of charge to American shipping.

Still later, in 1864, the United States and other maritime powers became parties to an arrangement previously entered into between the government of the Netherlands and of Belgium for the liberation of the navigation of the Scheldt from the tonnage dues which had encumbered it, and for the reformation of the maritime taxes of Belgium. The King of the Netherlands, in consideration of the sum of seventeen millions of Dutch florins paid to him by the king of the Belgians, forever renounced the dues levied upon the navigation of the Scheldt and of its mouths, by virtue of paragraph three, of Article IX., of the treaty of the 19th of April, 1839. Of the amount thus paid, Belgium assumed one-third, and the remainder was apportioned among the other powers, *pro rata* to their navigation in the Scheldt. The proportion of the United States was not to exceed two millions seven hundred and seventy-nine thousand two hundred francs, or about five hundred and fifty thousand dollars. The payment of this proportion was to be made in ten annual installments of equal amount, to include the capital and the interest on the portion remaining unpaid at the rate of four per cent. ; and we notice in the

statement of the disbursements of the Treasury Department for the year ended June 30, 1872, a charge of \$61,584 for capitalization of the Scheldt dues.

In reference to the light dues collected in Great Britain, we believe that American diplomacy may be equally successful, if the Government will only take up the question again, in the interest not so much of the shipping, as of the producers and consumers of the United States. We do not mean that payment of a fixed sum should be made to Great Britain as was made to Denmark, to Hanover and to Holland, for the cases are not parallel, the one with the others; but the illustrations we have given serve to show that tolls long collected and recognized by international treaties and congresses, may be taken out of the way by proper and persistent representation and negotiation, while no one questions that the commerce of the world is benefited by the removal of all such imposts. In the instance before us, the United States can urge that a full pecuniary consideration has long since been given to Great Britain in advance, for the removal of the tax now complained of. The commerce of the world has already paid the cost of extinguishing all the private corporate and crown rights to collect dues for lighting the coasts of the United Kingdom, and has contributed in addition, according to a select committee of the House of Commons, a sum which by judicious management may be made to permanently maintain the lights already erected, as well as to assist in the erection of others as fast as they may be called for.

The appeal which may be made can be based upon the general liberality of the English policy in relation to all matters relating to commerce and navigation. English precedents can be pointed to; the powerful co-operation of the English ship-owning class may be relied upon; and the judgment of English statesmen can be cited in favor of the reform. It should hardly be difficult to enlist the sympathy of the two governments in the change proposed, seeing that it gives promise of bringing positive advantage almost equally to the people of both.

HAMILTON A. HILL.

THE CONQUEST OF SPAIN BY THE ARAB-MOORS.

IX.—THE GRAND INVASION OF FRANCE.

SUCH were the rapidity and diversity of movement and of conquest which marked the progress of the Arab-Moors after their firm establishment on Spanish soil, that it is neither possible, nor would it be profitable in such a sketch as this, to enter into a detailed account of all that they accomplished.

The principal actions and events are alone of importance to our historical study, and we now approach one which was certainly of very great moment to the future of Europe. It is one also which has been critically, but variously, considered by philosophic historians. I mean the decisive check which the career of the conquerors received at the hands of Charles Martel and his Frankish army, in what is commonly called the battle of Tours.

It has generally been considered a contest of creeds, the desperate assault of Islam against the last entrenchment of Christianity. I shall refer to this point hereafter; but in this place let me say, that however creeds may have been involved in the general controversy, I regard it rather as a curious ethnic problem. The northern barbarians of German type had come down upon the soil which Rome had reclaimed, and they were still coming. The Gallo-Romans had no power to resist their progress. The south-eastern Bedouins, of Semitic race, had also come up to conquer it in successive waves. They met in mid career like knights in the lists. They were both capable of culture and both achieved it, and to that extent had equal claims to the occupancy of the land; but the northman was far the stronger, and Shem once more recoiled from the sword of Japhet. I enounce thus what it is the chief purpose of this paper to demonstrate.

It will be necessary, however, before proceeding to the movements of the Moslem armies, to turn aside and consider very briefly what had been transpiring in Gaul while the Saracens had been effecting the conquest of Spain. In what condition was that kingdom, or congeries of kingdoms, to meet and hurl back the advancing tide?

The Merovingian dynasty, firmly seated by Clovis, or Chlodo-

wig, on the banks of the Loire, had caused a new provincial division of Transalpine Gaul. The north-eastern portion, from the Rhine to the Scheldt, and extending southward to the head-waters of the Saone, was called *Austrasia* (Oster-Rike), the eastern kingdom.

The north-west, comprising the territory north of the Loire, with some significant strips south of that river, and including Paris, was called *Neustria* (Ne-Oster-Rike), not the eastern, and therefore the western kingdom. The valleys of the Saone and the Rhone with the western slopes of the Alps, received from their early northern invaders the name of *Burgundia*. The remaining territory at the south-west was known as *Aquitania*.

In Neustria the independent Bretons always kept up a distinct individuality in what is called Brittany. In Burgundy, the first Roman province kept also its geographical distinction, and became the *Provence* of later history. The south-eastern portion of Aquitania was known as Septimania, and the south-western as Vasconia, corrupted into our present *Gascony*. Such were the geographical divisions in the time of the Merovingians, the period of which I am writing.

The firm power of this dynasty only extended to Austrasia and Neustria, and these constituted the kingdom of the Franks; but they made constant and inhuman raids upon their southern Gothic cousins and neighbors, and every organized incursion from the north extended their dominion, and increased the terror of their arms. The masters of Aquitania were however still Goths, the chief men of Burgundy were still Burgundians. The self-imposed mission of the Franks was to conquer the whole land and make it in reality and in name, and in all its parts, France.

While numerous fierce bands were fighting for land and spoils the dynasty established by Clovis in Neustria had been slowly declining for two centuries, under the constant action of several principles. It had become enervate in its new and pleasant seats, and idleness and effeminacy were powerful elements of decay. On the other hand, it had to contend with a constant infusion of new blood and fresh vigor from the north-east, the bracing atmosphere of those seats from which the confederated Franks had first marched down upon Gaul. Add to these causes the force of individual ambition, and the recognition of individual superiority, and we have the philosophy in brief of the Merovingian decline.

The Neustrian monarchs had become luxurious and lazy, while the dukes of Austrasia governed a people who had continued to lead a rude and active life, who were physically strong and mentally quick, and who coveted the well watered and fertile farms, and the gathered stores of their degenerate brethren. The dukes of Austrasia became mayors of the Neustrian palace, and the majordomos became monarchs in all save the title and the nominal responsibility.

At the period of which I write, the decline had reached its completion in fact if not in name. Of the race of Peppin le Vieux, there had sprung another Peppin, surnamed of Heristal, who had so trammelled the royal power, as to prepare an easy ascent for a renowned son, the offspring of a concubine, whose name was Karl, or Charles, and who, from his thundering blows was to come down in the history as Charles Martel, or *the Hammer*. No greater name, except perhaps one, appears in the Frankish annals. The larger renown and greater empire of his grandson Charlemagne have somewhat eclipsed his fame, and robbed him of much which was his due. Thus men value effects while they undervalue causes, and history fosters the error.

Charles Martel governed France without a legitimate title. It was he who established the feudal system as a powerful instrument for organization, for bringing order and power out of chaos. He erected the throne of the new dynasty for his son Peppin le Bref, who expanded and strengthened it to befit the proportions of Charlemagne.

And while securing internal order, Charles Martel, far-seeing and vigilant, was constantly concerned with the frontier relations of the kingdom. He had subjected Burgundy, and had ravaged Aquitania, claiming the fealty and punishing the revolts of a turbulent and treacherous count of the latter province, who had taken the title of king.

At the north he had quelled the barbarous Saxons, in three vigorous campaigns (720, 722, 729). In 725, he had invaded Germany, Suabia, and Bavaria; in 730 he had made a campaign in Allemannia.

The coming Moors were not, in his judgment, a pressing problem. He knew that before they could reach the Loire, they must subdue Aquitania, and he played upon the fears of Eudes, its king,

to insure his tribute. Even in 731, the year before the great battle was fought between Tours and Poitiers, he had invaded Aquitania ravaged the lands, burnt the buildings, taxed the monasteries, and carried back great spoils. Thus he secured the submission of Eudes, intending to use him when the tide of Moslem invasion should pour strongly upon his own States, first as a barrier and then as co-operating force.

Charles was born in the year 684, and so, when the Arab-Moors crossed the Strait of Gibraltar, in 711, he was 27 years old. He had been proclaimed Duke of Austrasia, and was mayor of the palace. He permitted the nominal rule of the sluggish kings (*les rois fainéans*) that he might use whatever of moral power still clung to the title of king. It gave that cloak of legality which rendered all his acts and aspirations unquestioned.

There are many who think that with regard to the Saracen advance, Charles was surprised and unprepared; that he hastily collected a few troops, threw a desperate cause upon the hazard of a single cast—and happened to win.

I have adduced these considerations in the hope of proving that it is very far from true; that when Abdu-r-rahmán came like a whirlwind, he was expected, and that Charles, who had kept his own counsel, had already devised and matured a scheme for defending Aquitania, the frontiers of Neustria and Austrasia and the great interests of Christian Europe.

Hejaji, an Arabian chronicler, like all others of that ilk, who delight to put set speeches in the mouths of the chief persons in the great drama, says that when the Saracens had conquered Spain, and begun to pass the Pyrenees, the *leudes* of Charles had come trembling to him with words like these: "We feared their attack from the East; they are masters of Spain, and are coming to attack us from the West. They are neither so numerous, nor so well armed as we, since they use no bucklers." "If you follow my advice," said Charles, prompted by the spirit of a masterly inactivity, "you will not attack them, nor will you oppose their march. They resemble a torrent, which it is sometimes dangerous to oppose. . . . Do not attack them until their hands are full of booty; the greed of gain and the ambition to rule will sow division among them, and we shall easily conquer a people, who are no longer united."¹

¹Quoted by Cardonne; I, 130, Note.

Gibbon's comment upon this is, that "the situation of Charles will suggest a more narrow and selfish motive of procrastination; the secret desire of humbling the pride and wasting the provinces of the rebel Duke of Aquitania." "It is yet more probable," he adds, "that the delays of Charles were inevitable and reluctant."

The first may have been an element—one among many—of his counsels; but the second is a hardly tenable hypothesis. His whole course seems to me to show that he meant to make his stand in front of the Loire, and that his judgment was deliberate and excellent, both as to the time and as to the mode.

We now turn to consider the consecutive steps of the Moslems in their invasion of France. The helpless inhabitants of the mountain slopes had permitted their reconnaissances, and the way was already easy for their incursions into *la grande terre*, as Aquitania was called. We have already seen that Musa had penetrated as far as Narbonne and Carcassonne, taking large spoils, but retiring without leaving garrisons. A statement almost tabular will be necessary to take the reader with rapid steps over the intervening space between the Pyrenees and Touraine.¹

After the withdrawal of Musa, the first concerted movement into France was in the year 719, when As-Samah, just appointed to the command, advanced again upon Narbonne; not merely to ravage, but to occupy as a base of further operations. Narbonne, built by the Romans upon the site of an old Gaulish town, was an excellent *point d'appui*. As *Narbo Martius* it gave its name to that extensive province which extended from the Alps to the Pyrenees, known as *Gallia Narbonensis*. Situated eight miles from the sea, it commands splendid distant views of the Pyrenees, and was called by Martial *Pulcherrima Narbo*.

It is of strategic importance, since an easy coast road leads

¹ The following list of Arabian ameers, with the dates of their accession, in Spain up to the time of the conflict of Tours, will aid in fixing the chronology of the principal events:

| | | | |
|---------------------------------|-----|-----------------------------------|-----|
| Tarik Ibn Zeyad..... | 711 | Yahiya..... | 726 |
| Musa Ibn Nosseyr..... | 712 | Otman Ibn Abdah..... | 726 |
| Abdu-l'Azis..... | 714 | Otman al Khathami..... | 727 |
| Ayub..... | 716 | Hodeyfah..... | 728 |
| Al-horr..... | 717 | Al-haytham..... | 729 |
| As Samah..... | 719 | Mohammed, Aug't..... | 731 |
| Abdu-r-rahmán (temporarily).... | 721 | Abdu-r-rahmán, (2d time, oct).... | 731 |
| Abassah..... | 721 | Abdu-l-malek..... | 732 |
| Odhrah..... | 725 | after the death of Abdu-r-rahmán | |

from it to the valley of the Rhone, through Montpellier, Nismes and Avignon, while between the Pyrenees and the *Montagnes Noires*, along the route of the present Languedoc canal, it has easy communication through Carcassonne with Toulouse and all Aquitania.

The capture of Narbonne by the Moslemah was attended with great cruelty. The men were killed without quarter, and the women and children carried as captives into Spain. The booty was immense; the churches were pillaged and destroyed, and it is manifest that the humanity of the first conquerors was not imitated by these successors.

Chronicle here again speaks of the seven massive equestrian figures of silver which were renowned in that place. Musa, it has been said, found seven there. Whether they were the same or whether he removed them, and these were other seven, cannot be known. The traveler may perhaps gain some idea of what they were like, if he remembers the equestrian image of Santiago, which to-day literally prances out of the wall of the cathedral at Granada.

But the capture of Narbonne was not the limit of As-Samah's ambition. In the year 721 he marched through Carcassonne and furiously assaulted Toulouse. An army, hastily raised of Aquitanians and Gascons, advanced to relieve the place; in the conflict which ensued on the 11th of May, 721, the Arabs were defeated. As-Samah fell, fighting in front, and his troops retired in discomfiture upon Narbonne.

The temporary command of the Moslem troops devolved upon that Abdu-r-rhamán, who was afterward to figure so brilliantly in the later incursions. He was with As-Samah when he fell; it was he who rallied the fugitives and cut his way through to Narbonne, where he remained until relieved by the new ameer, Anbassah.

The results of the defeat of Toulouse ought to have been of great importance; but the Christians did not pursue their victory except so far as to occupy and fortify Carcassonne. The Arab-Moors seemed also to have been temporarily stopped in their tide of conquest. Four years after, in 725, Anbassah, with a reinforced and well organized army, assaulted and took Carcassonne, which had become the strongest place in Septimania, and, garrisoning it, he turned aside to march into Provence.

Time and space would fail to tell of his victorious and devastat-

ing march to Nismes, to Lyons, to Autun. Everywhere were seen flames, and were heard cries and shrieks: the monasteries and churches were burned and pillaged; the monks were killed; the cities were given over to sack, and the Arab-Moors returned laden with spoils. The ease of their successes invited them to a renewal; resistance seemed at an end; they could not doubt the realization of their wildest dream—the subjection of all Europe to Islam.

But a glance at the table will show that the rapid change of commanders could not allow the organization of any well-devised plan for the occupancy of French territory, and besides, most of the men who succeeded one another almost annually, on the list of ameers, do not appear to have been equal to the origination of such a plan. At least this is true until we come again to the name of Abdu-r-rahmán, the general already referred to, who received a new and permanent appointment as Ameer of Spain in the year 731.

In 729 the Moslem authority in Spain had been confided to Al-Haytham Ibn Obeyd Al-Kelabi, a Syrian, whose cruelty and avarice caused him to be greatly detested by the people. Unlike most of the ameers who went in person to the frontier, he remained in Andalusia, and left the conduct of affairs in the north to Othman Ibn Abi Nes 'ah,¹ who had been temporary ameer in 728, but who, as will be seen, had begun to waver in his Moslem loyalty. The misgovernment of Al-Haytham was so flagrant, that it soon reached the ears of the khalif's wali in Eastern Africa,² with whom the right to make these appointments seems to have resided. The friends of a distinguished citizen whom he had imprisoned, were so loud in their complaints, that a special envoy plenipotentiary and temporary ameer was sent, in the person of Mohammed Ibn Abdillah, to investigate the matter, and to suspend Al-Haytham from command until the matter should be cleared up, if indeed it could be.

The charges were just, and the mal-administration clear; the deposition of Al-Haytham was agreed on, and Mohammed, armed with the proper authority, appointed as the new ameer Abdu-r-rahmán, who had already vindicated his claims, by valor, skill and prudence, to lead the Moslem armies.

¹ This name is corrupted, in the Spanish chronicles, into Munuza, or Muneza.

² Obeydullah Ibnu-l-hajah. Al Mak., II. 33.

Abdu-r-rahmán Ibn 'Abdillah Al-ghá-feki was, as the name indicates, of the noble tribe of Ghá-feki, and was one of the most active men in Spain. He had built the magnificent stone bridge of seventeen arches over the Guadalquivir at Cordova. He was one of the tabis who had entered Andalus with Musa, and had been indefatigable in the field, or in public works, ever since. The inquiries of Mohammed had only lasted from August, 731, to October, when he returned to Africa, leaving the new ameer in all his dignities. Abdu-r-rahmán entered at once upon a career of enterprise and adventure unsurpassed in the Moslem annals.

Instead of remaining, as his predecessor had done, in his capital, and invading France by proxy, he began at once a rapid tour of his provinces, and determined by personal observation and action to repair the evils wrought by Al-Haytham.¹ Cruel and oppressive subordinates were removed; rights that had been infringed were now protected, and wrongs redressed; the stipulations of treaties made with the Christians were rigorously observed. Order being thus restored, it was manifest to the ameer that in order to invade France, with any prospect of permanent success, he must do so with a large and thoroughly organized force. To increase his army, he wrote to the Wali of Africa to send him troops.

These were collected chiefly from the Berber tribes of divers origin who dwelt in "the Land of Dates." As the reinforcements arrived he quartered them for sustenance and drill in different portions of his territory, until he was ready to mass them for northern progress. Meanwhile everything was made to bend to the chief purpose of his ambition, which was to hurl an invincible column into the heart of Gaul, and to carry the faith of Islam into the seats of Christian Europe.

The first obstacle he encountered was in the form of a jealous rival. Othman (Muneza), the general of Al-Haytham in the north, had made some form of composition with Count Eudes of Aquitania, and had strengthened the compact, by marrying "la belle Lampégia,"² the daughter of Eudes. With his allegiance to the khalif thus slackened, he was jealous of the advancement of

¹ Condé ch. xxxiv.

² So named in the French chronicles: She is elsewhere called Numerancia and Menina.

Abdu-r-rahmán, and he hastily interposed to thwart the purposes of the ameer. He made an indefinite truce with his father-in-law, Eudes, and then, claiming that he had acted discreetly and for the best, he wrote to Abdu-r-rahmán, to dissuade him from further progress.

But the Spanish ameer saw at once through the flimsy pretext, and wrote to Othman to declare the armistice at an end. It could not, he said, bind him, because it was made without his knowledge, and after his appointment to command. He further directed Othman to hold himself and his army in readiness to move at once upon the Franks.

Instead of obeying, Othman was prompted by his love and his jealousy to open treason: he gave the Christians information of the ameer's purpose, and warned them to put their territories in a state of defense. As for himself, he sent the saucy message to Abdu-r-rahmán, that no troops of his should march into *la Grande Terre*, in violation of the truce.

When the ameer received these tidings, his way was clear. Better an open traitor than an undermining rival. He at once dispatched a strong force under Ghedhi Ibn Zeyyan, to inquire into the treason, and, if the accounts should be found true, to capture Othman and put him to death. Ghedhi proceeded rapidly to carry out his instructions. He took Othman by surprise, giving him no time to organize a defense, and caused him to fly with a handful of followers, taking with him his wife and family; they passed hastily through the town of Puicerda¹ (Medina al-bâb—the city of the gate), and took refuge with his attendants in one of the passes of the Pyrenees. Among the jumbled spurs behind the pass, if any where, he might hope to secrete himself. But his adversary was too quick. The mountain passes were occupied and examined, and here, in the valley of Livin, the fugitives were found. Thinking he had distanced pursuit, and sure of his reception by Count Eudes, the weary Othman had halted beside a fountain overshadowed by high jagged rocks. Suddenly his attendants heard the sound of distant footfalls, rapidly approaching.

¹Puicerda, called the city of the Gate, or mountain portal, is in the valley where the Raur and the Arabo unite with the Segre; it forms an entrance to an enclosed valley; a road now runs from it to Perpignan, through the pass behind it, which is called the *Col de la Perche*.

Struck with panic, they left their hunted chief, who sought for some cave or crevice in the rock where he might hide himself and his Christian wife. Before he could succeed in finding one, the pursuers were upon him: he turned at bay and fought desperately. Some accounts say that he was killed with repeated wounds; others that in despair he threw himself from the precipice. Whichever story may be true, his corpse was beheaded, and the head, with the Christian girl whose love had caused his treason and his death, was carried in triumph back to Abdu-r-rahmán, to be sent to the khalif.

The chief rendezvous of the invading army was now on the Upper Ebro.¹ The failure of Othman's scheme had spread terror and confusion in the southern provinces of Gaul; but Count Eudes immediately gathered all his troops to contest the Moslem advance, which was led by the ameer in person. The Moorish march was a continued success. Instead of entering Aquitania through Septimania, he scaled the western passes.² Nothing seemed to be able to stand before him. He rolled up and overthrew the Basques and Gallo-Romans, hastily collected to oppose him, devastated the farms and crops, and took large booty and many prisoners.

Fearlessly crossing the Garonne, he marched to the attack of Bordeaux. Count Eudes did not await his coming behind the ramparts of that city, but, burning to avenge the loss of his daughter and the devastation of his territories, went out to meet him. The result was not long doubtful. His army was crushed in a day, and the Aquitanian count lost the fruit of fifty years of glory. Bordeaux was at once taken, its rich churches sacked, men and women were massacred, and the Arab host spread without resistance to all parts of Aquitania. Roving bands even crossed the Loire at different fords and spread terror and devastation into the regions of Orleans, Auxerre and Sens, only sixty miles from Paris; meeting at the latter place the only serious rebuff since the capture of Bordeaux. But these bands were all within call of their leader, if a firm front of Christian troops should require

¹ H. Martin, II, 199.

² The principal force entered from Pampeluna through the pass of Roncevaux.—*Ib.*

their concentration. It was indeed high time that this invasion should be checked, and the check was at hand.

The war between Eudes and Charles Martel was, for the time, at an end: the common danger united them. The scattered troops of the former were collected at safe distances on the flanks of the Moslems, and a few of the fugitives had crossed the Loire, and rallied behind the forces of Charles Martel.

The situation seemed desperate in the extreme. All the south of France lay prostrate and paralyzed; all hope lay north of the Loire; all men looked to the martial and sagacious mayor of the palace as their protector and savior. Much indeed did depend upon him, but behind him lay a magazine of power, capable, I think, of reversing his defeat, should he have been defeated, ten times over. But Charles was confident, valiant and prudent. While collecting his army at Tours, he sent orders to Eudes to co-operate with him when the time came, by threatening the Moslem rear.

At the proper time Abdu-r-rahmán sounded the rally of all his detachments, and the united force went to find Charles somewhere south of the Loire. The fighting ardor of his warriors had been somewhat affected by the ease of their conquest, and especially by the large spoils they had taken. Heavily laden with the booty already in hand, and covetous of more, they had become rather freebooters than soldiers. Their greed produced quarrels and insubordination; their arms were not so bright and clean, their horses were overburdened, their persons trammelled; and Abdu-r-rahmán, although untainted with the sordid vice, found it prudent to trust to prestige and fortune, rather than to excite a revolt against his authority by enforcing an abandonment of the impeding spoils.

In their camps the different tribes were suspicious of each other, and when they left their camps to join battle, their hearts were with their treasures rather than in their right hands. They had been spoiled by victory and rendered torpid by captured treasures, while Charles was already reviewing the arriving detachments of that powerful army which was to arrest their progress and hurl them back upon the Pyrenees in hopeless disorder. As these forces approached the spot marked out by nature, there were frequent skirmishes between the rallying detachments, which

gave token of the coming conflict, that was soon to be ranked in history as among "the decisive battles of the world;"¹ a battle in which the Franks were fighting for their homes and their faith, and the Arabs for new possessions and bold adventure.²

X.—THE GREAT BATTLE BETWEEN TOURS AND POITIERS.

To the student of history, and especially to the military student, the province of Touraine is classic ground; the romance which centers there extends to the circumjacent provinces of Orleans, Anjou and Poitou. Within that territory have been enacted many of the most interesting and tragic scenes in the wonderful melodrama of French history: the assassination of the Guises at Blois; the coward cruelties of Louis XI. at Plessis; the great deeds of Joan of Arc, conceived at Chinon and displayed at Orleans; the burial in his last resting-place of Richard Cœur de Lion, at Fontevrault; the skill and valor of the Black Prince with his English and Gascons at Poitiers.³ But no drama of them all surpasses in interest and importance that earlier conflict between the Arab and the Frank, which I shall now attempt to describe.

The city of Tours stands on the southern bank of the Loire, at its junction with the Cher. The country lying between it and Poitiers, is checkered by rivulets, and was then dotted with forests. It rises and falls in gentle undulations, and the small streams which water it and make it fertile—the Cher, the Creuse, the Indre, the Vienne, and the Claine—offer no impediment to the movements of armies. Thus it happens that this champaign coun-

¹ Creary's volume with that title.

² "Les Arabes étaient alors dans cet état social encore mal assis, et dans cette jeunesse passionnée, ou les aventures hardies, excitent et attirent les peuples plus que leurs échecs ne les découragent. *Guisot—Histoire de France*. I. 174.

³ The battle in 1356 which the English call *Poitiers*, is called by the French *Manpertuis*. It was fought at the latter place, five miles east of Poitiers. It has been usual to call the battle after the nearest town of importance; thus the present battle is called by the Arabs, that of Tours, and by the French, variously, Tours and Poitiers.

try has been so often selected by armed hosts seeking the ordeal of battle.

As to the exact and limited terrain upon which the great fight took place, I suppose it can never be known. From Condé we should gather¹ that it was on the banks of the Vienne, about five leagues south of Tours, but there is no record in French annals that bones or other relics have ever been found, nor have the remains of any entrenchments like those which mark even earlier fields been discovered.

The Moslem host was so large that their divisions were doubtless encamped until the first day of battle in different places, on the banks of the small streams, for convenience of space and water, and, in the absence of authority, I venture the opinion that the great battle was begun along the banks of the Cher, and that it moved forward on the part of the Franks during the protracted conflict, so that when it was ended, the Moslems had been thrust back to the Vienne. The first reason is that most Arabian writers call it the battle of Tours; and the second, that Charles Martel must have felt, whatever his confidence in his troops, a proper solicitude for guarding the natural entrenchments of the Loire and protecting Tours. It was the boast and the vow of Abdu-r-rahmán that as he had pillaged and burnt the church of St. Hilaire at Poitiers, he would pillage and burn that of St. Martin, the preserver of Tours. Whatever he may have felt for the defense of Christendom, the first duty of Charles was the defense of St. Martin.

The details of the battle must be left to the imagination of the student; the annals do not supply them; but, properly curbed by the judgment, the imagination is often a safe and pleasant guide.

The army of the Franks had been, in greater part, hastily collected, and of heterogeneous but powerful materials. From Neustria and Austrasia, from marsh and highland, from field and forest, men came flocking in at the sound of the summoning horn, some clad in complete steel, far more half naked, clothed in

¹ "The battle was fought on the fields of Poitiers, and on the shores of one of the streams that fall into the Loire."—I, ch. xxv.

skins;¹ all inured to war and hardships, all stalwart northern men, anxious to fight and determined to do fierce battle against a hostile race and a false creed. Never had so just and holy a cause been presented to them. The least intelligent among them knew this, and they came thronging, some through Tours, but the greater part through Orleans, to the well-known field, and closing together, presented a solid wall of muscular manhood to the Moslem assault.

The Arab chieftain had now collected his scattered detachments, and their encampment by tribes upon the undulating terrain, extending in long array, resembled at a distance a large city.²

It was full of booty, and each quarter had its special guard, because of their suspicions of each other. Many of the Moslem soldiers had lost their enthusiasm for the conquest, and would have been glad to return with their spoils. But the eventful day had arrived, and a terrible battle was inevitable? Issuing from their camps at the command of the ameer, the swarm of troops which came into line in front, seemed to the Christian host innumerable. Their army was composed in great part of cavalry, and this had been its chief power—rapid attack and ready retreat, pouncing suddenly on unprotected points, making murderous assaults and seeming to be in all places at once.³

When they were formed in battle array, a select party, easily depicted to the fancy, with their brown faces, white turbans and burmous, or light sayas, mounted upon caracoling horses, astonished the Frankish soldiers as they galloped along the front to survey the line of battle now opposed to them. Great, too, was their own amazement: they had seen no such enemy in Spain. Here were northern giants, clothed in leather or steel, protected by bucklers, mounted on colossal horses, and armed with swords of great length and ponderous battle-axes. They saw at once that the contest was

¹ "Les plus impraticables marécages de la mer du nord, les plus sauvages profondeurs de la forêt noire, vomirent des flots de combattants à demi-nus qui se précipitèrent vers la Loire à la suite des lourds escadrons Austrasiens, tout charges de fer."—*H. Martin, II. 202.*

² Qui ressembloient de loin à une grande cité.—*Ibid. 205.*

³ Condé, I. ch xxv.

to be between weight and strength on the one hand, and dexterity and dash on the other.¹

The generally received account is that the battle lasted seven days; this appears to be the stereotyped period for the battles of that day. I content myself with thinking that the early days were spent in manœuvring and skirmishing.² The field was extended and the forces unusually large. There were probably partial conflicts which were not intended to culminate at once in a general battle. After each day's skirmishing the armies seem to have retired to their encampments.

But at last everything was in readiness for the crisis. On the morning of the seventh day, at dawn, the Moslem host issued from its encampment, and formed in ranks and columns, with purpose to end the conflict. In all the dusky squadrons Allah was invoked in prayer, and the fight begun with a cloud of arrows from the Moorish archers, under cover of which the flower of their cavalry swept like a hurricane upon the Frankish line. The field echoed to their favorite battle-cry *Allah acbar*, "God is victorious;" but the wall of steel remained unbroken and scattered them back like spray. Isidor de Béja says that he heard from the lips of a companion of the ameer, in Arabian metaphor, that the Franks were chained or frozen together—*glacialiter manent adstricti*. The Moslemah were amazed, if not confounded, by the tall stature, strong arms and menacing immobility of the enemy.

Again and again they rallied, re-formed their ranks and charged more furiously than before, but with no better result; their light, if skillful, attacks were received by these gigantic horsemen, mounted on those Flemish or Norman horses which yet astonish the traveler in northern France and Belgium; the long two-edged swords caught them with terrible cut and thrust,

¹ Martin, II. 204.

² Guizot says: "On était au mois de Septembre ou d'Octobre, 732: les deux armées passèrent une semaine, l'une en face d'autre tantot renfermées dans leur camp, tantot se deployant sans s'attaquer.—*Histoire de France*, I. 178.

³ Isidor Pacensis wrote twenty-two years after the battle, and his story must contain much truth, especially where, as in this instance, he quotes from an eye-witness. But parts of his work are in rhyme, or rather in assonances, and with the poetic form we may fear the poetic license.

cleaving to the saddle, or shearing the head, or passing a hand-breadth out through the body.

The Arab-Moors had only thus far the prestige of the attacking party, but they might hope that even Northern proportions and Northern endurance would give way before such stormy and repeated attacks; that the line might be broken by successive blows. Whatever may have been the chance, just then a rumor came spreading from rear to front, that Count Eudes, with a contingent of Gascons and Aquitanians was attacking their camp, thus at once endangering their booty and their retreat.

There was no panic, as the Franks had thus far only received, and not returned their assault; but with as jealous an eye to their darling treasures, as in order to guard their line of retreat, they left their ranks in large numbers, and returned rapidly to their camps. Thus the martial order was disturbed, and the line of battle suddenly depleted; and soon the ameer found himself no longer on the offensive; his attack was to have its *riposte*.

The opportune but unexpected moment for Charles Martel had now arrived; he at once ordered a charge along his whole line. The disorganized troops of Abdu-r-rahmán were overthrown, cut to pieces, or forced to flight; the latter, and far the greater remnant, falling back upon their camp in panic and despair.

As he had been foremost in the battle, so in this fatal moment the unfortunate ameer did all in his power to retrieve the fearful mistake; but nothing could stand against the heavy moving mass. He was killed with most of his body-guard, and their bodies were trampled under the iron hoofs of the Northern cavalry.

In truth it was a fatal mistake. The attack of Eudes upon the camp had been easily repulsed by the camp-guards and the first Moorish squadrons which had gone to their succor. A little forecast would have saved them from this disaster at least.

The sun had just set. With a prudence as commendable as his valor, Charles ordered the pursuit to cease, and awaited with confidence what the morning should disclose. He did not doubt that the enemy would still present a bold front, and that a fiercer battle was still to be joined. His troops rested on their arms and did nothing to disturb the Moslem repose. But they were in no condition for repose. They had received the *coup de grace*. The various tribes for a time turned their arms against each other;

and only stopped their quarrel with the united determination to save themselves by rapid flight.

With the earliest streaks of morning light, the Christian pickets moved cautiously forward, watching the first signs of motion in the Moslem army. The tents were still there, but unbroken stillness reigned; there was neither sight nor sound of living thing. At every moment Charles expected to see the re-invigorated army issue forth to repeat with desperate fury the charges of yesterday. He waited in vain; at length, to solve the problem, he moved his troops cautiously forward over the plain, covered with ghastly corpses and ghastlier figures of fearfully wounded men. The scouts called out; the advancing troops shouted; a flight of arrows was sent into the camp; the nearest tents were entered, and were found empty. Then the truth broke upon the Franks that the Moslem army had absconded. They had indeed been marching all night, intent upon saving themselves behind the walls of Narbonne; they had abandoned tents, baggage and most of the treasures, and with horses and arms alone had betaken themselves to flight and were already far distant from the field.

The number of their killed and wounded was enormous, but no veritable record has been left; we do not even know the force of their army before the battle. Cardonne says with commendable qualification: "If we may believe the contemporary historians, three hundred and seventy-five thousand Arabs moistened with their blood the fields of Touraine."¹ We may simply say that the contemporary historians are not to be believed.

Michelet says, "The imagination of the chroniclers of the period was excited by this solemn trial of prowess between the men of the north and those of the south." Add to this, national vanity and ecclesiastical prejudice, the desire of the monkish historians to magnify the victory of the Christians, and this enormous number dwindles away to much more slender proportions. Without being able to cite authorities, since veracious authorities do not exist, I venture to doubt whether the whole army of Abdu-rahmán was one hundred and fifty thousand strong before he lost a man in the battle.

This exaggeration is the more absurd too, because the defeat was entire and ruinous without it. The Arabian historians say

¹ *Histoire de l' Afrique et de l' Espagne*, I. 127.

little about the battle. Condé, simply concedes the defeat, and Al-Makkari accosts and dismisses it in a portion of a paragraph: "In the month of Ramadhán, of the year 114 (Oct., A. D. 732), his (Abdu-r-rahman's) army was cut to pieces at a spot called Baláttu-sh-shohadá (the pavement of the martyrs), he himself being in the number of the slain. This disastrous battle is well known among the people of Andalus as the battle of Balátt,"¹ To the victors belong the spoils—and the history;² the vanquished lose the former, and do not desire the latter. The statement is equally absurd that Charles Martel lost only fifteen hundred men.

Leaving the field of conjecture, the grand fact remains: the problem had been solved; the trial of arms and purposes had been decided in a single day. The Moslem had boasted that he would conquer Gaul as he had conquered Spain; that he would march from France to Italy; from Italy northward to Bohemia; from Bohemia through the valley of the Danube to Constantinople, and that Allah should be worshiped and Mohammed revered throughout the European world. I see nothing, in a careful study of the history, to lead me to think it possible under any circumstances for him to have realized his boast. But the assertion had been made, and his purpose was defeated by Charles Martel at or near Tours. Much more might have been done by Charles in pursuing his success, but this was neither his plan nor wish. He was quite content to leave whatever of victory or peril remained to Count Eudes and his Aquitanians. He was far more concerned with the aspect of affairs in Germany, which were to him more formidable than the Saracen invasion.³ Besides, the greed of gold which had ruined the Moslemah, at once infected the army of Charles. They found their pay in the Arab spoils, and soon dissolved into little bands, seeking their abiding places in the north. Charles intended to subject Aquitania and to drive out the Moors, but he rested from his purpose for the present, and it was carried out at a later day.⁴

¹ II, 33.

² There is in most of the chronicles a singular confusion of this battle with that fought earlier at Toulouse, where As-Samah was killed.

³ Michelet *Histoire de France* (Charles Martel), L. II, ch. ii.

⁴ I think I rest upon the best authority in stating that the Moslems were not at once followed by Charles La Fuente; however, following the chronicle of Isidor, Pacensis says: "Martell pone cerco á Narbona, pero los ismaelitas la defendien con valor, y le obligim á levantar el sitio con gran pérdida."—*Historia de Espana*, III. 56.

We cannot let the valiant Charles disappear from this humble record, as he must now do, without a word as to his curious fortunes in history and legend. In poetry, the ringing stroke of his battle-ax was heard thirty miles away; in truth, it was so ponderous and fatal that it gained him his surname. He saved Christendom, whatever others might have done, and he is lauded in the chronicles as a great deliverer; but his policy toward the Church, his rigor toward the monks, and his pillage of churches and monasteries in the dominion of Eudes, in order to supply his armies, were, in the eyes of the ecclesiastics, deadly sins, and one of them, in a vision, saw the greatest hero of Christendom enduring his punishment in eternal flames.¹ As an individual he was great and gifted, but he is besides an exponential man, the leader of a race, the center of a new dynasty, the builder of a throne upon which his greater grandson was to sit, and above all, as far as this history is concerned, the champion of Christendom against the temerity of Islam.

We need not follow the fortunes of the Moorish invaders here. Narbonne remained their stronghold until 755, when it was recovered by Peppin le Bref; thirty-seven years afterward it was assaulted and pillaged by the Spanish Arabs, and the captives taken were carried to Cordova to build that wonderful mosque which still delights the eye and heart of the contemplative traveler;² but they were soon driven beyond the Pyrenees, and never forgot or recovered from the terrible lesson they had received in Touraine.

The story might stop here; it is complete; the statistics are simple and few; its philosophy is in the main manifest, but there remains a question which must be considered, and yet upon which I express my opinion with unfeigned diffidence, especially as my studies lead me to doubt the judgment of most of the modern historians. It may be stated thus:

Gibbon, in speaking of this battle, says: "A victorious line of march had been prolonged above a thousand miles from the Rock

¹ "On the opening of his tomb," says Gibbon (v. 189), quoting from the letter of a Gallic Synod, "the spectators were affrighted with a smell of fire and the aspect of a horrid dragon." But as this letter was addressed to Louis le Germanique, we may suppose the miracle was invented for a purpose.

² The mosque was begun in 786.

of Gibraltar to the banks of the Loire; the repetition of an equal space would have carried the Saracens to the confines of Poland and the Highlands of Scotland; the Rhine is not more impassable than the Nile or Euphrates, and the Arabian fleet¹ might have sailed without a naval combat into the mouth of the Thames. Perhaps the interpretation of the Koran would now be taught in the schools of Oxford, and her pulpits might demonstrate to a circumcised people, the sanctity and truth of the revelation of Mohammed. From such calamities was Christendom delivered by the genius and fortune of one man."²

The elegant wit and rhetorical point of this sentence are certainly unsurpassed; it attracts the eye, the ear and the fancy, but the hypothesis is not based upon reason or philosophy. However, I reserve what I have to say concerning it for a summary at the close, merely remarking at this point that Gibbon's opinion has been generally accepted by later historians.

Sir Edward Creasy, who collates these opinions in his sketch of the battle of Tours,³ says: "The great victory won by Charles Martel . . . rescued Christendom from Islam, preserved the relics of ancient and the germs of modern civilization, and re-established the old superiority of the Indo-European over the Semitic family of mankind."

Schlegel, in his philosophy of history, declares that "the arm of Charles Martel delivered the Christian nations of the west from the deadly grasp of all-destroying Islam."

Dr. Arnold considers this victory as "among the signal deliverances which for centuries have affected the happiness of mankind."

The opinion of Henri Martin is expressed with so much rhetorical elegance and strength that I will not spoil it by translation: "Ce fut un des moments les plus solennels des fastes du genre humain. L'islamisme se trouvait en face du dernier boulevard de la chretienté: Après les Wisigoths, les Gallo-Wascons; après les Gallo-Wascons, les Franks; *après les Franks, plus rien!* ce n'étaient pas les Anglo-Saxons, isolés au fond de leur-isle;

¹ The Arabian fleet is a rhetorical fancy.

² Dec. & Fall., ch. lii.

³ "The fifteen decisive battles of the world."

ce n'étaient pas les Langobards, faibles dominateurs de l'Italie épuisée ; ce n'étaient pas même les Greco-Romains de l'empire d'Orient qui pouvaient sauver l'Europe ! Constantinople avait assez de peine à se sauver elle-même. Le chroniqueur contemporain, Isidor de Béja ne s'y trompe pas. Il appelle l'armée Franke l'armée des *Européens*. Cette armée détruite la terre était à Mahomet !"

Only Sismondi and Michelet are disposed to question this judgment. The latter is inclined to belittle the grand battle. He speaks of the Arabs as a set of "brigands whose astonishing celerity seemed to multiply them,"¹ and regards the danger to the Franks far greater from the north than from the south.

I might multiply the opinions of historians, but these are sufficient for my purpose. I shall now venture to give what seems to me to be the real answer to this question ; and I premise by saying that most of the historians have reversed an Oriental custom, and instead of seeking truth from original apologue, have laboriously constructed a false apologue out of plain facts.

I repeat that this was primarily no contest of creeds, at least on the part of Charles Martel ; it was a contest for territorial possession. The soil which Rome had conquered, reclaimed and abandoned, was the true ground of contention. The northern man, in the form of Goth, Vandal, Alan and Burgundian, had come down upon it ; the Franks had come, and from their hardy hive were still coming. The southern man, of Semitic race and sun-burnt face, had now come up to occupy the land. The fight was between the northern barbarian and the southern fanatic ; they met in mid career ; the former with a world of rude but stalwart fighting men behind him ; the latter with a conquered peninsula indeed, but only a handful of Moors. The causes which soon led to the independence of the Spanish khalifate, show clearly how little of power remained beyond it. The insurrection of the Berbers immediately afterwards shows how little the Spanish Ameer could depend upon Africa for troops.

I now proceed to discuss the hypothesis of Gibbon, which has been accepted by so many other writers.

The Arab-Moors had conquered and subjected in Spain a peo-

¹ Histoire de France, L. II., ch ii.

ple enervated by want of exercise, licentiousness and irreligion. Large and constant reinforcements, under the first enthusiasm, had kept open their communications and had constituted the peninsula with its grand parapet of the Pyrenees a Saracenic citadel and a new base of operations. There was nothing behind them to alarm or endanger; but every day's march into Gaul, beyond the great mountain range, changed their army into a movable column, more and more isolated from its base, exposed to failure of supplies and hostile attacks in flank and rear.

The men of Gaul, Aquitanians and Franks, were of a different temper from that of the Spanish Goths; they had been constantly engaged in war, and were quite as practiced in the military art as the Moslemah themselves. Such is a suggestion of the military argument against Gibbon's hypothesis; and I commend it confidently to the military student.

Again, Charles Martel represented, as I have said, the mental and bodily vigor of the Franks. He was at the head of a new incursion of Germans into Gaul. His race had conquered the sluggish kings of the Merovingian dynasty; and, in their flush of victory, they stood like a wall of granite against any southern invaders. The uncorrupted, warlike German faced the Arab-Moor, who, however warlike, was not the physical equal of the Teuton. The Frank was a powerful man; his arms were ponderous and crushing; his horses colossal. He was inured to winter rigors. In everything the disparity was too great, and the race that conquered Rome was by no means extinct at the North; the Franks were only a type of the new hordes which would have poured down to crush the lithe and active, but weaker sons of the South. This I present as the *ethnic reason* against Gibbon's conjecture, and all history claims its cogency. Had the Saracens won the battle between Tours and Poitiers, all northern and central Europe would have united to destroy them, and northern and central Europe were far stronger in men and means than any the Arab-Moors could bring against them.

Once more: While I concur in general in the maxim, certainly valuable in war, that "Providence is on the side of the heavy battalions," I must also recognize the truth so wonderfully manifested in history, that God will protect the holy religion He has given to man, and that in the end no weapon formed against

Christianity shall prosper. We have seen that the Christianity which the Moors subjected—even that they could not destroy—in Spain, was not worthy of the name. The faith of Gaul was comparatively a purer and more practical faith: it drew strength even from the alliance of Charles Martel with the Pope; it was a power in the land. All the energies of the Church were exerted to resist the progress of Moslem infidelity. The coming of the Moors roused the champions of the Faith. The claims of the Koran gave new force to the doctrines of the Bible. The pretensions of Islam seemed the very thing needed, nay, providentially presented, to unite all Europe in one form of religious worship and government; these pretensions at once induced and consolidated a power more irresistible than force of arms, and which, indeed, subsidized arms to attain its purpose. Such is the *theological* answer to Gibbon's epigrammatic "perhaps"; an argument, the weight of which will vary according to the religious views of the student.

And now, in conclusion, let us gather up the ravelled ends of this tissue. Gibbon speaks of the thousand miles already traversed by the Moors as an earnest of another thousand, which would have taken them to the confines of Poland and the highlands of Scotland. We do not for a moment allow that the Rhine, with its fierce and hardy riparian tribes, was "not more impassable than the Nile or Euphrates," upon whose banks dwelt an unorganized Semitic people, who had been conquered again and again, and who found in the tenets of Mohammed a nobler faith and destiny than any yet foreshadowed to them. The conquest of the East was easy because it was to the Eastern people a boon and a good.

And so, too, when he speaks of interpreting the Koran in the schools of Oxford to a circumcised people, he seems to have forgotten or ignored more than one fact. A perusal of the Koran, and a glance at its fortunes in history will show that it is an inter-tropical plant, which has never flourished, but as a sickly exotic, in temperate and northern climes. Circumcision, although enjoined upon the Israelites as a sacred rite, had long been practised in south-eastern lands on grounds of physiology and hygiene. It would be an abuse and a monstrosity in the climates of Christian Europe; and those who would see the sarcasm applied to the lo-

cality he names, will find in his autobiography that contemptuous opinion of Oxford, which, united to his scorn of Christianity, finds a malicious pleasure in subjecting both to the demonstration of "the sanctity and truth of the revelation of Mohammed."

We turn to the sonorously uttered opinion of Henri Martin, and at the outset we find him unconsciously condemning Gibbon, for in asking who could stop the Arab-Moors, he says "not the Anglo-Saxons, isolated in the depths of their island." He evidently thinks that they would have taken no part in such a contest. Of this we cannot be sure had the contest been possible; the Arabian fleet, formed simply to convey troops in small bodies, to land and ravage and fly, had never that we know ventured, for even such purposes, beyond the Pillars of Hercules. Suppose that Gaul had been conquered, and that the Arabs had fitted out a squadron in Normandy, what would have been the result? The English Saxons were in the flower of their strength; continually engaged in war. Their ships were swarming upon their coasts; as early as the fifth century they had made great improvement in ship-building and had such daring upon the sea, which they proudly called the whale's path, the long snake's leap and the swan's bath, as would have scattered the fancied "Arabian fleet" like the foam on the crest of the wave.

To continue the reference to Martin: the Lombards, if "feeble dominators of exhausted Italy," would have joined the Franks and Germans, and supported the Pope in such a crisis; their own salvation would have depended upon it.

I bring these conjectures, for they are but conjectures after all, to a close. I have endeavored to maintain and demonstrate, that although Charles Martel did paralyze and drive away the Arab-Moors in the most formidable invasion they had ever made, the field of Touraine was not the "last boulevard" of Christendom; that the material for conquest was lacking; that the concourse collected by Abdu-r-rahman for the invasion was the last levy *en masse* that Spain and Africa could then afford; that many myriads of Northern warriors could be gathered in a very short time to oppose them; that Christianity subsidized union and force to keep them back; that they would have frozen and starved, and been surrounded and caught in a vortex, of which many were in waiting to engulf them.

We have seen in later history that they have been nowhere able, except temporarily in Spain, and in Turkey, on the former seats of the Eastern empire, to establish their faith and power upon the domains of Christianity. We have, in Spain, observed the reasons for their abnormal successes; and in Turkey, for a long time past, have been heard those retchings of weakness, which are the unmistakable signs of decline and death.

We do not accept in its fullness the Pan Slavic creed; but there is little doubt that Russia, relieved from the trammeling treaty of 1856, will yet occupy Constantinople, and plant the banner of the Cross where the waving Crescent—strange contradiction—now sheds so dim a light. Islam wounded Christendom at the extremities; it could advance no farther.

If I have done nothing more than open this historic question to a new and fair discussion, which certainly has much to do with the just estimate of the Arabian conquest, I have not digressed from my proper theme; and I shall be satisfied to leave the controversy to better scholars and abler pens. The last words of this paper shall be a quotation, without comment, from the charming history of Guizot, which, without expressing an extreme opinion, contains a thoughtful and interesting suggestion:

“Most certainly neither the Franks nor the Arabs, neither Charles nor Abdu-r-rahmàn, fully understood as we do to-day, the gravity of the struggle in which they were about to engage; it was the struggle of the East and the West, of the South and the North, of Asia and Europe, of the Gospel and the Koran; and we say *now*, in considering all that has happened among the nations and in the ages, that the civilization of the world depended upon it. The generations which follow each other upon earth, do not see from so far and from such an elevation the chances and the consequences of their own actions. The Franks and the Arabs, chiefs and soldiers, did not look upon each other, twelve centuries ago, as called upon to decide near Poitiers, such a future problem; but they had a vague instinct of the grandeur of the part they were playing, and they scrutinized each other with that serious curiosity which precedes a redoubtable encounter between valiant warriors.”¹

HENRY COPPÉE.

¹ “Histoire de France, racontée à mes petits-fils.”—I. 178.

"YOUNG ABRAM CUPID."

IN the May number of *The Catholic World* is an Excursus on a line in *Romeo and Juliet*: 'Young Abraham Cupid, he that shot so trim.' The article would scarcely have required notice had not other journals called attention to it as giving an explanation of the word 'Abraham,' as new as it is conclusive.

We will give a brief statement of the case, and of what has been already written on this puzzling passage, and we can then judge how much the Excursus has added to our knowledge.

In the first edition of *Romeo and Juliet*, published in 1597, the printer, or the short-hand writer who took down the speeches as they fell from the actors' lips upon the stage, evidently supposed that the word 'Abraham' was a proper name, or a nick-name, and not an adjective qualifying Cupid, because the two words appear in the printed text, separated by a colon, thus: 'Young *Abraham* : *Cupid*, hee that shot,' etc.

Two years later another edition was published by a rival firm with the announcement on the title-page that it is 'newly corrected, augmented and amended,' and so indubitable are the 'corrections' and 'augmentations' that some of the highest Shakespearian authorities have professed their belief that this edition was printed from Shakespeare's own MS. No correction, however, if any were needed, was made in the puncturation of the phrase under discussion, and *Abraham* remains a proper name. Ten years later a third edition, published by another firm, was issued, and again for the third time we have "Young *Abraham* : *Cupid*, he that," etc. A fourth edition followed soon after, and here for the first time we have "Young *Abraham Cupid*" set free to play his pranks beyond his legitimate domain, among the luckless commentators. The colon has never been restored, and *Abraham Cupid* is to be found in the Four Folios, in Rowe, Pope, Theobald, Hanmer, Warburton, Johnson, Capell, and Johnson and Steevens's first edition in 1773.

'There let him lay,' as Byron says, while we go back to 1746, when the Rev. John Upton maintained that, as Shakespeare constantly delighted in making allusions (or, in modern phrase, hits) to well-known characters, this *Abraham* or *Abram* was a misprint

for Adam, and this contained an allusion, well understood and appreciated by his audience, to Adam Bell, a very famous archer, whose unerring skill was proverbial, and whom Shakespeare mentions by name in *Much Ado About Nothing*. As this suggestion of Upton's supplied a certain degree of sense, where otherwise no sense was seen, it gradually crept into popular favor, until in 1778, Johnson and Steevens boldly changed the text into 'Young Adam Cupid.' And this 'young Adam' became as firmly lodged in Shakespeare's text as the 'old Adam' is in human nature, until more than thirty years ago, when Knight maintained that the older text is right, and that 'Abraham Cupid' is the cheat, the *Abraham-man* of the old statutes. And Staunton and Halliwell have followed Knight and the Folios.

So much for these two interpretations: *Adam Beil* and the *Abraham-man*. There is yet a third.

A hundred and thirty years ago Theobald (name ever dear to Shakesperian students), in a note on the line, says, 'Though I have not disturbed the text, I conceive there may be an error in the word *Abraham*. I have no idea why Cupid should have this *prænomen*. I have suspected that the poet wrote, '*Young auborn Cupid*,' i. e., *brown hair'd*, because in several other passages where *auborn* should be wrote, it is printed *Abraham* in the old books.'

In 1793 Steevens, following out the suggestion started by Theobald, showed by citations from Middleton's *Blurt, Master Constable*, and from *Soliman and Perseda*, that, whether or not *Abram* be a misprint for *Auburn*, it unquestionably indicated a certain color, and a color, moreover, which seemed to be applicable only to the hair and beard, just as nowadays we use *carroty*.

Here then we have a justification of the use, as an adjective, of the word *Abraham* before *Cupid*, and the question as to what color is indicated by *Abraham* or *Abram* might remain open, did we not have a noteworthy instance from the very Folios of Shakespeare himself that this color is interchangeable with *auburn*, whatsoever color that may be. Had Theobald known of the instance that we are now about to cite, his conjecture would have been so strongly supported that we doubt not the reading, 'young auburn Cupid,' would have maintained unquestioned its position in the text, certainly down to the days of Knight, if not to the present year of grace. The passage occurs in *Coriolanus*, the Second

Act, and Third Scene, and reads in the first three Folios, "Our heads are some browne, some blacke, some Abram, some bald." So far we get no clue to the color until we come to the Fourth Folio, and here, mark it well, the reading is, "Our heads are some brown, some black, some AUBURN, some bald." (Of course, the capitals are ours.)

Might not the case rest here? Can any unprejudiced student require proof more conclusive that whatever color *auburn* was, it was interchangeable with *Abram*? The full significance of this instance escaped the keen eyes of Mr. Dyce, when in 1853 he published his *Few Notes*, and advocated Theobald's suggestion and sustained it with examples. Nor did Mr. Grant White notice its full force when his edition was published in 1861, or assuredly that excellent editor would have jumped at a corroboration of the emendation so strong as this. Hereafter no one can say that the line in *Romeo and Juliet* is tortured if it read, 'Young auburn Cupid.' Whether 'Young Abram Cupid' be not by much the better reading is doubtful. On this point we reserve our opinion. Here we are merely summing up evidence.

What was the actual tint of *Abram* or *auburn* in Shakespeare's day is another and really a more difficult question, as well as a less important one. Few things are more difficult to translate or transmit in language than the shades of colors. We all know that the same robe is called in the New Testament, in one Gospel, 'scarlet,' and in another, 'purple.' We cannot, therefore, with reference to *auburn*, expect to arrive at any conclusion so sure that another student might not honestly differ from us. An instance cited by Mr. Halliwell (Phillipps) deserves great weight from the fact that the very purpose of the passage is to discriminate between different shades of color, and also because it is from a work which appeared only four years after Shakespeare's death, and its terms may be supposed to adhere very closely in meaning to those used by Shakespeare. It is from Melton's *Astrologaster*, in 1620, and is as follows: 'By the eleventh house you can judge of what haire he shall be of, of a browne or *Abraham* color, as the English; of a yellow, as the Dane.' The color, however, here defined, is not apparently the same as that referred to in Coriolanus, as cited above. In the latter the colors *brown* and *Abram* are presumably different.

Perhaps greater weight is due to Baret's *Alvearie* of 1580, cited by Grant White, where *light auburn* is translated by the Latin *sub-flavus*, and this accords moreover, with the definition in Thomas's *Italian Grammar* of 1587, cited by Dyce: '*Biondo*, the *aberne* color, that is betweene white and yelow.'

But the tint is evidently very fugitive, or vague. In Drayton's *Moone Calf*, 1627, cited by Grant White, we find, 'her black, browne, *auburne*, or her yellow hair. Again it shifts in the *Optick Glasse of Humours*, 1630 (also cited by Grant White), 'Their head is commonly *abran* or amber coloured: so their beards.' Those passages only are germane to the present point, which attempt to designate the shade of color, not those which prove that *Abram* designated simply color. But, as we have said, this color *Abraham*, *Abram*, *auburn*, has not been indisputably determined, and probably never can be.

Such is the state of the discussion as it stands at this hour, and has done any day these many years past. Now let us examine the Excursus in *The Catholic World* and see what the new light is which eminent journals proclaim that it has thrown upon the subject.

The first thing that occurs to us on reading the Excursus is the very limited knowledge apparently possessed by the writer of what has been accomplished in Shakesperian criticism. Singer's edition, whose chief aim was to make a popular digest of the Variorum of 1821, is apparently held to be the first to adopt Upton's conjecture of 'Adam Cupid.' Theobald's conjecture is attributed to Dyce, and Grant White's remarks are taken from his 'Shakespeare's Scholar' of 1854, while his edition of Shakespeare, half a dozen years later, with much fuller notes on this very passage, is not alluded to. No allusion is made to Halliwell.

This is not a favorable impression to make at the outset. But, perhaps, the fairest way to treat the new critic is to cite his conclusions in his own words, 'conclusions' which he claims are 'fairly deducible' 'from the premises' which, (by an *innuendo*, in legal slang,) we are to suppose are the results of his own learning and research.

'1. That in the time of Shakespeare the word *Abraham* was 'sometimes employed as a cant term expressive of a certain color.'

This 'conclusion,' as we have seen, is none of the new critic's.

It was proved by Steevens long before the critic was born, and is nearly as old as these United States.

'2. That, since the name "Abraham's balm" was used for a certain shrub or bush, otherwise called the hemp-tree, the color in question was probably that of dressed hemp or flax, which nearly resembled each other in hue; the word tow being still applied to the coarse filament of both.'

To understand this, we must examine the premises from which it is drawn. To reach it, the critic has entirely discarded all evidence drawn from Shakespeare or his contemporaries, and has had recourse to a Latin dictionary printed nearly a hundred years after Shakespeare wrote *Romeo and Juliet*. To justify him in going to so remote an authority, there must be attendant circumstances of excellent pertinence. The passage from the Latin dictionary of 1693, which is the foundation of the critic's whole argument, is as follows (we quote the words of the critic): 'The word *vitex* is thus translated in it: "A kind of withy or willow, commonly called *agnus castus*, in English, park-leaves, *Abraham's balm*, chaste or *hemp tree*.'

Now, we do not hesitate to say that any one who should, from this definition, undertake to prove that these plants or shrubs were all of them one and the same, would be treated with as much contempt as it would be befitting in a gentlemanly botanist to manifest. In the first place, the shrub *vitex* is not a *willow*. In the second place, *vitex* is not *park-leaves*. In the third place, *Abraham's balm* is not a *willow*. In the fourth place, *Abraham's balm* is not *park-leaves*; and, lastly, the *willow* is not a *hemp-tree*. Where botany is so utterly at fault, a philologist would not for an instant tolerate the use of such a definition in proof of any theory which rests its appeal on the synonymous use of the botanical terms. This definition is simply one of countless others, with which all scholars are familiar who use Cotgrave, Baret, Minshew, or 'honest John Florio.' In departments, with which they were unacquainted, the old dictionary-makers often set down a heterogeneous jumble of definitions. Gerard's *Herbal* of 1597 is the best, perhaps the only, authority (Parkinson is to a large extent a reprint of Gerard) whereby to determine the identity of plants in Shakespeare's day, and we have looked in vain for any authority there which permits us to suppose that the *agnus castus* was then called *Abra-*

ham's balm, although Gerard is careful to give all the common names of plants.

But, for the sake of argument, let us set botany aside, and, granting that the definition of *vitex* as given in the old Latin dictionary is sufficiently correct, is the new critic's case any better? In the same sentence occur the words *Abraham* and *hemp*, and from this fact the critic deduces the conclusion that the Abraham color was that of dressed *flax*! Can inconsequence farther go? What is to be done with the poor, neglected park-leaves? They, too, occur in the same sentence. Would not parallel reasoning lead the new critic to conclude that the good old Boston name of *Parker* meant *tow-head*? Where is the proven connection between *Abraham's balm* and the *Abraham-man* of the statutes or the *Abraham* color? Has Abraham's balm any reference at all to the 'sturdy beggars'? Is it not rather a reference to the Hebrew patriarch himself, in a vague popular way connecting his long lack of offspring with the supposed effect of the seeds of the *agnus castus*? By what logical legerdemain are we to be made to believe that Abraham's *balm* means Abraham's *color*? Is there no step between hemp-tree and flax? The simple truth is, and a critic who sits in judgment on his predecessors should endeavor to make himself acquainted with all the facts of the case, that the 'hemp-tree' is not hemp, and never was used for hemp. It is merely so called because its leaves resemble hemp. All, therefore, that the writer of the *Excursus* says about hemp-wigs and flaxen-wigs is wholly beside the mark. Hemp-wigs there may have been half a century after Shakespeare's days, but they were not made from *Abraham's balm*.

We shall not dwell on the impropriety of introducing into a discussion on the meaning of a word in Shakespeare any conclusion drawn from the manufacture of wigs. We shall merely give the train of reasoning on this point by the writer of the *Excursus*, and we shall try in sadness to give it fairly: Abraham's balm is the hemp-tree; the hemp-tree is the same as hemp; hemp is manufactured into tow; the Abraham color may therefore be the color of tow; flax and hemp are almost equivalent terms, therefore the Abraham color may also mean flax color; flax was used in making wigs, hence Abraham 'in Shakespeare's

time meant precisely the same as *flaxen*, with perhaps a slightly humorous allusion.' [!!]

The third conclusion in the Excursus is one against which little objection can be urged; it may, or it may not, be correct, it has nothing to do with a discussion of the line in *Romeo and Juliet*. It states 'that the color attributed to "flaxen locks," so celebrated through the whole range of English poetry, is, in fact, that 'light and fair, that is, blonde, color of the hair assigned to 'Cupid.'

The fourth conclusion deduced by the writer of the Excursus is 'that "young Abraham Cupid," therefore, means nothing else 'than *flaxen-haired* or *fair-haired* Cupid.'

The fallacy of the logic in reaching this conclusion we believe we have satisfactorily shown. But even granting that this is a possible meaning of Abraham, can it apply to the line in *Romeo and Juliet*? Mercutio begs Romeo to 'speak to my gossip Venus one fair word, one *nick-name* for her purblind son and heir.' How much of a *nick-name* is *flaxen-haired* or *fair-haired*? The critic forgot that he had found fault (and properly) with *auburn* on this very ground. If he stand by this conclusion, the Excursus dwindles to this: he thinks Abraham means *fair-haired* while Theobald, Dyce and White, think it means *yellowish* or *auburn-haired*.

But we 'gin to be aweary of the sun' and sigh for the good old days of Gifford. And yet, after all, such verbal discussions as we have in the Excursus tend to good, if they are urged with knowledge and not pressed too blindly. Against one thing, however, we protest, because it makes us ridiculous in the eyes of scholars in England and Germany, and that is, that respectable journals, like *The Nation*, in New York, and *The Post* in Boston, with apparently much less knowledge of the subject than the writer of the Excursus, should proclaim to the Shakespearian world that it has been reserved for American scholarship, to solve difficulties that have hitherto baffled all research, more especially in cases like the present, where it happens that both the writer of the Excursus and his eulogizers in the journals (as Carlyle says of the Utilitarians), believe themselves in the van because they are so far in the rear, unaware that the main body had passed long before.

Our own belief is that Mercutio said 'young Abram Cupid,'

and that he meant 'that young auburn-haired beggar, Cupid.' Mercutio's fancy was light enough to bestride the gossamer that idles in the wanton summer air, and the word Abram, as a color applied to hair, was caught from the very words just uttered: 'Venus' son and *hair*' (pronounced like *hair* in Shakespeare's day, and not the only pun Mercutio makes on the word), and it in turn in its cant sense, suggested the '*beggar* maid' in the line that follows.

THE CHILDHOOD AND YOUTH OF LUTHER.

FIFTH PAPER.

IT is only fair to recollect, in reading Luther's censures of her, that the Church of the Middle Ages had to do wonders with very slight means at her command. These Saxons and Thuringians had been converted wholesale, by sword and baptism, to the Christian faith, which more than any other depends for its vitality upon the real convictions of those who profess it. Such a process of Christianization, standing in strong contrast to the timid missionary methods of our own day—when men fish with a line, instead of "letting down the net"—really did accomplish wonders for the converted nations, but there was a limit to those wonders. For centuries the old superstitions held their place side by side with the new faith; no doubt the old pagan priesthood was secretly perpetuated by a Satanic "succession," as is the case among the Christianized negroes of our own country. As late as the thirteenth century conversions from paganism are recorded in the neighborhood of Eisleben. Not until the second half of the fifteenth century did the Christian sentiment in the district become strong enough to secure the erection of decent and commodious churches, to take the place of the mean and inconvenient chapels first erected for Christian worship. A funeral discourse, pronounced by Coelius upon Dr. Luther, says that not long before his days "the Willow Stock" and "the Good Lubben" were still invoked among the Mansfelders, and the Bishop of Halberstadt, in whose see the countship lay, was denouncing, in 1462, the abomination of the worship of "the good Lutzen"—possibly the same idol. Luther himself was cognizant of another such case, but seems to have misapprehended totally its significance:

The devil hath at times befooled and beplagued the people in many ways. . . . Two miles or thereabout from H[alle?] there used to be a great concourse of pilgrims to the golden Lupa [*gülden Lupá*; query—the good Lubben, *guten Lubben?*] who had never been canonized, and had never been set up by the Pope, or at his command by the bishops, and was called “blessed,” but not “saint” [*selig, aber nicht heilig*]. Afterward it came out that a sacristan had buried his dog, that was named “Lupa” at that spot.¹

Especially among the miners of the Hartz, “survivals” of the old heathen creed, in the form of popular superstition, were numerous and of potent influence. Everything in their dangerous and gloomy occupation tended to cherish such misbeliefs, and to lead them to fill the dark underground spaces with mischievous and half-malicious beings, the denizens of a somber fairy-land. Luther is only interpreting their beliefs into his own phraseology, when he says:

In the mines the devil plagueth and misleadeth the people, maketh a glamour and confusion before their very eyes, as though they saw great store of ore and pure silver where all the while is nothing. For if he can bewitch and befool the people on upper earth, under the sun by clear daylight, so that they regard and hold a thing for other than it is, much more can he do it in the mines, where the people are right often misled.

.....I know that I have no luck in mining; every one else must suffer loss on my account. For Satan begrudgeth me this gift of God. Therewith I am well content.²

Some things in the old Paganism had, indeed, been preserved in the Church of set purpose.

Many of the old pagan ways and usages had been—as Baronius admits—christened and adopted into the Church’s life. Whatever did not seem irredeemably bad in its influence was not destroyed by the first missionaries; they rather connected it with some fact or doctrine of Christianity, and trusted to the power of the new association to redeem it from evil. Thus the Yuletide of the pagans became Christmas, and the Beltaine Feast, Lady Day. Luther was well aware of this:—

The adorning, the fair array, and the vestments that are used with other ceremonies in the mass in Popedom, are partly borrowed of the heathens. For as the priests saw that the people

¹ Tischreden xxiv. § 61.

² Tischreden xxiv. § 24

were drawn to market-place and play-house by public shows, and took delight therein, and that withal the churches were left void and bare, they were moved and occasioned to set up and establish such shows and puppet-plays in the church, therewith to move and entice the children and the unlearned folk to go to church the more gladly, that they saw there such puppet's play and foolery. But behold what a child's play and pomp they have on Easter eve. That is well pleasing to any one, and were in part a fine thing, were not superstition tacked on to it.¹

Dost thou ask, whence come such fashions in the worship of God? Then will they, the Papists, tell thee that it was an old pagan use that people ran about the cities and hamlets with burning candles on the first day of February [Candlemas], and that did Pope Sergius alter, and made it into a true worship of God.²

Luther was very decidedly friendly to all these ways of teaching the children and the unlearned, provided it were done in a simple and natural, not in a fantastic way, and were wholly freed from superstition. He had felt for himself what a hold it took upon young minds :—

It is enjoined upon all men to advance and spread the word of God, in whatsoever way it can be done, not only with the voice, but by writing, pictures, sculptures, psalms, songs and musical instruments Moses (Deut. vi. 8) would have the word of God thought upon and kept before men's eyes, and in what way can this be done more fittingly and clearly than by such acting, if it be grave and kept within due bounds and be not buffoonish, as it used to be in Popedom. For such spectacles reach the common people through their eyes, and oftentimes move them more than the public preaching of the word. To my knowledge, in Lower Germany, where the public profession of the Gospel is forbidden, many have been converted through plays concerning the Law and the Gospel, and have embraced the purer doctrine. Since, therefore, such plays are set up with a good purpose and from zeal for spreading the truth, if they be, I say, grave and kept within bounds, they are by no means to be condemned.³

The grotesque Teutonic conception of Satan was of course that to which Luther was accustomed in his earlier years. It was in later life that that was replaced by the New Testament conception of the enemy of all good, "the antithesis of the Decalogue" as Luther himself finely expresses it, though never to the entire

¹ Tischreden xxxv. 27.

² House-Postil (Dieterich) : Sermon on Luke, xxiv. 31-43.

³ De Wette v. 533-4

effacement of the conception received in childhood. This Teutonic Satan was a creature not absolutely vile, but possessing some of the innocent traits of human nature, a great practical joker, withal, and fond of thrusting in his cloven foot where he had no business. He was said to linger about the churches and to avail himself very eagerly of a chance opportunity to mimic divine service. As many of the sites chosen for Christian churches were previously occupied by heathen temples, this popular belief is not incapable of an explanation. Luther tells us with no expression of his disbelief:

I have heard a story in my youth how once upon a time the preacher suddenly fell sick, just as he had to preach, and there came to him one who offered to preach for him, and hastily tossed over the leaves in the book and made a sermon; and he preached so finely and so earnestly that the whole church must fall to weeping. At the end he said, "Would ye know who I am. I am the devil, and to this end have I preached to you thus earnestly, that I may be able to reproach you the harder and the more justly at the day of judgment, and to your greater damnation, if ye keep to it not."¹

When I was a young lad, some one told this story: When Satan could not sunder two married people that lived with each other in great unity, then he accomplished and brought it about through an old wife.....Thereafter the devil came and reached the old wife a pair of shoes on a long pole. Then she asked: "Why did he not come nigh her?" He answered, "You are worse than I, for what I could not bring about among these married people, that have you accomplished."²

As might be expected, the Satan that troubled Luther was a gloomy devil, an enemy of all sport and mirth, not, as many good people still think, their author and patron. His own view of God's character drove him to this judgment of the great antithesis:

All gloominess, plague and heaviness of spirit come of Satan. In such case of gloominess or sickness I conclude and hold it for certain that it is the devil's work and driving. For God troubleth not, even as He slayeth not, for He is the God of the living; therefore hath He sent His only begotten Son, that we through Him might have life; therefore did He suffer death, that He might become a lord of death. Therefore saith the Scripture, "Be of good cheer, be comforted," and the like.³

¹ Answer to Charge of Uproar brought by Duke George, 1533.

² Tischreden xliii. § 10.

³ Tischreden xxvi. § 26.

The ordinary weapons of resistance were prayer for divine help and cheer, the recalling of comfortable passages of the Scriptures, and the like. But Luther thought it sometimes equally efficacious to mock and ridicule the Tormentor.

Dr. Luther said: When he could not be quit of the devil by help of the Holy Scripture, and with earnest words, then had he often driven him away by biting words and laughable drollery. And when Satan would have tormented his conscience, then had he often said to him: Devil, I have also soiled my hose; have you reckoned that also and written it on your register with the rest of my sins? *Item* he had often said to Satan: "Dear devil, if the blood of Christ, shed for my sins, be not enough, then I beseech you that you would pray to God for me."

When I am idle and have nothing to do, then the devil sneaks in to me, and before I can look about me, he has driven me till I am in a sweat.¹

Upon Satan, still more than on the Church, he laid the blame of those spiritual torments that perplexed his earlier years.

All heaviness and gloominess cometh from the devil, for he is the lord that "hath the power of death"—especially when a man is troubled and tormenteth himself, as though he had an ungracious God, then most surely is it the devil's work and prompting. Therefore, when a sore thought ariseth in thy mind, as if God would not have mercy on thee, *item*, as if he would leave thee to die in thy sins, and would damn thee, or that thou wilt give up the ghost for very anguish, then conclude at once that such thoughts are of the devil. Reason why—God troubleth no one, affrighteth not, slayeth not, but is a God of the living, hath even sent His only begotten Son into the world, to the end that he might comfort and cheer poor sinners, not to affright them.²

Satan, Luther found, even in these early years, was especially hostile to music. The *Opera Bouffe* had not yet been invented to turn it over to his service, or at least its contemporary representatives were known only in Italy. To our German the divine art was still divine—the witness, amid a world of jarring discords, to the eternal harmony of the spheres, and therefore no friend to the author of confusions and discords, rather God's instrument to set men free from him. Like Saul, he felt that the evil spirit fled at the sound of the harp; like Elisha, he felt the Spirit of God come upon him to awaken his soul to prophetic insight, when the

¹ Tischreden xxiv. § 44.

² *Ibid.* xxvi. § 3.

sweet song and the resounding string rang consonant in his hearing. He tells his table companions :

The devil is a gloomy spirit, and maketh people gloomy, therefore can he not abide merriment. Thence comes it that he flieth the farthest he may from music ; stayeth not when one singeth, especially spiritual songs. Thus did David, with his harp, set Saul free from his temptation, wherewith the devil plagued him.

Dr. Luther said that " Music was a noble and divine endowment and gift, that was utterly at war with the devil, and one might therewith drive off many *tentationes* and *cogitationes*. For the devil can hardly abide music.¹

Music is one of the best of the arts. The notes quicken the text into life.....Some of our nobles and scrape-jacks—*scharrhansen*—think they could have saved my most gracious lord 30,000 guilders in music. On the other hand they would spend 30,000 to no end. Kings, princes and lords must cherish music, for it behooveth great potentates and rulers to uphold good free arts as well as laws ; for private, common people have not the means to do that, however much they may delight in them and love them. Duke George of Hesse, and Duke Frederick of Saxony, kept singers and chantories ; the Duke of Bavaria, King Ferdinand and Kaiser Carl do so now. Therefore do we read in the Bible that devout kings sustained and rewarded men singers and women singers.

Music is the best cordial for a man in trouble, wherewith his heart may be quieted, enlivened and refreshed again. Music I have always loved. He that is master in this art is of a good sort, and equal to anything. Music must needs be kept up in the schools. A school-master must be able to sing, else I make no account of him. The young folks should be continually exercised in this art, for it makes fine, clever people of them.

Whoso despiseth music, as do the fanatics [the Anabaptists and their like], I am at odds with him. For music is a gift and endowment that comes of God, not of man. Therefore, doeth it drive away the devil, and maketh the people joyful ; therewith are forgotten wrath, unchastity, pride and other vices. Next to theology, I give music the nearest place and the highest honor, and it is to be seen how David and all the saints put their devout thoughts into verse, rhyme and song, *quia pacis tempore regnat musica*.²

Even in his earlier years our Luther had made proof of the power of this Divine art to "drive away the devil." But it would be a mistake to transfer to those earlier years his opinions and

¹Tischreden xxiv. §121.

²Tischreden lxxviii. §§ 1,5

convictions as to the personality and agency of Satan. If it be a superstition to believe the revelation of an enemy of all good, a revelation withheld in the Jewish scriptures, but made clearly in the Edomite book of Job, and in the Christian Gospels, then Luther was, in this point, not less superstitious than his age, but more so; not less but more superstitious in his later years than in his youth. In proportion as all lesser objects of worship and invocation fell away, and left him face to face with God, in proportion as God came forward in his thoughts as the one object of all love and confidence, in like measure did he cease to fear and dread evil spirits, and come to a clearer and deeper conviction of a spirit of evil, that stood in utter antithesis to God and all goodness. He had that conviction more profoundly, perhaps, than any other man of his age. If on other points he accepted its beliefs as to the facts of evil agency without sufficient critical investigation, if in this respect we may justly find fault with him, as with Hale, Baxter and Glanville, of the next century—yet we must acknowledge that on one point his position was that of the critic. In his view the belief of Satan's existence and agency was the very path by which he was led out of the superstition that filled the world with half or wholly evil existences, and perpetuated the old pagan mythology upon Christian ground. He thus complains of the current belief in ghosts and apparitions as unworthy of Christians:

We here see that among the Jewish people, and even by the Apostles themselves, it was held that by night, and at other times, spirits wander about, and are visible to men But the Scripture does not say this, and gives no example that there are such souls of dead men as are said to wander about and seek help, as we have hitherto, in our blindness, believed, being misled of the devil Therefore, shall a man know that all such ghosts and visions that thus make themselves heard and seen, especially with rattling and racket, are not dead men, but certainly devils that are thus taking their sport, either to deceive the people with false pretenses and lies, or simply to plague and terrify them.¹

The superstition of changelings, that had come down from the times when the people were only in part converted to Christianity, and attempts were actually made by heathen parents to secure—as they supposed—the immortality of their offspring by their baptism, was very common in his time. He accepts the fact, sus-

¹ Church-Postil: Easterday Sermon o. l. Luke xxiv. 36-47.

tained as it was by a multitude of stories, but refers it to Satanic agency.

Changelings and goitards Satan lays in the place of the true children, so that people are plagued thereby. Sundry maidens he carries off into the water, gets them with child, and keeps them by him, until they are delivered; and, thereafter, lays these very children in the cradles, and takes out the true children and makes away with them. But such changelings, it is said, do not live over eighteen or nineteen years.¹

.....For Satan hath such power to exchange the children, and puts in a man's cradle, in the stead of his own child, a devil, which never thrives, but just eats and sucks. This now happens often, that the children are changed to the lying-in women, and the devils lie in their place, and make themselves more nasty, and cry more, and devour more, than ten other children, so that the parents have no peace with the filthy creatures, and the mothers are sucked dry, and have no milk to pacify them withal.²

Trouble enough, to be sure. But Satan, in Luther's opinion, stooped to more petty annoyances, causing sleep-walking and night-mares:

Satan carries people to and fro in their sleep, so that they do everything as when they were awake. And albeit there is therewith some defect or fault in the person, yet is it the devil's work. In old times the Papists, as superstitious people, would say that such men could not have been rightly baptized, mayhap by a drunken parson.³

Satan tormenteth and plagueth the people in all sorts of ways, so that he even so vexes and terrifies some in their sleep with dreadful dreams and visions, that the whole body is in a sweat from the great anguish of the mind. Beside he also carries some in their sleep out of their beds and their chambers, to high and perilous places, where a fall would be their death, but they are kept and defended by the service and protection of the good angels, who are around them.⁴

Of course Luther's theory of disease found a large place for Satanic agency, and here the Gospels seemed to point him to this explanation. His own experience had taught him many of those facts that belong to the "night side" of medicine, and to which the later students of the science are beginning to attach due im-

¹ Tischreden xxiv. §77.

² Tischreden xxiv. §96.

³ Tischreden xxiv. §78.

⁴ Tischreden xxiv. §11.

portance—especially the close connection of mental and spiritual health and disease with those of the body. It was but one step farther, and for him hardly an avoidable step, to find the tormenter of the body in the enemy of souls. He was led to use language in regard to disease and its origin that would utterly scandalize those who look on it as a divinely ordained discipline for Christians and almost as the normal state of a godly man, but would as utterly delight those muscular Christians, who preach again in our days the old and cheerful Gospel—'Health is a Duty.' But we cannot transfer these views to his earlier years. If they were superstitious, they were those that came to him in the course of that mental training which we are accustomed to regard as his growth in larger knowledge and deeper insight. They seemed to him necessary inferences from the great truths that God is the Lord and giver of life, and that "he that hath the power of death" is the enemy of God and of man. We may regret that his fine poetic mind was not equally gifted with the critical faculty that would have enabled him to search and sift what seemed to his contemporaries and himself sufficient proof of the truth of this and that case of actual Satanic interference. But we cannot sever his convictions on the subject from the noblest and strongest beliefs that he entertained on clearer topics—beliefs which exerted the noblest and strongest influence upon men of his own generation.

The belief in witchcraft was never stronger than in the period over which Luther's earlier years extended. It might almost be said that the one point of contact with the invisible world that men really felt and realized in that time, was the belief that decrepit old women were in league with the enemy of souls and were mightily endowed by him with the power to injure and destroy their neighbors. The superstition, which hardly existed in the middle ages, was brought to the perfection of a science in the times of the Renaissance. Sprenger in his *Malleus Malificorum* (1489) laid down its laws with great exactness, and specified the various methods of detection; popes and emperors confirmed his conclusions by bulls and rescripts, and it was almost fatal to a man to express the slightest doubt of the whole matter. Whole shoals of poor creatures were burnt along the Rhine and elsewhere, while Luther was at school. The Reformation did not deny or

reject the conclusions already reached on the subject, but it abated the mischief by turning men's attention elsewhere, and awakening faith in God. It is pleasant to find that although Luther never reconsidered his childhood's faith in this point, and even avowed his readiness to help to burn the witches, yet he was never actually concerned in any prosecution of the sort.

To such witches and wizards men should show no mercy; I would help to burn them myself. As we read in the law that the priests were to cast the first stone at evil-doers.¹

Although every sin is a revolt from God and His work, whereby God is wronged and His wrath made to burn fiercely, yet may witchcraft be rightly named *crimen laesae Majestatis Divinae*, a rebellion and a fault full heinous, inasmuch as the offender wrongs in the highest degree the Divine Majesty. For as the Jurists make nice and artful distinctions, and speak of many sorts of rebellion and misdeeds against the high majesty, among the rest they reckon this, when one deserts his Lord on the field of battle, proves faultless and gives himself over to the enemy; and to this crime they all adjudge penalties of body and life. Even so, since witchcraft is a far more shameful and horrible sort of desertion, since such sinners desert from God to whom they are pledged and sworn, and give themselves over to the devil, who is God's enemy, so may they be justly punished in body and life.²

The superstition had come very close to him in those early years. His mother shared in it with all the energy of her nature.

Dr. Martin Luther spake much of witchcraft and doubles and elves; how his mother had been sorely plagued by a witch; that she had to treat her in the most friendly and deferential way, and thus propitiate her good will. For she shot the children so that they cried themselves to death, and a preacher that rebuked her only in general terms, she bewitched to death; by no medicine could he be helped. She had taken the earth whereon he walked and cast it into the water, and thereby bewitched him in such sort that without that earth he could not grow well again.³

ROBERT ELLIS THOMPSON.

¹ Tischreden xxv. §5.

² Tischreden xxv. §7.

³ Tischreden xxv. §1.

THE AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF ARCHITECTS.¹

This institution is the national organization of the architects not only of the United States, but also of the entire continent. It meets but once a year and then in different cities, when two or three days are occupied in the discussion of topics bearing on the fine art of architecture, and its cognate scientific subjects. We learn from these publications that this Institute has its central office in New York city, being incorporated under the local laws of the State. It has now determined to apply to Congress for a national incorporation—not to give it any special powers, but to remove the idea that it is a local institution of New York. It simply asks for national recognition from the general government, and apart from the question whether Congress has any power in the premises, there could be no reason why its prayer should not be granted.

The scheme of the Institute is that it is a society of architects, exercising local influence in the several larger cities of the Union through the medium of branch societies, or, as they are termed, "chapters"—these "chapters" being in contradistinction, architectural societies. Thus the "chapter" here in Philadelphia is composed of not only architects, but amateurs and others interested in the art, who have an equal voice in its proceedings with the architects, while only the latter are members of the national society. Besides Philadelphia, these chapters have been formed in New York, Boston, Baltimore, Cincinnati and Chicago. This system of organization, originated by our American architects, has been copied by the French architects in their *Société Centrale des Architectes*, and certain features of it by the Royal Institute of British Architects also. In Germany there is a somewhat similar system, but differing in some of its details.

The question frequently forces itself into notice in all countries, and especially in new ones like ours, how far architects are to blame for the bad architecture, or no architecture, exhibited in the buildings erected. The architects, however perfect artists

¹ Proceedings of the American Institute of Architects, in Philadelphia, Nov. 8th and 9th, 1870; in Boston, Nov. 14th and 15th, 1871; in Cincinnati, Nov. 12th and 13th, 1872. New York, D. Van Nostrand, 23 Murray street.

they may be, are only the servants of the public and can carry out only such designs as the public, as individuals, or as committees of the non-architect public, sanction. Really good architecture is a spirit, guiding firstly, the proportions of a building, and secondly, giving evidence of an artistic mind in the arrangement of the rude materials by, oftentimes, the almost as rude workmen. Architecture is a fine art, and in the adornment of a structure its first care is to render it refined and noble. Consequently it follows that an architect, to be truly one, must be a man of extreme culture, refinement and education, besides being possessed of the natural genius for his art, a quality that cannot be taught him but must be born with him. Mere proficiency in the science of building will not make him an architect, but only a successful master-builder. A real architect is an artist of the highest order.

The general public is insensible to the true spirit of the art, and too often otherwise refined and learned people are the same. They are attracted by the most meretricious ornament laid on the most thickly upon common-place designs. The difference between the spurious art and the real is similar to that between an overdressed woman, laden with a profusion of jewelry, and another, dressed with the refined taste we expect from a lady. Shrewd architects, however clever artists they may be, are conscious of this ignorance on the part of the public, and must bow to it or remain idle. In cases where they know that there is an ignorant individual or committee to please, they do not pretend to propose true architecture to them, but arrange their designs to suit the tastes of those to whose order they are made and who are to pay for the eventual structure. Now this is unquestionably reprehensible, but not so much so as would at first sight appear. Architects must live, they and their wives and children, and if only architecture of a lower standard will meet the public approval, they must produce such or starve. It follows, therefore, as a corollary, that those architects enjoying the largest practices are not necessarily the best art architects, but rather that they are those who are the least conscientious for the integrity of their art, and the most ready to cater to the public taste, or rather ignorance.

It seems the duty, therefore, of this American Institute of Architects, or perhaps more of its local "chapters," as coming

nearer to the public, to endeavor to disseminate a knowledge of architecture in the community, to instruct the public in the general principles of harmony and proportion in design, and to familiarize its eye with what is good sufficiently to enable it to condemn what is bad. But this is no easy task. The average American is a man thoroughly set in his own opinions. He is self-willed and opinionated, and, thinking that he knows better than any one else, cannot be brought to acknowledge either his ignorance or his want of taste, and therefore will not be instructed. The fact of his having been a successful business man, of having achieved wealth, he thinks, gives such weight to his opinions that no one dare or ought to dare to question them. As to accepting the opinion of a poor artist, and giving up his own, such an idea never could occur to him, or, if it did occur, would be immediately repudiated as absurd in the last degree. The statement that proficiency in architecture is consequent upon two conditions—a natural genius and a life's study—has no weight with him, for has not he been successful in making money? What more is required to show a man's ability to judge of any and every question, whether of art, philosophy or science? But hard as the task may appear, it seems the evident duty of the institution in question, if it has the true interests of its art at heart, to do what it can to instruct the public. If it does not do it, from whence is the instruction to come, or how are we to hope that our architecture will improve in character? No other institution in the country has the care of the art, and the natural capacities and characters of the dominant races in America are not such as to render them appreciative of the spirit of art untaught.

The duty of every individual architect is two-fold—to produce good architecture for the community in which he lives and to use his best endeavors to cultivate the taste of that community for his art—that is to say, to practice his art and to teach the people to admire it. In proportion to his practice and influence is he responsible to the world for the taste of those with whom he lives.

If this doctrine is true as regards the individual, how much more is it the case with a society of artists claiming to be national in its character. The question naturally arises, Can architecture progress unless it is appreciated by the general public, and can it be appreciated unless it is understood to a certain extent? The

arts of painting and sculpture depend for their success in a great measure on the truthfulness with which they represent or depict natural objects, scenes or emotions. The vividness of the representation oftentimes constitutes the merit of the work. Persons endowed with keen perceptive faculties are thus enabled by their natural gifts to appreciate and admire what they see. Music stands in a different position to the public. It certainly exerts an influence on the most ignorant mind, but only a transitory influence, except when heard with intelligence. Architecture bears a nearer resemblance to it than to its other sister arts, but there is by no means an exact analogy. It exerts an influence on the beholder in proportion to his intelligence and susceptibility to the beauties of harmony and proportion. But it differs from all its sister arts in being a thing of greater substance, greater labor, and greater cost, and being but imperfectly represented without these conditions. A piece of architecture must be executed before it is appreciated. An architect's drawings are perfectly unintelligible to many persons, and a design must be accepted by them in faith, for they can form but a glimmering idea of what a building is to be until they see it in its proper materials. A larger and more intelligent portion of the public can and do understand an architect's drawings, but lack the culture to distinguish between the good and the bad. The vast amount of rubbish in every one of our cities and towns which is complacently admired and called architecture, bears witness to the truth of this statement. The general public has no distinct idea of the difference between building and architecture, or between a builder and an architect. It knows nothing and cares nothing for architecture for itself, but only as it bears upon something else. If a good piece of architecture in the way of a church will draw larger congregations and make the pew rents higher than a mere utilitarian building, then it approves of ecclesiastical architecture. If an architectural shop front will draw more customers and make commodities sell at higher prices than a plain one, then it approves of street architecture. But it has never dreamed that architecture which is good and true is "a thing of beauty and a joy forever," and should be produced for its own sake—for the sake of the happiness and delight of mankind.

We have been led to these reflections by the fact that the

branch of the Architects' Institute in this city held a *conversazione* a year ago, when a large number of persons were invited to examine the really full collection of architectural drawings and photographs which had been got together for the purpose. We understand that it is the intention to repeat this exhibition annually, and we are surprised that the architects of other cities have not followed the example of Philadelphia in these exhibitions. They certainly tend to good. It is only by such means that the public can be interested in the art. Before enlightenment can come, the desire for it and interest in the subject must exist, but if interest is awakened, some enlightenment is sure to follow.

At the annual meetings of the Institute, besides the discussion of topics bearing upon architecture, various reports are read and two established addresses made. The first by the president, the venerable Mr. Upjohn, of New York, or by some other architect whom he may name as his deputy. The other by a non-architect, generally selected from the locality in which the meeting is held. Thus, at the meeting in Philadelphia the first address was made by Mr. Walter, the president of the chapter here, and ex-officio a vice-president of the Institute; the other by Rev. Dr. Furness, which we afterward inserted in our pages in full.¹ At Boston, Mr. Upjohn was present and made the address himself, and the closing address was in the form of post-prandial orations by three distinguished men—President Eliot of Harvard University, President Runkle of the Boston Institute of Technology, and Mr. Walter Smith, formerly master of the School of Art at Leeds, England, and now holding a similar position over the System of Art Schools in Massachusetts. At Cincinnati Mr. Hatfield, of New York, the treasurer of the Institute, appeared as the substitute for Mr. Upjohn, whose age and infirmities did not permit his taking so long a journey. The closing address was by the Hon. Rufus King, president of the board of trustees of the University of Cincinnati. After the adjournment of the convention the architects from other cities were entertained at dinner by their Cincinnati brethren.

Reports are read annually from the several local chapters, the Board of Trustees, from the standing and special committees and from the Secretary for Foreign Correspondence. The reports of

¹ Penn Monthly, June, 1871.

this officer informs us that our American architects hold friendly relations with the leading minds of Europe, and are in correspondence with the *Royal Institute of British Architects*, *Royal Institute of the Architects of Ireland*, *Société Centrale des Architectes, Paris*, *Société des Architectes du département du Nord, Lille*, *Architekten Verein zu Berlin*, *Österreichischer Ingenieur und Architekten Verein, Vienna*, *Architekten und Ingenieur Verein zu Hanover*, *Institut des Architectes, portugais, Lisbon*, *Société Suisse des Ingénieurs et Architectes, Geneva*, *Société pour la propagation de l'Architecture dans les Pays Bas, Amsterdam* and *L'Académie Royale des Beaux Arts, Copenhagen*.

At the last annual meeting, as we see on p. 41 of the Proceedings for 1872, a resolution was offered by Mr. Sims, of this city, and adopted, providing for the publication of a periodical devoted to architecture, which should be under the management and control of the Institute. Several publications of this character have been attempted in the country, but each, after a short existence, has ceased. This has been owing more to the lack of ability with which the past attempts have been made, and a consequent lack of support on the part of the public and of the architects, than from a want of field in America for such a publication. The scheme above alluded to is for the publication of an architectural serial which shall be entirely under the control of the Institute, and which shall illustrate only what is meritorious in the architecture of the country without reference to the personal ends of any one. The idea is a good one, and we heartily wish the publication success. One feature in it which in our judgment cannot but be condemned as narrow and uncatholic, is that the work illustrated shall be only such as are produced by those architects who are members of the Institute. This provision, as the report shows, was not in the original proposition, but was fastened on it in the form of an amendment. Unquestionably a large majority of the best architects in the country are members of this organization, but there are several men of ability, ranking high in their art, who from one cause or other have held aloof from it. If this publication is to be an exhibit of the best architectural art of the country, the productions of such non-members should be as welcome as any. The nation has a right to expect in a publication of this kind, issued by a society claiming to be national in-

its character, the best art of the country set forth irrespective of the personality of the authors, and it is to be hoped that this narrow proviso will be removed from the scheme.

We want something more than the organ of an association, and are justly disappointed at having this refused us.

NEW BOOKS.

“NEVER AGAIN.” By Dr. Mayo.

While “Uncle Sam” is showing us what nonsense a versatile Parisian play-wright can produce from American materials, the book before us, written apparently by a New Yorker, has been hailed by certain critics in English reviews as an amusing and clever picture of New York life. It is not surprising that Englishmen, whose insularity cannot pierce the haze that lies between them and the unknown land beyond the channel, should be misled by pictures so much in keeping with what they imagine our social life to be, but it would seem that with us, too, the novel has not lacked for praise. It is this fact that will excuse a notice, and so late a notice, of the book.

To its credit it may be said that its morality is eminently American and healthful. The young clerk, Luther Landsdale, with the strength and manly beauty only found in a country education, and with a tendency toward higher things shown (like one of Jean Paul Richter's heroes) by roosting in a high tree, loveth hopelessly his employer's daughter, and is by her, ingenuous maid! though penniless, beloved. The society man, who lives a life of inanity and self-indulgence, refuses to ruin his friend's wife, and develops on occasion great prowess in discomfiting desperadoes. Even the Hudson river sloop captain, although he quotes French as well or as ill as the rest, is highly moral, and the miserly old Madame Steignitz, formerly a wicked French lady's maid, insists that Luther, who picks her up on a slippery pavement, shall use her tens or hundreds of thousands to secure the object of his affections. The first chapter, however, may be thought somewhat lurid by the fastidious, exhibiting as it does the highest nobility of Germany, then in disguise at Baden, in such a satanic glow of depravity that words fail them; but, after all, it is so strong that we read as children gaze upon the ballet. Medical it may be, but not immoral.

The book is said to be a success, but if so, it can hardly be from moral or melodramatic reasons; it must be from the satire on New York society. Mrs. Struggles, pale reflection of the “Book of Snobs!” is only a proof how feebly Dr. Mayo has

handled a productive theme. For Mrs. Struggles is supposed to be a satire upon a certain lady now in that vague land called "society," but as a satire is a failure. The slangy belle is also brought out, very weak on her legs and the palaces of New York merchants are described with the fervor of a dime novel. Sambo is introduced with the jargon discovered by novelists and the stage. Then there is the newspaper man, an unhappy stalking-horse for puns which the author twirls off with an ill-concealed joy, they being proofs of his own irresistible wit; and an old Knickerbocker, spouting in a wooden way such scraps of theories, medical or scientific, as the writer has picked up. Indeed the title prefixed to the author's name is quite unnecessary, for the book is medical to effrontery, and certain passages breed the impatience justly aroused against those who prate about themselves.

But Dr. Mayo is also didactic, and his idea seems to be that modern languages, but of all others French, is the first, if it be the only, requisite to an education! And it would seem that his respect for tongues is measured by his ignorance. "*Die ist schön*" exclaims the German baron whom Helen is about to marry to save her father, by which elegant sentence he does not refer to her, but to the landscape. But if German barons, deep and profoundly learned, cannot say three words in their own tongue without making two mistakes, what use for us to learn?

"*Quoi!*" says the old Frenchwoman, where the mere ordinary Gaul says "*comment*"; "*ma pensée*" says she when it might be expected that she would let us off with "*ce que je pense*!" Everyone speaks French, glibly if execrably. The old Captain, Boggs the society man, Whoppers the funny man, are forever turning out, with more or less unhappiness, unnecessary phrases in other tongues. Spanish, Italian, fine old threadbare Latin, thrill us with ghastly italics at every page; the heat, the glory of the work gets into our blood, and we too tread the princely palace of the New York merchant, glorious in the secretly intoxicating power of unlimited quotation!

Indeed why would it not be at once more elegant and more fitting to translate the title against a second edition and call it, "*Jamais Encore*"?

Library statistics prove fourth-rate female novelists to be the most read, and this may be a clue. For this novelist shows in many ways the true feminine novelist's cast of mind, so that even the harsh and disgusting similes smack of the authoress. It is disjointed, unreal, mock-heroic, and although many passages here and there are shrewd and sound, reflecting credit on the general opinions of the writer, it is Sophomoric. The poems make you mourn for the heroine who had to read them.

Another point is the southern tone throughout. The book is to be classed with those southern novels which dazzle the popular

eye by their cheap tinsel of scene, and are remarkable for a gross unreality in even the superficial pictures of society and morals they present, as well as for their crude assortment of unassimilated learning. Unhappily for the advance of our country in art, like them it finds a ready market for its wares.

Indeed, it might repay some statistician who has the leisure, to reckon the degrees of actual latitude between novelists of this stamp and writers of the condensed, restrained New England type, so antagonistic to the Southern and even the Middle State temperament. Would it prove a mere question of climate? And has the "fiery blood of the tropics," as people are so prone to allow, really anything to do with it? Probably not. It is rather boyish, immature, the mental state of romantic lady's maids who have ambitiously dipped a very little into various sciences. Between the clear act, perhaps a little narrow, and sometimes vanishing snowy peaks of Emerson, loved of few, and the muddy swamp lands of the popular sensational novelists, there lies, with the virtues of both and the vices of neither, a whole range of pleasant land for woods or pastures, grain or fruit.

THE JOURNAL OF PRISON DISCIPLINE AND PHILANTHROPY. Published annually under the direction of the "Philadelphia Society for Alleviating the Miseries of Public Prisons," instituted 1787. January, 1873. New series. No. 12. Philadelphia. 1873. Pp. 101.

FOURTH ANNUAL REPORT OF THE STATE BOARD OF HEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS. January, 1873. Pp. 473.

NINTH ANNUAL REPORT OF THE BOARD OF STATE CHARITIES OF MASSACHUSETTS, to which are added the reports of its several officers. January, 1873. Pp. 102.

GENERAL LAWS, passed by the Legislature of the State of Pennsylvania during the session of 1873. Pp. 104.

The foregoing titles represent a group of pamphlets, such as are now being issued and distributed throughout the country. Of the enormous charity, its wise control, its successful result, its varied lessons, these pages contain the chronicle—unluckily not a brief one—of the time. Our own Prison Society is fast reaching its centenary, and it still does its work well. Around it have grown up one after another great charities in the shape of States, municipal and private corporations, all doing their share to meet the wants, as well as to distribute the wealth of the country, for the two have kept pace together. In Pennsylvania, our own State Board has but lately begun—the Report of 1870 was its first—to tabulate and revise the charities of the State, and the task thus begun is likely to be of great use alike to the Legislature in

its generous gifts, and to all who are giving to the various institutions of the State. The appropriations made by the State to charities are but a tithe of the money given by private hand, by annual and other subscriptions, by gifts, legacies and all the thousand means known to those who understand the best way of getting their large drafts on public generosity and individual munificence cashed in all sorts of currency.

The extent to which unregulated charity ran riot in London led to the formation of a great controlling body, the "Mendicity Society," but while we have neither the great use nor the great abuse of such answers to the unceasing cry for help from the poor, it is right and proper that the last and best appliances of this branch of social science should be made to serve our needs. In Massachusetts the reports of the Board of Health and of that of State Charities have been made the medium for exhaustive papers on questions of primary importance, such as sewerage, food and drink, drainage, infant mortality, adulteration of milk, homes of the poor, health of towns, each of which deserves special study and notice. Perhaps there is throughout them rather too strong an imitation of the fashion set abroad of general discussions—we confess to a strong preference for studying each problem as it is presented, with all its local peculiarities—and for this reason, at least, we think Dr. Parry's paper on Infant Mortality (printed in this journal,¹ and read before the Philadelphia Social Science Association) is likely to do more good than Dr. Jarvis' paper, with its broad generalizations. In the "Charities Report" there is a better foundation in the detailed statements of the various institutions under its charge for the wide field of its paper on the "Defective Classes." We confess, however, that we think such reports ought rather to be limited, as are those of our own State Board of Charities, to the plain recital of its immediate work, giving the largest supply of facts relating to all its different classes of institutions, and contrasting their work and efficiency and cost, but leaving to special authors in separate works to discuss the philosophy of charity, and to our social science and other such organizations to provide the proper means and canons of popular criticism.

GETTING ON IN THE WORLD, OR HINTS ON SUCCESS IN LIFE. By William Matthews, LL. D. S. C. Griggs & Co., Chicago, 1872. For sale by Claxton, Remsen & Haffelfinger.

This is a good book—not well written, and often vulgar, but still, on the whole, clever and undeniably useful. That any one should write on such a subject as Success in general and escape platitudes, or make platitudes interesting, is an accomplishment scarcely to be looked for. The merit of the

¹ *Penn Monthly*, June, 1871.

book is its plan, which is to take up in turn every element of success, every cause which makes achievement, and state it fully, if not precisely (and a clever student can work out precision from fullness), illustrating each point with all the maxims and anecdotes of a redundant common-place book, pouring in the light from every side till each chapter finds its way, like a rare sermon, to the conscience of the unsuccessful. Every page is true, and every page has a dozen others which contradict it. Inconsistency is the soul of the book, as it is the characteristic of life which this well sets forth. It is a pity Prof. Matthews has had the bad taste, when discussing self-made men, to talk some nonsense about "painted lizards" of society. For after all, gentlemen, in the most confined and artificial sense of the term, appreciate the dignity of labor as well (probably, in fact much better), than do either the hod-carrier or the parvenu, and are, most of them, workmen of some sort themselves. There are quite as many idlers among the sons of "poor but honest" parents as in any other class. Apart from some silliness of this sort and a good deal of gew-gaw rhetoric, we owe the author much praise for the vigor and freshness of his lay discourses, and thank him for giving us a book with a *raison d'être*.

NEW-ENGLAND HISTORICAL AND GENEALOGICAL REGISTER AND ANTIQUARIAN JOURNAL. Boston: 18 Somerset street.

This periodical, the organ of the New-England Historic, Genealogical Society, is published quarterly, at \$3 per annum.

The design of the work is to gather up and place in a permanent form the scattered and decaying records of the domestic, civil, literary, religious and political life of the people of the United States, and particularly of New-England; to rescue from oblivion the illustrious deeds and virtues of our ancestors; to perpetuate their honored names, and to trace out and preserve the genealogy and pedigree of their families. To the student of archæology, genealogy or heraldry, this quarterly will be found invaluable.

It is devoted to a specialty as yet unoccupied by any other magazine.

ADVENTURES OF AN ATTORNEY IN SEARCH OF PRACTICE. Chicago: James Cockcroft & Co., 1872:

The hero of Ten Thousand a year, was, we think, Mr. Shackey's favorite snob, but Warren himself must certainly have held the second place in that catalogue. In the book, before us, we have the very man, short, conceited, clever, amusingly underbred; on the whole doing what is right, and in the right way;

paying off occasionally old personal scores against barristers who have bullied and judges who have snubbed him, but interesting one and telling one pleasant professional stories varied with quotations from Quinctilian and other recondite allusions, till with some skipping and a great deal of allowance for autobiographical weaknesses, one understands how the enterprising publisher succeeded in getting from Strong & Cooley, J. J., the very unqualified eulogia, which are to be seen in his circular.

THE AMERICAN'S HAND-BOOK TO VIENNA AND THE EXHIBITION, comprising all necessary information in regard to routes, expenses, hotels, boarding-houses, postages, moneys, railway fares, steamers, cabs, legations, etc., with fine tables, maps, etc. By C. W. De Bernardy. Illustrated with a large map of Vienna, a plan of the Exhibition Building and Grounds, etc. Philadelphia: Porter & Coates. 1873. Pp. 89, and pp. 40 of advertisements.

Our active and successful publishing firm have shown great pluck and promptitude in issuing a hand-book for the Vienna Exhibition. It gives sufficient information as to choice of routes, to enable an intending visitor to Vienna to select his own and to test his choice by comparing it with the others that are open to him. The information as to Vienna and to the Exhibition itself is not, of course, up to the recent newspaper accounts, and consists of such brilliant generalities as could best be compressed into the narrow space at the editor's command. The accounts do not seem to be made up to a late date, however, and, after a preface written at London on the 1st of April, 1873 (a grimly suggestive day) we are a little surprised to find the population of Vienna put down at 700,000; it was nearer a million at the close of 1872, or to see the old German coinage given, or to find only the "Grand Hotel" given, when long before April there were half a dozen others on "the Ring-Strape." It is just as if here in Philadelphia, for our Centennial of 1876, strangers were supplied with information six months behind hand. Much of the old might be good and useful, but most of the merit of such a book is in having the very newest detail of every part that can be of use or interest to the strangers who travel or to the foreigners who stay at home.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

Protection Against Fire, and the Best Means of Putting Out Fires in Cities, Towns and Villages, with Practical Suggestions for the Security of Life and Property. By Joseph Bird. Pp. 278. Cloth, Price \$1 50. New York: Hurd & Houghton. For sale by Porter & Coates.

Annual Reports of the Board of Commissioners of Public Charities of the State of Pennsylvania. 1870, 1871, 1872. 3 volumes. Pp. 290, 228, 615. Harrisburg: B Singerly, State Printer.

The Colville Family; a Novel. By Frank E. Smedley. Philadelphia: T. B. Peterson & Bro. Pp. 139. Paper, Price 50 cents.

The Red Rover; a Tale. By J. Fenimore Cooper. Illustrated from Drawings by F. O. C. Darley. New York: D. Appleton & Co. Pp. 193. Paper, Price 75 cents. For sale by Porter & Coates.

Bressant; a Novel. By Julian Hawthorne. Pp. 383. Cloth, Price \$1.50. New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1873. For sale by Porter & Coates.

The Lazy Tour of Two Idle Apprentices. By Charles Dickens. Philadelphia: T. B. Peterson & Bro. Pp. 43. Paper, Price 25 cents.

The Treaty of Washington; Its Negotiation, Execution and the Discussions Relating Thereto. By Caleb Cushing. Pp. 280. Cloth, Price \$2. New York: Harper & Bros., 1873. For sale by J. B. Lippincott & Co.

The Coming Race. By Lord Lytton. New York: Harper & Bros., 1873. Pp. 209. Cloth, Price \$1. For sale by J. Lippincott & Co.

The New Magdalen; a Novel. By Wilkie Collins. New York: Harper & Bros., 1873. Pp. 120. Paper, Price 50 cents. For sale by J. B. Lippincott & Co.

Kenelm Chillingly: His Adventures and Opinions; a Novel. By E. L. Bulwer (Lord Lytton). Pp. 511. Cloth, Price \$1.75. New York: Harper & Bros. 1873. For sale by J. B. Lippincott & Co.

Old Kensington; a Novel. By Miss Thackeray. Illustrated. Pp. 182. Cloth, Price \$1.50. New York: Harper & Bros., 1873. For sale by J. B. Lippincott & Co.

The Life of Franz Schubert. By George Lowell Austin. With Portrait. Boston: Shepard & Gill. 1873. Pp. 163. Cloth, Price \$1.25. For sale by Claxton, Remsen & Haffelfinger.

Life in Danbury: being a Brief but Comprehensive Record of the Doings of a Remarkable People under more Remarkable Circumstances, and Chronicled in a most Remarkable Manner by the Author, James M. Bailey, "The Danbury News Man," and carefully compiled with a pair of eight dollar shears, by the compiler. Boston: Shepard & Gill., 1873. Pp. 303. Cloth, Price \$1.50. For sale by Claxton, Remsen & Haffelfinger.

THE
PENN MONTHLY.

AUGUST, 1873.

THE MONTH.

THE condition of Spain is rather worse. The Carlists, taking advantage of the dissensions among the Republicans, have been steadily gaining ground. They have defeated the government forces with slaughter, and Don Carlos has crossed the Pyrenees in the wind of a blustering proclamation, and been received with enthusiasm by his followers. The most unfortunate feature of Spanish troubles, however, is the civil war, for it amounts to that, which has broken out among the Republicans. The government of Senor Pi y Margall has been thus far a failure in its attempts to suppress it. An instance of the anarchical state of the departments is shown by the riot at Alcoy, where the mob attacked the government buildings, killed the unhappy mayor and dragged his bleeding body through the streets. No more terrible commentary on this shocking act of the Republicans can be imagined, than the fact that this was the fate, at the hands of his countrymen, of one who had been always a Republican and had spent a large private fortune in the cause. Figueras has fled into France, where Serrano is enjoying the quiet domestic life of his villa at Biarritz, doubtless keeping one eye on fermenting Madrid all the while.

ENGLAND has been endeavoring to forget her trouble about the Russian conquest of Khiva, in the gorgeous festivities in honor of

the Shah. "The successor of Cyrus," as the newspaper reporters have delighted to call this personage, has been entertained in the most magnificent style. Everything that could be done to dazzle eyes familiar with the gorgeousness of the East, has been done, and the Shah is reported to have been much pleased with his reception. A review at Windsor, a drawing-room at Buckingham Palace, a naval review in the Channel, and a ball at Guildhall, were among the events of his visit. If one can judge from the newspaper correspondence, the manners of the Persian court have not greatly improved since the days of "Cyrus." However much we may admire the glitter of diamonds and other precious stones, they cannot altogether make the man, and even in this age there is a lingering prejudice in the minds of well-bred persons against the habit of dropping into your neighbor's lap the bones and scraps which you can not eat, and of spitting into your plate such tit-bits as do not suit your palate. His Shahship is said to have been much pleased with the beauty of the English blondes, and to have expressed his satisfaction in Oriental compliments, which fortunately had to pass through the medium of a skillful translator before they could delight the ears of the fair objects of his admiration. His attempts to increase his stock of wives have thus far been unsuccessful, the most royally-generous offers having failed to induce the ladies to exchange the society of London during the season for the seclusion of the harem at Teheran. Apropos of this last, the Paris wits, imagining the relief which his Shahship's absence must afford the ladies of his family, have aptly quoted the adage: "*Quand le chat est absent les souris dansent.*" It is said that his majesty imbibed so much at a supper at Berlin as to justify the remark of Odo Russell that "*Dans la nuit tous les chats sont gris.*"

England has evidently done her best to impress the Shah with her wealth and power, and no doubt with effect. Some one has suggested, however, that it may occur to his majesty that after all he had more reason to dread the ill-will of Russia than that of England, for while he is safe from the greatest navy in the world the armies of the Czar may at any moment knock at his palace-door in Teheran.

THE capture of Khiva is at length officially announced. The

despatch of General Kauffman, the Russian commander, says that the Khan has fled and the capital and the whole Khanate is in the possession of the invaders. The evident disposition on the part of the Russians to take permanent hold of the valley of the Attrek, has revived the apprehensions of England, and not without reason.

THE "incident," as the French journals call it, which cost M. Beute his portfolio in MacMahon's cabinet, is rather amusing, as showing that French official morality has not altered with the changing governments. The idea of subsidizing the press which the Minister of the Interior sanctioned was worthy of the best days of the late empire. The indignation of the opponents of the government, at so shocking an outrage on morality and the liberty of the press, was quite refreshing. Nothing is, after all, so wicked as the wickedness of our enemies.

HOLLAND is not content with the happiness of the nation whose annals are written on sand; she comes out of obscurity again to play the role of a belligerent. The terms by which she holds her possessions in Sumatra, ceded by England about the beginning of the century, secure to her a sort of right to regulate the commerce of the whole island. She has been discovering that a large construction of her power gives her a claim to interfere with Atcheen, the only corner of the island which has a history, whose Sultan reigns over a dense, fanatically-Mohammedan, immoral, slave-dealing population. The war that has broken out bids fair to give the Dutch quite enough of fighting, and the Sultan has called in the help of Turkey, by acknowledging that the Sultan of Constantinople is his sovereign. The Tory party who rule in Dutch politics are of the old Castlereagh and Eldon stripe—conservatives of the bluest, without a particle of real conscience or ethical principle, ready to grasp and plunder and tyrannize, but sworn foes of all reforms. The liberals have succeeded in effecting some changes, but are hopelessly in the minority, and confess that the colonial policy of the country is a disgrace now without a parallel.

GERMAN politics are in a very decided snarl, which Bismarck's resignation of all office, save that of Chancellor of the Empire,

will not simplify. His "strong government" policy, by which the Church in Prussia has been reduced to a branch of the Civil Service, and the Press has narrowly escaped close muzzling, has not been sustained by his colleagues in the Prussian ministry, who were rather disposed to let him bear the whole brunt of the popular odium. Even Prussian Conservatives begin to question whether sweeping innovations—although made in the interests of repression—can be called conservative. Even Prussian Liberals begin to question whether persecution is ever a truly liberal measure, even if the subjects of it are Bishops or *Pfaffen*. The close of the session of the Parliament found the Cabinet hot, ill-tempered and out of sorts. Bismarck's resignation says: "Well, gentlemen, if you will not follow my policy, devise one of your own, and give me leisure for my imperial duties." The chances are that the next session will find him back in his old place. The *junker* has become a necessity to these aristocrats.

WE need a new definition of persecution. The party in European politics that, ever since Voltaire published his account of the judicial murder of the Calas family, have made toleration and religious freedom their watchword, seem to have taken a new departure since the Council of the Vatican adjourned. As the Yankee Hunker discovered that

Libbaty's a kind o' thing

Thet don't agree wi' niggers.

—so the Liberals of Europe have found that toleration is a bad principle when Infallibilist Bishops and Jesuits are to be dealt with. Germany has been acting on this new discovery pretty extensively; but the Republicans of Switzerland have been taking especial pains to exhibit to the world the beauties and advantage of democratic despotism. The case of Mgr. Mermillod, suddenly arrested and carried out of his diocese of Geneva, is the most striking case; but not even the worst. In the Diocese of Berne an unauthorized Diocesan Council, consisting (we presume) chiefly of Protestants and Infidels, have met under government auspices and deposed the Bishop. The civil authority are carrying out the decision thus reached to its utmost consequences. Such parsons as persist in recognizing the bishop are transported by force out of the country, and in several of the most devoutly

Catholic districts in Europe, the people cannot receive the sacraments of the Church except by going into voluntary exile. The end will possibly be the partition of the Republic between Austria, Germany and France; for it is impossible that the Catholic Cantons, the original kernel of the Swiss nationality, should submit peaceably to such measures.

Heretofore, persecution and obscurantism have been historically identified. We are probably entering upon an era in which the obscurantists will reap as they sowed in the past—in which the high-handed intolerance of a Louis XIV. will be exercised by democracies and liberal factions. There is nothing intrinsically impossible or absurd in the new association.

THE attempt to kidnap an adventurer who rejoices in the pseudonym of "Lord Gordon Gordon" has occasioned much excitement in British America. It will be regarded there and in the Canadas as an attempt of a flagrant character to encroach upon British soil, and doubtless stir up again the chronic anxiety about the designs of the United States with regard to annexation, which is one of the anxious fancies of the Canadian mind. It seems that this Gordon was accused last winter of fraudulent practices and embezzlement, and by some means induced Horace F. Clark and Marshall O. Roberts to become his bail to the extent of \$40,000. Having thus secured his freedom, his Lordship disappeared from the aristocratic circle which he adorned in New York city, and ever since his unfortunate bondsmen have been seeking him sorrowing. At length, having learned that he was at Fort Garry, in Manitoba, some agents of Mr. Roberts crossed the line and captured the long-sought-for gentleman; but, managing their escape with him rather bunglingly, they were seized before they had got safely into Minnesota. They are now in jail, and his Lordship is jubilant. Much more will be made of the affair on the other side of the line than here, where the matter will probably be regarded in its proper light—outside of certain journals, at least—as the attempt of a bondman to seize his bail wherever and whenever he can lay his hands upon him, and as without any political significance whatever.

THERE seems to be an epidemic of duelling just at present. Some of the affairs afford more than one occasion to point a

moral, and all of them certainly justify the belief that the code is a relic of the dark ages, grown more ridiculous than ever. Mr. Mordecai, of Richmond, Va., suspecting Mr. McCarthy of having composed a melancholy piece of halting rhyme, finds it necessary to connect therewith a lady's name. Mr. McCarthy scorns the soft impeachment, though he does not take offence (as would seem natural to any one who has read the poetical *causa belli*) at the charge of authorship, and a duel is the result, in which the first gentleman is killed and Mr. McCarthy seriously wounded. It is pleasant to know that all the parties have been indicted by the grand jury and perhaps will be tried for murder. In Louisiana, Judge Cooley takes offence at a wild, ranting article written by the notorious Barnwell Rhett—the usual Quixotic formalities are gone through with—the Judge is killed, and Rhett is temporarily a fugitive from justice. In Paris a duel has taken place which gave rare promise of usefulness to the political world there. When it was announced that M. Ranc was to fight M. Paul de Cassagnac, the fitness of the thing struck every one, and the hope that both would be killed seemed for a moment to justify the duello. But, unhappily, both were only wounded and will recover, and Ranc returns to Paris and the Assembly. The most thoroughly absurd of all these displays has been an expedition of two well-known gentlemen of New York to the Canadian border, where they exchanged salutations and shots, and the challenger who had, if the truth has been told, a theme for fighting till his eyelids would no longer wag, having sent a bullet through his opponent's breeches, expressed himself satisfied, and the party returned to New York and fame. A Cervantes, with these facts all before him, might do as much for the duello as he did for chivalry with the history of the immortal Quixote.

THE Honorable Benjamin F. Butler has opened the gubernatorial campaign in Massachusetts. He is full of hope and fire, and his followers are confident. Whether they rely most upon his impudence and persistency, or on the fact that the moral tone of politics has been greatly lowered in the last two years, is not made clear. It is too soon to prophesy the result, but the fact that Butler is again in the field, with the open support of Senator Boutwell and Senator Richardson, and all the secret help the Administration

dares to give him, is enough to make one tremble, not alone for the good name of Massachusetts and the Republican party, but even for the future of the Republic itself.

THE Centennial Commission has formally taken possession of the ground allotted to it in Fairmount Park. On the Fourth of July, in the presence of four members of the Cabinet, of the Governors of several States, of Senators and members of Congress, of the municipal authorities, and of two hundred or more distinguished guests, and of vast crowds of the people, the transfer was formally made. The occasion was one of historic dignity and Mr. MacMichael's speech was entirely worthy of it. The proclamation of the President was then made, announcing the fact, of the proposed exhibition, and inviting the participation of the nations, and the ceremonies ended with a banquet at Belmont.

The places for the buildings are to be at once examined, and the work may be said to have fairly begun. It cannot however be a great success, unless the interest of the people generally is aroused. As the Centennial draws nearer, this will no doubt become more and more active; but one cannot but feel that the work is great, the laborers few, and the time for preparation very short.

THE persons who are of opinion that murderers are not benefactors to their race in general, have been glad of the result of the trial of Frank Walworth. Despicable as the character of the murdered was shown to have been, the manner of his taking off was frightful, and the community in which the murder was committed must be relieved to know that there is still to be found a jury capable of bringing in a verdict of guilty. The impression that young Walworth will soon be pardoned seems to be general, and is not likely to add to the respect for the pardoning power, especially as he seems to have shared in it himself, and gone ironed to Sing Sing with jokes and smiles, and other evidences of what the reporters call his "affability." This evidence of a humorous disposition has been a curious and painful feature of the case, and one cannot read with anything but a disagreeable sensation of the prisoner and his mother seeming to be much amused and laughing heartily at various incidents of the trial. There is certainly great

doubt, as the judge said, whether the verdict should not have been guilty in the first degree; but the new law gave the jury the loophole, and they crawled through it at once. The theories of Mr. O'Connor would seem to set forth the idea that a young man may kill his father with impunity, if he thinks him a bad man, thus constituting himself at once accuser, judge and executioner; which once established would be (to paraphrase Artemus Ward) "a sad warnin' to all persons having murderers for offspring."

THE attention given to the college regatta at Springfield marks how deep an interest in athletic pursuits has arisen in America. We think that the change of the past twenty years in this respect has been, in spite of its excesses and absurdities, an eminently wholesome one. No one who has looked into the influences exercised upon Hellenic life by the great games of Greece, can deny that they had much to do with the intellectual and moral development and the artistic greatness of that marvelous people. No one has studied the situation and character of the masses in our own country, without seeing that very much of the rowdyism and violence that disgraced our centres of population, great and small, is the overflow of excessive animal energy in wrong and abnormal channels, because no better outlet was furnished. Even our volunteer fire department was not without its merits in this direction. Nor can we see why the calling and vocation of money-making is intrinsically nobler or more earnest than that of muscle-making; we cannot admit, therefore, that the great mass of our people have any right to despise athletic sports as frivolous or trifling. In view of what the great ends of life really are, the professional athlete is living as noble a life as is the member of a Gold Board.

At Springfield everything was so badly managed that it is actually a matter of legitimate doubt as to which college won the great race of the day—whether Harvard was first, or only third, whether Yale won all three races, or only the two lesser ones. At any rate Harvard carries off no honor in public opinion; if she won at all, it was by taking a very "smart" advantage of a blunder in defining the winning line.



LOXOLOPHODON CORNUTUS COPE.

THE MONSTER OF MAMMOTH BUTTES.

TO the overland emigrant, or drover, of ten years ago, who had passed the chill winds of the Laramie Plains, had traversed the drought and dust of the Red Desert, and was fairly saturated with the alkali of Bitter Creek, the first view of the Black Butte was a welcome sight. Its dark mass stands like a ruined robber castle, guarding the great highway—the first of two land-marks that guide the traveler to the sweet waters and fresh pastures of the Green River Valley, the second being the Pilot Butte, near to the river itself.

But Black Butte is the guardian of a "waste howling wilderness" and of the now famous stream, "the waters whereof are bitter." It is a black mass, of volcanic origin, supposed to be of cretaceous age, with a flat top and precipitous sides, reminding one strongly of the Saxon fastnesses of Koenigsstein. It overlooks a most characteristic portion of the "Sage-brush" region of our Western possessions, which, though imperial in extent, has little place in Eastern imaginations or experiences. Considered in respect to its robe of vegetation, the United States presents three prominent divisions. The Eastern District, from the Atlantic Ocean to the eastern border of the central plains, is originally covered with forests of trees, to a large extent deciduous in character, only artificially interrupted by areas of grass. The great plains to the eastern foot of the Rocky Mountains are clothed with a robe of close, short grass, more or less interspersed with various flowering plants. From the eastern Rocky Mountain range to the Sierra Nevada, and even to the Pacific Ocean, at some points drought and the sage-brush (*Artemisia*) mutually admire each other, leaving little of the commodity to be expended on either by the fastidious Eastern man. The sage-brush may be roughly described as a large kind of "bitter weed," with a thick, woody stem, which has a loosely twisted grain, and is full of resin. There are several species; but the largest, in good soil, grows nearly as high as a man's shoulders, but usually rises about to his knees. Each bush stands several feet from its neighbor, according to the strength of the soil, which it, however, always fails to conceal. The naked ground, more or less apparent everywhere

in the sage-brush country, gives it that barren appearance, so forbidding to the dweller in more pluvius latitudes, whose eyes are accustomed to leafy forest, or the verdure of meadow and hill. The green of the sage is gray-tinged, but this is occasionally relieved by the brighter hue of the "grease-wood" (*Sarcobatus*), which loves alkali, occupying the whole ground where the white soda is too much for its more common companion.

From such a scene of desolation, rises the mighty mass of Black Butte crowned with dark funereal cedars; at its foot flow the turbid and noisome waters of Bitter Creek. This stream, condemned by the few dwellers on its course, is cursed by the drovers and emigrants, who yearly leave many fine beasts on its banks to perish from drinking its waters.

Like a gathering of the exudations of Hades, it arises from beds of decomposed salts; its sources trickle down horrid gorges of the bad lands, and from beds of bones of the dead of former ages. Swollen by melting snows of the spring, it cuts the yielding earth of its great bare meadows, dissolving out the soda and discharging soapy mud on the flats, and at its mouth in Green River. When the snow has disappeared, and the hot suns of summer have reduced its volume, the flats of its lower course claim their own again, and the water soaks away, leaving only pools to mark the course of the spring torrent. Then in these vats is brewed by the blazing sun, a compound, such as needs no "wing of bat and lizard's tongue" to make it a very hell-broth to man or beast who drinks it. Fortunately the man whose well-filled canteen enables him to stir the yellow extract with no other feeling than that of curiosity.

But where nature's final touches have never come to spread lines and colors of beauty, and to make the earth blossom and sing, there in the chaos of her unfinished works, science finds her deepest lessons of instruction. "Show nothing to children and fools until it is finished," is a wise injunction not needed by our common mother, for individuals of these classes will not see these phases of her work, scarcely even "though a man declare it unto them." Gladly do they leave Bitter Creek and its "horrid" surroundings to those who, they may imagine, may have made "a league with death and a covenant with hell." And a league with death we will make, for thus and thus only can we learn of

the life that saw the ways of the old time, and of the life from which our own may perhaps have been drawn.

Along the banks of Bitter Creek, eleven beds of coal present their margins to the weather, giving evidence of the existence of an area of this precious mineral, which, according to Hayden's surveys, is one of the most extensive on the continent. Here is wealth at once, enough to redeem this desert from its evil name, and that will one day make it blossom like the rose. Yet to-day it lies a vast, untapped reservoir, waiting for the approach of population that shall use it, or for the reduction of more convenient sources of supply.

For science the beds have furnished many a useful lesson. To the eastward they graduate downward to the cretaceous formations of the plains, though the point of change is not invisible. To the south and west they pass under newer strata, which lie so evenly and regularly upon them that no great convulsion of nature could have separated the periods of their deposit. And yet the beds below are that cretaceous and those above that tertiary, which we are compelled to believe, by testimony from all parts of the world, were separated by commotions innumerable, of which the raising of the mountains, from the Pyrenees all the way to the Himalayas and to China, formed a part, and no less the raising of the Rocky Mountains, the Cordilleras and the Andes. Here, however, the process was evidently gradual. And now we touch again on the question of life and death! Did the living things of the older period reach on up into the new, and again replenish the earth? or did all die, as elsewhere reported, and a new creation arise to exceed the old in glory?

The naturalists of the different surveys have looked at this matter carefully. First, where was the line which separated the old from the new? where the end of the cretaceous? where the beginning of the tertiary? King and Emmons, of the survey of the 40th parallel, declared that the coal-beds are cretaceous, and that the *upper parts of them* are tertiary. There were several determinations by Hayden's survey. Lesquereaux, on the evidence of the fossil plants, declared them tertiary, but Meek, from the mollusks, said the evidence went both ways. Some forms were cretaceous, some tertiary, but none sufficiently definite to settle the question—in fact, the life might have been such as would connect

the *fauna* of the two great periods. Hayden felt sure that he had found the bridge between the periods so long sought in vain, and the evolutionists saw much to substantiate the propriety of the name he gave them—namely, the “Transition Beds.”

One day the writer climbed the sandstone bluffs that rise above the flats of Bitter Creek, nearly opposite the Black Butte, in search of some bones that his predecessor Mr. Meek, was said to have discovered in searching for shells. Reaching to near the line of the highest beds of coal, fragments of huge bones were found projecting from the rocks. Picks and shovels were called into requisition. In course of time the wreck of one of the princes among giants lay piled around his desecrated grave. His single vertebra was two feet four inches from spine to body, and one hip-bone four feet from front to rear along the edge. But the chief interest attached to the fact that he told a certain story of the age of the coal beds. Like Samson he slew more in his death than he ever had in his life. He was a Dinosaur, known to Philadelphians by the examples in our Academy of herbivorous (*Hadrosaurus*), and carnivorous (*Laelaps*), those bird-like lizards that strode about on the banks of the Delaware, when as yet New Jersey was not. These creatures were no tertiary chickens; they belong to the dim old ages of the Trias, Jura and Cretaceous, and ended their days with the last period, for a finality. So old *Agathamnas* (for so was he named), said the Bitter Creek coal was cretaceous, and his word will be hard to contradict.

Still, does our cretaceous fade into tertiary like dawn into day? Did the Dinosaur linger on, and the quadrupeds merely turn their coats a little, and the birds dress their plumage afresh as the period changed, singing, “The king is dead, long live the king; *Agathamnas* is dead, who shall succeed him?” Yes some one succeeded him! The monster of Black Butte died, and the monster of Mammoth Butte succeeded him. And I propose to show how this was found out:

Further search in the coal beds yielded no more fossil bones, so we took to horse and traversed their upturned edges to the south, seeking the spot where they passed from view beneath the succeeding deposits. Up the faces of bluffs we rode, and along the nearly level benches covered with sage-brush and sand. Now and then we espied a ledge of fossil leaves, and again a bed of

shells, all telling of the same story, the gradual fading out of the coal-making process, and presence of heavy forests and shelly ponds. Soon another bench shows white banks and ashy beds; now no more leaf beds. See, here are shells, and yes it is so—the jaw of a beastie of the tertiaries; a real hairy quadruped old-fashioned enough, but a tertiary one for certain; and here are more bones of the same kind. More mammals, more tertiary. Here then is the line of demarcation sung by geologists as the great “*dies irae*,” only ten feet above the cretaceous, regular and even as the sheets of an unused bed. There was no “*ira*” here, Messieurs, all went merry as a marriage bell when young King Tertiary grasped the scepter that fell from the last of the cretaceous dynasty. But why are there no saurians here; why no mammals there, we ask? Well, perhaps the land rose; the saurian loved the ocean, and his race retired with the rise in provisions, while the mammals came in. But hold! Here are turtles in the ashy beds, “*turtles and mammals in one gray burial blent*;” they were all aquatic or low landers together, you see. And *Agathamnas* lay down to die in the woods; he was buried like the babes, with leaves, which filled every hole in his bones, and wrapped him in a winding sheet fit for the King of the Woods. So we are puzzled. A change of life at all events there was.

So we went further, and each new line of bluff revealed the remnants of the multitude of tertiary forms which filled the lake which beat on the cretaceous shore; and the bones and teeth of large and small beasts showed that the forests of the land already resounded with the roar of the mighty, the cry of the weak and the busy chatter of happy life. In a day a long line of gorgeously colored cliffs lay across our route. They were some five hundred feet in elevation and were in some places nearly perpendicular. being of harder material than most of the bad land bluffs, they were less ragged than these, but were worn into vast abutments and buttresses which were regularly terraced at intervals of varying height. But the colors of the rock were most brilliant; predominant was one of a pure cherry red. Then a green, bright as a spring meadow, bounded the bluffs, then a yellow, and then a rich brown; then a gorgeous purple with a pale bloom like the cheek of a plum, and then the cherry-juice band and a belt and a milky white. These bands were strongly marked and followed each other with

perfect regularity, forming a parti-colored pennon, streaming for many miles between the sage-brush benches across the country. The only traces of life I found on their slopes were the bones or water turtles (*Emys euthnetus*).

Another day and we discovered the gray range of the Mammoth Buttes. We traversed a few terraces of soft tertiary sandstone before we stood on the plateau from which arose this mighty pile of sediment of the old eocene lake. It appeared to form a curved ridge with a great face of bad-lands which stretched away from its foot on both sides. Its pinnacles rose to a height of from 1,000 to 1,200 feet above the level of the sage-brush, giving an elevation of about 9,000 feet above the sea. We camped at the only spring the region afforded in view of its bastions and walls, but in scouting for the camping ground I rode into one of the alkali beds which give Bitter Creek its precious extract. My horse sank in the soda and dust nearly to his belly, and I had to coast around the digitations of its shore for miles before making my escape.

On close examination I found the bad-lands formed a horse-shoe, which narrowed into a serrate ridge to the eastward. As this ridge appeared to be nameless I called it the Mammoth Buttes. To the south the summit extended out so as to be covered with level fields of grass and hardy plants, and was inhabited by herds of the big-horn (*Ovis montana*). Within the horse-shoe were ruined peaks, ridges, bluffs and all the marvels and horrors of the wreck of an ancient cemetery, without shade or water, with nothing but the owl and the dragon to relieve its utter desolation. To the southeast two strange land-marks towered above the rest, known as the Hay-stack and Bishop's Mountain from their resemblance to the farmer's rick and the conventional mitre.

The extraordinary scenery of this ruined world cannot be depicted in a short article, and indeed, language almost fails in the attempt. For three weeks I explored its horrible confines, riding early in the morning from camp on my horse, "Hardshell," to the base of the cliffs. There I picketed him for the day, in one of the patches of scattered grass which here and there interrupt the sage-brush, on the debris of the weathering precipices. Hardshell was a character in the region of Fort Bridger, and deserves more than a passing notice. He was a most faithful and adap-

tive animal, who behaved well under all circumstances, and was equally contented, whether standing all day on a desolate cliff or galloping madly through sage-brush or alkali dust. He had been a lasso-horse in California, and had met with the usual fate of his guild, in strained knees. But his experience in the wilds had taught him the invaluable lesson of using every opportunity that presented for filling his stomach, so that his sleek hide, much longer than usual, bid defiance to the physicking waters of Bitter Creek. As an instance of his complaisance to fate, I recall that in attempting to cross the upper waters of the Fontanelle creek, in planting his fore-feet in the yielding bottom, his knees gave way, and he fell with his rider into the water. Rising with difficulty he plunged toward the opposite bank, striking it near the middle, and falling backward. He settled with his hind quarters in the stream, his tail floating with the current, both his hind and fore-feet tucked under him, *more canino*. The rider remained in the saddle, awaiting the next event, which appeared in equine wisdom to consist in cropping the grass of the bank which rose temptingly about his snout as he laid in his singular position.

Hardshell derived his name from a Baptist minister who rode him from California to Fort Bridger, and left him there in possession of some of the geological party of King's Survey of the 40th parallel. He afterward fell into the hands of Prof. Marsh, of the Yale College expedition, and was purchased by myself from a sergeant to whom he afterward belonged. Few horses will leave a more honorable record of services done in the fields of religion and science, and few have received more uniform testimony of good behavior under the most adverse circumstances.

The face of the Mammoth Buttes is deeply interrupted by gorges and cañons which extend to the very axis of the range, and which leave between them masses of from one to three or more miles in depth, and which are terraced with great regularity, and divided by cañons at various levels, and frequently support masses isolated from the central one, which tower in the air like spires or ornamented columns or masses of columns. On one of these terraces, I once counted in sight, from a single point, thirty-eight turtles and tortoises, six crocodiles, six gar fishes, and as many dog-fishes. Their mineralized skeletons either projected from their

rocky bed, or laid loosely on its surface, sometimes in shape, but usually dislocated into the component pieces. One of these terraces is about 250 feet from the lower level. Its floor is white and as smooth as flag-stones, and would form an admirable platform for a vast building. It contains several acres, and is in some places of great width; in others it merely skirts round huge buttresses, like bodies of rock that rise to terraces at a higher level. At one point it extends in a peninsular form as the summit of a supporting buttress, with a narrow isthmus with an enlargement near the middle. On the peninsular portion stands a regular cone of the old level, not yet removed; on the isthmus rises a miniature of it formed with mathematical exactness. At its foot I found a mass of bones of a quadruped, and following the debris to the side of the mass, found where the fragments projected from their bed. Subsequent study has shown this to have been a strange beast among its fellow *carnivora*. It was armed with canines like a tiger above, and sharp cutting molars. Its jaws were moved by powerful muscles, as its expanded exygomias declare. But the lower canines were the first anomaly; they were close together and projected forward, serving the purpose of the cutting teeth of the rats and beavers. Its tail was long and the animal walked on its toes, which terminated in the most extraordinary claws. These, instead of the hooked character of the *carnivora* generally, were flat and broad, almost like hoofs, reminding one of those of some seals, but different enough from these. The animal was new to science, and now bears the name of *Synoplotherium lanius*.

At one position the cliffs make out in long prominences like fingers which enclose bays between them. The lower stratum is a sandstone which panels these areas around, giving the appearance of an artificial forum. At one spot a long finger falls off terrace by terrace, till it becomes only thirty feet in height, and runs isthmus-like only twenty feet wide, terminating at a hundred feet in a peninsula supporting a conic hill of much larger size. Then it falls to the sage-brush, but a hundred feet beyond, a larger mass indicated the ancient extent of the old formation. On this peninsula I found large bones forming a moraine to the level of the sage. I soon knew I had a monster *ab ungue*, for I had his toe of elephantine proportions, and soon discovered his horns and then a conic snout, then part of his huge leg, and last and best,

his crested cranium projecting over a rocky pillow. These I recovered safely and laid away for future developments.

These were not long in announcing themselves. In one of these desolate forums lies a rocky body like the dining-table of the gods who once haunted these gigantic halls. It was strewn all over with the remnants of their feast. Over a half acre at least, lay the bones of the titans they had slain; huge limbs, piles of vertebræ, fragments of great hips that once swung capacious bellies. Shells of turtles lay in every direction, some nearly whole, others in fragments where the melting snow had piled them. Round the walls of the hall, which inclosed several acres, were fragments of others, so that altogether I procured the remains of at least ten of these ancient Americans. Their bones showed them to have been nearer to the *mastodons* than to any other extinct beasts of our continent, but their horns were different enough, and these with the great crests of the skull, plainly announced a type of no small importance to the history of life, and as new as strange. King of living things at that dawn of tertiary time, I named him *Eobasileus*, and the species from its peculiar horns, *Eobasileus pressicornis*.

Above these digitating cliffs lies a beautiful plateau, white as a palace pavement, and supporting here and there a round cone, which might have been altars of some sun worshipers who dwelt in this mighty temple. From this point, the vastness of the system of cañons and terraces could be seen. Buttress on buttress of each with its skirting balcony or higher plateau, finally terminated in the rose-colored sierra of the apex. Climbing higher, I noticed that all this was ruthlessly cut by a black gorge which wound in crescent form round to the south, but divided the highest cliffs to the very center. I mounted higher; and the cañon from the north cut me off on the right, and its impassable depths were only to be avoided by coasting round its head. Following the narrow terraces on its side, occasionally the footing disappeared, and in a break of ten or twenty feet in the ledge the smooth sloping wall glided into the abyss below. But this rock weathers so that there is always a layer of soil on its surface, sometimes so deep as to ensure a certain footing, but at these greater heights, two or three inches thick at most, so as to give a sliding hold only. So I *glissaded* across these gulfs, and by striking ten feet or so above my

mark, generally reached it in safety. These glissades are the redeeming feature in bad land climbing; they give it life, and indeed make it practicable; for without the sliding run many a cliff and bone bed would be inaccessible forever, since the next winter's snow may so widen the gulf as to close all future exploration beyond its Thermopylæ.

But I finally reached the highest pinnacles. A sheep path ran almost perpendicularly up a narrow angle to a small table, and then one more steep face, and I was on the summit. Surely, this place was never reached but by the mountain sheep; but a single cartridge tube lying in the gray soil told that a human adventurer had been there, doubtless in search of the only dweller on those barren heights. But I had not reached the top of the ridge. There stood the rosy wall, rising above several intervening masses, and I cut off by the head of the south cañon, which here approached so near to the course of the left hand gorge as to be separated, as it were, by a curtain of rock only, whose thin, serrate, upper edge I strode, but attempted in vain to follow between the dizzy gulf on either side.

But here the colors of the bluffs could be seen to advantage. They were broadly banded with dark green and Indian red at the bases, and higher with an argillaceous gray and lighter green; then a dark, rich green, belted the whole chain, far as the eye could reach, and the summit glowed at the eastern end with a perpetual pink of the rosy-fingered morning. The lower bands were like those of certain knitting work, where one edge (the lower) is heavily shaded, and the color gradually fades as to the upper, and the new hue commencing abruptly deep, fades again to the next succeeding. Far to the right, at about my level, was a large plateau of deepest green, and from its border rose two beautifully symmetrical towers, one in particular with cornices and narrow peduncles, and a conic apex, like the monument of some king of the wilds, or the stately spire of a cathedral. To the left, toward the head of the south ravine, was a huge bastion tower; its cornice fluted into a colonnade of pilasters, or into the likeness of the front of some gigantic organ of this ruined temple.

I resolved to scale these heights from the inside of the horse-shoe, so one day I rode Hardshell round several miles to the mouth of a vast cañon that seemed to cut to the heart of the mountain and

picketed him in a patch of grass beneath the shade of an out-lying cliff. Passing the mouths of branch gorges, the cañon narrowed and its sheer walls rose two and three hundred feet on each side. Above them could be seen conical hills, and on one of these a great rock projected obliquely upward like a bird's beak, while another bore a more symmetrical mass, both alike protectors of the softer material of the eminences over which they stood. Still further into the mysterious depths brings us to higher precipices and piles of rocks fallen from above into the bottom of the gorge, and here and there a tunnel which the spring torrents have cut round them through the more yielding side walls. At last the central ridge towers before us like a great wall. The cañon forks and I take the right hand, which rises most abruptly to the height. It is filled with huge masses; then follows a slope of smooth rock, and the pass is reached. It is a deep notch in the crest, with a noble wall on either side, and a near view down an opposite cañon of tremendous dimensions which descends steeply toward the north. And here, overhead on the left, is that huge organ-fluted bastion which I had seen from afar, and which forms three sides of a square terrace high above the neighboring cliffs. So I descend the new gorge to explore its beauties. The first step is a glissade of one hundred feet downward, the deep surface soil here giving a good hold and loosening so as to allow of a pleasant slide. So surrounded by the desolation and the precipices, I made my way actively down the cañon. After a time I looked up. These cliffs are not so strange, I think; there is a high point with a rock on it, very like one I have seen; and there certainly is the bird's head rock! No, I am not deceived, I am going back on my old track. Impossible! I crossed the mountain, yet here I am back whence I started! So I sit and think of the strange delusion, if such it be. Then I walk on, then return, and at last discover that the north cañon is the south one of my first exploration; that it starts to the north and curves gently round in a course of some five miles and opens to the south. So I return to seek for the true passage of the crest. Back to the windy gap I first discovered, and down to the forks of the cañon of the south side; then I take the left-hand ravine, and this leads me to the point I seek. Now on its right a black precipice rises, which curves shortly to the left, and the cañon terminates where the melting snow sends a cataract

from a tunnel in the cliff above. A short cut to the left over vast rocks fallen from above, brings us to the gorge of the higher level where it enters the tunnel, and I pass along its smooth bed in wonder at the close seclusion so near the summit of the mountain. On one side the precipices rise three hundred feet, on the other conic masses aspire, and are no doubt the *dents* of its keeled backbone. Between them is a little slope of grass and weed, a sight strangely rare in this region. But fossils I could not find successfully; indications there were not a few, and of large beasts, but nothing sufficiently well preserved to be sure of. I searched carefully, but night was coming on and darkness added horrors to such a scene. So I hastily descended the ravine. As I went I passed some washed stones in its sandy bottom. One was strange in form, and I picked it out. It was heavy and massive, and lo! a bone unworn and freshly broken from some monster exceeding anything I had yet obtained. I hastened away and resolved to return again, meanwhile speculating on what my bone could mean. I am rarely unable to place a bone or fragment, but this one defied my lore. Part of a skull, but of huge proportions, it looked one while like part of an under jaw, again like the basal support of a huge horn. When I reached my faithful beast night had fallen, and I wrapped the precious fragment in my overcoat, strapped it behind my saddle, and made for camp. As I rode through the brush my straps gave way, my bone fell to the ground, and I had lost the result of my toil.

Another morning saw me on the horse and following my trail through the sage-brush. Near the mountain I found my bone laid safely away under a bush. Then for my high cañon. Again I was there, again I traversed its avenue. I found nothing, I saw nothing, I left it. I searched the surrounding cliffs and found a novel companion of the old elephants in a tapiroid quadruped as large as the Indian *rhinoceros*, which I afterward named *Palaeosyops vallidens*. At evening I returned and passed down the cañon again, as I crossed a ledge the idea occurred to me to look back from that point. I looked long and carefully but saw nothing. I gave it up; the monster was hidden in some crevice or covered by debris so that I should never find him; that night I resolved on another course for the future.

The next morning I started for the ledges of the Haystack

Mountain, and rode briskly past the gray walls of the Mammoth Buttes. But the alkaline soil deceived Hardshell; time and again he sank in the treacherous dirt, and finally, sorely sprained, limped like a victim of the street pavement. There was no alternative but to take a day in the Buttes again, and, nothing loth, I sought the cañon of the peaks, for one more search for the proprietor of my unnameable bone. I found my ledge, and remembered my thought to look back from it. I did so, and spied a red mass projecting from the wash; I dug it up; 'twas a bone; beyond I found another, and then part of a large shoulder-blade, then the hinder part of a skull; and so I had discovered the grave of another monster, of larger build than any I had seen. I paced the cañon for more fragments, I scanned every foot of the cliff, but without success. At last I wandered toward the spot where a moraine filled its upper end, and looking at my feet as I walked, saw again the welcome red-rusted bone enter the rock. Here was the fountain head. Pick, sledge and chisel soon exposed an enormous skull with a perfect set of teeth, a huge polished tusk of saber form, curving downward from the jaw, and a pair of massive horns rising from each eyebrow. His muzzle was soon exposed; its end had a pair of massive overhanging cornices, which met in a deep notch at the middle, and below this point the conic end of the bone projected downward. Removing a mass of rock the shoulder-blade was exposed, a huge plate from two to three feet wide, and close alongside his pelvis, nearly complete. When I had laid the hip-bones bare their expanse measured about four and half feet. Better if possible than these, I exposed the perfect-thigh bone, with a head as large as a cannon-ball. This ran directly into the cliff, which had a dangerous face. Masses, tons in weight, were ready to drop at a moment's notice, and every blow of the sledge seemed to loosen them the more. For four days I worked with my men in this remote altitude, before we secured all. And we were not alone in our exile. A pair of golden eagles had their eyrie close at hand, and they sailed over our heads all day long, uttering hostile cries, as warning us off from abodes they only allowed the mountain sheep to share. One evening a large owl flitted across the cañon, and by day, in strange contrast to the forbidding wildness of the spot, a pair of humming-birds chased each other among the few *compositae* that bloomed on a slope between the peaks.

At length we wrapped up the invaluable relics of this ancient king—whose mausoleum now is the Mammoth Buttes, more perennial than the tomb of Cheops, more vast than the labyrinth of Minos—and bore them over the “wind pass” and down the great curved cañon. The skull weighed nearly 200 pounds, and it was found to be no light toil to carry it up the high cliffs that bounded the cañon to the north, then slide it down another declivity of two hundred feet, then over another vast mass of bluffs, and finally down a rocky precipice of three hundred or more feet to a point accessible to our wagons—altogether, a trip of five miles, in a straight one, from the sage-brush.

My inexplicable bone turned out to be the base of a horn of one side of the posterior angle of the cranium, showing that this animal possessed three pairs of horns, two of which rose upward and backward, with a slight divergence, one projecting forward over each eye, and a pair of flat prominences overhanging the sides of the base of the elongated snout. Picture, then, to yourselves a narrow head, extending obliquely downward, presenting its eye-horns forward, terminating in a short trunk, somewhat similar to that of the elephant, with short, flat, knife-edged tusks curving backward, and a small under jaw; its hinder legs rising above a short neck; its body like that of an elephant, with high withers and a sloping rump, terminating in a short tail; its limbs rather shorter than those of the living elephant, but with the same short, stubby toes, and the knee below the body, as in the elephant, bear and monkey. The same ambling gait, the same huge ears, and the little twinkling eyes, all betrayed in life the elephantine kinship, while the hollow forehead and its surrounding horns, if not bearing the stamp of the elephant’s wisdom, marked him as a king, and his shining weapons showed his ability to maintain the claim.

This I named the *Eobasileus coruntus* and seeing reason to anticipate that he represented another generic form, framed for it the new name of *Loxolophadon*. In size it equalled and sometimes exceeded the living Indian elephant (*Elephas indicus*).

Thus ends the story of the finding of the monster of Mammoth Buttes, and how, on the death of *Agathamnas*, the monster of the Black Butte, *Eobasileus* of the Mammoth Butte reigned in his stead.

EDWARD D. COPE.

NOTE.—It is due to our readers to say that there is a dispute in regard to the priority of discovery of this geological monster. We will make a brief statement of the opposing claims in our next number.—EDITOR.

THE CONQUEST OF SPAIN BY THE ARAB-MOORS.

XI.—THE RISING OF THE CHRISTIANS IN THE ASTURIAS.

IT was necessary that we should accompany the Arab-Moors in their great invasion of France, and witness their defeat and final check in the plains of Touraine. The attempt was an episylogism, which proved to be a *non sequitur*. We may now return with them to Spain, where there was already more than enough work to occupy them in consolidating and preserving what they had already acquired. All hope of further northern conquest was at an end.

It would be the difficult duty of the historian who would desire to dwell at length and in detail upon the events of this period to consider, *pari passu*, three distinct histories, each containing its own problem, and yet all so connected and related that no single one can be understood without a knowledge of the other two:

1st. The condition and authority of the khalifate in Syria, the heart of the Mohammedan power, especially in its relations to Spain.

2d. The state of affairs in the Amirate of Spain, nominally dependent upon the khalif, but virtually so removed from his power that his thunders were scarcely heard and not at all heeded.

3d. The little band of Goths, in the Asturian mountains, hardy, hopeful and patient, ready to seize every opportunity to recover their independence and extend their territory.

Each of these parties was opposed to and by the other two. The khalifs, it may be supposed, still desired the annihilation of the Christian Goths, but they found themselves now more concerned to punish, and thus to strengthen, the slack allegiance of their Ameers in Spain. The Ameers were as eager on the one hand to overthrow the remaining Goths, but were equally determined on the other to rule by their own authority, regardless alike of the khalif and of the Wali of Africa,¹ and the impending change of dynasty at Damascus made their plans the more feasible.

Coincident with these conditions, a good angel seemed to hover

¹As a measure of precaution and security, Spain had been constituted a province of Africa, and was under its Wali.

over the little handful of Spanish Goths, and to promise them not only protection, but successful progress. Let us proceed to consider these constituents in the inverse order.

FIRST, OF THE RISING OF THE CHRISTIANS IN THE ASTURIAS.

To the question, "Had Spain really expired as a nation?" the Spanish historian is proud to be able to reply, "No, she still lived, although destitute and poor, in a narrow corner of what had been a vast and powerful kingdom."¹

The Spanish Goths, with the simple instinct of self-preservation, had scattered before the fiery march of the Moslemah, after the first fatal battle in the plains of Sidonia. Some had passed the Pyrenees to join their kinsmen in Septimania; others had hidden in the mountain valleys of the Pyrenees, while a considerable number had congregated in the intricate territory of the Asturias, along the Cantabrian mountains and in Galicia, where strength of position made some amends for lack of numbers and organization, and where they could find rest and time for consultation as to the best manner of making head against the enemy. They were, indeed, a motley crowd. All ranks and all stations were represented—bishops, priests, monks, husbandmen, artisans and soldiers, men, women and children, climbing like shipwrecked mariners upon a steep coast rock to be out of reach of the devastating flood.

It was, indeed, a sad outlook. The women of Spain were at the mercy of the conquerors as slaves and favorites; the men were under a grinding tribute; the children were subjected to the insidious snares of all-conquering Islam; the shrines were profaned; the Christian churches were, many of them, beaten down or burnt, or, worse still, turned into Mohammedan mosques—the images destroyed, and the ornaments and treasures carried away as spoils of war. To assert the Spanish independence, to stay the Moorish advance and to repair these evils, constituted the work of the Spanish Goths, now huddled into a little corner at the north-west.

Such was the condition of things immediately after the con-

¹ Habia muerto la Espana como nacion? No: aun vivia; aunque desvalida y pobre, en un estrecho rincon de este poco hà tan vasto y poderoso reinno.—*La Fuente, III., 57-58.*

quest of Tarik and Musa. These generals had reached the Bay of Biscay, and had passed around without assailing the Gothic stronghold where the slender garrison was suffering and waiting. It was after the death of Abdu-l-'azis and the deposition of Ayúb, and when in 717 Al Horr became Ameer, that they first found themselves in condition to defy the Moslem power, and to this pitch of valor they had been raised by the appointment of Pelayo as king.

And here I must pause for a moment to put our historical facts in a proper light.

Whately, in referring to the nebulous philosophy of the day, speaks of "a mist so resplendent with gay prismatic colors that men forget its inconveniences in their admiration for its beauty, and a kind of nebular taste prevails for preferring that gorgeous dimness to vulgar daylight." No figure could more accurately express the taste of the monkish chroniclers, or the atmosphere of the stories they relate. As to specific actions and the personality of the prominent men of the time, we find ourselves, when studying this new rise of the Spanish Goths, in the mists of fable, parti-colored and shining, but almost entirely concealing the groups and the beautiful landscape. And these fables have been wrought into such enduring pictures by the elegant pen of Washington Irving, that the true history, when it is written, seems tame in comparison.¹

With this preliminary thought, we return to the chief or king elected by this Gothic forlorn hope to control their interests and lead them in battle. It was, say most of the chronicles, PELAYO. Those which do not mention him present no other personage in his place. I was at first inclined to reject Pelayo as an historic character, on account of the vague and conflicting statements concerning him; but, after careful examination of the authorities, I am constrained to believe that such a person did live, and that he bore that name. Mondejar says that up to the year 753 the Span-

¹The chief value of Irving's Spanish papers, apart from the pleasure they afford, is that, being so long a resident of Spain, and having the gift of a fervid fancy, he presents in them the *couleur locale*, so that the fabulous characters are really clothed in the costumes, speak the sentiments, and shine in the light of the age in which they are made to figure.

ish Goths had no king, but only chiefs (caudillos). This may be true, and yet Pelayo the first of their chiefs.

Isidor de Bejá, who finished his *chronicon* in 753-4, makes no mention of Pelayo, nor of his election to the kingdom, but celebrates the valor and prudence of Theodimir and Athanagild, who were successively "caudillos de los Christianos desde el principio de su opresion."¹ To this La Fuente replies by saying that the silence of Isidor concerning Pelayo, and his casual mention of Theodimir and Athanagild, are by no means conclusive, as he may have written a special chronicle upon the Gothic successes in the Asturias, which has been lost, just as his epitome of the history of the Arabs has been lost. I prefer, however, to adopt the opinion of Pedro de Marca, that Pelayo was Theodimir.

Al Makkari,² with no hesitation as to his personality, but with a curious moral contradiction in his estimate, speaks thus: "During Anbasah's administration a despicable barbarian, whose name was *Belay* (Pelayo), rose in the land of Galicia, and having reproached his countrymen for their ignominious dependence and their cowardly flight, began to stir them up to revenge the past injuries, and to expel the Moslems from the lands of their fathers. From that moment the Christians of Andalus began to resist the attacks of the Moslems on such districts as had remained in their possession, and to defend their wives and daughters; for, until then, they had not shown the least inclination to do either."

In the chronicle of Albendense, Pelayo is mentioned as the son of Veremundo and the nephew of Roderik. In that of Sebastian, of Salamanca, he figures as the son of Favila, and Favila is generally known as the Duke of Cantabria, or specifically in the chronicle of Alava as the Duke of Alava, which are entirely reconcilable statements.

It seems clear that Pelayo was the son of Favila, former Duke of Cantabria, and kinsman of Roderik. It is very probable, that as Theodimir, he had been sword-bearer to Roderik, and had fought in the battle near the Guadalete.³

But whatever errors there may be in names, dates and exact

¹*La Fuente, III, 64, note.*

²*Al Mak. II, 34.*

³Habio Sido Pelayo conde de los espartarios; * * * Habia peleado heróicamente en la batalla de Guadalete.—*La Fuente, III, 60.*

localities, the effect upon the history is but trifling. The important fact remains. Immediately after the great invasion, a small band of Spanish-Goths did collect in the north-west, which became a focus and chief receptacle for other fugitives, and they were ruled and guided by a *caudillo*, or chieftain, who, call him Pelayo or Theodimir, was a famous man, prudent, constant, judicious, patient and valiant. Thus we accept Pelayo, divested of all the fables and marvels with which the chronicles endue him.

But the gorgeous mist is not yet dissipated. A strange confusion arises in the accounts of the treacherous part played by Othman Ibn Abf Nesah (Munuza), to which I have already referred.

He has been disposed of in a former paper, but I cannot fail to mention the statement, made by many of the Spanish historians, that he was appointed Arab governor of Gijon by Musa, and that he was enamored of the sister of Pelayo, who was thus the innocent cause of his treachery. The conflict of accounts does not seriously affect the tenor of the history, but rather shows the vacillation and indirection of the man. Ambrosio de Morales calls him "a captain of the Arabs, named Munuza,"¹ in regard to which statement the editor of Mariana speaks of him as "a certain general named Munuza, in reality a Christian, but a confederate of the Arabs,"² showing that whatever his creed, self-interest was his law, and that he sought his profit on both sides. La Fuente, in a careful note, calls attention to a probable, because not uncommon, error in spelling, and says he was governor not of *Gegio* (*Gijon*), but of *Legio*. Now, this *Legio* was the old *Regnum Legionis* (kingdom of the Legion) of the Romans, which, with different boundaries, has been modernized into *Leon*, a present province of north-western Spain, which has for its capital a city of the same name. Munuza's double dealing has received, as it deserves, the contempt of both parties in the history. As we have seen, he was killed as a traitor to the Arab-Moors by the envoy of Abdu-r-rahman, while, on the other hand, Mariana, with the authority of Roderik, of Toledo, draws his Christian portrait in no flattering terms: "There was nothing of the man

¹Un capitán de Ellos (los Arabes) llamada Munuza.—*Mak. III., 4, note.*

²Cierto general llamado Munuza—constante mente Christiano, aunque confederado de los Arabes.—*Ib.*

about him, except the form and appearance; nor of the Christian, but the noble and exterior dress."¹

I have reserved to this place a notice of the conjectures concerning Munuza, because, although I believe his alliance with Eudes and the Aquitanians, his temporizing and treacherous policy did greatly aid the rising of Pelayo, and also because Mariana attempts to establish a curious parallel between the loss of Spain in the initial battle, and the first stand against the Moslem torrent in the mountains of the Asturias. Roderik owed his downfall to his amours with Florinda. Pelayo was able to make head against the Moslems, by reason of the infatuation of Munuza, either with the sister of Pelayo or with the daughter of Eudes—philosophy cares very little which. It is hardly possible, although fourteen years intervened (from 717 to 731) that he was infatuated with both.

Whatever the extent of opportunity thus given to the little congeries of Christians, their main hope was in their leader. He came to them while in their prostrate condition. The old Gothic spirit seemed extinct. There was not at first the shadow of a thought to restore the ancient glory, but only to find a safe hiding and lead a torpid life. It was in this conjuncture that Pelayo appeared. Of the blood royal, of noble rank and command, young and heroic, he had suffered at the hands of Roderik, and had shared in the general losses at the hands of the Moors. He had been detained by the Arabs at Cordova as a hostage for his countrymen, and had escaped to the mountains.² He appeared to the terror-stricken fugitives like an angel visitant. His station, his youth, his talents and his valor commended him to their entire destitution; and he appeared, too, as the champion of the Christian faith which was threatened with complete overthrow.

From a temporary hiding-place in Biscay he answered the feeble call of a few adherents, and at once roused his despairing countrymen to make good their stronghold and to concert for a larger deliverance. His labors were at first painful, and the results slow to follow. The masses feared by assuming in any degree the offensive to draw the Moslemah upon them. But the

¹No se via cosa de hombre fuera la figura y apariencia, ni de Christiano sino del noble y habito exterior.—*H.*

²*Al. Mak. II., 26c.*

die was cast. In the mountain valley of Cangas he had the drums beat and the old standard erected. Emissaries were sent secretly to inform the people, and they began to flock to his banner.

On the mountain side, filled with crevices or caves, at his first appearance he found thirty men, ten women and numerous children, apparently safe, indeed, from the Moslem incursions; fortified, but starving. Of these the enemy had said "Let them alone, and they will die." But they did not die. They increased rapidly in numbers, and were soon ready to meet and hurl back the Moslem attempts to destroy them by other means than starvation. We shall only present the first successes of the Goths at the memorable cave of Covadonga. However vague the personality of the actors, the site of the conflict is accurately determined, and the traveler renews at a glance the scene which was there enacted more than eleven centuries ago.

The principality of the Asturias (*El Principado de las Asturias*) comprises a narrow strip of territory on the Bay of Biscay, containing about three hundred and ten square leagues; it is separated from Leon on the south by a mountain range, while on the north a narrow fringe of hills skirts the bay coast. Its inaccessible and distant situation had made it one of the last regions of the world penetrated by the Roman Eagles, and always indocile to the dominion of the Goths. It was, therefore, the best refuge for those inhabitants of Spain who fled before the Moslem invasion, and formed the nucleus of the new Christian Kingdom. Here were collected the representatives of every race which had held sway in Spain. The Iberian and the Celt commingled in the Celtiberian; the descendants of their Roman conquerors who had been conquered by the Northern invaders; and the fair-haired Goth who had at last dominated over the land. Among them were gigantic warriors bearing Gothic swords, which had rusted since the battle of the Guadalete, and mountaineers who had literally fashioned their pruning hooks into swords.

Moving eastward from Oviedo, the capital, the traveler reaches Cangas de Onis, and one league and a half further on he finds the celebrated grotto of Covadonga. The latter place is approached by a defile, which opens into a small valley, bounded by three mountain peaks. The western peak, the Mount Auseva,

is nearly four thousand feet high; and at its base is a detached rock 175 feet in height, in the centre of which is the famous cave or grotto. Below rushes the river Diva, and falls in picturesque cascades. The rock projects like an arch, and is connected by a succession of elevations with the mountain behind. The cave is about thirty feet deep, forty feet wide, and twelve high; this was the headquarters of the band with which Pelayo kept the passages of the Asturian mountains; the number of that band has been variously stated at from seventy to one thousand.¹ For once let us take the larger estimate, and believe that while the chief and his staff lived in the cave, the rest of his men were posted on the heights and in the woods which enclose the valley of the Diva.² This was during the Amirate of Al Horr (717). As soon as the Ameer heard of this impudent gathering, he despatched his lieutenant Al Kamah, from Cordova to crush it. This general, with what was deemed an adequate force, set forth on the perilous mission; and Pelayo, as soon as he heard of his march, collected his scattered band and retired from Cangas and the neighboring country towards the defile or portal of the narrow valley which contains the cradle of the monarchy, *La Cueva de Auseva*, called also *La Cueva de Covadonga*, one of the proudest spots in Spanish history.³ This defile is so narrow that no invading force can present an attacking party larger than that which is opposed by a much smaller force within, while its flanks and rear would be opposed to the missiles of those posted on the surrounding eminences. The apparent retreat of Pelayo gave a fatal confidence to the Saracenic host, which pushed forward into the defile through which the Diva ran, the hills rising precipitously, leaving only a narrow rocky ledge as the roadway opening into the small and elevated valley of Covadonga. In this narrow path, and at the entrance to the cave, the famous battle began; famous not for

¹ Al Mak. (II., 260), says there were 300, all of whom died save 30 men and 10 women; but there was no census to determine.

² Colocando el resto de sus gentes en las alturas y bosques que cierran y estrechan El valle regado por el río Diva.—*La Fuente* III. 62

³ "Covadonga el sitio triunphante
Cima que fue de la insigne España."

—*Ford*. II, 647.

the numbers engaged, but for the issues at stake. To Christian Spain its fame will endure during the memory of men.

The bolts and arrows of the Moors rebounded against the rocky portals of the cave,¹ while a storm of missiles assailed them at short range and threw back the advance upon those behind them. When thus thrown into confusion, the Goths posted upon the eminences hurled down huge rocks and trunks of trees upon the choking defile, and thus caused a terrible destruction. The Moors were struck with a panic the more horrible that they could not fly, while the Christians were re-animated by the idea that God was fighting for them. The legends are full of miracles which I need not repeat.

Al Kamah at once ordered a retreat, and endeavored to shelter his force under the brow of Mount Auseva. But the elements seemed to conspire against him. A furious storm arose, and augmented the terror and confusion of his troops.² The thunder reverberated through the mountain gorges; amid the torrents of rain which blinded their view, the rocks and missiles came tumbling from above them; the mountain sides became slippery with mud; the very earth joined the sky to destroy them, and the mountains seemed to be falling upon them. So complete was the destruction, that one chronicler asserts that not a single Moslem escaped to tell of the disaster.

Be that as it may, the first great stand against the Arab-Moors had been made, and thus seven years after the landing by Tarik, and when the conquest of Spain seemed complete, the germ of the reconquest was firmly planted, and was to grow steadily into an element of final destruction to the Mohammedan power.

The scope of our history does not lead us to follow the fortunes of this new Christian kingdom. The battle of Covadonga presents its origin in epitome. It cleared the whole territory of the Asturias of every Saracen soldier.

Pelayo was king in reality, as well as in name. He marched first towards Leon, following the Moorish remnant and again defeating them in the valley of Ollalas. Thence he returned to Gijon, which he took with great ease; and thus, stretching his

¹ The story that they wounded many of the assailants in their recoil savors of romantic description.

² *La Fuente*, III., 63.

arms to the north and south, he assumed the title of King of Leon, taking as his device a blood-red lion rampant in a silver field, which afterwards became the heraldic device of Spain, and remained so until the annexation of Castile.

Whatever doubt may linger in the mind of the historian respecting the exact identity of Pelayo, it cannot be denied that the great success in the Asturias is due to a brave and gifted warrior, to whom that name has been assigned. To the profound student the doubt disappears. The cave of Covadonga, then entered by a ladder, and now by a marble staircase, still resounds with his name and deeds.

Cangas de Onis, with its ruins, expands into his court, stately in its natural features, if lacking the palace and Pantheon of its early monarchs. Pelayo died at Abamia in the year 737, and was buried in the church of Santa Eulalia, but his body was afterward removed to Cangas de Onis. At a short distance from the town is a field called *El Campo de Jura* (the field of the oath of allegiance), whither, up to the present century, the judges of the confederation (Los jueces del concejo),¹ proceed to take possession of the rod of justice, in speaking of which La Fuente says: "Respectable and tender traditional practices of the peoples, which remind us with emotion of the humble and glorious cradle in which the legitimate principle of authority was born!"² The authority thus established under Pelayo descended to Favila, his son, with the consent of the chiefs; but he did nothing, in his short reign of two years, worthy of mention. The chase was his passion, and he came to his end in attacking a bear. Among the curious carvings, in the church of Santa Cruz, originally built by Favila, is one capital which depicts the death of Favila, ignoble as compared with the mighty deeds of his heroic father.

Although Favila left sons behind him, they were too young to take the responsibilities of the throne. The daughter of Pelayo had married a noble Goth named Alfonso, the son of Pedro, a man who seemed to supply the needs of the occasion. It is even

¹The concejo in the Asturias is a district composed of several parishes with one jurisdiction.—*Bustamente, Spanish dictionary, voce concejo.*

² Respectables y tiernas practicas tradicionales de los pueblos, que recuerdan, con emocion la humilde y gloriosa cuna en que nacio el legitimo principio de la autoridad.—*III*, 69.

stated, but is certainly without exact proof, that he had been named by Pelayo as his successor in his will.¹

Alfonso was a man of powerful mind, inclined to war, enterprising and daring, and especially suited to the crisis. He inflamed the patriotic and Christian zeal of his people, and proved himself worthy of their charge.

With Alfonso the new monarchy emerges into the sunlight, and its slow but constant progress offers a noble special theme to the historian—one, however, which is hardly even accessory to our present subject.

The part of Spain in which it had its rise had never succumbed to the Arab-Moors, and it is the boast of the historian that while thus their great conquest was never complete, so Christian Spain never lost its identity or its existence, but in the most evil days had been like an unfortunate man whose house had been assaulted, and whose estate had been pillaged, leaving him only a sad and dark corner, into which the robbers were unable to enter,² and from which he might scheme and plan to dislodge them from his entire domain.

Here we leave the Hispano-Gothic kingdom, and return to consider the fortunes of the Saracens in consolidating what was already and securely in their hands. It will be for a brief space the record of internal dissensions.

XII.—THE STORY OF ABDU-R RAHMÁN ADDÁKHEL.

I have gone back in the chronology, to set forth the rise of the new Spanish kingdom in the Asturias. The battle of Covadonga was fought early in the year 718.

I now return to the chronological order which has been thus broken, and proceed to consider briefly the succession and deeds of the remaining Ameers who held nominal sway under the khalifs until the downfall of the Ommyades and the accession of the Abbasides at Damascus. This change of dynasty caused the khalifate to lose its power in the peninsula, and converted Spain into

¹*La Fuente, III., 74, note.*

²Como un desgraciado quien han asaltado su casa y robado su hacienda, dejando solo un triste y oscura albergue, en que los salteadores * * * no llegaron á reparar.—*La Fuente III., 58.*

the independent khalifate of Cordova,¹ under Abdu-r-rahmán Addákhel (the opener). Upon the death of Abdu-r-rahman al Ghefaki in the battle of Tours, the command devolved upon Abdu-l-malek, Ibn Kattan, a man who, under hair whitened by years, preserved the vigorous heart of a youth.² His chief concern was to repair the misfortunes of the invasion into Gaul, and reanimating the troops by his noble example and stirring words, he led them again into Aquitania. He met with vicissitudes of fortune, but at length in an invasion made in 734, in the passes of Gascony, he encountered those rude mountaineers who fought in the defiles, and crushed him from the heights, and threw him back in confusion upon the Ebro. This disaster caused his deposition by the Wali of Africa, who substituted in his place Okbah, a general already widely known for his skill, prudence and justice; and who, judging that his predecessor was the victim of misfortune rather than want of skill, gave him command of the cavalry, and trusted him implicitly.³

The rule of Okbah was eminently and inflexibly just, but he too was to encounter difficulties on the frontier equal to those which had confronted his predecessors. He too conducted many expeditions into France and succeeded in converting the city of Narbonne into a stronghold and citadel, well stored with arms and provisions, from which the Moslems might sally forth and scour the neighboring country. But the affairs of the Moslems in Spain were greatly disturbed by the rising of Berbers and Jews against the Arabs of pure blood, both in Spain and Africa. The first of these risings of importance had taken place in June 723, and although

¹ The following table presents the succession of these Ameer after the death of Abdu-r-rahmán at the battle of Tours:

| | |
|---|-----|
| Abdu-l-malek, Ibn Kattan al Fehri | 732 |
| Okbah As-seluli | 734 |
| Abdu-l-malek Ibn Kattan (second time) | 740 |
| Balj al-Kusheyri | 741 |
| Tna'lebah Aljodhami | 742 |
| Abu-l-khattar al Kelbi | 743 |
| Thuabah and Assamí (jointly) | 745 |
| Yusuf al Fehri | 747 |

² Bajo una cabellera emblanquecida por los años conservaba el vigoroso corazón de un joven.—*La Fuente III.* 71.

³ *La Fuente III.* 73.

early quelled had established a precedent for many others. It is significant of the state of disorder that Abdu-l-malek took advantage of the condition of things to seize Okbah and depose him from the government. Accounts of the fate of Okbah say, he was either put to death or banished by his rival;¹ but that rival was rushing upon a desperate fate. In order to quell the rising of the Berbers, he invited an Arabian general named Balj, to come over from Africa and assist him in putting them down. Balj came and soon found a better field for his ambition; the Amirate was open to the most adventurous man; the authority of the khalif and the power of the Wali of Africa were contemned, and as the empire of Rome was within the power of the Prætorian Guard, so the government of Spain was within the reach of the most popular military leader. The Berbers in Africa had defeated the Syrian army, and Balj had come with the remnant of that defeated force, ostensibly to assist Abdu-l-malek, but really to supersede him. Grounds of quarrel were very easily found. Abdu-l-malek was taken prisoner and crucified by his rival, amid the most ignominious surroundings. The miserable victim is said to have been nearly ninety years old. He was led to his crucifixion amid the jeers and scoffs of the Syrian troops, who thought it rare sport to crucify likewise a hog on his right hand and a dog on his left.² But the usurping governor had raised up a host of enemies, chief among whom were the sons of the martyred Abdu-l-malek. They rallied a force and marched to the attack of Balj, and although they were defeated, and the Syrians still retained the power, Balj was mortally wounded. This took place in September, 742.

The place of the crucifixion, (Masslab Ibn, Khattan) was marked by the erection of a mosque, through the pious care of his son Ummeyah, and it remained during the Moslem sway as Mesjid Ummeyah, a monument of faction and revenge.

The Syrians, upon the death of Balj, appointed Tha'lebah al

¹The account given by La Fuente is entirely different. According to him, Okbah was ordered temporarily to Africa in 734, to deal with the insurgent Berbers there. He left Abdu-l-malek in command until his return. This will explain the appearance of Abdu-l-malek a second time in the list of Ameer.—*ib.*

²*Al Mak. II.*, 43.

Jodhami to the temporary command, but he could not quiet the contending parties, and only remained in power a part of one year.

At this juncture the Wali of Africa nominated Abu'-l-khattar as Ameer, a competent person "to re-establish public order," and it seemed at first the very best appointment. All parties, weary of the confusion, agreed for the moment to lay down their arms, and listen to the words of conciliation which the new Ameer was very ready to speak. He treated all with kindness, and showed himself to be at once brave, generous and judicious. Finding Cordova too small to give proper space to the contending tribes, he spread them all over the Moslem domain.¹

The people of Damascus he sent to Elbira, near the present site of Granada, and thus gave to it the Arabic name of Damascus, Sham; the contingent from Emessa he quartered at Seville, which thus received the name *Hems*; the men of Kenesrin were placed at Jaen; those of Al-urdan at Malaga. Those of Palestine (Philistines) he fixed in the country of Medina Sidonia and Xeres; the Palmyrines occupied Murcia, and the Egyptians the land of Tadmir. This seemed at the moment the best of all expedients, as it gave them large lands, and separated them, thus removing the immediate temptation to quarrel.

But the disorder was by no means thus entirely quelled. The unchecked resistance to the feeble hands of the khalifs made the generals impatient of any authority. The tribes then conspired against each other. The Ameer was accused of favoring the inhabitants of Yemen against the Kenanah. There was fighting in all quarters, and an incident which occurred to the Ameer himself is vividly illustrative of the general condition of affairs.

It was alleged that in a private quarrel between one of the Yemenites who was a cousin of the Ameer, with a man of the tribe of Kenanah, although the right was with the latter, Abu-'l-khattar decided in favor of his cousin.

The injured man went to see As-samil, his chief, and complained of the injustice. This chieftain repaired in an angry mood to the Ameer, and reproached him in intemperate language with his unfair dealing. The Ameer ordered his guards to turn him out, and

¹*Al Mak, II, 46.*

in the scuffle which ensued the turban of As-samil was thrown on one side. As he left the palace, a person standing at the door asked him what was the matter with his turban—"By Allah, it is all on one side." "Thou art correct, man," replied As-samil, "but I trust my people will soon put it right for me." This was in the year 745.

A rebellion was thus excited; the friends of As-samil marched upon the Ameer. The contending forces met in the plains of the Guadalete, and after a desperate battle, the Ameer was defeated and taken prisoner. While expecting his execution, he was liberated by his friends, and felt once more secure among the Yemenites. But the confusion had given place to anarchy. Many of the Yemenites failed of their allegiance. The tribes were becoming confounded, and faction was stronger than blood. As-samil joined Thuabah to his councils, and, usurping the power, endeavored to harmonize the discordant elements, without success. Thuabah was confirmed as Ameer by the Wali of Africa, and directed affairs conjointly with As-samil.

But the former Ameer was not content to abandon place and power without another struggle. Hastily collecting what force he could, he marched to meet the forces of As-samil and Thuabah. They met in the field of Shekundah, where, after the most desperate efforts, Abu-'l-khattar was again defeated. He fled from the field with a few attendants, and took refuge in a mill, concealing himself under the mill-stone. There he was discovered and taken into the presence of As-samil, by whom he was immediately beheaded.¹ The abnormal control of As-samil and Thuabah was now brought to an end.

At this juncture (747) there came into power a man who received his appointment first from the army; but who had better qualifications for government than any of the former contestants. This was Yusuf Al Fehri. A native of Kairwan, he was fifty-seven years of age, and as he was also a Koreeshite by lineage, and descended from that Okbah who founded Kairwan, he was acceptable even to As-samil, who seemed to have desired rather to be a king-maker than king. The selection of Yusuf by the troops displays his power and his popularity.

For a brief period all the conflicting parties seemed satisfied,²

¹ *Ibnu-Hayyan*, quoted by *Al Mak.*, I. 50. ² *Al Mak.*, II. 54.

and the good effects of his temporary appointment having reached the ears of the khalif Meruan, it was confirmed by that sovereign,¹ the more readily that the khalif was not in condition to contest it.

All parties again laid down their arms; but the truce was again only temporary. For nine years and nine months Yusuf ruled, most of the time engaged in quelling the insurrections of the various tribes, but always displaying a skill and vigor demanding our praise. He was the last of the Ameer's; a great change was impending, a new dynasty was coming upon the throne of the khalifs, which in the act of gaining the supreme power at Damascus, should lose the Spanish peninsula forever.

In the year 756, one day when Yusuf, who was quelling an insurrection in Aragon, was entering his tent, after witnessing the execution of some prisoners whose lives he had solemnly promised to spare, a man came at the full speed of his horse, bearing a letter from Yusuf's son, whom he had left in command at Cordova. The despatch was of astounding purport: "A youth named Abdu-r-rahmán Ibu Muáwiyah had landed on the shores occupied by the Syrian settlers (the shores of Granada), and had been immediately proclaimed by the adherents and partisans of the family of Meruan, who had flocked to him from all parts."² This was the sudden knell of Yusuf's hopes. As soon as the news spread, the Ameer's men began to desert, and by the next morning he had, with his personal friends and slaves, and one tribe, that of Kays, scarcely a corporal's guard for an army. He hurried to Toledo, to take council of As-samil. What should be done? temporize, fight or submit to the new rule? When instant action was needed he vacillated, and when he reached Cordova from the north, the youth named Abdu-r-rahmán was approaching it with a constantly increasing army from Granada.³ But I am anticipating the sequel of a remarkable history. I have greatly abridged the account of the doings of the Ameer's in Spain, for many reasons, reasons which will not hold good for a connected history. The details are a confused noise of battled hosts, and

¹ *Gayangos II.* 416, note.

² *Al Mak. I.*, 67.

³ *Id.*

lend little additional force to the philosophy. They possess, besides, very little interest. Blows and counter blows, attacks and defeats, rebellions checked, and renewed; Punic faith, cruel executions, and nothing gained to the cause of order and progress. But my chief reason for the abbreviation is, that I may give more space to a story which, apart from its historic connections, contains more of romance, and more of pathos, than any other in the always romantic and pathetic history of the Arabians in Spain.

As a historic event, it is of surpassing importance, since it is no less than the establishment of an independent Mohammedan empire in Europe, an empire which, while it acknowledged the khalif as the head of the religion, discarded him as a civil governor; an empire which took root and flourished for centuries. And lastly, it presents the curious counterbalance, in the great scale of human justice, of a dynasty destroyed in the east, arising in the day of that destruction in the west, and growing with unwonted vigor from the tender shoot of the torn and uprooted vine which Providence had transplanted into Spain.

Amid the splendors and luxuries of Damascus, the khalifs of the House of Ummeyah had become degenerate, and less able from year to year to govern the people by whom they were immediately surrounded, and among whom were rival factions as old as the first contest of claims between Abu Becr and Ali. A distant province like Spain held still more lightly to its allegiance. There a generation of Moslemah had grown up since the conquest, to whom Spain, not Syria, was fatherland. They looked indeed with veneration to the cities of Mohammed, as holy shrines for the pilgrim, and to Damascus as the seat of God's vicegerent in all matters of the faith. But in all matters of government and administration, they felt the power of a new nationality, which could not acknowledge a distant governor; which felt its life in every limb, and could not be controlled.

This feeling was greatly strengthened by the weakness of that distant government. From the vigor and renown of the first Muawiyah and Walid, it had reached the imbecility of the last Meruan al Gedhi, who was a sensualist, an infidel and a scoffer. The house of Ummeyah had numbered fourteen khalifs, of whom several had been deposed, among whom was Ibrahim, who had been subdued by Meruan. They had long found patient but

constant rivals in the family of the Beni Alabas, who had descended from Abbas, the uncle of Mohammed, and grandfather of Ali, and who claimed precedence of the reigning house.¹

At the violent accession of Meruan, on the deposition of Ibrahim, the chief of this house was Abdu'l-'abbas Abdullah, whose after career was to win for him the title of As-seffah—the shedder of blood. This chieftain awaited and availed himself of the propitious moment to assert his claims, collected his adherents, and soon, presenting a threatening front to the throne of Meruan, confronted the white standard of the Ommyades with the black banner of the Abbassides—colors signifying the irreconcilable enmity of the factions.²

Warned in many ways of the danger, the khalif failed in that promptitude and energy which could alone have staid the rising flood. Chief among his advisers and loyal adherents was the General Nasir Ibn Eyer; but just as the rebellion was about to burst forth, this general died, and left Meruan hopeless and helpless.

As if to heap up disasters, soon after the newly-appointed governor of Egypt, Abdullah Ibn Magbara, died, and left that province open to the intrigues of the Abbassides. The affairs of Spain, which did not so much concern the condition of the khalifate, had been left by Meruan in the hands of the Ameer Yusuf la Fehri, and were not considered in the impending danger. Thus, in a day, as it were, in all parts of the empire, rebellion was rife. The Mohammedan world, caring little, indeed, who reigned at Damascus, knew that the government had been badly administered, and was quite ready for a change. Thus in most of the provinces the governors sided with the rebels partly for the reasons already given, and partly, because they felt that Meruan was already lost, and that they could not check the torrent of revolution.

Abu'l-'abbas Abdullah declared himself khalif, and took the field, confiding his army to his uncle, Abdullah, an experienced general. Not without gloomy misgivings, Meruan advanced to

¹Ali, it will be remembered, had married Fatima, the daughter of Mohammed, while the Ommyades were descendants of Abu Sofiam.

²Eu cuyos colores se significaba la irreconciliable enemistad de los dos bandos.—*La Fuente*, III, 92.

meet him. They joined battle at Turab, near Musul,¹ where his misgivings were fully realized. He was defeated, and, after a loss—most likely exaggerated—of thirty thousand men, he fled for his life. The remnants of his army made haste towards Damascus, but were so hastily followed to the Euphrates by the victorious rebel that they were almost entirely dispersed, and, in the crossing of that river, Ibrahim, the deposed khalif, lost his life in attempting to maintain the government of his deposer.

The unfortunate Meruan found no resting-place. From Quinsarina he passed to Emesa, where a few of the people ventured to offer him protection, but, at the signs of the approaching conquerors, their hearts failed them, and they ordered him to leave the city. He hastened to Damascus; it had declared for his enemies. He wandered into Palestine with his small body-guard, and, when overtaken at Alardania, he fought with the energy of despair, again escaping. He pressed forward into Egypt; but at Saida he was brought again to bay by his ruthless enemy, and, after a short contest, he fell at the head of his few remaining adherents in the latter part of February, 750.

His head was torn from the trunk by Saleh, the general who had succeeded Abdullah, embalmed and presented to Abdullah As-seffah.

In the process of embalming, the tongue had been taken out, and, as it lay upon the ground, was snatched up and carried away by a ferret—fit retribution, in the opinion of the poetical general, for the impieties it had so often uttered:

“—See the price paid by the tongue that dared so oft blaspheme the skies! Become the prey of vilest brute; 'tis mangled and devoured.”²

Thus in the words of the Arabian historian “the unfortunate never can be secure, even though he climb to the nests of eagles, and conceal himself on the summits of inaccessible rocks?”

As-seffah, the first khalif of the house of Abbas, did not dissemble his joy when the head of his rival was brought into his presence. In a fervor of devotion he fell prostrate upon the earth, and gave heart-felt thanks to Allah for his bloody success.

¹Musul, or Mosul, is on a tributary of the Tigris, between that river and the Euphrates.

²*Condé I, c. 37.*

But his vengeance was not thus satiated; he proscribed the sons of the former khalif, and soon got rid of them and their claims. Obeydullah, the elder, who fled into Ethiopia, was killed by the natives; and the other, Abdullah, having been captured by the governor of Palestine, was delivered to the khalif, and executed by his orders. The wives and daughters of Meruan found their place in the conqueror's harem, and the change of government was complete. Thus ended the dynasty of the Ommyades, in a manner similar to the downfall of the Merovingians in France, and thus began the reign of the Abbasides, destined, like the sway of Charlemagne, to shed great lustre upon the natives by their wonderful accomplishment in arts, science and letters.

The new khalif began to feel that he was not quite secure as long as a drop of the Ummeyan blood flowed in living veins, and he determined to destroy every one around whom the adherents of the Ommyades could rally.

There were at his court two young men, held in high repute by all, and until now by himself; they were Suleyman and Abdurrahman, sons of Mu 'áwiyah and grandsons of Hisham, the tenth Khalif of the Ommyades. Of gentle manners and unblemished character, they had never shared the Ommyan proclivities, and had even sided with As-seffah in his deposal of Meruan, himself by their eyes a usurper.

But the guilty suspicions of the khalif, played upon by the poetical instigations of a malicious courtier, easily caused him to think that these grandsons of a khalif might have some aspirations for the throne, or that, at the least, ill-disposed persons would regard them as the rallying point for a new rebellion against his usurping government. Sodaif thus instigated the king to remove them, and he ordered their instant execution. Further, to rid himself of all the adherents of the former khalif, he had recourse to a barbarous stratagem. Ninety of these cavaliers had taken refuge with Abdullah, his uncle and general. These gentlemen were invited by Abdullah, who was in the khalif's secret, to a banquet, and were just about to take their seats at the table, when, as was usual at the feasts of the great, a poet entered and began to recite some verses. The festive mood of the guests was suddenly clouded with misgivings as they heard the poet's lines, which treated of the "false Ummeyah, that brood ever-cursed,

the sons of Abdel-Xiamsi," the first of the dynasty. The verses called for vengeance upon all his followers, recounting Ummeyan cruelties, telling of Husein, an ancestor of As-seffah, who had been cruelly slain by Jezid, the second khalif of that line; of Zeyde, whose body had been impaled by the Khalif Hishem, and of the foul death of As-seffah's brother at their hands.

While the revengeful chant was still sounding in their ears, the guards of Abdullah rushed upon the guests and beat them to death with rods. The last act of the bloody drama was more fiendish still. The tables were removed, and carpets were spread upon the writhing and the dead bodies of the victims, and the remaining guests ate their dinner, with a greedy appetite, upon this table of quivering humanity. The groans of those who were long in dying furnished pleasant music for their repast.¹

The appetite for vengeance was not yet appeased. The tombs of the Ummeyan khalifs at Damascus were broken open; the bones of Mu'awiyah, Jezid and Abdelmelik were thrown out. The body of Hishem, yet in human form, was impaled and derided by the multitude, and then all the remains were burned and the ashes were flung to the wind. Elsewhere, wherever the slightest consanguinity to this family could be traced, those who bore it were destroyed and their bodies left to fatten the jackal, hyena and carrion bird. But the fury of the khalif was to be defeated by the escape of one man, the one of all others most dangerous. We return to Suleyman and Abdu-r-rahman; the former was caught and killed, but the latter happened to be absent when the edict was issued, and being fortunately warned by his friends made his escape—the sole survivor and hope of the Ommyades. In the words of the Arab historian, who ascribed to Allah all greatness and power, "on the tablets reserved for the eternal decrees it was written that all the desire of the Beni Alabas and all their zeal for the destruction of the Beni-Ummeyan should prove in vain."

The only scion of that fated house was absent from Damascus when the fatal order had arrived. As soon as he received friendly warning of its issue he secreted a few jewels and a little money, gathered a few adherents, well mounted, and traveling by rude and unfrequented pathways, shunning all towns which he knew

¹This account, taken from Condé, is found substantially in *Abu-l-Feda. De Herbelot and Roderik of Toledo.*

were in possession of the Abbasides, he thought himself safe when he had reached a distant village on the banks of the Euphrates.

There, one evening, while he was seated in his tent, his little son came in crying and unable to inform him of the reason. He rushed out and found the village in commotion, for they had descried the black banner of the house of Abbas with a strong force marching upon it. Hastily snatching up a few dinars, he was again in flight for his life. The person and character of the young man caused him to be the more feared by his enemies. He was just twenty years old, of fine, even, majestic presence and graceful demeanor. Unlike his Arabian brethren, he had a fair complexion and a beaming, blue eye. If the old adherents of the house of Ummeyah entertained yet any secret hopes, he was the very man upon whom such hopes would naturally center.

For years he wandered in hiding from his pursuers; he sought the deserts; he was the companion of wandering Bedouins and roving shepherds, sleeping lightly for fear of a surprise, and with the morning bridling his horse to look for some other spot that might be safer. He passed through Egypt, and after five restless years he reached Barca, where he might hope for protection, since its governor, Ibun-l-Habib, had owed his fortunes and position to the House of Ummeyah. But he was mistaken, for Ibun-l-Habib, through self-interest, had joined the party of the Abbassides, and now sent his emissaries to arrest him, warning all the authorities of the towns to be on the watch for him.

Amid these untoward circumstances, the hapless fugitive remembered that in the land of dates, just north of the great desert, there had settled an Arabian tribe from which his mother had sprung, and from whom he might hope for protection. This was the tribe of the Zenetes. Thither making his way, he stopped at a village of tents, and there he found at least generosity and hospitality after his years of wandering. He did not disclose himself, but was known as Jaffer Almansur. They were won by his engaging manners and appearance, and were already speculating as to what hero in disguise had thus suddenly come among them, when they were thrown into confusion by the appearance of a body of horse in the service of Ibun Habib, who had tracked him to this hiding place.

The hospitable tribe at once knew that he was the fugitive whom they sought to destroy, and put them on a false scent. He was, they said, among their tribe, but was temporarily absent with several other young men in a certain valley on a lion hunt: he would return the next night. They sought him in the direction indicated. The hostile force being thus misled, Abdu-rahman, with six devoted friends, pushed westward, away from pursuit, and to the fulfillment of his destiny. Through deserts peopled only by beasts of prey, across unsheltered plains of scorching sand, he traveled until he reached Tahart,¹ the principal place in Algarve Media, and about four days journey south-east from Telesen. He was now in the land of the Zenetes which he had been seeking.

There for the first time in his wanderings he found a generous and full protection; there to his mother's kinsmen he disclosed his name and rank, and at once received not only protection but homage, and the promise of assistance in his future schemes.

The situation in Spain was well known to them; rival chieftains had exhausted and fatigued the people to their wars. The power of the khalifs was gone forever. An illustrious scion of the Ommyan house, persecuted by the Abbassides, was ready. Why not establish an independent empire in Andalus? and who should be its sovereign but Abdu-rahman? Such were the questions soon to be asked in Spain, and to receive an immediate answer in the affirmative.

The next paper will consider the new and independent khalifate of Cordova.

HENRY COPPÉE.

¹The modern Tuggert or Toogoort, south of the Atlas range, within the present limits of Algeria. La Fuente says (III. 95,) that Tarik, the first conqueror of Spain, was born at Tahart. It was also the birth-place, in our day, of the famous Abd-el-Kader.

PHYSICS AND POLITICS.*

THE discovery of natural laws seems to be effected in all cases in a manner substantially the same. The mind of the scientific community is slowly prepared for the new train of thought by the progress of knowledge in the special department to which the discovery belongs. The old conceptions become gradually inadequate to account for the phenomena which press upon the observer's mind, and demand a reduction to law. Dissatisfied with explanations which explain nothing, and which are contradicted by experience, men of science cast about for a better system. They examine carefully into details; they watch the processes of growth. After a long mental incubation, a provisional hypothesis arises in some mind, which appears to explain certain remarkable phenomena. This hypothesis, before it comes into the world, is subjected to a most rigorous test. All facts of the same order within its author's purview are considered with reference to the new-comer. Is it consistent with them, and does it explain them? This question must be answered clearly and fully, before the philosopher offers his theory to his scientific brethren.

Meanwhile, fifty other men at work upon the same subject-matter, throw out doubts, suggestions, and bits of special knowledge, which at once cast light upon their colleague's difficulties, and prepare the general mind for a fair consideration of his hypothesis. Through the realm of science, it is recognized that the old explanations have been discredited. The facts which these explanations have failed to account for, are understood to be empiric, and their law as yet undiscovered. Hence, when the new hypothesis is published, the discussion is instant, eager and universal. Difficulties and objections, real and apparent, are at once brought forward. A season of tremendous controversy ensues, in which the victory is seldom doubtful. Either the theory disappears and is heard of no more, or it emerges from limbo into the clear daylight of reality, and is admitted to represent the observed Order of Nature.

*Physics and Politics; or, Thoughts on the Application of the Principles of "Natural Selection" and "Inheritance" to Political Society. By Walter Bagehot. New York: Appleton & Co. Pp. 224.

Such has been the history of Galileo's theory of the earth's rotation ; of Kepler's laws of planetary motion ; of Bichat's theory of tissues ; of Harvey's doctrine of the circulation of the blood. Each of these was the outcome of long years of thought, observation and experiment ; each was modified and extended until it embraced all the known phenomena of the province of investigation ; each was subjected to the searching atmosphere of controversy ; and each is now a part of the primary instruction of physicists and medical students. Two theories, involving the largest and most remote issues, have not yet established their claims to a like acceptance. One is the Nebular Hypothesis ; the other, Mr. Darwin's view of the Origin of Species.

The former, from the immense remoteness of the period to which it relates, and the consequent want of direct evidence, may long remain in doubt. Similar causes prevent Mr. Darwin's hypothesis, when taken as a whole, from being considered as the last word of Science on the origin of life. But it has this great advantage, that many of its premises, relating as they do to the animal and vegetable world, apply to the present condition of nature, and are susceptible of direct verification. No intelligent man now doubts the laws of the Struggle for Life, Variation and Natural Selection. Here the ground is firm under our feet ; and upon these laws a philosopher, desirous of applying the new knowledge to the investigation of the past, may build without fear.

Mr. Bagehot is a thinker of a very rare order. He is no mere doctrinaire ; he has stood for Parliament in the Liberal interest, and has written the best book extant on the English Constitution. In that book the tendency of his mind is already clearly discernible. In common with Austin and Maine, and perhaps with them alone, he brings to the study of politics and law scientific habits of thought, and a thorough acquaintance with the immense body of facts in chemistry and biology published to the world within the last twenty years facts of such universal consequence that all speculation undertaken without regard to them—is already condemned. Versed in these latest results of scientific research, and separating with admirable keenness what has been proved from what has not been proved, Mr. Bagehot approaches his difficult subject in the true philosophic spirit. He possesses the most powerful instruments to do what may be done, the most searching

methods to discover and demonstrate all the ascertainable past; but he knows the weakness and imperfection of the evidence, and does not press it further than it will bear. There is, indeed, no need that he should do so. We think that our readers will not be disposed to underrate the importance of his conclusions.

He indicates at the outset his obligations to natural science.

“One peculiarity of this age is the sudden acquisition of much physical knowledge. There is scarcely a department of science or art which is the same, or at all the same, as it was fifty years ago. A new world of inventions—of railways and of telegraphs—has grown up around us, which we cannot help seeing; a new world of ideas is in the air, and affects us, though we do not see it. * * * I think I may usefully, in a few papers, show how, upon one or two great points, the new ideas are modifying two old sciences—politics and political economy.”

He then, by quotations from Prof. Huxley and Dr. Maudsley, shows the physiological facts upon which his theory rests. We will not attempt to give the substance of the book following the author's arrangement, for condensation is difficult from pages so charged with matter; but we will state his main ideas and some of the proofs which he offers in their support, and leave the reader to seek the illustrations and the amplifications in Mr. Bagehot's own felicitous diction.

We begin with one or two patent facts, which our readers will pardon us for rehearsing. First, all animals and plants breed *true*; that is, the offspring is like the parent, not only in the distinguishing marks of its kind, but often in individual peculiarities. Not only are sheep descended from sheep, and dogs from dogs, but the especial habits which the parent sheep or dog acquired during its life-time, or which were possessed by some particular ancestor, are repeated in the young. There is reason to suppose that the whole life of the parent, prior to the birth, has a great effect on the nature and constitution of the child. We do not know that the line has ever been drawn, even vaguely, between the qualities and acquisitions which are inherited, and those which are not inherited; but the fact that “an acquired faculty of the parent animal is sometimes distinctly transmitted to the progeny as a heritage, instinct or innate endowment,” is established beyond doubt. When Mr. Buckle published his *History*, the proofs had

not been so fully given to the world ; and his speculations are to a great degree vitiated by the assumption that education counts for everything, and the innate capacity of a race for nothing. He evidently believed that if a thousand Hottentot or Fijian children were brought very young to England, educated with the English youth, and given in all respects the same opportunities, they would upon an average display equal aptitude for civilized life with the native Britons. The experiment, has of course, never been tried ; but we are warranted in saying that no such result would ensue. The discipline and order of a European community is owing to centuries of education. The father has learned certain lessons of self-restraint, of obedience, of cultivation, so well, that the result has become embodied in his nerves and brain, and has gone down to his child as a pre-disposition to receive the same lessons. The child has begun almost where the parent stopped, and bequeaths in turn to its offspring a constitution still further modified in the direction of civilized life. We need not dwell on this point. The low retreating forehead and immense animal development of the savage, and the fact that the brain of the European weighs thirty per cent. more than that of the African, will be arguments sufficient for our purpose. The appearance of nerve force amongst natural forces, is another capital illustration :

“ I do not think any who do not acquire—and it takes a hard effort to acquire—this notion of a transmitted nerve element will ever understand ‘the connective tissue’ of civilization. We have here the continuous force which binds age to age, which enables each to begin with some improvement on the last, if the last did itself improve ; which makes each civilization not a set of detached dots, but a line of color, surely enhancing shade by shade. There is, by this doctrine a physical cause of improvement from generation to generation.” * * * * “Moral causes are the first here. It is the action of the will that causes the unconscious habit ; it is the continual effort of the beginning that creates the hoarded energy of the end ; it is the silent toil of the first generation that becomes the transmitted aptitude of the next. Here physical causes do not create the moral, but moral create the physical ; here the beginning is by the higher energy, the conservation and propagation only by the lower. But we thus perceive how a science of history is possible ; as Mr. Buckle said, a science to teach the laws of tendencies, created by the mind and transmitted by the body, which act upon and incline the will of man from age to age.”

Of course the causes we have assigned, the slow action of sur-

rounding circumstances upon the constitution of the parents, is not enough to account for all the difference between them and their child. Extreme variation in any direction is very hard to understand. Why commonplace parents should have a genius for their son, or why, on the other hand, a father and mother normally constructed should give birth to a six-fingered child remains for the present a mystery. Mr. Bagehot assumes the fact of variation as one of his data, merely noting that, when the variation has once occurred, it is transmitted to offspring.

We are now in a position to appreciate our author's theory. We may divide the existence of man on the globe, in a rough way, into three periods. First came the long epoch indicated by the tools and remains discovered lately in such abundance—the stone age, the iron age, the bronze age, the age of the flint implements and the refuse heaps. Sir John Lubbock and Mr. Tylor have collected facts enough to give us a fairly definite idea of the miserable condition of our race during these many centuries—a condition now paralleled only by such modern tribes as the Digger Indians and the Australians. With this period Mr. Bagehot deals only in passing. Then comes his special subject, the time “just before the dawn of history—coeval with the dawn perhaps it would be right to say—for the first historians saw such a state of society, though they saw other and more advanced states too; a period of which we have distinct descriptions from eye-witnesses, and of which the traces and consequences abound in the oldest law.” Then emerge historical times, whose annals are used only to illustrate and confirm this conjectural account of an age without written records.

Now, what do science and the laws of human nature, as we see them in operation around us, teach us as to the condition of our race, say ten thousand years before the dawn of history?

If there is one illusion which modern research has effectually dispelled, it is that of a Golden Age. That tendency which seems inevitable and universal among men, and which all the force of disciplined reason sometimes fails to counteract, the tendency to glorify the past at the expense of the present, is in utter contradiction to the facts. Our evidence, though in many details imperfect, is sufficient to indicate the broad outlines of pre-historic life. We will suppose that the first step has been

made, that the distinction of races has been established, that a bond unites children of the same mother. We have now, taking mankind just at this point, three guides to his condition. First, the immense number of facts to be inferred from the relics of Ancient Man discovered all over Europe. Sir John Lubbock and Mr. Maclellan have given a very full account of them. Secondly, the life of savage tribes, now or lately existing, as described by travelers and ethnologists. Thirdly, an axiom which necessarily results from the competition of early societies; namely, that where an institution or an acquisition, mental or physical, would certainly have given its possessors a notable advantage in the struggle for life, there the wide-spread existence and prosperity of men not possessing this advantage is an almost certain proof that it had not yet been attained to by any portion of the race.

“If one-armed people existed almost everywhere on every continent; if people were found in every intermediate stage, some with the mere germ of the second arm, some with the second arm half grown, some with it nearly complete, we should then argue, ‘the first race cannot have had two arms, because men have always been fighting, and as two arms are a great advantage in fighting, one-armed and half-armed people would immediately have been killed off the earth; they never could have attained any numbers. A diffused deficiency in a warlike power, is the best attainable evidence that the prehistoric men did not possess that power.’”

From these three sources of information we may conclude that “prehistoric men were savages without the fixed habits of savages,” that is, that like savages they had strong passions and weak reason; that, like savages, they preferred short spasms of greedy pleasure to mild and equable enjoyment; that, like savages, they could not postpone the present to the future; that, like savages, their ingrained sense of morality was, to say the best of it, rudimentary and defective; but that, unlike present savages, they had not complex customs and singular customs, odd and seemingly inexplicable rules guiding all human life: and the reasons for these conclusions as to a race too ancient to leave a history, but not too ancient to have left memorials, are briefly these:

“First, that we cannot imagine a strong reason without attainments; and, plainly, prehistoric men had not attainments. They never would have lost them if they had. It is utterly incredible that whole races of men in the most distant parts of the world

(capable of counting, for they quickly learn to count) should have lost the art of counting, if they had ever possessed it. It is incredible that whole races could lose the elements of common sense, the elementary knowledge as to things material and things mental—the Benjamin Franklin philosophy—if they had ever known it. Without some data the reasoning faculties of man cannot work. As Lord Bacon said, the mind of man must 'work upon stuff,' and in the absence of the common knowledge which trains us in the elements of reason as far as we are trained, they had no 'stuff.' Even therefore if their passions were not absolutely stronger than ours, relatively they were stronger, for their reason was weaker than our reason. Again, it is certain that races of men capable of postponing the present to the future (even if such races were conceivable without an educated reason) would have had so huge an advantage in the struggles of nations that no others would have survived them. A single Australian tribe (really capable of such a habit, and really practicing it) would have conquered all Australia almost as the English have conquered it. We cannot imagine innumerable races to have lost, if they had once had it, the most useful of all habits of mind—the habit which would most insure their victory in the incessant contests which, ever since they began, men have carried on with one another and with nature, the habit which in historical times has, above any other, received for its possession the victory in those contests. Thirdly, we may be sure that the morality of prehistoric man was as imperfect and as rudimentary as his reason. The same sort of arguments apply to a self-restraining morality of a high type as apply to a settled postponement of the present to the future upon grounds recommended by argument. Both are so involved in difficult intellectual ideas (and a high morality the most of the two) that it is all but impossible to conceive their existence among people who could not count more than five—who had no kind of writing and reading—who, as it has been roughly said, had 'no pots and no pans'—who could indeed make a fire, but who could hardly do anything else—who could hardly command nature any further. Exactly also like a shrewd far-sightedness, a sound morality on elementary transactions is far too useful a gift to the human race ever to have been thoroughly lost when they had once attained it. But innumerable savages have lost all but completely many of the moral rules most conducive to tribal welfare. There are many savages who can hardly be said to care for human life, who have scarcely the family feelings—who are eager to kill all old people (their own parents included) as soon as they get old and become a burden—who have scarcely the sense of truth—who, probably from a constant tradition of terror, wish to conceal everything, and would (as observers say) 'rather lie than not'—whose ideas of marriage are so vague and slight that the idea of 'communal

marriage' (in which all the women of the tribe are common to all the men, and them only) has been invented to replace it. Now, if we consider how cohesive and how fortifying to human societies are the love of truth and the love of parents, and a stable marriage tie, how sure such feelings would be to make a tribe which possessed them wholly and soon victorious over tribes which were destitute of them, we shall begin to comprehend how unlikely it is that vast masses of tribes throughout the world should have lost all these moral helps to conquest, not to speak of others. If any reasoning is safe as to prehistoric man, the reasoning which imputes to him a deficient sense of morals is safe, for all the arguments suggested by all our late researches converge upon, and concur in teaching it."

So prehistoric religions must have been founded on "luck," just as savage religions now are, because the superstitious looking-out for omens and regulating the conduct by them is an immense military disadvantage. The tribe whose courage depended upon the flight of birds or eclipses of the sun would evidently have little chance in a war with less superstitious enemies. And as all the surviving tribes believed in these omens, it is evident that those who did not survive believed in them too.

If, then, prehistoric men were like savages—that is, if they had "the character of children, with the passions and strength of men"—what was their great necessity? What was requisite to transform these unstable, violent, impulsive animals into the firm, self-restrained, reasonable men of civilization?

"Law," says Mr. Bagehot, "rigid, definite, precise law, is the primary want of early mankind—that which they need above anything else, that which is requisite before they can gain anything else. But it is their greatest difficulty, as well as their first requisite—the thing most out of their reach, as well as the most beneficial to them if they reach it." How the step was made from isolation to united action is not clear. Maine suggests that the family bond was the first to restrain the undisciplined instincts of man. However this may be, there is no doubt that when once family relations are fairly established, when once descent is traced through the father as well as the mother, and the *patria potestas* acknowledged, an advantage has been conferred upon this germ of a community, which will speedily put the members of it into possession of the best land all over the world. Isolated men may survive on islands and barren mountains, but the fertile plains

will be occupied by families like those of Lot and of Abraham. The families which are overcome will be made hewers of wood and drawers of water. The ancient Jewish records show us just such a stage of society. The patriarchal household, with its wives and its slaves, subject in all things to the will of the husband and father, is the opening chapter of history. But our present point is, that a law-making power has been set up—not the power of a mere despot, used in caprice or cruelty, but that of the head of a household, employed generally to protect his dependents, but armed in case of disobedience with the death penalty, and fortified by the sanctions of a rude religion. So, as families grew into houses, houses into tribes, and tribes into peoples, the bonds of authority were continually tightening. A constant and tremendous struggle was going on between the savage nature inherited by man and the strenuous power which had laid its hand upon every action of his life. But with each generation the resistance to law became weaker. The lesson of self-restraint and obedience, painfully learned by the father, was transmitted as an aptitude to the son, whose education, carried a step further, was again embodied in the brain and nerves of the grandson. *Drill* is Mr. Bagehot's name for this process—a social drill which has been going on century after century, and of which modern nations are the latest result.

Law and order, then, will ultimately triumph in every large community. Though nations may frequently be at war with each other, the internal affairs of each State will rest upon a firm basis of authority. Stability has been secured; and now the question is, •Will mankind advance or remain stationary?

We need not prove that the laws and customs which have so bound together the race, are not likely to be wise, just or liberal. Wisdom was hardly to be expected from the prehistoric ruler; justice and liberality would be rather a hindrance than a help to him. What was necessary was fixity; an unalterable rule, enforced by the strongest sanctions, and extending over all the important concerns of life. Distinction between temporary and permanent law, between civil and religious authority, there was none. King and priest were one; and the priest-king was accounted a deity. Disobedience to him was treason and sacrilege combined; and his commands extended to the most minute partic-

ulars. Dress, ceremony, occupation, caste, rules of inheritance, all were regulated by custom. Individual liberty would have been only license, a recurrence to the old savage anarchy, most dangerous to the hard won discipline of government. A man was born into a certain place in the world, and was expected to fill it, as his father had filled it before him. The idea of progress was utterly unknown.

In all but a few nations, whose geography was peculiar, this stress of customary law has been too rigorous for progress. It has so moulded the minds of the people, that their only desire is to live like their forefathers. China, India, Persia are arrested civilizations. They reached a certain point and then stopped. The law which brought them out of anarchy caught them in its net. That which has been their blessing is now their curse.

How, then, did a few European nations escape from the petrifying influence of custom? The answer lies in a fact whose own explanation is not clear. Greece, Rome, and our Teutonic forefathers inherited from their ancestors a polity, in which the supreme power was to some extent divided. Each State had a king, a council, and a popular assembly. How this form of government arose it would not be easy to say; but to it probably is due that we have escaped the fate of China. For the division of power brought on "government by discussion;" affairs of state were talked over, reason and common sense were appealed to; in other words, the deadliest foes to unreasoning custom were in constant activity. The habit of discussion is contagious. Men who had been thinking for themselves on politics, came also to think for themselves on Art, on Science, on Religion.

There was a certain amount of luck in the preservation of the few States in which this government by discussion existed. They were few and small, and existed at the same epoch with powerful and despotic empires. But Greece was saved by the stupendous mismanagement and folly of the Persian generals; and Rome grew up at such a distance from any great kingdom, that before she was called on to contend with any Asiatic power, she became strong enough to protect herself. Doubtless many small communities, in whom freedom was just beginning, were thus trodden down by compact autocracies. But Greece and Rome were not trodden down. They finally lost their power; but not until the

spirit of discussion had been shown to confer an inestimable advantage upon the nations who practiced it. The Germans, who brought from their forests the same polity, spread over Western Europe. To them, and to the descendants of the classic nations, is due that spirit of progress which we, who have it, are so apt to imagine has been the universal tendency of man, but which history shows to be the inheritance of a favored few.

We have followed only the main current of Mr. Bagehot's thought. His account of the formation of national character, of the origin of caste nations, of the use of conflict in the propagation of military virtues: all these we are compelled to pass over. Yet without these and a thousand corroborating details, we are doing great injustice to the author's argument. The strength of that argument is not to be estimated from an insufficient outline. Yet we believe that so far as was consistent with our limits, we have fairly presented Mr. Bagehot's theory. That theory seems to us logical, convincing and complete; in accordance with the best thought of the time, and clearly explaining a multitude of facts apparently inconsistent.

We cannot close the book without feeling how wonderfully modern science has changed the outlook from every department of human affairs. These facts were assumed undoubtingly by every mediæval thinker—that the earth was the centre of the solar system, and that the solar system was the principal fact of the universe; that this earth was constructed as the abode of man, and all its inhabitants created for his service; that man's life upon the globe had endured less than six thousand years, and would soon terminate. These assumptions admirably accorded with the current theology, and with the natural pride of the race. Where the drama was so tremendous, and the time for its exhibition was so short, a *deus ex machina* was in perfect keeping. When the very conception of Law in nature had scarcely been reached, the violation of that law excited no surprise. But now the slow progress of scientific research has utterly changed our apparent relations to the universe. A new heaven is over our head, and a new earth under our feet. We see our globe a subordinate member of an insignificant system. We see man one animal among many; hardly able at the outset of his career, to cope with the fiercer carnivora, and even now the helpless prey of a legion of parasites.

We see him, subject to the operation of inevitable laws, and living or dying according to his knowledge of the properties of matter. We see him through the lapse of interminable centuries, slowly progressing in this physical knowledge. In its train come civilization, comfort and the arts of life. Far behind it follow Government and Religion. The rapidity of their advance depends upon the pace of the leader. When slow-footed Science begins to run, the motion will be transmitted all along the line; and she is moving now so fleetly, that we of this generation may live to see the beginning of that mighty change in our creeds and our institutions, the rumor of whose coming is already on the air.

R. S. H.

AD THALIARCHUM.

HORAT. CARM. I. IX.

You see Soracte's towering height
 In winter's garb stands shining;
 And how the woods beneath the weight
 Of snows are low declining;
 And how, still at the touch of the magical wand
 Of the spirit of frost, the rivulets stand.

With faggots blazing on the hearth
 Drive out of doors the biting cold;
 And, drawing forth with cheery mirth
 The Sabine wine now four years old,
 With copious draughts of the joy-giving bowl
 Let us drown in its richness all cares of the soul.

Let other things the gods ordain,
 Whose might the elements obey,
 Who calm the storms, the surging main,
 And by whose will's resistless sway
 The cypress no longer is bowed by the gale,
 And the quivering ash is at rest in the vale.

Seek not to know the morrow's lot,
 But, in the present, count as gain
 Whatever fate has kindly brought ;
 Nor, when a youth, in cold disdain
 Shun, moodily, pleasures of music and dances,
 Nor the girl who invites you with amorous glances,

Old age will come full soon, amain,
 With hoary locks and aspect stern ;
 But now the Campus' spreading plain,
 The streets well filled at every turn
 With maidens and youths, who, with low-whispered
 greeting,
 The twilight's calm hour each a lover is meeting.

The gleeful laugh that now discloses
 In the dark corner's welcome shield
 The fair one, who but half opposes
 Her lover's ardor, and will yield
 The pledge taken off from her arms or her finger,
 Should allure you while young 'mid such pleasures to
 linger.

J. ANDREWS HARRIS.

NOTES ON THE USE OF GLAZED TILES FOR MURAL
 DECORATION.

AN art, which dates from a very early period, spreading rapidly at times, fluctuating, sometimes almost entirely disused, this art of decorating wall surfaces with glazed tiles, again bids fair to play no unimportant part in the history of "late 19th century" art of western Europe, even of America. We feel that a volume—no pamphlet either—might easily be written on this subject, full of readable, memorable matter ; but its time has not yet come. Meanwhile, to us it seems strange that an art of this kind should, at any time, have been neglected by a people who had previously practiced it. Its cleanliness, the wonderful effects capable of production through its means, and its almost indestructibility are so

self-evident that its short-lived popularity when most widely spread can only be accounted for by the restless, feverish love of change which characterizes the human race. From this last I expect the Chinese, with whom polychromy is an essential part of architecture; and it is probably owing to the fact of color being with them more essential than form, that the art survives among this people so famed for the production of specimens of it. Although in these notes I intend to avoid mentioning instances, as far as possible, I cannot pass by in silence the celebrated Temple of Gratitude, at Nankin, built from the designs of the architect Hoang-li-tæ, at a cost of \$3,750,000, the nine stories of which (aggregating 236 feet) are cased with tiles in five colors, viz., blue, green, white, red and brown.

It is to their commerce with China that the Persians and Egyptians owe their first knowledge of wall tiles; for the Chinese traded with these people as far back as the time of the Romans. And thus it was that the walls of the most ancient mosques, not only of Persia and Egypt, but of India, Syria, Algeria, Arabia and Turkey, are adorned with them, either painted or stamped. In some of these mosques they cover not only the external and infernal wall surfaces, but (as at Medina, built 707 A. D.) the columns for half their height. They are in all colors, bright green, azure and gold predominating, are painted with moresco work, and covered with an enamel varnish. So beautiful does this render the mosque at Tabreez that James Ferguson tells us¹ "Europe possesses no specimen of ornamentation comparable with this," that "even the mosaic painted glass of our cathedrals is a very partial and incomplete ornament compared with the brilliancy of a design pervading the whole building and entirely carried out in the same style."

Wherever the Mohammedans carried their arms we find this art spreading itself. The Spaniards owe their knowledge of its beauties to the Moorish conquest. As these Moors were debarred from drawing natural objects, the harmonious use of rich and varied coloring was their chief delight, and in this they have attained a wonderful excellence. With their expulsion at the close of the fifteenth century, after eight centuries of dominion, the harmony of their coloring is lost to Spain, and by degrees the

¹ *Hist of Archt.*, vol 2, p. 436.

Spaniards are led into a lavish use of figure subjects. And it is to this Moorish invasion that Italy, the great nursery of majolica, is indebted for its first acquaintance., for Moorish wall-tiles taken from Majorca by the crusaders, A. D. 1115, were used to ornament the walls of Italian churches. Indeed, some of them, principally in the form of round plates, may yet be seen encrusting the walls of San Michele, Pavia, and San Sisto and Sta Apollonica, Pisa. Thus introduced, their manufacture soon became popular. At first the colors claimed attention, the patterns being confined to arabesques, but by degrees we find this giving way to armorial bearings and flowers, these to busts and thence to groups of figures. Of figure drawing, however, we find little worthy of notice until the latter part of the 16th century, when Duke Guidobaldo II. bought all the available collections of Raffaele's drawing for the use of his painters: we must, however reluctantly, omit the subsequent history of Italian majolica, it being somewhat too lengthy for our attention at present. It is well known that Italy supplied western Europe with wall-tiles during the 16th century. Of those that were used in France during that period but few were of home manufacture. Very remarkable are the Dutch delft tiles, and justly celebrated for their clear perfection of line, color and glaze.

They were highly esteemed by the English and Germans who used them to line fireplaces, dairies, etc. The subjects are principally landscape and figure, the latter being chiefly chosen from the Hebrew sacred writings, several tiles usually composing each subject.

During the eighteenth century the slabs of porcelain painted by the French, known as "plaques" assumed considerable importance. Three of these, presented by Louis XV. to the king of Denmark in 1768, were estimated at 2,350 livres. One of these, now in the Sevres Museum, measures 35 inches by 16. Their principal use was the decoration of furniture, carriages, etc.

It is to Augustus Welby Pugin that the manufacture of wall-tiles in England owes its rise, it being at his suggestion that Mr. Herbert Minton, of Stoke-upon-Trent, first produced them. Since then the demand has increased and the number of English manufacturers multiplied. At the Paris exhibition of 1867, the French exhibited remarkably fine "plaques" Renaissance in de-

sign in which the forms were expressed by remarkably pure and decided lines.

In their Gothic work the French were far behind, their designs consisting of compositions produced from a few figures with a great deal of diaper background and spiky canopy. But in mediæval work coupled with Greek drawing the English excelled, and in richly colored glazes they have distanced all competitors. And Sir Digby Wyatt, reporting on miscellaneous painting in the International Exhibition of 1871, states "that, while in point of beauty of design, our ceramic miscellaneous painting stands quite upon a level with that of any other people, ancient or modern, the technical excellence, the exactness, even color and prospect of durability and impermeability of our products fairly place us at the head of contemporary manufacture; and not of contemporary manufacture only, but of every variety of such manufacture as time, the avenger and destroyer, has left us any trace of."

For internal wall decoration, art tiles are now much used in English cities. Also for chimney pieces, and to a slight extent for external pilasters. Plain white glazed tiles are largely employed in London for lining the interior of courts, stairways and passages, where light is a desideratum.

The reasons influencing their adoption are: They are cleanly, they reflect light, they throw off water, and they are almost indestructible.

What magnificent effects might be produced by covering the external walls of buildings with them. All the walls might be of a simple uniform pattern, with the string-courses, window and door heads, and jambs filled in, and followed around with another and darker pattern; thus producing a style of ornamentation which every rain-fall cleans. It would be especially adaptable to concrete building now so common in France. When a damp climate and poor bricks have to be considered, glazed tiles might be much more economical than stucco, which is so perishable a material.

For description of manufacture we have no space, although Majolica presents very considerable temptations. We will merely close by hoping that a decorative material capable of permanent polychromatic ornamentation upon which designs may be sketched rapidly or carefully—as best suits the artist—with the

greatest ease, and then permanently fixed by firing, cannot fail to recommend itself to the people of this continent.

One thing the majority of Americans require to learn, viz.: that the individuality of hand-work is impossible of imitation by any perfection of manufacture. Even in patterns, when repetition is required, the slightest variation in the minor details gives a life and variety which machine-work fails to confer.

The editor of the London *Building News* will pardon us for making a long extract from the number for May 16th, of this year. It brings this monograph quite down to date, and gives us facts which are of interest and value to us.

“We have extended the use of tiles to a variety of purposes never dreamt of by our forefathers—purposes as varied nearly as are the patterns of the tiles themselves. The existence of so many large firms as those of Minton, Hollins, and Co.; Maw and Co.; Simpson and Son; Moore; Malkin, Edge and Co.; Minton Taylor, W. Godwin, and others, is a proof of the very great demand there is for them. Besides church and other pavements, for which plain and encaustic tiles have been in general use for the last thirty years, glazed and enameled tiles are brought into service for lining baths and lavatories, dairies, shops, offices, larders, stables, entrance halls, yard passages, and areas, for reflecting light; majolica tiles for the walls or dados of libraries, smoking-rooms, entrance-halls, and staircases; also for fire-places, flower-boxes, for inlaying with cabinet and iron-work, such as sideboards and fenders, and for church mural decoration, as reredoses, sedilia, arches, niches, pilasters, friezes, panels in walls and pulpits, string-courses, memorial tablets, etc. And as the latest and most important development in this direction, we have hand-painted or art tiles, which also are now being applied to most of the above purposes, and, indeed, to all kinds of mural decoration, ecclesiastical and domestic, with the greatest success. In each of the forms of decoration enumerated the process is widely different. The commonest tiles, those used for closets and the like, are simply printed in the same manner as an ordinary piece of crockery ware. In encaustic or figured tiles, having the ornament inlaid in the pattern, a mould is made from a design on paper, and the different-colored clays poured into the mould. For majolica a metal mould is employed, but instead of the clays

being poured in as in the former case, the title is painted in enamel colors, the raised ornament, as well as the ground-work of the pattern, being very elaborately colored and richly glazed. In the new art tiles, however, the figure or subject, whatever it may be, is painted directly on the prepared tile or slab by the artist. The material employed for painting on being the same as that of the tiles used for pavements, and the colors being, as in the case of the other tiles, burnt in at a high fire, the permanency of the whole is guaranteed. But as they are subjected to the action of heat alone, after coming from the artist, they possess a freshness of character and an artistic feeling difficult of attainment in productions wherein a mechanical after-process is involved. It is further claimed for art tile decoration that it is as durable as stone, is not affected by atmospheric influences, and is therefore well suited for both exteriors and interiors. Designs of every description appear to be applicable to it, from a simple diaper to an elaborate composition of figures. We recently saw a number of beautiful specimens in all colors and styles of ornament, at the establishments of Messrs. Minton and Co., Simpson and Sons, and R. Minton Taylor. The first-named firm show in their extensive collection a set of clever and artistic studies of animals on tiles, about 9 in. by 9 in., the work, we believe, of Mr. Simpson, a young Staffordshire painter; as well as slabs for chimney, jambs or panels, having thereon the favorite stork, admirably executed by another artist. In glazed tiles, this firm, it may be mentioned, has recently fitted up a remarkably fine dado in the smoking-room of the Carlton Club. Dados of plaster, brick or wood, are alike objectionable, because they invariably become defaced and disfigured with footmarks, scratches, and damp, whereas the other does not, to any appreciable extent. Messrs. Simpson, who have made a special feature of art-tile decoration, exhibit numerous attractive subjects, in single tiles and panels, of birds, animals, foliage and flowers, many of them of a richness and artistic expression rivalling that of oil-painting; while among Mr. Taylor's varied specimens may be noted several panels containing female figures designed and painted by Mr. H. Marks, the well-known artist, and also capital representations of the signs of the zodiac, *Æsop's Fables*, and the familiar nursery rhyme of "Jack and Gill." It is becoming generally known that there is no description of decoration so

suitable for the substantial adornment of the north, south, and east walls of churches. Many important works of this nature have already been carried out by these firms and others. The subjects introduced over the altar-table, etc., consist of emblems of the apostles and saints, symbols of the crucifixion, sacred monograms, the Ten Commandments, texts, inscriptions, and monumental tablets. In most of the works thus executed, which we have seen, the jointing is scarcely apparent, so carefully are the tiles fitted together. Designs, however, can be executed with a mosaic arrangement of joints, as in stained glass, by which the regular square reticulations may be avoided. The squares are made of all sizes, from 4 in. by 4 in. up to 12 in. by 12 in., but those most commonly used are 6 in. by 6 in. and 8 in. by 8 in. The new art has, we understand, found a warm patron in Sir Gilbert Scott. This form of decoration is found to be quite as effective as, while much more durable than, oil-painting; and if it cannot compare in brilliancy with glass-painting or mosaic, it has the advantage of being less costly. The price of art-tiling varies from seven-and-six-pence per foot for ordinary ornamental work, to about two guineas for rich ornamented figure work. This latter price is about the same as stained glass, and one-half the price of mosaic. In practically applying the art of decoration, there has been a long-felt want of some method of surface decoration, combining the qualities of artistic expression and durability, adapted to withstand the atmospheric changes of the climate of this country and the deteriorating influence of the smoke of our large towns. There seems to be a very general opinion among architects that these conditions appear to be fulfilled by the new art-tiles. Hence the large measure of favor they are attaining."

WALTER ROSS BILLINGS.

LITERATURE AND DOGMA.¹

Now, into the originals of faith,
 Yours, mine, Miranda's, no inquiry here.
 Of faith as apprehended by mankind,
 The causes, were they caught and catalogued,
 Would too distract, too desperately foil
 Inquirer. How may analyst reduce
 Quantities to exact their opposites,
 Value to Zero, then bring Zero back
 To value of supreme predominance?
 How substitute thing meant for thing expressed?
 Detect the wire-thread in the fluffy silk
 Men call their rope, their real compulsive power?
 Suppose effected such anatomy
 And demonstration made of what belief
 Has moved believer—were the consequence
 Reward at all? Would each man straight deduce
 From proved reality of cause, effect
 Conformable? believe and unbelieve
 According as your true thus disengaged
 From all his heap of False—called reason first?
 No; hand once used to hold on soft, thick twist,
 Cannot now grope its way by wire alone.

So Browning writes in his last poem, with half a glance, one might suppose, at Matthew Arnold's last book, then coming out by chapters in the *Cornhill Magazine*. The great dramatic poet declines the task as an impossible one, when he is asked to analyze a man's faith into the two elements that compose it—the principles and convictions that are rightly felt necessary to his spiritual existence and growth, and those inferences and opinions which every one is liable to confound with the former. Browning has looked so deeply into human nature, has found the subject so complex and perplexing, has such a keen sense of the delicacy of the question, that he gives it up as insoluble. He would not dare to

¹Literature and Dogma: An Essay toward a better Apprehension of the Bible. By Matthew Arnold, D. C. L., etc. Pp. 316. Boston: J. R. Osgood & Co. Philadelphia: Claxton, Remsen & Haffelfinger.

take up the series of beliefs that exist in the mind of an Italian of the lowest class, for instance, and say, "This is a wholesome grasp of eternal truth, and exerts a healthy influence on the man's life and character; but that other is mere vacuous superstition and dead inanity. Some anatomists who have studied very closely the complexities of the human frame, tell us that if we knew how dangerous the operation of walking is, we would hardly dare to walk. A hesitation born of equally extensive knowledge, seems to inspire Browning in the passage we have quoted.

But the problem which Browning declines is that which Arnold attempts. Nor is he the first in modern times that has attempted it; only his methods and his tests are his own. A large part of the writings of the late Prof. F. D. Maurice are taken up with exactly the same problem—how shall we distinguish between what was vital and essential conviction in men's beliefs, and what was mere opinion and hearsay? The same is true of the best writers of Mr. Maurice's school—Rev. T. Hancock, George McDonald and others. Indeed, the wide-spread study of the history of opinion and belief that has grown up within the last twenty years, has made this sort of analysis a necessity to any one who is not content to pursue the study in a mechanical and unfruitful way, who is really anxious to find what vital bond unites the apparently contradictory parts of the same system—what logical necessity led to new developments in the disciples from which the master would have shrunk.

Mr. Arnold takes up for his study the Protestant Bible, believing that it is a main-stay and prop of public and private virtue. He is aghast at the laxity of principle that threatens modern society; he looks to a new interest in the old book—a broad, popular and unprofessional interest—as one of the most hopeful instruments of reform. But the Bible has not had fair play in the hands of its expositors; they have interpreted it as dogma, as if it were a Koran, in which every word were of equal and vital emphasis. Therefore the spirit of the age, the *Zeitgeist*, is bidding good-bye to the Bible. Negative expositors, like Colenso—as hard and dogmatic in their way as the orthodox in theirs—are busy furnishing the *Zeitgeist* with excuses for so doing. A third school of exposition, one that shall show men which of the old book's words are emphatic and which are merely of temporal import, which

represent the spirit, and which only the letter, has become a necessity; and culture is its watchward and Matthew Arnold is its prophet. Those who have made themselves acquainted with the best that is known and has been said in the world, will come to this task with a power of insight and discrimination that is wanting in ordinary men, notably wanting in all but a few of the recognized custodians and interpreters of the Bible.

From the method we pass to some of the results, and most readers, we think, will feel that Mr. Arnold does indeed

“Reduce
Quantities to exact their opposites,
Value to zero,”

and only a few will discern in him the power to

“then bring zero back
To value of supreme predominance.”

The emphatic Old Testament word in his view is *righteousness*. The book “is filled with the word and the thought. . . . No people ever felt so strongly as. . . . the Hebrew people that conduct is three-fourths of our life, and its largest concern; no people ever felt so strongly that succeeding, going right, hitting the mark in this great concern, was *the way of peace*, the highest possible satisfaction.” But while this is so “the Living God” is not in Mr. Arnold’s view one of the emphatic Hebrew phrases. There is, indeed, an element in the phrase which is emphatic—“the not ourselves,” to which “the very great part in righteousness belongs.” “The Hebrews named that power, out of themselves, which pressed upon their spirit: *The Eternal*. . . . They meant the eternal righteous, who loveth righteousness. They had dwelt upon the thought of conduct and right and wrong, till the *not ourselves*, which is in us and around us, became to them adorable, eminently and altogether as a power which makes for righteousness, which makes for it unchangeably and eternally, and is therefore called: *The Eternal*.” This is the pith of the excellency of the Old Testament, and not of it alone. The New Testament only repeats that same principle, repeats it in an age when men had ceased to remember that the promises were made to righteousness, and ascribed them to the literal seed of Abraham. Jesus of Nazareth cast aside the accretion of false tradition, proclaimed that

the promise to Abraham's seed meant to those who did the works of Abraham. But he possessed a moral insight and a skill in teaching that far surpassed that of the prophets, while it did not prevent his teaching from being as grossly misconstrued as that of the old prophets had been, by traditions and additions of a non-ethical sort.

This is but a brief and meager summing up of the positive part of the book, but it contains, we think, all the essential points. We cannot think the result at all satisfactory. To reduce the Bible to the refined and spiritual stoicism of an Epictetus is hardly the way to commend it to our philistinish century. It at least provokes the questions, Why did Epictetus accomplish nothing? Why did this distorted, unphilosophic Christianity of Tertullian, Origen, and their contemporaries carry the day? Certainly Epictetus was a better representative of the teaching of Isaiah and of Christ than they were, if Mr. Arnold has understood the Bible. But he took no hold on men's consciences; he changed no lives from worse to better; they actually did and their successors do.

Nor again can we regard Mr. Arnold as true to the pledge that he gives of using culture simply as the instrument of an inductive study of the Bible. He everywhere gives us the impression that he has come to the study of the record with a whole back-burden of preconceived ideas of what the Bible ought to be, and must be. How else could he have eliminated the Hebrew expression, "The Lord liveth," as unimportant? for his analysis into two elements is a realelimination of the essential life of the phrase. "But," says Mr. Arnold, "the element of personality and life cannot be the important one here, for it is a mere hypothesis incapable of verification. An hypothesis cannot have been at any time the living and actuating conviction of the Hebrew people." In that given reason is the deepest ground of his difference from the theology of the whole Bible. The Old and the New Testament both continually assume and repeatedly assert the possibility of a man's attaining to a knowledge of God as actual and real, though not as complete and exhaustive, as that which he possesses of his friend. They do not confine that possibility to extraordinary theophanies, visions of the night, and prophetic ecstasy. They speak of it as possible to men of the humblest and meanest powers of mind. Our Paleyites and Mansellites teach, indeed, the direct contrary of all

this, but they cannot explain away the saying, "This is life eternal, that they may know Thee, the only true God." Nor will they ever account for the hold that such mystical writers as a Kempis and Guyon have over those who have been trained in a school the most different.

Mr. Froude shall explain what we mean, by his parallel between Luther and Erasmus: "You will mistake me if you think I represent Erasmus as a man without conscience, or belief in God and goodness. But in Luther that belief was a certainty; in Erasmus it was only a high probability, and the difference between the two is not merely great, it is infinite. In Luther it was the root; in Erasmus it was the flower. In Luther it was the first principle of life; in Erasmus it was an influence which might be taken away, and yet leave the world a very tolerable and habitable place. . . . Erasmus considered that for the vulgar a lie might be as good as the truth, and often better. A lie ascertained to be a lie, to Luther was deadly poison, a poison to him and a poison to all who meddled with it."

Of these two men, it was Erasmus that represented, in the sixteenth century, the spirit in which and the methods by which Mr. Arnold would play physician to the spiritual sickness of the nineteenth. Which did the most to advance the cause which he himself has at heart? We are at no loss for an answer; he gave it a year ago in the *Academy*, in reviewing a work by M. Renan, in which the refined Frenchman declared that he rather enjoyed than found fault with the existence of brilliant dissoluteness in Paris. Will Mr. Arnold tell us, if culture is to do so much for us, why this, the most illustrious of its representatives in France—a man personally of blameless life, a man profoundly conversant with the writings of the Old and New Testaments, a man therefore exceptionally likely to be aroused to moral earnestness in the way in which Mr. Arnold hopes to see us all aroused—could make a declaration so utterly out of harmony with the whole spirit of the Hebrew literature? Was it not a surrender of the whole case, "*in re Culture vs. Dogma*," when Mr. Arnold held up Luther (with some specified exceptions to his opinions, to be sure), as an honored and honorable contrast to Renan.

But if culture and literature be not the panaceas of our century's spiritual diseases, have we no other alternative than dogma?

Must we then either give up the Bible as an insoluble riddle or accept it in the lump as a Koran, a bundle of divine decrees hurled at our heads with the injunction, "Believe or be damned?" Is there no means by which we can enter into a real sympathy with the old prophets, put ourselves in their places, see with their eyes, and enter into those living convictions which purified and ennobled their lives? On Mr. Arnold's theory of the *Zeitgeist*, its influence and authority, we believe that there is not any such. Those men spoke then in the sense of their own *Zeitgeist*; we must think and speak in the sense of ours. Theirs has no rights as against ours, none whatever. The meanest and most grovelling nineteenth century tendency and notion can rightly resent your appeal to that past or to any past as an anachronism—can perk and pride itself upon the far superior wisdom of a more enlightened age, can justly sneer at your mere antiquarian diletantism, and insist that the past has no practical significance.

We believe that the Bible, rightly understood, does point out, while it does not pretend to furnish, a more excellent way. We believe that all who have entered into the spirit of the book have made that discovery. "To elevate," says Jean Paul, "above the spirit of the age, must be regarded as the end of education. . . . From the fore world a Spirit speaks an ancient language to us, which we should not understand if it were not born within us. It is the Spirit of eternity, which judges and overlooks every spirit of time."

But those who dissent most from both the methods and the results of this book have reason to rejoice in the great advance which both it and his other recent works show upon his earlier writings. Twenty years ago Matthew Arnold was a pagan fatalist, finding no spiritual pabulum or stimulus outside the Greek tragedians—evinced not the smallest interest in or affection for the body of Hebrew literature, which has long been the traditional guide of his country in personal and social ethics. To-day he is writing books to commend that literature to the affection and confidence of his countrymen, holding it up as an artistic model worthy of earnest attention, an ethical discipline worthy of enthusiastic adoption. If the new proselyte, Arnobius-like, shows sometimes that he fails to quite catch the import of his new teacher's words, if he seems to have forgotten the modesty that becomes the disciple, and sent Saul of Tarsus for years into Ara-

bia to study the faith before he undertook the work of its apostle, still may we not cry as did the old Hebrews of another of the name: "Is Saul also among the prophets?"

NEW BOOKS.

CHRISTIAN ETHICS. By Dr. Adolph Wutke, late Professor of Theology at Halle; translated from the German, by John P. Lacroix. Two vols. New York: Nelson & Philipps.

In the later history of German philosophy, Ethics and their treatment on a scientific basis have come into very great prominence. Earlier writers, especially De Wette and his master Schleiermacher, did give the subject a very large measure of attention, and contributed very able and notable works to it, as did the old supernaturalists, Stæudlin, Ammon, etc. But since the breaking up of the Hegelians after the appearance of Strauss's *Leben Jesu* in 1834, the subject may be said to have risen to a place of primary importance in public opinion. All the really productive minds of the post-Hegelian era—the school of Schopenhauer excepted—have produced elaborate works that show they regard it as a chief branch of philosophy. The younger Fichte, K. P. Fischer, Wirth and Chalybæus may be regarded as the chief of these later philosophers of Ethics, while Rothe, Schmid and Martensen have approached the subject with equal ability from the theological side.

To this latter class belongs Dr. A. Wutke's *Handbuch d. Christlichen Sittlerlehre*, published in 1861, and again in a second edition in 1864. He belongs to the pronouncedly Lutheran party inside the united Church of Prussia; the study of Christian theology, and of the general history of religions was the great work of his life. His object in his *Handbuch*, was to put Christian Ethics on a thoroughly churchly and biblical basis, and to free it as far as possible from any mere philosophical drift and prejudice that it had received at the hands of others.

Not that he ignores all the historic sources for the knowledge of the subject that lies outside the canon, the symbolical books and the theologians. After giving a short sketch of his own conception of the whole subject, and a criticism of other views (Schleiermacher, Rothe, etc.), he proceeds to give a full and very careful *History of Ethics*, which occupies nearly the whole of the first volume, and notices in succession every type of national thought, and every school of philosophy in their bearing on the subject. Although he avowedly criticises all from his own standpoint, yet he gives with German care and thoroughness a clear

and copious statement of the views of every school, and the book is therefore valuable to the mere student of the history of philosophy, especially to one who has no access to the rich German literature of the subject. Dr. Wutke has done most of this historical discussion, we understand him to say, at first hand, or has availed himself of the light incidentally thrown upon the subject by historians of other types of thought. He has no opinion of the labors of previous German historians of Ethics: Stæudlin, Marheinecke, De Wette. He has also no acquaintance with those who have written in other modern languages. The French treatises have of merit by Denis, Matter and others; English literature boasts of a Mackintosh, a Whewell, a Blakey, a Leckey and a Maurice. The *History of Moral and Metaphysical Philosophy* by the last is a work of unique merit, in spite of some peculiarities of method that give it the appearance of being unscientific. We know no other book that so fully refutes the charge that philosophy achieved no net gain for humanity in any or in all of its ages of development.

The second volume is occupied with specific discussion of pure ethics and here, of course the author's peculiarities of theological position and method come out more fully. It covers, however, only one of the three great divisions into which the author divides the subject, the other two being the ethics of man's apostasy and his restoration. We can hardly make out from the translator's preface whether or not he intends to present these in a subsequent volume, or rests satisfied with the present two volumes as forming a complete whole in themselves, as indeed they do; perhaps the other two topics are treated in a manner too distinctively Lutheran to suit an official Methodist publishing house, but we hope not. We can trace the Lutheran drift in many parts of this second volume, such as the emphasis laid on the personal unity of soul and body as together constituting the man, the middle ground taken in regard to the relation of the divine efficiency and human freedom, etc. As regards the two great parties into which moralists are divided, Wutke is with the one side and not against the other. He is an intuitionist, but lays great stress on the empirical element; he is not an eudaimonist, but he sees truth in eudaimonism. His object is to set forth Christianity as furnishing a higher middle ground for the union of opposite views. He shows that Pascal's saying is true in ethics, that "in Jesus Christ all contradictions are reconciled." He belongs in many points to the severest school of ethics; he presses the Christian ideal of the sanctity of the family relationships to the utmost. He entirely ignores Paul's interpretation of Christ's doctrine of divorce, and takes the latter in the boldest and most literal sense.

The translator lacks experience, we think, in rendering Ger-

man into English, and very often the reader will be obliged to retranslate his involved metaphysical English. But that is the better side to err on, and the work forms a real addition to our philosophical and theological literature.

THE COLVILLE FAMILY. By Frank E. Smedley. Philadelphia: T. B. Peterson & Bro. Pp. 139. Paper, 50 cts.

In the works of Frank E. Smedley, we are told by a criticism in the London *Quarterly* (?) given on the title page, "there is none of the elaborate penny-a-lining of Dickens or of the outré situations of Michael Angelo Titmarsh" (Thackeray—save the mark—) "* * * but a narrative that wins from its easy truthfulness, etc., etc." And with this introduction we are ushered into the Colville Family, consisting of, first, a "gentleman" as to whom we are assured that in rags he would have looked equally such, with a calm forehead, mild eye and thoughtful mouth, making it plain to the feeblest intelligence that he is the father of the family; the mother's expression is chastened and pensive "as of one who has lived and loved * * * until the pure soul" (of course this is well meant, but what bathos it is) "within has stamped its impress upon it, etc." Next comes the daughter, with coquettish eyes and dimpled chin, who is "nice rather." "There, you've seen enough; you'll be falling in love with her directly." The man who is superior to the elaborate penny-a-lining of Dickens as well as the outré situations of Thackeray must, of course, be right, and we do not know a minx when we see her, and we will not therefore say more than that this young person is not to us prepossessing thus far. A tall, graceful boy with pale, finely-chiselled features and classically-shaped head, distinguished from his father by "the proud curl of the short upper lip" completes the domestic circle.

This is the first chapter, showing the family photographically. In the second, less the gentleman whose appearance depended so little upon his costume, who has died in the interval, we have the bereaved party in full activity, and in the elaborately easy and familiar conversation which ensues, we find for the first time a touch of the natural vivacity of "Frank Fairleigh" and "Lewis Arundel."

"You know, Hugh" (we entirely forgot Hugh; he is a curly-pated urchin, nine years old, with ringing laughter, merry pranks, and a great deal else), repeated Mrs. Colville in surprise. "Come from under the table and tell me."

"But, mamma, I'm a wolf, and just going to eat up Emily."

"Not now, dear," was the calm reply, as if a daughter, more or less devoured by wild beasts, was of little moment to that unanxious mother."

In the third chapter the young person, who is "nice rather," is attacked by a highwayman and rescued by a tall, agile figure, which springs to her side, knocks down the ruffian, upon whose breast he places his foot, turns to the frightened girls, and, lifting his hat courteously, thereby revealing his dark, chestnut curls, endeavors to calm their fears. He turns out to be the Rev. Ernest Carrington, and as Punch a few years ago interdicted, among other literary offenses, the name Parker being again applied to housekeepers, so let us here enter a probably useless protest against a certain kind of young clergyman being called "Ernest." It is an innocent name. Most of us have friends who possess it, and we resent the attempt to stamp it with an association which all tastes may not find agreeable.

The fourth chapter opens the plot of the book, is melodramatic, and of its kind well enough.

In the fifth chapter we have a fast school-boy, who talks slang, and very good fun he is, too; then a good deal of school-life, which, in the days before Tom Brown, could have passed muster very well. There is the bully, the bad boy who is worthy of better things, the little boy who is tempted, and the good boy, who takes the little boy's licking, etc., etc.

After this the plot begins again, and here we will stop, through sheer fatigue. Those who wish to follow the fortunes of the Colville Family can read the book for themselves. We shall only ask the question of its publishers why stuff like this is given in good, clear type, the pages of a wide margin and the general get-up excellent, while a work of a certain decided merit like "Lewis Arundel" is so badly printed as to be almost unreadable. Another odd feature in the publications of the Messrs. Peterson is, that they never bear a date.

MONOGRAPHS, PERSONAL AND SOCIAL. By Lord Houghton.
New York: Holt & Williams, 1873. Pp. 328.

These are very pleasant sketches of men and women in society by one who has lived long and well and wisely. Lord Houghton shows, however, the reticence of the Englishman of society in leaving so much unsaid that might well be added to his bright and pleasing pictures of old friends and new acquaintances. One fault, or rather one characteristic, of the book that we take it belongs to the author, too, is the apparent want of distinction in the importance of his subjects. If they were noted, whether for good or bad qualities, for some intellectual achievement, for some great future, or for some misfortune, it is enough to recommend them to his acquaintance. The mere list of names of the friends whose merits and deeds are so pleasantly recorded in this volume

may serve to show how general were Lord Houghton's likes and how catholic his tastes. Suleiman Pasha, Humboldt, Wiseman, Landor, the Berrys, Lady Ashburton, Sydney Smith and Heine represent as many different phases of life as there are names, and yet with each and all Lord Houghton had quite acquaintance enough to justify his perpetuating his knowledge of them. There is not much that is new, of course, as to these persons, whose lives have almost, without exception, been told at much greater length by professed biographers, and yet what we here see is life-like and pleasant, serving to put a cheery light among and around all those who are gladdened in their intercourse with this cheery, friendly, sympathetic Englishman. His own verses, in the days when he was "Monckton Milnes," were never very strong, and his power of versification has not grown with his years, nor is his gift of translation very fairly shown in his attempts to English Heine, the almost untranslatable. We prefer an essay from another hand of his *Donna Clara*.

LES EXPLORATIONS GÉOLOGIQUES, à l'Ouest des Etats Unis par Ch. de la Vallée Poussin, Professeur à la Faculté des Sciences de l'Université Catholique de Louvain. Extrait de la Revue Catholique. Louvain: Peeters, 1873. Pp. 82.

This pamphlet gives a very fair resumé of the scientific work done by the various surveying expeditions sent out to the far West by the Government of the United States. It furnishes a clear statement of the results of Haydon's expeditions, and praises in almost too strong terms the work done by the men of science who worked out the various special branches of investigation entrusted to them. The names of Leidy, Cope, Newberry, Lesquereux are all familiar to the author, and are made so both by an intimate acquaintance with the proceedings of the Academy of Natural Sciences, and with their share of the official reports. His zeal and orthodox faith are not a little strengthened by finding strong analogies in the work of our American geologists and that of his continental colleagues—Heer, Unger, Lecoy and others of the men of science, not the less useful because their names and work are not yet as far and as widely known as those of the great leaders in the new schools of natural history. M. Poussin finds great merit in the part taken by the Government in the scientific surveys and expeditions, and follows in his sketch of their reports the plan so well executed by Petermann, in his *Mittheilungen*, in giving the last results and additional discoveries in our geographical knowledge. The recognition by foreign men of science of the labors thus carried on by our own, in the employment of our own government, cannot but act favorably in securing a stil

larger use of the growing scientific population which each new expedition trains and fits for new tasks.

STE. BEUVE: SOUVENIRS ET INDISCRETIONS, Paris, 1872.

It is not without a comfortable feeling of self-satisfaction that we find that bad book-making is not peculiar to ourselves, meaning by "ourselves" English and Americans, but it occasionally occurs in that country where, proverbially, things are managed much better than elsewhere. And it is strange, certainly, that in a volume of three hundred and fifty pages, whose subject is no less promising a one than the great French critic, there should be such an inconceivable lack of interest as we encounter in this the solitary answer to the question which reading men have been asking for the last four years, "Who was Sainte Beuve?" Not the poet, for such in a comparatively imperfect way he was; not the author of the *Causeries de Lundi*. But the man; what was his private history, his life before he became famous? What is the true account of his political career? What were the real facts of the case? How far was he a recreant to his antecedents in accepting the favors of the Emperor? Was he a true moderate, vilified by the demagogues whose extreme teachings he refused to follow, or was he, as they said, a skillful trimmer? And so on with endless other inquiries which we, who are far away from his sphere, are naturally making, and which we would look to such a book as the one before us for satisfaction. What we get is this: First an autobiography, like most of the kind. The writer does not possess the rare shamelessness of a Rousseau, or the artless candor of Franklin, who tells, if we remember rightly, all the particulars of a trouncing he got from a fellow-printer for trying to seduce the latter's mistress, especially entrusted to his protection. Moreover, to go on with our catalogue, this most uninteresting narrative is repeated three times with slight variations of expression, and tells almost nothing. Ste. Beuve, it seems, was born at Boulogne in 1804, and distinguished himself at school by his Latin attainments. At fourteen he went to college in Paris, and took a prize for an historical essay. After leaving college he studied medicine, but abandoning this very soon he began his literary career at the age of twenty by writing for the *Globe*, a newspaper founded in 1823 by Du Bois, with whom Ste. Beuve fought the inevitable Parisian editor's duel.

When only twenty-three he had the honor of seeing an article of his commended by Goethe. It was one which he had written on the "*Odes et Ballades*" of Hugo, and which was the means of introducing him to the latter.

From 1829 to 1831 he wrote for the *Revue de Paris*, his *Portraits Littéraires*, and from 1832 to 1839 he published in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* a continuation of these, together with

Portraits de Femmes—the same which drew upon him the taunt that no one could know so much about women unless he were half a woman himself—*Portraits Contemporains*—and *Derniers Portraits*. At various times during the period antecedent to 1848 his original, or if we may so call them, non-critical, writings, appeared—the *Poesies*, *Volupte*, etc. In 1841 he was nominated a member of the Academy, in Casimir Delavigne's place, and was received by Victor Hugo, the then president. In 1849 he began in the *Constitutionnel*, and continued in the *Moniteur*, the *Causeries de Lundi*. The contributions to the *Moniteur*, the organ of the Emperor, seem to have been Ste. Beuve's first connection with Napoleon, and were probably partly the reason of his being hissed off the stage when he attempted a course of lectures on Latin poetry at the College of France, of which he had been appointed professor. In 1861 he left the *Moniteur* to return to the *Constitutionnel*. But on the other hand we remember that in 1865 Napoleon made him a senator. He would now have scarcely escaped alive from a second series of lectures. Indeed, he found his new honor not much more comfortable than the old ones, for fifty pages of these memoirs of Ste. Beuve are given over to the details of a petty bit of scandalous persecution which was intended to silence his voice in the debate in the Senate on the law regulating the liberty of the press. The substance of it all is that M. Ste. Beuve, with no religion of any kind whatsoever, gave a simple dinner on the 10th of April, 1868, which happened to be on Good Friday, a day of not more faint historical interest either to the host or his guests. Gossip, however, seized hold of the harmless entertainment, compared it to the *Debauche de Russy*, accused M. Ste. Beuve of insulting the religious feeling of a large portion of his countrymen, of being an atheist, etc. The truth was that Ste. Beuve, putting aside all questions as to the soundness of his opinions, was in nowise to be blamed, for he did nothing, as far as we can tell, to make himself conspicuous by this affair. One of those invited accepts in these terms:

"*Mon cher maitre*. Although my religious principles compel me to fast on Friday, yet I should be delighted to dine with you, if you will but serve up the wit of a cardinal, the courage of M. L., Dupaulon's charity, the eloquence of Charles Dupin, Marshal Canrobert's genius, the chastity of Senator ———, and in a word all that there is most impalpable in the world," etc.

Following the monograph on Ste. Beuve's unfortunate dinner, we have an article called his "Last Year," which is interesting in showing quite clearly that when, in 1869, he joined the staff of the *Temps*, thus in a great measure cutting loose from the government, he had begun to see that the time had come when it was impossible for a man of any independence to do otherwise than unite himself with the Liberals. That he found his course a hard

one is very plain, especially when it was a matter of being civil to M. Rouher, or appeasing the wrath of the Princess Mathilde. An extremely unpleasant pathological description of M. Ste. Beuve's last illness and the autopsy, his will and an account of his funeral conclude the book. He was buried without ceremonies in the Mont Parnasse, by the side of his mother, and it is gratifying to learn that Mme. Sand, who was present, was honored with a veritable ovation, so that she could scarcely get into her carriage. This economical method of combining a funeral and a general reception is a happy discovery of the Liberal French mind. Last summer M. Hugo, on a similar occasion, was so enthusiastically greeted by his admirers that his deceased friend seems to have been quite lost sight of.

M. Troubat, the author of these memoirs, tells us that Ste. Beuve never was a Republican, at least not as a partisan, and that when the condition of affairs from 1848-51 was at an end he was glad to submit himself to any stable government. To give his own words: "We needed a 'wall.' We had nothing against which to rest. France was a prey to royalists, to intriguers of all sorts," (and here, says M. Troubat, he cited examples by name) "to conspirators of every party. The National Assembly of 1848 let itself be dismembered in the person of Proudhon," etc., etc. Again: "I am not a '*Bonapartist*.' It is not through fetishism or enthusiasm that I place myself in that party. It is through common sense. *He* gained his place by a universal suffrage. We must have a strong and stable government."

Adding an extract from a passage in which M. Troubat, with much skill and boldness, thus met the most ordinary attack on his patron, we have done. "No one," he says, speaking of Ste. Beuve, "accuses him of self-abasement. 'Complaisances,' 'rhetorical amenities' can be pointed out, it is true, but though we may not share his opinion, we cannot say, according to the common expression, that he 'prostituted' his talent. . . . By force of circumstance a partisan of an absolute government, he was personally the most *liberal* of men, indeed of men of letters."

LEWIS ARUNDEL. By Frank E. Smedley. Philadelphia: T. B. Peterson & Bros. Pp. 288. Paper. Price, \$1.00.

Lewis Arundel is far from being a new book, and is well enough known to call for but a slight notice. It is clever, vivacious, interesting, melodramatic, high-flown, perfectly healthy in its tone, but with, perhaps, too much of occasional sentimental piety. It is so full of life and vigor, and so genuine, that none need be ashamed of liking it, though it would not stand criticism, and though of much of it endless fun might be made—a thing we do not propose

undertaking, for the book has a warm corner in our heart, and we shall do no more than wish good speed to the new edition.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

What to Wear. By Elizabeth Stuart Phelps, author of "Gates Ajar." Boston: Jas. R. Osgood & Co., 1873. Pp. 92. Paper, 50 cts. For sale by Claxton, Remsen & Haffelfinger.

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Memoir of a Brother. By Thomas Hughes, author of "Tom Brown's School-days." Pp. 178, Cloth, Boston: Jas. R. Osgood & Co., 1873. For sale by Claxton, Remsen & Haffelfinger.

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Dickens' New Stories. By Charles Dickens. Philadelphia: T. B. Peterson & Bros. Pp. 79. Price, 25 cts.

Nature Series; the Spectroscope and its Applications. By J. Norman Lockyer, F. R. S. With colored plates and illustrations. London and New York: Macmillan & Co., 1873. Pp. 117. Price \$1.50. For sale by J. K. Simon.

THE
PENN MONTHLY.

SEPTEMBER, 1873.

THE MONTH.

THE condition of Spain is not improved. Carthagera has been the scene of a revolt which at one time bade fair to overthrow the power of the Republican government at Madrid. The irreconcilables or intransigents who are ambitious to play in Spanish troubles the role enacted with such success by the Communards of Paris, seized several ships of the Spanish navy and started a republic of their own at Carthagera. The steady loyalty of some of the garrisons, added to the distrust of popular movements—one might say the apathy of the people—saved the republic for the time. The insurgents have accomplished nothing; the ships have been unable to effect a landing, having been driven off in several places, and at last accounts the new masters of Carthagera were making overtures for surrender. It is to be hoped that the revolt is at an end. It is of course impossible to speculate with anything like certainty of the result of the present condition of the Peninsula. Don Carlos may reach Madrid, but the army is not devoted to him, and in case of a temporary success he would probably only make way for Don Alfonso. It would not be surprising, after all, to see a reaction take place after the excesses which have filled the last few years, ending in the restoration of Isabella's family. The history of England affords one, and that of France at least two, examples of such an event, and just now it seems to be one of the least improbable of the uncertainties of the Spanish future.

THE French Assembly has had one or two very strong debates—noisy and turbulent even for that dignified body. One of these occasions gave M. Gambetta an opportunity which he well improved to make an eloquent and brilliant speech. But the day has long gone by when a speech affected the result of such contests. Where the feeling is marked and decided, a striking figure or eloquent appeal may deepen and strengthen it, as in the debate in which d'Audiffret-Pasquier likened Alsace and Lorraine to the lost legions of Varus, and excited the feelings of his hearers to the utmost, but it is to be doubted if it be possible for any orator, at the present day, to overcome prejudice or break into pieces, by any power of speech, the chains forged and riveted by political management and intrigue.

The *Nation* calls attention to the discussion now going on in the English journals on this subject, and seems to think that the day of oratory is over. The system adopted here of carrying on legislative business forbids the cultivation of oratory by robbing it of practical effect—the habit of writing speeches is death to true debate, and the customs now so successfully practiced, of lobbying and log-rolling, put on the finishing touches. The gift of eloquence is very apt to be undervalued in a country where money is the standard of worth, and is sure to be despised by those who have it not. The taste of the age, too, is growing less favorable to speech-making, and the orations of M. Gambetta or of Senor Castalar are far less effective now than they would have been fifty years ago. Oratory is going out with the romantic and the picturesque.

THERE has been no rejoicing of a public nature over the retirement of the Prussian troops from French territory. It is said that Prince Bismarck has been induced to consent to a speedier evacuation than was at first intended, by the discovery that the constant habit of the French of all classes to criticise and laugh at everything and everybody was beginning to have its effect upon the troops of the empire. Such a habit among German troops would certainly be injurious to discipline and fatal to that blind faith in "things above," which is the strength of the Prussian service; and his Excellency, the Chancellor of the Empire, would be the last man to encourage its development. Such at least is the story.

ONE of the events in England during the last month was the debate in the House of Commons on voting a settlement to Prince Alfred. His Royal Highness has announced his intention of marrying the daughter of the Czar, and in accordance with time-honored custom, his mother has petitioned her most loyal Commons for a handsome allowance for the young couple. Mr. Gladstone's speech, according to the report, must have been as broad and general as some of those which have been made in the United States Senate, for we are told that he eulogized the Czar at great length and spoke eloquently of the emancipation of the serfs. His attempt to prevent any little unpleasantness, by deprecating discussion which would take away from the spontaneous and gracious nature of the act, was unsuccessful. A debate followed, in which things were said that would have been high treason in the happy days of George the Third; and though the allowance was voted by a large majority, the journals have been teeming with paragraphs and leaders on the subject ever since. Of course the known fact, that the Queen is very rich and very parsimonious, gives rise to the feeling that she ought to foot her bills—and for this she is to blame. Her allowance from the state is very large, and she does not spend any part of it as she ought to do—in what is, after all, the business of her life—in entertaining and keeping up the splendor of the Court. But after all, it might be well for some of the gentlemen who are making the most noise over this matter to investigate the cost of a republic in its various departments—its presidential elections and the like—before they insist on so radical a change as they sigh for on the ground of economy.

BESIDES the marriage of the Duke of Edinburgh, his brother, Prince Arthur's, is announced. The bride in this case is the Princess Thyra, a younger sister of the Princess of Wales, another capital match for a child of that obscure Prince Christian of Glucksburg, who has lived to see himself a king of Denmark, his son a king of Greece, and his daughters a future queen of England, and a future czarina of all the Russias. The Princes Thyra and her husband will of course be entirely ornamental, and there may therefore be some prospect for them of happiness.

THE sudden death of Dr. Wilberforce, Lord Bishop of Winchester, occurred on the 19th of July. He was thrown from his horse, while riding with Earl Granville, and was instantly killed. He was third son of the excellent philanthropist, and inherited many of his father's brilliant qualities. A skillful debater, an eloquent speaker, a powerful writer, a graceful wit and a perfect man of the world, he was the most effective champion of the High Church party in England. Among his opponents he was not much beloved nor greatly respected, the nick-name of "Soapy Sam," which was applied to him, giving no great evidence of veneration. Few if any prelates in the English Church are more generally known. He was in the sixty-eighth year of his age. Lord Westbury, who died the day after the Bishop, is chiefly known in this country as having been Lord High Chancellor. He was one of the most eminent equity lawyers in England, but was chiefly remarkable for his powers of satire and his biting wit. Some of the severest things ever said in the House of Commons came from Sir Richard Bethell's lips. He was just seventy-three.

THE Republican Convention which met in Lynchburg, Va., to nominate State officers, was the scene of an amusing row, in which a colored delegate found it necessary to call the president of the convention an "old ass" and other complimentary names. After considerable excitement and confusion a nomination was made, and the nominee made a long speech. The conservatives, as they call themselves, have also made up their ticket, which will no doubt be successful. The name of Mr. Greeley was a great weakness to the Democrats in Virginia last year, and was the direct occasion of their defeat. The causes which led to that are now removed, and the Republicans will accomplish a remarkable feat if they succeed in naming the successor of Governor Walker. The campaign will probably be an exciting one.

SEVERAL disastrous fires have marked this month. Baltimore, and Portland, Oregon, have suffered severely, while a fire has consumed many vessels and several docks, in Portland, Maine. Of course, after the great fire of Chicago, and the other at Boston,

such conflagrations as these cause comparatively little excitement ; but in each case, the loss has been very heavy. The year has been a hard one on insurance companies. From England we hear too of the burning of the Town Hall of Leeds. The good that may come out of all this is perhaps the erection of more substantial buildings, and the less frequent use of the wooden Mansard roof on stone walls. Brick, too, is again coming into more general acceptance, and the improvement in taste shows itself in the color which is found in many new buildings. One is not now confined strictly to the red pressed brick and white marble which has made so attractive to the eye the streets of our beloved Philadelphia. A man may adorn the front of his dwelling with yellow and black bricks, and yet keep up the appearance of respectability and even indulge in the dissipation of colored tiles without seriously affecting his standing in the community. Such has been the progress of the human mind !

A VERY distinguished lawyer, one of the few of that profession who have attained a more than local reputation ; a statesman, who lived to see the full consummation and triumph of his principles and his anticipations ; a politician completely partisan, but of unquestioned honor ; successful without bribes, powerful without intrigue ; holding office for love of the work, even though that work might be in the uncleanly mill of a Pennsylvania administration and dying at his place, William M. Meredith has filled up the rich measure of his brilliant life. To the older members of the Philadelphia bar, his loss is that of a contemporary and friend, the link between the traditions of the past and the questions of the present—to the young lawyers, his career is of the first importance as a study of success, and their tribute to his memory is the intense interest and admiration which those who are ambitious and unknown feel toward the man who has achieved. To the country at large he will be remembered for the bold and wise stand he took at that, perhaps most critical, point of its history, the meeting of the Peace Convention in the autumn of 1860, when he gave his voice for honorable war and against concessions which could bring no lasting peace.

THE Committee on Plans of the Centennial Commission has awarded the thousand dollar premium to the authors of ten of the forty-four designs offered in the open competition. All the drawings were exhibited publicly in the hall of the university for some days before the decision. As a whole, the designs were disappointing to those who had expected to find in them some of that originality and ingenuity which are considered our peculiar national gifts. In the greater number the plans were either impossible or wretchedly bad, and the elevations were, architecturally, beneath contempt.

Of the small number of respectable designs, several would have required four or five years to erect, and would have cost sums far in excess of the probable resources of the Centennial authorities. Two or three designs, however, displayed care and skill in the plan arrangements, and offered elevations which, if not noble, were at least unobjectionable, and could be built within the necessary time, and for a sum of money within the reach of the Commissioners.

Very few of the architects appear to have taken into consideration the fact that the Memorial Building is to be permanent, whereas the wings and other portions of the building are to be used only for about six months and then to be taken down. In the larger number of designs, it is not easy to determine which are the temporary and which the permanent parts.

Of course it is extremely difficult to give a homogeneous character to a group of buildings with these requirements, but one or two of the designs were almost, if not altogether, successful in the effort. The ten premiated designs have been photographed and the accompanying explanations printed, and each of the successful competitors has been furnished with a complete set of these, with power to make use of any suggestions or ideas therein contained, in the preparation of designs for the second or limited competition. The idea is at least novel and very possibly is disagreeable to the few architects who have really worked out their plans with thought, and have brought forward ideas worth appropriating. One thing, however, should be well settled: the successful architect in the next competition (which will, we believe, be decided within two months,) should be allowed to carry out his design. It is an every-day occurrence with us for an architect's design to be accepted—and then handed over to some builder to be carried out. Such designs are generally distorted in execution. The author is naturally the best interpreter, and a design can only be executed in a spirited manner under his supervision.

STATISTICS

RELATING TO THE BIRTHS, DEATHS, MARRIAGES, AND MOVEMENT OF
POPULATION IN THE CITY OF PHILADELPHIA, FROM JANUARY 1ST,
1861, TO JANUARY 1ST, 1872.

THE writer, in the course of his studies, found it desirable to tabulate some of the facts concerning the birth-rate in Philadelphia, and finding several tables¹ had accumulated in the course of his researches, has thought that extracts from these might possibly be of value to those interested in the subject, and he was, for this reason, induced to offer them for publication.

It is proper to state here, that the space allowed for this article precludes the introduction of many useful deductions and comparisons.

The movement of the population in one country, as compared with that of another, as well as that of the same place compared with preceding numerations, always a matter of interest, becomes more and more so as civilization advances, bringing with it evidences of physical and moral degeneracy, as evinced in the proportionally fewer marriages, in a smaller number of births to each marriage, a lessened birth-rate, a declining proportion of male births, increase in the proportion of male deaths, increasing proportion of females in the general population, increasing illegitimacy, increase in the proportion of inhabitants in cities over the country, and in some instances a slowly diminishing mortality; and, notwithstanding this last occasional occurrence, *always a declining* increase in population, which means that increase must cease in some dimly distant future.

It is no part of the purpose of the present article to prove these deductions, but merely to illustrate them by the movement of population in Philadelphia, the results agreeing in the main with those arrived at by most statisticians, particularly where the latter are *Physicians*. The acknowledged labors of Dr. J. M. Jones, of Washington, D. C., and Dr. Nathan Allen, of Lowell, Mass., corroborate the views taken in this article.

Philadelphia, with an area of 129 $\frac{1}{8}$ square miles (a length of

¹ The entire MS., including these tables and other detailed calculations omitted in this article, have been placed in the Library of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, for reference, by any person who may hereafter undertake the compilation of statistics relating to this city.

23 miles, average width of $5\frac{1}{2}$ miles), or 82,700 acres, had a population, in 1870, of 674,022 souls, or 5,225 inhabitants to the square mile.¹

There were, in 1870, 127,746 families, having an average of 5.28 persons to each family. There were 112,366 dwellings, and 6.01 persons to each.² There were 490,398 native, and 183,624 foreign persons in the population. Of these, 651,854 were white, and 22,147 colored.

The population is very unequally distributed, as there are several farms, gardens, and parks (about 2,500 acres,) within the city limits, besides several small towns and villages. About 27.7 per cent. of its population are of foreign birth, from which, it is probable, that a proportionally larger part of the births are recruited, as one-half of the parents giving birth in Massachusetts (with a population 22.9 per cent. foreign) in 1860, were of foreign birth; and in New York city, the Registrar says that in 1870, "as usual, the children of foreign parentage greatly predominated" (9,282 parents foreign, 2,553 native). Hence, New York city, which had a population composed of persons of foreign birth, to the extent of 44.5 per cent., recruited 78.4 per cent. of its births from this same foreign element—or, in other words, more than three-fourths of the births were recruited from much less than half of the entire population: stating it differently, the native population recruit one birth from every 204.9 of their own number, while the foreign population recruit one from every 45.1, and are consequently more than four and a half times as prolific. In Massachusetts, as before stated, one-half of the births are recruited from less than one-fourth of the population (foreign), or foreigners are more than three times as prolific as the natives. With these facts before us, we are impressed with the belief that Philadelphia, with a population of 27.7 per cent. foreign, must recruit more than three and a half times as many births, propor-

¹ Chicago, with an area of 223 square miles, has 1,350 inhabitants to each.
 London, " " 122 " " 26,000 " "
 Boston, " " 110 " " 2,300 " "
 San Francisco, " " 90 " " 1,500 " "
 Paris, " " 63 " " 28,000 " "
 Pekin, " " 56 " " 28,500 " "
 N. Y. City, " " 22 " " 43,000 " "

N. Y. Medical Record, May 15, 1873, p. 240.

²New York (1870) had 64,044 dwellings, with 14.72 persons to each, and 185,789 families, with 5.07 persons to each.

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tionally, from its inhabitants of foreign birth as from the natives. It is greatly to be regretted that the nativity of parents¹ of children born in Philadelphia, as well as their ages and the number of the pregnancy, should not be recorded.

Births by years—boys to 100 girls²:

| | 1861 | 1862 ³ | 1863 | 1864 | 1865 | 1866 | 1867 | 1868 | 1869 | 1870 | 1871 | 11 years. |
|---|-------|-------------------|-------|------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------------------|
| Boys to } 100 girls. } | 109.3 | 107 | 110.9 | 112 | 113.4 | 111.7 | 109.8 | 108.6 | 109.8 | 113.2 | 110.9 | 110.54 |
| Inhab. to } marriage an'y. } | 128 | 123 | 107 | 88 | 81 | 87 | 102 | 99 | 100 | 101 | 96 | 101 |
| Births to each } marriage. } | 3.91 | 3.16 | 2.79 | 2.30 | 2.24 | 2.40 | 2.62 | 2.70 | 2.64 | 2.67 | 2.69 | 2.71 ⁴ |
| Average number of boys to 100 girl: for 11 years, 1860-72 (white)..... | | | | | | | | | | | | 110.65 |
| " " " " " " " " " " " " " " (colored)..... | | | | | | | | | | | | 101.14 |
| " " " " " " " " " " " " " " still-born ⁵ " "..... | | | | | | | | | | | | 134.40 |
| Percentage of still-births to entire births..... | | | | | | | | | | | | 4.59 |
| Percentage of still-births in almshouse, 6 years..... | | | | | | | | | | | | 7.71 |
| Number of boys to 100 girls still-born in almshouse, 6 years..... | | | | | | | | | | | | 113 |
| Of 729 illegitimate births in almshouse (1864-1869) there were boys to 100 girls..... | | | | | | | | | | | | 85.9 |
| Of 459 so-called legitimate births in same institution for same period, boys to 100 girls..... | | | | | | | | | | | | 93.6 |
| Percentage of total births in almshouse declared illegitimate by their mothers..... | | | | | | | | | | | | 76 |
| In white population, 1810, there were 100 females to | | | | | | | | | | | | 98 males. |
| " " " " " " " " " " " " " " 1830 " " " " " " " " " " " " " " 100 " " " " " " " " " " " " " " 92 males } 91.59 " | | | | | | | | | | | | } 90.935 " |
| " " " " " " " " " " " " " " colored " " " " " " " " " " " " " " 1830 " " " " " " " " " " " " " " 100 " " " " " " " " " " " " " " 75.70 " " " " " " " " " " " " " " 91.18 " " " " " " " " " " " " " " 70.54 " " " " " " " " " " " " " " 70.54 " " " " " " " " " " " " " " 1860 " " " " " " " " " " " " " " 100 " " " " " " " " " " " " " " 1870 " " " " " " " " " " " " " " 100 " " " " " " " " " " " " " " 1870 " " " " " " " " " " " " " " 100 " " " " " " " " " " " " " " | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| " " " " " " " " " " " " " " white " " " " " " " " " " " " " " 1860 " " " " " " " " " " " " " " 100 " " " " " " " " " " " " " " 91.18 " " " " " " " " " " " " " " 70.54 " " " " " " " " " " " " " " 70.54 " " " " " " " " " " " " " " | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| " " " " " " " " " " " " " " colored " " " " " " " " " " " " " " 1860 " " " " " " " " " " " " " " 100 " " " " " " " " " " " " " " 91.18 " " " " " " " " " " " " " " 70.54 " " " " " " " " " " " " " " 70.54 " " " " " " " " " " " " " " | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| " " " " " " " " " " " " " " colored " " " " " " " " " " " " " " 1870 " " " " " " " " " " " " " " 100 " " " " " " " " " " " " " " 91.18 " " " " " " " " " " " " " " 70.54 " " " " " " " " " " " " " " | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Average males to 100 females dying 1860-1872 (still-births deducted)..... | | | | | | | | | | | | 112.29 |
| " " " " " " " " " " " " " " (still-births not deducted)..... | | | | | | | | | | | | 113.44 |
| Number of males in the population 1860, to each male dying, 1860-1872..... | | | | | | | | | | | | 33.5 |
| " " " " " " " " " " " " " " females " " " " " " " " " " " " " " female " " " " " " " " " " " " " " | | | | | | | | | | | | 39.4 |

Annual average for 11 years (1860-1872):

| | White. | | Colored. ⁶ | | Still-born. | | Illegitimate. | | Twins. ⁷ | | Triplets. ⁸ | |
|--------------|--------|----------|-----------------------|----------|-------------|----------|---------------|---------|---------------------|---------|------------------------|--|
| Tot'l Births | Males. | Females. | Males. | Females. | Males. | Females. | (Estimated.) | (Pairs) | (Cases.) | (Pairs) | (Cases.) | |
| | 16,338 | 8,582 | 7,756 | 128.4 | 127 | 437 | 325 | 680 | 155 | 2.2 | | |

Yearly difference between births and deaths⁹:

| | 1861 | 1862 | 1863 | 1864 | 1865 | 1866 | 1867 | 1868 | 1869 | 1870 | 1871 | Average. |
|--|-------|------|-------|------|------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|----------|
| | +2803 | +852 | +1220 | +526 | -143 | +1277 | +3560 | +3124 | +2669 | +1055 | +1986 | +1723 |

¹See reference to the author's paper on "Effect of Nationality of Parents on Fecundity and Proportion of Sexes in Births."
²Boys to 100 girls born in N. Y. city, 1853 to 1870, 107.8.
³Rebellion began in spring of 1861; many soldiers discharged in 1863-4, and all in 1865.
⁴From 1670-1675, in Paris there were 5 births to each marriage; from 1764-1775, 1 marriage to 4 births; from 1864 to 1869, 1 marriage to 3 births.—*Chevalier et Lagneau—Ann. d'Hyg. Pub., July, 1873, p. 57.*
⁵In New York City, 1860, among whites, 95.23 males to 100 females; among colored, 76.13 to 100.
⁶Census of United States for 1870, compiled by General Walker, gives total deaths of colored males, 34,241; females, 32,942, or 103.9 males to 100 females; white males, 225,818; females, 198,322, or 113.8 males to 100 females. The deaths of white males under 1 year amounted to 52,402; females, 42,152, or 121 males to 100 females; white males under 5 years, 93,928; females, 79,776, or 117 males to 100 females. The proportion of male deaths among the colored population is greater than among the white, though the above figures would

Conceptions by months and seasons—boys to 100 girls, 1861—1872 :

| | Spring. | | | Summer. | | | Autumn. | | | Winter. | | |
|----------------|---------|-------|-------|---------|-------|--------|---------|-------|-------|---------|-------|-------|
| | Mar. | Apr. | May. | June | July | August | Sept. | Oct. | Nov. | Dec. | Jan. | Feb. |
| | 107.2 | 114.8 | 113.9 | 106.4 | 109.4 | 110.8 | 110.3 | 107.5 | 109.2 | 107.3 | 110.6 | 112.4 |
| Average No. } | 112. | | | 108.9 | | | 109. | | | 110.7 | | |
| Conceptions. } | 1,068 | | | 987 | | | 1,029 | | | 1,070 | | |
| Average No. } | 1,454 | | | 1,395 | | | 1,687 | | | 1,591 | | |
| Marriages. } | | | | | | | | | | | | |

Months in order of decrease of male conceptions—boys to 100 girls :

| Apr. | Feb. | May | Aug. | Jan. | Sept. | July | Nov. | Oct. | Dec. | Mar. ¹⁰ | Jun. |
|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|--------------------|-------|
| 114.8 | 114.2 | 113.9 | 110.8 | 110.6 | 110.3 | 109.4 | 109.2 | 107.5 | 107.3 | 107.7 | 106.4 |

Months in order of decrease of conception, both sexes, (all brought to 31 days): February, April, November, January, June, March,¹⁰ December, October, May, September, July and August.

Months in order of decrease of marriages (all brought to 31, days): October, December, November, September, January, April, June, May, February, July, August, March.

Conceptions compared with marriages by quarters :

| | 1st Qr. | 2nd Qr. | 3d Qr. | 4th Qr. |
|--------------------------------|---------|---------|--------|---------|
| Percentage of Conceptions..... | 26.27 | 25.06 | 22.95 | 25.75 |
| “ “ marriages..... | 23.84 | 24.23 | 23.85 | 27.96 |
| Boys to 100 girls..... | 110.67 | 111.70 | 110.17 | 108.00 |

indicate the opposite, owing to the much smaller proportion of males in the colored population. This greater mortality was forcibly shown in a recent article by the writer—"On the Relative Viability of the Sexes," etc.—*New York Med. Record*, June 16 and July 15, 1873, pp. 297-302, 353-4-5.

Mr. Tulloch says that "the mortality of the slave population of the West Indies is very much greater in the male sex than in the female, the proportion in adults being nearly double among males." M. Rickman found the average mortality for 5 years preceding 1830 to be 1 in 51, while in the negro population it had been 1 in 36.—*British and Foreign Med. Chir. Review*, Vol. iv., p. 262.

Total Labors.

| | |
|--|---------|
| ⁷ Twin labors in entire city (1860-1872), 1,740, or 1 in 105 labors..... | 182,627 |
| “ “ almshouse (1864-1869), 14, or 1 in 85 “ | 1,200 |
| ⁸ Triplet cases in entire city (1860-1872), 25, or 1 in 7,269 labors..... | 182,627 |

⁹ In 1872 the births amounted to 20,072; deaths, 20,544. Excess of deaths over births, 472.

¹⁰ Lessened proportion of boys probably due to devotions and fasts of the Lenten season. In Paris, 1670 to 1787, number of conceptions in Feb., 907; March, 857; April, 1,000.—*Villermé*.

Spring conceptions in England, 7 per cent. over that of any other quarter.

¹¹ New York city, (1870), boys to 100 girls, 1st quarter, 99.01; 2d quarter, 114.7; 3d quarter, 110.41; 4th quarter, 110.6.

Decade of 1821-1830, compared with the foregoing of 1861-1872. Conceptions by months and seasons—boys to 100 girls, 1821 to 1830 :

| <i>Spring.</i> | | | <i>Summer.</i> | | | <i>Autumn.</i> | | | <i>Winter.</i> | | |
|----------------|--------|------|----------------|-------|---------|----------------|-------|------|----------------|-------|-------|
| March, | April, | May. | June, | July, | August. | Sept., | Oct., | Nov. | Dec., | Jan., | Feb. |
| 103.7 | 111.5 | 107 | 107.2 | 109.8 | 109.1 | 108.1 | 112.5 | 106 | 109.1 | 111.9 | 109.5 |
| 107.33 | | | 108.7 | | | 108.87 | | | 110.16 | | |

Months in order of decrease of male conceptions (1821-1830) : October, January, April, July, February, December, August, September, June, May, November, March.

Months in order of decline in conceptions—both sexes (1821-1830) : May, December, March, April, February, June, January, November, October, September, July, August.

NOTE.—Effect of month of conception and birth on the expectation of life, exhibiting the percentage of deaths which occur within the first year after death :
 Month of conception...Mar. April, May, June, July, Aug., Sept., Oct., Nov., Dec., Jan., Feb.
 Percentage.....7.8 7.7 7.0 8.1 8.6 9.5 10.8 9.6 8.5 7.2 7.5 7.7
 Month of Birth.....Dec. Jan., Feb'y, Mar., Apr., May, June, July, Aug., Sept., Oct., Nov
 —Taken from Dr. E. Smith's book on Cyclical Changes. The cases, 3,050 in number, were taken from the "Register of the Counties of Durham, Northumberland, Westmoreland, and Cumberland (England). Population about 1,000,000, and scarcely any manufacturing towns." He ascribes the greater mortality of those born in months of May, June and July to the time of birth rather than to the time of conception.

Comparison of the birth-rate and movement of population in the poorest and richest wards (1861-1872) :

| | <i>Poorest.</i> | | <i>Richest.</i> | |
|--|---------------------|-----------|-----------------|--|
| | 1st Ward. | 5th Ward. | 8th Ward. | |
| Population in 1870..... | 25,817 | 18,736 | 22,286 | |
| Males to 100 females in population..... | 101.09 | 98.18 | 71.84 | |
| Average percentage of births to population... | 3.41 | 1.61 | 1.46 | |
| Average No. inhab. to each marriage annually | — | — | — | |
| Average No. inhab. to each birth annually ... | 27.28 | 61.28 | 68.65 | |
| Average No. inhab. to 1 death annually (4 yrs) ¹ | 36.50 | 42.00 | 57.00 | |
| Average No. boys to 100 girls born (1870)... | 117.71 ² | — | — | |
| Average No. inhabitants to each house..... | 5.04 | 7.97 | 7.04 | |
| Average number persons to each family..... | 4.86 | 5.51 | 6.23 | |
| Percentage of children born alive, dying under 5 years of age..... | — | — | — | |

¹M. Villot, prior to 1830, in Paris, found the deaths 1 in every 42 inhabitants in richest arrondissements, and 1 in 25 in poorest.

²"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,

Months (all of 31 days) in order of decrease of conceptions, compared by wards:

| | |
|---------------------|--|
| Poorest, 1st Ward | —Feb. Dec. Jan. Apr. June Nov. Mar. Oct. Sep. July May Aug. |
| Rich- est. { 5th | “ —Apr. Dec. Feb. June Oct. Jan. Nov. Sept. July May Mar. Aug. |
| { 8th | “ —Apr. Dec. Feb. Jan. June July Nov. Oct. Mar. Sep. Aug. May |
| Entire City, | —Feb. Apr. Nov. Jan. June Mar. Dec. Oct. May Sep. July Aug. |

The comparison of the birth-rate, death-rate, and proportion of sexes born in the richest and poorest parts of a city, I have never met with in any of my researches, except the instances referred to in the foot note; and bring these facts together for the city of Philadelphia, for the first time. The wards chosen are the 1st, 5th and 8th. The first ward is located in the extreme southern part of the city, and is marshy and wet on its southern border; its inhabitants being of the poorer, lower and middling classes. The 5th and 8th wards, located in the central part of the city, represent the most wealth, culture and refinement, the “oldest families,” the 5th being a part of the oldest portion of the city, while most of the 8th is comparatively recent. In both of these last-named wards there is a mixture of all classes and colors, but the wealthy predominate; if they were occupied exclusively by the rich the statistical differences would be still greater. The relative density of population in these districts is not within my reach, but the 1st ward is much less closely built up than either of the others, the 5th having no vacant lots, the 8th very few.

The most extraordinary feature in these comparisons is the per cent. amongst tradesmen and professional people, and 54 per cent. amongst the workingmen and domestics.” De Villiers states that “the mortality amongst the workingmen of Lyons is 35 per cent., and in well-to-do families and agricultural districts it is 10 per cent.” Dr. Jacobi found the mortality to be 59 per cent. at the Randall’s Island Foundling Hospital, and Dr. John S. Parry calculates the mortality of the children in the Philadelphia Hospital at 62.12 per cent.—*Dr. John S. Parry. Infant Mortality, etc. Philadelphia, 1871. P. 21-2 (out of Jacobi, of N. Y.).*

¶The sexes are not given by wards; but I have taken the trouble to calculate it for 1 year, and find it was far above the average for the first ward, but the data in the other wards are not sufficiently complete to allow of any reliable calculations. It is interesting to know, however, that the proportion of boys was as high as 115.39 to the 100 girls in the report of a practitioner having cases principally among the lower and middle classes, while it was only 69.00 males to 100 females in the records of an accoucher whose practice was exclusively among the wealthiest class, a difference of 23.19 per cent. in the excess of males in favor of the former.

much higher rate of mortality, coupled with an apparent fecundity nearly three times as great, in the poorest ward as compared with the richest—and I have no doubt, if the facts could be reached, we should find the proportion of boys to girls quite 50 per cent. higher among the poorer class than among the wealthy.

In the comparison of the total number of conceptions by months in these wards, it is noticeable that the *geniale tempus* (April) seems to have had more effect on the wives of the wealthy than on those of the poorer class—and the lenten fasts appear to have been more generally observed among the rich than among the poor—if we may judge by the greater decline in conceptions among the former than among the latter in the month of March.

Table showing the percentage of men and women married at different ages, in Philadelphia, from 1861 to 1872.

| Ages. | Under 20 | 20 to 25 | 25 to 30 | 30 to 40 | 40 to 50 | 50 to 60 | 60 to 70 | 70 to 80 | 80 to 90 | Total mar- riages all ages. |
|--------------------------|-------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|-----------------------------------|
| Per centage of men. | .466 | 34.83 | 31.04 | 19.34 | 5.88 | 2.04 | .538 | .077 | .044 | |
| Per centage of women. | 18.547 | 43.47 | 18.08 | 10.45 | | 3.433 | | | | 62,904 |

| | |
|--|------|
| Average births to each marriage (annually) first ½ decade..... | 2.83 |
| “ “ “ “ “ “ last ½ “ | 2.64 |
| “ “ “ “ “ “ 1861 to 1872..... | 2.71 |
| Decrease per cent. in last half of decade..... | 6.71 |

NOTE.—According to Dr. Emerson, “Villot’s researches seem to show that the proportion of mortality is regulated less by the density of the population than by the opposite circumstances of ease and poverty.” The Registrar General of England (1841) says: “It has frequently been observed that marriages and births are most numerous where mortality is the highest; and this doctrine is borne out by the facts in a table where the mortality is raised 44 per cent. (Lancashire and Cheshire); the marriages and births were raised 21 per cent.”

Villermé suggests that the sterility of marriages in Paris, where there is no appreciable physical cause, is principally owing to the will of the inhabitants, and assures us that it is principally the rich quarters in which the fecundity is most restrained.—*Annales des Sci. Nat.*, V, VIII., p. 426. The fact of a much smaller proportion of male births in rich as compared with poor quarters, points to actual physical decline in fecundity, and suggests a fallacy in the theory of this excellent French statistician.

| | |
|---|-------|
| Average inhabitants to each marriage (annually) 1 first ½ decade..... | 103.7 |
| “ “ “ “ “ “ “ last ½ “ | 98.4 |
| “ “ “ “ “ “ “ 1861 to 1872..... | 101.0 |
| Decrease per cent. in the number of inhabitants to each marriage..... | 5.1 |

| | |
|---|--------|
| Average number of boys born to 100 girls, first 6 years (white), 1861-7.. | 110.71 |
| Average number of boys born to 100 girls, last 5 years, (white)..... | 110.46 |
| “ “ “ “ “ “ “ 11 “ 1861 to 1872.... | 110.65 |
| Decrease per cent. in the proportion of boys in the last 5 years..... | .22 |

| | |
|--|--------|
| Average number of boys born to 100 girls, first ½ decade, 1820-1831..... | 108.86 |
| “ “ “ “ “ “ “ last ½ “ “ | 107.36 |
| “ “ “ “ “ “ “ whole “ | 108.11 |
| New York city, 1869, 1 to 108 inhabitants; 1870, 1 to 118 inhabitants. | |

Table exhibiting the number, proportion and percentage of sexes in the population, births and deaths, from some hereditary diseases² and accidental causes, etc., occurring in the city of Philadelphia, from Jan. 1st, 1861, to Dec. 31st, 1871:

| | Total No. | Percentage of whole No. dying. | Males to 100 Females. |
|---|-----------|--------------------------------|-----------------------|
| Population of Philadelphia, 1870..... | 674,022 | | 89.50 |
| Births for the 11 years 1861-72..... | 182,627 | | 110.65 |
| Deaths “ “ “ “ all ages..... | 174,000 | | 113.44 |
| “ “ “ “ still-births excluded | 165,604 | | 112.29 |
| “ “ “ “ still-born..... | 8,396 | 4.8 | 133.50 |
| “ Of children under 20 years of age, from all causes..... | 93,775 | 53.9 | 113.61 |
| “ Adults (all above 20 years) from all causes. | 76,142 | 43.7 | 103.20 |
| “ From old age (from 60 to 110)..... | 4,362 | 2.5 | 53.42 |
| “ “ Murder and violence, all ages..... | 175 | .1 | 446.20 |
| “ “ Suicide..... | 339 | .19 | 438.09 |
| “ “ Intemperance..... | 405 | .23 | 136.84 |
| “ “ Wounds..... | 36 | .02 | 1700.00 |
| “ “ Apoplexy..... | 2,093 | 1.20 | 123.25 |
| “ “ Gout..... | 50 | .028 | 284.61 |
| “ “ Diseases, inflammation, and congestion of the heart, all ages..... | 4,644 | 2.66 | 102.35 |
| “ “ Diseases, inflammation, and congestion of the heart, under 20 years.. | 903 | .51 | 136.36 |
| “ “ Diseases, inflammation, and congestion of the heart, above 20 years.. | 3,741 | 2.15 | 95.55 |
| “ “ Diseases, inflammation, and congestion of the brain, all ages..... | 9,065 | 5.21 | 132.13 |
| “ “ Diseases, inflammation, and congestion of the brain, under 20 years.. | 6,320 | 3.63 | 118.45 |

¹Decrease per cent. in proportion of boys in the last half decade 1.38.

²See further in author's paper "On the Laws of Transmission of Resemblance from Parents to their Children."—*New York Medical Record*, Aug. 15, Sept. 15, and Oct. 15, 1873.

| | Total No. | Percentage of whole No. dying. | Males to 100 Females. |
|---|-----------|--------------------------------|-----------------------|
| " " Diseases, inflammation, and congestion of the brain, above 20 years.. | 2,745 | 1.58 | 324.50 |
| " " Scrofula, all ages..... | 736 | .42 | 120.36 |
| " " " under 20 years..... | 581 | .33 | 122.59 |
| " " " above " "..... | 155 | .09 | 112.33 |
| " " Pulmonary consumption, all ages?... | 22,242 | 12.78 | 99.15 |
| " " " " " under 20 years... | 3,087 | 1.78 | 77.31 |
| " " " " " above "..... | 19,155 | 11.00 | 103.30 |
| " " Paralysis, all ages..... | 2,207 | 1.26 | 122.92 |
| " " Cancer ² , all ages..... | 2,339 | 1.34 | 43.05 |
| " " Diseases peculiar to women, all ages | 1,202 | .69 | |
| " " Whooping cough | 1,182 | | 73.11 |
| " " Scarlet fever, (42 years ending 1871) | 15,059 | | 96.7 |
| " " Measles, " " " | 2,744 | | 105.7 |

Age and percentage of decedents from consumption of the lungs, in Philadelphia, for the eleven years from January 1st, 1861, to December 31st, 1872 :

Average age of all decedents from consumption.... 35.57 years,
Average age of all decedents dying after the 20th year.....39.41 "

²The following are the percentages of deaths from pulmonary consumption of total mortality for the years following : 1860-1871—13.13—13.54—12.99—12.37—12.31—14.80—14.80—14.30—14.11—14.49—13.84—11.82. The percentage of deaths from this cause seems to be gradually increasing, until the two last years, when there is an apparent decline ; but this is not real, as the total mortality was greatly increased in these years from Small-Pox and infantile diseases, hence the difference.—Mr. *Chambers' Report*, 1872, p. 38.

³In the author's paper on "Deaths from Cancer, occurring in Philadelphia, from Jan., 1861, to Dec. 30th, 1870, showing the relative proportion of males and females dying of this disease, and the percentage of women dying of cancer of the uterus" (*Journal of the Gynecological Society* Boston, Sept., 1872, pages 201-2-3-4; extracted in *N. Y. Medical Record*, Feb. 1st, 1873) he has shown that 232 per cent. more women than men die of cancer, and that of all the women dying of cancer, 28.66 per cent. die of cancer of the uterus, or 20.44 per cent. of the whole number of deaths from this disease without regard to sex ; of those, 39.2 per cent. die before the 45th year, and 60.8 per cent. after. Of all the women dying of cancer, without regard to seat, 65.7 per cent. die after 45 years of age.

In Providence, R. I., 15 years ending 1871, 37 males to 100 females died of cancer. In England, 1856, 4,069 females and 1,690 males, or 45.5 males to 100 females died of this disease.

Average age of all decedents from consumption dying after 30th yr., 46.77 years.
 " " " " " " 40th yr., 51.73 "
 " " " " " " 50th yr., 58.51 "

The percentage dying at different ages was as follows :

| | | | | | | |
|---------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|------------|
| Under 1 year. | 1 to 2. | 2 to 5. | 5 to 10. | 10 to 15. | 15 to 20. | 20 to 30. |
| 1.73 | 1.06 | 1.34 | .99 | 1.29 | 6.90 | 30.39 |
| 30 to 40. | 40 to 50. | 50 to 60. | 60 to 70. | 70 to 80. | 80 to 90. | 90 to 100. |
| 24.21 | 16.94 | 8.95 | 5.28 | 2.19 | .34 | .019 |

Statistics showing movement of population in Philadelphia :

| Year..... | Population ¹ | Births..... | Inhabitants to 1 Birth Annually..... | Deaths..... | Inhab. to 1 Death Annually..... | Marriages..... | Births to each Marriage Annually ² | Inhabitants to 1 Marriage Annually..... |
|---|-------------------------------|-------------------|--------------------------------------|-------------------|---------------------------------|----------------|---|---|
| 1861 | 565,529 | 17,271 | 32.7 | 14,468 | 38.9 | 4,417 | 3.91 | 128 |
| 1870 | 674,022 | 17,194 | 39.2 | 16,139 | 41.7 ³ | 6,421 | 2.67 | 105 |
| Average, 1861-72.. | 16,602 | 37.3 | 14,870 | 39.1 | 6,120 | 2.71 | 101 | |
| " 1820-31.. | 6,467 | 22.6 ⁴ | | 41.1 ⁵ | | | | |
| " 1806-20.. | | | | 47.86 | | | | |
| Total births, 10 years, 1860-1871..... | | | | | | | | 164,281 |
| " deaths, 10 years, " "..... | | | | | | | | 147,435 |
| Gain in population by excess of births over deaths ⁶ | | | | | | | | 16,846 |
| Total decennial increase, 19.2 per cent., or..... | | | | | | | | 108,493 |
| Population recruited from other places during the decade..... | | | | | | | | 91,647 |
| Average yearly influx becoming permanent inhabitants..... | | | | | | | | 9,164 |
| " monthly " " " "..... | | | | | | | | 764 |
| " daily " " " "..... | | | | | | | | 24.5 |
| " " gain by excess of births over deaths, about..... | | | | | | | | 4.6 |
| " " increase in the population, about..... | | | | | | | | 29 |
| Average yearly increase by excess of births over deaths..... | | | | | | | | 1,684 |
| " " " recruited from abroad..... | | | | | | | | 9,164 |
| " " " from all sources..... | | | | | | | | 10,848 |

¹At a regular increase of 11,000 per annum, the population of Philadelphia will be in the June of the following years: 1873, 707,022; 1874, 718,022; 1875, 729,022; 1876, 740,022; 1880, 784,022, and it would not reach a million at this rate until about the year 1900. Circumstances connected with the rebellion, no doubt, checked the increase of population to a slight extent, yet this has probably been in a measure compensated by greater activity and increase since 1864. At furthest, we will not have above 750,000, or say 775,000, in 1876. Statisticians, who are not physicians, always estimate increase in the population far above what is ever realized. For example, a number of persons

Number of deaths by ages and sexes, compared for the decade from 1820 to 1831, with decade 1860 to 1871 (still-births deducted):

| Deaths—Annual average. | Under One Year. | | | | | | | | | | Total all ages—still born excluded. |
|--|-----------------|----------|----------|----------|--------------|-----------|------------|------------|-------------------------------------|--------|-------------------------------------|
| | Under 10 | 10 10 | 10 10 | 10 10 | 10 10 | 10 10 | 10 10 | 10 10 | 10 10 | 10 10 | |
| 1861 to 1872, | 3500 | 1347 | 1387 | 703 | 296 | 484 | 1662 | 1443 | | | |
| 1820 to 1830, | 855 | 325 | 267 | 146 | 71 | 114 | 456 | 457 | | | |
| Multiply all last by 4 to bring the total no. deaths the same. | 3420 | 1400 | 1068 | 584 | 284 | 456 | 1824 | 1828 | | | |
| Deaths—Annual average. | Males to 100 | | Females | | Males to 100 | | Females | | Total all ages—still born excluded. | | |
| 1861 to 1872, | 42 to 50 | 50 to 60 | 60 to 70 | 70 to 80 | 80 to 90 | 90 to 100 | 100 to 110 | 110 to 120 | 112.29 | 15,061 | |
| 1820 to 1830, | 42 to 50 | 50 to 60 | 60 to 70 | 70 to 80 | 80 to 90 | 90 to 100 | 100 to 110 | 110 to 120 | 112.29 | 3,761 | |
| Multiply all last by 4 to bring the total no. deaths the same. | 1500 | 1056 | 772 | 540 | 296 | 84 | 12.8 | 2 | | 15,061 | |

have calculated a population of more than 100,000,000 for the United States in 1900, and this even so late as 1869! And Gen. Walker is only a little nearer the truth when he sets it at 76,000,000, which is double what it was in 1870. Can the population double in 30 years? Have we any such experience?

²Deduct 4.1 per cent. for illegitimate births, and we have 2.6 legitimate births to each marriage. Estimated annual average illegitimate births, 680, 188 of which occur in the almshouse. The above estimate of 4.1 per cent. is taken from Dr. John S. Parry's excellent paper on Infant Mortality in the Proceedings of Philadelphia Social Science Association, 1871; also in pamphlet, p. 8.

³New York city (1870) had one death to every 33.9 inhabitants. We are scarcely warranted in making any comparisons between New York and Philadelphia, for the reason that there is a larger proportion of the poorer classes in New York than in Philadelphia, for the reason that many of the well-to-do merchants and trades-people live in New Jersey, Brooklyn and other neighboring places not within the city limits, while our suburban residences are principally comprehended in the city limits.

The yearly deaths in San Francisco are 17 to 1,000 inhabitants; St. Louis, 20; Cincinnati, 20; Baltimore, 25; *Philadelphia*, 26; Chicago 27; Brooklyn, 28; Boston, 30; New Orleans, 30; Newark, 31; New York, 32; Savannah 36; Montreal, 37; Memphis, 46; Valparaiso (Chili), 66. Abroad—Zurich, 13; Geneva, 19; Basle, 20; London, 21; Paris, 21; Liverpool, 27; Leeds, 27; Glasgow, 28; Dublin, 29; Leghorn, 30; Venice, 30; Milan, 30; Vienna, 31; Stockholm, 31; Nice, 31; Havre, 31; Rotterdam, 31; Berlin, 32; Bologna, 32; Naples, 35; Florence, 35; Rome, 36; Prague, 41; Munich, 41; Cadiz, 44.

⁴Emerson's Med. Statist. of Phila., Amer. Jour. Med. Sci., 1831, p. 40.

⁵Whites (38.3 to 49.1), av., 42.3; blacks (16.9 to 27.2), av., 21.7. Blacks in year 1827—males, 1 in 14; females, 1 in 22, or with an excess of 32 per cent. of females in population, had an excess of 13 per cent. of male deaths, exclusive of still-born. Total population, U. S. 1860, 1 death to 79.77 inhabitants; 1870, 1 in 78.32.

⁶The births reported in New York city have never exceeded the deaths as recorded.—*Report of Board of Health, 1870*, p. 293.

In Geneva, where a greater longevity (average age at death) prevails than any other place in Europe, the births only slightly exceed the deaths.

Before commenting on the results of these computations it is proper to observe that a large number of births are not recorded, this deficit being estimated from one to two thousand annually, or more properly, about 12 or 15 per cent.

In examining the proportion of boys to girls born during the decade stated, it is noticeable that this proportion was lowest in 1862, when many men between the ages of 18 and 45 years were in the army, leaving wives temporarily without husbands, of the ages and classes from which above the average proportion of boys are usually recruited; and this explanation is corroborated by the fact of a gradually increasing proportion of boys in each succeeding year, until 1865, when it reached its highest point—the army being disbanded in 1864. From this period we have a gradually declining proportion of males for the next three years, owing perhaps to the larger number of marriages (from money being plentiful), and for this reason giving a larger proportion of first children, among which the proportion of boys is less than in the closely succeeding pregnancies. In the next three years, money being less plentiful, marriages decreased, and the proportion of male births increased.

For the entire period of eleven years, the proportion of boys to girls born to white parents was as 110.65 to 100, while among the colored population only 101.14 males were born to 100 females. The proportion of boys born in the city of Philadelphia, in the period comprehended in these calculations, is much larger than that of any other city or entire State from which I have been able to get returns, New York city having (1853 to 1871) only 107.8, notwithstanding her much larger foreign population, amounting to nearly 100 per cent. more than Philadelphia.

Cities as a rule (deduced from statistics in Europe), have a smaller proportion of boys than villages and the neighboring country, and I imagine Pennsylvania would show a larger proportion of males in her births than her largest city—but this law of nature does not always hold in the United States, because of excess of foreign element in cities over country districts, and other circumstances connected with movement of population westward.

As an example of this exception, I may cite Providence, R. I., which had (1854 to 1872) from 95.2 to 113.8, or an average of 105.9 boys to 100 girls, while the entire State, in the same period, had from 100.3 to 112.9, or an average of 105.5 boys to 100 girls.

The proportion of boys to girls in the conceptions by seasons follows the usual law, being sensibly greater in spring, particularly the month of April, corresponding with the largest number of conceptions. The greater number of marriages in the autumn and winter increases the proportion of conceptions in these seasons, but with from 137 to 233 marriages in excess of the number in the spring, the last named season has within two as large a number of conceptions.

The proportion of males, in the general population of the city, had sensibly diminished during the period comprehended between 1830 and 1860, it having decreased .61 per cent. From 1860 to 1872, 113.44 males¹ died to every 100 females, while only 110.5 boys were born to 100 girls. The proportion of males to females, in the population in 1860, was 90.93 to 100, and had the influx from neighboring places been in the same proportion, by virtue of the excess of male deaths over male births, there would have been 90.37 males² to 100 females in the population of 1872; and if the city had relied wholly upon its resident population for its increase, the proportion of females would have been still greater.

I have seen statistical tables which seemed to indicate that females decrease their mean average duration of life more than males, by taking up their residence in the country, while men decrease their years more than women by a residence in cities.³ Thus, in Michigan, in 1870, the males, at death, were 1.16 years older than the females, while in Rhode Island and in the city of Philadelphia, the females were more than two years older than the males at the time of death; and for the same places the colored female decedents were from ten to above thirteen years older than the males. This excessive mortality among the male blacks over

¹ From the author's paper on the "Relative Viability of the Sexes," etc., *N. Y. Medical Record*, June 15 and July 15, 1873.

² This estimate was made before the census report was published, and is singularly in harmony with the latter, as the proportion of males to females in 1870 was 90.50 to 100 (census).

³ This point was maintained and proved in the author's paper on "Relative Viability," etc., etc., above referred to.

females, when coupled with the larger proportion of females in the births, fully accounts for the great excess of colored females in the population, and is at variance with the opinion of Dr. Emerson, who suggested, as a cause of this excess, the greater demand for female servants.

I stated, in my preliminary remarks, that advances in civilization bring with them, among other things, a decline in the proportion of boys in the births; and in looking at the proportion (108.11), in the period from 1820 to 1831, and comparing it with the proportion (110.65), for the decade from 1860 to 1871, it would appear as if Philadelphia had retrograded instead of having advanced; but we must look to the increased proportion of foreigners giving birth during the latter period in explanation of this fact. When each decade is halved, we find the rule holds, as it does throughout Europe. In the decade from 1820 to 1831 there was a decline in the last five years over the first five of 1.38 per cent., and in the second part of the decade, from 1860 to 1871, the decline was .22 per cent., and would undoubtedly have been greater had it not been for the influence of circumstances connected with the rebellion.

It is a law, that the greater the fecundity the greater the proportion of male births; but this rule is subject to exceptions, from changed circumstances, altered physical conditions of the parents, the proportion of foreigners among parents, and the proportion of races in the population of the city, from which statistics are elaborated. We have seen that the colored population of Philadelphia gave only 101.14 males to 100 females, while the whites gave 110.65; and if we could have separated the Jewish births, I have no doubt we should have found the proportion from 125 to 150 boys to 100 girls, if not even more, as we know in every instance in which comparisons have been made between Israelites and Christians, the Hebrew males were from 114 to 144 to the 100 females, while the Christians were always less than 109, usually less than 106 in countries having a fixed population.

From 1860 to 1872 there were on an average 71.7 Jewish marriages annually, and if a larger proportion of Hebrews do not marry than other religionists in the city, the population of the city must comprehend $(71.7 \times 101) = 7,241$ Hebrews; but if they marry less frequently, or have a larger number of persons in the

population to each marriage, (as was shown in an article¹ by the writer devoted to the biostatic peculiarities of this race), there are certainly more than I have estimated above, probably (71.7x130), or from nine to ten thousand; hence there is one Israelite to every eighty inhabitants. From 1861 to 1873 (12 years), there were in each year respectively, 32, 64, 70, 82, 77, 126, 67, 59, 69, 66, 76, 83 Hebrew marriages, or an average of 75 for the first six years and 70 for the last six years. The effect of the rebellion (which began in 1861 and ended in 1865) is singularly noticeable in its influence on the proportion of marriages, as there were but thirty-two in the year (1861) in which the war began, owing to the depression of business, and nearly four times (126) as many in 1866 (the year following the close), owing to the fortunes made during the conflict.

This is corroborative of the opinion expressed by the writer in his article on "The Biostatic Peculiarities of the Jewish Race," viz.: That they were more careful to make provisions for the event than Christians.

The influence of the accession of a larger percentage of the foreign element in the population, in altering the proportion of males in the births, is evident from the examination of the following statements, which I have elaborated from the Registration Report of Michigan for 1870, viz.: That while foreign fathers have only 104.18 boys to 100 girls, foreign mothers have 111.17 to 100; and where both parents are native, they have 107.77 boys to 100 girls, while if both are foreign, they have 109.31 to 100. This same rule obtains to a still greater degree in case of twins and illegitimate births, while it is reversed in case of still-births.¹ Fuller particulars and cause of this peculiarity will receive attention in a special article.² This report, so skilfully compiled by Dr. B. H. Baker, is the only one I have yet seen in which the nativity of the parents and sex of the offspring were both stated in such a manner as to admit of the calculations above given.

The increase in the proportion of parents giving birth in the

¹"Longevity and other Biostatic Peculiarities of the Jewish Race," *New York Medical Record*, May, 15, 1873, pp. 241-2-3-4; copied in the *Cincinnati Lancet and Observer* July, 1873, pp. 417-429; also *Hebrew Leader*, N. Y., May 23-30, June 6-13, 1873.

²The effect of Nationality of Parents on Fecundity and the Proportion of Sexes in Births.

city, who were themselves born in other towns, or in the country, is not without influence in increasing the proportion of male births.

With these facts before us, then, it is not difficult to understand why we had a larger proportion of boys born in the last decade, than in the decade forty years before.

INFANT MORTALITY.

Of all the persons dying in Philadelphia for the twelve years ending December 31st, 1872, 28.5 per cent. were one year and under,¹ 8.5 per cent. from one to two years, and 8.3 per cent. from two to five years of age; or 45.3 per cent. were under five years of age. From 1807 to 1827 (20 years), 39.8 per cent. of the total mortality was from children under five years of age. From 1858 to 1870, it was 45.54 per cent.

There does not appear to be any decline in infant mortality in this country, but rather an increase, while Dr. Farr reports a decline of one-half in the last hundred years—from 74.5 per cent. (1730-1749), to 29.8 per cent. (1851-1870).

To every 10,000 deaths of males under one year of age, in England, France, Belgium, Prussia, Sweeden and Saxony, only 8,060 deaths of females occurred, or 124 males to every 100 females. This fact is rendered still more striking when we state that the proportion of males to females in births, in those countries, does not exceed 107 males to 100 females, while the proportion of sexes in the population under one year is necessarily much less than this last even.²

¹ The comparison of the mortality of children under five years in other cities and States is as follows:

New York, 1804 to 1853, 48.79 per cent. 1866 to 1870, 50.45 per cent. Chicago, 1843-1869, 51.24 per cent.; Boston, 1811-1839, 37.87 per cent. 1868-1872, 42.22 per cent.; Providence, 1856-1870, 38.45 per cent.; 1839-1870, 39.78 per cent.; St. Louis, 1871, 51.10 per cent.; Baltimore, 1850, 1860, 1862, 1865, 1866 and 1869, 45.54 per cent.; Cincinnati, 1868, 46.68 per cent.; Washington, 1849, 1852, and 1868, 46.54 per cent.; United States (census), 1850, 38.40 per cent.; 1860, 42.89 per cent.; 1870, 41.28 per cent.—*Dr. Toner, Free Sanitariums, Washington, 1873. Pp 72-5; also Fact of Vital Statistics, etc., 1872.*

²Dr. Tripe, "On the Relative Mortality of Males and Females under five years of age. *Br. and For. Med. Chir. Review*, Apr. 1857, p. 455-70.

ILLEGITIMACY.

The estimated number of illegitimate births appears to be low, but the percentage¹ (4.1) is as high as that given by Mr. Acton for London. The proportion of the sexes in these births is only known in the reports from the almshouse, where it follows the nearly *universal* rule in having a smaller proportion of males than legitimate births, as may be seen in the foot note.

The larger proportion of females in such births has been so frequently recorded as to be a fixed fact, while the discussion in regard to the cause is still an open question, though the weight of opinion is in favor of the youth of the mother, large proportion of first pregnancies,² and the presence of a condition incident to a certain physiological phenomenon.

The proportion of illegitimate births to the births in general is thought by those who have given the subject much attention to be due to the greater or less excess of women in the population. The law being, the greater the excess of women over men in the population, the greater the proportion of illegitimate births.

INFANTICIDE.

Dr. John S. Parry, from a careful examination of the records in the office of the coroner, finds that the "deaths of infants under one week old in which inquests were held," during the periods from November 1st, 1863, to October 31st, 1866, and from November 1st, 1869, to March 31st, 1870, numbered 372 (241 males, and 131 females, in proportion of 181 males to 100 females). Nearly 100 of these are thought to be cases of infanticide.—*Op. Cit.* pp. 10, 11, 12, 13.

MULTIPLE BIRTHS.

We have no record of the proportion of sexes in multiple births, but I feel warranted, from my researches in this direction, in enunciating a law which seems to hold in all the cases to which I have applied it, viz. : the greater the number of products at a single labor, the smaller the proportion of males, when compared with

¹The following percentages may be compared with Philadelphia, viz. : London, 4.1; Italy, 5.1; Spain, 5.5; England, 5.9; France, 7; Prussia, 7.5; Scotland, 9.5; Edinburgh, 10.1; Austria, 10.9; Bavaria, 22.5; Paris, 28.1; Vienna, 51.5.

² See further in author's paper on the "Physical Aspects of Primogeniture," *New York Medical Record*, Nov. 15, 1873.

births occurring under similar circumstances, and in the same locality.

STILL-BIRTHS.

The proportion of boys to girls in still births was only 134.4, which is lower than the proportion for the State of Rhode Island for the past 19 years, where it was 148.9 to 100, while in Massachusetts, from 1852 to 1869, the proportion was 146.6, and in Michigan, 1869, it was 145.8, and in 1870, 162.5. The larger proportion of males in still-births in States over cities, as would appear from these figures, is probably due to less skillful accouchers or difficulty in reaching the case at the proper time, and possibly from larger size of child's head in the country than in the city. The greatly increased proportion of still-births in the almshouse over the city in general may be due to the fact that a larger percentage of them are first children, or from the enfeebled or diseased condition of the mothers.

The greater proportion of males in still-births is due in a measure to the more frequent defective development of males than of females, as I have shown in my paper on the "Relative Viability of the Sexes, etc." This view is corroborated by the excessive mortality of males in the first years of life, even to the tenth. Reasoning from this stand-point, I cannot help stating my conviction in regard to the cause of a larger proportion of males (146.6) in still-births in the State of Massachusetts for the eighteen years mentioned, as being due to defective development, which I believe is clearly chargeable to the incapacity of the mothers. Wherever the proportion of males is high in still-births among parents of the *same nationality*, who are treated by equally skillful accoucheurs, I am persuaded it is usually a reflection on the mothers. Massachusetts, with 146.6 males to 100 females still-born, had but 105.8 males to 100 females in general births, while Philadelphia, with 110.65 males to 100 females in births in general, had but 134.4 males to 100 females still-born. Consequently Massachusetts mothers do not compare favorably in this particular with Philadelphia mothers. I have pointed out in another place¹ that when the parents are of different nationalities the proportion of still-born males was increased to 200 males to 100 females, when

¹"Effect of Nationality of Parents on Fecundity and Proportion of Sexes in Births."

the father was foreign and mother native, while it was but 150 males to 100 females in native father and foreign mother. Both parents foreign, 320 males to 100 females; both parents native 127 males to 100 females.

Notwithstanding an increase in the proportion of marriages to the population (owing to excess of money at the disbanding of the army, and subsequently), during the last half decade, the proportion of births to each marriage was diminished 6.71 per cent. from the first half.

In 1861 there were 3.91 births to each marriage annually, while in 1870 there were only 2.67, or an average of 2.61 for the entire decade. In the decade from 1820 to 1831, it required but 22.6 inhabitants to recruit one birth each year, while in the decade from 1860 to 1871, it required 37.3, or 39.4 per cent. more.

The most important of all the deductions from these figures is the mean average duration of human life, which it will be seen has gradually diminished for each period; and all these are above the actual duration of life, from the fact that the greater part of those 9,000 persons who annually take up their residence in the city are adults, and have passed the most critical period of their lives elsewhere.

The decline in the duration of human life in this city since 1807 is further corroborated by the calculations showing that one person died annually to every 47.86 of the population, in period from 1807 to 1820, while in the next period (1820-1830) there were only 41.1 inhabitants to each decedent, and this number is further reduced to 39.1¹ in the period from 1860 to 1871, being 18.3 per cent. less than in the period from 1807 to 1820.

From the fact that the number of males in the population to each male dying was 33.5, while the number of females in the population to each female dying was 39.4, we are convinced that females have a higher mean average duration of life than males, as was the case in Rhode Island, as was indicated in the foot-notes, and as proved in the author's article² already referred to.

¹New York city, in 1870, had but 33.9 inhabitants to each death, which indicates that the duration of life in that city is shorter than in this.

²The "Relative Viability of the Sexes, particularly with regard to the relative liability to the inheritance of certain transmissible diseases—considered in relation to the selection of Life Insurance Risks, with a view of exhibiting the the unjustness of charging higher rates for women, etc, etc."—*N. Y. Medical Record*, June 16 and July 15, 1873. Pp. 297-302 and 353-4-5.

The deaths have been all recorded, while many of the births escape the attention of the registrar,³ and yet, notwithstanding this last-named fact, the latter have been in excess of the former every year except one, and that deficit was probably due to some circumstance connected with the rebellion, then just ended.

In the year 1872, however, the deaths exceeded the births (as recorded) by 472, owing to the epidemic of small-pox and excessive infant mortality during the hot summer of that year.

The decline in the increase of the population by births, from 38.9 per cent., in the decade from 1820 to 1831, to 10.8 per cent., in decade from 1860 to 1871, and the total decline from all causes, from 37.8 per cent. in the former period, to 19.2 per cent. in the latter period, is a noticeable feature in the movement of population in our city, and corroborates the statement made in my preliminary remarks, viz.: *population increases in a decreasing ratio.*

JOHN STOCKTON-HOUGH, M. D.

HYMN TO APHRODITÉ—SAPPHO.

Bright Aphrodité, child of Jove,
 In glorious radiance throned above,
 Thou, skilled in every playful snare,
 Oh goddess, hear my earnest prayer
 And send relief.

Oh, come thyself, if ever thou
 Hast kindly heard my offered vow;
 Leaving thy Father's home of light,
 Drawn to the earth by wanton flight
 Of swift-winged steeds—

Thy graceful sparrows—eddying round
 In middle air, they touched the ground

³The deficiency in the return of births is estimated at 20 per cent. by Mr. George E. Chambers, Registrar (Report for 1872, p. 3), which is probably quite enough, for this would give us one birth to every 27 inhabitants, while at present reckoning we have only 1 in 37. From 12 to 15 per cent. would probably be nearer correct.

Almost ere their flight had started
From realms of bliss, and gaily darted
To this dark sphere.

And then, thy face enwreathed in smiles,
Thy glorious form with lovely wiles,
Benignly asked what meant my prayer,
And what the soul-destroying care
Of which I cried to thee ;

And what my phrenzied heart desired
To still its yearnings ; who had fired
My ardent longings ; what the guile
By which I sought to win his smile
And soothe mine agony.

“ Take courage Sappho ; for if e'er
His coldness has disdained thy prayer ;
If yet he flies thy warm caress,
And shuns—how foolishly—the kiss
Of burning lips ;—

Yet fly despair ; for never yet
Hath youth been safe from woman's net ;
Soon shall thy snowy arms inclose
Thy prize,—nor can he still oppose
Thy charms once spurned.”

Were these thy words ? Oh, ever kind,
Come, come thyself, to calm my mind,
Grant me, loved goddess, now to blind
The youth I love, and ever find
Thy succour sure.

J. ANDREWS HARRIS.

THE CONQUEST OF SPAIN BY THE ARAB-MOORS.—XIII.

THE KHALIFATE OF CORDOVA, ABDU-R-RAHMAN I.

ABDU-R-RAHMAN the prince of the house of Ummeyah, so long the sport of malicious fortune, was left in our last paper at Tahart with the hospitable tribe of the Zenetes, awaiting with anxiety the next turn of the capricious wheel of fortune.

Had there been equitable and orderly government in the Spanish peninsula, he might have waited in vain for the fulfillment of his hopes, but there was anarchy in the place of order. The dynasties of the Ommyades and Abbassides were opposed to each other, and apart from this, the various *tribes* were fighting for supremacy. Yusuf held nominal sway, but the conspirators against his power had made a strong vantage ground in the north and east, limiting his real government to Toledo and all Andalusia. Never was a realm in greater need of a conqueror.

It was this condition of things which worked to the advantage of Abdu-r-rahman, and of which he was determined to avail himself. If he could not obtain his rights in the east, he might do more in the west.

Some historians have asserted¹ that the Arabs in Spain heard of his existence and place of residence, and without any knowledge on his part, concerted to place him on the throne. This is not true. The first effort was made by himself.

From Tahart he crossed the great range of the Atlas, and took up his quarters near the sea. Thence he dispatched his freedman and chief officer, Bedr, across the Mediterranean, to pave the way for himself.² Knowing that the former khalif, Meruan, had still a great number of adherents in Spain, chief of whom was Abú Othman Obeydullah, he gave Bedr letters, and put him in communication with the Ommyades and those disaffected to the government of Yusuf.³

¹ From the account of Condé, the reader is led to think that all that Abdu-r-rahman hoped for was protection and safety. That of Al Makkari displays his long-cherished purpose to assert himself as the heir of the Ommyades.

² *Al Mak.* II, 62.

³ Upon the death of Meruan, Yusuf had at once acknowledged the authority of As-seffah, while most of the provincial governors considered him a usurper and still held out for the former house.

The claims and purposes of Abdu-r-ráhman were clearly set forth by Bedr. As the only surviving heir of the Khalif Hisham, he had a right to the supreme khalifate, and, of course, to Spain as a part of it; what he wanted was a strong party to surround him as soon as he should land. He was sure, he said, of success, and would reward with high honors and emoluments those who should help him to what was his by right. The more readily to accomplish this purpose he bade them to foster the strife of the tribes, in order to keep them from rallying around Yusuf, and to sound all the leaders with secrecy and discretion.

It happened that, just before the arrival of Bedr in Spain, Abú Othman had received orders from Yusuf to repair with an army to Saragossa, where As-samil had been besieged for some time by a rebellious chieftain. While marching in obedience to this order, he received the secret message of Abdu-r-ráhman which he at once confided to his son-in-law, Abdullah Ibn Kháled.

He relieved As-samil from the siege, and made him also a confidant in the matter, but that general, with a prudence dictated by self-interest, determined to await the course of events before deciding with which party he would join.¹ Yusuf was in possession, and Abdu-r-ráhman was an adventurer. The party in favor of the coming prince, however, steadily increased in numbers, and taking advantage of the absence of Yusuf, who was then in Aragon, as many as eighty of the older Moslems of rank, men with flowing white beards, who had as by a miracle escaped death in so many civil wars,² met together in council to deliberate on the condition of affairs, and to elect a new chief. The convention was at Cordova, and in the absence of Yusuf they lost no time in debate.

It was manifest, said their chief speakers, that something must be speedily done. The disorders, before great, had been fed and expanded by the usurpation of the Abbasides; the Spanish Arabs, caring little for the rivalries of Damascus, were strongly loyal to the traditions of the house of Ummeyyah, which had sent them to conquer Andalus.

¹ *Al Mak.* II. 64.

² "Congregaron hasta ochenta venerables musulmanes con sus largas y blancas barbas, como por milagro escapados de la muerte en tantas guerras civiles.—*La Fuente* III. 95-6.

Besides, the distance between Spain and Syria was so great that the justest khalif that ever sat upon a throne—even Abū Bedr or Omar, could not rightly know them; the accounts which reached him were distorted or colored. It took too long to learn the truth, and far too long for prompt and righteous action.

Therefore, they said, let us take the matter into our own hands. Let us not expect anything more from Syria, and let us not consider as data of the problem the factions now warring against each other in Spain. We want a new government, a new departure, a new man.

“Even so,” said Temám Ibn 'Alkanah; “Spain is in itself spacious, populous and rich enough to be an independent kingdom, and under a good monarch of her own would be one of the finest and happiest countries in the world.”¹

Then Ayub of Emesa took up the word and said: “I propose the establishment of an independent khalifate, to get rid at once of the sovereignty of Damascus, and to put an end to the intrigues of the contending chieftains.

At this juncture the preparations of Bedr, came into play. To the question, “where could they find a proper prince to rule them?” Wahib Ibnu-l-Asfar arose and said: “I know a youth of Mohammed's lineage; the grandson of a khalif of renown; he is now a persecuted wanderer in Africa; a price is set on his head by the dynasty of the Abbasides. In his poverty and exile he has won the affection and applause of the Barbarians, and has learned lessons of wisdom and moderation from hardship and suffering. I speak of Abdu-r-ráhman Ibn Mu'awiyah.”

Thus public expression was given to what were the sentiments of large numbers already; the proposal was adopted with acclamations. A deputation was at once appointed to repair to Africa, to seek out the exiled prince, and in the name of the Spanish elders and chiefs to offer him the throne of Spain, in entire independence of the khalifs, and in subversion of the claims of the incumbent ameer and all his provincial governors. The signet ring of the exiled prince which had been brought over by Bedr was used by the conspirators to seal letters and proclamations until he should come.² The deputation started at once, but secretly,

¹ *Conde., Book I. C. ii.*

² *Al. Mak. II. 65.*

upon its delicate mission, and landed near Maghilah, near the sea. Yusuf was in profound ignorance of their proceedings.

In the meantime Abdu-r-ráhman, impatient for news, had crossed the Atlas range, and encamped with his few attendants on the sea-coast of Algeria, where he watched the white sails which approached the shore. At last a swift fellucca was seen in the distance; it grounded upon the beach near Maghilah; the passengers came out, and, approaching him with the humility of subjects, disclosed their errand, assured him of the fidelity of the principal Moslemah, told him of the weakness of Yusuf, and promised that he should find, on his landing, a powerful army commanded by practiced generals, and a throne which awaited him, with scarcely a struggle to secure it.

Abdu-r-ráhman, although expectant of such a summons, seemed overpowered when it came, and for a brief space could find no word with which to reply. At length he spoke: "What is thy name," said he to the chief of the deputation. "*Temám*" was the answer. "And what thy surname?" "*Abu Ghalib* (the father of the victorious)." "God is great," he replied, "may His name be exalted! for if that be the case, we shall, through the power and interposition of the Almighty, conquer that land of yours, and reign over it."¹

With these words, he began to make his brief preparations to embark, when a new obstacle presented itself in the shape of a troop of Berbers, who made demonstrations to oppose his departure. Scattering among them some dinars which the embassy had brought, they seemed satisfied, and he got on board the vessel; but just as it was about to quit the shore, other rapacious inhabitants, who wished a share, waded out and clung to the camel's hair cable. Instead of dinars they received blows from the crew, and one of them, more tenacious than the rest, lost his hand at one blow from Shaker's sword.

Then, a favorable wind springing up, they set sail, and sped to the opposite shore—the shore of a new empire.

A rapid passage across brought them to the beach of Almuñecar² near Malaga, where he found Abu Othman and his son-in-

¹*Al. Mak. II. 65.*

²De las costas de Argel (Algeria) alas playgas de Almunecar.—*La Fuente III. 98.*

law, Ibn Khaled, who took him at once to Torrox, a few miles to the east, and near the sea-shore. He was in Andalus; for good or evil?

The attempt was, to all appearance, a desperate one; he might hope that the embassy were right in judging of the chances of success, but he could not shake off a fear lest their wish had been father to the thought. Every hour dispelled his fears and restored his confidence; men flocked with enthusiasm to his standard; the adjacent towns sent loyal embassies and opened their gates. The tribes of Syria and Egypt collected under their patriarchal banners, and came to meet him. Following the vessel in which he had crossed, a thousand warriors of the friendly Zenetes traversed the narrow sea to swell his numbers. All who came were charmed with his presence. He was the beau-ideal of a prince; his slender and yet manly form, his gracious air, his sweet smile, all contributed to the general satisfaction. The luster of the Ommyan line was not extinct.

With the troops now gathered around him he began his march. Crossing the range of the Alpujarras he proceeded to Elvira, and along the road he found new adherents; his march was a continued ovation. He began the work of organization at Elvira.

From Elvira, with ever-increasing numbers, he went to Seville, which opened its gates amid the wild shouts: "God save Abdu-r-ráhman Ibn Mu'awiyah!"¹

I anticipated at the close of the last chapter the effect of his landing upon the Ameer Yusuf el Fehri, who, for nine years, had ruled, and ruled wisely, in Spain. He was by no means disposed to abandon his authority without a struggle, and his loyal and skillful sons seconded his efforts to maintain it with great constancy and energy. For years the chief troubles of the new prince were found in the resistance of Yusuf and his sons. One of them, who was in command at Cordova, at once placed the city in condition of defense; while As-samil, also determined to test the mettle of the new aspirant, collected hastily large contingents from the tribes settled in Merida, Toledo, Valencia and Murcia.

Abdu-r-ráhman marched toward Cordova by the right bank of the river, and the son of Yusuf, with commendable boldness,

¹ *Al. Mak.* II. 67. Dios ensalce à Abdu-r-ráhman Ibn Mu'awiyah 'era e grito que resonaba por todas partes.—*La Fuente*, III. 98.

came out of that city with all his available forces, to accept the inevitable battle in the plains of Musarah. The genius of the new conquest was triumphant; the sallying force was beaten and driven back in disorder to take shelter in Cordova.¹

Abdu-r-ráhman followed them, and leaving ten thousand infantry to keep the insurgents in a state of siege, he marched with the rest of his army against As-samil. With irresistible impetuosity he routed the veterans of the Spanish Arabs, and for the time the rebellion seemed completely broken up. Yusuf fled to Lusitania, and As-samil to Murcia. Their force in Cordova escaped, and Abdu-r-ráhman entered this capital as the seat of his empire, showing great generosity to the captured.²

But as yet there was no time for repose and municipal reorganization. The rebellious armies scattered, it was still necessary to enter and garrison the principal cities. Thus he marched to Merida, which opened its gates; but while there, the news came that Yusuf had returned and had overpowered the garrison of Cordova.

From Merida, without an hour's delay, the conqueror marched back, and storming Cordova, drove Yusuf in haste toward Elvira; again upon his heels, following by forced marches, Abdu-r-ráhman overtook him at Almuñecar on the coast—the spot of his landing, and threw him again in confusion upon Elvira.³

The time had now come when As-samil thought the experiment fairly completed; he had determined to support Yusuf as long as there was a chance of routing the invaders; when that chance was gone, he would accept the situation and submit. Not a year had elapsed since the landing, and the power of the new ameer had grown to such proportions, that it could receive no permanent check. As-samil capitulated, and received the most generous terms—retirement with a large estate, and entire oblivion of the

¹ There had been a famine for six consecutive years in Andalus; and the people had become so debilitated for want of food that it doubtless aided the invaders.—*Al. Mak. II. 69.*

² *Al. Mak. II. 72.*

³ It must be stated that there is great confusion in the accounts of these events. Condé and Al. Makkari differ greatly. I have made La Fuente the basis of this brief sketch; his patient and honest study of the chronicles is so manifest, that he may be relied on.

past. But he was too deeply involved not to appear again among the insurgents.

It is not my purpose to enter into the details of Abdu-r-ráhmán's eventful life and administration. Besides making a paper of disproportioned length, the story is a chronicle of internal disorders; of rebellions defeated, renewed, defeated again, and again renewed, and could not interest the reader.

It was in the year 757 that he could turn from the principal seats of disorder to the establishment of his court at Cordova, and begin his system of government. That famous city he chose as his capital. It contained some relics of Roman art; the stately buildings of the Gothic monarchs had not yet disappeared; the *Balatt Ludheric* suggested their luxurious living, and the new ameer, still sensitive to the memories of a happy youth in Syria, before his proscription and exile, determined to make it, in oriental splendor, in its mosques and its palaces, not only the equal, but the rival, of Damascus.

It is significant of his feelings that he planted with his own hand a Syrian palm tree—at that time the only one in the peninsula—and as he watched its growth with melancholy interest, his sentiments found expression in a short poem, which, as it has come down in almost every chronicle, may really have been the effusion of this prince, warrior and poet:

"Thou also, fair and graceful palm tree, thou
Art here a stranger. Western breezes wave
Softly around thee with the breath of love,
Caressing thy soft beauty; rich the soil
Wherein thy roots are prospering, and thy head
Thou liftest high to Heaven. Thou, fair tree,
Dost feel no grief for thine abandoned home.
To me alone that pain, to me alone
The tears of long regret for thy fair mates
Green on Euphrates wave.
* * * * *
Thou palm, thou fair and lovely, of that home,
Dost take no thought! Ah well is thee! but I,
Sad mourner, cannot choose but grieve; and thus,
I weep for thee and me, oh lovely palm!
Thinking of our lost home."¹

¹ *Comde I, Part II. C. ix.*

Feeling that the only substitute for the lost home was in a magnificent new one, he projected on a grand scale the *mezquita* or great mosque; but like Solomon, he left its completion to his favorite son Hisham. He built a palace and surrounded it by a new city just without the bounds of Cordova, which were to become a scene of enchantment in the subsequent reigns.

From every part of the Mohammedan empire he invited the proscribed adherents of the Ommyades, to comfort and position in Spain. They came flocking from their concealments in Syria, Africa and Egypt, and circling around his throne, gave strength and coherence to his government.

To the ambassadors who had gone to Africa to invite him over, he gave the most distinguished appointments in his confidence and near his person. And he greatly needed such adherents at this juncture.

Again Yusuf, breaking his promises, rebelled and proclaimed himself anew the only ameer of Spain, with the authority of the family at Damascus; and again Abdu-r-ráhman made preparations to destroy him. Among the adherents of Abdur-r-ráhman, was a chieftain called Abdu-l-malek Ibn Omar—first named in the Latin chronicles as *Omaris filius*, and contracted—or corrupted—into Marsilius, or Marsilio.² To this general he confided the final settlement of Yusuf. Marsilio encountered the persistent rebel at Lorca, and defeated him after a desperate fight, slew him, and sent his head to Abdu-r-ráhman. This was in the year 759.

As-samil, Yusuf's long-time confederate, gave up the case now as hopeless—sent in the submission of his eastern province, and went into voluntary retirement. His former complicity, however caused him to be suspected still, and he was cast into prison, where he died in 761; Al Makkari says he was poisoned by order of Abdu-r-ráhman.

The sons of Yusuf, after still attempting to rouse central and eastern Spain, were at last crushed, and the elder beheaded.

Even in this rapid summary of events, I must not pass over without a mention of the relation of Abdu-r-ráhman to the eastern

¹ *Al Mak.* II. 75.

² Contraccion sin duda de *Omaris filius* como llamarían los christianos a Ben Omar y despues por corrupcion Marsilius y Marsilio.—*La Fuente III*, 104.

khalifate, with the accession of the Abbasides. The seat of empire had been changed from Damascus to Bagdad, and the present khalif, Almansur, who was making his new capital the magnificent metropolis of the moslem world, could ill brook the pretensions and splendors of a hated rival in the west. He sent orders to the wali of Kairwan to fit out a powerful fleet, and with a large force to land on the coast of Andalusia, to ravage the country, to summon the inhabitants to their former allegiance, to declare that there was but one khalif, who reigned supreme on the earth, and, in a word, to re-conquer Spain.

Ali Ibn Mugeyeth, the wali of Kairwan, performed his bidding, and for a brief space it seemed as if the greatest, the most portentous peril had come upon the new khalifate. The wali and his invaders had joined the disaffected, and they were encamped in the plains lying between Seville and Badajos, on the borders of Estremadura. There, with his accustomed impetuosity, Abdu-r-rahman attacked them and utterly routed them. He slew seven thousand, and among them the wali himself.

In the hands of swift and secret agents he placed the head and some of the members of Almansur's envoy. They bore them to his capital of Kairwan, without the knowledge of any one in Mauritania, and in the night nailed them to a column in the most public spot, with this inscription :

“ In this manner does Abdu-r-rahman, the son of Mu'awjyah, the son of Omeya, chastise rash men like Ali Ibn Mugeyeth, wali of Kairwan ! ”¹ The khalif is reported to have exclaimed, when he heard of the deed—“ This man is *Eblis* in human form ; praised be God who has placed a sea between him and me. ”²

It was not the purpose of Abdu-r-rahman to content himself with this vengeance ; he set on foot an expedition to invade Syria, took Berbers into his pay, and directed Temam Ibn Alkamah, his most trusty general, to fit out a large navy in the sea-port towns ;

¹La Fuente III. 107. The Spanish historian is astonished that so clement a prince should have committed so ferocious an act. Terror-striking as it is, it is in accordance with the moral strategy of the age, and nothing could have been more effective or effectual.

² Ibid. 108. Al Makkari says the remains were carried in sealed bags to Mekka, where the khalif was, and secretly placed at the door of his tent. When they were opened, the khalif made the exclamation given above. II. 81.

but notwithstanding his invincibility, rebellions were so constantly renewed that he was obliged to give undivided attention to the home affairs of his kingdom, and never carried out his project of assailing the khalifate of the East. I have only space to mention, in an almost tabular manner, these intestine troubles. The first was that of a Berber of the tribe of Meknasah (mequines), whose mother's name being Fatimah, he gave himself out as a descendant of Fatimah the daughter of the prophet. For two years he resisted Abdu-r-ráhman, and then succumbed. Then followed that of Seville under its Governor Hayyat Ibn Mulabis, who was soon defeated.

This was followed by a rising at Algeziras, which was at once checked; and the last I shall mention is that at Saragossa, which was of far greater proportions, and involved the interference of Charlemagne. The importance of the revolt of Saragossa makes it necessary that I should devote a chapter to its special consideration.

THE FAMOUS PASS OF RONCESVALLES.

Thus it appears that the career of Abdu-r-ráhman, however glorious, was destined to numerous troubles and embarrassments. As the head of the Ommyades, he was constantly opposed by the adherents of the Abbasides, while the various tribes, oblivious of this grand distinction, were always fighting "for their own hand."

The disaffection to his government of the north-east of Spain grew out of the intrigues of the Abbasides, who made Saragossa the seat of treason.

In the contiguous kingdom of France had arisen a mighty potentate, whose ambition was only limited to the restoration under his own scepter of the Roman empire of the West, and who, while battling with the German tribes at the North, had not failed to cast a covetous eye upon the Mohammedan empire at the South. I speak of Charlemagne, the only historical character who has had the adjective *great* inwoven with his name, and who deserves the distinction. The dominions which had recognized the power of Charles Martel had been further extended and controlled by his son, Peppin le Bref, from the Loire to the mountains of Gascony, and now Charlemagne was ready to avail himself of any

opportunity to cross the great mountain barrier of the Pyrenees, and march upon the Mohammedans in their Spanish strongholds.

The unsettled state of the north-east of Spain presented the coveted opportunity. Ibn al Arabi, the wali or governor of Saragossa, in revolting against Abdu-r-ráhman, sought for support in his rebellion from Charlemagne.

So, if the chronicle may be trusted, when, after subjecting the Saxons anew, Charlemagne held one of those semi-religious, semi-military assemblies¹ at Paderborn, known in French as the *champ de mai*. There the north and south served to hold rendezvous; Arab Sheiks stood beside Saxon Ethelings in the cortege of the great Charles.²

The dark skins, covered with white turbans and sayos, marked the deputation of Arabs, who had come from Saragossa to offer him a fair province of Spain, as a tributary province to his increasing domains, and thus to give to his Saxon pageant the air of a cosmopolitan triumph.

Most of the chronicles agree that in this Arab delegation were Ibn al Arabi, the wali himself, the representative of the Abassides Kasim, the third son of Yusuf al Fehri, who was burning to avenge his father's wrongs, and many others of high rank, whose presence gave token of the reality of their proposals.

It may be well conceived that the great Frankish monarch was delighted with their appearance; it presented to him more than he had dared to hope for.

It offered to him the opportunity to protect the Pyrenean frontier;³ to secure the rich cities of the North without a blow; and more than all, to restore the true faith to a region in which it had been all but rooted out, and supplied by the hateful creed of the

¹ Nombre que daban los franceses a las asambleas semi-religiosas, semi-militares de la Germania, por haber Pepino trasladado al mes de mayo los antiguos *campos de maio*.—*La Fuente III.* 134.

² Le nord et le midi semblaient's, etre donné rendezvous a Paderborn, et les cheiks Arabes figuraient a coté des ethlings Saxons dans le cortege du grand Karle.—*H. Martin II.* 269.

³ Le roi des Franks voulut saisir l'occasion de reculer sa frontiere meridionale des Pyrenees jusqu'a l'Ebre, et d'abruter ainsi definitivement l'Aquitaine et la septimanie contre les invasions musulmanes.—*H. Martin II.* 270.

false prophet; and from which the prayer of oppressed and suffering Christians came to him, the champion of Christendom, for relief.¹

Thus, if he went no farther, he would convert portions of Navarre, Catalonia and Aragon, as far as the Ebro, into a Spanish march or neutral ground occupied by his own Arabian allies, whom he would protect against the incursions of Abdu-r-rahman.

The Champ de Mai at Paderborn was in the year 777. He at once made preparations to invade Spain in the execution of this project, early in the spring of the next year, 778.

The gigantic barrier of the Pyrenees, unevenly sloping toward the Mediterranean and the Bay of Biscay, rises in the central portions; and some of its peaks, crowned with eternal snow, are eleven thousand feet in height. On either hand, toward France and Spain, the spurs and offsets of unequal height and length are like ribs from the dorsal column; in gentle descents on the French side, but abruptly with scarps and precipices on the side of the peninsula.

The easiest routes are by the sea-coast at either end; but a few passes, called *ports* or *puertos*, along the range, are practicable for armies. Chief among the secondary passes is that of Roncesvalles, so called from the Latin name, *Roscidavallis*, the moist or dewy valley. It is in the ancient Wasconia or Vasconia, corrupted into Gascony, and which, even in that day, began to be called Navarre.²

This pass has been a favorite one for armies in all history; through it the Black Prince marched, in 1367, to the victory of Navarete. It was the route taken by Joseph Bonaparte, when the French under his command were defeated at Vittoria, by Wellington, 1813. It was in this valley that Don Carlos was proclaimed king of Spain by Eraso, in October, 1833.³

The approach to it from France, now made by the forces of Charlemagne, is easy. Leaving the *Landes* and the *Basses Pyrenees*, he marched by the valley of the Adour. A mountain road leads through St. Jean Pied de Port and Valcarlos into the elevated

¹ Les prieres et les plaintes des chretiens qui etaient sous le joug des sarrasins, et qui necessaient d'implorer les armes des Franks. *H. Martin, II. 270.*

² *Ibid.* ³ *Ford. 962.*

valley, the pass lying at the foot of Mount Altabiscar and the Colde Ibañeta. Thence the descending road diverges into the valley of the little river, Chariagne, and thus reaches Pampelona. The distance from St. Jean to the hamlet of Roncesvalles is about seventeen miles.

Charlemagne had marched with one division of his army to Chasseneul, in the department of Charente, taking with him his wife, Hildegarde, who was *enceinte*. There he celebrated the Feast of the Resurrection, and there he was joined by other contingents from Neustria and Aquitaine.¹ There he left his wife, and with his accumulated forces proceeded to cross the Pyrenees, by the pass of Roncesvalles. Other contingents crossed by the ports of the eastern Pyrenees, to unite with his forces upon the Ebro.

With the prospect of the immediate rising of the Moslems in his favor, it seemed that the conquest of Spain was to be speedily reversed, and that Islam was destined to utter ruin. He reached Pampeluna without hindrance; it opened its gates, although in the hands of the Saracens, and promised allegiance to the northern king. Then marching southward, he struck the valley of the Ebro, subjecting the towns on his route² until he approached Saragossa. His united forces deployed on both banks of the river around that city, in readiness to receive the capitulation of the wali.³ He had no expectation of resistance, but he found himself mistaken. Many things had conspired to nullify the promises of Ibn-al-Arabi. That chieftain had, perhaps, repented of his work when he saw the Franks advancing.

The Moors felt a growing repugnance to the idea of placing any portion of the realm conquered by Islam in Christian hands, with a powerful alien army. The walis of Huesca, Lerida and other cities roused their people to resist, and the inhabitants of Saragossa, joining in the general dissatisfaction, closed the gates, and resolutely refused to admit the Christian garrison.

¹ *H. Martin, II. 270.* Chasseneul or Casseneuil is situated on the river Lot, about eighteen miles from its junction with the Garonne.

² La Fuente says:—"Talendo y devastando sus campos" (laying waste and devastating their fields); but I see no reason for such destruction, and I do not find the assertion in other authorities.

³ *H. Martin, II. 271.*

The situation was embarrassing in the extreme. The number, manhood and valor of the Franks were equal to the emergency, but it was a most unwelcome emergency. Expecting a cordial reception, with ample supplies furnished to his army, he found himself instead without provision. He must either fight for them or retire at once. He began to negotiate, and found the Moors were ready to pay tribute, and acknowledge a nominal protection, and so, receiving their tribute money, and taking hostages for their good behavior, he began his retrograde march, which was farther hastened by the intelligence of new risings against his authority at the north.

Thus, retracing his steps, he returned to Pampeluna. Of that town, with very doubtful expediency, he destroyed the walls to render the nearest stronghold to his dominions impotent to revolt,¹ and sending some of his forces by other passes, he set out with the main body to recross the Pyrenees by the pass of Roncesvalles.

In accosting the event which is now to follow, the historical student finds himself suddenly in a region of romance, so filled with miraculous stories, enchanted personages, confusing sounds and gigantic performances, that he is in great danger of sharing, if not the madness of Don Quixote, at least the poetic wanderings of the Morgante, the Orlando Innamorato, and the Orlando Furioso. Angelica and Agramont and Ganelon contest the field with Roland and Bernardo del Carpio. The real personages have been given over by history to legend, and to reclaim them is a difficult and dangerous task. I shall present the history and mention the fables.

Not to burden the pass with numbers, Charlemagne divided the main body into two corps—the first, with which he was marching without *impedimenta*, and the second, at a considerable interval, guarding the baggage and treasures, “a great weight of gold,”² which they had received from the Moors. The first division defiled slowly and without hindrance through the port of Ibañeta,

¹Some writers assert that Charlemagne was not admitted, on his first entrance into Spain, without a fight into Pampeluna, and offer in proof a medal struck in that same year, with the motto: “*Capta excisaque Pampelona.*” I think there is no doubt that this refers to the extinction of the defenses of Pampeluna on his return march.

² *La Fuente III.* 136.

and descended the valley of the Nive; but the second was to bear the brunt of a terrible disaster.

Quietly, and without the knowledge of the advancing hosts, the Gascons, who, in the wars of Aquitania, had suffered at the hands of the Franks, had agreed to rendezvous on Mt. Altabiscar and the adjacent heights. With them were probably a contingent of Moors, who were even less attached to the Moslem dynasty than the inhabitants of Saragossa, but who made common cause with the Gascons¹ against the Christian infidel.

The second corps, or *arriere garde*, had entered the pass, and was winding slowly through to the narrow path which skirts the foot of Mt. Altabiscar, in careless security, ignorant of the presence of an enemy. It was composed of the flower of Frankish chivalry, the noblest of the *leudes*, and those to whom their station in the *palace* near the king had given the name of *paladins*, men of family pride and warlike renown.

Suddenly a thousand horns ring out their blatant peals from the mountain tops: the train halts; the knights grasp lance and sword to meet a living foe, when they see instead an avalanche pouring upon them; huge rocks, torn from the earth-grasp of ages, branches and trunks of trees and clouds of arrows to fill the intervening spaces. Those who are not at once crushed fly back to the rear and choke the narrow pass, but there is no place of safety; the terrible storm still comes down, defying human might and prowess. The armor which gives victory in open field, is here an element of destruction. The heavy and iron-plated horses cannot maneuver; helms, hauberks, heavy axes, long lances, are but a hindrance and embarrassment:² fettered strength; paralysed activity.

Upon this bleeding and confused mass the Gascon mountaineers spring lightly down, and pierce the falling and the fallen through with their sharp boar spears and javelins. When the danger of

¹ Although this statement partakes of the poetic license, there is no doubt that the destruction was very great.

² There has been much contention on this point. The legends make the attacking party the king of Saragossa and his men, with whom were joined a force from the new Hispano Gothic kingdom in the Asturias. This is a mistake. H. Martin says (II. 272): "C'étaient les Gascons de l'Espagne et de Gaule. Toutes les haines amassees dans le cœur des Escaldunae. * * S'étaient reveilles avec fureure," etc.

resistance is at an end, they pounce greedily upon the baggage, possess themselves of the treasure, and fly with the coveted spoils again to the mountain fastnesses.

The fancy can easily depict the sights and sounds of the gloomy night which now fell upon the field. The rear guard of the Frankish army had perished to a man, at least so says the chronicle;¹ all was silent save the doleful music of the dying groans. Gentle and simple lay mixed without distinction: it was indeed the "dolorous rout" of Roncesvalles, but the routed were rescued from flight by death.

The only contemporary account, that of Eginhard, the biographer of Charlemagne, and author of the *Annales des France*, enumerates among the distinguished men who fell, Eggihard, major-domo of the king, Anselmo, count of the palace, and Roland, prefect of the marches of Brittany.²

The suddenness of the attack and the rapidity of the carnage made it impossible for Charlemagne to succor them; before he could have returned to do so, the Gascons had escaped with their spoils, and were hidden from all hope of finding in their mountain retreats.

With a heavy heart he marched northward, without stopping until he was again at Chasseneul, where we may suppose he found a slight solace in the fact that his wife had been safely delivered of a son, who was to figure in the later history as Louis le Debonnaire.

We may now turn to consider briefly the legendary side of this battle. From it sprang numerous fables, tales of romance, ponderous heroic poems, curious names for spots and flowers. All group around Roland. He was the brightest name among the twelve peers who surrounded Charlemagne. His love passages were celebrated by Bojardo in his *Orlando Innamorato*; his madness,

¹ *Vita Caroli Magni. C. IX.* This is the only passage found in any historian which mentions the celebrated Roland, who plays so prominent a part in the Carolingian epics. He is supposed to have been the son of Milo, Count of Angiers, and Bertha, the sister of Charlemagne.

² Embarrasses par leurs heaumes, leurs hauberts, leurs pesantes haches et leur longues lances.—*H. Martin, II. 272.*

brought on by unrequited affection, is the burden of Ariostos' *Orlando Furioso*:

"Diro' d'Orlando, in un medesimo tratto,
Cosa non detta in prosa mai, 'ne in rima."¹

From his helmet is named a flower of the locality, La casque de Roland. Charlemagne is not more the greatest personage of the history of the age, than is Roland the greatest hero of its romance. The notes of his horn fill a cycle.

Dante alludes to its fabulous power, and at the same time to the crusade-like character of the invasion against the infidel, when, speaking of the terrible sound, in his *Inferno*, he uses it as an illustration:

Dopo la dolorosa rutta, quando
Carlo Magno perde la santa gesta,
Non sono sì terribilmente Orlando.²

He sounded so loud, says the legend, that he burst the veins of his neck. One account tells how, with his famous sword Durandart, at one blow he severed a mountain in two, without breaking the edge, and then he broke his sword that it might never serve his enemy.

Another, that he threw Durandart with superhuman strength, and thus cleft the rock.³

Shepherds still show the ineffaceable mark of his horse's iron shoes, where a horse could hardly climb, except in romantic legend.

Fabulous as are these details, the influence of the fable has been as marvelous as are the legends themselves. The vivacious Mediterranean nature has been fired again and again by his reputed prowess. It was to the *Song of Roland*,⁴ written by Theroulde in the eleventh century, that the jongleur Taillefer advanced to certain death on the field of Senlac, in the van of William the Conqueror.

In the *collegiata* of our Lady of Roncesvalle, founded by San-

¹ *Orlando Furioso*. I. 2.

² *Div. Comm. Infern.* 31, 6.

³ I prefer the causality of the latter account, for the *Breche de Roland* is more than fifty miles from Roucesvalles, at the foot of Mt. Perdu, and is reached in direct route from Tarbes by the Gave de Pau and Gavarnes.

⁴ Published among the *Chansons de Roland*, by Francisque Michel.

cho the Strong, there are still great sepulchres of stone, containing human bones, lance heads, maces and other remains which tradition assigns to the fatal field.¹

The chief source of the later legends is a work entitled *De vita Caroli magni et Rolandi*, in which is related the expedition of Charlemagne into Spain. It is erroneously attributed to Turpin, Archbishop of Rheims, in the time of the great emperor, but is manifestly of a later day, probably the eleventh century.² Some of the marvels are so prodigious that they have no force even as allegories.

In the midst of the confusion of legends, it is very pleasing to find, among the *Basque* songs commemorative of the battle, one which, for fidelity to the spirit of the age, and the true character of the conflict, is very striking and very refreshing. It takes us back, beyond the middle realm of fable into the sunlight of truth. It is the *Altabizaren Cantua*, written in the Basque language, probably in the ninth century.³ The reader will best judge of its value by a translation, which, however, fails to present the verbal power of the Basque chant. It is certainly notable for its energetic simplicity; its air of primitive rudeness, its spirit of impassioned patriotism, and of rustic and fiery independence.

THE SONG OF ALTABIZAR.

- I. A cry has gone forth
 From the midst of the mountains of the Escaldunacs,
 And the Etcheco-Jaona,⁵ standing before his door,
 Opens his ear and says, "Who goes there? What do you want?"
 And the dog who was sleeping at the feet of his master,
 Springs up and makes the environs of Altabizar resound with his barks.
- II From the hill Ibañeta a noise resounds;
 It approaches rumbling along the rocks from the right and from the left,

¹ *La Fuente*, III. 138.

² It was first translated into French in 1206, at the instance of Renaud, Count of Boulogne.

³ *La Fuente* gives a prose translation in Spanish, and H. Martin publishes, in the *eclaircissements* of his 2d vol., Montglave's translation in French.

⁴ Entre los cantos de guerra que han inmortalizado aquel famoso combate, es notable por su enérgica sencillez, por su aire de primitiva rudeza, por su espíritu de apasionado patriotismo, de agreste y fogosa independencia * * * el de *Altabizaren cantua*.—*La Fuente* III. 139.

⁵ Lord of the manor.

It is the dull hum of an army which is coming,
 Our men have heard it from the summit of the mountain,
 They have sounded their horns,
 And the lord of the manor sharpens his arrows.

III. They are coming, they are coming, what a hedge of lances!

How the parti-colored banners are dancing in their midst;
 What flashes are glinting from their arms!
 How many are they? Boy, count them well:
 One, two, three, four, five, six, seven, eight, nine,
 Ten, eleven, twelve, thirteen, fourteen, fifteen,
 Sixteen, seventeen, eighteen, nineteen, twenty.

IV. *Twenty*, and still there are thousands behind:

It is but lost time to count them,
 Let us unite our strong arms, let us root up the rocks,
 Let us hurl them from the mountain top
 Upon their heads!
 Let us crush them! let us slay them!

V. And what business have they in our mountains, those men in the North,
 Why have they come to disturb our peace?

When God made mountains, they were not for men to cross.
 But the rocks roll and fall; they crush whole battalions;
 Blood is spurting, flesh is quivering;
 O! how many pounded bones! what a sea of blood!

VI. Fly, fly, all ye who have strength and a horse!

Fly, King Karloman, with thy black plumes and red cape!
 Thy nephew, thy bravest, thy beloved, Roland, lies dead below;
 His valor could not serve him.
 And now, Escaldunac, leave the rocks,
 Let us descend quickly, pouring our arrows into those who flee.

VII. They fly! they fly! where is now the hedge of lances?

Where are the parti-colored banners dancing in their midst?
 Light flashes no longer from their arrows soiled with blood.
 How many are they? boy, count them well!
 Twenty, nineteen, eighteen, seventeen, sixteen,
 Fifteen, fourteen, thirteen, twelve, eleven, ten,
 Nine, eight, seven, six, five, four, three, two, one.

VIII. One! There is not even one!

It is done! Etcheco-Jaona, you may go in with your dog,
 And embrace your wife and children,
 Clean your arrows, lock them up with your horn, and then go to bed and
 sleep.

To-night the eagles will come and eat the broken flesh,
And all these bones shall be whitening forever.¹

Although the battle in the pass of Roncesvalles was chiefly between the Franks and the Gascons, it has been here described because of its immediate connection with the fortunes of the moslemah in north-eastern Spain. The Spanish march thus established curtailed their dominion, and left Abdu-r-ráhman in continual concern. While it secured the Franks from incursions through the Pyrenees, it left that region a theater for the quarrels and intrigues of Moslem chieftains.

Hussein Ibn Yahiya, of the Abasside faction, turned against Ibn al Arabi, and caused him to be assassinated, and even went so far as to declare himself independent ameer of Saragossa, with its adjacent cities.

Abdu-r-ráhman marched against him, besieged the chief city, and, with extraordinary clemency, received the submission of Hussein. Nor was this all; he marched to Pampeluna, and thence to the scene of the rout at Roncesvalles. He did not cross, but resting there for a brief space, as if in defiance of the Franks, he proceeded to restore his authority in Gerona, Barcelona, and Tortosa, and pacifying the people and towns in the valley of the Ebro, he returned to Cordova. But this was rather a pacification than a re-conquest, and he never again could claim the Spanish march as indisputably under his government.

Twenty-five years had now elapsed since the Ommyan wanderer had established his title as Addakkel or the *Opener* of Spain to the proscribed dynasty of Damascus. He had acquired much glory, but had enjoyed little repose. It was a history of the rebellions undertaken, subdued and renewed. Among these the most troublesome were those of the sons of Yusuf, who displayed a constancy in the cause of their family which is among the most

¹I am tempted to give one stanza (the third) in the original Basque, that the reader may appreciate the manifold effect, guttural, consonantal and dipthongal:

Hogoi eta milaca oraino,
Hoiend condatcia deubora, gascia litake,
Hurbildet çagun beso çai lac errhotic alherabet çagun arroca horlec.
Botha detçahun mendaren petharra behera
Hoiend burmen ganezaino,
Leherdet çagun, herruoaz indetçagun.

Most of this, if in the Greek character, would look, as it sounds, like Greek.

striking and interesting considerations of these confused and troublous times.

One of them, Abul Aswad, had been captured by Abdu-r-ráhman, and had been confined in a tower for many years at Cordova. He was a prisoner for many years, and had so gained the goodwill of his captors that they trusted him even to leave his prison on the promise of return. But in the year 781, when he had concerted with his adherents, he escaped, swam the river, and raised the standard of El Fehri,¹ around which six thousand warriors rallied at once.

But the patience and constancy of Abdu-r-ráhman were equal to the emergency. He at once advanced to meet the threatening revolt. The hostile forces met in the fields of Cazorla.² The insurgents were totally defeated; their loss was four thousand six hundred. Many were drowned in the waters of the Guadalimar. Of the flying remnant some endeavored to conceal themselves at their homes; others fled to the mountains, while the unfortunate Abul Aswad escaped a new capture by flying to the regions of Estremadura and Algarbes; and there, leading a concealed life, died at last an obscure death.

But the flight of Abul Aswad only left the delegated task of vengeance to another son of Yusuf. Casim, the third son, speedily collected the remnant of Cazorla, and again raised the family standard. What might have been his chances, had there been no complications, we cannot say, but Abdallah, the son of Marsilio, succeeded in capturing him, and bringing him to the ameer, at Lorca. It might be supposed that, with the last hope of the Fehrites in his power, Abdu-r-ráhman would have destroyed the faction forever by ordering the instant execution of Kasim, but we are called upon to eulogize an act of clemency more praiseworthy than the valor or the patience he had yet displayed. It deserves to be ranked among the grand magnanimities of history. He took off his chains, gave him lands and a pension at Seville, and on this occasion the clemency was not misplaced: the last remaining son of Yusuf became the faithful friend and adherent of his generous conqueror.

¹He had feigned blindness, which deceived his keepers—*La Fuente, III* 146.

² Within the province of Jaen, and forty miles east of the city of Jaen.

We reach at last the close of Abdu-r-ráhman's truly great and adventurous career. So little has Christian literature known of it, and so persistent is the hatred of the Spanish historians, that one of the greatest governors and generals of modern history has been regarded as a fabulous character, and stands in a nebulous light. For thirty years he had been a conquering sovereign, the founder of a dynasty upon the ruins of a former one: really the artisan of his own fortunes. With him was really completed the conquest of Spain, and his conquering family were to sit for nearly three centuries upon its throne. Following his directions and example, they were to make Cordova superior to Damascus or Bagdad.

Upon the mosque, which he did not live to complete, he worked with his own hands an hour daily: he founded the schools and hospitals around it, and endowed them. With him began that superior eminence in arts, in science, in general literature, in social life, which constituted Mohammedan Spain from the 9th to the 11th century, the world-center of human culture. His personality was as well known, and has been as well preserved as that of the prophet himself. "He had," says Ibn Zeydun, "a clear complexion and reddish hair, high cheek bones, with a mole on his face; he was tall and slender in body, wore his hair parted in two ringlets, could only see out of one eye, and was destitute of the sense of smelling. He left twenty children, eleven of whom were sons, the remainder daughters."

He was, in general, liberal, and is noted for his ready wit and eloquence. But his fair character is marred by his reputed ingratitude to Bedr, his trusty freedman, to Abu Othman, who first conspired in his favor, to Abu Khaled, who aided Abu Othman, and worst of all, to Temam Ibn Alhamah, whose son he executed.

When he found the term of his life approaching, he prepared calmly to make a fitting end. He summoned his hagib, or prime minister, his provincial walis, the governors of the twelve principal cities, his twenty-four wizirs, and in their presence he declared his son, Hisham, his *wali al hadi*—successor to the throne. It was the act of a monarch, and of an arbitrary one, for Hisham was his third son, and he thus excluded from the succession the two elder, Suleyman and Abdullah; but if arbitrary, it was judicious, for Hisham was far the ablest of the three.

With his little remaining vitality he set out in a litter to Merida, accompanied by his favorite son and successor, leaving Abdullah in command at Cordova, and Suleyman as governor of Toledo. He had hardly arrived at Merida when he died, on the 30th of September, 788, at the age of fifty-nine.

His body was removed with great pomp to Cordova, where his son, Abdullah, recited the funeral services at his grave.

This great man, feared by the eastern khalif, obeyed by his own people, was called by the Christians "the Great King of the Moors," and by Roderik of Toledo, *Adahid*, the Just. "Charlemagne," says a contemporary writer, "the colossal figure, who looms up in that age, is belittled in comparison with Abdu-r rāhman."¹

HENRY COPPÉE.

POTTERY AND PORCELAIN.

THE interest that has lately been aroused in this country in ceramic art is becoming so general as to warrant us, we hope, in calling the attention of our readers to some of the recent publications on the subject. One of the most satisfactory of these that has come under our notice is *Les Merveilles de la Céramique*, by M. Jacquemart. It will be found interesting by the student who enjoys tracing the history of the civilization and religion of a country in the humblest forms of its arts, as well as useful to the curiosity collector, who cares only to be able to prove the antiquity and rarity of his fragile treasures.

²Mr. Treadwell's *Manual of Pottery and Porcelain* is the first

¹Carlo-Magno dice un escritor contemporaneo, la figura colossal en aquel siglo, queda rebajado en comparacion de Abderrahman.—*Alcantara, Hist. de Granada. Tom I.*

¹*Les Merveilles de la Céramique, ou l'art de faconner et de decorer les vases en terre-cuite, faïence, gris et porcelaine; depuis les temps antiques, jusqu'à nos jours, par A. Jacquemart, Auteur de l'Histoire de la Porcelaine. En trois parties. Paris: Hachette & Cie.*

²*A Manual of Pottery and Porcelain for American collectors, by John Treadwell, New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. For sale by J. B. Lippincott & Co. Price, \$2.75.*

book of the kind, we believe, by an American, and, we are forced to confess, is not by any means all that is to be desired. We shall have occasion, later, to point out some of its most obvious defects.

For those who desire a royal road to knowledge, we shall attempt a sketch of the contents of the first part of M. Jacquemart's work, combined with information from other sources.

The European traveler will doubtless remember the little idols in the shape of the vulture, ibis, jackal and beetle, of brilliant turquoise blue, with which he must have been struck in visiting the superb Egyptian collection of the Museum of the Louvre. These products of the Egyptian potteries, for such they are, although so hard and dense in substance as to occupy a sort of middle ground between storeware and porcelain, are found in Egyptian tombs. They are formed of silicious earths, that is to say, of clay and flint, or silica. The usual proportion of clay to silica in English stoneware is about eighteen to fourteen: in the Egyptian it is ninety-two of clay to one hundred of silica. This extraordinarily large proportion of flint accounts for the excessive hardness and durability of the composition.

The peculiar hue of the blue glaze or enamel is due to the use of the oxide of cobalt. As we shall have occasion to speak of enamels frequently, it may be well to explain that enamel is glass, made opaque by the oxide of tin, and rendered fusible by the oxide of lead. All glazes that contain lead partake of the qualities of enamel; thus the two terms are sometimes used almost interchangeably, and in a manner confusing to the inexperienced.

There is but little variety in the ornament of Egyptian vases. It consists in designs, either painted or encrusted, of the lotus flower, conventionally treated, with simple but beautiful borders of zigzags and a sort of vine; sometimes we find the egg and dart border, which we are accustomed to associate only with Greek art.

This apparent barrenness of invention has caused the supposition that the Egyptian decorators felt their want of power in the successful application of color; the fact, however, that the colors most difficult to apply, in juxtaposition, are often found within small spaces in most happy combinations, leads us rather to conclude that the artists of that period yielded to the restrictions imposed by their laws of religious symbolism.

The most flourishing period of Egyptian art is supposed to have existed seventeen centuries before Christ. The ceramic art divides itself into three distinct periods. The most ancient pottery is composed of a substance resembling the biscuit of true porcelain, sometimes with scarcely any lustre, and never with a thick glaze. The second period exhibits an inferior style of workmanship, and a glaze so thick as to be scarcely distinguishable from enamel. In the third period the silicious potteries previously prevailing give place to a soft, coarse paste, the decoration of which is sometimes painted on the raw surface, sometimes covered by a glaze. The influence of Greece is very apparent in the potteries of this period, which lasted until the second or third century of our era, after Egypt had succumbed to the power of Rome.

Two parent branches of European pottery diverge from Egypt, which it will be well to fix in the mind; one, that of hard pottery, or silicious earths, spread over China, Persia, and India, and reaching Europe by means of the Arabs, was the parent of enameled faïence or crockery. The other, that of soft pottery, terra cotta, or, in other words, earthenware, was perfected by the Greeks and Romans, existed in Europe for centuries, and still exists, in spite of its more durable and serviceable rival, porcelain.

M. Jacquemart next glances at the ceramic art of the Hebrews. Inasmuch, however, as but one authentic fragment of their pottery is to be found in the Louvre, they are quickly disposed of. It is natural to conjecture, that except in the absolute exclusion of human or animal representation, their system of ornamentation would be derived from the Egyptians, with whom they so long sojourned. The fragment above mentioned bears the same colors as those found in Egypt, and is composed of silicious earths. Since we know that the Jews used only the precious metals for their tabernacle and temple worship, it is likely that their potteries were devoted to household uses, and perhaps received but little attention, as far as decoration is concerned.

We next come to China, the country which for centuries had possessed the ceramic secrets that were the despair of Europe. How the Chinaman discovered porcelain we do not know, but it may be safe to assume that it was in some such fortuitous manner as that in which, according to Charles Lamb, he found out the

superlative charms of roast pig. The Chinese themselves claim to have been potters as early as 2698 B. C. Probably this early pottery was not porcelain, for, so far as can be ascertained, the latter was not made until between the years 185 before, and 87 after, the Christian era. Rumors of its earlier existence have obtained belief, arising from the discovery of Chinese bottles in Egyptian tombs. Careful examination has proved that these objects are of a later date, however. China, notwithstanding her subsequent success in the manufacture of porcelain, doubtless began with the more humble materials of pottery. The specimens of the oldest potteries are composed of a very hard, blackish, ferruginous earth, covered with a semi-opaque coating, intended to conceal the color of the clay beneath.

This coating is called *celadon*, literally sea-green, but it is applied to shades ranging from a reddish gray to sea-green. For the decoration of the former shades, the peculiar ornament called *crackle* was generally employed; for the latter, either raised flowers or designs, which, first hollowed out on the surface of the vase, were afterward filled in with the enamel.

Crackle is so well known to amateurs that we must stop a moment to enlighten the ordinary reader as to its merits, and mode of production. Most housekeepers have observed that pudding dishes, etc., when subjected to a high temperature, are almost sure to be covered with a fine net-work of cracks (technically called *crazing*), and will wish to know wherein consists the charm of crackle over this very common domestic phenomenon. Now, in common crockery, the explanation of the producing cause is simple enough. The clay beneath the glaze is porous and spongy in texture, and expands when exposed to a high temperature; the glaze, on the contrary, is non-expansive, and separates into the millions of little cracks with the appearance of which we are so well acquainted. In crackle, the body of the object and its enamel are of homogeneous composition, and unless artificially treated, would expand and contract together. The Chinese have discovered ways of modifying this simultaneous action, and were able to rely with absolute certainty on the result of their combinations in the production of large, small and medium crackle on the same object. The processes employed were various. If, on taking a vase from the hot oven, it was immediately exposed to cold air,

or suddenly chilled by pouring cold water over it, deep seams and fissures resulted, which were afterward filled in with black or red. By another process, cracks so fine were produced, as to be accessible only to the infiltration of colored fluids.

Before proceeding with the description of the wonderfully ingenious combinations of the Chinese, we must explain the composition of true or *kaolinic* porcelain. Kaolin is a clay consisting of decomposed felspar. It is white, fine and dense in substance. Its constituent ingredients are found to be silica 52, alumina 42, oxide of iron 0.33. Pe-tunt-se, which forms the glaze, is of a brilliant white, is soft to the touch, and exceedingly fine in grain. It is cut from the quarries in blocks, subjected to an elaborate process of pounding, first with iron mallets, afterward in mortars, and when reduced to an impalpable powder is mixed with water. A creamy substance which rises to the surface of the water is skimmed off and thrown into fresh water; the latter, when poured off, leaves a sediment, which is mixed with a proper proportion of kaolin, and when hardened in moulds is fit for use. Kaolin, being softer, undergoes a less laborious trituration. Notwithstanding its softness, it is the kaolin that gives body to the porcelain. It is said that when some Europeans privately obtained possession of some blocks of pe-tunt-se, and had them carried to Europe, where they vainly tried to turn them into porcelain, the Chinese manufacturers hearing of their failure, sarcastically remarked that Europeans were certainly a wonderful people, to go about to make a body whose flesh was to sustain itself without bones.

The experiments of Reaumur led to the discovery of the fact that porcelain is a semi-vitrified compound, in which one portion remains infusible at the greatest heat to which it can be exposed, while the other portion vitrifies at that heat, and, enveloping the infusible part, produces that smooth, compact and shining texture, as well as transparency, which are indicative of true porcelain. Reaumur made two little cakes, one of kaolin, the other of pe-tunt-se. The kaolin remained unfused when exposed to the heat of a porcelain furnace, while the pe-tunt-se was completely fused, without any other aid. The experiments made on Oriental, Saxon and French porcelains of that date (1729) proved that the former

were hard, and remained infusible at the highest temperature to which they could be subjected, while the latter melted.

Besides these two earths, the Chinese use certain oils and varnishes for the perfection of their porcelain. The factories of King-te-tchin, established between A. D. 1004 and 1007, have always been the head-quarters of production, and had the privilege of furnishing the decorative objects designed for the use of the emperor. D'Entrecolle, a French Jesuit priest, wrote an interesting account of this curious town in 1717, and it is sad to think that the Tai-ping rebellion of 1851-61 has laid waste its once prosperous manufactories, and, if we are to believe M. Jacquemart, has forever ruined the porcelain production of China. The famous porcelain tower is also said to have been destroyed during this rebellion. The highest point of excellence to which the Chinese have attained is supposed to have been during the fifteenth century. The blue porcelain is among the most highly-prized of the early manufactures, and it is on it that the greatest number of inscriptions are found. The sub-division of labor in a factory accounts for the perfectly traditional and conventional character of Chinese ornament. A vase, after its formation, is given into the hands of a painter, who simply lays on the bands of color intended to define its edges. He passes it to another, who draws the outline of the flowers, the petals of which are filled in by a third; a fourth paints only water, a fifth mountains, and a sixth introduces the birds and animals. This method naturally precludes any attempt at individuality of style, but enables the connoisseur to establish a system of classification. In this connection it may be well to advert to the system of symbolism that doubtless greatly influenced the decorators. The fundamental colors were five in number. They correspond to the elements, and also have some incomprehensible connection with the points of the compass. Red belongs to fire and the south; black, to water and the north; green, to wood and the east; white, to the metals and the west. In another system the earth is yellow, and its special figure is a square. Fire is a circle; water is represented by a dragon, mountains by a doe, birds, beasts and reptiles under their natural form.

The various dynasties have also had their particular colors. The

one now in power, the Tai-thsing, uses yellow. The previous one, the Ming, adopted green; it is unfortunately impossible to consider these imperial colors as safe guides, since they may also have been used as expressive of religious thought, or may symbolize the elements, the stars, or the divisions of the universe.

M. Jacquemart endeavors to classify the immense variety in groups or families. Among the most usual, he places the decoration of the combined chrysanthemum and peony. The vases thus painted are used in gardens, or on the outside of the houses, and also inside. In the latter case they are filled with plants, or when provided with covers serve as receptacles for the tea crop. It is of this porcelain that table services for the Chinese themselves are made, but all the pieces are relatively smaller than those intended for exportation.

The green group is so named, not from its ground, which consists of a pure, smooth white, but from the brilliant green obtained from copper used in its decoration. Green, it will be remembered, was the color adopted by the Ming dynasty, which occupied the throne between 1368 and 1615. Thus the vases belonging to this group are supposed to have had a sacred or historic origin. The subjects represented are symbolic flowers, combats of the gods in the clouds, scenes from the lives of the emperors, and other great men, taken from the legendary literature of the country. Besides green, the colors are a pure red of the oxide of iron. Violet, obtained from manganese, sky-blue, lapis lazuli, gold, brownish yellow and straw color. The pink or rose-colored group, like the green, is so called from its decoration, in which a purplish carmine, shading down to pale pink, predominates. This peculiar tint is obtained by dissolving gold in aquaregia (nitro muriatic acid) and is known in Europe as purple of Cassius, from the name of its European inventor, who was ennobled by Charles XI., of Sweden, in reward for his discovery. This group is preëminently enameled porcelain, and some of it is so delicate as to have received the name of egg-shell china. The subjects of its decoration are flowers, birds and insects, landscapes, domestic and theatrical scenes. The period of its production seems to have been from the middle of the fifteenth to the end of the sixteenth centuries. Time and space fail us when we attempt to describe the further wonders wrought by the

Chinese, and we must refer our readers to M. Jacquemart for detailed accounts of the porcelain of the second quality, the cloisonné or grains de riz porcelain, the superb later potteries, and the reticulated porcelain, interesting specimens of which are to be seen in the Japanese palace at Dresden, a shrine to which every lover of porcelain should make a devout pilgrimage. This reticulated work has been practiced both at Meissen and Sevres with very great success. Japan naturally follows China, if it be not contemporaneous in ceramic arts. Both Japan and China seem to be indebted to Corea for their first models in porcelain, if we may trust to rather questionable traditions, which, among other doubtful matter, describes the arrival at Japan of a Corean vessel bringing a colony of Coreans, who settled themselves in the province of Omi, where they established a corporation of porcelain manufacturers. The secret of the composition did not become known for seven hundred years, when a Buddhist monk of Corean descent published the mystery, and the production of porcelain ceased to be a monopoly.

The products of the Corean potteries, long in request in China and Japan, and later in Europe, when the Dutch had begun to import porcelain, have long since ceased. Those which remain must always be interesting not only for their intrinsic merits (which are great), but because as a result of the intermediate geographical position of the peninsula, they demonstrate the leading peculiarities both of Japan and China.

Japan is so rapidly becoming open to the influences of western civilization, that we shall soon look in vain for the distinctive productions that have an original charm not to be found in the recent somewhat clumsy imitations of European form and ornament. The ordinary Japanese wares, being very like the Chinese, require no separate notice, but the higher qualities are quite distinct. The feudal constitution of the country aggrandized the power of the nobles, many of whom kept up factories of porcelain at their own expense, and in them made most superior specimens for their own use. The system of division of labor, so destructive of originality among the Chinese, was not pursued in these factories, and thus an article commanded a price corresponding to the artistic ability of its decorator. Few, unfortunately, of these exquisite specimens have passed out of the country, except

as presents to representatives of foreign powers, and, as may be supposed, most of these have found their way to Holland.

Among what M. Jacquemart calls "Porcelaines Artistiques" are the mandarin vases. The word *mandarin* is derived from the Portuguese "mandar," to command, and in its original sense means simply a government official. Each grade of office has its distinctive badge, and the mandarin vases are those on which persons wearing these badges conspicuously figure. M. Jacquemart accounts for their Japanese origin in the following manner: The office of mandarin was introduced into China by its Tartar conquerors, who at the same time prescribed an entire change in the national costume. So intense was the hatred of the conquered race to their new rulers, that it is believed that no Chinese representation of mandarins was made at that or a subsequent period; at least none have been discovered; the Japanese of course had no patriotic scruples to restrain them from what was no doubt a profitable style of decoration, consequently we find that large numbers of these vases were made in Japan. They have always been highly prized in Europe and have brought very high prices at sales.

The Dutch did much to stimulate the manufacture of porcelain in the 17th century, by importing it in great quantities. In 1664 nine hundred and forty-three pieces arrived in Holland. The Japanese style of ornament being too sober and deficient in flowers for the Dutch taste, a brilliant Dutchman invented a flower, and sent it to the Japanese to imitate. This hybrid decoration obtained immense success among the porcelain fanciers of the day.

The so-called vitreous porcelain, quite peculiar to Japan, we believe, owes its translucent density, not to kaolin, but to an excessively hard stone which, reduced to powder, gives it its resemblance to jade. The Japanese proverb, that porcelain is made of human bones, finds its verification in the fact that the most exhausting labor is required in preparing the materials for this variety. Its decoration is generally very simple. A network tracery of bamboo leaves, or an outline of the long extinct volcano of Fousiyama, are sketched on a white ground as thin as paper. The ancient specimens of this porcelain are very rare, but the Japanese continue to make it. One of the more distinctive styles of ornament, in which they are particularly successful,

is the application of lacquer and mother of pearl to the surface of porcelain. Sometimes these are used in combination with crackle. The latter has always been highly esteemed among them, and as much as 7,500 francs have been paid for a single vase, if of unimpeachable antiquity. Some specimens from the factories of the prince of Satzoûma were exhibited in Paris at the last "Exposition Universelle," and were much admired. They were of stoneware, with a coating of crackle decorated with gold and enamel. It was observed that the older these specimens were the more subdued was their decoration.

From Japan M. Jacquemart passes to Asia Minor. Brougnart, one of the highest authorities on ceramic matters, has stated that if the seven colors in the walls of Ecbatana in Media, described by Herodotus, were of enamel applied to terra cotta, ceramic art must have existed in Asia Minor at a very early date. However this may be, we know that, taking as a minimum of their antiquity, the destruction of Babylon by Darius in 522 B. C., the Babylonish bricks possess the respectable age of 2,395 years. These bricks are of a pinkish yellow; their glaze shows no trace of either lead or tin. The colors of their decoration are the Egyptian turquoise blue, a deeper greyish blue, with white and yellow.

Similar fragments from Phœnicia, Assyria and Armenia, afford interesting examples of the progress of the discovery of glass, in proportion as they exhibit the use of vitreous enamels.

Some of the terra cottas found at Tarsus in Cilicia, possess a purity and severity of style which would have done credit to the Greeks themselves.

It is scarcely to be supposed that the Greeks and Romans should have cared to employ ceramic enamels architecturally, since both nations had at their command marbles of superb color and quality. The eastern nations, on the contrary, seem to have craved the subdued gorgeousness of tile decoration, harmonizing, as it did, with the splendor of their textile fabrics and the incrustation of their furniture and utensils with gold and jewels; it is, therefore, among them that we must look for the true birthplace of architectural tiles, and these we find in perfection in Persia. Persia, like China, abounds in clays suitable for potteries, as well as the kaolinic substances required for porcelain; as may be supposed, therefore, we find beautiful specimens, including almost every

variety of composition, among the Persian potteries. M. Jacquemart, in describing the peculiarities of Persian decoration, glances at the religious history of this remarkable nation; the Zoroastrian belief, although comparatively pure, did not by any means exclude symbolism, or the representation of men and animals. Afterward, when the all-conquering followers of Mahomet had subjugated Persia, it was not possible to eradicate the artistic habits and tastes of its original inhabitants, even after they accepted the new religion; we must not be surprised, therefore, to see representations of the human form and of animals, and encouragements to wine drinking which would be quite out of place in the more rigid and orthodox atmosphere of Turkey. In truth, the artistic impulses of the nation and its intellectual development constantly overstepped the bounds prescribed for it. From this state of things, an odd sort of jesuitical compromise grew up, by which the letter of the law was observed, while it was broken in the spirit. This consisted in the depicting of monsters unlike any real creature, or in uniting human heads to the bodies of beasts or birds. It is in Persia that the first examples of the iridescent or lustrous potteries, afterward imitated by the Arabs, and still later by Maestro Giorgio da Gubbio, originated. In the little church of San Giovanni del Toro at Ravello, near Naples, there is a superb ambone dating from the twelfth century, in which are introduced plaques of Persian faïence. Similar ones are to be seen in the church of San Andrea, at Pisa. The workmanship of these plaques shows that at this early date the manufacture of faïence had reached an advanced stage, and that its exportation had already commenced.

We would gladly follow M. Jacquemart in his study of the Indian and Hispano-Moresque potteries, but want of space forbids. The latter are peculiarly interesting, from the fact that almost all the authorities on the subject unite in the opinion that the Italian *Majolica* is so named from the island of Majorca, whence the first specimens of it found their way to Italy, and stimulated the Italians to imitate them in their own potteries.

The second part of the *Merveilles de la Céramique* begins with the potteries of Greece and Rome. Between these and the potteries of the middle ages a great gulf intervenes. At this latter period the revival of architecture in the Gothic form supplied a

stimulus to the other arts, and the use of tiles for the flooring of churches created a demand for ornamented pottery. A vessel, mounted in silver, is described in an inventory of Charles VI. of France, showing that the object was regarded as worthy of association with the precious metals. The period of Italian Renaissance, however, was that of the true revival of ceramic art. The names of Luca della Robbia and Mäestro Giorgio da Gubbio were associated with those of painters and sculptors, while in France the works of Bernard Palissy were held in scarcely less esteem.

The third volume contains a careful account of the faïences of France, England, Holland, Sweden and Italy during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the interesting experiments which resulted in the fabrication of tender porcelain, and the final discovery of true or kaolinic porcelain, after which the manufacture of tender porcelain ceased. There is a difference between the tender porcelain of England and that of France. The former M. Jacquemart calls *natural*, because composed of a sort of clayey kaolin, different, however, from the granitic. The latter is artificially made up of a vitreous frit and marl. This third volume is especially valuable to collectors, because of the remarkable number and variety of its *fac similes* of marks.

We now turn to a consideration of Mr. Treadwell's Manual. Its greatest defect is perhaps its incomprehensibility. Its author has undertaken to write on a subject requiring unusual clearness of ideas and language. We suspect him of being deficient in the first requisite, and we can only too readily prove him to be destitute of the second. It may seem ungracious thus to criticise the style of a writer who is evidently doing his best to enlighten his countrymen on a subject so full of interest both to him and to them, and nothing but the conviction that the habitual employment of ungrammatical forms of construction by many American writers, threatens a deterioration of the language in our hands, induces us to make a few extracts from the Manual as illustrative of the evil to which we refer. The following examples are selected almost at random. The italics are ours. On page 91 Mr. Treadwell says: "Archæological study has peculiar fascination for the English student, consequently *her* research and its results are more extensive than those of *any other nation*." Page 140: "We are acquainted with the grace * * * * which

characterizes French productions. When looking at *their pictures*, the whole sympathy of our feelings rises to meet corresponding sympathy in the artist. * * * If *they* are painting an interior, it looks much like such an apartment as you would paint in your most finished ideal. If *they* are painting flowers, *they* look much like those that grow in your own garden." Again, page 143: "To attempt a pen description * * * would only involve the reader in *confusion of expressions*, which could only be *exemplified by the pieces themselves*." We confess that after this our confusion is beyond exemplification, and it is obviously absurd to hope to derive any exact information from a book, almost every page of which contains specimens of obscurity and bad grammar as extraordinary as those just quoted. So incomprehensible are the very definitions of technical terms with which Mr. Treadwell judiciously heads the divisions of his book, that the reader finds his perplexities rather increased than diminished by his study of them, and in matters of fact his statements are not by any means to be received with implicit reliance. Almost every assertion in his account of the history of the Portland Vase is at variance with the facts as stated in the second volume of the Life of Josiah Wedgwood. In fact, the notice of the vase in a work on pottery is scarcely less than a blunder, since the highest authorities on the subject have decided it to be the product of the combined arts of the verrier and the gem-cutter. On the other hand, Wedgwood's admirable imitations of it in his famous jasper-ware come legitimately into the domain of artistic pottery, and we have reason to believe that one of the original fifty made by him is now owned by a gentleman of Philadelphia.

In spite of its many defects we are glad that Mr. Treadwell has published his Manual. It will no doubt be extensively read, and if it should accomplish nothing more, it may at least induce some of those who are the possessors of hitherto unappreciated specimens of Eastern and European porcelain to ransack their odd corners and receptacles of supposed trash, and thus bring to light objects of value which might otherwise find their final resting-place in the kitchen, or worse still, the dust-heap. We most cordially unite with Mr. Treadwell in his final wish (which is very oddly expressed, by the way), that it may not be long before Americans can rejoice in artistic pottery of their own production. That we have the

mineral requisites is an undoubted fact, yet for the use of the porcelain works already established, the kaolin is all imported, and the tariff on the imported article is \$5 per ton; surely this ought to make it worth while to work the beds of kaolin which are known to exist. Until we get something worth buying of our own production, we can scarcely do better than feast our eyes and empty our purses on the exquisite specimens of the Worcester, Minton and Copeland manufactories, and the clever reproductions of Rouen and Majolic wares of the French and Italian works. The China establishments of Philadelphia and New York are full of temptations just now to the porcelain lover. The enterprise of the New York Metropolitan Museum in securing the Cesnola collection will soon be followed here we hope, and we believe that enough good specimens of porcelain might now be found in Philadelphia to make an interesting exhibition, could they all be collected. W.

"RED COTTON NIGHT-CAP COUNTRY."¹

The attempts made in various periods to define poetry, illustrate what Mr. Carlyle says of the continual need of "stretching the old formula to cover the new fact;" and of at last casting the old aside entirely. No poet of our day has played such havoc with our best definitions of poetry as Robert Browning has. Milton says that poetry must be "simple, sensuous, passionate," but this man's work is never simple, sensuous only by starts, and devoid of what Milton meant by "passion." Coleridge says that poetry is "that form of composition which is opposed to works of science by proposing for its *immediate* object pleasure, not truth; and from all other species that have *this* object in common with it, it is discriminated by proposing to itself such satisfaction from the whole as is compatible with a distinct gratification from each component part." But, as Mr. R. H. Hutton well says, "most of Mr. Browning's poems might be described precisely as proposing for their immedi-

¹RED COTTON NIGHT-CAP COUNTRY, or Turf and Towers. By Robert Browning Pp. 220. Cloth. Boston. Jas. R. Osgood & Co., 1873. For sale by Claxton, Remsen & Haffelfinger.

ate object truth, not pleasure, and as aiming at such a satisfaction from the whole as is by no means compatible with any very distinct gratification from each component part." Ruskin "comes, after some embarrassment, to the conclusion that poetry is the suggestion by the imagination of noble grounds for the noble emotions." Yet he acknowledges the poetic greatness of his friend, our author, whose drift and purpose, even in describing emotion, is not to excite emotion, but to satisfy the intellect. To go back to antiquity,—Aristotle would have found it difficult to put Browning's poems under any one of the great classes into which he divided poetry. Dramatic they are not, for everywhere the poet's own personality is kept before the mind's eye; all the characters speak in his dialect, think in processes familiar to his mind; he never sinks and forgets himself. Lyric they are not, for the poet does not speak—or only rarely—in his proper person, nor to bear away his readers on the strong wings of his own thought and feelings. They are all what he calls a few of them—*dramatic lyrics*.

It has been justly said that the region which peculiarly belongs to poetry, that which lies between clear thought and sensuous passion, the sphere of mood and sentiment, is one that is almost entirely closed to Browning. He passes in swiftest transition between the regions that lie on either side of it; finding no rest for the sole of his foot where every other great poet rejoices to dwell as in his native air. This seems to spring from his one-sided masculinity of character; the feminine element, usually so marked in the poet, is in him utterly wanting, or nearly so. Hence his great success in depicting the mental attitudes of *men*, and his failure to represent sufficiently the mood and feeling, the delicate aroma of sentiment that gives distinctness and character to women. Save in *Pompilia*, he misses the flavor of the woman.

Mr. Browning's strength lies very greatly in his vast learning, and his imaginative grasp of the characteristics of different times and places and people. Hardly a period of the race's life, from the pre-historic Caliban down to Napoleon III., but has been the subject of his pen; hardly a situation of human life that he has not touched. Where any have been avoided, it has been mostly because they had become hackneyed themes; thus, save in *Bal-austion*, and one shorter poem, he has avoided classical subjects.

But Italy and the Renaissance seem to furnish the historical and geographical centres of his imaginative activity. Never in English speech have the two been so finely reproduced and made intelligible. The vividness with which this work has been done is the side of Mr. Browning's power that his readers apprehend most readily; we fear that the vividness surpasses the accuracy of his work. No American can read "Mr. Sludge, the Medium," and not be impressed by the failure to catch the tone and spirit of American life and thought—an impression which at least suggests a limit to his success in similar efforts to recall and revivify the distant in time and space, in regard to which we have not the same means of verification and correction.

In his last poem, Mr. Browning finds his subject in France under the second empire; and bases his story upon the facts brought to light during a recent and very remarkable trial in the courts of that country. The poem opens with a friendly discussion between the poet and Miss Thackeray, in which the two sides of the French character seem to be the chief topic. The humdrum commonplace side is symbolized by the white night-caps worn by the people of the little sea-coast town at which they are staying; that, we take it, is the side that the French satirists lash with pen and pencil under the impersonation called "Joseph Prudhomme." But there is another side also, everywhere present, always ready to spring into action, best symbolized by the red night-cap of 1793—the tiger side of the Gallic character. Here in this very village that side is exemplified most strikingly. The story of that quiet, sedate, well-to-do woman, the proprietor of that fine mansion illustrates what a capacity for fiery devoutness and fierce sensuality lies under the smooth surface of these commonplace Frenchmen. Her husband's story rather, not her own; and yet not her husband either, but her protector. He was the son of a wealthy Parisian jeweler—Miranda—and met this woman at the theatre, followed her home, casting himself at her feet, a slave for life, with one brief and memorable interruption of their relation. Not even the detection of the falsehood with which she first entertained him—not the discovery of the fact that she had a husband living in Paris, and was the mistress of another man, alienated him. He carried her off to the old chateau, that his father had left him, renovated it into a brand new palace, and lived absorbed in his

Clara Mulhausen. Only the sudden death of his mother, whose very French devotedness has not prevented her from quietly conniving at these irregularities, gives the priests and some designing cousins an opportunity of awakening the other side of Leon Miranda's nature—of rousing him to a paroxysm of remorse and repentance in which he burns his hands off to the wrists in a coal fire. With his recovery from the illness that follows, comes another reaction, and he recalls Clara, and turns his back upon both his ghostly counselors and his family advisors. To the latter, he disposed of the jewelry establishment at its full value, and again betakes himself to his chateau, but not to quiet. His mind is torn by conflicting emotions; his natural inclination to devoutness, when once called into action, cannot be laid to sleep again. While he will not give up his Clara, and for some reason cannot see his way to marrying her, although she was long ago divorced from her husband—he yet must make peace on some terms with the offended celestial powers. He lavishes gifts on the neighboring shrine of the Virgin; makes pilgrimages thither on his bended knees. He hugs his sin, and pours out his prayers in agony of remorse for his sinfulness. The priesthood encourage his generosity, refusing no gift, while insisting on no amendment of life. They remind us, in Browning's picture, of the canny Scot parson, who, when asked by the miserly old reprobate, on his death-bed, if the gift of £100,000 to the Church would increase his chances of heaven, answered, "A weel it might be worth trying." The poor man's head is seemingly completely turned by the inward conflict, the war of the flesh against the spirit, and of faith upon sense. At last, on a bright summer morning, he throws himself from the tower that tops his chateau, in the mad hope that the Virgin will set all right, by working a miracle in his behalf, enabling him to fly through the air to the distant church. Such a wonder, attested as this will be, must surely be worth her working, he thinks; will mightily help the good Ultramontane cause throughout all Europe, and convince all unbelievers, while it removes all obstacles to his marriage with Clara. (Whether those obstacles were social or canonical, the poet does not even hint to us.) He leaps, and is taken up dead. His will shows that he has left all his property to the Church, with usufruct for life to Clara, and the courts, after painful hearing of the case, sustain the will, to the great disappointment of the relatives.

One chief interest of the poem is its masterly analysis of the paroxysm of religious enthusiasm that at present possesses France, and which is chiefly striking to observers for the absence of any ethical elements in its operations and its effects. That France is at all the better, the freer from its sins against the plainest laws of God and instincts of duty, we see no evidence, no claim even in any of the glowing descriptions of the movement. Not a whit less keen is her hatred of the Germans for all this devotion to the Sacred Heart, these pilgrimages of millions, these pious songs mingled with political aspirations that must bear fruit—as every singer knows—in bloody war with fellow Christians, and perhaps in yet more bloody civil strife. Hers is, like Leon Miranda's, a repentance that means no break with cherished sins; she brings her gifts to the altar with no care or wish to be first reconciled to her brother; she asks to be forgiven with no intentions to forgive. Mr. Browning portrays the union of two such contradictory states of mind with his usual power and insight, but with his usual limitation of power; we need to behold something more than Leon Miranda's train of thought and his hot passion for the woman who masters him, while she seems to obey. To fail to portray the moods of a man so feminine, is to come as far short of dramatic greatness as our author does elsewhere in depicting women.

We hardly think that the poem will add very greatly to his reputation. Most readers will be repelled by the disjointed and obscure introduction. The plot itself, though probably true as fact, is not probable truth, and the poet's range of choice in such matters is not as wide as reality. Fiction dares not always to be as strange as fact. All Mr. Browning's peculiarities of style, diction and uncouth metre, are here; all his obscurities unrelieved by the Carlyle-like vivid lightning-flashes that light up a whole landscape in a single instant, a single line or pair of lines. Above all, the poem is unrelieved by any real nobleness in the actors; the whole impression that it leaves is unpleasant and forbidding. The painter of Caponsacchi, Pompilia, Balaustion, can do better than this. And yet Miranda is one of the best drawn of a group of characters that only Browning in modern times has attempted, the self-deceiving semi-hypocrites; and few passages from his pen surpass the soliloquy that precedes his strange and suicidal leap.

R. E. T.

NEW BOOKS.

THE NEW MAGDALEN. By Wilkie Collins. Harper & Bros. 50 cents. Pp. 120.

There are several reasons why the reading of an immoral French novel is a temptation, while an unpleasant fiction simply disgusts. To the making of Mme. de A. Bovary or Mlle. de Maupin, for example, there goes an immense amount of cleverness, exquisite art and much study. While the vernacular production is careless, slovenly, written to sell, and, what is worst of all, moral, so that we have not even the pleasure of eating forbidden fruit, and find nothing to compensate us for the nasty taste left in our mouths. The New Magdalen is a foolish, badly executed and happily impossible story, with most of the defects and none of the strong points of its writer. Its general purpose is indicated in its title, and we are not called upon, as we are certainly not desirous, to enter into particulars. What good Mr. Collins proposed to accomplish through this book, it is hard to see. The circumstances are absolutely without precedent even if we were to make the very great concession that they could exist; that is to say, has it ever been that any one, the most charitable, the most liberal, the most free from vulgar prejudices, was placed in the position of seriously doubting whether it was not his or her duty to receive as a connection or friend into what is known as good society, using that term in the broadest sense it is capable of—one who had belonged to the wretched class, to which the euphemism, Magdalen, is applied. If not, what an utter waste of time and of mental force—not that much of the latter has been thrown away on the book—what an utter waste, we say, for a clever man to write a hundred and twenty pages of coarse twaddle, to tell us our duty in an event which has never, and as far as we know can never, happen. The plot of the New Magdalen is less elaborate than most of Wilkie Collins', and very much less ingenious. We are taken into the author's confidence early in the story, and so have not the stimulus of curiosity to carry us through to the end, our undertaking becoming more disagreeable with every page. As to the *dramatis personæ*, we may say that if we thought the heroine the most unpleasant thing in recent fiction, we were hasty, for the hero, the Rev. Julian Gray, who appears later in the book, leaves her altogether in the background, and if we are to accept his as a sample of clerical conduct, curates' flirtations are not the harmless pastime they are usually represented. The Rev. Julian is Broad Church, however, and so perhaps of a more vigorous type. There is besides the miraculous German doctor of "Miss Finch," turned up again,

an aristocratic aunt, the best character in the book, an aristocratic niece, whom the heroine personates, producing a difficulty, not unnaturally, between the two ladies, which difficulty furnishes all the complication there is in the story; and lastly an insane cousin, who engages himself to the heroine under the belief that she is as well connected as she assumes to be, and who, when the denouement comes, is made to behave in as shabby as the reverend hero does in a magnanimous manner. A clever friend suggests that the concisest criticism upon the work is to pronounce the title as the name of the Oxford College usually is, and with this recommendation we hand Mr. Collins' last perpetration to our readers.

BRESSANT,¹ by Julian Hawthorne. D. Appleton & Co., New York. Pp. 383. For sale by Porter & Coates.

BRESSANT is a novel which cannot be referred to any known class of fiction. Perhaps the most vivid impression it leaves upon us is of the character of the author. If we allowed ourselves the dangerous amusement of conjecture, we should say that the writer was a young woman of excitable imagination, limited information, and a strong desire to make that information last through the prescribed number of pages. This last trait is so conspicuous as to be really amusing. Thirty pages are occupied before the hero is introduced. In those thirty pages we are informed that Professor Valeyon is an old gentleman, living in the parsonage of a country town, with his two daughters. There is positively nothing more of any importance revealed. How the pages are filled will be evident from a quotation.

"Professor Valeyon paused in his soliloquy, like a man who has turned into a closed court under the impression that it is a thoroughfare, and stared down with upwrinkled forehead at the sole of his kicked off slipper, indulging the while in a mental calculation of how many days it would take for the hole near the toe to work down to the hole under the instep, and thus render problematical the possibility of keeping the shoe on at all. It might take three weeks, or say at the utmost a month; one month from the present time. It was at the present time about the 15th of June, the 14th or the 15th, say the 15th; well, then, on the 15th of July the slipper would be worn out; in all human probability the weather would be even hotter than that it was now; and yet

¹ After writing this notice, we learn that the author of *Bressant* is the son of the illustrious Hawthorne. We leave our criticism, however, exactly as it was written, because it expresses an opinion, which is, perhaps, the more likely to be impartial since it was formed in total ignorance of the person criticised. It will assuredly not be to the advantage of Mr. Julian Hawthorne that his novel should be tried by the standard of *The Scarlet Letter*, or *The House of the Seven Gables*.

in the face of that heat he would be obliged to go over to the village, get Jonas Hastings to fit him with a new pair, and then go through the long agony of breaking them in. At the thought great drops formed on the old gentleman's nose and ran suddenly down into his white moustache."

The house is minutely described, then the garden, the porch, the road, and a vile little fountain in the garden which comes in, like a Greek chorus, at all the tragic pauses of the narrative. Whenever Bressant has made ardent love to either of the Professor's daughters, and is waiting in breathless anxiety for the result, the tinkling of the fountain is heard, and reminds the author of Time, or Eternity, or something else totally irrelevant, which will fill up another of the regulation pages. A worse case of book-making we never saw.

Perhaps, however, this dullness is an artistic introduction of the hero. A remarkable man is Bressant, when at length he descends upon the family at the parsonage. He is tall, "with an air of such marvelous intellectual and physical efficiency, that it seemed to the Professor as if each one of his five senses might equal the whole capacity of a common man." There is, however, some mysterious deficiency in him, some absence of human love and emotion which reminds us, and perhaps reminded the author, of Margrave in Bulwer's "Strange Story." Bressant's confidence in his own ability is considerable. He explains the object of his coming:

"About a year ago I decided to become a minister. I concluded I could not do better. No one has such a chance to move the world as a minister. I thought of Christ, and Paul, and Luther. They were all ministers, and who had greater power? * * * But I hope I may discover a better method; I shall have the advantage of their experience and mistakes. Perhaps I shall develop and carry out to its conclusion the dogma of Christianity. That would be well as a beginning."

Professor Valeyon undertakes to instruct this modest youth for the ministry. Here is a stock situation—two sisters in the house, with one young man. The practiced novel-reader knows at once that Sophie and Cornelia will both fall in love with Bressant. Equally of course, the sisters are the antipodes of each other. Cornelia is the full-blooded, womanly, earthly one, captivating Bressant through his senses. Sophie is the mild, pure, angelic, unreal creature, who leads him up to the level of her own spirit. "He liked to talk and argue with her; to dash waves of logic, impetuous but subtle, against the rock of her pure intentions and steady consistency." The reader will be glad to hear that he failed. "She usually had the best of the encounter." It follows necessarily that when Cornelia comes back, and Bressant's *pen-*

chant for her revives, Sophie should discover it, and should die of consumption and a broken heart, bequeathing her love to her sister.

There is a most intricate plot, which we are not quite sure that we apprehend. Bressant's parentage is shrouded in mystery. He appears at the outset to have no mother living. Then his mother is a boarding-house keeper in the same village; and finally it turns out that she is a fashionable lady in New York, who dies at last of opium eating; it being well known that most city people in good society are devoted to opium. Cornelia, indeed, has a very bad time in New York. "In the afternoons and evenings some admiring, soft-voiced young gentleman was always at her side, offering her his arm on the faintest pretext, or attempting to put it around her waist on no pretext at all; who always found it more convenient to murmur in her ear than to speak out from a reasonable distance; whose hands were always getting into proximity with hers, and often attempting to clasp them." No wonder that the author lingers so lovingly over the smallest details of country life. Better be with a spout in a garden than with a soft-voiced young man in New York. In ten days or a fortnight, Cornelia's nature is entirely changed, and she returns to work mischief in her country home.

With all this trash, there are some good things in the book; some touches of power which make us feel that, with fuller experience and riper judgment, better things may be hoped for from the author. For instance, on page 144, there is a natural and well-conceived scene between Bressant and Cornelia, on the morning of her departure for New York. Let us give Mr. Julian Hawthorne credit for an occasional felicity of thought, and trust that by a closer study of our degraded city life he will add to the verisimilitude of his next novel.

R. S. H.

MARTIN'S VINEYARD. BY AGNES HARRISON. London: Sampson Low, 1872. Pp. 320, is a very clever novel, done in that "low tone" which real artists love and real lovers of art appreciate. It is not a little curious that a tale so thoroughly American, so full of local light and shade, should come to us with an English imprimatur, and the name of a writer known to us only by some contributions to English magazines. Quaker life in a New England village was no doubt striking enough to make a lasting impression on a traveler alive to novel effects, and to this we perhaps owe the book, which, in the shape of a romance, reproduces very effectively, the "interior" of a Quaker household on the Massachusetts coast, with all its contrasts of that quiet exterior to which all outward exhibition of feeling is subdued, and of that depth of passion which works with the more force because it is

long concealed. But better even than the Quaker love story, better, too, than the clever sketches of nature as seen in a New England coast village, is the life of the village; the various types are well-chosen, and made to play their parts naturally and to the full development of the story. It is a "goody" book, but without any cloying religious cant, or that kind of sensationalism which is as bad in a good book as in one purposely perverted from the right use of novel writing and romance reading. It is no small task thus to subdue one's self to the book in hand; but here the author shows, along with some signs of newness in her work of authorship, good study of real life, and of the best models drawn from it, so that there is in every way, promise of a growth that will be the better for beginning, as this book does, in a modest way.

THE TOUR OF THE WORLD IN EIGHTY DAYS. By Jules Verne. Boston: Osgood & Co.; pp. 291. For sale by Claxton, Remsen & Haffelfinger.

This is a story of the kind which only a Frenchman can write uniting careful scientific calculation with the wildest romance so skillfully as to produce a very agreeable result. The same sort of narrative has been attempted by English authors—Poe, for instance, and the writer of the "Moon Hoax"—but they were not adroit enough to hide the line of junction between the possible and the impossible in their stories. M. Verne has a dexterity, and a command of what painters call local color, which takes the imagination captive; and we rise from his pages believing, for the nonce, that "the tour of the world in eighty days" is entirely practicable. The story turns on a wager made in a London club-room. Mr. Phileas Fogg, one of those imperturbable Englishmen dear to Gallic fiction, bets £20,000 that in eighty days he will go around the world, and be back in that same club-room. He takes with him a French servant, Passepartout, whose adventures prove as entertaining as his master's. The route is eastward, through Europe to Asia, and across to America, thence through the United States to New York, and back by the Atlantic. What remarkable adventures Mr. Fogg encounters, how he gets a wife by his journey, and whether or not he wins his bet, we leave the reader to discover; heartily recommending the book as an amusing companion for the summer.

R. S. H.

LIFE IN DANBURY. BY THE DANBURY NEWS MAN. Boston: Shepard & Gill; pp. 303.

We are sorry for the person who has not noticed and enjoyed those items in the daily papers which tell of the doings, sayings,

fortunes, and misfortunes of the "Danbury Man." Who, after reading of tiresome Carlist skirmishes, of the last failure of the Italian Premier to form a cabinet, of the payment of another milliard to Germany, of the election of an old Catholic bishop, or of the pathological condition of the Pope's legs—has not turned, with immense relief, to the narrative of the Connecticut gentleman's undertaking to show his wife how *his* mother used to make cakes, and how she, the better-half, received the suggestion; with what effect upon his, the Danbury citizen's, head: or to the brief announcement that the editor of the local page does not lecture—*he is married*; or to the observation that it takes years of careful training to convince a boy in that vicinity who is taken sick on Saturday, that there is not a screw loose somewhere in the universe; or again how a Danbury plumber, with tongs and his sheet-iron furnace in his hands, fell down-stairs, and says now "that his father forced him to learn the trade of plumbing, and that it was not his own choice." We have been to Danbury; it is rather a picturesque village, seen from the distance, surrounded by a circle of steep Connecticut hills, but, at the early period we saw it, gave no signs of its subsequent fame—the distinction of having produced the best-sold book of this publishing season. The author, first of all, gives his reason for writing the book, and among things says that "various authors have various reasons for bringing out a book, and this reason may or may not be the reason they give to the world. I know not, and care not. It is not for me to judge the world *unless I am elected*. It is a matter which lies between the author and his own conscience, and I know of no place where it would be less likely to be crowded." To go through a volume of this sort, as we have had to do, is wearying beyond description, for it should be dipped into at odd times, and not read continuously. For the reader's benefit we will take some of the passages we have marked, and with the necessary explanation give them as specimens of this last production of what is beginning to be specially known as American humor: First, then, is a story about a man who undertook to repair a saw-mill by supplying it with a certain kind of wheel. It may be mentioned in passing that Mr. Watts didn't know any more about a rag-wheel than I do, and the information his assistant possessed on the same subject was also considerably *hampered by limits*." Next a tale of the Albany boys, who were divided into the "Hills," and the "Creeks," the one having possession of the high ground in the outlying districts, and the other holding to the flats; and how the writer, who belonged to the latter, was tempted to follow a funeral to the cemetery on the ridge, and while there was accosted by a pugnacious looking youth of his own age, who came up and kindly inquired: "Are you a Hill, or a Creek?" "Remembering," he says, "my moth-

er's teachings, I was just about to admit that I was a 'Hill,' when the other boy, to condense the story, knocked him down without waiting for an answer." The narrator, who had been engaged in swapping tops, had his face cut, lost two of his teeth, etc., but he adds: "I preserved my honesty, and eventually recovered the top. A man may lose his friends, teeth, and everything that makes life dear, but if he remains truthful people will respect him, so they say." Again, in speaking of some disturbance, he says: "And then ensued the most dreadful noise I ever heard in all my life, and *I have been married eighteen years.*" *Per contra* to this gibe, read the description of the different ways which a man and a woman respectively adopt to drive a hen into the coop. The sections on "Our Proletariat" and "Anger and Enumeration," are good of their kind. He tells in one place of the difficulties the Danbury man underwent in getting shaved on a certain occasion, and sums up: "And yet women are dissatisfied with their sphere." On the subject of gloomy scientific predictions, we are told that a Dr. Trall has discovered that in seven years Jupiter, Saturn, Uranus, and Neptune, will approach nearer the earth than they have been in eighteen hundred years, and the result will be a pestilence. "When Congress," and here we are in entire sympathy with our Danbury brother, "when Congress has the manliness to make astronomy an indictable offense, then we shall have relief from these things, but not before." The next articles worth the reading are "Young Edward" and the "Bad Dog." Then an account of the kicking of a zebra, and how "in ten minutes" after the kicking has begun, "the vicinity is bare of life *as some of our exchanges.*" We are not clear whether the Danbury man is a free-trader or a protectionist, but "Coons as a Revenue" is certainly a forcible paper on labor and profit, and easier reading than political economy usually. As we have the fear of the copy-right laws of our country before our eyes, we will make no more extracts, but adding, that this book is really amusing in places, often vulgar, still oftener stupid, but on the whole, up to the ordinary standard of its kind, we take a friendly leave of it.

SCIENCE PRIMERS IV.—PHYSICAL GEOGRAPHY. By Prof. Geikie.

A most useful series of "Science Primers" is now publishing by Messrs. Appleton. They contain only the facts which every one, however unscientific, ought to know; what may be called the Benjamin Franklin philosophy. Most of us have learned it at school, and have had time to forget a good deal of it since our school days. These little books will recall it to us, and will add much that has been discovered in the last decade. Moreover, they will arrange our knowledge according to those great fundamental conceptions which have, in our time, given a new significance to the laws of nature.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

Driven from the Path; a Novel. Edited by Dr. Charles Smart. New York D. Appleton & Co., 1873. Pp. 467. Cloth. For sale by Porter & Coates.

A School Manual of English Etymology and Text-Book of Derivatives, Prefixes and Suffixes. With numerous exercises for the use of schools. By Epes Sargent. Pp. 264. Cloth. Philadelphia: J. H. Butler & Co.

Half-Hour Recreations in Popular Science. No. 8. On Yeast Protoplasm, and the Germ Theory. By Thos. H. Huxley, F. R. S. The Relations Between Matter and Force. By Prof. John H. Tice. Boston: Estes & Lauriat, 1873. Pp. 40. Paper, price 25 cents.

Report of the Commissioner of Education for the year 1872; Annual Statement of the progress of Education in the United States, and Statistical Tables Relating to Education in the United States. Pp. 1018. Cloth. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1873.

Circulars of Information of the Bureau of Education. No. 1. 1873. Historical Summary and Reports of the Systems of Public Instruction in Spain, Bolivia, Uruguay and Portugal. No. 2. 1873. Schools in British India.

The Nature and Utility of Mathematics, with the Best Methods of Instruction Explained and Illustrated. By Charles Davies, LL.D., Emeritus Professor of Higher Mathematics in Columbia College. New York: A. S. Barnes & Co., 1873. Pp. 419. Cloth, \$1.50.

The Liberal Education of Women: The Demand and the Method. Current Thoughts in America and England. Edited by James Orton, A. M., Professor in Vassar College. New York and Chicago: A. S. Barnes & Co. Pp. 328. Cloth, \$1.50.

Miss or Mrs.? and other stories. By Wilkie Collins. Philadelphia: T. B. Peterson & Bros. Pp. 141. Paper, 50 cents.

THE
PENN MONTHLY.

OCTOBER, 1873.

THE MONTH.

THE late changes in the English Cabinet are not likely to strengthen it in the House of Commons or with the people. The retirement of Mr. Lowe, and the assumption by Mr. Gladstone of the office of Chancellor of the Exchequer, is, however, an important change, and one which may be of service to the Liberal Party. No man has shown more remarkable fitness for that office than Mr. Gladstone, and he has far greater personal popularity than Mr. Lowe. The removal of Mr. Ayrton from the Board of Works seems to be received with universal approval. Few officials have been more successful than he in making themselves entirely unpopular, and he must inevitably prove a weakness to any ministry with which he might be connected. This is the dull season in English politics. Members of Parliament are resting from their labors, and there is little doing. But we hear of several late elections resulting in conservative victories, and the opening of the next session will no doubt be the signal for a struggle which will determine finally whether the country desires to keep Mr. Gladstone in office or to see a change. At present the chances are against him.

THE Religious pilgrimages in France are among the remarkable events of the year, and form one of the most curious features of the reaction going on in that country. The crowding of pilgrims

of all classes to the shrines of Lourdes and La Salette, has attracted the attention of Europe, but just now it is Paray-le-Monial, which is the fashion. It was at La Salette that the Virgin Mary is said to have appeared to two children, (whose subsequent lives, however, have not seemed to justify her partiality or give credit to their story,) and, having learned from them that they did not understand French, talked very obscurely in their native patois. Paray-le-Monial is the now famous residence of the nun Mary Margaret Alacoque, who, having been long afflicted with a disease of the breast, declared that Christ had appeared to her, taken out her heart, placed it for a moment in His own, which seemed to be on fire, and then replaced it in her bosom, directing her to establish the worship of the Sacred Heart. There was no doubt of the woman's disease, and in her own time her stories were regarded, very sensibly, as the result of a disordered mind. Some years afterwards, however, the Jesuit La Colombiere, seeing what an opportunity they offered, founded at Paray-le-Monial the worship of the Sacred Heart. Though the cult was rejected by a great part of the Catholic world, and condemned by at least one Pope, the Jesuits succeeded in establishing it—supplementing it presently, after their manner, with an auxiliary worship of the Sacred Heart of Mary. It was as late as 1864 before the nun Alacoque was officially gazetted a Saint. To this shrine of Paray-le-Monial has recently gone one of the most remarkable pilgrimages the world has ever seen. Under the patronage of the Duke of Norfolk, and other noblemen, a company of pilgrims, to the number of six hundred, has been gathered, provided with first-class tickets, special trains and steamers, and the best hotel accommodations, and sent on its way rejoicing. It is difficult for one untrained in matters of this kind to imagine, without a smile, these pious pilgrims of the nineteenth century, clad in the masterpieces of Poole, entrenched behind huge hampers of Fortnum and Mason—ticketed “through from London to Paray-le-Monial and back, with only one change of cars.” It is impossible to think of them without sadness when remembering the history of the cult. The age of chivalry has gone: but how about the age of superstition?

THERE are two bits of literary news worth noticing this month. Mr. Howard Stanton is about to publish a new photo-lithographic

copy of the Ellesmere Shakespere folio of 1623. This new edition will be greatly superior to the earlier one in every respect. It will be an exact fac-simile of the type and headings, printed by hand with scrupulous care, on paper which very closely resembles that of the original. Shakespearians are eagerly awaiting its appearance. The general reader, however, may be more interested to know that Mr. Blanchard Jerrold is engaged in writing the Life of Napoleon III., under the sanction and approval of the Empress Eugenie. The work will be in four volumes, and will contain numerous extracts from the private correspondence of the Emperor.

ALTHOUGH the French were not allowed to celebrate the 4th of September, (a depravation which a people who are so fond of anniversaries must have borne with difficulty,) the Germans made a national holiday of the anniversary of Sedan. They look upon that battle as the crowning event of the memorable war, and the overthrow of Napoleon is to them as happy a thing as it can be to the most furious Bourbon among Frenchmen. The great affair of the day, this year, was the unveiling of the Column of Victory on the King's square in Berlin. Is is a round building of dark granite on a square foundation, the roof of which is supported by sixteen columns. Three rows of gilt pieces of cannon taken in '64, '66, and '70-1, ornament the shaft of the main column, which, with its Statue of Victory on top, rises to a height of one hundred and ninety-five feet Rhenish. It is seventy-seven feet higher than Trajan's column, and thirty-five feet higher than the fallen column of the Place Vendôme.

SPAIN has reached another crisis in her troubles. The ministry of Salmeron, after making a vigorous struggle for its existence, has succumbed, and Castelar has been elected president of the Republic. He has at least begun well. Before accepting the responsibilities of the place, he demanded powers which were speedily granted by the Cortes, and which, in fact, give him all the authority of a Dictator. Meanwhile, the various adventurers, who have held the reins of office at different times and been driven away, are flocking to Madrid. Sagasta is there, Zorilla on his way, and Serrano has left Biarritz for the Spanish capital. The

revolt at Carthagena continues, and the Carlists hover on the mountains. It is impossible to prophesy what form of anarchy affairs may next take. It is hardly possible that Castelar can accomplish what he has no doubt bravely and patriotically undertaken. Were he to prove himself as efficient in administration as he is eloquent in debate, he could hardly hope to save the Republic; it is already doomed. But he stands in the presence of the great opportunity that comes to one man in many millions, and only once: it may be in him to save his country and his fame—or the one may be buried beneath the ruins of the other.

THE Japanese Government seems to be making a mistake, in its eagerness for reform. A disturbance broke out recently in the district of Chikuzen, which was the natural result of the foolish interference of the authorities in petty matters. Not content with adopting many of the customs and features of Western civilization, the Government has been busying itself about the domestic life and dress of the common people. The use of mats in the houses has been abolished by decree, and the European and American method of wearing the hair enforced under a penalty. This is a serious mistake, and makes one doubt the practical wisdom of the Reform party, which now controls affairs. That the mat must give way before the spring mattress, and the pig-tail vanish in due time, there can be no doubt; but nothing but danger to the progress of real improvement can result from the attempt prematurely to banish the one or cut off the other. Indeed, one's sympathy is entirely with the unfortunate people. Imagine a Japanese gentleman to whose heart the customs of his fathers are dear, sitting on his mat and clinging desperately to his back hair, while the inexorable minions of the law, clad in the blue coats of metropolitan police, stand over him, scissors in hand, ready to force his unwilling person into that picturesque costume known to diplomacy as "the simple dress of an American citizen." What must be his feelings when the cold steel separates him and his greasy top-knot forever; or, when he sits matless on the floor, and contemplates his broadcloth breeches and his swallow-tailed coat! It is no wonder that the spirit of rebellion makes havoc in his heart. It is a picture too melancholy to contemplate, and we forbear.

THE speech of Jefferson Davis, at the meeting of the Southern Historical Society, at the White Sulphur Springs, has given rise to much unfavorable comment. As a speech it was partly untruthful, wholly undignified, and in the worst possible taste. Had it been Mr. Davis' desire to throw contempt upon himself and fresh burdens upon the South, he could hardly have chosen a better method. A few Southern journals echoed faintly that part of the speech in which he declared that the South was "cheated and not conquered," and expressed his satisfaction that the women of the South, at least, were not "reconstructed;" but the majority of them commenced to cry out against such sentiments and belabor the speaker. In both of these courses a few were sincere, and one good result may flow from Mr. Davis' speech. He has angered many of his former friends, and from two different motives none will in future care to seem his followers.

THE managers of the Centennial Exhibition are hard at work. They have divided the country into sections and appointed committees to canvass the people in them and arouse their interest in the great national Festival. In Pennsylvania they have inaugurated a series of public meetings, beginning with one at Williamsport, at which the subscription allotted to the county of which that is the chief town was readily filled. In all parts of the country the work is under way. The ladies, too, are aroused. The Executive Committee of the Women's Auxiliary Centennial Commission have issued a stirring appeal to the women of the United States. In this they call upon their sisters in every town and county in the United States to assist them in their undertaking. They have appointed sub-committees everywhere, and are thoroughly well organized. In every great patriotic work, the women of America have taken a leading part: in the purchase of Mount Vernon; in the erection of the monument on Bunker Hill. And there can be no doubt that the appeal of these earnest-hearted women in aid of the Centennial Celebration will meet with answers from all parts of the land.

GENERAL Benjamin F. Butler is not nominated for Governor of Massachusetts. Yet, on the whole, he comes out of the Convention stronger, even after this second defeat, than before. He

has displayed remarkable tact and self-control, and very great ability; and when to these are added his skill in all the arts of the demagogue, his unparalleled effrontery, and his insensibility to shame, there is no knowing how successful he may not be in further using and abusing the good-nature of his countrymen. The way in which he extricated himself from his difficult position, and, pocketing all insults and affronts, advocated the resolutions which were intended to crush him, took the breath out of his opponents, and the sting out of their victory. Bold, selfish, unscrupulous, unstable, without convictions, or principle, he is the personification of all that is evil in American politics, and when he can do what he has done in model Massachusetts, men may perhaps be excused who tremble for the future. There are, to-day, high-toned, honorable, able men, glad and ready to serve their countrymen for their country's sake, whose influence, in an educated, sensible, patriotic community, is as nothing against Butler's. They seem to represent the past; he is the outgrowth of the times.

The political world is otherwise dull. The Democratic Convention in Philadelphia, at the dictation of certain prominent members of the party, have nominated five respectable gentlemen for the local offices. There was some kicking in the traces, but, on the whole, the nominations were ratified without difficulty. The names are unexceptionable, but entirely without popularity or weight, and their defeat is inevitable. There was an opportunity for the Democrats to effect some practical good, and perhaps a change in municipal matters, by cordially endorsing the nominees of the Reformers, and it would have been an evidence, sadly needed, that their talk about reform was sincere. Nor would this have been difficult or improper. Two of the nominees are Democrats, and all of them men of the highest character; and surely the gentlemen who accepted Mr. Greeley, last year, with enthusiasm, might vote for an honest Republican, this fall, without severe twinges of conscience. But they proved unequal to the opportunity; clinging, for the hundredth time, to the delusion that there is some charm in the name and record of Democracy, fit and likely to work miracles. And so we find them again in their historic position, waving their red flag once more before the Republican bull, unmindful of unnumbered tossings. Meanwhile the Reformers are active, and if their fellow-citizens, in whose be-

half they labor, can be awakened to understand their duty, and then do it, we may find the balance of power in the Reformers' hands.

EARLY in July the body of an unknown man was taken from the Schuylkill to the Morgue, and having been exposed for identification, was ordered to be buried. A certificate of having received the body for burial, was given by the superintendent of the burial ground, and nothing more was thought of the matter. Soon afterward, however, the police, stimulated by a reward, discovered that the body was that of a wealthy countryman, named Munce, and that it had been delivered to one of the medical schools for dissection. This led to investigation, and resulted in the arrest of several parties connected with the Morgue and the burial ground. As luck would have it, the matter came to light at the moment when the Government was commencing to destroy the old University building, in order to build a new post-office on the site. Some one discovered the body of the unfortunate Munce in the vaults of the University; it was found that the coroner or his assistant had sold the body to the physicians; and on a sudden the community, like another wife of Bluebeard, awoke to the horrid discovery that the vaults of the college were full of the mutilated remains of those useful individuals who have, for a long series of years, contributed to the advancement of science and the medical education of long-haired young men. There was a universal expression of horror; the general heart was stirred; the popular hair stood on end. But the coroner justified the sale by quoting an act of Assembly, and displayed extraordinary acquaintance with the intricacies of that branch of jurisprudence known as "Crown's quest law." It was shown that the bodies were chiefly those of persons who, having been in their lives altogether unlovely, were in death justifiably divided; the arrested officials were discharged from custody, and the people began to breathe again. At this writing the excitement has subsided; men are not surprised that in a medical school such things should be, and the government architect is left alone with the problem of how to dispose of the property so generously "thrown in" to the bargain by the University of Pennsylvania.

THE big balloon has burst and the secret of the aerial passage is not yet discovered. An attempt was made on the 10th of September to inflate the bag, but the wind was too high and it was unsuccessful. On the 12th it was renewed. Several hundred thousand feet of gas were forced in, when the wretched material of which the balloon was made split with a loud report, and in an instant the huge bag lay flat upon the ground. The predictions of Professor Wise cannot now be verified, and like many another enthusiast, his theory may only be proven by some later and more fortunate man. The fact seems to be that his wishes and directions were systematically disregarded in the matter. Instead of being built under cover, the balloon was left in the open air: common muslin was used instead of the best silk, and the varnish was of an inferior quality. The boat, too, was not built as he desired, and the poor man was treated very shabbily all around. He is much to be congratulated that his declaration that the balloon would burst, was verified before it was under way. His position in any event could not have been pleasant, for it is said his companion, Mr. Donaldson, has become his bitter enemy. The situation of these gentlemen, thus mutually embittered, hanging five thousand feet above the earth, would hardly have been agreeable, and reminds one of the Kilkenny cats of pugnacious memory. For a time at least they can now remain on terra firma, and fight out their fight on approved principles. All weapons are here at their disposal. Better still, the newspapers are open to them. Of course many are disappointed who hoped to see made a serious attempt to solve Mr. Wise's theory. The blame of the failure is evidently not his, but the chance will hardly be vouchsafed to him again.

ON Thursday the 18th of this September, at about half-past eleven o'clock in the morning, began what many think one of the greatest crises of our commercial history. Like its predecessors of '37 and '57, it came without sign or warning, and though now it is not impossible to discover the reasons which led to it, no one, the most watchful, the most foreseeing, was really prepared for the catastrophe. At present writing it is generally thought that all

danger is over, and before this reaches our readers the panic of 1873 will probably be a thing of the past; so with a very brief review of the succession of causes which have brought about the great misfortune, we will wait till, in a later number, we can treat the subject with the fullness of detail it calls for. To go what may seem far back, the close of the rebellion found us with high prices, an ample currency, and trade with its war-impetus not yet exhausted. The first question of which the country demanded settlement, was the relation between coin and paper, and to bring the values of these two together, to set us in an advantageous light before the world. The then Secretary of the Treasury began a system of contraction, whose most important effects were, amid the excitements of the gold gambling, almost if not quite lost sight of. More than a year ago, however, we found ourselves in the position of having too little currency for our business needs, and yet dreading an artificial and sudden increase of it by the Government. Of the two alternatives we have chosen or have had chosen for us the former, and a tightened money market has been a fixed fact. In this we have one of the two contributing causes of the present shock. The other is soon told. In a word, unfinished railroads subsisting upon borrowed money, when money was dearest; with insufficient capital and no paying trade, their promoters have ruined themselves by loans which were too great to be safely guaranteed, and which the community, whatever may have been the case with the individual lenders, could not afford to make. As to the future, we hazard no guesses; to issue sweeping predictions as to the collapse of all new railroad bonds, is as foolish as to pretend that Northern Pacifics are not hurt. What effect the panic will have had upon the merchants, it is impossible to say one way or the other, but, up to this time, not a single failure of a merchant or manufacturer has been recorded. The banks have come through unscathed, with but an exception or two. Let us therefore look the situation in the face, and take courage.

MYTHS OF THE THUNDERSTORM.

IN the Shah-Nameh of Firdusi, it is related that Persia having been invaded and desolated by an Assyrian king Zohák, groaned for many years under a most cruel despotism, until Feridun, a prince of the royal family, heading a revolt against the tyrant, drove him from the country, and defeated and slew him in a great battle. The accounts which Firdusi and other Persian writers give of Zohák and Feridun, abound in fabulous details which prevent their being accepted as in all respects historical. The reign of Zohák is said, for example, to have lasted a thousand years. He is described, too, as not merely a monster of cruelty and iniquity, but as bodily deformed in a most revolting manner. Upon each of his shoulders was a hideous cancer, which some accounts magnified into a serpent's head, adding that these appendages had sprung up in consequence of a kiss from Satan himself, and that they required to be fed daily with the brain of a human being. But on the whole, the history of these kings presents no greater difficulties than does a vast deal of traditional history, and they might, perhaps, still maintain their position as historical personages about whom a mist of fable had collected, but for certain passages in the Zend-Avesta which throw a singular light upon their story. In this ancient Persian scripture we meet with several allusions to the slaying of a serpent *Dahák* by a mythic hero *Thraetaona*. The exploit is merely alluded to as a well-known occurrence, but we learn from these references to it that Dahák was an immense serpent "with three mouths, three tails, six eyes, a thousand scales (or rings), who was destroying the good creation." It is easy to discover both in the name and in the description the Zohák of later times. We see at once the source of his two cancers or serpent heads, and of the thousand years during which he reigned. Furthermore, it appears upon a careful examination that the name Feridun is only a corrupt and later form of Thraetaona, which removes all room for doubt that the historical legend is simply a perversion of this myth. The story can be traced still farther. The combat with Dahák is spoken of as having taken place in "Varena the four-cornered." As a geo-

graphical designation, the name *Varena* is wholly obscure, but it is full of significance when it is seen to be the same word as the Sanscrit *varāna* and the Greek *ourānos*, heaven. The Hindu Vedas throw light upon it and fix the true locality of this combat, the memory of which had thus early become confused. *Thraetaona*, it has been shown, is the same hero as the Hindu *Trita*, who is named in the Vedas as one of the slayers of *Vritra*, and the character of this monster is too well marked to admit of doubt; he is the demon of the thunder-cloud. The combat between *Trita* and *Vritra*, or as it more commonly occurs, between *Indra* and *Vritra*, which is here found in the shape of an historical legend inwoven into the history of Persia, is simply that ever-recurring natural phenomenon to which we still sometimes refer as a war or strife of the elements.

The immense advance made in the study of mythology, since the knowledge gained through the science of language has rendered a systematic method of comparison possible, is strikingly illustrated by this instance in which a traditional warfare between two kings melts away into a mere phenomenal occurrence. Taken singly, the three legends, or myths, given above, were necessarily regarded from different points of view, and admitted of a variety of explanations. The story of *Zohák* and *Feridun*, despite its evidently fabulous details, could hardly be regarded otherwise than as a perversion of actual history; the serpent *Dahák* was one of those monsters of which even a recent writer, not having before his eyes the fear of comparative mythology, remarks, "we are almost tempted to believe that such ideas are vague reminiscences of antediluvian animals;" while the myth of *Trita* and *Vritra* might be dismissed as a fancy peculiar to Hindu mythology. But when these three myths are placed side by side, and are proved by the identity of the names occurring in them and by other minute points of resemblance, not noticed above, to be absolutely the same myth in different stages of its formation, a new light begins to break upon the character of mythology. It is seen to be unsafe to pass judgment upon a myth in the shape in which it happens to be found, without first looking after its antecedents; that it may be the resultant of a long series of metamorphosing forces which have caused it to develop into something which its germ would have given very little reason to anticipate. Further examination re-

veals the fact that these changes are never arbitrary, but may be accounted for as the results of many co-operating causes; and thus the study of mythology rises to the dignity of a science.

The results of comparative mythology may be roughly summed up in two propositions, which, notwithstanding widely diverse opinions regarding the extent to which each is to be accepted as a solution of mythology, are held by all comparative mythologists as settled beyond question. The first is that the source of all mythology is in that crude conception of the constitution of nature which led the primeval man to look upon natural phenomena as the work of agents thinking, willing, and acting like himself, and to speak of them accordingly; the second, that the transforming agent which made myths out of observed facts, thus conceived and spoken of, was language through its failing to retain these conceptions fixed to their true objects, but allowing them, so to speak, to break off and become meaningless save as stories.

Before illustrating these results of comparative mythology by a variety of myths and superstitious notions, which have been traced with more or less directness to one of the most impressive of natural phenomena, it may be well to advert more particularly to that inherent weakness of language which made the passage to mythology not only easy, but unavoidable. A single, although important point, will be sufficient to be noticed here. This is the fact that names being in their origin simply descriptive terms, mere epithets, which sought to distinguish an object by means of some prominent mark, might be multiplied indefinitely, at the same time that there was a constant liability to mistake the object to which they belonged, and thus to lose sight entirely of their original application. Many epithets for the winds, the sunshine, the clouds, might be used in speaking of certain phenomena of these, yet gradually lose their meaning even while retained in use, and come to be regarded finally as the names of deities. To illustrate, we still find it convenient to distinguish between a *blast* of wind, a *gust*, a *breeze*, etc., while we have another word, *wind*, which includes them all. These names, which were at first mere epithets, have now become fixed in meaning, and could hardly give birth to mythology. But if we were obliged still to speak of the blast as the *mauler*, the *howler*, the *leaper*, the *whistler*, the *swift-one*, etc., at the same time that we spoke of these as persons,

even although we did not distinctly conceive them to be such, the confusion which would inevitably result is obvious. None of these epithets is so peculiarly significant of a blast of wind that its application might not easily be overlooked, and in place of a mere name for the wind we might soon have on hand a mythic *mauler*, or *wrestler*, the action of the blast having become transformed into his exploits. A lively interest in such exploits would be the only condition necessary to ensure the preservation of this myth, until the modifications it underwent in becoming localized and altered to suit a change of tastes and circumstances, had in time covered up nearly every trace of its origin.

This genesis of a mythic legend implies a certain indistinctness and confusion of ideas which it might be difficult to comprehend, were not this state of mind fully exemplified by the characteristic traits of savage thought at the present day. We can detect this formative process still going on. The Chippeway Indian is never tired of referring to the adventures and the queer tricks of Paup-puk-kewiss, the mad-cap. When the winter wind whistles around the lodge, and drives the snow in at the crevices, it is a standing remark with him that Paup-puk kewiss is gathering his harvest. He tells how Paup-puk-kewiss traverses the prairie, or the forest, amusing himself and his companion as he goes with occasional feats of agility, such as whirling around on one foot and raising a cloud of dust and leaves, or leaping over trees and scattering their foliage to the wind; how, on arriving at a lodge, he leaps over it and astonishes its inmates by his unexpected appearance; how he once played a trick upon Manabozho, visiting his lodge and overturning everything in it, and killing his chickens; and when Manabozho pursued him, led him a long chase, performing the most fantastic tricks as he went. Other acts ascribed to Paup-puk-kewiss have a less obvious import, but such as these indicate clearly that he is not yet fully dissevered in the mind of the Chippeway from the eddying wind. The nursery myth of Jack Frost is hardly more transparent. And yet, so long as he remains the hero of the story, his personality is as complete as is that of any hero of the Greek mythology.¹

¹Schoolcraft, who tells the story of Paup-puk-kewiss, observes that the name seems to contain the same root as *paup-puk kenay*, a grasshopper. (*Algic Researches*, I., p. 201.) This root is, without doubt, significant of *leaping* or *springing*, which will account for its having yielded names both for the grasshopper and for a gust of wind.

In this nascent state a large portion of the Hindu mythology still remained at the time when the Vedic hymns were composed, and it was this circumstance which gave the first hints to comparative mythology, and led finally to the discovery of the true source and character of the kindred mythologies of Europe, which had in the main become wholly unintelligible. One or two instances will set this fact in a striking light. In the Vedic mythology there is a class of divinities called *maruts*, who are the attendants of Indra, especially in his great exploit with Vritra. The character of the maruts is as transparent as that of the Chippeway Paupuk-kewiss. They are the storm-winds, as is apparent in almost every act ascribed to them. They were recognized as such by the Hindus themselves, and the meaning of their name, derived from a root still preserved in the English *mar*, *mash* *maul*, is a further confirmation of this fact. But while in India the name *Marut* remained as little more than a name for the stormy blast, the Latin branch of the Aryan family, although it kept the name, lost sight entirely of its original application, and no proposition would have sounded to a Roman more absurd than that *Mars* (*Mart-is*), his god of war, had at one time been only the storm-wind. Yet the fact is now beyond question. Another name found in the Vedas as a name for the wind in its more gentle nature, is *arbhu*, or *ribhu*. The true character of the Ribhus had nearly become forgotten even by the Hindus, but it can be detected by unmistakable marks. These divinities appear most prominently as cunning workmen, who built the chariot and horses of Indra, and gave other proofs of their marvelous skill. *Arbhu*, transliterated into Greek according to well ascertained laws of phonetic change, becomes *Orpheus*, the name of one of the culture-heroes of the Greeks, the founder of music, at the notes of whose enchanting lyre rocks and trees nodded, and even the forest beasts gathered from far and near—a fable which still preserves a reminiscence of the true character of Orpheus as the forest-breeze. In the Northern mythologies the *arbhus* reappear as the Norse *alfar*, our *elves*, and the old German *alben* or *elben*, cunning and unseen workers of mischief, whose original is thus shown to have been the winds, although without the key we should hardly have guessed it.

In this manner, with the Vedas as a hand-book for constant reference, and with the science of language as his indispensable

guide, the comparative mythologist has penetrated this "mystery of mysteries" which had for ages haunted philosophers and students of history, and has been the first to give a straightforward and consistent account of its hidden things. Without attempting to follow him through all the intricate windings of this new field of discovery, where the clue often fails him, and he is obliged to advance with caution and in more or less uncertainty, let us select for the purpose of estimating his labors some portion of this field in which they have been rewarded with the most marked success.

Next to the phenomena of light and darkness, out of which has sprung an immense array of mythic conceptions, there is no phenomenon which has left so deep an impress upon mythology as the thunderstorm, and none without exception whose true rôle in mythology is less a matter of debate among comparative mythologists themselves. A phenomenon at once grand and terrible, and occurring with apparently capricious irregularity, it was a mystery which must in the very earliest times have pressed earnestly for a solution, at the same time that its attendant circumstances, the blackness of the clouds, the quick dart of the lightning, the crash of the thunder, the unseen stroke, presented many analogies with familiar objects to aid imagination in shaping its first theories. All of these features of the thunderstorm have, either singly or combined, left their impress upon mythology. We may begin with a view of the storm suggested by its general aspect—that of a battle. We, who can still speak of an elemental war, or, using a bolder simile, of the artillery of heaven, can readily comprehend the ground upon which this view rested; but a combat in mythic times does not take place between elements. There must be combatants of the human or the brute type, and there must be, too, an object of contention, for neither men nor gods fight without cause, and to assign these was the first step towards mythology. The combat between Indra and Vritra has already been referred to, and, as the earliest form of an Aryan myth which gave birth to a whole cycle of legends, will require to be examined more fully; but it may assist to gain a clear insight into the true character of this ancient myth if we start from one which is still current. The Dakota Indians still look upon the thunderstorm as a battle. To them it is the never-ending war-

are between the god of the waters and the Thunder-bird. "Ever," they say, "will Unktahe, the god of the waters, and Wahkeon, thunder, do battle against each other. Sometimes the thunder-birds are conquerors; often the god of the waters chases his enemies back to the distant clouds."¹ This struggle is to the Dakota no mere simile under which he has symbolized an incomprehensible phenomenon, but a genuine battle between beings in whose real existence he has the most orthodox faith. The Thunder-bird is one of his highest gods. He carves or paints its image as a charm on his household utensils, and wears it worked in porcupine quills among his ornaments. Nothing can shake his belief in it, which many things tend to confirm. The thunder is the clapping of its wings; the lightning, its bright tracks as it darts among the clouds; and sometimes he even finds the track of this mysterious bird in the snow, and then he is sure of having a good hunting season. The cause assigned by the Dakotas for this eternal warfare between Unktahe and Wahkeon might raise a smile, were not the vanity it evidences a weakness common to all nations. It is for the purpose of deciding a point of no less moment than which of the two shall be the supreme god of the Dakotas; but the fact that one of the combatants is the god of the waters and the other is a bird, points to an earlier and different conception. That the original Thunder-bird was the cloud itself, although it has now come to be something quite distinct from the cloud, can hardly be doubted when we consider how frequently the clouds appear under the forms of birds in mythology. The name Wahkeon, besides, points directly to this fact, and gives also the clue to what at first seems a forced comparison. It means, according to Mrs. Eastman, "All-flyer," and is not only used as a name for thunder, but is a generic name for birds of all kinds. The confusion is seen to spring from the circumstance that a single point of resemblance has led to birds and clouds receiving the same name. The white cirrus clouds, which floated, continually changing shape, in the heaven-sea of the Vedic mythology, were called *Apsaras*, water-goers, and they became the "swan-maidens" of later legend. In the Tartar mythology the dark clouds assumed the character of ravens; and the immense Roc, which in the

¹Mrs. M. H. Eastman.—*Life and Legends of the Sioux*, p. 212.

Arabian tale of Sinbad the Sailor darkens the whole heavens with its wings, owes its origin, without doubt, to the black thunder-cloud, and is therefore identical with the Dakota Thunder-bird. The battle between Unktahe and Wahkeon thus is resolved into a struggle between the rain-god and the cloud, and may be regarded as the same conception which in India developed somewhat differently into the battle between Indra and the malignant demon who has stolen and shut up the rain.

This battle is Indra's great exploit. Allusions to it are of constant occurrence in the Vedas. It is a theme rarely omitted from the hymns in his praise, and we even find Indra himself contesting with the Maruts the honors of the victory, and taunting them with having deserted him. Indra's opponent is variously named Vritra, Ahi, Namuchi, Urana, etc., but under whatever name and form the monster is met with he is the same demon who is imagined to exist in the thunder-cloud. The attack upon him is for the purpose of releasing the rain, which he has stolen and hid away, and allowing it to fall upon the parched and suffering fields. The undertaking is one from which even Indra might shrink unaided, and he calls the other gods to his assistance. He prepares himself for the conflict with draughts of the exhilarating soma juice, and the combined troop of the gods advances upon the demon who lies growling and awaiting the onset. At the first blast of Vritra's breath, the companions of Indra, all except the faithful Maruts, become affrighted and desert him; still he advances resolutely and the battle opens. The terrible thunderbolts of Indra fall thick and heavy; the whole earth trembles; even Tvashtri, the Hindu Vulcan, who had forged the thunderbolts, is affrighted at their fearful effect. For awhile the contest remains doubtful, for Vritra on his side is well provided with arms; but at length Indra's efforts are crowned with success. The demon is slain, and the rain is released, and falls to the earth in torrents.

The climate of India was peculiarly adapted to the growth of a myth like this. "At the close of the long, hot weather," says Dr. Muir,¹ "when every one is longing for rain to moisten the earth and cool the atmosphere, it is often extremely tantalizing to see the clouds collecting and floating across the sky, day after day,

¹ Sanscrit Texts, v., p. 98.

without discharging their contents. And in the early ages, when the Vedic hymns were composed, it was an idea quite in consonance with the other general conceptions which their authors entertained, to imagine that some malignant influence was at work in the atmosphere, to prevent the fall of the showers of which their parched fields stood so much in need. It was but a step farther to personify both this hostile power and the benevolent agency by which it was at length overcome." As has been seen, this hostile power was conceived under a variety of forms which appear as so many distinct enemies of Indra, yet are easily shown to be in reality different conceptions of the same imaginary being. As Vritra, a name formed from *var*, to cover, to conceal, it was simply a vaguely imagined demon—the *Concealer*. As Ahi it was a serpent; sometimes a loud-roaring serpent with three heads, and even with a hundred heads. As Urana it was a giant monster with "nine and ninety arms." The destruction of this demon, although most commonly considered the work of Indra, was not always ascribed to him. Sometimes the Maruts alone are said to have slain Vritra. Other divinities are also named as his slayers, either alone or as Indra's assistants. One of these, Trita, is thought by Prof. Haug to represent a form of this myth anterior to the time when Indra, who is a deity peculiar to the Hindu mythology, had assumed the prominent position which he here occupies. This Trita, it has been seen, appears in the Persian mythology. His surname, Aptya, derived from *ap*, water, shows him to have been a rain-god, and therefore the most proper deity to combat the demon who had stolen the rain. At other times, this malignant power was not conceived as single, but the dearth of rain was attributed to a class of evil spirits, the Asuras, who had driven away the rain-giving cows (the clouds), and shut them up in the caves of the mountain (the dark cloud which lowered on the horizon). To recover the cows Indra makes war upon the Asuras.

These Vedic battles are most vividly portrayed with a variety of imagery borrowed from the appearance of the heavens, and are full of interest from the light which they reflect upon many obscure portions of the kindred mythology of the West. The clouds are styled the mountain homes of the Asuras, their cities, their rock-built castles. Indra is said to espy his enemies sitting

on the mountain tops, or attempting to scale the heavens. He hurls them back with his thunderbolts, and overturns and demolishes their cities. Hardly a circumstance, or an image which could be suggested to a lively imagination stimulated by a conviction of the near presence of contending powers has been omitted from the description of this elemental warfare. With this key before us it is impossible to miss the meaning of the war between Zeus and the Gigantes who attempted thrice to scale the heavens by piling mountain upon mountain.

—Pelio Ossam,

Scilicet, atque Ossa frondosum involvere Olympum :

or not to recognize in the Greek Hecatoncheires, Hundred-handed, and in the Norse Giants who were forever making war upon Thor and receiving for their rashness the terrible blows of his hammer Miölnir, a near kin if not the lineal descendants of the Hindu Urana. The comparison of the rain-clouds to cows which are stolen and hidden in a mountain cave, has furnished M. Breal with a clue to the myth of Hercules and Cacus. Cacus was a famous robber who dwelt in a cave in the gloomy recesses of the forest of Mt. Aventine. He was accustomed to issue forth from this haunt and ravage the surrounding country until, having stolen some of the cattle with which Hercules was returning after his conquest of Geryon, he met his deserts, being tracked to his den and there strangled by this hero.

But that form of Vritra which left the most marked impression upon the mythologies of the West was its serpent or dragon form. There seems to have been a peculiar fascination about this unearthly monster which preserved the memory of it down to the very latest times of story-telling. The combat with the dragon has been the most trying test of courage and has been ascribed only to the most redoubtable of heroes. In later times it assumed so nearly the appearance of an allegory that the dragon has been held to be no more than a symbol of evil or wickedness. But while it cannot be denied that in medieval mythology it did have to a great extent this symbolic import, still the earliest forms under which the dragon appears in Europe, bear unmistakable indications of its true source. Its original character as a demon who has withheld the rain is, it is true, entirely lost sight of, yet so much of the myth has been preserved that the dragon is nearly always

found in the character of a guardian either of a spring of water, in which form it most closely resembles Vritra, or of a treasure. As Python, it guards the spring of Delphi until slain by Apollo, the representative of Indra. It keeps watch over the golden fleece at Colchis, and over the golden apples in the garden of the Hesperides. In the northern mythology it appears as the serpent Fafnir, who is the guardian over an immense treasure of gold and who is slain by Sigurd, and in the Anglo-Saxon poem of Beowulf we find the same serpent watching over a treasure which had been buried in a mountain by an ancient prince. We shall discover presently the true character of these treasures which the dragon is supposed to guard. In another *rôle* the dragon appears simply as a fell monster who ravages a country carrying off men and cattle. The source of this conception has already been pointed out in adverting to the story of Hercules and Cacus. It is the same occupation in which the Asuras were engaged when they sought to ruin the labors of the husbandman by driving off the rain-giving cows. The Lernean Hydra and the fiery Chimæra were monsters of this kind. Of a somewhat more tragic cast was the story of the Æthiopian sea-monster from whom Perseus rescued Andromeda—a story which, passing into the medieval mythology, became the legend of St. George and the dragon.

If, recurring to the prototype of these dragons of mythology, we seek an explanation of this conception of the cloud-demon as a serpent, we shall not be long in finding it. The frequency with which the simile or the symbol of the serpent, having a more or less clear connection with the thunderstorm, is met with in other than the Aryan mythologies, shows that the idea has some simple and obvious source; and this, without question, is the appearance of the lightning, either from its quick darting motion like the vibrating of a serpent's tongue, or, as seems the preferable explanation, from its zig-zag course, suggestive of the form or the trail of a serpent. The Indians of Canada explained the thunderstorm as the efforts of a manito to vomit up an immense serpent which he had swallowed, and, in confirmation of this belief, asserted that they had often found a serpent coiled at the foot of a tree which had been struck by lightning. The symbols of the Mexican Quetzalcoatl were the serpent and the flint-stone, which Dr. Brin-

ton,¹ after a careful discussion, explains to have been significant of the lightning and the thunderbolt. But we need not search barbarous mythologies for further light upon this point, when we find the same image of the lightning in modern poetry. Schiller has unconsciously solved the riddle of the dragon by a parallel one which is easily guessed :

Unter allen Schlangen ist eine,
 Auf Erden nicht gezeugt,
 Mit der an Schnelle keine,
 An Wuth sich keine vergleicht.

* * * * *

Und dieses Ungeheuer
 Hat zweimal nie gedroht—
 Es stirbt im eignen Feuer :
 Wie's todtet, ist es todt.

Under a somewhat different, although kindred form, the lightning appears in the Semitic mythology in the curious myth of the worm Schamir. "As Solomon, thus ran the tale, was about to build the temple without the use of iron, (I. Kings, vi., 7) his wise men drew his attention to the stones of the high-priest's breast-plate, which had been cut and polished by something harder than themselves. This was Schamir, which was able to cut where iron would not bite. Thereupon Solomon summoned the Spirits to inform him of the whereabouts of this substance. They told him Schamir was a worm of the size of a barley-corn, but so powerful that the hardest flint could not resist him. The spirits advised Solomon to seek Asmodeus, king of the devils, who could give him further information. When Solomon inquired where Asmodeus was to be met with, they replied that on a distant mountain he had dug a huge cistern out of which he daily drank. Solomon then sent Benaiah with a chain on which was written the magic word 'schem hammphorasch,' a fleece of wool, and a skin of wine. Benaiah having arrived at the cistern of Asmodeus, undermined it and let off the water by a little hole, which he then plugged up with the wool; after which he filled the pit with wine. The evil spirit came as was his wont to the

¹ Myths of the New World.

cistern, and scented the wine. Suspecting treachery he refused to drink, and retired; but at length impelled by thirst, he drank, and, becoming intoxicated, was chained by Benaiah and carried away. Benaiah had no willing prisoner to conduct; Asmodeus plunged and kicked, upsetting trees and houses. In this manner he came near a hut in which lived a widow, and when she besought him not to injure her poor little cot, he turned aside, and in so doing broke his leg. 'Rightly,' said the devil, 'is it written: A soft tongue breaketh the bone?' (Prov. xxv.) And a *diabole boiteux* he has ever remained. When in the presence of Solomon, Asmodeus was constrained to behave with greater decorum. Schamir, he told Solomon, was the property of the Prince of the sea, and that prince entrusted none with the mysterious worm, except the moor-hen, which had taken an oath of fidelity to him. The moor-hen takes Schamir with her to the tops of the mountains, splits them and injects seeds, which grow and cover the naked rocks. If Solomon desired to possess himself of the worm, he must find the nest of the moor-hen, and cover it with a plate of glass, so that the mother could not get at her young without breaking the glass. She would seek Schamir for the purpose, and the worm must be obtained from her."¹

It would lead us too far to examine here the various forms which this myth of the mysterious worm Schamir assumed, or to notice all the circumstances which point to the identity of this worm with the lightning. But with this hint of the true character of the myth, we shall have little difficulty in recognizing as the prototype of the moor-hen, which brings this worm in its beak from the sea, the same bird which we have already found among the Dakota Indians—the thunder-cloud. It is from the beak of this bird that Schamir falls with such terrific force upon the mountain tops, rending them asunder, and shivering into fragments the hardest substances. It may seem strange, at first, that a bird of such grand proportions should have dwindled into an insignificant moor-hen, and that Schamir should have become no bigger than a barley-corn, but such transformations are of perpetual occurrence in mythology, and are easily explained. The meaning of the myth once lost, the bird which brought Schamir became an

¹ S. Baring-Gould—Curious Myths of the Middle Ages, 2d series, pp. 125-27

ordinary bird, and the particular one to which this instinct should be ascribed was left to be determined by the merest hint. The moor-hen was for some reason called *naggar-tura*, mountain-carver, and it was but a single step, therefore, to give it Schamir for its tool. Other legends made the bird a raven, an eagle, or an ostrich. Schamir does not always appear as a worm, but is sometimes described as a stone which a bird is able to find, and which, being laid upon the hardest substances, will break them in pieces. A fable, similar to this of the Schamir-bringer, is found in Europe, but is most probably of independent growth, although unquestionably it is to be referred to the same source. The mysterious worm is here represented by a plant of miraculous virtues, which the bird uses to remove obstacles which have by accident debarred it of access to its young. Ælian relates of the epops, or hoopoo, that a bird once had a nest in an old wall in which there was a rent. The proprietor plastered over the crack. The hoopoo, finding that it could not get to its young, flew away in quest of a particular plant which it brought and applied to the plaster, which at once gave way and allowed her to enter. This was done on three several occasions. It was impossible to keep the rent closed up.¹ A similar instinct is ascribed by Pliny to the woodpecker, which, he says, can by this means open its hole, though it be plugged up never so tightly. Pliny adds the significant circumstance that the plug is driven out with an explosion. The same bird figures also in German tales. It was from the woodpecker that was to be obtained the "springwort," which possessed the marvelous property of enabling its finder to open mountains teeming with treasures; and this brings us to a class of legends and superstitions, in which Germany is inexhaustible, respecting plants of miraculous virtues, their connection with the bird being nearly or quite dissevered.

The springwort, the luck-flower, and the divining-rod, or wish-rod, are held by German mythologers to be referable to a common source; they are all vegetable representatives or embodiments of the lightning. The evidence by which this view is supported, is too minute and circumstantial in its character to permit it to be introduced here. It may be summed up, however, as, first, a

¹ S. Baring Gould—*Curious Myths*, 2d Series, p. 129.

parallelism between these German superstitions and certain practices of the Hindus, the origin of which is more apparent; secondly, a connection between many of these plants—such as the hazel, the mountain ash, the white-thorn—and the former worship of Thor, and the belief which still survives among the peasantry that they afford protection against lightning; and lastly, that it is often discovered to have been an essential point in the superstition that the plant should have grown from a seed dropped by a bird. This origin was ascribed to the rowan-tree, or mountain ash, which was believed to spring from a seed dropped into the crevices of the rock by a bird which here fills the office of the moor-hen in the myth of Schamir. A similar belief respecting the mistletoe gave this plant its sacred character in the eyes of the Druids, and led them to regard an oak upon which this parasite grew as having been expressly singled out by the gods. The hazel tree was sacred to Thor, and it is still a popular belief throughout the north of Europe that it is never struck by lightning, and that it affords protection during a thunder storm. In some parts of Germany and Sweden it is believed that the serpent (a symbol of the lightning) cannot approach this tree, and that a touch with a hazel-rod will deprive a serpent of its venom. These and certain other plants were used as charms, and in divination in a great variety of ways. Sprigs or rods of the rowan-tree possessed the property of resisting the attacks of witches, fairies, and other imps of darkness; rowan-rods were likewise used in "quickening" calves—a ceremony performed by laying the rod upon various parts of the animal's body, with the object of making of the animal a good milker. The divining-rod had the power of discovering mines, buried treasures, and hidden springs of water; and the wish-rod, the same rod with a more extended use, enabled its possessor to secure all earthly blessings, health, wealth, favor—in short, everything which the heart could *wish*.

The magic properties of these plants were possessed even in a greater degree by the fabulous "springwort" and "luckflower," which, although in later times they were identified with particular plants, were in earlier legends regarded as belonging to unknown species. The luckflower, like the springwort, enabled its fortunate finder to open mountains which teemed with treasures, and to help himself to them to his heart's content. The adven-

ture is commonly thus described.¹ A man happens to find a beautiful flower, commonly a blue one, which he plucks and sticks in his hat. The mountain suddenly opens to admit him; he enters it and sees a lady clad in white, who bids him help himself freely to the gold coin which he sees before him. He fills his pockets and is about to leave, when she calls out to him: "Forget not the best." Thinking she refers to the gold, he crams more nuggets into his pockets, and having now secured all the treasure he can carry away, hurries out of the entrance. The mountain closes suddenly behind him with a sound of thunder and cuts off his right heel. There is no longer any trace of the opening from which he has escaped so narrowly, and, when too late, he discovers that in his eagerness to secure gold, he dropped his hat with the flower upon it, and has thus lost the charm which might again open the treasure hall.

This flower, which, in spite of the warning voice, is in these stories always forgotten, came finally to be identified with a particular species of blue flower—the Forget-me-not—which owes its name to its supposed identity with the luck-flower, although the name acquired afterwards a sentimental meaning.

In these adventures with the luck-flower the man escapes with his life; but less fortunate was the shepherd who discovered the entrance to the Isenstein. The story is this: A shepherd was one day walking across the Isenstein, in which lives an enchanted princess, when happening to rest upon his staff, which it seems was made of springwort, he saw the rock suddenly open and reveal to him the princess and her golden treasures. The rest of the story is told in the usual way. He fills his pockets with gold, and, mistaking the meaning of the warning, "Forget not the best," fills his hat also. Meanwhile his staff, which had opened the rock, rests unheeded against the side of the cavern where he had placed it on entering. Satisfied at length that he has secured all the treasure he can carry, he attempts to leave, when the sides of the rock slam together and cut him in two.

A striking parallelism will be noticed between these German legends and the story of the robbers' cave in the Arabian tale of the Forty Thieves. The same conception of a treasure-containing mountain which may be miraculously opened, underlies them;

¹ Kelly—*Curiosities of Ind. European Folk-lore*, p. 173.

and, more remarkable still, the talisman is in each case a plant. In the German legends the plant itself is used; in the Arabian tale the mere name, *sesame*, has sufficient potency. The use of this magic word gives Ali Baba free access to the robbers' booty, and it is from having forgotten the kind of grain he is to name that Cassim finds himself hopelessly immured in the cavern. This coincidence can hardly be accidental, and is an interesting one, even if no more than an instance of parallelism in mythic symbols, for there can scarcely be a doubt that these tales are fragments of the same primal myth. The Arabian tale, from its being a more perfect fragment, will afford a convenient point of departure in searching for this myth—the source of this belief in mountains which contain golden treasures, and which may be opened miraculously. It is the story of a cave into which robbers carry their booty, and which opens to a talisman which, we have reason to believe, represents lightning. To gain a more complete clue we may recur to the myth of the worm Schamir, represented here by sesame.

When Schamir is said to rend the mountains, it is not quite certain, even after the true character of this worm has been discovered, that we must understand the myth too literally. We have already seen what was meant in the Vedas by the mountain homes of the Asuras. As the clouds lie banked along the horizon, their resemblance to distant mountains is so perfect that the dullest imagination could not fail to hit upon this comparison. It was into the caves of these mountains that the theiving Asuras drove the rain-giving cows. In a pastoral age the transition from the idea of cattle to that of treasures was an easy and natural one; and this idea once having become associated with the clouds, the magic touch of the sunlight which played upon them easily transformed this hoarded wealth of the Asuras into golden wealth. This was the golden treasure which the dragon of later times was supposed to guard; the same gilded clouds were the golden fleece which hung in the grove of *Æetes*. With these ideas of a cloud-treasure to assist the imagination, it was but a single step to picture the lightning, when for an instant it streamed down the side of this cloud-mountain, as a rent suddenly opened in the mountain and revealing the dazzling gold which lay within. Tested by the standard of the Vedic times, this image of the lightning

was a not unnatural one. But what may at first have been a mere simile, became a literal fact. The scene was brought down from the clouds; the mountain became an ordinary mountain, and the magic power which opened it was the lightning-plant.

This Aryan conception of a cloud-mountain rent by the lightning furnishes a very simple clue to an American myth which has already been partially noticed, and which, as showing how well grounded such ideas are in nature, may very appropriately close this series of illustrations.

In alluding on a former page to the story of Paup-puk-kewiss, the manner in which this rogue was finally captured by Manabozho was not noticed, as at that point it would hardly have been recognized as a story of the wind. Paup-puk-kewiss, after the whole fund of his trickery had been exhausted, being still hard pressed by his pursuer, made directly for a high ledge of rocks which he saw before him on the border of a lake. The local manito, who resided in the rock, opened his door and received the fugitive. Manabozho came up and demanded of the manito the surrender of Paup-puk-kewiss. But the laws of hospitality are respected even by a manito; he refused to comply with the unjust demand of Manabozho. "Very well," said this deity, "I give you no longer than till night to live." At these words the manito and his guests trembled, for they knew their doom was sealed; but there was no help. As night came on, the dark clouds began to gather in the distance, and the low rumble of the thunder betokened an approaching tempest. Gradually it came nearer; the thunder peals became louder and the forked lightnings flashed. At length the storm broke upon the precipice with resistless fury; the solid rock split, tottered and fell, and under it were buried the bodies of Paup-puk-kewiss and the manito.

If we will bear in mind that when the wind has died away, it is not unnatural to conceive it to have gone to the cloud, we shall hardly fail of recognizing in this overthrow of the manito and his guest, the same vengeance that Indra visited upon the Asuras, when with his thunderbolts he demolished their "rock-built cities." To strengthen this conclusion it may be added that the clouds are in mythology the usual home of the winds. The Thracian Orpheus, who, as has been seen, was only a personification of the wind, dwelt in a mountain cave, *i. e.*, in a cave of the cloud-

mountain, and it was in the caves of a hollow mountain that Æolus confined his winds. Indeed, there is a well known German legend which is based upon this conception, and which may be noticed as presenting in one point a striking parallel with the preceding Indian story. The Pied Piper of Hamelin is, it is hardly necessary to say, like his more humble craftsman, Tom the Piper's son, simply the wind. When his work is done he goes, like Paup-puk-kewiss, to the cloud mountain, or as the tradition has it, to the Koppelberg hill. But he does not go alone; like the Hindu Asura, he takes with him the treasures of the people—their most precious treasures, their children. Carried away literally by the enchanting strains of the Piper's music, the little ones follow him to his home; and, saddest of all, there is no Indra to bring them back, nor any charm to unlock the mountain.

Many of the views above presented seem to rest upon a very insecure support, and have necessarily a questionable appearance. It will readily be understood that to have supported them properly would have required an entrance upon details wholly beyond the limits and scope of the present article, the purpose of which has been, not to demonstrate, but simply to illustrate by a series of instances which could be conveniently grouped together, and respecting which there is a general agreement among comparative mythologists, the results of this new science. What little relates to American mythology may be permitted to stand upon its own merits.

GEORGE S. JONES.

AD TORQUATUM—HORAT. CARM., IV., VII.

The snows have fled, and the grass is returning
 To cover the frozen fields;
 The trees are unfolding the shadowy green
 Which the balmy Spring-time yields.
 The earth has put off her sombre attire.
 And the streamlets ripple by
 Their moonlit banks, where the graces and nymphs
 To their wanton dances hie.

The fleeting year and the swift gliding hour
Should lead us full well to know
That the days of our sojourn—the joys of earth—
Pass away as winter's snow,
Which dissolves into mist with the breath of Spring
By the wings of Zephyr borne,
As the short-lived flowerets of Summer birth,
Or the wealth of Autumn's horn
That must yield in turn to the Frost King's touch
In the cheerless winter day.
Yet the months as they pass in their ceaseless round,
Restore these wrecks of decay ;
But we, when at last we have taken our place
In Pluto's gloomy train,
With Father Æneas, rich Tullus, and Ancus,
Mere shadows and dust remain.
And who can be sure that the will of the gods
Another day may allot
To renew all the joys which the present hour
On fleeting pinions has brought ?
Your spendthrift heir, too, will speedily squander
The riches your care bestowed ;
And when to the terrors of Minos' award
Your head in silence is bowed,
Not all the persuasions which eloquence knows,
Torquatus, nor pride of race,
Nor piety's pleadings can ever avail
To move the judge in your case.
Diana herself found but vain the attempt
To bring back again to light
Her much loved Hippolytus, shadow-bound there ;
And nothing availed the might
Of Theseus, the hero of Attica's pride,
To end Pirithous' night.

J. ANDREWS HARRIS.

TRIAL BY JURY.

THE extension of Prussian power over Germany, has necessarily produced a demand for the gradual unification of law throughout the whole empire. On many subjects this result was attained, at least in part, by a conference from the different German states, which prepared a German commercial code. Now it is done by the German Parliament, and all legislation is prepared by careful reports, discussing at length the questions at issue in the proposed changes. ¹ One of these reports is on the comparative advantages of Trial by Jury, and the *Schöffengerichte* or court composed partly of lay judges and partly of law judges, and it is a very good specimen of the way in which work is done by the Prussian civil service. It is not a little curious thus to look at our old friend and palladium of liberty, Trial by Jury, on trial by the impartial judgment of German Jurists, and to see that it is put at a decided disadvantage as compared to a system which has only occasionally been tried in this country. In Pennsylvania it was pithily described as being a court made up of one lawyer and two honest men; but even with this apparent advantage the experiment was soon given up, and that State, with all the others, being under what may be called the English common law system, has gone back to the simple rule of courts composed of one or more law judges, with Juries; yet there are frequent efforts made for reform, and recent Constitutional Conventions, in Illinois and elsewhere, have made changes with a view to such a result. Trial by Jury is by no means so old in its present form as Blackstone would have it believed, but still it has had a fair share of influence for at least three centuries, and is for good or evil one of the institutions least likely to be given up, however much it may be modified. In Germany it can hardly be said to be older than the Revolution of 1848, which, with so much of evil, also brought and left to Germany a great deal of good. It came, however, rather from France, where indeed it had been mainly adopted under the strong leaning for English laws and institutions which

¹Denkschrift über die *Schöffengerichte*. Ausgearbeitet im königlich Preussischen Justiz-Ministerium. [Report on Lay-Judges, prepared by the Prussian Department of Justice.] Berlin, 1873, pp. 46.

preceded the French Revolution, and the French system of Trial by Jury hardly recognized its prototype on the other side the channel. Beginning to take shape in the Napoleonic reorganization about 1808, Trial by Jury was adopted for criminal offences, political prosecutions and Press lawsuits. It has nothing to do with civil suits, and even in the few causes handed over to it, it is only under conditions. The jury is judge of fact; that is, of such questions of fact as the judge may submit to it, while he reserves and disposes of all questions of law. It is provided as a breakwater to defend political and Press offenders from the heavy storm of government displeasure, breaking over their unprotected heads; but it does this in unquiet times in a very uncertain fashion, for besides being governed by the majority rule, even that majority may be overcome by the addition of the vote of the judges to that of the minority, who then become masters of the situation, as well as the arbiters of the fate, both of the prisoners and in times of great political excitement, of that of the government which was sure to be represented in the prosecution, and sometimes dependent on its success for its existence. The Prussian Ministry of Justice, however, think that it is much better to renew an old German institution, the "Schöffengerichte," than to try to reform the confessedly unsuccessful working of an imported system, vitiated by coming through French influences, on its way from an English principle, both quite at variance with the well-recognized factors of German jurisprudence.

In England the jury receive their instructions from the judge, and are largely under his guidance and influence, but they are independent on all questions of fact and are often judges of the law, yet in this they are in honor and duty bound to accept the law as laid down by the court. Now this and all the relations of judge and jury in England are largely the outgrowth of the centuries in which Trial by Jury has been moulded into its present shape, and not the result of any particular legislation on the subject. But the German system is merely the creature of a recent enactment, and that is based rather on a theoretical respect and anxiety to introduce foreign institutions, than on any real demand or necessity for any such experiment. As it has proved unsuccessful, it is submitted that the Imperial Legislation, that for the whole of Germany, should rather seek to remodel and re-

vivify their own old system, in which laymen and lawyers sit together to hear and decide, with no distinction in the rights and duties of the members of the court. Apart from the fact that this is an old and well-recognized system of trial in Germany, it is believed to be in every way quite as likely to educate those who take part in it, as the jury system, where the jurors are merely the subordinates of the judge, at least on the Continent. Instead of the merely formal and distant relation that now exists, the law and the lay members of the "Schöffengericht," interchange fully and freely all their views. Another ground upon which this change is urged, is that under the English system of Trial by Jury, the jury decides only on the question of guilt or innocence, and the judge, under certain statutes, is alone the master of the sentence or penalty; so that there is not unfrequently the unseemly spectacle of a judge practically disregarding the finding of a jury, or of a jury evading the inevitable necessity of a harsh sentence, by an acquittal in spite of law and fact both. Where, however, there is but one tribunal comprising both lay and law members, such incongruities cannot exist. The former, by being raised above the jurors in their power and influence, will almost necessarily do more than as jurors, they ever could do, to educate their fellow-citizens in a knowledge of the law, and thus to hasten the development of legal growth in the country. There has already been a fair test of the comparative merits of the two systems in different, often in neighboring states of the German Empire, and the results, fairly and fully stated, satisfy the author of this official paper, that the advantages are all with the older and more thoroughly German "Schöffengericht," the courts composed of laymen and lawyers—where indeed only criminal causes are disposed of, but where after all the influence of the lawyer is never likely to fail of its effect, by reason of his larger technical knowledge, while the laymen are the less likely to yield a too ready surrender of their own proper judgment as to questions of fact and as to matters of punishment, because they will feel the power and importance due to them as co-ordinate members of the court, and not merely jurors, whose function it is too often only to record the views and wishes of the bench. The "Schoffen" or lay-judges have no corresponding name in English, for we have nothing like it in our system; they are not jurors, for they sit with

lawyers to make up the court, and are equally judges of law and fact; nor are they drawn for a particular period of service, but only for special causes. The lay-judges are called for set days, and the business of that and each body of "associates" is promptly and punctually disposed of. The arrangement of courts thus composed of laymen and lawyers varies in different parts of Germany; and to show the advantage of general legislation on the subject, this pamphlet, a report and argument in advance and in favor of a systematic extension of the Lay-Law courts, instead of Trial by Jury, gives the particulars of the working of the former as far as they are found to do well. Thus, in parts of Prussia, the court is composed of one law-judge and two laymen; the latter have no jurisdiction in cases of tax, or license, or poaching and other such offences. The "Schöffen" or lay-judges are chosen in proportion of one to every five hundred inhabitants, and in case of a want of additional lay-judges, the law-judge can summon any properly qualified bystander or resident. The qualifications vary in different German states; thus, in Wurtemberg, where the system is almost a traditional one in some courts, it has been largely extended; and it is now fairly established in Prussia, Saxony, Wurtemberg, Baden, Oldenburg, Bremen and Hamburg, with very considerable variations from one another, but nearly all of them adopting more or less of the French practice under their well known criminal code, and maintaining the system of Trial by Jury for the higher courts, with the use of the "lay and law judges" in the class of intermediate offences, less than those tried by jury, but graver than those disposed of by a single judge. In Wurtemberg, these courts are composed of two law-judges and three laymen, who are chosen by the local authorities on a basis of tax-payment and civil distinction, and their fitness is at least partly secured by their receiving no pay beyond actual mileage and other expenses. In Baden, the lay-judges are chosen in the proportion of one to every two hundred and fifty inhabitants of the actual seat of the court, and one to every five hundred of the other parts of the district. In Bremen there are three courts thus composed of lay and law-judges, with a power given the latter to choose from the list their own associates for particular cases. In Hamburg laymen are permanent members of the courts; the Higher Court having six, chosen generally from those who have already sat as members

of the Lower Court and of the Commercial Court; in the former there are twenty-one lay-judges, and these laymen are all chosen from among a larger number of names submitted, to serve for a year in regular rotation. In the Criminal Court, two of the five judges on the Bench are lawyers. In appeals, the court is composed of three lawyers out of five judges, and on questions of preliminary investigations, of two lawyers out of three judges. It seems, therefore, that only in Wurtemberg and in Hamburg are laymen integral parts of the court; but while, in the latter, they are on a perfectly equal footing with their law-associates, in the former there is at least an honorary distinction reserved for the law-judges; and in the other German states their office has very marked, although varying degrees of actual control. A brief bibliography of the subject gives twelve works which discuss the comparative advantages of jury trials and lay-judges; three that defend the latter, and one only in support of the former.

The practice in criminal cases and the organization of courts are, under the constitution of the German Empire, subjects for Imperial legislation. As yet this right has not been exercised, and just as in cases where Congress has not exercised its exclusive powers under our own constitution, the separate states continue their own old systems. In four of the smaller German states only is the so-called German Criminal Law still in force, with its denial of public trial and of the *viva voce* examination of witnesses and arguments of counsel, if indeed the latter are allowed the accused. With the exception of these four and two other small German states, Trial by Jury with its other accompaniments, exists throughout Germany; but each state has its own special laws, varying sometimes in the different parts of the same states, as for instance in Prussia, where the Rhine Provinces have the French *Code d'instruction criminelle*; the Provinces acquired in 1866 have a special law of 1867, and the other Provinces have laws passed in 1849 and 1852. The preparation for an imperial law is now being made in the shape of drafts of laws regulating the courts, and the trial of causes, both civil and criminal—the latter including, of course, the organization of criminal courts; and it is proposed to abolish Trial by Jury, and other courts, putting in their stead *Schöffengerichte*; that is, courts composed of lawyers and laymen, in which the two classes of judges shall sit together

with a perfect equality of rights and duties. There are to be three classes of courts—for 'crimes,' as offences of the graves, character; for 'delits,' or secondary violations of law, and for 'contraventions,' or the least important charges.

The scheme, when finally worked out—the pamphlet of which we have spoken, is only the official suggestion of the Prussian Ministry of Justice—will be submitted to, and, no doubt, adopted by the "Bundesrath," composed of the representatives of the separate German states. The action of the Reichstag is not, however, so easily foreseen; if it be unfavorable to the abolition of Trial by Jury, then it will be left for each state to act as it pleases, and the adoption of any general law or the subject can only succeed by the gradual agreement of the several states to the same principle, one after another, until it covers the whole German Empire. Of course, too, the attention of German publicists is directed mainly to the preparation of such a law as shall commend itself to the various bodies yet to pass upon it; and there is apparently only a feeble effort made to defend the existing Trial by jury, or to urge its further extension, while the weight of perhaps the most important factor in all the various elements that go to make up the German Empire, in its legislation on this subject, that of the Prussian Law Department, is clearly thrown into the other scale by its official publication of the pamphlet advocating the establishment of "Schöffengerichte," courts composed of lawyers and laymen. Unfamiliar as is the whole of the process we have thus set forth, nothing seems to our English-American notions of the importance and sacredness of Trial by Jury, more startling than the preference given to another system, which, with us, has neither the merit of novelty nor the credit of success.

Along side of the arguments submitted by the jurists of the Prussian Ministry of Justice, it may be well to arrange those submitted in the Constitutional Convention of Pennsylvania, where it was proposed to abolish forever the "lay judges." One member said:

Associate judges are indispensable links between the court and the people; they give the people confidence in the decisions of the court; they preserve the court from falling into many and unintentional errors of judgment; they divide the responsibility of judgment with the President (Law) Judge, in case of great doubt or clamor, thereby relieving him of much unjust odium. Every

honest judge wanted these associates by his side ; wanted, if not their intellectual, at least their moral support ; wanted their intuitive sense of justice as a mirror in which he might reflect the image of his purely mental or speculative judgment.

The next speaker said of the proposition to abolish the office of Associate Judges not learned in law, which was part of the report of the committee :

There are cases in which Associate Judges are almost indispensable ; in which they are better informed upon questions of fact than the President Judge can be ; the Associates have that local knowledge which enables them to decide many questions where such information may be necessary for wise and proper judgment. The people have come to regard the Associate Judges as necessary incidents of the court, and they are a link between the court and the people, which, if properly managed, will not only inspire confidence in the court, but will bring to the court that information and assistance which is sometimes necessary in order to enable them to come to a wise conclusion.

This speaker supported his case by citations of the actual good done by " Associates not learned in the law " in criminal prosecutions, in pauper cases, road cases, and cases of mere judicial discretion. The next speaker said : " I see almost a unanimous sentiment in this Convention to abolish the system of Associate Judges not learned in the law. " The next speaker said :

Associate Judges were created in the early history of the State from necessity ; judges learned in the law were few and had to hold court in many different counties ; it was very inconvenient to reach a law judge, and to meet this want, these judges, not learned in the law, were authorized ; it was thought, too, that they would be of use to the law judges in assisting them to determine questions of fact, as in the case of applications for new trials, etc. But the necessity which required the creation of the office has passed away ; in a majority of cases, they are entirely useless ; they have entailed a large cost upon the State, and in many instances have prevented right from being done, working injury and annoyance to the public.

Mr. Darlington, an old and well-known lawyer, said, after one of the small minority had repeated the statement of the opinion maintained by those opposed to the abolition of Associate Judges, that they were important auxiliaries in the administration of justice : " I should suppose there ought not to be two minds among lawyers about what should be done with them ; they are practically of no use ; " and this in spite of a case cited, where the

Supreme Court sustained the Associate Judge as against the President.

The next subject of discussion was the reform of Trial by Jury, first by making the verdict that of a majority under certain conditions, and next by giving a large right of waiver to litigants ready to leave their case to a judge alone ; and both of these large changes were submitted with exhaustive arguments, among the reforms proposed to be included in the amended Constitution and left for adoption to the people of Pennsylvania.

The fullest statement of the case in behalf of a change in the existing system of Trial by Jury was that of Mr. Newlin, of the Committee on the Declaration of Rights, who presented the following minority report :

To the Constitutional Convention :

The undersigned, not expressing any opinion in relation to the amendments proposed by the Committee on the Declaration of Rights, dissents from so much of the report as recommends the adoption of Sections 6 and 7 of Article IX., of the present Constitution, without change. The defects in the administration of justice under the present jury system require radical remedies, which should be provided in the fundamental law. It is submitted that these sections should be amended so as to read as follows :

SEC. VI. "That the right of trial by jury shall remain inviolate, but may be waived by the parties in all civil proceedings in the manner to be prescribed by law. In civil proceedings three-fourths of a jury may find a verdict, after such length of deliberation as the Legislature may require."

TRIAL BY JURY.

It will be observed that it is proposed simply to allow the parties to waive a trial, and leave the law and the facts to the Court if they so desire.

The details are left to the Legislature.

THE LAW IN OTHER STATES.

In Arkansas, Minnesota and Wisconsin, jury trial may be waived by the parties in all cases, in the manner prescribed by law.

In New York, Vermont, Maryland, Michigan, North Carolina, Texas, California, Florida and Nevada, jury trial may be waived in civil cases.

OBJECTIONS ANSWERED.

It will be urged that this would throw too much responsibility upon the courts, and that, therefore, the system would not work well. To this it is answered that in Equity and Orphans' Court proceedings the Courts now, without the aid of a jury, dispose of all questions of law and fact, and that in point of magnitude the interests thus adjudicated far exceed those which are settled by jury trials. It simply substitutes the judge as the arbitrator instead of a layman. Again, it is intended that in civil cases, if the jury cannot agree, three-fourths may find a verdict. Requiring the jury to deliberate a certain length of time—say six hours, the period to be fixed by the Legislature—will prevent a majority acting with undue haste, and will secure a reasonable consideration of the views of the minority. In criminal cases a unanimous jury is required in all cases, for the reason that the Government, being a party, in times of public excitement might press for unjust convictions and obtain them.

The principle proposed is a novel one with us, and the supposed antiquity of jury trials, as we understand them, will be urged against any change.

HISTORY OF TRIAL BY JURY.

It is commonly, but most erroneously, supposed that trial by jury, as now constituted, is of very remote antiquity; some tracing it to the time of Alfred the Great, whilst by many it is supposed to have been in use amongst the Scandinavian nations, and that its origin is lost in the mist of ages.

In reality, juries, properly so called, were wholly unknown alike to the Scandinavian, the Teutonic, and the Gothic nations. The requirement of unanimity in juries is generally supposed to have the same remote origin as the jury itself. It is an undeniable fact, however, that our present jury is not only purely English, but it has no greater antiquity than about the middle of the sixteenth century.

As the very reverse of this proposition is the usually received doctrine, a brief history of trial by jury is here given :

Anciently, in Norway, there was a Court composed of thirty-six members, whose literal appellation was "law-amendment-men." They were presided over by a "law-man." In that rude age the

“law-man” could recite all the laws. He at first had no voice in the deliberations; afterwards he was given the casting vote, the decisions being by a majority. This was in no sense a jury, but was a Court, passing on questions both of law and fact.

The Swedish laws required twelve jurors, and seven found a verdict. They decided both law and facts.

In Denmark the number varied from twelve to fifteen, acting by a majority, and they composed a Court for law and facts. The Bishop, with the best eight men of the district, might reverse their finding. Where a majority of “best men” reversed a unanimous verdict, the jurors forfeited their property!

In Iceland, in criminal cases, the number varied according to the magnitude of the offence—from five to nine and twelve. This was a regular Court, adjudicating both the law and the facts by a majority of voices.

In ancient Germany the number was usually twelve, deciding both laws and facts by a majority merely.

Amongst the Anglo-Saxons jury trials were certainly wholly unknown. There was a Court for law and facts, composed of twelve persons. The laws of Ethelred ordained—“let that stand which eight of them say.”

Sometimes the number reached twenty-four, and they heard evidence, and to a certain extent resembled grand juries.

After the Norman Conquest very great changes took place. The facts were now decided not by a jury to hear and determine the weight due to evidence, but by a jury of witnesses who, themselves, furnished all, or nearly all, the evidence upon which their verdict was based. Now it is a disqualification for a juror to have formed an opinion, and it would be improper for a jury to act on the personal knowledge of its own members. At that time if a jury admitted in Court that they knew nothing of the case, they were immediately discharged and another jury empanelled, composed of men who did know all about the matter in advance. In other words, the facts were tried by a jury of witnesses. A few instances will show the remarkable character of these tribunals so improperly called juries.

In the time of William the Conqueror, a great suit was pending between the King and Bishop Gandulf. The whole county was summoned, and a judgment given which was alleged to be false.

Then twelve knights were chosen, and again a corrupt judgment was charged. The knights confessed to this, and their verdict was set aside by a Court composed of the great barons.

In the year 1121 there is a case recorded in which the jury was composed of sixteen witnesses; and again, in 1153, in a case of much notoriety, a whole county was summoned.

In the reign of Henry II. (1154 to 1189), a case occurred which not only shows conclusively that jury trials, as we understand them, were wholly unknown, but that even the jury of witnesses was without any regularity as to numbers or proceedings. This was a dispute between the Abbot of Abbingdon and the town of Wallingford, as to the right of the former to hold a market in the town. The whole county was summoned, and twenty-four "eldermen" were chosen as juror-witnesses. They gave judgment for the Abbot. The town alleged corruption, and a new trial was had, each side choosing jurors until twenty-four were obtained; the Earl of Leicester had been appointed by the King to preside at the trial. This second jury disagreed. The Earl, however, had, when a boy, seen a market held there by the Abbot, and he so reported to the King, and the Abbot was adjudged to have the market. Trial by witnesses was common after this time.

It has been erroneously supposed—even by some text writers, notably by Blackstone—that jury trial was secured, or at least confirmed, by the provision in *Magna Charta* having regard to "*judicium parium*," or the trial or judgment by one's peers. This phrase occurs in the laws of Henry I. (1100-1135), and was borrowed from the capitularies of Louis IX., of France, in which country jury trials were not known till the Revolution. It was nothing more than the trial of questions of title by a feudal tribunal composed of the lord and his suitors in the baronial court. The suitors were the tenants of the lord, and in this way the "peers" of the one whose title was in dispute. But they were not jurors in any sense of the word. They sat as assessors or assistants to the lord, and with him formed a Court which decided all questions both of law and facts. They also acted as witnesses. The majority ruled.

UNANIMITY IN JURIES.

The requirement of the unanimous finding of twelve jurors arose in this way. The jurors were simply witnesses, and no ver-

dict could be given unless twelve agreed upon the same statement of facts. There might be more than twelve, and the excess might be of a different opinion. When less than twelve agreed, the jury was "afforced," *i. e.*, additional witness-jurors were added until twelve were found who could agree. If they were obstinate they were starved into a verdict.

In the reign of Henry III. (1216-1272), in the case of the Abbot of Kirkstrede *v.* De Eyncourt, the jury stood eleven for the Abbot and one for De Eyncourt, and judgment was given for the Abbot. Not unfrequently a contumacious minority was fined and committed to jail.

In the reign of Edward III. (1327-1377), unanimity seems to have been required, and the court in one instance is reported as saying: "The Judges of Assise ought to carry the jury about with them in a cart until they agreed." In Scotland unanimity was not required.

In 1830, a Royal Commission, composed of the greatest legal minds in England, recommended that verdicts should be found by the concurrence of nine out of twelve jurors.

So much for the unanimity rule.

ASSISE OF HENRY II.

The assise of Henry II. first gave regularity to these "witness-juries." The statute has not come down to us, but its provisions are well-known. A writ issued to the sheriff to summon four knights, who in their turn summoned "twelve lawful knights who were most cognizant of the facts." The knights might be objected to for the same reasons, and in the same manner as is now customary with witnesses. When chosen they were summoned by writ "to appear in court and testify on oath the rights of the parties." When the knights chosen did not know who was the rightful owner (they originally being used only in real actions), and they so testified in Court, they were discharged and others were selected who were acquainted with the facts. If the jurors were not unanimous, additional ones were chosen until twelve agreed in favor of one side or the other. This was called "afforcing the assise."

Sometimes evidence was laid before the "recognitors," as they were called, but, as they found according to their own knowledge, they generally paid no attention to the evidence.

Jocelin de Brakelonde's Chronicle, *circa*. 1195, gives instances in which six knights only were chosen; in some other cases sixteen were selected. A jury of eight settled questions of minority of heirs.

Glanville puts a *query* in case less than twelve knights could be found who knew anything of the facts of the case.

Bracton, *circa*. 1250, and Fleta, *circa*. 1285, give full accounts of the juries in those days, which were the same as above stated, both as to the jurors being witnesses merely, and in relation to "afforcing the assise" in order to obtain the concurrence of twelve. Witnesses named in deeds were originally summoned on the jury, but about the time of Edward III., they had become separated, and were heard before the jury, which, however, might still act on its own knowledge and disregard the testimony of these witnesses.

Temp. Henry IV., 1400-1413. By this time evidence was produced before the jury as now in all cases, but the jurors still acted on their own personal knowledge too, and were summoned from amongst those who were supposed to know the facts.

There is a case reported in *Plowden's Com. p. 12, Reniger vs. Fogosa* (4th, Edw. VI.), in which the Recorder of London says: "But here the issue is to be tried by twelve men, in which case witnesses are not necessary, for in many cases an inquest shall give a precise verdict, although there are not witnesses or no evidence given them * * * * * for when the witnesses for the trial of fact are joined to the inquest, if they cannot agree with the jurors, the verdict of the twelve shall be taken, and the witnesses shall be rejected."

In the year 1498 there was a suit between the Bishop of Norwich and the Earl of Kent, in which a jury had been separated by a tempest "while the parties were showing their evidence," and one question raised for the opinion of the court was, whether, when the jury came together again, they were competent to proceed with the case and to give a verdict. The objection pressed was, that the jury had separated before the evidence was given; to which it was answered, that "the giving the evidence was wholly immaterial, and made the matter neither better nor worse; that evidence was only given to inform the consciences of the jury respecting the rights of the parties, but that if neither party choose

to give evidence, still the jury would be bound to deliver a verdict."

Indeed, prior to the sixteenth century, it is believed that there is an entire absence of all mention of evidence or witnesses as contra-distinguished from jurors, in treatises, reports, records and statutes. Before the passage of the statute of 5 Eliz., ch. 9 (1562), there was no positive law compelling the attendance of witnesses or punishing them for false testimony or non-attendance, nor any process against them. In *Somers vs. Moseley*, 2 Crompton & Meeson, p. 485, Mr. Baron Bayley says that he had been unable to find any precedents of the common *subpœna ad testificandum* of an earlier date than the reign of Elizabeth, and he conjectures that this process may have originated with the above-mentioned statute. It does not appear in the Register of Writs and Process until the reign of James I.

In the trial of Reading, 7 *State Trials*, 267, 1679, a juror was objected to as intimate with the prosecutor. Sir Francis North, Ld. Ch. J, said, "And do you challenge a juryman because he is supposed to know something of the matter? For that reason the juries are called from the neighborhood, because they should not be wholly strangers to the fact."

In Bushell's case, 1670, *Vaughan's Rep.* 147, it was said that the jury being returned from the vicinage where the cause of action arose, the law supposed them to have sufficient knowledge to try the matter in issue, "and so they must, though no evidence were given on either side in court."

CONCLUSION.

The change from juries composed of witnesses to juries empanelled to hear witnesses and decide upon their testimony was very gradual, and was not effected by any positive alteration of the statutes, but was the growth of time. From the mass of evidence here briefly detailed, it is fair to claim that the change did not begin until almost the middle of the sixteenth century, and that jury trials as they now exist were not fully established until even a later period. Certainly the origin of the unanimity rule—simply requiring twelve to agree, and reaching that number by "affording" the jury—is not such as to give it any great merit. Again,

its being exclusively English, and all other tribunals and public bodies being governed by a majority, furnish us ample reasons for abrogating what Hallam in his *Middle Ages* speaks of as that "preposterous relic of barbarism, the requirement of unanimity."

MIRIAM MONFORT.¹

As Philadelphians, we have a special interest in "Miriam Monfort." Philadelphia is the "rare and perfect city" in which her youth was passed, and our eminent citizens appear to have been her intimate acquaintances. She mentions them by name, sometimes in terms which would support an action for libel, and which we will not quote, as their children are presumably sensitive even to the slurs of a silly novel. The only excuse for the author is, that this ill-natured gossip is the nearest approach to verisimilitude in her book. After ten pages in her characteristic style, we find relief even in a personality. Miriam lives with her father and her half-sister, Evelyn, one of the fiendish characters, in a gloomy-looking grey stone edifice, whose interior has been remodeled according to Mr. Monfort's exquisite taste. "The dark panel-work within had all been rent away, to give place to plaster glossy as marble, or fine French papers, gilded and painted, or fresco painting done with great cost and labor." Much to Miriam's regret, he lived before the days of the "beautiful white marble quarries," so that he was unfortunately compelled to leave the granite steps untouched. His next neighbor was a Mr. Bainrothe, a demon whose eyes will at once betray him to any unprejudiced novel-reader. "They glittered, when he sneered, with a strange, cold light, those variegated orbs, but their ordinary expression was earnest and investigatory. They were well-cut eyes, moreover, of a yellowish-brown color, and I used to remark that the iris of both orbs was speckled with green and golden spots, which seemed to mix and dilate occasionally, and gave them a decidedly kaleidoscopic effect." The son of this variegated gentleman is engaged to Miriam, and she is saved from her father-in-

¹ MIRIAM MONFORT; a novel by the author of "The Household of Bouverie." D. Appleton & Co., New York. Pp. 556. For sale by Porter & Coates.

law only by an incident which brings out in a striking manner the grace and purity of our author's style. Miriam is subject to a "dark malady" not clearly understood by herself, but supposed by Dr. Physick to be epilepsy. Reviving, on one occasion, from her trance, yet apparently insensible, she finds Claude Bainrothe and Evelyn talking at her bedside. Evelyn describes her sister's malady in a spirit of true sympathy. "The worst of it is, it will increase with age, and the end is so deplorable—idiocy or madness, you know, invariably. Early death is desirable for Miriam; her best friends should not wish to see her life prolonged."

"'Evelyn,' he said, speaking low, and pausing in his slow continued pace, 'Evelyn, just as she is there sleeping, I would she could lie forever! Then happiness could dawn for us again.'

"'Never, Claude Bainrothe.'

"'You are unforgiving, my Evelyn! You make no allowance for necessity or the desperation of my condition. What manhood would there have been in consigning you to such a fate as awaited a penniless wife of mine? But I yearn for my lost happiness, now dearer to me than before, only to be renewed through you, Evelyn, that I still adore! Woman most beautiful, most beloved!'

"'Claude, this is mockery; release my hand; arise, this position becomes you not, nor yet me. Go, I command you! Accomplish your destiny, continue to beguile Miriam with the tale of your affection, and in return reap your harvest of deluded affection and golden store from her! And from me receive your guerdon of scorn.'

"'I am not a weak man, Evelyn; I will not receive your scorn as my fit guerdon. Is there no strength in overcoming inclination as I have done? in compelling words of affection to flow from loathing lips? For those scars alone, Evelyn, in contrast to your speckless beauty, would of themselves be enough to shock a fastidious man like me; those hideous, livid scars which I have yet to behold and shudder over, marking one whole side, as you assure me, of neck, shoulder and arm, things that in woman are of such inestimable value, of almost more importance than the divine face itself.'

"'Yes, but the other side is statuesque enough to satisfy the requisition of a sensuous sculptor,' she rejoined coldly; 'you are

wrong, Claude; let us be just. Miriam is very well formed, to say no more, and her skin is like a magnolia leaf where sun and wind have not touched or tanned it.'"

The reader will be glad to learn that before Miriam marries the scars have disappeared, and that both sides are in condition for the sensuous sculptor. Of course the engagement is broken off, leaving Miriam in a condition truly distressing. She doubts the reality of everything, including the furniture of her room. "I became nervously but not mentally convinced of the want of substance in everything around me, and have repeatedly risen and crossed the room and touched the article on the opposite side, to compel my better judgment to the conviction that it was indeed tangible and substantial, and not the merest shadow of a shade." Her next lover is Mr. Bainrothe himself, who quite atones for Claude's coldness. "His chameleon eyes seemed to emit sparks of phosphorescent fire." "I felt his audacious arms thrown suddenly around me, and his hot polluting kisses on my face. 'I love you, I love you!' he hissed in my ear, 'and sooner or later I will possess you.' Before I could strike him, spit upon him, strangle him with my hands—the thief, the midnight robber, the slave of lust—he was gone again." As these strong measures fail to commend him to Miriam, he reduces her to poverty, and is about to confine her in a mad-house, when she eludes him by going South as a governess under an assumed name. But her optical misfortunes follow her. Her employer was "emphatically a tawny man as to coloring, hair, skin and eyes being of the hue of the ribbed sea sands. His eyes shone with a clear, amber and steady light, and had an abstracted expression, accompanied with a not unfrequent and most peculiar warp of the pupils." The amber light, however, is not so fatal to Miriam as the phosphorescence, for her life in Georgia begins tranquilly, and she meets there with her true love, Wardour Wentworth. He has been wounded in a duel, and she is nursing him. "I discovered in my anguish and my power over his distracted senses, my so-far hidden gift of magnetism. Insomnolency was destroying him; opiates had been tried in vain to compose him, and now under my waving fingers and strained will, he slept the sweet, refreshing, magnetic slumber. He lived, some were pleased to say, and among others his physician, through my agency—my admirable nursing. We be-

came engaged during his convalescence, simply, quietly, unostentatiously." At last, then, Miriam seems out of danger, for Wentworth's eyes emit only the light usual on such occasions.

Unluckily, the book is not destined to close here—Miriam is to pass through two hundred more pages of melodramatic misery. Wentworth's letters become constrained, without any apparent reason, and it is not until near the end of the book that she discovers the cause. "It was yet to be determined when he penned these lines whether he should be considered a lover addressing his mistress, or an uncle writing to his niece, and in this bitter perplexity he commanded his inclinations to the side of principle." Before this little difficulty is cleared up, the family in which Miriam is governess is broken up by disasters at which the authoress only hints in a sentence truly lucid: "In another book, and at another time, when some that now live shall have passed away, or years shall have made dim the memory of results, rather than events, (for until *then* the last must continue with their causes to be *mysteries*), I may unfold the tissues of a dire tragedy enacted by some strange providence under my peculiar view alone, and thus inexplicable to others." Miriam goes North again, is ship-wrecked, and confined in a mad-house by her kaleidoscopic admirer; but finally throws her keeper into a magnetic slumber, and escapes to the arms of Wentworth.

We regret that our space forbids us to quote the author's valuable criticisms on poetry and religion. One or two we may give. "A thing of beauty is a joy forever" is "the only sensible line Keats ever wrote. He wanted a current to give him vitality, and carry off his own mental impurities. His was a stagnant being." She defends Longfellow against a violent Southerner. "Now comes along this strolling Longfellow minstrel," he continued, "with his dreary, hurdy-gurdy to cap the climax." "You shall not say that," I interrupted; "you shall not dare to say that in my presence. It is sheer slander, that you have caught up from some malignant British Review, and like all other serpents, you are venomous in proportion to your blindness." Miriam's religion consists in familiar references to the Almighty, and a strong disposition to reproach Him, after the manner of French romances, if anything goes wrong. This is the beginning of a dialogue between her and a little boy: "What Mirry cry for? Is God mad

with Mirry?" he asked. "It seems so, Ernie—yet oh, no, no! I cannot, will not believe in such injustice on the part of the Most High!"

We have met with some books as silly and melodramatic as this; but at least they did not offend us by personalities and scenes of coarse passion. For the credit of American literature, we hope that this novel will remain alone of its kind.

R. S. H.

BRINCKLÉ'S ELECTRA OF SOPHOCLES.¹

There was probably no subject that appeared to the tragic poets of ancient Greece more promising than the story of Orestes. Having for its back-ground the famous events of the Trojan expedition, it spreads over a series of incidents and situations, than which none are more yielding in tragic pathos; the sacrifice of Iphigenia, the cruel death of great Agamemnon in his own home by the hand of his faithless wife, the pitiful fate of the orphaned children, especially Electra's sorrow and anxious waiting for her brother, the vengeance inflicted on the criminal mother by her son, that unfortunate matricide pursued by the Furies and the release through divine interposition from the effects of maddening remorse. From this theme Aeschylus drew the materials for his magnificent trilogy, the *Oresteia* (consisting of the three tragedies, *Agamemnon*, *Choephoroi* and *Eumenides*), Sophocles for his *Electra* and Euripides for his *Orestes*.

The task laid by a superior power on the shoulders of Orestes, reminds us of Hamlet's case. There was in the ancient and in the modern story, a guilty mother, a seducing paramour, a murdered father, a son summoned to wreak vengeance. But with the statement of the problem all the resemblance between the two ends. Orestes was no Hamlet. The two are as widely apart as Shakspeare from Sophocles. The Greek does not in the least shrink from the deed with which the will of the gods has charged him, though it is his own mother whose heart his steel seeks; Orestes knows of no faltering, no welcome delay, no gloomy pondering, no mental agony. The thought that the moment for

¹ *The Electra of Sophocles*: By J. G. Brincklé, Philadelphia: John Campbell, 1873.

action has at length arrived, braces him with new energy, and, looking upon the chance as the turning point of an unhappy life, he slays the guilty couple with unconcealed alacrity. It is only after the perpetration of the matricidal crime, that the Erinyes fasten upon his heels. Even the maiden Electra had, before the arrival of her brother, and when the false news of his death reached her, steeled her young heart with the resolution to act as avenger; and when she hears her wounded mother's shrieks, she utters that dreadful, "strike her again!"

Mr. Brincklé's translation of the *Electra* has merits of no common order. With a fine appreciation of the spirit and the poetical beauties of the original, and a remarkable command over the resources of the English tongue, the author has breathed into his translation something of the severe and still so elegant diction of the Greek poet.

For the Greek trimeter, Mr. Brincklé has chosen the blank verse, and this requires, we think, no apology. As a Greek phrase has to be rendered by one that in English serves the same purpose, even though the single words should not literally correspond, so Greek metre should be replaced by one which with us has an analogous usage. Now for dialogue, the blank verse takes in English the same rank, which the Greek tragedy has assigned to the trimeter, and is therefore a proper substitute for the latter. If this principle is correct, it ought to lead to a proper solution of the problem, how to deal in translation with the lyric parts or choral passages of an ancient tragedy. As they were not spoken, but sung, they should receive a form that reminds modern ears of their original destination. Now our songs are composed in rhymed verses, and such, we venture to assert, would be the most pleasing and practical, as well as adequate substitute for the intricate rhythms of ancient tragedy. They would produce a better effect than the somewhat loose and irregular lines that Mr. Brincklé has chosen, or the painfully accurate feats of rhythmical acrobaticism, which we find in the strictly imitating German translations.

Rather with a view of attesting the interest with which we have followed Mr. Brincklé's translation, than in a spirit of fault-finding, we offer some critical remarks on single passages, where the sense of the original does not appear fully or properly rendered in the English version.

v. 6. "The Lycaean Agora." Why should the Greek term *agora* (market place, public square) which few readers not acquainted with Greek can understand, remain untranslated? v. 10. "Of Pelops' line in slaughters manifold." This is not very lucid. Sophocles speaks of Pelops' house replete with slaughter. v. 45. "Hither despatched by one Phanoteus." The way Phanoteus is designated might lead us to think that he was a stranger to Aegisthus and Clytemnestra. He was, on the contrary, their particular friend. See line 647. v. 140. "From laments to laments over measure still passing thou wilt soon destroy thee." This is neither plain nor does it faithfully express the meaning of the original, "always lamenting thou plungest from moderate evils into inextricable woe." 145. "He is but a child, who his parents forgets that have wretchedly perished"—*nepios* should here, as frequently, not be rendered "child," but "senseless." v. 167. "For he forgets both what I've borne and what he has learned." The Greek does not read "what I have borne," but "what he has borne," *i. e.*, how he was treated. v. 265. "And at their hands I e'en must take or want." Here extreme brevity has obscured the meaning; "from them I must receive (what I need) or suffer want." v. 391. "From thee" should be "from you" (*hymon*). Electra uses the plural, scornfully associating her sister Chrysothemis with Clytemnestra and Aegisthus. v. 397. "Thy words and I are twain." The oddity of this phrase is not to be charged to the original, which plainly reads, "Thou statest not my ways," *i. e.*, the course thou suggestest is foreign to my character. v. 444. "Who did his course dishonor," hardly renders "*thanon atimos*" *i. e.*, was disgracefully killed. The two following lines, which stand in the place of the single word *emaschaliste* would have been more suitably placed in a foot-note. v. 467. "For one with two to wrangle." As *duoin* depends on *echei logon*, the meaning is, "gives to two no occasion for quarreling." v. 593-5. "Or did this miserable father feel no yearning for my children while for his, his brother Menelaus some pity felt." No, Clytemnestra charges her husband with having no pity for his own child, while he had compassion for his brother's. The genitive *Meneleo* admits of no other interpretation. v. 592. "Base revenge." Not the revenge, but the argument is called base—"disgraceful if thus thou even sayest." v. 620. "Oh, shameless beast." The original has

no such opprobrious term. *Thremma* means "progeny," "kid," "brood," and becomes an invective in the mouth of Clytemnestra, merely by serving as a substitute for the proper term "daughter." v. 758. "In a brazen urn." The omission of *brachei* in the translation, sacrifices the fine antithesis of the *greatness* of the man (*megiston soma*) and the *small* compass of the vessel containing his ashes. v. 856. "When I have no more the assistance of a kindred object of hopes." The original, according to the best reading, more lucidly says: "When I have no more the assistance of hopes placed upon a noble kinsman." v. 864. "Unforeseen his disaster." *Askopos* means here measureless. v. 983. "Virile hearts." Two girls claiming as a distinction virile hearts, border too closely on the strong-minded variety. The Greek *andreia* had become so general a term for bravery, that its etymon, like that of Latin *virtus*, was not offensively prominent in a case like this. v. 991. "To her that counsels, and to her that lists." But the use of the masculine in the Greek text, shows that the remark was meant as a general one. v. 1028. "I'll hear with patience, when thou shalt command." The original reads: I will hear thee with patience, even when thou shouldst praise me (*chotan en leges*). v. 1054. "'Twere imbecile to seek for what is not." The latter phrase is puzzling; *therasthai kena* plainly means to hunt after useless things, to pursue vain attempts. v. 1320, 1321. "For either I had nobly perished, or had saved myself." The omission of the qualifying adverb (*kalos*) with the second verb, and the transposition of the two predicates, destroy much of the beauty of the Greek text, which makes Electra say: "Alone, I either should have saved myself honorably, or found an honorable death." v. 1342. "A man in hell." Not exactly that, a man "in Hades" is merely a dead man. v. 1414. "Day by day." The meaning of *Kathemia* in this passage is, "on this day." 1434. "All has succeeded; what shall follow next." This hardly expresses what the line means, viz.: having so far succeeded, do the rest (the slaughtering of Aegisthus) in the same manner. v. 1469. By translating *syggenes* kinsman, the ambiguity of the term, that allowed the hearers to think of Clytemnestra, is lost.

The shorter measure of the English blank verse, has occasionally led to perhaps unavoidable curtailments and condensations.

Unwarranted, however, is the omission of a whole line, v. 1334 of the original text. The desire to avoid hackneyed expressions seems to have inclined the translator sometimes to the opposite failing, the use of exotic terms, such as "hippic" breath. But in spite of all such minor shortcomings, the great difficulties which the translation of a Greek tragedy into English verse presents, have been remarkably well overcome, and Mr. Brincklé's translation will, for its faithfulness and poetical spirit, deservedly take a high rank among all similar efforts. O. S.

MIND AND BODY.¹

NO Physics can ever be worthy of its name which excludes Metaphysics; no Metaphysics is entitled to attention which does not accept and attempt to harmonize the facts of Physics. Both by the law of its genesis, and of its intellectual supremacy, *Metaphysics* must be *after* Physics, and Physics has no intellectual value except as it prepares the path and the materials for *Metaphysics*.

No theory of the *body* of man is worthy of attention which does not acknowledge the *soul* as the controlling force of the body. No theory of the soul, as we know the soul in Philosophy, is entitled to respect, which ignores or diminishes the reality of the personal union into which it has taken the body with itself—a union the most consummate and absolute of which we know, or of which we can conceive, infinitely transcending the completeness of the most perfect mechanical and chemical unions—a union so complete that, though two distinct substances are involved in it, it makes them, through a wide range of observations, as completely one to us as if they were one substance; so that we can say the human

¹ Illustrations of the influence of the mind upon the body in health and disease. Designed to elucidate the action of the imagination. By Daniel Hack Tuke, M. D., M. R. C. P., Joint Author of "The Manual of Psychological Medicine;" Foreign Associate of the Medico-Psychological Society of Paris; formerly Lecturer on Psychological Medicine at the York School of Medicine, and Visiting Medical Officer to the York Retreat. "There is not a natural action in the body, whether involuntary or voluntary, that may not be influenced by the peculiar state of the mind at the time."—*John Hunter*. Philadelphia: Henry C. Lea, 1873. 8vo. 416.

body does nothing proper to it without the soul, the human soul does nothing proper to it without the body. As the soul operates through the body, the body operates by the soul. The soul cannot perform the most exquisite act of abstract thinking without a co-operation of the body which can be distinctly demonstrated, and the most involuntary and trifling acts distinctive of the body, involve and demonstrate the presence of the soul. So much is this the case that, if the body gave no other evidence of the presence of the soul than the distinctive tremulousness of the smallest muscle, or the slightest conceivable act involving true muscular movement, it would constitute ample evidence that the soul was still there. The best modern science accepts, practically at least, these principles. The extremest spiritualist in Philosophy, though he may talk the old jargon, which treats the body as, if not a prison, at least a mere mechanical and chemical appendage of the soul, cannot think or write without showing the extravagance and hollowness of his view. To nothing does the common, as well as the educated, consciousness more positively testify, than to the personal unity of man: his body is not an appendage to himself, but it is a part of himself. He is not, as he has been called, an "intelligence served by organs," but he is a being in whom two natures constitute one indivisible person—that is, so constitute the person that if divided from each other, absolutely and forever, the personality itself, as it now exists, would lose its completeness: there would remain after such a dissolution, not man, but at most the spirit of man, a higher and nobler part, and yet but a part. The soul of man is but a part of man.

It is on grounds like these that able works on "Body and Mind," though written with a prevaillingly physical or medical aim, have a great attraction to the true metaphysician. Metaphysics shall be perfect in all its theories so soon as Physics shall be perfect in its collection of all its facts. The contempt which ignorant or arrogant physicists heap on Metaphysics is really the disgrace or the misfortune of the physical sciences. Reach the demonstrably absolute in Physics, and we shall not demand in vain that the thinkers of the race shall give us a demonstrably absolute Philosophy. On the general theme to which the book we review is devoted, the ages have pondered. A great body of literature exists in connection, in various aspects, with the relations of body

and mind. Tuke enumerates ninety works among the principal authorities to which he refers. Nearly all of these are English, or translations into English; a few are French. Not one, except through translations, is German, though the German possesses, beyond all other languages combined, a fund of books bearing on this theme. In addition to the ample treatment of the topic in the *Systems*, and the more general psychological, anthropological, practical and religious works, there are special treatises by Erdmann (1837, 1849), Ennemoser (1825), Benecke (1826), Beraz (1836), Hilgers (1834), Messerschmidt (1837), and by others of more recent date, devoted to the discussion of the essential conception of body and soul, their relation to each other, their distinctness, their intimate reciprocal action, and the connection between just views of them and of man's moral freedom and accountability, the question whether the phenomena of intellectual activity are mere operations of a high organization, or of an essence, united intimately, indeed, with it, but distinct, spiritual, immortal.

The great theme, "Body and Mind," is treated by Dr. Tuke in its connection with medical science. He designs to illustrate the influence of mind upon the body in health and disease, in order to elucidate the action of the imagination. His motto from Hunter gives the clue to the argument and the spirit of the book.

The book was suggested by a paragraph in a newspaper on the curative effects of a railway disaster. After his introduction, Dr. Tuke presents his matter under four divisions. 1st. The Intellect. 2d. The Emotions. 3d. The Will. 4th. The Influence of the mind upon the body in the cure of disease. Under the Intellect are presented:—1. General Psychological and Physiological Principles. 2. The Influence of the Intellect upon sensation, on the voluntary and involuntary muscles, and on the organic functions. The Emotions are handled in the same general way, as is also the Will. In the fourth part, after a presentation of general principles, the author traces the influence of mental states upon disorders of sensation, motion and the organic functions, and the main discussion of the book closes with a practical application of the influence of the mind on the body to medical practice. Among the earlier recognitions of correct principles, he quotes

(p. 19), Unzer, 1771, who says: "We often connect with our external sensations the *expectations* of others formerly connected with them, and thus a *foreseeing* accompanies our external sensation, which mingles its actions in the mechanical machines with those arising from external sensation." "Expectation of the action of a remedy often causes us to experience its operation beforehand." Hunter, 1786-7, says: "I can fix my attention to any part, until I have a sensation in that part."

Dr. Tuke's book will be valued for its easy, pleasant, discursive style, and its practical suggestiveness, but most of all, for its large accumulation of facts. These facts, in common with the whole body of evidence in the case, justify certain conclusions in regard to soul and body. *First*, they prove that soul and body are distinct. Their laws of action on each other belong neither in species nor in genus, to any of the departments of physical power. No analogies exist to them, even in the subtlest forms in which matter is operative. Matter is operative on mind, but under laws wholly distinct from those by which it operates on unpsychical matter. Light operates on the mind in awakening consciousness, perception, certain sensations of pleasure, but not as it operates in the whole sphere of the unphysical. The operation of light and of all matter on the body is accompanied by entirely distinct sets of results, when the body is possessed of the soul, and again when it is destitute of it. Fire will not burn a living body in precisely the same manner in which it burns a dead one, and the vast array of forces which dissolve the dead body are the elements of the life and power of the living body. Oxygen consumes the dead body: the living body consumes oxygen and converts it into force. *Second*, the facts show that though body and soul are distinct, their unity is very close, so close and peculiar that out of it arises what is so transcendently wonderful, that up to this hour it has failed of due recognition, though the evidences of it have such overwhelming force that glimpses of it exist from the earliest time and through all time. This great ignored or imperfectly recognized principle is the principle of the *personal fellowship of attributes*; that is, that in the unity of the person, by it, and in consequence of it, the two essences really share each other's properties, so that we have a personally corporeal soul and a personally psychical body. In consequence of this the body receives, in its personal union with the

soul, *real attributes* which it cannot have outside of that union, and which, within it, give to it capacities which mere impersonal matter cannot possess. The "seeing eye" and "hearing ear" are not mere forms of phrase, but the eye does really see *by* the soul, as the soul sees *through* the eye. The nerve which thrills with the pain feels pain *by* the soul, as the soul feels pain *through* the nerve. There is one real, indivisible, personal act.

Every sensation, perception, cognition, imagination, involves a real *conjoint* affection or action of the personal soul, and of the personalized organ. The soul is not a spider in the center of a cobweb of nerves, but is an essence, which has evolved organism by taking matter into personal union with itself, and which gives to the nerves power to feel by it, as it uses the nerves in turn to receive influence through them, neither ever acting apart from the other. The two sets of acts are, in a certain sense, distinct as the essences themselves are; in some cases the intervals can be marked by time, but their coalescence is the act of consciousness, the act of their complete unity. The *separate* action of touch upon the nerves is conveyed with an ascertainable interval to the soul, but the *perceived* touch is that in which the *separation* ceases, and the one indivisible act of consciousness, in the personal mind and the personalized body, takes place. There is no interval in perception. It takes place indivisibly, in the mind through the nerve, and in the nerve by the mind. The motion which becomes a co-factor in perception takes time, but the perception takes none. Meanwhile, the nerve has not acted apart from the mind; the soul has not been separated from it in the interval of unconsciousness; the soul has given the nerve its nerve-power. The power of the nerve to transmit depends upon its personal organic union with the soul. The nerve of a dead body carries no force from a touch. The nerve receives real attributes from the soul in the union, and in this personal connection and because of it, though real matter, does what matter, as such, cannot do—it feels; feels none the less really because it feels by the soul. The people and the philosophers here, as in many cases, divide the truth between them. The illiterate man thinks that the pain is in his toe, and not in his mind; the philosopher thinks the pain is in his mind, and not in his toe. The fact is, it is in both. The nerve has real pain by the mind, the mind real pain through the nerve. The pain is in both, indi-

visibly—not two pains, but one pain ; not two parts of one pain, but a pain without parts in one person ; in the mind as person, in the body as personalized by the the mind. It can exist in neither without the personal co-operation of the other. Take away the nerve from the organism, and neither nerve nor mind can feel pain ; abstract the mind by an intense interest, and neither mind nor nerve feels pain. We *can* hold a burning coal within our hand by thinking on the frosty Caucasus—on a simple condition—that we think of nothing else. We assert that there is no cure for the spurious Monism of materialism and idealism on the one side, and of the hopeless Dualism which reigns in the current philosophy and the popular thinking on the other, except in the recognition of the personal unity of man—the monism of person harmonizing the duality of natures. Man is not two persons, or a jumble of person and non-person—a muddle of spirit resenting matter, and of matter clogging and embarrassing spirit. Man is a personal unity. Man is a unity of two parts. In this is implied that the parts are not co-ordinate and independent. Two, as two, cannot be one. One must be first, the other second ; one must be higher, the other lower ; one must depend, the other sustain ; one must have personality, the other must receive it.

Physics and Metaphysics, the former negatively, the latter positively, demonstrate that the psychical is the first, the higher, the sustainer, the personal ; the physical is the second, the lower, the dependent, the personalized. The entire world of the conscious, taking the term conscious in its widest reach, shows that the psychical in the organism, is that for which the physical in it exists. The reason why the matter of an oyster's organism is not left inorganic, is found in the psychical element of the oyster. The *matter* in his organism is all arranged in adaptation to his little circle of sensations and perceptions. Taking it for granted that all conscious being is in part an object for itself, the conscious element is that to which the material element is adjusted. All nature illustrates this. The inorganic is for the organic. The organic is for the psychical in it. The psychical, then, is first. It is the conditioning power of the material. It is the organizing force which lifts the organic out of the inorganic. The reason why that which grows from the germ of an oyster differs from that which grows from the germ of a man, is not in the material, as

physical science knows it. The difference in the material is already conditioned with reference to the character and purpose of the psychical. The chemical and all the physical differences between the two germs shed no light on the differences of the result. The psychic is not a mere undiscovered material force—it is a force generically different from matter.

The elementary psychical is as multiform and varied as the elementary physical, and out of its varieties, assimilating the varieties of the material, each to its own wants, arises the organic world.

What are the psychical and the organic? They are the embodiment of two great ideas—creator and creature, artificer and workmanship, the plastic power and the moulded matter. The Universe is the out-thought of God, and God's out-thought can be nothing other than the revelations of His own mind and activity. He *is* conscious, free Creator, Artificer, Moulder. His work is creation, the Divine Art of Nature, the shape through which the finite shifts in the eternal and infinite line of grace, power and mystery. In the Psychical, God posits the forces which are shadows and remembrancers of His own creative, plastic power, and puts it into nature for its work of sub-creation. The Psychical is, in a larger or smaller sphere, a Vice-Creator, in which a determinate set of forces is Divinely immanent. The Psychical enfolds the plan, the material submits to plan, and the organic is the result. The organic is the harmony of the psychical and material in plan. As the psychical is a little sub-creator, the organic is a little sub-creation, in which the psychical remains immanent, as the sub-cause. Each organism is the rising of a new world of order out of the chaos of the inorganic. On each little deep, miniature of the vast whole, hovers and broods the psychic spirit, with the less or greater measure of embodied force appointed to it. This power of the psychic on the physical is followed, as God pleases, by the feeble glimmer of mere sensation, never growing, or by the day-spring of a light whose noon is the resplendent glory of reason and immortality.

C. P. KRAUTH.

NEW BOOKS.

LEADERS OF FRANCE OR MEN OF THE THIRD REPUBLIC, also under the title of "The Men of the Third Republic or the present Leaders of France," reprinted (with large additions) from the London *Daily News*. Philadelphia: Porter and Coates. 1873, pp. 384.

The sketches here given are very clever photographs of the men most prominent in France to-day, either by virtue of their services for good or evil, in making France what it is, or in right of what they did to prevent or launch on France the Republic. From Thiers to MacMahon was a short step, but around each man are gathered groups of notables who represent all the diversities of politics, literature and theology through which France has passed in the last half century that covers, if not the lives, at least the achievements of the men most notable in its revolutions and evolutions. The book is written in a clear, crisp, wholesome tone, not lavish of praise or abuse, not prejudiced or pretentious, but it leaves much to the reader to draw from his knowledge of the literary productions of nearly all the subjects of the sketches in the volume; or, if he has no such acquaintance, then it invites him to an early examination of the works of those of the French leaders who have written—and almost all have done so. It is, therefore, serviceable not only in what it tells, but in what it suggests, and thus it does a double good, instructing and leading to new sources of knowledge. We wish publishers would take titles as authors give them, and not indulge in that sin against honest bibliography—improving on an author's property.

PROTECTION AGAINST FIRE, AND THE BEST MEANS OF PUTTING OUT FIRES IN CITIES, TOWNS AND VILLAGES, with practical suggestions for the security of life and property. By Joseph Bird. New York: Hurd and Houghton. 1873, pp. 278. For sale by Porter and Coates.

The Riverside Press has given us a very beautiful book. The publishers have done their share admirably well, the index shows great bibliographical conscientiousness, and all the mechanical appliances are at hand to help the author on in his story, but unluckily he has no story to tell. A farrago of common-places, eked out by personal experiences of the most trivial kind, and supplemented by long extracts from Evelyn and Pepys, on the Great Fire in London, and De Foe's History of the Plague, with newspaper cuttings and large borrowings from Braidwood, the London Chief, who sacrificed his life in a preventible fire—all these are items of more or less interest, and make a book; but

they do not make it worth reading or worth publishing. The author seems to be a mild sort of enthusiast, with a tolerable craze on the subject of preventing great fires by putting them out at the start. A few simple rules of action, well distributed, and brought home to householders, might serve a good purpose; but the ambition of becoming an author, the desire to spread out his thin paste of material to cover almost to cracking the length of a book, and the utter want of knowledge of the simplest canons of literary composition, are the reasons that may account for our opinion of Mr. Bird's book. With every desire to give the writer credit for good intentions, we cannot but regret that his book had not got a little nearer that fiery place to which he has helped to make an easier road.

THE LIFE OF ALEXANDER VON HUMBOLDT, compiled in commemoration of the centenary of his birth. By J. Lowenberg, Robert Avé Lallement, and Alfred Dove, edited by Professor Carl Bruhns, Director of the Observatory at Leipzig, in two volumes, translated from the German by Jane and Caroline Lassell, London: Longmans. Boston and New York: Lee and Shepard, 1873. [On the cover—Life of A. Von Humboldt. Bruhns and Lassell.]

This is a splendid example of the conscientious industry of the German men of science and letters. Not content to tell the story of Humboldt's great achievements in science, his travels in America, his pains-taking labor in publishing the results, his well-earned distinction as the Nestor of scientific Europe, and his prodigious zeal in working at *Cosmos* down to the last day of health and strength, we have also a cool, dispassionate and apparently truthful record of his work as a diplomatist, and of his close relation with the King and Court of Prussia in its worst days. There is no effort made to gloss over his diplomatic courtesy, in his dealings with men of science and men of the world; and some of the stories told of his efforts to reconcile all sorts of contradictory influences, are not likely to raise our estimate of Humboldt's personal character. He was not, however, a bit particular as to the estimate people chose to make of his moral greatness, so long as he received due or undue honor and praise for his scientific achievements; indeed, he seems rather to have affected the tone and air of a man to whom everything was permitted, so long as he remained true to the main business of his life, and kept up with the progress of science.

The recent monograph on Humboldt by Lord Houghton gives pretty much the same result, but in a sketchy, hasty way, that shows the truth no doubt, yet does not impress it; here, however, one author after another, of the half-dozen who have labored to

raise this Centennial Memorial, takes care to prevent any undue praise, any common-place adulation, any generally received notion from remaining without full explanation. Of course, great stress is laid on the confidential letters, written to Varnhagen, and published by that worthy's most worthless niece—yet it is very plain that much of the characteristic element of these letters, the abuse of men, and the sneering and scoffing at principles, was due to Humboldt's unceasing effort to please his correspondent—and Varnhagen was a disappointed man, who took infinite delight in belittling his contemporaries.

The same spirit made Humboldt a republican with Arago; a democrat with his American correspondents; a Liberal, but a Monarchist with the King of Prussia; and the exhibition is certainly not a pleasing one. He was largely a sciolist in science too, and perhaps the want of originality in his investigations may be attributed, in part at least, to the infinite industry with which he showed himself gifted through all the years of his long life. The honors heaped upon him in his lifetime, were too great to stand the test of time; and his death has brought about a fairer test of his real services to science, and a better judgment as to his real place in its pantheon. No better way could be found for securing him a permanent niche there, than the rigid and cool judgment exercised by his last biographers in the estimates carefully put upon his various labors.

REFORMATORY PRISON DISCIPLINE, as developed by the Right Hon. Sir Walter Crofton, in the Irish Convict Prisons. By Mary Carpenter, author of "Juvenile Delinquents," "Our Convicts," "Six Months in India," etc., etc. London: Longmans. 1872, pp. 143.

The British Social Science Association invited an International Prison Congress, which met under its auspices in London last summer, and had the usual record of papers read, subjects discussed, and resolutions adopted, in the manner of congresses and conventions, both foreign and domestic. One of the best results of the meeting, however, was this little volume, giving a summary of the Irish Prison System, which aims at securing the largest measure of license for the prisoner, and putting him on honor and in competition with his fellows for the substantial rewards of merit and good conduct in and out of prison. Following in the steps of some earlier reformers, Miss Carpenter came out to this country, and during the summer that has just passed, devoted herself to examining our prisons and reformatories, and at the same time tried to spread a knowledge and invite the introduction of the Irish system here. To aid her in this task, the American Social Science Association gave Miss Carpenter an official recognition, and is now distributing copies of her book, at the expense of a

member, a lady in Boston, so that it may be seed planted in the ground broken by her missionary labors, and perhaps blossom into flower and ripen into fruit somewhere in this country, so full of new experiments, and so ready to test novelties in charities, and in all other forms and kinds of public work. The subject is one that is daily growing into more pressing importance, and it needs all the help that can be got elsewhere.

Few persons know much, if anything, of the discipline of our prisons and reformatories. They are looked upon by the bulk of the people as necessary evils. Their management is left to philanthropic individuals and to the care of a few public-spirited men and women in the immediate locality. Only lately State Boards have been created, and that of Pennsylvania is hard at work gathering statistics and information as to the exact condition of our public and private charities and institutions. Their hands are full of preliminary work, and their efforts are well directed in securing a decent care for the honest sick and poor, the inmates of alms-houses and hospitals. Reform in this direction is not difficult, although needing time, patience and money, all of which cannot be procured without the active participation of local authorities. But even when this is all done, there will remain the important question of how far and how well our present prisons and reformatories are doing the work assigned to them. Here a whole flood of discussion opens up, as to the proper functions of a prison, and how best to secure its effective discipline. Miss Carpenter adopts wholly and unreservedly the Irish Prison System, which is in every respect the opposite of our Pennsylvania prison system. Now we believe that there are errors in both, as in all extreme theories, carried out to the farthest point, as some of their ardent adherents would have it; but that in practice these are reduced by the daily experience of the men in charge, and by their skillful adjustment of the rules of the prison to the requirements of its inmates. Still the book of Miss Carpenter is a valuable contribution to social science, and shows how it embraces not only far-reaching projects of reform, but matters of small importance in the public eye, yet deserving the intelligent study of its problems, great and small.

WHAT TO WEAR, by Elizabeth Stuart Phelps, Boston : Osgood. Philadelphia : Claxton. 1873. Pp. 92.

The subject-matter of this little pamphlet is one of very considerable interest, and deserving of much fairer treatment than it gets here. The question of the dress of to-day has of late been discussed in a variety of ways—not the least interesting is its relation to the Darwinian theory, in a clever paper in MacMillan's Magazine by a son of the great naturalist himself. Miss Phelps is too much of a sensational writer to let slip so good a chance of

ventilating her theories on all sorts of questions that have nothing in the world to do with the matter in hand, and she sacrifices a great deal of useful space to matters that are of much moment in themselves, as for instance woman's rights, woman's suffrage and woman's education, but not of much direct use in reference to woman's dress. Barring the usual exasperations which might be expected from a woman's essay, prepared for and read to the woman's club of and in Boston, the pamphlet says not a few sound and sensible things about the disadvantages at which girls and women are put in their various relative competitions with boys and men, by the want of dress suitable as that of a man is to the work in hand. Swaddled in many skirts, squeezed in many laces, distorted in many folds, distracted by many utterly useless ornaments, the sexes are distinguished by giving boys even from their earliest use of their limbs, abundant opportunity for their exercise and development, while the girls are always being reproved for an inferiority that is mainly due to the dress inflicted on them, without any choice. In this direction, Miss Phelps has given sound advice and sensible caution, and it is to be hoped that she may be the Moses of the sex, to lead them out of the Egyptian darkness of their bad habits of dress into a better land.

THE RED ROVER—THE PILOT—WING AND WING. By J. Fennimore Cooper. Appleton & Co.

What is it that makes a few illusions of fiction pleasurable, and others the most wearying of all dull things, it seems next to impossible to discover by analysis; why a melodrama, not less absurd, tried by common sense, than the rest of its kind, should carry one away, while another only bores—why one novel, false to life at every turn, is still of the same, or almost the same, fresh interest to us as when we were children, and a second, more accurate, it may be, in many ways, cannot even move us to the point of attacking its absurdities. For two examples, out of a multitude, take Ruy Blas and the Lady of Lyons Ivanhoe, say, and the books before us. Almost everything untrue in one has its analogue in the other; and there not being degrees of impossibility, we have no right to give even a passing belief, that necessary element of enjoyment, to one rather than to the rest; and yet there is a difference as wide as east from west—a difference which, as we have said, is difficult to get at, but which it may be easier to find in the book which has failed than in that which has succeeded. In other words, why is it that The Pilot and Red Rover—putting Wing-and-Wing aside for the present—are such heavy reading for a person who has passed the earliest romantic age? All the constituents of a story are there—dash, incident, passion, not much that is ridiculous, and a great deal of manly open-air vigor. These go far to make a good nautical tale; yet the two books, we are

considering, are not good, and the reason seems to be—that two their inconsistent manners of treating the pictures of sea-life are awkwardly confounded together. There are two scales of drawing—two key-notes, as it were—one natural, the other romantic; the one taken from the writer's own experience and feelings, the other assumed, to give his story that dignity which real life cannot permit, a mounting of his heroes on a cothurnus, and bidding them speak through a sounding mask; and the suddenness with which the characters pass from the simple and natural to the sublime and absurd—indeed the way they act in both styles at once—it is that mars the artistic unity of the novels. We are shown at every few lines that the terrible lion is only Bottom the Weaver, and most of the time we see the latter honest face through the foolish guise.

And then, what very fine language they all talk, especially those whom the author calls "females." The men say "aye," "sirrah" and "sooth." But as for the gentler beings who warned, comforted and commanded the American marine of Cooper's day, take this as an example, and be thankful for modern degeneracy:

"Yonder vessel must possess an extraordinary, not to say an insensible crew!" exclaimed the governess, in a tone bordering on astonishment. "If such things were, it would not be difficult to fancy her a spectre-ship."

"She is truly an admirably-proportioned and a beautifully-equipped trader!" "Did my apprehensions deceive me, or were we in actual danger of getting the two vessels entangled?"

"There was certainly some reason for apprehension; but we are now safe."
(Not unlike the conversations in Ollendorff.)

"For which we have to thank your skill. The manner in which you just extricated us from the late danger has a direct tendency to contradict all that you have foretold of that which is to come."

"I well know that my conduct may bear an unfavorable construction, but—" "You thought it no harm to laugh at the weakness of three credulous females," resumed Mrs. Wyllys, smiling. "You have had your amusement, and now, I hope, you will be more disposed to pity what is said to be a natural infirmity of woman's mind."

The governess glanced her eye at Gertrude, with an expression that seemed to say it would be cruel to trifle further with the apprehension of one so innocent and so young. The look of Wilder followed her own; and he answered with a sincerity that was well calculated to carry conviction:

"On the faith which a gentleman owes to all your sex, madam, what I have already told you I continue to believe."

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"Your look, your voice, and your air of good faith, form a strange contradiction to your words, young man; for, while the former almost tempt me to believe you honest, the latter have not a shade of reason to support them. Perhaps I ought to be ashamed of such a weakness, and yet I will acknowledge that the mysterious quiet which seems to have settled forever on yonder ship, has excited an inexplicable uneasiness that may in some way be connected with her character. She is certainly a slaver?"

"She is certainly very beautiful!" exclaimed Gertrude.

"Very beautiful!" Wilder rejoined.

"There is a man still seated on one of her yards, who appears to be entranced in his occupation," continued Mrs. Wyllys, leaning her chin thoughtfully on a hand, as she gazed at the object of which she was speaking. "Not once, during the time we were in so much danger of getting the ships entangled, did the seaman bestow so much as a stolen glance toward us. He resembles the solitary individual in the city of the transformed; for not another mortal is there to keep him company, so far as we may discover."

But this, it should be said, is only ordinary, colloquial, fair-weather-language. It is in the fury of the storm, complicated by the cannon-balls of a shore-battery, or of a pursuing frigate, when the mizzen-mast comes crashing to the deck, when the lee-scuppers and the taffrail and the royals are thrown into wild confusion, and when the reader is growing paler at every half-page, that the conversational abilities of our gallant navy are really displayed. We know not, then, which the more to admire, their gallantry or their rhetoric, their skill in navigation or their beautiful sentiments, their control over their vessels or their command of language. But they are brave and honest fellows after all, who look very handsome in their jaunty caps and their white pantaloons, lively and good-natured, too, and we sincerely rejoice to see them married to their sweethearts on the last page, and envy them their power of fascination, knowing that no young female heart will ever flutter in that way for our presence, or pine so tenderly in our absence. And the common sailors, Dick Fid of the Red Rover, and Long Tom Coffin of the Pilot—the latter whomust have had a finished college education, but knew his place too well to boast. Perhaps he might have studied for the ministry, for he is always ready to rebuke bad language, and his "Peace, blasphemer!" should put to the blush the ordinary unregenerate boatswain, are they not sturdy and true? And how becoming to them are their little weaknesses—a touch of contradictiousness in matters of opinion concerning fine points of seamanship, some very gentlemanly superstition—these are specks enhancing the perfection of nautical character. What if the sailor, as we know him, is not the same; if he drink and he swear, and the erotic temperament of his profession betray him into too frequent indiscretions; if his theology seldom attain the spirituality of Long Tom Coffin's views, and his affections be not as susceptible as Dick Fid's? Is this to the purpose? What do we ask of a novel but to give us what real life denies—to hold out to us the snug harbor, where we can enjoy an ideal repose, furl in thought our world-worn sails, stretch out the awnings and lounge about the quarter-deck of fancy in the most spotless of duck, while all the ills that flesh is heir to break against the fictitious break-water, not reaching us by so much as a ripple? As well call upon Mr. Cooper to describe sea-sickness, or introduce a nasty scurvy into his charming tale. But a word or two about *Wing-and-Wing*. It is not a well-known book, but it is one of the best of the set.

There is less to criticise in it, and more to praise by a hundred times, than in the Pilot or Red Rover. Some of the situations are exceeding effective, and the dialogue is natural and lively. All the volumes before us are in excellent of typography, with illustratious by Darley of about average merit, and are cheap, being only three-quarters of a dollar apiece.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

Proceedings of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania on the Presentation of the Penn Papers, and address of Craig Biddle. (March 10, 1873.)

Miriam Monfort: A Novel. By the author of "The Household of Bouverie." New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1873. Pp. 556. Cloth oc. For sale by Porter & Coates.

The Wing-and-Wing; or Le Feu Follet: A Tale. By J. Fenimore Cooper. New York: D. Appleton & Co. Pp. 192. Paper, 75 cents. For sale by Porter & Coates.

Report for the year 1872, by John Hullah, Esq., Inspector of Music, on the Examination in Music of the Students of Training Schools in Great Britain. London. Paper, 18 pp.

The Son of the Organ-Grinder. By Marie Sophie Schwartz. Translated from the Swedish, by Selma Borg and Marie A. Brown. Philadelphia: Porter & Coates. Pp. 353. Cloth, \$1.50; Paper, \$1.00.

Sermons Preached before His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, during his Tour in the East, in the Spring of 1862, with some notice of the localities visited. By Arthur Penrhyn Stanley, D D., Regius Professor of Ecclesiastical History in the University of Oxford, etc. Philadelphia: Porter & Coates. Pp. 272. Cloth, \$1.50.

THE
PENN MONTHLY.

NOVEMBER, 1873.

THE MONTH.

THE affairs of France continue to be in a state of doubt and uncertainty. The reaction has gone on too rapidly toward the monarchy, and at last accounts the tide seemed to be checked or even on the ebb. The fusion of the Legitimists and Orleanists accomplished so soon after the downfall of Thiers and the elections in various departments have rather frightened the much quarreling party of the left into good behavior. We hear little of M. Ranc or M. Barodet. Gambetta is as quiet as a mouse, and arrangements are said to be making for a public exhibition of him and M. Thiers in the fraternal act of embracing each other for the party's sake. A very unintelligible letter from one of the Republican journalists has drawn from Prince Napoleon an equally luminous reply from which—and some reports of elections which resulted in Republican successes—one may conclude that an alliance defensive and offensive has been formed between the Republicans and the Bonapartists. Such an event alone proves the utter worthlessness of all prophecy in the region of French politics. MM. Thiers, Rouher and Gambetta, clasping each other's hands and swearing eternal friendship, would be a curious spectacle enough, even if such an alliance of affection were not occasioned by the threatening advance of the Count de Chambord, borne on the shoulders of the sons of Louis Phillippe, and waving before them the insignia of the ancient monarchy—white flag, lilies and all.

It is premature to speak of the trial of Marshal Bazaine. After an imprisonment, the horrors of which must have been very great—(for we read in a French journal that the government has steadily refused to grant the prisoner his repeated prayer for the services of his own cook—an artist, we understand, of extraordinary skill—and compelled him to subsist on viands sent from a neighboring café)—the Premier Marshal of the Second Empire has been brought to trial. The Court presided over by the Duke d'Aumale, lately returned from an exile of more than twenty years, is held in the Petit Trianon of Marie Antoinette. There the Marshal has been compelled to sit day after day, and listen to a long indictment prepared by General Riviere, in which his sins of commission and omission were dwelt upon without mercy and at length. The examination of witnesses has just begun, and it is impossible at the present to form any idea of the result. The composition of the Court is certainly not very favorable to the prisoner. The Duke d'Aumale, sitting in judgment on Napoleon's favorite Marshal, makes one wonder how a General of Cromwell's would have fared at the hands of Charles the Second.

CASTELAR seems to be making a good fight, but his task is Herculean. The two principal events, are the bombardments of Alicante and of Carthagea. The insurgent ships having appeared before the former place, and failing to bring it at once to terms, commenced a regular bombardment, which is said to have caused great damage, but did not compel it to surrender, and at length withdrew discomfited. The inhabitants seem to have behaved well, and Senor Maisonave, who represented the Government, is reported as having borne a gallant part in the struggle.

At Carthagea, affairs are in a dreadful condition. The Government forces have completed their plans, and are pressing the besieged very closely. The expenditure of war material must be very considerable, if the contest be not very bloody; a correspondent giving us to understand that the fire from the forts is so constant that the vineyards and orchards in the environs of the town are in serious danger of destruction. A naval engagement has taken place in the harbor—one of the drawn battles so common in the annals of iron-clad navies—and at last accounts the blockade was still maintained by sea, and the siege by land, with

prospect of bringing the inhabitants speedily to terms. The Carlists have had another fight with the government forces, in which both claim a victory; but there are ominous rumors of a return to France of Don Carlos and his wife. His cause certainly does not look as favorably as it did a month ago. But we are altogether at the mercy of the cable news-man who is sometimes not to be relied upon.

FROM England we hear of Landseer's death. No painter of our time has achieved wider reputation or popularity, though it is to be doubted whether his tact in the choice of subjects and a certain subtle humor in dealing with them had not more to do with both popularity and fame than any skill he showed in his art. He was pre-eminently an English artist, with an Englishman's love of sport, of dogs and horses, of country life, and of aristocratic friends. A thorough man of the world, he was no less famous for his social than for his higher gifts. For some years he has been rapidly failing, and his death was not unlooked for. He was buried at St. Paul's.

Another eminent man has died within the month, the Spanish politician Olozaga. Born in 1803, he early left his profession of the law for politics. Frequently elected to the Chamber under all the changes of Spanish politics, he managed generally to keep on the winning side, although he was twice exiled for a time. Four times named minister at Paris, in 1838, 1854, 1868 and 1871, reporter of the Constitutional Commission of 1837, and chief of that of 1870, and finally President of the Cortes for some months, he achieved as many successes as any Spanish politician of the century. He died at Enghien in Belgium, where he has lived for the last year in complete retirement.

THE Evangelical Alliance, as it is called, has caused some excitement by its meeting in New York. Representatives of most of the European countries, with a certain Mr. Sheshadri from Bombay, have been for a fortnight engaged in fraternal embraces and an interchange of views. The spectacle has been interesting, and the effect no doubt good. At one time five churches were crammed with the curious and the devout, and a multitude of

papers prepared for the occasion were read to attentive and enthusiastic audiences. The delegates have paid visits to Philadelphia and Washington, and are doubtless going home strongly impressed with certain features of American hospitality. During their visit to this city of fifteen hours' duration they were feasted only twice, so their ideas of our Philadelphian life may not be the same as those of an eminent stranger who recently said that "we come together to eat and go away to sleep." For this at least let us be thankful.

ONE of the most remarkable discoveries of modern times has recently been made in the East, if the *Augsburg Gazette* be worthy of belief. Dr. Henry Schliemann, a scholar of extraordinary attainments, has been for some time making explorations of the plain of Troy. Having carefully examined the various sites about which scholars disagree, the hill of Bounarbashi where Welcker places Troy, the hills of Ohiblak preferred by Barker Webb and Clarke, the ridge near Atzik-Koi, where Ulrichs thought he had discovered the ancient city and the spot which Strabo declared to have been the site, Dr. Schliemann enthusiastically announces that he has discovered at Novum Ilium in the plain half way between the range of Ida and the sea, undoubted proof of its being the Troy of Homer. Our knowledge of what he has really done is confined to some quotations from the *Augsburg* and *Cologne Gazettes*, containing letters from him and a comment from a Dr. Von Eckenbrecher—an archeologist of some reputation, who has himself explored the region and is on the whole rather favorable to Schliemann. After much excavating Dr. Schliemann writes that he came suddenly upon a copper object of singular form, which proved to be a dish in the form of a tray, a copper kettle, a plate, four silver vases, a bottle and a goblet of pure gold, and to bring a long list to an end, a mass of spear-heads, daggers and gold jewelry. The account of this remarkable discovery is rather confused and unsatisfactory, especially when the learned and enthusiastic doctor goes on to state that this is the treasure which was packed into the wooden box mentioned in the *Iliad*, as being in Priam's palace, the key of which he produces as conclusive proof of the assertion, for it reminds us of the old lady who refused, with indignation, to believe her son's story about

flying-fish, but accepted, without hesitation, his account of the wheel of Pharaoh's chariot which was brought up by his ship's anchor in the Red sea, because, as she well said, "we had Scripture for the proof of that." Dr. Schliemann supports his theory as to the situation of Troy by much that is weighty and of value, and if it be true that he has really dug up on the site of *Novum Ilium*, images of the Ilian Athene with the owl's head, made of marble, slate, bone and ivory, and innumerable vases, rings and bracelets decorated with the same figure, he has made, as we said at the outset, one of the most extraordinary discoveries of modern times, and one which certainly deserves, and shall receive in these pages extended notice. It is not only scholars and archeologists who will await more full accounts with interest and impatience.

THE Modoc leaders are at length hung, and the remnant of the tribe are on their way to new and greener pastures than the famous lava beds. The execution was witnessed by a thousand people, most of whom had personal feelings of revenge to gratify, though there were no doubt some persons, even in the wilderness of Northern California, capable of imitating my Lord Tomnoddy on such occasions. With the news of Jack's ignominious death comes the report of a great raid of the Cheyennes into Southern Colorado, to the terror of the settlers and the utter ruin of their homes. "Le roi est mort : vive le roi !"

THE financial crisis is now long enough past to let us have a view of it as a whole. The panic is over, even the draining from the saving banks, which was the last feature of it, but reasonable apprehensions are far from being set at rest. Stocks which had to a great extent recovered, have received a recent severe fall. Exchange is cheap, though the import of coin from England which was brought about by its stoppage still goes on. Of this cheapness very few are able to take advantage. The money stringency continues, and now individual catastrophes having in a measure ceased, the country as a whole is suffering more than most are aware, or than it is well for us, perhaps, that we should be aware. The manufacturers are dismissing their hands, and the merchants must be directly feeling not merely the inconvenience of a want of money but the further depression of a lessened trade.

We escaped the block in freights which the suspension of exchange seemed to threaten, and the railroads and canals are full. Fancy investments are out of the market, and for the time being financial confidence-men are frightened from their vocation; but that any person of fair intelligence anticipates a moral regeneration of the street cannot be supposed. The knowledge of finances and political economy which it appears has been attained to by the controlling mass of American business men and those still called, we believe, statesmen, is not a pleasing subject of contemplation. That especially unmeaning expression, "shrinkage of values," has been redundant, and the paternal system of national financiering has not seemingly lost many of its worshipers. The faith reposed in the national currency is triumphantly pointed at as conclusive in favor of the Boutwell policy, and we are told how bank-notes are being hoarded now as gold coin was in former crises; a want of elasticity is occasionally, it is true, conceded, and a voice of protest is even heard against beneficent interference in the affairs of Wall street on the part of the Secretary of the Treasury. But meddle the government will, the Fifth Avenue hotel interview to the contrary notwithstanding, and as certainly mar. General Grant believes in a return to specie payments, and as to what means Congress may not adopt with the notion of bringing that end about, it would be very unsafe to make a guess. A contraction would cripple us more than ever, and would be utterly inefficacious for the purpose. An inflation would palliate our present troubles, leaving us in doubt, however, whether the increase might not be more than we needed, entailing upon us a rise in prices with all the train of consequent evils we suffered from the same cause during the war, or whether it might not on the other hand be too little for our requirements, leaving us about as badly off as before; while of course any enlargement of the currency artificially produced, postpones so much longer the day of specie payments. A free-banking law, with provisoes protecting all issues of notes by means of U. S. bonds or other securities, is too simple and effective a plan to commend itself to the practical legislator. By such a law a return to gold and silver would naturally come about, if it is ever to do so; for while an arbitrary currency must necessarily be the only one in use, a natural currency, created according to our needs, if it did not help would at any rate not hinder resumption.

THE October election is over, and as we go to press enough is known to tell the result. Ohio seems to be doubtful, both parties claiming a victory. The Republicans have carried Pennsylvania as usual, but by decreased majorities, the present system making it a work of supererogation for the rank and file of the party to go to the polls. Judge Gordon is elected to succeed Judge Read, and we shall perhaps have an opportunity hereafter to know something about him. Ludlow, the democratic nominee, ran ahead of his ticket, which, as usual, is in a handsome minority, and can now add to its experiences of the past ten years, that of another well deserved defeat. The general vote is much lighter than that of last year, all of the parties having fallen off. To those who are sincerely anxious to see an improvement in the condition of public affairs, the most disappointing feature of the election is the smallness of the reform vote in the city. This may be accounted for in many ways. Without money, without a press, without experienced "workers," without a prize to give, or a friend among the officers of election, the Reform party could hardly have expected to achieve a great success. The work done for it is necessarily amateur work, and such is always fitful and ineffective. Pure motives and unselfishness do not constitute all the elements necessary to political success. Last year, too, there was a more active campaign and harder and more constant work was done. The Democrats had a bad ticket and there were many dissatisfied Republicans—both of which causes contributed to increase the Reform vote. This year, however, the Republican ranks were closed and the Democratic ticket was respectable, and the vote cast for the Reformers' candidates is a straight, test vote. It is unquestionably disheartening to see the control of the city given up entirely to the worst men of the Republican party, but there seems to be at present no escape. There is nothing to hope from the so-called leaders—the respectable men of the party who, dissatisfied as they are with the condition of affairs, are constantly looking for an indefinite future to work a miraculous change, but who have not the courage to seize upon the present and effect it by the means in their own hands—there is nothing to hope from the people who are honest only when untempted, who groan bitterly about corruptors and corruption, and yet will do nothing to purify the one or punish the other:—of course there is no balm in the

Democratic Gilead. Those who are sincere in their wish for Reform will do nothing to effect it, and those who have the power do not wish a change. The times are not yet good enough nor bad enough to awaken the people to their duty. The experience of this election will be of value to the Reformers in their labors for the future.

ON THE VALUE OF ORIGINAL SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH.

A DILAPIDATED house, or tattered and shabby garment may be noticed even by people whose powers of observation and reflection are weak. Thousands in the city can tell how very much in need of paving many of the streets are. Of these a goodly number are ready to repave the cartways—in front of their own houses—at their own cost, although they pay a tax sufficient to enable the municipal government to keep the cartways and footways of the town in order. But of this goodly number very few or any can be induced to contribute any thing for the improvement of common education. Still fewer appreciate the importance of scientific training and of original scientific research. And of those who fully appreciate such labors, the number who are able and willing to give money to foster the labors of those who toil to increase our knowledge of natural truth, the laws of nature, is very small indeed.

Many give liberally either to found, or to subsidize institutions already established for educational purposes, in which systematic instructions in general or technical knowledge are given for fees, paid by the instructed. The college for women, founded and endowed by Matthew Vassar, at Poughkeepsie, N. Y., is of this kind. But that far-reaching intelligence which benevolently provides means to assist and enable genius and talent, whether possessed by the opulent or by the needy, to toil in the paths which lead to discoveries in natural science, is of a high order and of rare occurrence. Of such character was that of Smithson, the founder of the "Smithsonian Institution for the acquisition and diffusion of knowledge among men," established at Washington.

Such gifts for such purposes are rare, for the reason that their

beneficent influence on the progress of civilization, a progress we all desire to accelerate, is not widely studied or justly appreciated. The value of original searches after hitherto unknown facts, pertaining to the organic and inorganic matter of the earth, and to the energies or forces which rule its forms and existence, is not easily demonstrated, even to highly intelligent people. Had Galvani and Volta been asked, in the concluding decade of the past century, what good they hoped to derive from making frogs' legs twitch by the application of different metals to their nerves, or trying to discover why a peculiar sensation is felt when the point of the tongue is placed between a piece of silver and a piece of copper in contact with each other, they could not have answered satisfactorily, even had they known that they were acquiring facts necessary to the foundation of the electric telegraph, and the creation of an occupation, a career for thousands of people in the future.

"But nearly all the grandest discoveries of science have been but the rewards of accurate measurement and patient, long-continued labor in the minute sifting of numerical results. The popular idea of Newton's grandest discovery is that the theory of gravitation flashed into his mind, and so the discovery was made. It was by a long train of mathematical calculation, founded on results accumulated through prodigious toil of practical astronomers, that Newton first demonstrated the forces urging the planets towards the sun, determined by the magnitude of these forces, and discovered that a force following the same law of variation with the distance urges the moon toward the earth. *Then*, first, we may suppose, came to him the idea of the universality of gravitation: but when he attempted to compare the magnitude of the force of gravitation of a heavy body of equal mass at the earth's surface, he did not find the agreement which the law he was discovering required. Not for years afterward would he publish his discovery as made. It is recounted that, being present at a meeting of the Royal Society, he heard a paper read, describing geodesic measurement by Picard, which led to a serious correction of the previously accepted estimate of the earth's radius. This was what Newton required. He went home with the result, and commenced his calculations, but felt so much agitated that he handed over the arithmetical work to a friend; then, (and not when sitting in a garden he saw an apple fall,) did he ascertain that gravitation keeps the moon in her orbit."*

*Address of Sir Wm. Thomson, President of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, at Edinburgh, August, 1871.

Faith in the accuracy of the judgment of men who are recognized by the community to be sagacious, honest and learned, gives authority to their expressions. Their views, in the estimation of the many, are as decisive and unquestionable as the decisions of the highest legal tribunals. In this sense, the following expressions of scientists and others well known to the public, may be received as evidence of the importance of scientific training and original scientific research, and be more influential perhaps than any attempt to adduce a detailed argument in satisfying those who doubt whether the study of the natural sciences is useful, and entitled to be encouraged and cherished in the community.

“Nearly all great modern scientific discoveries have been made by teachers of science, and others who spent a large portion of their lives in experimental investigation, searching for new truths, and not by persons who have hit upon them by accident. The greatest discoveries in physics and chemistry in modern times were made chiefly by such men as Newton, Cavendish, Scheele, Priestly, CErsted, Volta, Davy and Faraday ; all great workers in science.

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“Some kind of discoveries are made by observing the phenomena of bodies placed under special conditions by those operations of nature over which we have little or no control. All our knowledge of astronomy, and much of that of geology and physiology, was acquired in this way.

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“Discoveries differ from inventions ; a scientific discovery is a newly found truth in science, which in the great majority of cases is not in the form of a saleable commodity, but may be used for the purposes of ordinary scientific instruction. An invention is usually a combination and application of some useful or desired purpose of scientific truths which have been previously discovered.

“Immediately a discovery is made, it becomes published and incorporated in all the ordinary text-books of science ; and in this way such books have become filled with valuable knowledge acquired by researches in past times ; and this accumulated learning is ready for dissemination by teachers of science, and for inventors to apply to useful purposes. All this knowledge (which is of enormous value and cost a vast amount of intellect and labor), has been given freely to the nation, without money and without price.

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“Scientific discovery has in all ages been a most powerful

agent of civilization and human progress. The discovery of the black liquid which a solution of nut-galls produces when mixed with green vitriol, led to the invention of writing ink; and knowledge of the properties of ink and paper prepared the way for the invention of printing, by means of which learning has been spread all over the earth.

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“Original research is more productive of new industries and inventions than any other kind of labor.

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“Even the invention of the steam engine was partly a consequence of previous researches of scientific men. Watt himself states, in his pamphlet entitled ‘A Plain Story,’ that he could not have perfected his engine, had not Dr. Black and others previously discovered what amount of heat was rendered latent by the conversion of water into steam.

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“Discovery is usually the basis of invention; a man cannot generally invent an improvement unless he possesses scientific knowledge, and for that knowledge he must in nearly all cases resort to a scientific book or teacher. Nearly all the pure scientific knowledge contained in books was obtained by original research, and the great bulk of valuable patented inventions was made with the aid of that information.

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“Nearly every manufacturer in this country is deriving from scientific discoveries advantages for which there has been little or no payment to discoverers. The makers of coal tar dyes and the dyers of wool and silk are using Dr. Mitscherlich’s discovery of nitro-benzine. Manufacturers of picric acid and ‘French purple’ have enjoyed the fruits of the labors of Dr. Stenhouse. Makers of chlorate of potash are profiting largely by the discoveries of Scheele, Gay, Lussac and others.

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“There is not a man in this kingdom who has not derived some advantage, in one way or another, from scientific research. The advantages of gas-light, rapid postal service and transmission of goods, railway traveling, cotton apparel, photography, cheap pottery, improved medicine and surgery, Australian preserved meats, etc. etc., have been reaped more or less by every one, even the very paupers. Science has also, by developing new processes, given employment to whole armies of workmen in numerous arts, manufactures and occupations. About a quarter of a million of persons are employed on the railways, alone, of Great Britain, besides those who were engaged in their construction; and in the postal department alone of the telegraph service of this country, more than fifteen thousand operatives are employed. Chemical

works also find employment for twenty-six thousand, and gas-works for ten thousand work-people.

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“Of the great multitude of manufacturers, merchants, capitalists and land-owners in this country, who have derived such great pecuniary benefits from original scientific research, we believe there is scarcely a man existing who has ever given to a scientific society, institution or investigator, a single thousand pounds for the aid of pure research in experimental physics or chemistry; the nearest approach to exceptions are a very few wealthy persons, who have devoted themselves personally to scientific discovery. Many of these manufacturers and others would, however, willingly give money towards such an object, if they understood the value and necessity of scientific research.” See “*The National Importance of Scientific Research*,” in *The Westminster Review* (American Edition), for April, 1873.

“As man by the use of the telescope and other mechanical aids, can see objects which are beyond the reach of the natural vision, so, by the aid of science, he can extend his intellectual vision to things, laws and results, beyond the most distant conceptions of the uncultivated mind. A complete knowledge of the laws of nature, and of all their principles, comprises the whole circle of the sciences—intellectual, moral, social and political, as well as natural. The study and knowledge of the laws of nature, or many of them, including all the physical and mechanical, and a portion of the mental sciences, lie at the very foundation of all human improvement and progress.”*
EZRA C. SEAMAN.

“Action alone gives a man a life worth living; and therefore he must aim either at the practical application of his knowledge, or at the extension of the limits of science itself. For to extend the limits of science is really to work for the progress of humanity.

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“Knowledge is power. Our age, more than any other, is in a position to demonstrate the truth of this maxim. We have taught the forces of inanimate nature to minister to the wants of human life and the designs of the human intellect. The application of steam has multiplied our physical strength a million fold; weaving and spinning machines have relieved us of labors, the only merits of which consisted in deadening monotony. The intercourse between men, with its far-reaching influence on material and intellectual progress, has increased to an extent of which no one could have even dreamed within the lifetime of the older among us.

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*Essays on the Progress of Nations, in Civilization, Productive Industry, Wealth and Population, etc., etc. By Ezra C. Seaman. New York, 1852.

"Accordingly every nation is interested in the progress of knowledge on the simple ground of self-preservation, even were there no higher wants of an ideal character to be satisfied; and not merely in the development of the physical sciences, and their technical application, but also in the progress of legal, political and moral sciences, and of the accessory historical and philological studies. No nation which would be independent and influential can afford to be left behind in the race. Nor has this escaped the notice of the cultivated peoples of Europe. Never before was so large a part of the public resources devoted to universities, schools and scientific institutions.

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"In fact, the men of science form, as it were, an organized army, laboring on behalf of the whole nation, and generally under its direction and at its expense, to augment the stock of such knowledge as may serve to promote industrial enterprise, to increase wealth, to adorn life, to improve political and social relations, and to further the moral development of individual citizens. After the immediate practical results of their work we forbear to inquire; that we leave to the uninstructed. We are convinced that whatever contributes to the knowledge of the forces of nature or the powers of the human mind is worth cherishing, and may, in its own due time, bear practical fruit, very often where we should least have expected it.

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"When young Galileo, then a student at Pisa, noticed one day during divine service a chandelier swinging backward and forward, and convinced himself, by counting his pulse, that the duration of the oscillations was independent of the arc through which it moved, who could know that this discovery would eventually put it in our power, by means of the pendulum, to attain an accuracy in the measurement of time till then deemed impossible, and would enable the storm-tossed seaman, in the most distant oceans, to determine in what degree of longitude he was sailing.

[This discovery of Galileo was the foundation of the invention of clocks and watches.]

"Whoever, in the pursuit of science, seeks after immediate practical utility, may generally rest assured that he will seek in vain. All that science can achieve is a perfect knowledge and a perfect understanding of the action of natural and moral forces. Each individual student must be content to find his reward in rejoicing over new discoveries, as over new victories of mind over reluctant matter, or in enjoying the æsthetic beauty of a well-ordered field of knowledge, where the connection and the filiation of every detail is clear to the mind, and where all denotes the pres-

ence of a ruling intellect; he must rest satisfied with the consciousness that he too has contributed something to the increasing fund of knowledge on which the dominion of man over all the forces hostile to intelligence reposes. He will, indeed, not always be permitted to expect from his fellow men appreciation and reward adequate to the value of his work. It is only too true, that many a man to whom a monument has been erected after his death, would have been delighted to receive during his lifetime a tenth part of the money spent in doing honor to his memory. At the same time, we must acknowledge that the value of scientific discoveries is now far more carefully recognized than formerly by public opinion, and that the instances of the authors of great advances in science starving in obscurity have become rarer and rarer. On the contrary, the governments and peoples of Europe have, as a rule, admitted it to be their duty to recompense distinguished achievements in science by appropriate appointments or special rewards."*

"We cannot over-estimate our debt to the men who give their lives to the sincere study of nature. They are becoming more and more our leaders in this morning twilight of knowledge, this period of transition, when the eye is getting the better of the ear, the reason of the imagination, our trust in the established order of the universe of those terrors of the supernatural, out of which have been forged the chains of thought and the weapons of tyranny." *Letter of Dr O. W. Holmes, Jan. 28, 1873.*

"In an age and country which boasts of its intelligence, it might seem superfluous to say a word in regard to the importance of the cultivation of science, or, in other words, of a knowledge of the laws of the phenomena of the universe of which we form a part; yet it is lamentably the case that few comparatively—especially among statesmen and politicians, even among those devoted to literature and the fine arts—properly appreciate the influence of abstract science on the present condition of the civilization of the world. Living in the present, enjoying its innumerable comforts and facilities of life, they do not realize the conditions of the past, or, if they imperfectly realize them, the changes are attributed to fortuitous circumstances really exercising a subordinate influence, or to apparent proximate causes, such as the immediate practical application of science and art."—*Letter of Professor Joseph Henry, Feb. 3, 1873.*

"I remember to have been much struck, in reading the memoirs

*On the relation of Natural Science to General Science. Academical Discourse delivered at Heidelberg, November 22, 1862, by Dr. H. Helmholtz, sometime Prorector.

Popular Lectures on Scientific Subjects. By H. Helmholtz, Professor of Physics in the University of Berlin. D. Appleton & Co. New York, 1873.

of Prof. Silliman, with his account of an interview which he had with Mr. Webster, when that great lawyer and statesman was making his last journey from Washington to the State of Massachusetts, where he soon afterward died.

"Mr. Webster said to Prof. Silliman, whom he chanced to meet on this journey (they were old acquaintances), 'I have given my life to law and politics. Law is uncertain, and politics are utterly vain; but there is a noble certainty in science which commands my admiration, and I should be willing to spend my remaining days in the study of science.'

"Mr. Webster, as we all know, then represented in himself all that was most successful and most brilliant in the career of a statesman, in the profession of the law, in the oratory of the Senate, and in popular applause; and yet, in the sincerity of his heart, burdened by the weight of his cares and his troubles, filling, as he did, the highest civic place in the country except the presidency, he bent readily to the shrine of science, and admitted the solemnity and certainty of its truths."

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"Practical sciences, it was noticed by Dr. Johnson, it seems to me with some sense, are not necessarily those that have to do with the final and immediate material uses of society, in the sense in which that term is generally employed. Dr. Johnson said that when these practical sciences, so called, came up for use once in common life and among common men, moral and intellectual sciences, or the power of using their own faculties and making them obedient to the occasions of society, came up for use a hundred times. And it is in those higher departments of science which you [addressing Prof. Tyndall] have illustrated to the common intelligence of our people, that we perceive that the most practical thing, for the good of society and of large masses of men, is the power to use the mind, trained to the highest culture and disciplined to the more prosperous results, that constitutes the practical education that society needs, and which society will most honor when it sees these resources exhibited in its behalf."
—*Speech of Wm. M. Evarts, Feb. 4, 1873.*

"It would be a great thing, sir, for this land of incalculable destinies, to supplement its achievements in the industrial arts by those higher investigations from which our mastery over nature and over industrial art has been derived, and which, when applied in a true catholic spirit to man himself, will assuredly render him healthier, stronger, purer, nobler than he now is. To no other country is the cultivation of science in its highest forms of more importance than to yours. In no other country would it exert a more benign and elevating influence. What then is to be done

towards so desirable a consummation? Here I think you must take counsel of your leading scientific men.

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 "The Royal Institution gives lectures—indeed, it lives in part by lectures, though mainly by the contributions of its members and the bequests of its friends. But the main feature of its existence—a feature never lost sight of by its wise and honorable Board of Managers—is that it is a school of research and discovery."

[The Royal Institution of Great Britain, for diffusing knowledge and facilitating the general introduction of useful mechanical inventions and improvements, and for teaching, by courses of philosophical lectures and experiments, the application of science to the common purposes of life, was formed in the year 1799, and incorporated by royal charter in 1800, under the patronage of his majesty George III. In this institution, situated in Albemarle street, London, Sir Humphrey Davy, Michael Faraday, W. T. Brande, John Tyndall and others, have made discoveries of vast importance to mankind—discoveries which might not have been made without just such means and facilities as this institution affords in its laboratories, museum and library, to men trained to seek in the realms of nature whatever is not yet known.

Its organization includes, besides president, vice president, secretary, treasurer, etc., patrons, members, honorary and life members, and annual subscribers. A board of fifteen managers and a board of fifteen visitors are elected annually. They appoint the professors and employ the lecturers, who are paid for their services. Members pay an initiation fee of five guineas (\$25), and an annual contribution of five guineas (\$25), or sixty guineas (\$300) in commutation of initiation fee and annual payments for life. Annual subscribers pay one guinea initiation and five guineas annually. Courses of lectures are delivered from Christmas till midsummer, to which members and annual subscribers are admitted, and each member is privileged to attend the weekly meetings and introduce two friends. The public is admitted to the courses of lectures at the rate of a guinea, or a half-guinea for each course, according to its length.

The annual contributions amount to about \$24,000, and the receipts from lectures to about \$5,000. The cost of lectures is say \$2,700, current expenses \$7,000, salaries \$3,000, laboratory expenses \$4,000, besides the salaries of the professors.

The Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia resembles the Royal Institution in being a school of research and discovery, in living exclusively by the contributions of its members and bequests of friends, in holding weekly meetings, and publishing their proceedings and the results of their investigations. The current income of the Academy is about \$3,500, and no more than meets its current expenses. Members of the Academy pay an initiation fee of \$5 and a semi-annual contribution of \$5, or \$105 in commutation of initiation fee and semi-annual contributions for life. Persons not members are admitted to membership, if not ineligible, on the payment of \$250 to the building-fund, and are placed on the footing of life members.

The Academy holds in trust a fund established by A. E. Jessup, E. A. Jessup and Clara J. Moore, because they believed it was the intention of their father, Augustus E. Jessup, to have bequeathed to the Academy \$120 a year to aid in defraying the expense of its publications, and \$480 a year "to be used for the support of one or more deserving poor young man or men who may desire to devote the whole of his or their time and energies to the study of any of the natural sciences." Mr. Augustus E. Jessup died December 17, 1859. Since March, 1860, his children have paid yearly \$600, until last year, when they transferred to the Academy ten thousand dollars in seven per cent. bonds. Up to this time twenty-four persons have been beneficiaries of the Jessup Fund.¹

They have been systematically instructed under the directions of the curators, Professors Leidy, Cope and others, who receive no compensation for their instruction. Several of these beneficiaries have acquired distinction in the field of the natural sciences; some of them fill professorial chairs, and all are gratefully indebted to the founders of the Jessup Fund.

The want of a lecture-room and laboratory prevents the Academy from instituting courses of lectures and experimental researches. Hereafter, when the building, now in process of erection, shall be entirely completed with its lecture-room and laboratory, it will resemble still more closely, in its purpose and manner of working,

¹Besides the Jessup Fund, there is the Stott Fund, which nets \$114; the Isaac Barton Fund, \$240; the T. B. Wilson Fund, \$570 (for payment of librarian and subscriptions to "periodicals"), and the Publication Fund \$210.

"The Royal Institution," though it may never compare with it in the brilliant results of its labors.]

* * * * * "The willingness of American citizens to throw their fortunes into the cause of public education is without a parallel. Hitherto their efforts have been directed to the practical side of science, and this is why I sought in my lectures to show the dependence of practice upon principles. On the ground, then, of mere practical, material utility, pure science ought to be cultivated. But, assuredly, among your men of wealth there are those willing to listen to an appeal on higher grounds, to whom, as American citizens, it will be a pride to fashion American men so as to enable them to take their places among those great ones mentioned in my lectures. Into this plea I would pour all my strength. Not as a servant of mammon do I ask you to take science to your hearts, but as the strengthener and enlightener of the mind of man.

"Might I now address a word or two to those who, in the ardor of youth, feel themselves drawn toward science as a vocation? They must, if possible, increase their fidelity to original research, prizing far more than the possession of wealth an honorable standing in science. They must, I think, be prepared at times to suffer a little for the sake of scientific righteousness, not refusing, should occasion demand it, to live low and lie hard to achieve the object of their lives.

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"I loved my work, and entertained the sure and certain hope that, armed with knowledge, one can successfully fight one's way through the world.

"It is with the view of giving others the chance that I then enjoyed that I propose to devote the surplus of the money which you have so generously poured in upon me, to the education of young philosophers in Germany. I ought not, for their sake, to omit one additional motive by which I was upheld at the time here referred to—that was a sense of duty. Every young man of high aims must, I think, have a spice of this principle in him. There are sure to be hours in his life when his outlook will be dark, his work difficult, and his intellectual future uncertain. Over such periods, when the stimulus of success is absent, he must be carried by his sense of duty. It may not be so quick an incentive as glory, but it is a nobler one, and gives a tone to character which glory cannot impart. That unflinching devotion to work, without which no real eminence in science is now attainable, implies the writing at certain times of the stern resolve upon the student's character—'I work, not because I like to work, but because I ought to work.' In science, however, love and duty

are sure to be rendered identical in the end."—*Speech of Prof. Tyndall, Feb. 4, 1873.*

That a leading scientist of Great Britain, Professor Tyndall, should magnanimously bestow a considerable sum of money (\$13,000) as a permanent fund toward educating, in Germany, young American citizens to be original investigators, is as remarkable as it is admirable. This Tyndall fund must become an unfailing source of gratification and benefit to individuals whom their benefactor can never know, and possibly be the origin of discoveries of value to all mankind. Such devotion of his money is a palpable proof of Mr. Tyndall's regard for citizens of the United States, as well as of his sincerity in wishing to accelerate the progress of scientific research, by increasing the number of well-trained laborers, and implies his opinion that Germany contains nurseries for young scientists which are better than those of any other country known to him.

The accuracy of this judgment may not be questioned now. But such a judgment of such a judge ought to be an influential reason why measures should be at once taken to prevent it from being always unquestioned. Is it not possible to augment in this city, as well as elsewhere in the United States, the means and facilities needed to thoroughly train young men in the ways of seeking natural truth not yet discovered? Must we always send our scientifically disposed brains abroad to Germany or other foreign land to be cultivated and fitted for the highest scientific applications? The sooner we provide at home, within the limits of the United States, for the cultivation of American brains to the full extent of their capacities, the better for American progress in science and civilization.

Such provision as alluded to here cannot be made in a day, nor without earnest labor long continued, nor without expenditure of large sums of money, though not as large as required to run a line of steamships or extensive railroad. Those who establish steamship and railroad accommodations invest their money, not that multitudes may travel safely, quickly, luxuriously or cheaply, though all these advantages are incidental to their establishment, but in expectation of satisfying dividends in the future. No such motive invites capitalists to establish or foster centres for the promotion of high scientific culture or research. Dividends from

investments for such purposes do not accrue to the investors. They are diffused in substantial benefits to the human race of the present as well as of future time. In the electric telegraph the whole world is now enjoying a result of the labors of all those who in the past hundred years have sought to discover the sources and laws of electricity; and the whole world will continue to utilize the discoveries made in this field, though the discoverers receive less credit or admiration than is given to inventors of machinery, to painters of landscapes, portraits or other pictures, or to the sculptor who moulds his marble to be an accurate copy of the human shape, life-like in the expression of some emotion, as grief, or shame, or joy. Yet a century's art-work in music, in marble and on canvas, admirable and delightful as it is, has scarcely influenced the march of the world's civilization. But the century's purely scientific work is perceptible in every path of social progress. Men are more comfortable in their homes; the average duration of their lives is longer; their moral conditions are better; bigotry, religious intolerance, superstitions of all kinds, including faith in witches, national prejudices have dwindled, not through "the works of the old masters" or the works of their successors, or through the influence of all of Italian art, ancient and modern, but because scientists within two hundred years have discovered the laws of gravitation, the laws of the natural forces called light, heat, magnetism, electricity, laws which have been utilized by ingenious men, producing telescopes, microscopes, photographs and light-houses; ocean steamers, locomotives, mills, mariner's compasses and electric telegraphs, ordnance and ordnance stores, such as no man in the last century ever dreamed could be. And yet it is probable that what has been discovered is nothing compared with what remains to be ascertained through the labors of naturalists, armed as they now may be with vastly improved instruments of observation and knowledge of methods acquired by their predecessors, and encouraged by a better appreciation of their work. An instance of such encouragement may be mentioned. Recently Mrs. Elizabeth Thompson, of the city of New York, has given one thousand dollars to the "American Association for the advancement of science," "for the purpose of advancing scientific original research," announcing at the same time her intention to contribute an equal amount annu-

ally as long as she lives. May her years of life be as many as those who live longest !

True science, like pure Christianity, is for the common good of all mankind. Such gifts as Professor Tyndall and Mrs. Thompson have recently made to promote the progress of original scientific research are perfectly unselfish ; they cannot reasonably expect any return to themselves. No suspicion that hope of reversionary profits in a remote future prompts such gifts.

“ At the time of the American Revolution, there resided in the town of Rumford, N. H., one Benjamin Thompson, who occupied himself in teaching a school. He embraced, as we Americans would say, the wrong side of the question on that occasion—he sided with the King’s government. He went to England, became a man of mark, and was knighted. Then he went on the continent, again distinguished himself by his scientific attainments, again was titled, and this time, in memory of his American home, was called Count Rumford.

“ On his return to London, Count Rumford founded the Royal Institution, and thus to a native American the world owes that establishment which has been glorified by Davy, and Young, and Faraday, and the lustre of which is now so conspicuously maintained by Tyndall. Had it not been for Rumford, Davy might have spent his life in filling gas-bags for Dr. Beddoes’ patients, Faraday might have been a book-binder, and certainly Tyndall would not have been honoring us with his presence to-night.”—*Speech of Professor Draper, Feb. 1873.*

“ It is to be borne in mind in the sense in which we are employing it now—in the higher sense, rather—is such a love for truth, pure and simple, that a man will find it, hold it, and teach it without any regard to the social, the civil, or the theological results which may flow from it. * * * They [our fathers] took the ground that there would be no incompatibility between religion and all true knowledge. They believed that there could be no sound and manly religion without intelligence, and that there could be no satisfying intelligence whose roots did not ultimately run back to the moral and spiritual nature of man. And I may say from the settlement of New England to this hour—not confining my remarks to the New-England colonies, but applying them to all the early colonies—the most distinguished preachers of religion have likewise been the patrons and the fosterers of science, and that the leading scientific men in America, have been ordained clergymen. * * * * You should consider likewise, that the preachers of religion are, to a certain extent, educated to suppose that religion consists in its instruments rather than in itself, and

that to a large class religion means the Church, the usages of the Church. It is as if the farmer should be taught that the harvests were ploughs and harrows, hoes and spades! Without these there would be no harvest: but they are not the harvests. I hold religion to be a personal thing. It is but another name for manhood. * * * Nor am I deterred from saying this, saving the presence of many, from the fact that it was said before me by Paul himself—a gentleman every inch, and worthy to have lived in our times. But it was not his fault that he was born so far back. * * * I say, therefore, that in regard to religion—it being manhood in perfect development—that we have no fears of the incursion of science. It has made several onsets. There was a time when religion would not allow the world to turn round, and made the sun do all the jogging. But it was found out that religion did not demand any such thing, though men did who served it; and that is given up. There was a time when men looked upon the gaps and chasms in geology and the inferences which were deduced from it with the utmost alarm. That time has passed by.

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“There is no antagonism between Nature and the Bible, and I believe that all that is necessary to prove this is to trace the declarations of Scripture back to the things to which they refer. I believe that, when the word of God is interpreted by nature, it will come to men as so much light. Hence I hold that there is not the slightest reason to fear that religion will be overthrown by the investigations of science. If I held an old and tottering theory that I half doubted myself, I should be afraid of science and should say: ‘Don’t come here with your jarring wheels; you may shake this down;’ but, if I held a theory that I firmly believed in, I should not be afraid of science. If a man has faith in his religion, he ought not to fear tests. I believe in manhood; in its power of expansion; in a great and all pervading atmosphere, by which whatever is least animal and most spiritual in man is perpetually developed and carried to unknown heights. Therefore I hail the discoveries, every single one of them, which science is making; and when these discoveries, one after another, shall have been so brought together that they can throw light upon obscure places, if they oblige us to change a theory or doctrine, if they make it necessary to alter our philosophy, we love truth so much that we will change anything for the sake of truth, though we will change nothing for any other reason.

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“What we want is a condition of society in which men can be *men*. We want generations of men; and whatever a man may be hereafter, I do not believe that, without good bodies, manhood can be very strong in low conditions of society. So that every-

thing that science does to make living easier among the common people, to make better bone, and nerve, and muscle, to improve the economy of life, to make a man better even in this world, it is working right in the direction of true religion.

"I do not say that good sewerage is gospel, but I say that bad sewerage is heresy. I do not say, sir, that you are a gospel preacher, because of your investigations into the properties of light and heat, but I say that badly-lighted alleys are haunts of crime, and that in cities light and warmth and circulation of air are eminently moral blessings. You may put churches within three rods of each other all through our streets, but you cannot preach down a stench. If men drink poisons at every pore, preaching will not redeem them from the consequences which intemperance entails upon them. You cannot violate the laws of God in a man's body, and make up for it by presenting the laws of God to a man's conscience. In dealing with man you must take him as he is all around. Therefore, I say that we need science to teach us a larger humanity and a better social economy; and every step in advance in that direction is a step toward true religion in the future."—*Speech of Henry Ward Beecher, Feb. 4, 1873.*

"There is room enough for science and religion both; for real science, and real religion. I cannot answer for everybody, but the religious people with whom I happen to be best acquainted are certainly not all jealous of science. They are not afraid even of this science of nature, to which the term 'science' is just now too exclusively applied. What have we in nature but the thoughts of God incarnated? And is not thought older and grander than all utterance of thought? Had there been no Ictinus and Calliocrates, there had been no Parthenon. Had there been no God, there had been no nature. We have high authority for saying, 'The undevout astronomer is mad'. All are mad who look at nature without looking *through* nature up to nature's God. And so we find that in general the deepest students of nature have been likewise the most devout. Science is not so narrow a term as some men seem to think it. If there be a science of physics, there is also a science of metaphysics. Both of them are in pursuit of facts; hard facts; the former, the facts of observation; the latter, the facts of consciousness. Our intuitions of the true, the beautiful and the good, are just as real as light or heat, oxygen or granite."—*Speech of Prof. Hitchcock, Feb. 4, 1873.*

"So many and brilliant have been the discoveries of modern research, and so fertile their uses in practical application, that the personal agents of its success appear, not only as our benefactors, but as something more. For they who penetrate the roaring furnaces of the sun, where light and heat are generated, who dig in

the rayless caverns of the earth, where water-drops crystalize into jewels, who civilize the lightnings, and ride on the boisterous chariots of the winds, do not verify, but surpass the out-worn fables of more than mortal agency. The men of science, in fact, are now the only magicians whose will the spirits of the air, the naiads of the streams, and the gnomes of the caves obey, and who, like Prospero, in his enchanted island, exert the charms of supernatural might. The monstrous calibans, bred of nature's malignity and dissonance, they tame to human service; the delicate ariels, 'spun of fragrance and melody,' they speed on helpful messages around the earth, and into the dumb, dead, destructive forces of the elements as well as into the commonwealth of men, they infuse a beneficent order and rational purposes. You see then, Mr. President, that, true to my professional function as *laudator temporis acti*, or general eulogist of what is passing, I am entirely orthodox in my estimate of the worth of science. I rejoice as much as any of the gentlemen who have already spoken in its advances. Science is to me not only a proof of man's intellectual superiority, and the seal of his emancipation from tyranny of ignorance, but the pledge of an unimaginable progress in the future."—*Speech of Parke Godwin, Esq., Feb. 4, 1873.*

"Object teaching is beginning to be introduced, if only sparingly, into our primary schools. It should be introduced universally. And in all our schools, but especially in those in which the foundation is laid of what is called a liberal education, the knowledge of visible things should be made to precede the study of the artificial structure of language, and the intricacies of grammatical rules and forms.

"The knowledge of visible things—I repeat these words that I may emphasize them, and when I repeat them, observe that I mean *knowledge* of visible things, and not information about them—knowledge acquired by the learner's own conscious efforts, not crammed into his mind in set forms of words out of books."—*Address of Professor Fred. A. P. Barnard, on "Scientific Education," Feb. 4., 1873.*

A knowledge of material things is easily acquired when submitted to examination of the senses; a horse, mule or ass, once seen are ever after recognized, but a written description of those animals, committed to memory, would not enable one who had never seen them, to know and distinguish the horse, mule or ass, when he should meet them for the first time, though his information about them from written description, were entirely accurate. This fact, almost of itself, constitutes a conclusive argument in favor of having large collections of natural objects, easily accessi-

ble by people of all ages and every social position, as a most efficient means of general primary instruction. A great museum is a great implement for teachers; but yet more valuable for self-teaching adults, that is, using the word museum in its true and ancient significance—a place of learned occupation or study—and not in the modern or rather too popular sense of a place in which are collected chiefly animal monsters and effigies of strange and curious things, waxen caricatures of noted men and women, mechanical puzzles, where sensational dramas and juggling tricks are performed, aided often with very plain music to enhance the attraction—in a word, a wondermonger's device to allure the curious and gaping many to amusements, which shall be cheap and satisfactory to them, but lucrative to the showman.

For such a show, found perhaps in every one of our populous cities, one great museum, properly so called, should be substituted; a museum so arranged as to be prepared to supply whatever illustrations may be necessary for teaching systematically so much of the natural sciences as belongs to a liberal education, as well as the numerous and various specimens of the same object necessary for the work of the original investigator, specimens that may be kept conveniently for the purpose in a small space in drawers, boxes or closets. Such a museum becomes a supplement, or rather, complement, fulfilment to the college, and may be a proper resort of the pupils of all the educational institutions of the place at stated times. The museum which is suitably furnished to answer the requirements of the original investigator as well as the purposes of the systematic teacher and his pupils is also well adapted for popular inspection. A great museum is valuable in a popular sense both to adolescents and adults, and is always an attractive place of resort.

The boy or youth to whom book-studies are repugnant—and there are many of this sort—who is never able to separate an idea from the words that contain it and make it his own, chiefly through a sort of habitual indolence of mind rather than want of mind which leads him to believe that there is nothing in books worth the labor of learning, is sometimes made to suspect his error while surveying the contents of a museum. He is fascinated with this or that object or class of objects. His attention

is roused. The dawn of his intelligence is broken. He asks information about what has interested him, and is as alert in listening to answers as a stranger, lost in a maze of streets, inquiring the route to his lodgings. He sees, and remembers what he sees; and suspects there is, in natural objects, more to admire than in any description or portrait of them, however faithful the likeness may be. He perceives the pith of a Dutchman's remark while pointing out the brilliant colors of a humming bird he had to sell, that "nature is as good a painter as anybody!"

Where may the brilliancy and contrast of colors be better seen than in the plumage of birds, on the surface of shells and in the sheen of minerals and gems! There are beauties of form in endless variety in animals of every class, which, though inferior in common estimation to those of the human face and figure, are worthy of admiration. The contemplation of such things are as likely to beget in the mind reflections and memories as healthful and substantial as are works of art, paintings and statuary, which are most sought and admired. Nothing in a great museum of God's works fastens in the beholder's memory a sensual thought; possibly this cannot be truly said of all the specimens of art exposed to common view in European galleries.

"The toast, sir, to which you ask me to speak is, 'The relation of science to political progress.'

"Now, sir, I maintain that the true spirit of scientific research—incarnate before us in our honored guest—embracing, as it does, zeal in search for truth, devotion to duty which such a search imposes, faith in good as the normal and necessary result of such a search—that such a spirit is, at this moment, one of the most needed elements in the political progress of our country.

* * * * *

"We are greatly stirred at times as this fraud or that scoundrel is dragged to light, and there rise cries and moans over the corruption of the times; but, my friends, these frauds and these scoundrels are not the 'corruption of the times.' They are the mere pustules which the body politic throws to the surface. * * * The disease is below all this, infinitely more widespread.

"What is that disease? I believe that it is, first of all, *indifference*—indifference to truth as truth; next, *skepticism*, by which I do not mean inability to believe this or that dogma, but the skepticism which refuses to believe that there is any power in the universe strong enough, large enough, good enough to make the

thorough search for truth safe in every line of investigation; next, *infidelity*, by which I do not mean want of fidelity to this or that dominant creed, but want of fidelity to that which underlies all creeds, the idea that the true and good are one; and finally, *materialism*, by which I do not mean this or that scientific theory of the universe, but that devotion to the mere husks and rinds of good, that struggle for place and pelf, that faith in mere natural comfort and wealth which eats out of human hearts all patriotism, and which is the very opposite of the spirit that gives energy to scientific achievement.

"I might speak of this quickening influence of one body of men—five hundred strong—assembled in one of our newer institutions of learning. But that influence extends far beyond those who stand in institutions of learning. The reverence for scientific achievements, the revelation of the high honors which are in store for those who seek for truth in science—the inevitable comparison between a life devoted to that great, pure search, on one hand, and a life devoted to place-hunting or pelf-grasping on the other—all these shall come to the minds of thoughtful men in lonely garrets in our cities, in remote cabins on our prairies, and thereby shall come strength and hope for higher endeavor."—*Speech of Andrew D. White, President of Cornell University, Feb. 4, 1873.*

"If any merchant were asked whether it were a good or necessary thing not only to take an account of stock annually, but to have the best possible acquaintance with the nature and history of the goods in his warehouses, we should expect but one answer. But when it is asked whether it is desirable to know the stores and forces and nature and history of all the contents of God's universe, there are people who are alarmed, as if possibly we might know too much, or get too near the sources of things. What a blasphemous discovery vaccination was pronounced at first; how it seemed to many a flying in the face of Providence to use the electric telegraph! I have heard of a learned and skillful physician, whose daughter was born with a club-foot, and who would not allow the use of the nearly perfect mechanical appliances which would have reduced the congenital misfortune to its lowest terms, because it was questioning the wisdom of a Being who had sent this child into the world with this malformation. Many, from similar superstitious scruples, refuse the alleviation of anæsthetics. Can there be a more perverse form of reverence than that which supposes that God is a sort of divine conjuror, who does not allow any peeping behind the curtain where he prepares his tricks? Can we, by possibility, circumvent the power that made us, find out any secrets we ought not to know, come to know too much, and so endanger any real hopes and promises in the region of morals and faith?"

“If Nature or Providence or, far better, God, were a cheap and economical architect, who had built his universe by contract and put the best work outside, there might be need for caution in exploring the strength of the walls, the way of the flues, the texture of the girders. But heaven is not a mansard roof, liable to go off in smoke, and man and nature are not veneers, but good solid stuff that will bear examination. If there is anything fictitious and imaginary which advancing knowledge and science may cause to pass away, like the baseless fabric of a vision, by all means turn on the light, gentlemen. If this universe is only a better sort of theatre, whose shows and manikins are enjoyable only when viewed in a dim religious light, supplied by tallow or gas, pray take off the roof and let the sham stand out in the blaze of day and we will acknowledge ourselves on a par with Punch and Judy—puppets amused with puppets. But if the universe is the glorious, sublime, mysterious, and perfect counterpart of its Infinite Builder and inhabitant—which we suppose to be the case—we object to the plan for conducting any investigation into its nature, texture, laws, origins, with closed doors or under religious protest. It were cowardly and unbelieving to think that science knows or can learn or tell anything unworthy of the author of a nature so glorious as the universe we behold or the soul we possess; and practically it is not science that has injured any of the genuine poetic, religious, or moral interests of humanity, but only its conceits and puerilities. All the prejudices, superstitions and erroneous usages of the world shriek fearfully when they are wounded and dying. Suppose you should be able scientifically to prove that burning was a safer, better way of disposing of the bodies of the dead than burial in vast poison-breathing cemeteries on the borders of crowded cities, do you suppose that speculative lot-owners, the undertakers, and the florists, would not assail you as heathen, atheists, blasphemers, the basest of your species, and unworthy the name of man? Well, the hue and cry would be uncomfortable, but the clamor would not make it so; and when your science had diminished the death-rate and defeated the approaches of pestilence and extinguished the whole race of tyrannical undertakers, whom I hesitate to name at all, such is the awe they have inspired me with, the people would turn round and order a golden urn for your ashes after you had become deaf to its praise.

“Services of science to humanity! I should like to know what steps forward humanity ever takes ungoaded, unled, unenlightened by science! She is the chief marshal of the army of progress and the great antagonist of ignorance, superstition, injustice, falsehood, and humbug. Those who suspect, deny, oppose, and hinder her inquiries, are feed and paid accomplices of ignorance and super-

stition, or victims of both. But let science be real; let her priests and prophets be of circumcised lips! What business have they with arrogance, mock certainty, precipitate conclusions, or money-making accommodations?

“Do not suppose, ye men of science, that religion fears anything you can do, in the legitimate use of your functions and the freest use of your methods, to unsettle her foundations. They are not at your mercy! If faith in the person of its professional advocates and exponents has been often unjust to you, you have paid her off with interest. Nay, in these days she is more just to science than science is to faith, and I take leave to say that, when it comes to breadth and comprehensiveness, the teachers of religion (ignorance is always narrow in your domain and ours), the teachers of religion in their representative and first men in all schools, are more just to your studies and discoveries than your first men are to hers. If the trial must be made, we shall be found better able to swallow you than you us! But let it be confessed we need your aid, though not more than you do ours.”—*Address of the Rev. Dr. Bellows, Feb. 4th, 1873.*¹

“No amount of book-learning will make a man a scientific man; nothing but patient observation, and quiet and fair thought over what he has observed. He must go out for himself, see for himself, compare and judge for himself, in the field, in the quarry, the cutting. He must study rocks, ores, fossils, in the nearest museum; and thus store his head, not with words, but with facts. He must verify—as far as he can—what he reads in books, by his own observation; and be slow to believe anything, even on the highest scientific authority, till he has either seen it, or something like enough of it to make it seem to him probable, or at least possible. [Where can a young Pennsylvanian or Philadelphian find ‘the nearest museum’ where he may study rocks, ores, fossils, minerals? The vast collections of the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia are very imperfectly available for this purpose now, because there is not sufficient space in the building in which they are for their proper display.]

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“And as for harmless amusement, and still more for the free exercise of the fancy and the imagination, I know few studies to compare with Natural History; with the search for the most beautiful and curious productions of nature amid her loveliest scenery, and in her freshest atmosphere. I have known again and again working men who in the midst of smoky cities have kept their bodies, their minds, and their hearts healthy and pure by going

¹Proceedings at the farewell banquet to Professor Tyndall, given at Delmonico's, New York, Feb. 4th, 1873. New York, D. Appleton & Co., 549 and 551 Broadway, 1873.

out into the country at all hours, and making collections of fossils, plants, insects, birds, or some other objects of natural history; and I doubt not such will be the case with some of my readers.

* * * * *

“The civilized world is learning, thank God, more and more of the importance of physical science; year by year, thank God, it is learning to live more and more according to those laws of physical science, which are, as the great Lord Bacon said of old, none other than ‘*Vox Dei in rebus revelata*’—the word of God revealed in facts; and it is gaining, by so doing, year by year, more and more of health and wealth; of peaceful and comfortable, even of graceful and elevating, means of life for fresh millions.

* * * * *

“Suppose that any one of you, learning a little sound natural history, should abide here in Britain to your life’s end, and observe nothing but the hedge-row plants: he would find there is much more to be seen in those mere hedge-row plants than he fancies now. The microscope will reveal to him in the tissues of any wood, of any seed, wonders which will first amuse him, then puzzle him, and at last (I hope) awe him as he perceives that smallness of size interferes in no way with perfection of development, and that ‘nature,’ as has been well said, ‘is greatest in that which is least.’ And more. Suppose that he went further still. Suppose that he extended his researches somewhat to those minuter vegetable forms, the mosses, fungi, lichens; suppose that he went a little further still and tried what the microscope would show him in any stagnant pool, whether fresh water or salt, of Desmidiæ, Diatoms, and all those wondrous atomies which seem as yet to defy our classification into plants or animals. Suppose he learnt something of this, but nothing of aught else. Would he have gained no solid wisdom? He would be a stupider man than I have a right to believe any of my readers to be, if he had not gained thereby somewhat of the most valuable of treasures, namely, that inductive habit of mind; that power of judging fairly of facts, without which no good or lasting work will be done, whether in physical science, in social science, in politics, in philosophy, in philology, or in history.

“But more let me urge you to study natural science, on grounds which may be to you new and unexpected—on social, I had almost said on political, grounds.

* * * * *

“And I tell you, if you, or I, or any man, want to let our thoughts play freely round questions, and so escape from the tendency to become bigoted and narrow-minded which there is in every human being, then we must acquire something of that inductive habit of mind which the study of natural science gives.

It is, after all, as Professor Huxley says, only common sense well regulated. But then it is well regulated; and how precious it is, if you can but get it. The art of seeing, the art of knowing what you see; the art of comparing, of perceiving true likenesses and true differences, and so of classifying what you see; the art of connecting facts together in your own mind in chains of cause and effect, and that accurately, patiently, calmly, without prejudice, vanity, or temper—this is what is wanted for true freedom of mind. But accuracy, patience, freedom from prejudice, carelessness for all except the truth, whatever the truth may be—are not these the virtues of a truly free spirit? Then, as I said just now, I know no study so able to give that free habit of mind as the study of natural science.

* * * * *

“Do you wish to be great? Then be great with true greatness; which is,—knowing the facts of nature, and being able to use them. Do you wish to be strong? Then be strong with true strength; which is,—knowing the facts of nature, and being able to use them. Do you wish to be wise? Then be wise with true wisdom; which is,—knowing the facts of nature, and being able to use them. Do you wish to be free? Then be free with true freedom; which is,—knowing the facts of nature, and being able to use them.

* * * * *

“But now: why should I, as a clergyman, interest myself specially in the spread of natural science? Am I not going out of my proper sphere to meddle with secular matters? Am I not indeed, going into a sphere out of which I had better keep myself, and all over whom I have influence? For is not science antagonistic to religion? and, if so, what has a clergyman to do, save to warn the young against it, instead of attracting them toward it?

“First, as to meddling with secular matter. I grudge that epithet of secular to any matter whatsoever. But I do more; I deny it to anything which God has made, even to the tiniest of insects, the most insignificant atom of dust. To those who believe in God and try to see all things in God, the most minute natural phenomenon cannot be secular. It must be divine; I say, deliberately, divine; and I can use no less lofty word. The grain of dust is a thought of God; God’s power made it; God’s wisdom gave it whatsoever properties or qualities it may possess. God’s providence has put it in the place where it is now, and has ordained that it should be in that place at that moment, by a train of causes and effects which reaches back to the very creation of the universe. The grain of dust can no more go from God’s presence, or flee from God’s spirit than you or I can. If it go up to the physical heaven, and float (as it actually often does) far above the clouds, in those higher strata of the atmosphere which aeronaut has never

visited, whither the alpine snow-peaks do not rise, even there it will be obeying the physical laws, which we term hastily laws of nature, but which are really the laws of God: and if it go down into the physical abyss; if it be buried fathoms, miles below the surface, and become an atom of some rock still in the process of consolidation, has it escaped from God, even in the bowels of the earth? Is it not there still obeying physical laws, of pressure, heat, crystallization, and so forth, which are laws of God—the will and mind of God, concerning particles of matter? Only look at all created things in this light—look at them as what they are, the expressions of God's mind and will concerning this universe in which we live—"the Word of God," as Bacon says 'revealed in facts'—and then you will not fear physical science; for you will be sure that the more you know of physical science, the more you will know of the works and of the will of God. At least, you will be in harmony with the teaching of the Psalmist. 'The heavens,' says he, 'declare the glory of God; and the firmament showeth his handiwork. There is neither speech nor language where their voices are not heard among them.' So held the Psalmist concerning astronomy, the knowledge of the heavenly bodies; and what he says of sun and stars is true likewise of the flowers around our feet, of which the greatest Christian poet of modern times has said:

'To me the meanest flower that grows may give
Thoughts that do lie too deep for tears.'

—*Rev. Charles Kingsley, F. L. S., F. G. S., Canon of Chester.*¹

"It is, of course, an obvious corollary to my proposition [the 'total abandonment of Greek and Latin verse-writing as a *necessary or general* element in a liberal education'] that the hours now devoted to 'composition' should be assigned to other studies of the highest value, which have hitherto been very partially recognized or very openly ignored. Among these studies are Comparative Philology, History, Modern Languages, the Hebrew Language, and the language and literature of our own country; but foremost in the weight of its claims is the study of Science—a study so invaluable as a means of intellectual training, and so infinitely important in the results at which it arrives, that the long neglect and strange suspicion with which it has hitherto been treated can only be regarded as a fatal error and a national misfortune."—*Rev. F. W. Farrar, M. A., F. R. S.*

"But there is another and even a stronger ground for advocating the introduction of science as an element of all liberal education, and that is, its peculiar merit as a means of educating the mind. Science is not only knowledge, but it is also power. The

¹Town Geology.

mind is not only an instrument of advancing science, but, what is more to our present point, science is an instrument for advancing the mind. * * * * Mill speaks of the 'indispensable necessity of scientific instruction, for it is recommended by every consideration which pleads for any high order of intellectual education at all.' Science is the best teacher of accurate, acute and exhaustive observation of what is; it encourages the habit of mind which will rest on nothing but what is true. Truth is the ultimate and only object, and there is the ever recurring appeal to facts as the test of truth. And it is an excellent exercise of memory; not the verbal, formal memory, but the orderly, intelligent, connected, accurate storing up of knowledge. And of all processes of reasoning, it stands alone as the exhaustive illustration. It is preëminently the study that illustrates the art of thinking. 'The processes by which truth is attained,' to quote again from Mill, 'reasoning and observation, have been carried to their highest known perfection in the physical sciences.' In fact, the investigations and reasonings of science, advancing, as it does, from the study of simple phenomena to the analysis of complicated actions, form a model of precisely the kind of mental work which is the business of every man, from his cradle to his grave; and reasoning, like other arts, is best learned by practice and familiarity with the highest models. Science teaches what the power and what the weakness of the senses is; what evidence is, and what proof is. There is no characteristic of an educated man so marked as his power of judging of evidence and proof. The precautions that are taken against misinterpretation of what is called the evidence of the senses, and against wrong reasoning, and tracing the thoughts backward down to the ground of belief; the constant verification of theories; the candid suspension of judgment where evidence is still wanting; that wedding of induction and deduction into a happy unity and completeness of proof, the mixture of observation and ratiocination, are precisely the mental processes which all men have to go through somehow or other in their daily business, and which every intelligent being who is capable of forming an intelligent opinion on the subject sees would be better done if men had familiarized themselves with the models of these processes which are furnished by science. I do not mean that a boy knows he is doing all these things; but he *is* doing them visibly. And when he applies the analysis of logic to the processes of his mind, he will find that he has been thinking logically, though unconsciously so."¹—*J. M. Wilson, M. A. F. G. S. F. R. A. S.*

¹On Teaching Natural Science in Schools. Essays on a Liberal Education, Edited by Rev. F. W. Farrar, M. A. F. R. S. Assistant Master at Harrow etc, etc, etc. MacMullen & Co., London, 1867.

Are not all these witnesses competent? They are sagacious, intelligent, sincere, benevolent men, and, in every sense, worthy of credence. Their testimony at least tends to show that the study of all those departments of human knowledge which are called natural sciences ought to be encouraged in every civilized community:—That they ought to be included to a greater or less extent in every scheme of liberal education:—That original research, that is, efforts to add to the sum of existing knowledge whatever is yet unknown and within the limited capacity of man to ascertain and demonstrate, is of primary importance to the progress of civilization and for such reason ought to be fostered:—That the study of, and original research in the natural sciences are not antagonistic to Christianity and the spread of absolute truth.

Now, what is the duty to society of those who do not question the soundness of these conclusions? Is it not to help, in some degree at least, if not to the full extent of their ability, institutions already established for the purpose of acquiring and diffusing knowledge of the natural sciences among the people; and to establish one in every considerable population where no such institution exists?

Those who seek knowledge of the works of the Creator need, in order to pursue their labors profitably, materials and implements of a kind and in number beyond the power of individual wealth to acquire. They are obtainable only in cities or large towns, and in them only through a kind of cooperative system, on condition of right to their common use when obtained. The materials alluded to consist of large collections of specimens of natural objects already known, in other words, an extensive museum in which all objects are distinctly labelled, and arranged properly for convenient reference by the students of any and every department, botany, zoology, mineralogy, geology, palæontology, ethnology. The implements of study, besides a full library of works on natural science, includes a chemical apparatus and laboratory, microscopes, etc., and last though not least, a suitable edifice to contain the whole. With such facilities the student of nature may prepare himself and take the preliminary steps necessary for original research.

The diffusion of knowledge thus acquired is effected through

the agency of the press and the lecture-room and qualified lecturers, and also by frequent visits to the museum.

The requirement of such various and extensive means of study grows out of the recognized affiliation and interdependence of all branches of science. For instance: Sir Charles Lyell tells us truly that "Geology is the science which investigates the successive changes that have taken place in the organic and inorganic kingdoms of nature; it enquires into the causes of these changes, and the influence which they have exerted in modifying the surface and external structure of our planet." Consideration of this definition will show that to properly investigate the successive changes that have taken place in the organic kingdoms of nature since the creation of the world requires acquaintance with the existing botany and zoology; and to recognize the changes in the inorganic kingdoms leads to the study of the structure and composition of minerals and rocks; and inquiry into the causes of such changes demands consideration of the movements of the atmosphere, of the waters of oceans, lakes and rivers, of glaciers as well as of volcanic phenomena. Without a general knowledge of chemistry and of the laws of the natural forces, heat, light, electricity, gravitation, the geological investigator is not properly equipped for efficient work.

This point may be further illustrated. Many departments of science contribute jointly to the results of a geological survey, undertaken to ascertain the natural resources and capabilities of a country. The "Sixth Annual Report of the United States Geological Survey of the Territories," by F. V. Hayden, United States Geologist, is an octavo volume of 844 pages. It contains maps, the data for which were obtained by the astronomer and topographer who determine the position and extent of lakes, the course of rivers, the heights of mountains, etc. An artist and photographer supplies sketches of stratifications, views of mountains, geysers, waterfalls, and remarkable scenery. Observations of atmospheric phenomena, to ascertain and show the character of climate, are made and recorded by a meteorologist. In the departments of mineralogy and lithology, there are descriptions and catalogues of minerals and rocks; in geology, accounts of the structure of mountains, the relations of formations and strata,

and the character of the general surface of the country ; in chemistry, analyses of spring waters, minerals, coals and ores ; in botany, lists of plants ; in mammalogy, accounts and list of mammals ; in ornithology, of birds ; in ichthyology, of fishes ; in herpetology, of reptiles ; in entomology, of insects ; in conchology, of mollusks and shells ; in palæontology, descriptions and catalogues of the fossil remains of plants, mollusks, mammals, reptiles, fishes ; in ethnology, descriptions of aboriginal mounds and stone implements. The new species described are two minerals, three plants and ten insects, worms and arachnidans ; and of new fossil species, sixty-seven plants, fifty-one invertebrates, nineteen reptiles, and several very remarkable mammals. This summary of the contents of this report indicates the variety and general character of the scientific knowledge requisite in making a thorough geological survey.

To recognize what is new among natural objects requires previous acquaintance with what has already been described, or with the methods of determining whether a plant or animal supposed to be new is so, by comparing it with those which it resembles most in its characteristics. Familiarity with comparative osteology and anatomical homologies enables the palæontologist to construct an entire animal from a single fossil tooth or bone, and determine whether it has been described previously. But, to accomplish such work the expert must have means of comparison such as a full museum and a well-furnished library afford.

Every government includes a fair representation of the nation's intelligence and wisdom. Therefore, as every great city of Europe has a scientific museum, founded and maintained at public expense, it may be reasonably inferred that such institutions are useful to the people and necessary to scientific progress.

The Garden of Plants, Dr. Pouchet declares, is undoubtedly the most popular institution, not only in Paris but in the whole world, and is the first point visited by every stranger who sets foot in the French capital. This popularity is due, in his opinion, less to its rich collections than to the renown won in the institution by the Buffons, the Tourneforts, the Cuviers, the Lamarcks, the Geoffrey Saint-Hilaires and others who have labored, become learned and made discoveries in it.

The vast scientific and art collections of the British Museum,

are known to every European tourist. Not long since it was determined to remove from it all those collections which pertain to the natural sciences, and place them in a building in South Kensington. Parliament voted £6,000 to defray the expense of clearing the ground. The part of the edifice now under contract presents a façade of 675 feet, and wings of 250 feet.¹ This structure will contain only such specimens as those displayed in the several museums of the Garden of Plants.

After an experience of a hundred years, a young nation invites the world to examine the visible, objective evidence which it has to offer that the system of government which it adopted at the outset is, in spite of defects, better than any other hitherto devised, to render all men equally free to seek and enjoy worldly happiness, limited in degree only by the force of natural intellect and the extent of its cultivation and training. The belief, common to all true Americans is that national progress in every direction within our boundaries is sufficient to satisfy the people and even statesmen and politicians of all nations that this experiment in human government is successful. Everywhere there is testimony to this effect. Every locality of the inhabited regions of our wide-spread land has proof to offer in this connection. But no where will such proofs be more closely scanned by our visitors during the centennial anniversary than in this commonwealth and city.

It is stated that in the year 1775 the population of the State of Pennsylvania was 275,000; now it is 3,521,951. The population of Philadelphia did not exceed 40,000; in 1876, it will probably exceed 700,000. The census of 1790 makes the population of the nation 3,920,214; and that of 1870, an aggregate of 38,558,671. Has population under any form of government increased at a more rapid rate than this?

According to the census of 1870, Philadelphia contained 112,366 dwellings, 8,184 manufacturing establishments, using the motive power of fifty-nine water wheels and 1,611 steam engines, or an aggregate of 42,224 horse power, and employing 137,496 hands, which together produced manufactures worth \$322,004,517 in a year.

It contains 424 church edifices, 25 hospitals, 6 dispensaries,

¹ The Builder—London, Jan. 4th and 11th, 1873.

24 benevolent societies and 58 charitable institutions of different kinds, established and maintained by spontaneous contributions of the citizens.

The public treasury maintains 31 consolidated, 192 primary, 111 secondary, 60 grammar and 2 high schools, in which 84,387 pupils are taught by 1,630 male and female teachers, in 396 public schools. The city contains also, beside numerous private schools and academies, a polytechnic college, two medical colleges and a university.

There is also a school of design, an Academy of Fine Arts, for the use of which many liberal citizens have generously contributed a fund to construct a new and elegant building which is well advanced; an academy of music and eight or nine theatres.

These institutions afford ample proof that religion, charity, benevolence, industry, primary and general education, and the fine arts are cherished, and that our wealthy citizens are intelligently generous in providing for the common wants of this city, which, classed according to the number of its inhabitants, is the twelfth city of the world, and the second in the United States.

Among the evidences of progress in science and civilization made in this city during the hundred years of the nation's existence, to be exhibited to our visitors in 1876, a museum worthy the name and pride of the city should not be overlooked. Packed in an old and unsightly and inconvenient building at the corner of Sansom and Broad streets, the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia has the materials—more than 400,000 specimens—for a museum, which in many respects would compare favorably with the foremost of the kind in Europe, provided that they be arranged properly in an edifice of sufficient capacity for their exhibition.

Want of space in the old "hall," as it is called, has been noticed and felt during many years. It had become so pressing that in 1866 an appeal was made to the members of the society and to the public for means to supply this want. Subscriptions were liberally made by about 350 persons to an aggregate of \$108,000. Of this amount \$94,139 in sums of from \$10 and less to \$2,156, had been paid up to January 1871. The disbursement of this building fund was confided to a Board of Trustees, thirteen mem-

bers of the Academy, who are annually elected by the contributors to the fund.

After careful consideration of the question of locality, a lot was selected and purchased. It is opposite Logan Square, and is in every respect an eligible site. A plan of fire proof building has been adopted, which is to be realized in the collegiate gothic style of architecture, with exterior walls faced with green serpentine and the openings trimmed with Ohio sandstone.

The plan of the entire building includes space for the scientific library of say 23,000 volumes; general cabinets of minerals, rocks, fossils; dried plants, corals, marine and land shells, insects, reptiles, fishes, birds, mammals; comparative anatomy, mummies and ethnological specimens, all to be labelled and arranged for satisfactory examination. Apartments for the use of male and female artists engaged in portraying natural objects, a reading-room in which will be found all the scientific periodicals of the world; work-shops and committee or study rooms. It is proposed that the centre building be appropriated to a display of specimens of the natural wealth of Pennsylvania exclusively, in which may be seen every plant, mineral, ore, and rock and every animal belonging to the natural history of the commonwealth. The southern wing with an area of say 120 feet by 60 feet, will contain a public lecture room and a laboratory, for which the society has, now boxed, some 1500 pieces of apparatus. It is desired that this laboratory may be so endowed that any properly qualified person engaged in original research may pursue his investigations in it, without any other cost to him than that of materials he may consume, and the repair of apparatus he may damage in his work.

A fuller description of the proposed building has been published.*

The north wing of the new building has been commenced. The beams of the second or museum floor will be laid this season. With the execution of this much of the plan the treasury of the building-fund will be nearly exhausted. Unless the subscriptions already made be promptly paid, and subscriptions in addition to the amount of say \$50,000, the work cannot be continued and enclosed with the roof next year.

* An address. The claims of the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia to Public Favor. By W. S. W. Ruschenberger. Philada. 1871.

The sum needed to construct a fire-proof building 186 feet long by 66 feet wide, two stories high, with interior galleries, is very considerable where the cost of labor and materials is as great as it is in this city. The estimate is \$187,000, but it is notorious that builders' estimates fall short of reality. A provision of \$200,000 will probably be found not more than enough for the purpose. But for an edifice designed to be of indefinite duration is insignificant in comparison with sums expended for temporary structures erected to exhibit manufactures and works of art. The building for the exposition in London, 1851, cost \$850,000; that of 1862, \$2,298,185; that of Paris, in 1855, \$3,373,300; of 1867, \$2,356,605, and that of Vienna, in 1873, \$7,850,000.¹ The erection of the same structures in Philadelphia, at this time, would cost at least one-third more, or for the last, say \$10,500,000, an immense expenditure for six months' service.

A half-million of dollars might be most profitably spent in the erection of a fire-proof building to be of indefinite duration, "not for a day, but for all time," to afford proper accommodations for original scientific research, for the study of the natural sciences and the diffusion of knowledge of them by means of lectures, and for a great museum for public use. Where so much is spent for church spires and other architectural decorations, in a great centre of manufacturers of every name, to whom original scientific research is of inestimable value, such a sum ought to be raised without great difficulty, provided that the daily press, to which the Academy is already under lasting obligations, were to make all readers see the importance of this enterprise as plainly as they see worn-out pavements or tattered garments.

Is there any hope that the State of Pennsylvania may assist this institution? Other States have given substantial aid to similar establishments. Massachusetts has given \$265,000 to the Museum of Comparative Zoology, a department of Harvard University. New York has expended \$600,000 on the State museum at Albany, and given \$500,000 toward a museum of natural history in Central Park, N. Y.

¹ Final Report to the U. S. Centennial Commission on the structures erected for the Vienna Universal Exhibition, 1873, and previous exhibitions in London and Paris. By Henry Pettit, Civil Engineer, Special Agent United States Centennial Commission. Philadelphia, September, 1873.

"I have never yet had the good fortune to hear any valid reason alleged why that corporation of individuals we call the State may not do what voluntary effort fails in doing, either from want of intelligence or lack of will. And here it cannot be alleged that the action of the State is always hurtful. On the contrary, in every country in Europe, universities, private libraries, picture galleries, museums and laboratories have been established by the State, and have done infinite service to the intellectual and moral progress and the refinement of mankind.

"A few days ago I received from one of the most eminent members of the Institute of France a pamphlet, entitled 'Pourquoi. la France n'a pas trouvé d'hommes supérieurs au moment du péril.' The writer, M. Pasteur, has no doubt that the cause of the astounding collapse of his countrymen is to be sought in the miserable neglect of the higher branches of culture, which has been one of the many disgraces of the Second Empire, if not of its predecessors."¹

The many educational, charitable, religious and eleemosynary institutions of the city have claims worthy of the generosity and charity of our benevolent fellow-citizens; but no one of them is itself more important to the common good, or more in need at this time of fostering care and aid, than the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia. In its behalf I earnestly ask that its condition may be fairly considered, and that every citizen approving of our enterprise will contribute such sum as may be consistent with his dignity and circumstances to give.

W. S. W. RUSCHENBERGER.

THE CONQUEST OF SPAIN BY THE ARAB-MOORS.

XV.—STATISTICS OF THE REMAINING HISTORY.

WITH the firm establishment of Abdu-r-rahman Addakhel on the throne of Cordova, the conquest of Spain was completed and assured. The rapid occupancy of the territory by the armies of Musa and Tarik had been the furious surge of a tidal wave, which might have had a retrogression. The administration of the early Ameer made Spain the appanage of the Khalifate,

¹Administrative Nihilism. By Thomas Henry Huxley, LL. D., F. R. S.

liable to be strengthened or weakened by numerous causes, such as the condition of the Eastern throne, the claims and counter-claims of the invading tribes, and the quarrels of factions, headed by ambitious adventurers. But when the allegiance to the Khalif was thrown off, and the Ommyan prince declared himself *Al Mumenin*, a new and supreme commander of the faithful, these troubles disappeared, a new national loyalty was created; the conquest was complete.

I am thus particular because I desire to show, that in bringing the narrative down to this period, I have kept faith with the reader, and have given him the entire story. It would be indeed of great interest to pursue the history, and to show how grand causes were at work to undermine and destroy the Moslem power, but this is no part of my task, and is further precluded by the limits of our space.

There are however certain important corollaries which have sprung from the main proposition, without which this would be but an abrupt and too literal termination. The conquest thus far seems to be one chiefly of physical force, but the questions arise what did they achieve for civilization? what were they as a nation in their new home? what influence did they exert upon the history of Europe? To these questions the two remaining papers must be devoted, and I can only regret that my time and space will permit but inadequate answers. Before doing so, however, I present to the reader an almost tabular summary of their later dominion, in order that he may have the principal vicissitudes of their historic life, and the chronology of its principal features.

The dynasties, or distinct governmental systems of the Arab-Moors during their eight centuries of residence, are conveniently divided into four.:

1. From 711 to 756, or that under the Ameers of the khalifs, from Musa and Tarik, to Abdu-r-rahman I.
2. From 756 to 1036, during the independent khalifate (seventeen khalifs), of the house of the Ommyades.
3. From 1036 to 1235, when the khalifate was divided into petty kingdoms, and attempts at union were made by the African incursions of the Almoravides and Almohades.
4. From 1238 to 1492. During this time the dominion of the Saracens had dwindled down to the tributary kingdom of Granada,

which was overthrown in the year last mentioned by Ferdinand and Isabella.

The following table, extracted from the work of Gayangos, will present the reigns of the khalifs of the house of Ummeyyah :

| | |
|---------------------------------------|-------------|
| I. Abdu-r-rahman I., from 756 to..... | 788 |
| II. Hisham I., to..... | 796 |
| III. Al-hakem I., to..... | 822 |
| IV. Abdu-r-rahman II., to..... | 852 |
| V. Mohammed I., to..... | 886 |
| VI. Al-mandhir, to..... | 888 |
| VII. Abdullah, to..... | 912 |
| VIII. Abdu-r-rahmen III., to..... | 961 |
| IX. Al-hakem II., to..... | 976 |
| X. Hisham II., to..... | March, 1009 |
| XI. Mohammed, to..... | Nov. 1009 |
| XII. Suleyman, to..... | June, 1010 |
| Mohammed II., 2d time, to..... | Aug. 1010 |
| Hisham II., " to..... | 1013 |
| Suleyman, " to..... | 1016 |
| XIII. Abdu-r-rahman IV., to..... | 1019 |
| XIV. Abdu-r-rahman V., to..... | 1023 |
| XV. Mohammed III., to..... | 1025 |
| XVI. Hisham III., to..... | 1031 |

This line which began its dominion with such vigor and splendor became degenerate in the lapse of time. It ended with Hisham III. The establishment of the tribes in various localities had given them strength, and we see the reverse action to that which took place at the north; there feudalism gave place to monarchy; in Spain the monarchy was subjected to a feudality which deposited the power in the hands of prominent families settled in the large cities and their *comarcas*, and thus the empire fell to pieces.

The quarrels and factions of these families were fostered by the increasing power of the Christians and the effeminacy of the khalifs. The *fascēs* firmly bound had been strong: the bonds were loosed and the tumbling elements were weak and an easy prey to the Christian hosts, who were aided by the internecine quarrels of the Moors.

Thus the Beni Hammud, which had maintained the power in Cordova until 1030, were overpowered by the Beni Jehwar, who sustained themselves until 1058.

So too the Beni Idris ruled in Malaga until 1055, and in Alge-siras until 1058. The Zeyrites held sway in Granada until 1090, and the Beni Abbād in Seville until 1091. The power of the Beni Dhi-n-nūn was assured in Toledo until 1085.

The complete lists of the petty kingdoms may be found in the second volume of Al makkari; this indication of their existence is all that need be given in this sketch. All that is necessary here is to observe that the Mohammedan empire had fallen to pieces; the cities had become kingdoms; the Christian kings were marching down to swallow them one by one, and nothing stayed their hand but a temporary counter-conquest by African tribes. New hosts from Mauritania marched into Spain, usurped the Moslem power, and while they trampled upon the Moorish rights, stayed the progress of the banner of the Cross.

The old story was repeated. In Africa a new dominion had sprung up under Yusuf Ibn Tashefui; they were called the Almoravides. The principle men of this association were the chiefs of a noble Arabian tribe which had been banished from their home. The philosophy of their rise is manifest; with the consolidation of power at the seat of the Eastern khalifate on the one hand, and with a like consolidation in Spain on the other, Africa became a separate ground for new men and new schemes of ambition. Thus about the year 1000, the Almoravides had grown into power, under a gifted chief who gave them their name, *Almoravides, devoted to God*. With them Yusuf usurped the power and took the title of supreme Khalif.

Of their coming into Spain there are several accounts; the truest is that Mohammed III. in his emergency applied to them for assistance against Alfonso. They crossed the strait, gave the desired aid, and instead of returning usurped the power. It was an apparent reconstruction of the Saracenic empire; but dissolution was in the very air, and the instruments were at hand.

Upon the departure of the Almoravides for Spain, Africa was left in disorder and tumult. Again the chance appeared for other men and new schemes; men and schemes which were to originate there in the existing condition, and at once to act upon suffering, dissevered, declining Spain. A heretical lamplighter sprung up as the leader of this new faction, and united in his plot a *mehedi*, or doctor of canon laws. From this fact came the name Al Mehedes, corrupted into Almedehes,¹ or Almohades.

¹ The Arabic word is *m-h-di*, and the supply of the vowels is in many cases very arbitrary.

As soon as they had become strong in Africa they crossed the narrow sea in large force, conquered where they could, and established themselves, and incited insurrection everywhere. The unhappy people of Spain, dazed by their misfortunes, looked in every direction for succor, and for a moment hoped they might find protection from their new comers; but their hopes were vain. The Almohades drove the Almoravides before them, captured Granada and expelled their predecessors into the Balearic isles. They put down the petty kings; they united for a brief space with the Christians, to establish their power. Large reinforcements joined them from Africa, and for a time it seemed that a strong and lasting dominion had been established. Not content with routing the Almoravides from Spanish territory, they followed them to the Balearic islands, and in 1199 subverted their power there. But notwithstanding all these successes their day was soon to come. The Christian forces united against them, and in 1230 their dominion was destroyed. Once again there was a return to the petty kingdoms, weak, hopeless, with no sagacity to seek that union in which alone was strength.

In 1238, Ibnu-l'ahmar retreated from Jaen to Granada, and in that favored nook he and his successors retrieved for a time the evil fortunes and shattered reputation of the Arab-Moors. It was their last stronghold, and it became, in art, science and manufactures, the glory of the declining dominion. Then arose the fairy courts of the Alhambra, and the garden-like perfection of the Vega. Granada, too weak to cope with the advancing Spaniards, sought leisure and rest by becoming a tributary kingdom. Its monarchs were the vassals of the Christian kings of Spain. They purchased immunity by following their masters to war against their own recalcitrant people; their luxury was purchased by a golden servitude.

And here we reach the very romance of the history, so brilliantly illustrated by Irving and Prescott. The end which was a foregone conclusion, might yet have been long delayed, had not parties and factions sprung up in the little state. Again tribes were arrayed against each other and against the king. The doubtful story of the Zegrís and the Abencerrages is full of meaning. Restive under tribute to the Christians, they turned their arms against each other, and gave their enemies more than pretexts—a necessity, so to

speak—to make a conclusion of the whole matter. Monarchs were deposed and restored, rebellions were constant, and when at length Ferdinand and Isabella marched into the Vega, it required more than a Cæsar or a Charlemagne to withstand the vigorous onset of troops whose battle-cry for centuries had been death and destruction to the Moorish infidels.

Abu Abdillah¹ the last of the Moors, has received hard judgment from history. *La cuesta de las lagrimas* and *el ultimo suspiro* have been considered tokens of his weakness. The epigrammatic speech of his mother, Zoraya, that “he wept like a woman for what he should have defended like a man,” has stamped Boabdil el chico,—El Zogoybi (the unlucky), as the enervate king who might, with proper valor and vigor, have driven back the monarchs of Castile and Aragon, and transmitted the “garden of Andalusia” to a long line of successors. This is all wrong; it was not in the power of man.

Slowly, step by step the Christians, who from the very date of the conquest had fled into the Asturias, there made a feeble stand, then routed those who came to destroy them, then marched southward, conquered province after province, gathering strength with their progress; then, upon the overthrow of the Khalifate, they took kingdom after kingdom. African usurpers fared no better at their hands; the momentum increased until it was written in the book of Arabian fate that the Moorish dominion must end.

From these brief condensed statistics, we turn to consider their social systems, and their intellectual culture; the former have largely influenced all the later Spanish history; the latter has laid Europe and the world under a lasting obligation.

XVI.—GLIMPSES OF THE SOCIAL SYSTEM.

Having thus given, in brief statistics, an outline of the Spanish-Moorish history from the establishment of the independent khalifate under Abdu-r-râhman the first, to the expulsion of Boabdil El chico from their last resting-place in Granada, we are now ready to inquire into the civilization which they induced or achieved during their occupancy of nearly eight centuries. What progress did they make intellectually? What developments in

¹ Contracted unto Boabdil.

art? What were their conditions of government? What their social customs and institutions and their domestic habits? These questions involve that philosophy which alone gives value to history, and these questions, if fully answered, would throw a strong light upon Spanish annals, and clear away mists that have hung over them thick and malarious from their day to our own.

I can only indicate, in a synoptical view, the general nature of these topics, leaving their fuller investigation to the interested student. No subject excels them in interest. Before accosting the general topic of the civilization of the Arab Moors in Spain, we must go back to the East and see what the early khalifs of Damascus and Bagdad were doing for human culture. We shall see that the beginnings of such a culture were at the courts of Damascus and Bagdad, and that the Spanish Arabs received both impetus and material from their Oriental brethren, who, in their turn, had received it from the countries they had conquered to the farther East.

But the Spanish Arabs were not the men to tie up the golden talent thus received in a napkin; they made it pay usury. That they were of the same race, language and creed, only made their emulation the stronger. They burned to make Cordova, Toledo and Seville more brilliant than the glorious seats of the Eastern khalifs. We shall see that they succeeded. The treasures of the East were garnered for Europe in the Spanish capitals. It has been seen that when the family of Al Abbas had usurped the throne of the Ommyades, they wisely sought a new locality in which they might centralize their power and render the line of the Abbasides illustrious. With a true Asiatic instinct they moved eastward into the midst of their most permanent conquests. Abu Jaafar Almansur, the successor of Abdullah, the shedder of blood, and the second khalif of that dynasty, fixed upon Bagdad, on the banks of the Tigris, in the year 763, and drew his materials for building a splendid metropolis from the ruins of Ctesiphon and Seleucia.¹ One of the mosques he built still remains, a relic of his project and its success. With this removal from Damascus came the beginnings of humane and secular culture. At least, very little had been accomplished before that. From the "Age

¹Knigh's English Encyclopædia—Geography—*Bagdad*.

of Ignorance," which was also the age of superstition and idolatry, Mohammed had led the Arabians into an age of faith and of partial knowledge. The work of the Ommyades had been to give aim and system to this partial knowledge. The koran was to them both law and gospel: they make it their chief duty to assert its claims; they lived by it, governed by it, it was their incentive in war. Nothing beside was needed. And yet paradoxical as it appears, in arousing the Arabian mind, it led them to desire more.

The accession of the Abassides, bloody though it was, was to be a great stride in civilization. The popular longings for knowledge chimed with the ambition of the khalifs to be patrons of learning. The quick and receptive Arabian mind had been restrained in its ardor by narrow-minded rulers. The new dynasty saw at a glance that its greatest glory would be to lead in such a movement; and the change was so rapid that scarcely more than a century intervenes between the ruthless destruction of the Alexandrian library by Amru, and the eager cultivation by the Arabians of all branches of human knowledge. Extolling this great transformation, an Arabian writer tells us that the ink of the doctor soon took rank with the blood of the military martyr, and the learning of the wise was esteemed of equal value with the prayers of the good and the valor of the brave. The glory of the sword was to acknowledge the power of the pen.

The steps in this progress, although at first astonishing, are in reality simple and natural. Conquering generals were enjoined as the first duty after conquest, to build mosques, in which Allah might be adored and his prophet revered. Attached to every mosque a school was at once established in which the Koran was taught, but to learn to read and write gave the scholars a powerful instrument, which was not content to expend itself upon the Koran; it sought exercise in literature, science and art, with an avidity that could not be restrained. Aspiring to create, the genius of the Arabs was equally desirous to collect existing treasures of thought.

Besides, as long as the seat of the khalifate was at Damascus, to conquer had been the ruling passion and the chief labor, and the diverging lines of victory had caused many to be only valiant soldiers who in more peaceful times would have become learned doctors. But at last, when the power of conquest slackened; when Spain had asserted and could maintain her Moslem independence;

when the nations of the farther east had bowed supinely before the victorious banners of Islam; when the greater part of the world had been conquered; when Bagdad had arisen in glory and beauty

"After the fashion of the time,
And humor of the golden prime,
Of Good Haroun al Raschid,"

then men of all classes turned with enthusiasm to poetry, to history, to natural and experimental science, to all that was known or that they could hope to know of human learning,—a new world for a nobler conquest: and the Arabian mind was ready for this new and inviting career.

Almansur, the founder of Bagdad, stands in history as the usher of this new and beautiful order. Upon his accession to the khalifate in 754, among his first acts was to invite learned men to his court, without regard to nation or creed, and to treat them with eminent distinction. He then began assiduously to collect the existing treatises of the famous Greek writers, and caused them to be translated into Arabic. The famous medical treatises of the Greek physicians were thus brought into the Arabian schools in the skillful versions of George Bactischwah, and the art of healing among the Saracens, already practiced with enthusiasm, was based upon the surest foundations. An academy and a college of medicine were established; the study of clinics was made in hospitals which were attached to the college, and in laboratories, similarly provided, the best chemistry of the day,—principally iatro-chemistry—was successfully studied. At one time six thousand students of medicine and chemistry flocked to Bagdad.

Almansur was himself an apt scholar, and worked with the students in their investigations. His zeal for Islam became secondary to his enthusiasm for science.

The work which he nobly inaugurated moved under the impetus given by his hand, until it was seized with equal ardor and energy by his more distinguished grandson, Aaron the Just, known better, however, in all languages by his Arabic name, *Haroun Al Raschid*. This famous monarch was born in 765, only half a century after the first irruption of the Arab-Moors into Spain. It is he, who with his favorite wife, Zobeide, figures so largely in those marvelous stories of the thousand and one nights, called *The Arabian Nights' Entertainments*; stories which make the old young again,

and the learned child-like ; stories which give to the illustrations rostrum, the sanctum and the household circle. There is a poetic justice in this romantic enshrinement of Haroun, because he was really one of the grandest men of his epoch. He warmly espoused the cause of general culture, and his favorite ministers, of the powerful family of the Barmecides, were first his ready agents and then his emulous rivals in capacity. They aided largely in making his reign illustrious. There was no field of culture too difficult or too modest for his support. Mathematics, and astronomy, jurisprudence, history, poetry, the natural sciences, all found favor, opportunity and reward.

It was his custom to take on his journeys, whether on a campaign or in a royal progress through his dominions, an hundred men of learning in his train, and they received the treatment of distinguished courtiers. He built mosques, of course, but his chief concern was to establish academies, and thus religion and science went hand in hand, or rather science outstripped religion. Nor was his fame confined, even in that day, to the East ; he, perhaps more than any other sovereign, divided the admiration of Europe with his great western contemporary, Charlemagne, and astonished his imperial brother by the splendor of an embassy, and the richness of the gifts he sent. History may err in hyperbole : among his presents was an elephant, said to have been the first ever seen in France, and a linen tent of such exquisite texture that it could be folded into a very small compass, and yet, when pitched, it rose so high in air that an arrow shot by the strongest arm could not pass over its summit. "The interior of the tent was of the magnitude that few palaces could present a greater number of apartments."

The third valuable gift was indicative of the great progress which had been already made at the East in curious, complicated and delicate mechanism. It was a *clepsydra*, or water-clock of singular construction. It had twelve gates corresponding to the twelve hours. "When the hour was striking on the clock one of the gates opened itself, from which proceeded a regular number of small balls, and these, by falling in turn on a brazen vessel, marked the hour by the noise which they then caused ; thus the eye perceived the hour by the number of opened gates, and the ear by the number of falling balls. At the twelfth hour twelve

small horsemen issued out of each of them through one gate, and closed them all in their course round the dial."¹

But the character of Haroun is more strikingly presented to us by a gift more thoughtful and more magnanimous. Within his extensive dominions lay Palestine, a holy land to Jew, Saracen and Christian. Its central point, equally sacred to all, was Jerusalem, *urbs sancta* but peculiarly so to the Christians because it contained the sepulchre which had received the body of Christ.

It was well known to Haroun that the patriarch of Jerusalem had implored the protection of the great Charles for the churches of the East, and security for pilgrims to the sacred sepulchre. It is to the great honor of the Eastern khalif, that he sent unsolicited the keys of the Holy Sepulchre and of Calvary, and the standard of Jerusalem, to Charlemagne, and thus formally invested him with an uncontrolled authority in all matters concerning the security of the Christian Church and the monuments in the Holy City.

The character of Haroun is stained with acts of cruelty. It could hardly have been otherwise. The Mohammedan khalif had already become an oriental despot, and with autocratic power came the strong temptation to abuse it. He destroyed the Barmecides to whom he had owed so much; but despite his cruelty his name will always be renowned for the great progress of civilization made under his auspices, for the splendors of the court of Bagdad, and for his liberality to men of all creeds, and especially to the Christian faith.

Another name is now to be added to the list of those Mohammedan monarchs, who in this formative period still further advanced human progress, and gave treasures of learning, and art to Europe. It is the name of Almainon, the seventh khalif of the house of Abbas. Thoroughly educated by the Greek and Persian philosophers of the court, it was his chief pleasure to surround his throne with the concurrent wisdom of the world, irrespective of race or creed. Among his most distinguished *savans* were Jews. A Nestorian Christian was his superintendent of public instruction. He issued an edict to his government officials in all parts of his empire to collect everything pertaining to literature, science

¹Card's Charlemagne.

and art, and thus during his whole reign, caravans of solid learning, of books, pictures, maps, specimens, were seen converging to the great repository at Bagdad, where skillful hands were busy in analyzing, classifying and systematizing them.

Particularly interested in mathematical and astronomical studies, Almaimon put two parties in the field to measure a degree of latitude on the earth's surface, and thus to determine approximately the dimensions of the earth itself. And all these labors of Almaimon deserve the greater praise from the fact that his zeal and liberality for the cause of science, caused him to be suspected by many of the faithful of want of loyalty to the Koran. The astounding developments of science did indeed begin to injure the revelation of Mohammed, and progress in science rendered a man liable to the charge of heresy. The safety of the Koran at a later day is doubtless due to the decline of learning at the East. It would be very interesting to give in detail the advance of science at the East, but it forms no part of my purpose. I have referred to its origin there in order to show how it passed thence into Spain.

As soon as, under the first Abdu-r-ráhmán, Spain became an independent kingdom, the enthusiasm for polite and useful learning thus exhibited at Bagdad spread like summer fire along all the lines of original conquest. Africa felt the impulsion. Teeming schools and large libraries were established at Morocco and Fez. A new band of better conquerors crossed the narrow sea to Gibraltar. If, as we have shown the direct conquest of Europe by force of arms had been impossible, these Arab-Moors were to achieve a moral conquest far nobler; to make an intellectual incursion which was to be acknowledged in the schools of Oxford, and to be felt "as far as the confines of Poland and the Highlands of Scotland." They were to throw a flood of light upon the darkness of western Europe. At the same time they were to arouse Christendom, binding all its portions in a grand rally for the doctrines of the Crucified; positively, to instruct, and, negatively, to strengthen. Thus we reach the subject of the Arabian civilization in Spain.

In emulation of the example of the East, the first purpose of Abdu-r-ráhmán Addakhel was to make Cordova in all respects the rival of Bagdad, which, in the words of Ibnu Said, was recognized as "the capital of the world and the mine of every excellence."

In this purpose he was eminently successful. Making all allowance for the tendency of the enthusiastic Arabian chroniclers to exaggerate the figures and the magnificence, enough remains of the splendor, the mechanical inventions, the political energy and the social luxury of the earlier khalifs to excite our admiration and astonishment.

Cordova, an ancient Roman city, the capital of Hispania Ulterior, sacked by Cæsar after his quarrel with Pompey, had degenerated under the Goths. It was chosen by the first khalif as the seat of his empire, and gave a title to the khalifate. Sunken as it now is into a little dead, still, white city, it contains magnificent relics of the day when it was the splendor of the Western world, a nobler Bagdad. Among these is the Mezquita, or Mosque, now a Christian cathedral. For three centuries, from the ninth to the twelfth, and especially during the reigns of the three Abdu-r-râhman and Alkahem, Cordova gloried in this distinction. It was the most magnificent capital in Europe. Its long, winding and numerous streets were brilliantly lighted at night, at a time when, in the words of another, London was yet in profound darkness; and it was completely paved and scrupulously clean, when Paris richly deserved its name *Lutetia*, or the muddy.

Cordova had its *Kassâbah* or citadel with wall and moat. The exterior walls of the city extended in periphery twenty-four miles. There were twenty-one suburbs, and to all this vast extent a splendid aqueduct supplied pure water from an adjacent mountain. Here Abdu-r-râhman built a palace, the *Rissafah*, in the midst of a magnificent garden, the floral wonder of the world. Around the city were other royal villas or retreats bearing such romantic names as "the palace of flowers," "of the lovers," "of contentment," "of the diadem;" but chief among the surrounding marvels was the palace and city of *Az-zahra*, erected for and named after his chief favorite at her own request. It was situated four miles from Cordova, and its materials were collected without regard to expense from all parts of the Arabian world. The Arabian writers dwell with great fondness upon still another palace, called *Az-za-hirah*, upon which the khalif exhausted wealth and taste. The details are so minutely given that we cannot doubt the existence of these structures, although the traveler of to-day

seeks in vain for a vestige of them. This search has thus far, it may be said, been, however, rather superficial.

In Cordova itself there were three hundred mosques, besides many tolerated Christian churches, six hundred inns,¹ five thousand mills, highly cultivated orchards, gardens and plantations along the banks of the river. What this favored place was to its native children, when away, may be gathered from the anecdote that, when a certain Abu-Bekr, went from Cordova to Toledo, his friend Almak-h-zumi asked him whence he came. "From Cordova." "When?" "Just now." "Then," said the sheik, "come near to me, that I may smell the air of Cordova in thy garments." With that he began to smell the traveler's head, and to kiss it all over, and he broke out in tearful impromptu verses in praise of his native city: the Arabian muse delights in simple pathos. The palaces and mansions of the noble and rich were of great luxury, in construction and in furniture. There was little ornament on the exterior. If nature was shut out, the interior of each mansion was a temple of pleasure and of taste, and nature was made to cater to art.

A few of these remain to indicate to the traveler what they were in that halcyon day. I shall not attempt to describe any one of them, or to borrow the eulogiums of the chronicles, but shall only present to the reader distinguishing features which marked them all alike,² and which may still be seen and enjoyed by the tourist in Spain.

A massive *porte cochere* opens into a paved court yard, in the center of which is the never-failing fountain. The peri-style of the gallery running around it is supported by slender columns of alabaster or polished marble, from which spring numbers of graceful horseshoe arches. Above these are the grated or latticed windows which mark the seraglio. Imagine the columns partly or

¹ It is worthy of notice that to-day Cordova has but two hotels, or *fondas*, not of the first class.

² These features have been retained in social Spanish architecture to the present day. When I was in Seville, I saw a palace just finished in the complete moorish style, as exhibited in the Alcazar and the Alhambra, by a wealthy Cuban gentleman. It is a splendid anachronism; it takes the traveler back to the very days of the Abdu-r-rahmans. It stands on the Plaza del Duque, and cost half a million of dollars.

wholly gilded, and everything radiant with painted arabesques, in rainbow hues of red and blue and gold. Over this court was drawn, to shut out the mid-day heat, a costly awning, and here the household gathered for that dreamy siesta, still one of the *cosas de España*, lulled, rather than disturbed by the plashing of the waters. Rare tropical plants in huge *jardinieres* lend a natural grace to the court. It was a fairy caravanserai in the oasis of Andalusian life.

Let us pass on from this court through a double archway into another court-yard similar in proportions and surroundings, in the center of which is a great *estanque* or oblong basin seventy-five feet long by thirty in width, and six feet deep, supplied with limpid waters raised to a pleasant temperature by heated metallic pipes. Here the indolent, the warm, the weary may lave in luxurious languor.

Leaving this extensive bathing hall by a postern in the gallery, you enter a fairy garden with mazy walks, and blooming parterres and artificial grottos, and kiosks of stained glass. The terraces are of polished marble, with gilded columns and balustrades. The ponds are filled with gold and silver fishes. Water is everywhere; there is one hall literally walled with fountain jets and columns, meant to bid defiance to the fiercest heats of the summer. With the Arab-Moor water was not a luxury but a necessary of life; ablution was not more a religious ceremony than a domestic enactment. Nor was this confined to the higher classes; we are informed that many of the poor spent their last dirhem for soap; preferring rather to be dinnerless than dirty.

If we would conjure up the figures of that early day to people such a house as we have described, the task is not difficult. The effect of their costume was that of loose cloths gathered loosely about the form. The original Moors wore a gown or long sack gathered with a belt at the waist, and over this a flowing-sleeved mantle open in front; beneath were loose drawers gathered around the ancle. Sandals were generally worn in walking, but heelless slippers took their place in the house, such as may be still found in the bazaars of Tangiers and Morocco. A cloth covering was placed upon the back and sides of the head, upon which at the date of the conquest the Eastern turban was adjusted; but no great time elapsed before the turban was abandoned in Spain, and

a woolen cap of cylindrical form, since called the *fez*, was adopted in its place; it was red or green for the Moslemah, white for the Muzarabs, and yellow for the Jews. So completely had the turban disappeared in the lapse of a century, that when an Oriental appeared with one in Andalusia, he was laughed at as very outlandish and unfashionable, an Eastern importation of what was behind the age.

The famous Spanish *capa* or cloak of the present day is indeed a modification of the Roman toga, and was worn by the Goths before the conquest, but it was soon adopted by the Arab-Moors, who called it *anda*,¹ and who made it, like the modern Spaniards, a concealment.

The costume of the women is not so easily described in detail. The principal part was a close fitting sack like a *peignoir*, a flowing mantle or *saya*, full drawers and heelless slippers. The *mantilla* which the Moorish ladies certainly adopted from the original inhabitants, was a long-oblong-shawl, which was fastened to the back of the head and drawn easily over the face as well as the breast. It is the perfection of the graceful in woman's dress.

It has been difficult to find accurate descriptions of the arms offensive and defensive, with which the Arab-Moors conquered Spain. They had the mace and the long-bow. They managed with great dexterity the spear, which was a long and slender reed, which might be cast like a javelin or used as a lance in rest. They had swords of various shapes, the short, thick hacking sword, the sharp, curved flexible cymetar—and the cut and thrust.

To cover their persons they wore, for the head, a light steel head-piece; and for the breast, a thin, well-tempered cuirass, or coat-of-mail. Their bucklers were of leather, made of antelope-skin, which is noted for its strength and toughness. In the earlier conquests of Islam, such light arms and armor allowed them dexterity and mobility, but as the Spanish Christians gathered spirit and strength, the Moors found them lacking the requisite power, and they imitated their Gothic enemies by adopting heavier closed

¹The *capa* remains as the most distinctive feature of Spanish costume; and it is a common saying that a Spaniard would rather part with his skin than his cloak. Its form and dimensions are rigorously prescribed—a full circle measuring *seven* yards all but three inches and a half. It is of sober color, and is lined on the front edges with black or green velvet.

helmets, iron shields and complete mail. The cross-bow largely replaced the long-bow.

I have spoken of the glories of Cordova, because it was their capital; the splendors of Toledo, Seville, Cadiz and Granada, would present exceedingly interesting topics, if our space served. But I turn aside from these brilliant pictures to consider a matter of more practical importance—the system of officers and government established by the Spanish Arabs.

The dominion of the khalif was eminently theocratic; this was all that preserved it from being entirely autocratic. He ruled by the precepts of the Koran, which served in all Mohammedan countries for law and for gospel both. That can hardly be called an absolute dominion which must govern itself by laws daily read in every mosque, and expounded in every school; laws which seem more binding upon the governors than the governed. From a work by Ibnu Saïd, entitled, "Shining stars in the just and partial descriptions of the Eastern and Western governments," we may gather the offices and methods of administration. As we have before seen, the ameers or governors of Spain, were originally appointed by the Vice-roy of Africa, subject to the sanction of the supreme Khalif. Even after Moslem Spain threw off the Eastern yoke, and became independent under the Ommyan dynasty, the new monarchs called themselves, until Abder-y-râhman III., *Ameers, sons of the Khalifs*.¹ That sovereign first assumed the title Prince of the Believers. From the first, however, the principles which actuated the new dynasty were,—great rigor of administration, entire impartiality, and a becoming splendor in the monarch and his court.

The *nayib* or Grand Vizier was the prime minister, who had under the monarch the general charge of public affairs. The concerns of the state were divided into several branches each under a *hajib* or subordinate vizier. Thus there was a minister for foreign relations, one for finance, one for justice, and one who had control of the army and navy. At first these officers were appointed by the khalif, but they soon became hereditary in families, always subject to the approval of the khalif, which in-

¹In the history we find the *Emirate of Cordova* interchangeable with the *khalifate*.

weak reigns was easily extorted. Often the minister was more powerful than the monarch.

There were besides these, special secretaries appointed, called *katibs*, who under the ministers conducted the correspondence—with allies or with enemies; in matters concerning the residence and protection of Christians and Jews; and with the provincial governors.

The *Sáhibu-L-ashgal*, or collector of revenues and taxes, was an important functionary who ranked among the chief viziers, and who seems to have conducted his department with great exactitude.

Besides the executive cabinet thus formed, the department of justice was confided to numerous judges or *kadis*, who were possessed of extraordinary powers. They took cognizance of all crimes against morality, and could sentence any offender to death. Among these was one in each town called the *mohtesil*, whose duty it was to ride through the markets daily with an attendant bearing a pair of scales; he fixed weights and prices, and rendered false weights and measures and extortion impossible.

To guard against the entrance of the robbers who plied their trade in the environs of cities, at every gate was a watchman, with a dark lantern, in easy communication with a guard of troops.

The provinces were governed by *walis*, who reported at stated times to the central government. So extensive was the military force, under a proper order of generals, that one of the earlier khalifs is said to have held in the plains of Cordova a review at which the troops numbered 600,000 foot and 300,000 horse, all splendidly equipped.

Besides the heavy tributes and customs paid by Christians and Jews, uniform taxes, called *sakah*, were levied on all the Moslemah. Of the revenue thus collected, we may form a general idea from the fact that in the reign of Abdu-r-rahman III. it amounted annually to \$15,000,000. Of this sum one-third was used for the support of the military establishment, one-third for the civil government, and the remainder was put into the coffers of the khalif for his own use, and as an extraordinary fund.

The question of the treatment of Jews and Christians does not

seem to have been a troublesome one. Rigorous in obeying the requirements of their own creed, and believing all others to be false, the Saracens were yet far more tolerant to unbelievers than the Christian sects have in later times been to each other, and than all Christians have been to the Jews. Apostates only they punished with death. Let it be observed that their toleration to all others was a generous and politic habitude rather than a prescriptive law, for their religion gave them the abstract right to destroy all unbelievers. They were, indeed, invited and urged to accept the Koran as the perfect revelation, but, if they would not, the payment of the prescribed tribute entitled them to perfect toleration. The Christians in the chief cities, who adopted Moorish customs and the Arabic language, while they still retained their religion, were called *Muzarabs*, from the Arabic *Musta'rab*, meaning one who imitates the Arab. When these cities were reconquered by the Spanish Christians, they found a Christian prayer-book in Arabic, since known as *El Oficio Muzarabe*.

I will conclude this paper with a reference to the polygamy of the Saracens. Although the uncommon passions of Mohammed had emended the Koran to allow himself a greater number of wives, it must be remembered that his system rather restrained an existing polygamy than established a new custom for his people. And although the Spanish khalifs availed themselves eagerly of the Scripture permission, and the nobles followed their example, I am inclined to think that polygamy, repulsive as it must always be, is less so as exhibited among the Spanish Moors than elsewhere. The intuitive romance and poetic judgment of the ardent Arabian nature, and the beauty and grace of the women which still enchant the traveler in Andalusia, seem to throw around their domestic relations an atmosphere more akin to conjugal attachment than is to be found among the degraded races of the East. Their poets sung the charms of woman's loveliness as witchingly as does Moore in "the Light of the Harem," while from the harem itself came forth strains of true poetry which show the culture of woman's mind and the elevation of her position.

HENRY COPPÉE.

YOUNG WIDOWS.

“**B**EWARE of widows, Sammy,” is not especially funny or clever, but it has hit the popular feeling. There is a wide-spread prejudice against widows, and as the world has a large experience of them and their ways, it must have some warrant for distrusting them. For our own part, we will not say that our observation has led us to quarrel with Mr. Weller’s warning.

The loss of her husband leaves a woman only half herself. The best apology for second marriages is the utter emptiness of a young widow’s life. For a time after her bereavement she spends herself in honest and heartfelt grief. She even exaggerates her loss. There is no taste in food and no flavor in wine. The sun is never to shine nor the flowers to bloom for her again. The sad remnant of her life shall be devoted to cherishing the memory and adorning the grave of her departed. All day and every day she spends in the house, except when she steals by unfrequented ways to church. Her room is a shrine, filled with memorials of her sorrow. His picture lies under the pillow at night. His letters are worn with handling, and blotted with tears. Day is too bright for her; she cannot endure the eye of a stranger. When duty calls her into the streets, she envelops herself in a veil through which no regard can penetrate. Her dress is the deepest and plainest of mourning. The men who used to know her husband, and remember him as a good sort of fellow, not much better nor worse than his neighbors, half envy his transfiguration, and hope, when their time comes, to be mourned as truly. If she has a child, she spoils it of course. By some process of comparison, purely feminine, its round face and childish treble remind her of *him*.

At this stage she especially affects the society of her fellow-mourners. Two widows will spend half the day together comparing the virtues of their respective husbands, relating the details of their married life, and confirming each other in morbid fancies and resolves. They dwell upon their utter distaste for the

world, and speak of more facile sisters with compassionate disdain. "Why, Laura, I saw Mrs. Thompson in church this morning, and she had her dress trimmed with silk ruches! and Tom only died in August." "Well, my dear," says Laura, "some people can do that sort of thing." And she looks down with pride upon the plain black folds which guard the integrity of her woe. She is apt to take a religious turn. She keeps clergymen running to and fro. Little books of pious consolation abound on her shelves; and she sends them to her friends with her favorite passages doubly-scored.

But this cannot last forever. Gradually the weight of grief is lifted from her heart, and the natural buoyancy of youth comes back. There is freshness in the springtime again, and sugar is sweet to the taste. And now begins the stage in which the young widow is so amusing. It is hard, the proverb says, for a woman to grow old gracefully. It is still harder for her to come gracefully out of her widowhood. The best thing for her to do is to travel, or to spend a year somewhere away from home; away from the people who have witnessed the excesses of her grief, and who can contrast the present with the past. But she is apt to stay at home, where every step of the process of recovery can be watched. It is a swift convalescence, and for any one with a cynical turn, rather a ludicrous one.

The first symptom is interest in dress and a gradual enlivenment of costume. One by one the little feminine adornments creep in. She changes the fabric of her black dress to a material in which the outside world may see no difference of texture, but which, by an immemorial tradition of the mourning counter, signifies that she begins to feel better. Trimming begins to appear, and jewelry of sombre jet, not ineffective against the white neck and arms. The widows discuss every alteration in conclave. "My dear, what shall we put on after we leave off folds? I don't know what comes between folds and ruches. I suppose box plaitings." She imagines that all the world notices the change from bombazine to cashmere (we are not using these terms at a venture), and hardly dares go to church in a ruffled dress; whereas none but other widows, and perhaps a few dowagers, pay the slightest attention to these portents. But everything depends on ones point of view; and there is something peculiarly dreadful to

the feminine mind in hearing it said that Mrs. Thompson is wearing silk ruches, though Tom only died in August.

We are inclined to say that never in a woman's life, not even during her first "winter out," is the question of dress so absorbing as in this transition state. For the information of masculine readers and girls who have no friends among the bereaved, we offer this summary of the five stages of widowhood. We have consulted very high authority, and our facts may be relied upon:

1. The dress of black bombazine, perfectly plain; a thick crape veil; a widow's cap; no jewelry except a jet locket; collar, etc., of crape.

2. The veil thrown back over the bonnet; a little trimming on dresses; white collars.

3. The cap disappears; a lace veil is worn instead of the crape; more trimming.

4. "Dressy" mourning of silk, with feathers in the bonnet.

5. Half mourning—purple and pearl color.

The cap is very important. It is understood that when it finally disappears the world has resumed its charms, and that young men conversationally inclined will not be discouraged. Ostrich feathers and dotted lace veils are extremely gay, and the wearer may soon be looked for in purple.

There is at this time a disposition to tell young men the story of her experience. She assumes the airs of an older sister, and puts her knowledge of the world and of mankind at their service. Her married life is detailed for their edification, and she cautions them against those mistakes in their choice into which young men are so apt to fall. *She* looked forward to the union with a man of her heart as the entrance into Paradise; but she found well, sometimes she was not wholly understood. Still, her married life was very happy; so happy that her present loneliness is very hard to bear. Her consolation now is in the remembrance of having done her duty, and in the help she is able to give to those in whose happiness she is interested. In the case of each, it seems, she has studied his character. Very few women, she fears, would understand it, for it is not an ordinary one; she knows, however, he will allow for feminine weakness, and not expect too much. If the widow is endowed with ordinary good looks, and her listener retains that susceptibility which used to be

an attribute of youth, how powerful is the suggestion that all the unhappiness which he begins to fear is mingled in the first years of married life, may be avoided, if only he can gain a companion so gentle, so sympathetic, so versed in men, as the cooing creature beside him!

But, after all, she is only a little foolish, a little out of her natural position. If we laugh, it is with the feeling that there is not much to blame. But there is another type of women upon which widowhood has a more unpleasant effect. It is with girls that one of this class should be studied. Their age she entirely ignores. Older or younger than herself, they are not married, and of course they know nothing about the great realities of life. Many of us have known some boarding-school chit, neither the prettiest nor the brightest of a family, who possesses an inexplicable attraction for some unlucky man. He dies, perhaps, a year or two after marriage, having had time enough to appreciate his mistake, but not enough to effect any change in his wife's character. She appears to the world as frivolous, as narrow, as ordinary as her girlhood promised to become; but among her family and her intimate friends her marriage has invested her with dignity and wisdom. She is supposed to understand the tricks and manners of the creature man, his tastes, temper and habits, together with the art of captivating and managing him. She is the confidante of flirtations, and even of declared love affairs, and, in her capacity of mistress, does more mischief than one would think possible. The remembrance of her own incomplete *vie à deux*, of the sorrow which follows her girlish dreams, fills her with a certain bitterness. In those sacred precincts of the upper story, where the back hair is let down, you would scarcely know the sympathetic friend of man. She may have been notoriously submissive to her husband's veriest whims, but her advice is thoroughly aggressive. "Never own yourself in the wrong, my dear; if you once do that, you may as well give up." "Don't show him you care for him too much; he'll like you all the better for being reserve." The sweet natural impulse which inclines either of the couple to give way to the other is sternly discountenanced. If some little dispute arises between lovers, which they would settle in ten minutes with a kiss, and she is unhappily consulted, her voice is loud for war. "Don't give up, my dear; you're preparing a very

unhappy life for yourself by letting him have his way so." Sometimes she causes infinite trouble and heart-burning, but oftener the victory is with almighty love, and she is discarded from her mischief-making post. But it is amusing to see how thoroughly she believes that her trumpery two years' experience of a single man has imbued her with that wonderful knowledge in which the wisest are only learners—the knowledge of the human heart.

Upon this narrow foundation, however, the young widow's idea of matrimony is solely built. She is secretly surprised that her sister's lover should be in any respect unlike her own. She consoles herself in the conviction that when the honeymoon is over and the necessity for concealment is gone, he will display all the foibles and weaknesses which she found in her husband. For diversity of character she makes no allowance. One is tempted to wish for her speedy remarriage, if only that she may discover how widely men differ. Second nuptials, indeed, are the young widow's manifest destiny. If she fails of it, the tinge of envy with which she regards the happiness of others may deepen into downright ill-will. Her family and her friends, who lavished upon her so much tenderness and pity in the first years of her widowhood, grow tired of her silliness and discontent. But at this juncture, let us hope, she finds a man so unlike his fellows that she can trust him with her future. She marries again, and her bitterness melts away like a cloud in the sunshine of a happy life.

* * *

THE FINANCIAL CRISIS.

IN the physical body health is always the accompaniment of rapid circulation ; disease, that of a languid one. So the public health is destroyed when the societary circulation is hindered, and restored when it is re-established. Societary circulation is perfect only when men and women can find persons willing and able to pay for their labor ; when farmers, shopkeepers and workmen in mills, workshops and furnaces, can find buyers for their products ; when railroads, canals and ships can do a good transportation business ; when landlords can collect their rents, and when the interest on debts, public and private, can be paid with regularity.

The one thing necessary for effecting these changes is what is known as money. In times of panic, money is scarcely anywhere to be found, from the fact that real money, whether gold, silver, copper, or circulating notes, bears so small a proportion to the various kinds of credits based upon it, that when the crisis comes, when all credit is destroyed, it can only be had on terms so onerous as to be ruinous to the borrowers. As a consequence of this, the value of commodities will shrink in proportion as the societary circulation becomes more and more impeded, the whole debtor class will become bankrupt, and the business of the nation become paralyzed.

For ten years we have increased our domestic and foreign commerce to such an extent, that distant sections of our own country, and distant nations, have been brought into close proximity ; our exports have increased ; the number of our mills, furnaces, coal, iron, gold and silver mines, houses, ships and supplies of food have been increased to an extent never before known ; we have diversified our industry until we are now, for the first time, independent ; we have been able to pay taxes that not only enabled the government to meet the interest on the national debt, but also to decrease that debt from March 1, 1869, to October 1, 1873, \$386,669,361.84, with less difficulty than, prior to the war, we met our small liabilities. There is no case of a financial success so complete in the history of the world. The crisis through which

we have just passed has been shorn of more than half the evil consequences that would have resulted had the circulating notes been redeemable in gold, from the fact that we were, in a great measure, relieved from a foreign pressure to sell in our markets the certificates of debt, held abroad to the extent of hundreds of millions of dollars. Had it been possible to force the sale of these securities, the ruin would have been universal; the ruin of the banks, the railroads, the manufacturers and the merchants would have come first, to be followed by both public and private bankruptcy.

At this time, although a few of our great bankers, a few merchants, a few manufacturers and a few railroads have been unable to discharge their debts, the country as a whole is prosperous. Every man who desires to work can find a purchaser for his labor. Every man can sell the product of his labor. With every stage of progress the societary circulation has become more rapid; credits, that is the power of man to make his credits pay his debts, the Clearing House and the system of offset have so lessened the use of money that it is in times of confidence used only to settle the balance due from one man to another, one community from another, and one nation from another, therefore the rate of interest has fallen with a constant tendency towards equality in the rate paid by the owner of the small shop, and by him who controls great railroads, mines and mills. The working man is put upon the same footing as the capitalist.

This country has grown strong; the amount of fixed capital has become great, and all this has been accomplished with a paper currency—a currency not redeemable with gold. At times, however, the currency is quite equal to the demands of trade; at times it falls far below the requisite amount. We have suffered and we are now suffering from the want of elasticity. We need a currency, the amount of which shall at all times be commensurate with the requirements of the country, that is, increasing and diminishing according to the natural law of supply and demand. To this simple law is due the fact that the circulation is so very nearly a constant quantity in communities that are truly independent. Crises, panics, inflation and contraction of prices do not depend upon the use of gold or paper as the medium of exchange. There have been financial panics and crises at all times, under all

circumstances, both when gold was the money in use, and when paper had taken its place. Inflation is brought about by the extension of personal credit, by confidence in the future, far more than by any one other cause.

The amount of circulation needs no regulation, for the reason that trade regulates it. The legislators and the banks can surely never determine how many notes shall be in use, for they can exercise no control over the matter. It would be quite as wise to pass laws determining the number of horses and cows a man should keep, or the quantity of coal, cloth and food a man should consume, as to fix the amount of circulation. The people will and must always regulate the matter for themselves. We urge the necessity of making banking as free as ship-building or farming, giving the banks what circulation the people demand; provided that the validity of the note is always secured, so that at all times it shall be a valid tender in payment of debts. We no not believe in any increase in the amount of the legal-tender notes, for that issue would, in all probability, be rigid—the amount so issued be fixed by law.

Free banking would restore the societary circulation, for it would give the mill-owner power to pay the wages of the laborers, the laborer power to pay for the food and cloth used by his family, the shopkeeper power to make payments to the city trader; rents would be paid, and prosperity would once again take the place of disaster. The excess in free banking would be checked through the difficulty in obtaining United States bonds, to secure the circulation.

The question now prominent is the one of specie payments, which, notwithstanding the clamor for early resumption, must of necessity be deferred until the prosperity of the nation, resulting from the healthy export of our products, shall enable the government to redeem in coin the \$400,000,000 of notes made legal tender by an act of Congress. When this large amount, made money only by government decree, can be provided for, then it will be easy for the banks and the people to resume, and not till then.

Let us hold fast to the doctrine that has enabled the people to substitute domestic iron and cloth for that made in foreign furnaces and in foreign mills, and we shall soon be in a position to redeem these dishonored notes.

 NEW BOOKS.

PAY-DAY AT BABEL AND ODES; by Robert Burton Rodney, U. S. N., author of "Alvin and Rosamond." D. Van Nostrand, New York, 1872. Price \$1.00. Pp. 65.

Lunacy, it appears, is no disqualification for positions of honor and emolument in the naval service of our country; let those who doubt, buy this work. The lines on p. 10, descriptive of women, are alone worth the price. To us it is the sublimest height misogyny has ever reached. Rodene (*i. e.* Rodney), the hero of the "Pay-Day" says, giving as one of his reasons why he has never married:

"The fairest seem to me but flesh awaiting,
Inspired with life's faint antiseptic,
Its hour of corruption."

THE CROSS OF BERNY; OR IRENE'S LOVERS. A Novel. Philadelphia: Porter & Coates, pp. 290.

The Cross of Berny is formed of four pieces; and this book is the production of four authors. The story is of a girl with whom three men fall in love. Madame de Girardin writes the heroine's letters, and M. Theophile Gautier, M. Jules Sandeau, and M. Méry those of the respective lovers. The characters of the men are strongly contrasted, and each is intended to reflect the predominant mood of his creator, so that each letter, besides advancing the plot, displays the individuality of a well-known author. The rapid sale of such a book in France, when the four *collaborateurs* are familiar names, is easily accounted for. Take for instance M. Gautier. He has died within a few months, leaving the reputation of the most brilliant and subtle of word-painters. His worship of color and form was the most intense part of his nature, and impressed itself alike upon his prose and his poetry. "Émaux et Camées" is the appropriate title of his verses, as solid and perfect in form as a jewel or a statue. In this volume he has created a hero after his own image, a hero who loves Irene for the curve of her neck, and the perfection of her contours. His rival says of him, "His love could not withstand a pencil stroke which might destroy the harmony of the whole. Beautiful as she is, he would desert her for the first canvas or the first statue he might encounter. Her rivals already people the galleries of the Louvre; the museums of the world are full of them. He loves this woman as an artist; he has made her the delight of his eyes; she would have been the joy of my whole life." One of his artistic whims, a debauch upon haschich in a mock seraglio, ruins him with Irene. Another rival, very well drawn by M. Méry,

comes to grief from a peccadillo at the Italian opera. He is seen in a box with a "fast" set, young men about town and girls who have stood as models for the most famous statues in Paris. This is enough for the high-flown Irene, who will allow no explanation or mitigation of the offense. She has doubtless resigned herself to celibacy, for her ideal, as portrayed in the first chapter, is somewhat hard to find. "His eyes are black, full of sadness and fire. His glance has none of the languishing tenderness of romance, but is proud, powerful, penetrating—the look of a thinker, of a great mind yielding to the influence of love, the gaze of a hero disarmed by passion! * * * He is mysterious; he never utters his thoughts, but lets you divine them. You are never at ease in his presence; there is a graceful dignity in his carriage, an imposing gentleness in his manner, that always inspires a kind of fear, a pleasing awe." One might hope that such an ideal was too unpleasant even for fiction, but he turns up at last, fresh from the hands of M. Sandeau, and is worse than could be conceived by any one but a sentimental Frenchman. He gives his entire fortune to a school-friend on the verge of bankruptcy. "I left him at the door of my notary, and joined him on coming out. 'Frederick,' I said, giving him a line I had just written, 'take that and hasten to embrace your wife and children.'" We are not familiar with the Code Napoleon, but this summary method of transfer reminds us of the "paper" that has such mysterious power in the eyes of our feminine novelists. Mrs. Wood can prove a murder, change the devolution of an estate, or sell any quantity of landed property by a "paper." M. Sandeau can apparently do as well with a "line." Of course this sentimental hero wins the heart of Irene, and the two maunder on till a long-suffering Providence puts an end to them in a common catastrophe.

Save for this sentimental vein, the story is excellent,—bright, epigrammatic and occasionally quite interesting. Whatever may be thought of the others, M. Gautier and M. Méry will lose no reputation by *The Cross of Berny*.

R. S. H.

THE following, translated from "The Critical History of Philosophy from its Commencement to the Present Time," by Dr. E. Duhring, Teacher of Philosophy, etc., etc., in the University of Berlin. Second Enlarged Edition. Berlin, 1873, Heimann's Publication (Erich Koschry), is given to our readers as a remarkable bit of philosophical criticism. Dr. Duhring's amenities remind one of the argument in Longfellow's *Golden Legend* between the two professors of Salamanca, and rivaling the fine old masters of obloquy, even Julius Scaliger himself, his review of Herbert Spencer may be aptly if not elegantly classed as the "merda diaboli" order of controversy.

Whatever may be the result of our criticism of such a thinker as Stuart Mill, his writings form a favorable contrast to the antiquated results with modern coloration to which Mr. Herbert Spencer, a somewhat younger philosopher, has attained by a retrogressive course of thinking. This artist in psychologically falsified rubbish of ideas, who partly leans upon such philosophical phenomena as the Scotch Aristotelian, Prof. Hamilton, partly avails himself of the more special results of Auguste Comte's works, while at the same time disavowing them; who accumulates with the slavish industry of a Caliban (*see Shakespeare's Tempest*), scientific matter of the greatest variety, and fills a number of scientific categories with unspeakably dry and prolix details of deductions, and who feeds upon mere refuse either of knowledge or of belief, published in the beginning of the fifth decade of this century a book entitled "Social Statics." This production, a critique of which is not here in place, to be sure, but which is likewise of too little significance for the special department upon which it bears to be entitled to any place in the history of national economy and social science, contained nothing but the most vulgar reflexes of the then prevailing theory of commercial freedom, besides unspeakably tedious moralizations of a social conservative character, without any practical bearing whatever. Since that time the author in question has produced still other works on the same subject, and since 1860 undertaken a very broadly planned execution of the categories of his alleged "system." His "First Principles" are a strange mixture of the influences of some ideas of natural science in vogue during the last generation, of a somewhat brutal conception of schematism, as applied to nature, and of the tendency to philosophically guarantee a threadbare belief of extreme wanness, to be sure, but yet opening the door for the desires of a world in need of religion and for the accomplishments of priests. This "philosophico-religious" doctrine, as he himself calls his simultaneous worship of the "Unknowable" and "Knowable," has, of course, met with the greatest sympathy among some groups of the American public, because there the need of fixing the religious ideas which are more and more receding before the progress of science, is almost as fresh as that superficial science itself applied to first principles. There (in America) hardly exists a real philosophy of a higher degree, but indeed an intensive purely social veneration of priestcraft. From there then delegations of his worshipers have indeed brought golden chronometers and most acceptable thousands of dollars to Mr. Spencer. The method by which this Englishman has tried to solve the a priori insolvable problem of reconciling religion and science, consists in his efforts to degrade science by attributing to it only a relative authority, and

sophistically to deny its capacity for producing absolutely authoritative truths of last resort, while at the same time he lamentably exposes his own ignorance to the more learned expert in special departments of science. So has he, for instance, been seized in his more recent enterprises, and especially in the compilation of his "First Principles," by the far-spread monomania which has already fatally compromised many a philosophiser and superficial cultivator of science, to grapple with the modern thesis of the indestructibility of mechanical force. Although the manner in which Mr. Spencer groups his principal conceptions around this thesis, does not recall those wild and confused aberrations of an unbridled imagination which the after-birth to Schelling's abortions among German philosophizers even in our days claims as "Philosophy of Nature," yet this Englishman who principally indulges in psychological disquisitions, and is fond of playing with unscientifically vague analogies, lacks a sufficiently precise and accurate knowledge of the fundamental ideas of mechanics. This fact appears so much the more comical, as he undertakes to reduce everything for which he claims the name of system to these fundamental ideas, and persists in expressively requiring everything in the world to be expressed by the categories of matter and motion. This comical sham-materialism with its priestly second-sight is entirely bereft of its guise and disclosed in its true nature, when we learn, that the indestructibility of matter is to be taken only as a corollary to the indestructibility of force, and force merely as a "symbol" of the "Unknowable," in which of course everything in general, and the validity of science in particular, is absorbed, or in other words most submissively dissolved, into a meaningless nihilism with which faith can be suitably mated. On arriving with Mr. Spencer at the "First Principles," science makes her courtesy before something inaccessible to her, and at this sacred adytum she falls reconciled into the embrace of Religion. Thus, then, not a single thesis remains clothed with absolute scientific significance, but everything is transformed into a meaningless or even ambiguous symbolism for which even the clearest a priori ideas, such as those of absolute time and space, of uncreated matter and of the invariable amount of mechanical force, are weakened to phenomena of merely psychological validity and thus made harmless.

What is claimed as a specific scientific peculiarity on the part of Spencer's combinations, viz: a supposititious law of so-called evolution, must at least be briefly mentioned here in order to prevent the misconceptions that necessarily are called forth by this word, which has been chosen without any linguistic discrimination. For the Englishman in question calls all condensation of matter an evolution to which he contrasts its dissolution, and

thinks to cover with this palpable and superficial schematism the innermost plastic processes of generation and formation, inclusively of the organic, vital, psychological, social and political processes of formation and re-formation. He really seems to consider it a discovery, when he conceives the evolutions as "concentrations" of matter. This latter clumsily extraneous manner of conception, which by a vague play with analogies is transferred upon the world of man, and, for example, upon the condensation of population, is now the nucleus of the so-called law of evolution. With the true idea of evolution, as corresponding with the meaning of the word, this extraneous and clumsy schematism has nothing in common. The natural manner of conceiving the idea of evolution is most ancient and has been revived during the last century on the part of the science of organic nature. The attempts of Mr. Spencer at schematizing nature appear so much the more odd, as the subordinate parts of natural science of a more descriptive, or at least of a less exact character have to a far greater extent occupied him in his studies and literary products, than the more exact departments, especially those connected with mathematics. But we must not forget that Mr. Spencer has altogether a very inferior and inadequate idea of philosophy. To him philosophy is equivalent to unification of the sciences, and thus receives that superfluous task which is even injurious to it, or in the best case only a rational cyclopedic one, such as has in a better form constituted a part of Comte's enterprise, though only the less important part of the philosophy of this French thinker. The philosophically colored reproduction of the single sciences is for the most part only a disfiguration of their contents, and he who is not able to compete with the foremost representatives of any department of science, may keep his hands off and not prostitute philosophy itself by so-called "philosophical" rehash. Such a man as Stuart Mill has at least in this respect exhibited a greater practical tact and an expedient reserve. He has by the extent and subject of his publications not exceeded a modest measure, and really contributed to concentration, without again serving up the several sciences with a philosophical sauce. Thus he has not, like Mr. Spencer, been in need of resorting to subscriptions for the sake of circulating his books among the public, but could trust to the ordinary chances of the book trade. He was at least in accord with the progress of the time, and therefore had no need of seeking a market in America, as Spencer for his retrogressive productions. Nor did he need to speculate upon the remnants of religious wants, with which business Mr. Spencer is pretty well conversant, and which can be highly recommended to the scholastic professors of philosophy in all countries, and also in our country, which is now in very great need of it, as a mine

for more refined and apparently less harmful disguises of a herma-
phroditical union of faith and science

Indeed a great part of the temporary practical value of Mill's disquisition of logical theories, as contrasted with Spencer's illogical method, rests upon the simultaneous fact, that the former has in a certain measure paid regard to the center to which modern interests gravitate, and in doing so has not fallen into a retrogressive course. A nation's transition to a more active public life is in itself already apt to assign to one-sided scholasticism a more retired position in the background. But if, as happened during the second half of our century, the current of natural science coincides in a more permanent manner with political and social incentives, the scope for an independent assertion of ideological metaphysics is more and more circumscribed. This is the reason why only those tendencies of philosophy may yet hope to exert any influence upon life out of their own underived power, which really devote their interest to this life. In this respect Mill is a philosopher of modern type by virtue of his applying his philosophy to the political, economical and social questions of the present time. Externally considered he has pretty equally divided his efforts between logic and national economy. For England this combination of a theory of material interests with philosophy is nothing new. Hume had already been its most brilliant representative; and he who values to any extent Adam Smith's theory of moral sentiments, will not be surprised if we maintain that the somewhat more strictly philosophical foundations and forms for the theory of material interests have originated with philosophers. Locke had already made a beginning in this direction, and it was unmistakably the former political development of England which just then called the phenomenon in question into early existence. But now this theoretical approximation of material and intellectual aspirations can no longer surprise us in those States which are the principal bearers of civilization. Not only is the character of this whole epoch directed to economical and political questions, but in the most influential among the civilized States a new prospect for an uncommon intensification of political consciousness has been opened. Under these circumstances which are comparatively new to us Germans as that nation which most recently entered upon this tendency, we have no reason for wondering at the preparatory changes which have been introduced in the location of the center toward which philosophical thoughts gravitate. The interest which Mill has excited among us from this point of view, is quite natural, and our own philosophy will also gradually learn how to reconcile the better traditions and the still vigorous power of the German mind with the demands of a more conscious public life. Not a peculiar disposition, turned toward one-sided

metaphysical science, but the fact, that the public career of the German nation only of late reached the point where other nations had arrived at a much earlier period, accounts for the transcendental and dreamy character of our profoundest metaphysical systems. It is therefore not necessary to abandon the conviction of the merits and high rank of German philosophy. On the contrary even the idea of a special philosophical mission may be adhered to, and yet the expectation cherished, that German philosophy will also seriously grapple with the reality of life, and even where it aspires to the highest aims will not much longer forego the alliance of its conception of the world and of life with the actual importance of material interests.

The new problems which socially have produced the most important results in France, and which in our days seriously occupy the world not only on this but also on the other side of the Atlantic, can be indifferent only to decaying scholasticism, but not to any philosophy which lays claim to vitality. The horizon which has been enlarged by political interest and the prevalence of statistic and historical statements of facts, compels even those who of their own accord would rather keep within the magic circles of more secluded metaphysical science, to manifest occasionally another tendency of ideas, or at least its semblance. Thus often the strangest mixtures originate, to be sure; but nevertheless these phenomena mark the influence which the spirit of the modern era exerts even upon those who do not understand it. Before the thinker of original power our time partly lays entirely new problems, partly offers to him old problems in a considerably changed form. If in this respect any comparison is admissible, it resembles the sixteenth century particularly in this, that its character rests upon the coincidence of a number of events and factors of civilization of the first rank.

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THE
PENN MONTHLY.

DECEMBER, 1873.

THE MONTH.

THE efforts of the monarchists in the French Assembly to bring about an earlier meeting of that body having failed, the session began on the fifth of November. M. Leon Say, the leader of the Left Centre, informed the Duc d'Audriffet-Pasquier that he and his friends intended to make common cause with the Left against the establishment of the monarchy. The entire Liberal strength is now united in favor of a "Conservative Republic;" and as the monarchist majority is very small, and includes several waverers, ready to desert to the moderate Republicans, the Count de Chambord's chances would have been in any case precarious. Whatever they were, he has effectually destroyed them. He has written a letter to M. Chesnelong, who was endeavoring to obtain from him some guarantee that the present constitution of the country should not be fundamentally disturbed, in which he defines his position with remarkable straightforwardness. He will give no guarantee, will make no conditions; the nation must take him just as he is, and with him the white flag of Henri Quatre, divine right, ultramontaniam, and the general tone of the fifteenth century. His duty will be "not to shrink from a resort to force for the promotion of order and justice." This lay *non possumus* has greatly dismayed the majority in the Assembly. The vote upon the form of government is apparently not to be taken. The present plan of the Reactionists is to continue Marshal MacMahon's

term for five years, and greatly to increase the power of the government; so that newspapers may be suppressed, free-thinkers annoyed, and elections interfered with *ad libitum*.

The present system does not seem, in the latter aspect, to have proved very successful. Since 1871, as the *Pall Mall Gazette* has shown, there have been 151 elections, in which 114 Republicans have been chosen, and but three Legitimists. Since the monarchical plan was broached, there have been four elections, at which the peasantry, in spite of the priests, have voted in mass for the Republican candidate. MacMahon has put off the election for the 14 vacant seats to six months, the utmost legal limit, and has declared, in an address to several deputies, that if a king be chosen he will gladly serve him; if a Republican form of government be finally voted, he will resign his Presidency, as he cannot hold it consistently with his monarchical views. Only two solutions of the matter now seem possible; either MacMahon's term will be continued for five or ten years, or the Republicans, probably with M. Thiers at their head, will come in. The strenuous attempt of the majority in the Assembly to force upon the country a sovereign whom she does not want, the refusal to dissolve, the refusal to fill vacancies, the suspension of newspapers and prosecution of individuals for temperate advocacy of the existing form of government—all these make up what the *Spectator* well calls a conspiracy. No one doubts since the recent elections, what form of government France prefers; the question is whether her voice shall prevail, or shall be stifled by a reactionary Assembly.

THE Pope and the Emperor of Germany have been engaging in what, so far at least as the latter is concerned, is a genuinely personal correspondence. Pius thought that the Emperor was not altogether aware of the proceedings carried on in the imperial name. To which the reply was that His Holiness had an incorrect understanding of the German government if he supposed that anything could be done without the express assent of its head. The Kaiser went on further to say in substance that he considered himself quite as good a Christian as his correspondent. A schoolmaster threatened with all the ecclesiastical pains and penalties for signing a letter of thanks to the Emperor for thus defending the Old Catholics from Roman vindictiveness, sees his episcopal ex-

communication brought up before a civil tribunal and tried. Bismarck is back again, Von Roon, the Imperial Premier, having resigned, and Junkerism is strong with a double strength; its military prestige is fresh and its persecution of persecution appeases the dearest prejudices of the discontented liberals.

THE case of the *Virginus* is a melancholy proof of the imperfect condition of the law as to international obligations and duties. The facts of the case, in so far as they excite and justify a strong feeling of indignation, are few and simple. A steamer loaded with men and munitions of war on their way to Cuba to join the "insurgent" forces, was overhauled and captured by a Spanish steamer, taken into Santiago, and there the captives were shot to a man, with the possible exception of a few firemen and others. A strong outburst of horror at the cold-blooded execution of over a hundred men is met by a variety of most conflicting statements and theories as to the duty of our government and that of Spain in the matter. The *Ledger* of this city, which is almost invariably correct in its report of matters at Washington, says that the President, supported by the unanimous voice of his Cabinet, will demand of the Spanish Government a categorical answer as to whether or not it can enforce its power in Cuba, so as to secure compliance with its promises to prevent just such indecent massacres as this of the crew of the *Virginus*; and that failing a real, honest discharge of this duty, the United States will itself exercise a protective police, both on Spanish land and water, and in the neighborhood. If it comes to this, the example of this government using its strength and power to prevent the barbarities practiced in Cuba, will be a wholesome one, and in this there may be found a better justification for the "protectorate," than in any amount of harsh threat of conquest and annexation, with war in its train. The reports by telegraph of the opinions expressed by men of note throughout the country, have been full, and full of curious interest. That Mr. Cushing should have spoken with contemptuous indifference of these victims of Cuban—not Spanish—barbarity, is not surprising, in view of his professional relation to the party in power. That Mr. Fish should at first have spoken in a careless way about one of the first victims of the successive series of massacres, as a man who had cost him a great deal of ink and paper, is not very

creditable to Mr. Fish's heart or good taste. But the questions of personal feelings of this sort are likely to be swallowed up in the greater question, just how far the United States can go without war, and this in turn will depend largely on the action of Great Britain in the matter. If the two governments join in such a demonstration of force as will secure the obedience of the Cuban authorities to their own Home Government at Madrid, they will go as far as possible to convince the world that Spain cannot govern Cuba, and that Cuba cannot govern itself. Then the policy of Great Britain is well established, not to undertake any control permanently of foreign countries, and therefore it will after a time be left to the United States alone to maintain the laws of decency and order upon Cuban soil, just so long as Spain itself is unable to do so. The intimidation exercised there by a few Spaniards will soon cease, and then the problem of Cuban independence can perhaps be solved by measures more peaceable than massacre and war.

DURING the past few weeks there have occurred two trials for murder, which from their contrast to each other are very instructive, both of the effect of surrounding circumstances and also of the inherent difficulty of the administration of the criminal law. The one, that of Stokes, in New York city, a case singularly simple in its character so far as the nature of the testimony was concerned, was the work of two years, and was concluded only upon a third trial, lasting more than three weeks—and the result of this was a conviction of manslaughter in the third degree, and a sentence of imprisonment at hard labor for four years. The other, that of Udderzook, held in a comparatively unimportant county town in Pennsylvania, held before a Judge distinguished for ability, involving a mass of testimony of the most complicated and obscure kind, was concluded in a few days of steady work, and resulted in a conviction of murder in the first degree, to be followed by a sentence of death. Naturally enough, the layman, unacquainted with the technicalities of the law, and knowing only the testimony as it has been put before him in the newspapers, asks if it is possible that one of these men was innocent and the other guilty; and if it requires two whole years to establish the innocence of one, while a few days suffice to prove the guilt of the other. The re-

sults of the trials should be conclusive upon the questions of innocence or guilt, but none the less do such results make us inquire whether that great palladium of liberty, the trial by jury, is not after all, from the accumulated mass of its material, often an oppressive weight rather than a protection. For two whole years did this Stokes trial drag its weary length along, a second trial was granted, and then a third, which presumably was to be the last. Day after day, numbers of men were brought from their workshops, their factories and their counting-houses, to serve as jurors in the case, and with the continued newspaper reading and many public and private discussions of the previous trials still fresh in their minds, were asked if they had formed any opinions as to the Prisoner's innocence or guilt. So long was this tedious and unsatisfactory process continued, that it might fairly be called a farce, and it would appear that such an impression extended even to the Judge, who, we are told, jocularly remarked to a certain Mr. Stringham, pleading conscientious scruples as to capital punishment, that his name seemed to deny his humanitarian professions. It must, indeed, be difficult to feel assured that a jury, selected under such circumstances as these, would fulfil, even in theory, the requirements of a trial by peers. And after nearly three weeks of simple, yet confused testimony, this jury are charged by the Judge that if the killing was done "in the heat of passion, without design to effect death," they could convict of "manslaughter in the third degree." Doubtless this instruction was strictly in accordance with the provisions of the New York penal code, but it is to be presumed that this jury, from the manner and circumstances of its selection, were not a particularly intelligent body of men, and that their minds, endeavoring to grasp such a confused mass of testimony, might not be able to grasp at the same time a clear apprehension of the important distinction between want of premeditation and want of design. There is something peculiarly unsatisfactory in jury trials like this, and though in New York State Mr. Clinton's amendment to the penal code may tend to great improvement, yet where great public interests and the prisoner's own life are at stake, it is manifestly of vital importance that the whole body and practice of the criminal law should be so moulded and conducted that a trial by jury for the highest crimes should be something more than mere jugglery.

WE have financially touched bottom, to use the simile of the street. The Spragues have failed, Claflin & Co. have perfected an extension, and the assets of Cooke & Co. have been to some degree estimated. Many of the fallen firms are on their legs again, and all now know how much they are hurt. The newspaper press has entirely given over stimulating the fears and fancies of the ignorant public, and is taking a moderate and sensible tone, which will undo much of the past mischief. Money at high rates is plenty and stocks are holding their own. The railroads have measurably come up to the mark in the payment of interest and dividends, and the grand sensational spectacle of corporate rottenness announced by a certain class of not wholly disinterested prophets is indefinitely postponed. In fact, revelations of any kind have been few, and that crowd of well-dressed defaulters of respectable family supposed to be so pervading, reduces itself to a son of Book Concern Carleton and some half-dozen others. The Bank of England rate is still at the cracking point, but there exists abroad no want of public confidence, and the causes which brought about the drain of bullion to this country having really ceased, the effect itself cannot in reason last much longer. Mr. Richardson, who would have resumed by stealth, has blushed to find it fame, and sees his benevolent purpose of filling, like a financial Kriss Kringle, every man's pocket with at least five dollars in silver dimes and half-dollars, thwarted by those incontinent newspapers, graceless enough in addition to make merry over the whole transaction. In seriousness, however, is it not a present question for every thoughtful American who feels the stake he has in his country and its government, whether imbecility in high places in the land has not gone as far as it can be allowed to go with safety to our well being at home and ordinary respect abroad. Let us have our national Pantaloon with whom to play practical jokes if we must, but let his place not be in the Treasury: in the Department of State he could not make things much worse, and to the Interior might be an acquisition. But claiming powers under the responsibility of which a Neckar would have trembled, while possessing the capacity of an intelligent shop-clerk, can we afford to let the first fiscal officer of the nation deal with his high trust as if it were the management of his current business as a village lawyer?

ON the subject of railroad management, two failures of the late crisis have something to teach. One of them was the immediate cause of the crash, the other its last direct result. Differing in every other respect, one characteristic they had in common, that they were the outcome of individual efforts to build and maintain inter-oceanic railroads, highways which their promoters insisted on presenting to a world not at all anxious for the gift, premature most absolutely, whatever future advantage it might possess. The end which no one can foresee, depending as it does upon numberless contingencies, has no present interest except to persons immediately concerned, but the respective histories of the Northern Pacific and the Texas and Pacific roads have a significance which is not perhaps altogether appreciated. In the former case an entire line was attempted to be created out of a bonded loan made up by single subscriptions in amounts relatively small, the sole security being lands given by the government: the availability of the line was contingent upon the whole loan being obtained; the value of the land to a great extent upon the completion of the line; and the worth or worthlessness of the investment dependent upon both of these. The loan was not obtained, and though the promoter gave all he had to make up the deficit of the railroad, the money put in by individual subscribers is for the present lost. The men at the head of this enterprise, it may be conceded, acted up to a late period at least, in good faith. To this statement the qualifying fact must be added that they were bankers, and sacrificed a further class of victims in their depositors. In the case of the Texas and Pacific we begin with a paying road as a feeder, and then a construction company made up of capitalists whose mistake began and ended in the attempt to build a line out of their private means and credit for the Texas and Pacific Company, before the latter had placed their bonds. These were not offered except in large blocks and to persons competent to exercise a judgment upon them. The loan was refused, and those who undertook the enormous burden of a Pacific railroad have no choice but to live up to their obligations and ask for a postponement of their contract. They not only give their property for the enterprise to which they have pledged themselves, but have dragged with them no investors of small subscriptions, who suffer a loss both irreparable and of the antecedent probability of which the losers were utterly unfit to judge.

THE PROPOSED NEW CONSTITUTION OF PENNSYLVANIA.

BEFORE they have time to consider what they are doing, the people of this State are called upon to say yes or no to a constitution which is intended to work an incalculable revolution in every relation which as citizens they bear each other. An instrument completed on the 3d of November is to be accepted, if at all, on the 16th of December, and these dates are limits of the time given for the formation of an intelligent public opinion on the part of some hundreds of thousands of voters who, with a haste which in private business would be absolute recklessness, are to pass finally and for many purposes irrevocably upon a question of an importance nearer to their persons and their property than the sum of all the legislation since the foundation of this commonwealth. The alternative is everything or nothing: not a section or proviso can be rejected; each useless, ill-digested, impossible, or pernicious enactment must, with the fundamental principles of republican government, the reasonable regulation of legislative functions and the necessary definition of judicial power, be alike beyond the reach of decision and statute, made the unchangeable law of the land. To comprehend our responsibility and to fulfil it in the measure exacted from a reasonable being, the best of the time allotted must be given to an investigation of this new constitution; and to help those whom this may reach to come to what is entitled to be called a conclusion we have some criticisms to make and one suggestion to offer. The commendable points of the proposed constitution are, in brief, abolition of fees hitherto allowed many State and county ministerial officers, and a substitution therefor of fixed salaries; a repeal of the registry law; some slight changes for the better in method of election and an empowering of the courts of common pleas to appoint supervisors thereof; lengthening of certain official, noticeably, judicial terms; several improvements in the process of legislation adopted to prevent bills from being illegitimately passed; some local amendments in the way of abolishing registers, courts and aldermen in Philadelphia; ameliorations in the

jurisdiction and procedure of certain constitutional courts, for example, reducing the original jurisdiction of the Supreme Court; the provision of but one prothonotary for all the courts of Philadelphia and a simplification of equity jurisdiction. As to more than one of these provisions it must be said, however, that they are subjects more proper to legislative control. To all this may be added trifling concessions to the whims of the educated politician, in the shape of a restricted vote for judges of the Supreme Court and in some other cases, and a cumulative vote for directors of corporations. On the other part, to put in as few words as possible a description of this elaboration of honest prejudice, superficial knowledge and vulgar audacity, we have an instrument calling itself a constitution, and which, if received at all, the people must and will receive as such, predicated by its own language on a condition of universal immorality—such a condition that if it in fact existed would be capable of alleviation only through measures of most radical reform, going to the very heart of the methods by which our government is formed and maintained, to be arrived at by the light of the highest political culture. Snatching from the Legislature its most ordinary functions, because too corrupt and incapable to be trusted with powers which in a normal state it, the latter, must exercise on the public behalf, this constitution, rivaling the minuteness of the by-laws of a club, proceeds to enact a code of such a kind that it, from its very nature, will call for constant change and hourly adaptation to altering circumstances; which undertakes to regulate the freight charges of a transportation company, prohibits free passes and leases of competing lines, and forbids the Legislature to make a law by which these carrier companies may derive any benefit unless they shall give up all their contract rights and submit themselves to that same body which this document has just implicitly stigmatized as unworthy of the trust one might accord a board of election canvassers.

So much for its sins of commission. Of the omissions made by this constitution, to go a little way into a large theme, there is one the least excusable it could have been guilty of, and that is its failure to remedy the glaring defects of our judicial system—an evil long-existing, unquestionable, and one for which constitutional provision is the appropriate, if not the exclusive remedy.

The Supreme Court has been given two judges, and this is all the action taken in the face of enormous arrears of work, accumulating at such an increasing ratio as to make in a majority of cases the loss of a final appeal a possibility of the imminent future; this too when the new concurrent county courts seem expressly created to give birth to a countless spawn of irreconcilable rulings below. The constitution offered to Pennsylvania is radically, irremediably bad; it is at once indefinite and petty, imperfect and redundant. It finds corruption rampant in the legislative branch of the government, and applies its nostrum in a long-drawn purgative oath. It has no word to say as to the deplorable inefficiency of our elective system to give a fair representation of opinion, and to furnish law-makers of capacity and probity; it evinces no thought or knowledge of the enlightenment which modern study has thrown upon the subject, but has found ample time to reduce to a system of law popular prejudices begotten yesterday, and encased though they be in constitutional enactment, to perish when the first principles of political knowledge are brought home to the citizens of our State.

If, to make one brief appeal, those to whom a constitution is something to be revered would not see the charter of their commonwealth made a sport for common litigation; if those who in spite of all dreary discouragement, maintain a hope of an epoch of popular political knowledge, would not put back for years that feeble tide of progress; and lastly, if those who have no higher aspiration than to live under an intelligent and practical code would not enact laws to be evaded and laughed at; let all vote next month "Against the new constitution" and disavow once for all the misshapen progeny of our late convention.

THE CREDIT SYSTEM AND THE CURRENCY.

TO live man must advance; progress is life, repose is death. The human race has come from barbarism and slavery to civilization and freedom by a series of upward gradations. Man made his first appearance on the page of history as a savage, living solely by the chase; finding that constant labor in this direc-

tion brought greater returns than were necessary to furnish him with food and clothing, he gathered into flocks and herds the animals not needed for immediate use, and passed from a savage state to a pastoral life. At that time, as at the present, one advance step made another necessary. The ever-increasing flocks could not find sufficient food on the uncultivated lands, and man passed from the second state to the third or agricultural period, and for the first time became a producer, for the first time felt that he had a true work to do, that he had power over matter. With the introduction of agricultural tools came a division of labor, and in turn a medium of exchange. Barter would no longer effect the exchange of food for cloth and tools; the adoption of some standard by means of which to measure the value of commodities, and to accomplish exchanges, was rendered imperative by this division of labor. Some communities use cattle, some iron; some salt and shells, some slaves, and others the precious metals. In the use of a circulating medium commerce began and civilization had its origin. The precious metals, for many reasons, soon became the universal standard of exchange and measure of value. This one thing, so important, known as money, is what we intend to discuss.

Since money is that standard by means of which the value of lands, commodities and labor to be exchanged is measured and the exchanges effected, we must know what are its requisite qualities; what its power; what its uses; what its substitutes, and what its relation to commerce. Money, with all its substitutes, is only one of many agents of trade, and it is a matter of discretion how far it may be employed. The power of man over matter is of two kinds, the change of form and the change of place. For the former he must have mills, furnaces and tools; for the latter, cars, ships and wagons. For both he needs money. The fewer mills and furnaces, the fewer ships and cars employed to accomplish the work, the better; and so it is with money, an advantage to dispense with it as far as possible. The advance of civilization, virtue and integrity make it possible to do an immense business without money; in fact, money is only necessary to pay balances, wages, and to conduct retail business.

The requisite qualities of money are intrinsic value and the endorsement of the people and government of the country where

it is made and issued. The power and use of money are almost one and the same ; it has power to create wealth, and it is used as a measure of value and as a means of exchange. The substitutes for money are all embraced under the term of currency. Currency is of two kinds, convertible and inconvertible ; either can be used alone or both at one time. The relation of money to commerce is in a measure complex, and depends upon the character of the money used and upon the amount necessary for commercial purposes. We shall devote our argument, in the main, to the discussion of the substitutes for money, and the relation of money to commerce.

To inability and unwillingness to comprehend the fact that the amount of money needed for commercial purposes is that amount which will effect the necessary exchange of commodities without disturbing their relative values, can be traced most of the financial crises. The amount of money required to effect the necessary exchange of commodities is based upon the relative rapidity with which money and commodities circulate, and upon the credit of the parties to the contract. In seasons of confidence very little money is needed, nearly all payments being made by the use of credits as an offset to debits. No man of ordinary intelligence wishes to have money for itself ; he desires it that by its use he can claim and exercise his power over matter ; he desires it only as an index of wealth ; he applies the term money to expressing sums on the face of promissory notes, bills of exchange and other securities, to giving prices, to keeping books of account, and therefore will dispense with the use of actual money whenever he can.

There are many obstacles to the use of money, whether it be gold or currency, in large transactions ; among these the risk of robbery, and the care and anxiety which this hazard brings ; the danger of counterfeits, and the trouble incident to its use. At this time, then, money is related to commerce only as the standard of payment, legal tender, to be appealed to in case of disagreement ; as the medium of retail trade, and of paying balances of trade, both domestic and foreign. It would be safe to declare that all these together make not ten per cent. of the operations of trade and industry. The principal and great power and use of money is to enable man to develop the natural resources of the world, to lift himself still higher above the brute

creation ; to enable him, in time, to control matter and to become master of material things. It is a great fallacy to regard either gold, or silver, or currency convertible into coin, as a model medium of exchange, to the characteristics of which all other modes of trade must correspond. This is nothing else than an attempt to fasten upon industry and commerce the very shackles and hindrances which men have been long striving to put away. There are many ways of making payments without using money, quite as effectual, quite as simple, and far more economical. The methods of balancing the sums of debits and credits, expressed in money of account, the one against the other, is the basis of the credit system. The chief work of banks and clearing-houses of all sorts is the balancing and extinguishing the debts and credits of their customers. To this desire to use bills receivable in payment of bills payable, the deposit banks of Hamburg and Amsterdam owe their existence.

It is thus, by making the societary circulation rapid and easy, that commerce and productive industry are fostered. As each upward gradation of man rendered necessary more and better tools in every walk of life, so barter gave way to the use of money, and the use of money to the credit system, a system which has been of vast advantage.

The system of credit is a necessity ; it is indispensable to the advance of industry ; but it can only flourish and do good where there is a real foundation for it and where there is integrity. Violation of this maxim by undue extensions, either by fraudulent issue of promissory notes or other securities, or by the undertaking of works not needed, so that the interest on the capital invested must be paid with borrowed money, have always and must always end in panic and financial ruin ; that which is good and necessary suffering with the bad and unnecessary. When confidence is destroyed, the credit system is crippled and money is demanded in payment of debts. As money bears so small a proportion to the business based upon it, when it is demanded the mercantile and industrial interests are paralyzed, and the people are plunged into a state of disorder, and almost inextricable confusion. The relation of money to commerce is close ; it must be acceptable in payment of debts at all times, and it must increase with each new division of labor, or it cannot be a stable measure of value.

The difference between the credit system and credit is not well understood by the people. They are, by most men, thought to be one and the same. The credit system refers to the manner of payment; credit to the faith of the seller in the buyer, and implies payment at some future time. Nearly all payments are made through the process of the credit system, and payments thus made are not dependent upon the use of money or currency. Whether book accounts are offset, or promissory notes issued by both parties are exchanged, directly or through a bank, a banker, or a clearing-house, the credit system alone is used. But there is need of no further illustration of the relation of money to commerce. The consideration of money in its limited sense of coin, or currency redeemable in coin, and payments of deposits and discounts in coin on demand is here ended. The remaining question is that of the substitutes for money.

Currency is the term used for all substitutes for money, and it is either convertible into coin on demand or at some fixed future day at the place of issue; or it is inconvertible, the day and manner of its redemption being left to the honor and ability of the bank or State issuing it. The latter is what is known as paper money. With a gold or bond redemption the quantity of the currency should be left to the people, for no legislator or bank officer can regulate it. The amount needed depends entirely on the demands of trade; there should be nothing rigid or fixed about it. If the currency of the United States had been convertible into bonds bearing a low rate of interest, the people would never have been troubled either with excess or scarcity of money. Ready convertibility would give to money a fixed value. An issue of fifty, a hundred or a thousand millions of legal tender notes would only enhance prices; the immediate effect upon commerce and industry would be to force greater activity, and for a time to bring greater apparent prosperity; to be followed, however, by a demand for a new issue, or else a period of stagnation and ruin. Make the currency convertible with United States bonds and the difficulty ends. Money would no longer command at one time only three or four per cent. interest per annum, and at another one per cent. per diem. The rate of interest would fall and keep steady; the laborer would stand upon the same level with the capitalist. We are constantly tending toward specie payments. How far we are from it, no one

knows. It can, however, never come until the products of the land, mine and mill, grow up to the issue of currency, and until that currency measures the value of commodities upon the same relative basis as that by which such value is measured in foreign countries. No act of Congress can give any permanent relief that fixes the amount of circulation, or that vests in the Secretary of the Treasury the power of a new issue; for every division of labor makes a new demand, a demand that the people alone can regulate.

We believe in making banking as free as farming, putting such restrictions on the banks as would insure the validity of the note at all times, and make it a good and an acceptable tender in payment of debts. "Wild-cat" banking would be impossible, for the bank-notes would be secured outside of the bank, and the customers of the bank would be in a position to know whether or not the bank was a safe one to trust with deposits.

While there is an absolute necessity to have a reserve to secure the deposits, and twenty-five per cent. is not a bit too much, there is surely no need for the reserve which applies to circulation. These notes are secured by a deposit of United States bonds, in the Treasury Department at Washington; by the capital of the bank, and by the legal right to call upon the stockholders for an amount equal to the sum already paid in, and also by the guarantee of the United States.

We urge free banking; the giving what circulation the people demand to the banks; the making the circulation convertible into bonds that bear a low rate of interest, rather than the issue of a State currency, from the fact that if you take away the circulation of the banks you destroy some, cripple others, and to a great extent prevent the creation of new ones. If you destroy the banks, you destroy, in a great measure, the credit system; you make payments more troublesome, dangerous and expensive; you force the use of money where it is only a burden, and you hinder, rather than hasten the societary circulation.

Free banking would soon extend the credit system into every county and town, and thereby diminish the use of actual money; societary circulation would become ten times as rapid as at present; there would be still greater division of labor; man would make another advance, and the earth would, indeed, become his

footstool. The rate of interest paid for the use of money would become an almost constant quantity, and usury laws would not be needed. Should Congress pass a free banking law, making the circulation a redeemable one, at the option of the people, doing away with the reserve to secure circulation, the day would not be far distant when the legal-tender notes would be par with gold, and the government be in a position to fund the six per cent. loans in a long loan, at a rate of interest not exceeding four per cent. per annum.

We urge the consideration of this subject upon the people and upon Congress, and hope there will be no success in the attempt being made to increase the issue of legal-tender notes, a measure that would only help those classes of society who hold merchandise, real estate or stocks bought for sale at an advance. Such an issue could never work any real or permanent good, but only defer the evil day. The evils arising from the issue would bear with particular hardship upon those living upon fixed incomes, salaried men, and the laboring classes, for salaries and wages would not increase as rapidly as the price of commodities consumed by them, and incomes accruing from interest upon bonds, stocks and mortgages, would not increase at all. Let us give weight to reason, and not listen to the song of the siren; the country is rich, the products abundant, and the markets good.

THE DAUGHTER OF COLERIDGE.

BY PROFESSOR HENRY REED.¹

“MAY 3 (1852). At 10 Chester Place, Regent's Park, Sara Coleridge, aged forty-nine years, only daughter of S. T. Coleridge, and widow of Henry Nelson Coleridge, Esq.”

¹ In a recent life of Mrs. Henry Nelson Coleridge, daughter of Samuel Taylor Coleridge, written by her daughter Edith, is the following: * * * “I shall gratefully avail myself of * * * an interesting memoir of my mother, which appeared shortly after her death, in an American journal, composed by one who, though personally unknown to her, was yet a highly esteemed correspondent, the lamented Professor Henry Reed.”

It is thought appropriate to re-publish as a whole the biographical sketch above alluded to, which appeared originally more than twenty years ago.—ED.

This brief and simple record is the announcement of the death of one, who may be described not only as a very gifted member of a gifted family, but in genius and acquirements one of the most remarkable women of our own or other times. Such was the modesty of her career of authorship, and so little did she solicit public applause, that these words of strong eulogy may surprise many: but the friends who knew her and have studied her mind, her learning, and withal the beautiful feminineness of her character, will recognize the praise as faithful, and not fanciful. The highest critical authority in England, in an article written about two years since, speaking of the daughter of Coleridge, described her as "the inheritrix of her father's genius and almost rival of his attainments." To appreciate the panegyric implied in this comparison, there is needed only the ready recollection of what were the poetic and philosophic powers of that father, and what was the vast range of his erudition. The daughter's mind resembled the father's in its discursive character and in the well-constituted combination of the poetic and philosophic elements; with no self-considering economy of its strength and resources, it strove, not for reputation, but, like the father's, with simple earnestness for the cause of truth in the large circuits of its thoughts in the regions of literature and art—of morals and theology. The genius and learning which, if she had sought for fame, would soon have won it, were expended for the most part in editorial notes and prefaces and in familiar correspondence; and so varied were her writings, and so rich in thought and in the accumulation of knowledge, that they may be compared to the conversation and "*marginalia*" of her father—distinguished by such difference as originality gives, and by the transfiguration, as it were, of womanly thought and feeling. In these resemblances much of hereditary influence may, of course, be traced, but in the educational formation of her mind and character, Mrs. Coleridge (as she remarked to a correspondent in this country) owed more to the influence of Wordsworth and her uncle, Southey.

It is to be hoped that, in due season, a suitable biographical tribute will be rendered to the memory of this eminent lady; and we venture to add the hope that it will be the work of that sole surviving brother who found fit fraternal duty in the delicate task of telling with fidelity and with affection the story of the

life of Hartley Coleridge. At present the object of the writer of this article is merely to throw together—without any pretension to method—some particulars respecting Mrs. Coleridge's character and writings, together with some of the references to her that have come under his observation.

It may be well to remark, in the first place, that Mrs. Coleridge's high intellectual powers were held in harmony with that feminine delicacy and gentleness, which sometimes are injured by pride or vanity attendant on the notoriety of authorship. Indeed a noticeable peculiarity of the story of her literary labors is, that they were prompted, not so much—if at all—by ambition of authorship, as by some form of duty—filial for the most part, or maternal, which led to the publicity of print. If hereafter the narrative shall be given of the origin of each of her publications, it will be found that some moral motive was interwoven with it; and that in taking a public place in the company of authors, she preserved every grace of female character in perfect completeness. It was a career of womanly authorship of surpassing dignity and beauty, disfigured by no mean motive or mannish temper. It was the same spirit which kept her remarkable learning pure from all taint of pedantry, for she bore her varied attainments with the ease and grace with which a high-bred woman carries the customary accomplishments of female education. Well versed in theology, she discussed some of its most difficult questions, and, both in her printed writings and private correspondence, with a natural and unaffected ease, as if in simple unconsciousness of the possession of erudition lying beyond the range of women's studies, and indeed seldom attained by laymen; and so in her criticisms on art or on poetry, ancient as well as modern, there is the same graceful self-possession—the same unconsciousness of mere self—the tranquil and vigorous assertion of matured and well-reasoned opinion, ever coupled with such an unassuming womanly suavity, that manly scholarship, ever and anon remembering that it is a woman's work, stops to marvel at it. A great charm of all Mrs. Coleridge's writings lies in this: that you recognize not only the processes of a strong and clear-sighted intellect, but the full pulses of a woman's heart; they largely illustrate that unison and harmony of the intellectual and moral powers, wherein is to be found, we believe, one of the chief characteristics of genius.

It is not without interest to know that along with these eminent mental endowments the personal appearance of Mrs. Coleridge was very attractive. The loveliness of her girlhood caught the sense of beauty in an artist's eye; that accomplished painter, the late William Collins (distinguished chiefly as a landscape painter), writing to Washington Allston in 1818, said: "Coleridge's elegant daughter, Sara, I have made a painting of. She is a most interesting creature, about fifteen years of age." The memoir of Collins gives also a characteristic criticism by Coleridge himself on this picture of his daughter. In a letter to the painter he says: "Your picture of Sara Coleridge has quite haunted my eye ever since. Taken as a mere fancy-piece, it is long since I have met with a work of art that has so much delighted me. If I described it as a union of simplicity with refinement, I should still be dissatisfied with the description—for refinement seems to me to express an after-act, a something superinduced. Natural *fineness* would be more appropriate. Your landscape, too, is as exquisite in its correspondence with the figure as it is delightful to the eye in itself."

Some years later, when the child's beauty had ripened into the developed beauty of thoughtful womanhood, another artist, using the pictorial power of words and verse, instead of the pencil, portrayed both the character and the appearance of Sara Coleridge. I refer to that poem of Wordsworth's—"The Triad," in which he has described the eldest daughter of Southey—his own, only daughter (her whose death was the grief of his old age)—and the only daughter of Coleridge. The passage descriptive of the last is as follows:—

" 'Last of the Three, though eldest born,
 Reveal thyself, like pensive morn
 Touched by the skylark's earliest note,
 Ere humbler gladness be afloat.
 But whether in the semblance drest
 Of Dawn—or Eve, fair vision of the west,
 Come with each anxious hope subdued
 By woman's gentle fortitude,
 Each grief, through meekness, settling into rest
 —Or I would hail thee when some high-wrought page
 Of a closed volume lingering in thy hand
 Has raised thy spirit to a peaceful stand
 Among the glories of a happier age.'

" Her brow hath opened on me—see it there,
 Brightening the umbrage of her hair ;
 So gleams the crescent moon, that loves
 To be descried through shady groves.
 Tenderest bloom is on her cheek ;
 Wish not for a richer streak ;
 Nor dread the depth of meditative eye ;
 But let thy love, upon that azure field
 Of thoughtfulness and beauty, yield
 Its homage offered up in purity.
 What wouldst thou more ? In sunny glade,
 Or under leaves of thickest shade,
 Was such a stillness e'er diffused
 Since earth grew calm while angels mused ?
 Softly she treads, as if her foot were loth
 To crush the mountain dew-drops—soon to melt
 On the flower's breast ; as if she felt
 That flowers themselves, whate'er their hue,
 With all their fragrance, all their glistening,
 Call to the heart for inward listening—
 And though for bridal-wreaths and tokens true
 Welcomed wisely ; though a growth
 Which the careless shepherd sleeps on,
 As fitly spring from turf the mourner weeps on—
 And without wrong are cropped the marble tomb to strew."

This is exquisite poetic painting—the imaginative portraiture of the finest feminine beauty, wherein are visible, deep meditateness and the tenderest feeling.

The childhood and early womanhood of Sara Coleridge were spent under the generous guardianship of her uncle, Southey, in whose house, at Keswick, she, with her mother and brothers, had a happy home for many years. During that period she also enjoyed the fatherly intimacy of Wordsworth, and very often was his companion in long rambles through the beautiful region where the poet dwelt—listening to his sage discourse with the earnest ear of thoughtful youth—listening (as she described it after the poet's death), not to record or even to remember, but for delight and admiration. Under such propitious guidance, or in the joyous fellowship of her brothers or of her sister-like cousins, did she learn to hold communion with nature, and thus was her poetic soul strengthened. In after years, in dedicating to Wordsworth her edition of the "*Biographia Literaria*," fitly and with

feeling did she subscribe herself—"With deep affection, admiration, and respect, your child in heart, and faithful friend, Sara Coleridge." Such, for many of the most susceptible years of her life, was the out-door existence of this child of genius, and with it were combined the finest opportunities for literary culture, for her home was the house of Southey—a house of books—the laboratory of one of the most industrious and comprehensive students of the age. Never, perhaps, were such opportunities given for the formation of a woman's mind and character, and never were privileges more happily improved. The influence of her father's mind—other than that which was hereditary transmission—belonged to later years.

Miss Coleridge's first literary production was during her Keswick residence, and had its origin manifestly in connection with some of Southey's labors; it began probably in affectionate assistance given to him, while engaged on his great South American history. In 1822 there issued from the London press a work in three octavo volumes, entitled, "*An Account of the Abipones, an Equestrian people of Paraguay. From the Latin of Martin Dobrizhoffer, 18 years a Missionary in that country.*" No name of translator appears, and a brief and modest preface gives not the least clue to it: even now in catalogues the work is frequently ascribed to Southey. At the time of the publication Miss Coleridge was just twenty years of age, and therefore, this elaborate toil of translation must have been achieved before she had reached the years of womanhood. The stout-hearted perseverance needed for such a task is quite as remarkable as the scholarship, in a young person. The modesty which marked the manner in which the work was put before the public seems to have continued in after years, for in none of her writings or letters, as far as I am aware, did she think it worth while to set forth her claim to the nameless translation.

Coleridge himself spoke of it with fond and just admiration, when in 1832 he said, "My dear daughter's translation of this book (Dobrizhoffer's) is, in my judgment, unsurpassed for pure mother English by anything I have read for a long time." ("Table Talk," vol. ii., p. 81.) Southey, in his "Tale of Paraguay," which was suggested by the missionary's narrative, paid to the translator a tribute so delicate, and so controlled, perhaps, by

a sense of his young kinswoman's modesty, that one needs be in the secret to know for whom it is meant. It is in the stanza which mentions Dobrizhoffer's forgetfulness of his native speech during his long missionary expatriation, and alludes to the favor shown him by the Empress Maria Theresa :

" But of his native speech, because well-nigh
Disuse in him forgetfulness had wrought,
In Latin he composed his history;
A garrulous but a lively tale, and fraught
With matter of delight and food for thought.
And if he could in Merlin's glass have seen
By whom his tomes to speak our tongue were taught,
The old man would have felt as pleased, I ween,
As when he won the ear of that great Empress Queen."

Canto III., stanz. 16.

Charles Lamb, in an epistolary strain eminently characteristic, echoes the praise bestowed upon his friend's child and her rare achievement. Writing to Southey in 1825, in acknowledgment of a presentation copy of the "Tale of Paraguay," he says: "The compliment to the translator is daintily conceived. Nothing is choicer in that sort of writing than to bring in some remote impossible parallel—as between a great empress and the inobtrusive, quiet soul, who digged her noiseless way so perseveringly through that rugged Paraguay mine. How she Dobrizhoffer'd it all out, puzzles my slender Latinity to conjecture." (Talfourd's *Letters of Charles Lamb*, vol. ii., p. 189.)

In 1829, Miss Coleridge was married to her cousin, Henry Nelson Coleridge, a barrister, and brother to Mr. Justice Coleridge, of the court of the Queen's Bench.² This event is thus mentioned by Mr. Cuthbert Southey in the biography of his father (vol. vi. p. 72):—"The autumn of the year (1829) was marked by a great

²The name of Sir John Taylor Coleridge should not be mentioned without the recollection that he was the "John Coleridge" of Southey's letters, and the successor of Gifford in the editorship of the *Quarterly Review*—of whom Southey, writing to his American friend, Mr. Ticknor, in 1824, said—"Under John Coleridge's management there will be an end of the mischievous language concerning your country, * * * and henceforth that journal will do all in its power towards establishing that feeling which ought to exist between the two nations."—*Life, etc., of Southey*, vol. v., p. 194.

change in the household at Greta Hall. From the time of my father's first settling at Keswick, where, it will be remembered, he found Mr. and Mrs. Coleridge residing, she and her only daughter had formed part of the family circle, and now the latter was to change, not her name (for she was about to marry her cousin, the late Henry Nelson Coleridge), but her state and residence; and Mrs. Coleridge was about to take up her permanent residence with them. This, of course, was like parting with a sister."

This was the beginning of a married life, which lasted about thirteen years, until her widowhood. In some lines composed by her brother Hartley—dated January, 1843, and entitled "On the Death of Henry Nelson Coleridge,"—in the following passage the poet's vision is turned in retrospect to his sister as a bride; and the beauty of her character—at once so gentle, and so mighty in the strength of its affections—is impressively portrayed:

" My sister loved him well!
She was a maid (alas! a widow now)
Not easily beguiled by loving words,
Nor quick to love; but when she loved, the fate
Of her affection was a stern religion,
Admitting nought less holy than itself,
Seven years of patience, and a late consent
Won for the pair their all of hope. I saw
My sweetest sister in her honeymoon,
And then she was so pensive and so meek,
That now I know there was an angel with her
That cried Beware!"

The same poem contains this picture of her as a wife and mother:

" But he is gone, and all
The fondest passages of wedded life
And mutual fondling of their progeny,
And hopes together felt, and prayers when both
Blended their precious incenses, and the wish
That they together might behold the growth
And early fruit, most holy and approved,
Of their two darlings, sinks in voiceless night,
And is no more."

—*The Poems of Hartley Coleridge*, vol. ii., p. 178.

The married life of Mrs. Coleridge (if it be not intrusive to

make the comment) was rich in the best elements of conjugal happiness: wedded to a gentleman of high moral worth, and of fine mind and scholarship—one who blended literature with his professional pursuits—she was not exposed to the perils of intellectual superiority. The marriage was blest with the birth of two children—a son and daughter—and the mother was too wise and gentle “to permit” (to borrow a phrase of her own, elsewhere applied) “the interests of intellectual pursuit to override those of the affections.” The married life of Mrs. Coleridge was indeed exemplary and admirable, especially in this, that no sense of endowment of genius, or of learning, or of conversational and epistolary talent—no ambition of authorship or of distinction in the cultivated society she was familiar with in the metropolis—tempted her away from the paths of domestic life, wherein she found her duty and delight.

It was in such duty that Mrs. Coleridge's next publication had its origin. When her first work appeared in print, a maidenly modesty had kept her name in seclusion, and the simple little volume entitled, “*Pretty Lessons for Little Children*,” was her first acknowledged act of authorship: this was characteristic; it was a mother's work which might be avowed with matronly modesty, and it shows to what humble service genius and high scholarship can gracefully descend. The volume, which has gone through several editions, consists of short pieces of poetry addressed to her son and daughter, partly for moral guidance, and partly for instruction in the Latin vocabulary and other elementary subjects. It is interesting to trace the fruits of the mother's zeal in the recent academic success of the son, who within the last few weeks has gained the highest honors in the University of Oxford—the name of Herbert Coleridge appearing as that of what is styled “a double first-class man,”—the highest rank of scholarship, both in classics and the mathematical sciences. It is sad to observe that the mother did not live to enjoy this recompense of a mother's care and promise of the son's future reputation: his Oxford honors were conferred about a month after her death.

In 1837, Mrs. Coleridge published the fairy tale, “*Phantasmion*,” of which the *Quarterly Review* said: “This beautiful romance is not a poem, but it is poetry from beginning to end, and has many poems within it. It is one of a race that has par-

ticularly suffered under the assaults of political economy and useful knowledge—a Fairy Tale, the last, we suppose, that will ever be written in England, and unique in its kind. It is neither German nor French. It is what it is—pure as a crystal in diction, tinted like an opal with the hues of an everpringing sunlit fancy." And speaking of the fine metrical skill shown in one of the poems, the reviewer remarks, "These surely are lines which would have pleased the ear of Collins—or of *the Coleridge*." (Article on "British Poetesses," vol. 67, p. 411.)

The death of Coleridge, in 1834, brought to his daughter a new set of literary duties, first shared with her husband, and then fulfilled by herself alone. The filial work occupied her whole authorship during the remainder of her life—though much was done, which, it is hoped, will appear in the form of literary remains. Her husband was Coleridge's literary executor, to whom was committed the delicate trust of collecting and arranging for publication the scattered remains of that remarkable mind. Mr. H. N. Coleridge was, however, not only a man of letters and an author, but was occupied in a responsible and laborious profession; and it is reasonable to suppose valuable assistance was given to him by his wife, in the compilation of her father's literary remains, and in the editing of his works. During the decline of her husband's health, she was his helpmate also in his professional labors; and when it is mentioned that she was his amanuensis in copying papers for him as a chancery-barrister, it will be seen that her pen, fit as it was for creative or poetic service, was ready, for her husband's help, to do the mechanical drudgery of the most technical and unattractive copying.

The last ten years of Mrs. Coleridge's life were years of widowhood; for her marriage vow was such as, in Spenser's phrase, "would endless matrimony make," and when her wedded happiness on earth was over, it left sorrowing memories of the past, and Christian hope of its restoration in the life to come. To this subject I have found allusion made by Mrs. Coleridge, once, and once only, and then with a delicacy and depth of emotion very expressive in its reserve, and characteristic of a nature in which the powers of thought and the susceptibilities of affection were so well adjusted. In a soul so constituted, the memory of the

dead husband, and all the feelings which clung to it, were things too sacred for any sentimental soliciting of sympathy; they belonged to the silence of self-communing thought. The passage referred to is in one of the notes to her edition of the "Biographia Literaria," in which she replies to some remarks of Mr. Dequincey's on the infelicity of the marriages of men of letters, and his sarcastic comment on the happy phrase, "social silence," which had been used by Coleridge. The whole note is very interesting, and in Mrs. Coleridge's best vein, but the sentences which, for my present purpose, I must tear from their context, are as follows:

"On the domestic part of the subject, Mr. Dequincey expresses opinions rather different from those which my experience has led me to form; I pity the man who cannot enter into the pleasure of 'social silence,' and finds nothing in Mr. Coleridge's description of a literary man's evening but a theme of sarcasm. * * * Somewhere else Mr. Dequincey eloquently declares that, 'every man who has once dwelt with passionate love on the fair face of some female companion through life, must have commended and adjured all-conquering Time, there at least, and upon that one tablet of his adoration,

'To write no wrinkle with his antique hand.'

"There is a tenderness of feeling in this, but a still better feeling is displayed in strains like those of Mr. Wordsworth, which, not content with drily exposing the emptiness of any such 'rebellion against the laws that season all things for the inexorable grave,' supply reflections whereby, even in this life, Time may be set at defiance—grace and loveliness may be discerned in every age, as long as the body continues to be a translucent tenement of the mind. But without contending any longer on behalf of those whose charms of *youth* are departed or transmuted, I do maintain that a wife, whether young or old, may pass her evenings most happily in the presence of her husband, occupied herself, and conscious that he is still better occupied, though he may but speak with her and cast his eyes upon her from time to time; that such evenings may be looked forward to with great desire, and deeply regretted when they are passed away forever." (Appendix Note O.)

The literary labors of Mrs. Coleridge, during the ten years of her widowed life, were devoted to one pursuit—the completion of what her husband had begun—the editorial care of her father's writings, and the guardianship of his character as a poet, a critic, and most of all, as a Christian philosopher. These labors had a moral impulse in the genial sense of duty to the memory of both her father and her husband. It was fit filial and conjugal work; and intellectually it gave full scope to her genius and learning in following the footsteps of her father. There was, too, extraordinary unselfishness in it; for the work was necessarily immethodical and desultory; and thus there have been expended, in the fragmentary form of notes, and prefaces, and appendices, an amount of original thought and an affluence of learning, which, differently and more prominently presented, would have made her famous. But it was her father's fame, and not her own, that was foremost in her thoughts; and it is this that puts her character in such fine contrast with the self-considering temper of common authorship. There is not one woman in a thousand, nor one man in ten thousand, who would be content to be thus prodigal of the means of celebrity. Mrs. Coleridge's editorship comprehended first, the "Biographia Literaria" (which her husband had commenced), then the "Aids to Reflection," and afterward the "Notes on Shakspeare and the Dramatists," the "Essays on his own Times," and other of her father's works. In her notes and other additions are proved respectively her powers of criticism and of reasoning, especially in theology. The "Essay on Rationalism," involving a discussion of the subject of Baptismal Regeneration, though in form simply a prefatory note to the "Aids to Reflection," is a treatise which, as the composition of a woman, may be pronounced unparalleled: there is no instance in which a woman has traveled so far and so firmly into the region of severe study or sustained such continuous processes of argumentation—the subject demanding, too, extensive research in doctrinal theology. A beautiful proof of her genius and of her varied power, both as a writer of prose and as a poet, occurs in one of the notes, when, in answer to a theological dogma, in support of which a passage from "The Christian Year" had been quoted, she first treats the truth she is contending for as a question of strict logic and theological authority, and then turning, as it were,

to the great living master of sacred song, who had been cited, she appeals to him in a strain of verse which is comparable to his own—as song in the service of the highest truth.

The most attractive of Mrs. Coleridge's writings, in connection with her editorial labors, will be found in her criticisms—especially those on poetry. Her comment on "The Song at the Feast of Brougham Castle" may be mentioned as one of the choicest pieces of criticism in the language. In comment—at once imaginative and analytical (and such must be the best criticism on art in any of its forms)—upon poetry, she possessed much of her father's peculiar ability, and some powers, in which, perhaps, she excelled him. One of her most remarkable editorial enterprises was the work to which she gave the title of "Essays on his own Times, by S. T. Coleridge." This required her to identify and collect her father's contributions to the London newspaper press during some of the early years of this century—a task of peculiar difficulty to which no hand but one strengthened by filial zeal such as hers would have been equal. This undertaking carried Mrs. Coleridge into the sphere of political history; and the original introductory "Sections" are no less noticeable than her writings on literature, art, or theology. The two chapters devoted to a comparison of British and American civilization, contain the most judicious and impartial discussion of the social and intellectual condition of the two countries which has been written. In the last letter which she wrote to a friend in this country, she spoke of America as "a land in which she would never cease to take an interest."

Of the spirit with which, throughout her editorial writings, Mrs. Coleridge advocated her father's character—as a man, an author, and a philosopher—it is enough to say that it was a daughter's love and a woman's strong sense of truth blended together—filial piety and earnest truthfulness in perfect harmony. On this subject it will be far better to cite her own words—both prose and—what she could at need command—a strain of exquisite moral verse.

"I have not striven" (she said) "to conceal any of my natural partialities, or to separate my love of my father from my moral and intellectual sympathy with his mode of thought. I have endeavored to give the genuine impressions of my mind respecting

him, believing that if reporters will but be honest, and study to say that, and that alone, which they really think and feel, the color which their opinions and feelings may cast upon the subject they have to treat of, will not finally obscure the truth. Of this I am sure, that no one ever studied my father's writings earnestly, and so as to imbibe the author's spirit, who did not learn to care still more for truth than for him, whatever interest in him such a study may have inspired.

"These few lines are an attempt to bring out a sentiment which my father once expressed to me on the common saying that 'Love is blind':

"Passion is blind, not Love: *her* wond'rous might
 Informs with three-fold power man's inward sight;—
 To her deep glance the soul at large displayed
 Shows all its mingled mass of light and shade:—
 Men call her blind when she but turns her head,
 Nor scans the fault for which her tears are shed.
 Can dull Indifference or Hate's troubled gaze
 See through the secret heart's mysterious maze?
 Can Scorn and Envy pierce that 'dread abode,'
 Where true faults rest beneath the eye of God?
 Not theirs, 'mid inward darkness, to discern
 The spiritual splendors how they shine and burn.
 All bright endowments of a noble mind
 They, who with joy behold them, soonest find;
 And better none its stains of frailty know,
 Than they who fain would see it white as snow."

—*Biog. Lit.* (ed. of 1847) p. clxxxiv.

Thus finely versified and vivified with imagination is set forth a moral truth—precious in the study alike of character and of literature.

Mrs. Coleridge took a cordial delight in correspondence with those who enjoyed her friendship; and should her letters be collected for publication, her genius and learning, and the strength and gentleness of her nature, will be seen in a very pleasing form. It is no exaggeration to say that the literature of familiar letter-writing has produced nothing which can compare with them. It is not only that they are highly intellectual, and even learned compositions, but they are genuine letters withal—genuine specimens of what a woman excels in. Her letters are remarkable, indeed, for activity and reach of thought, and for varied and extensive

reading; but with such gracefulness and natural ease did Mrs. Coleridge wear her endowments and her attainments, that the simple vivacity and sprightliness of the most agreeable form of familiar letter is not lost or overlaid with learning; her letters are like the animated conversation of a thoughtful and very accomplished woman—vigorous, gentle, and unpretending.³

Mrs. Coleridge's health had been delicate for several years, and during the last two years she was the victim of one of the most fearful maladies that flesh is heir to. Towards the end her sufferings were great, but they were borne with the utmost fortitude, her mind retaining its clearness to the last. Within only a few days of her death, she made her last effort upon an edition of her father's poems—the volume which has since been published as "edited by Sara and Derwent Coleridge." In the editorial part of that book will be found the last production of her pen—*tanquam cycnea vox et oratio*. Her filial piety never failed. No sick-room

³To enable the reader to appreciate this harmony of extraordinary female scholarship with entire simplicity and gracefulness of womanly character, he is referred to the "Appendix on the Poetical Picturesque," which Mrs. Coleridge placed at the end of her edition of the "Biographia Literaria." It is an essay of about fifteen pages, in support of a critical remark of Coleridge's on "The Fairy Queen," from which Mr. Hallam and Mr. Leigh Hunt had expressed dissent. The subject is one which admitted, and indeed required, illustration, widely gathered from the ancient and modern poets and their commentators. Within this short essay, Mrs. Coleridge cites the poetry of the Bible, Pindar, Æschylus, Euripides (with the commentators on the Greek drama, Hermann, Klausen, Scholefield, Sewell), Virgil, Horace, Catullus, Dante, Spenser, Shakespeare, Beaumont and Fletcher, Milton, Wordsworth, Coleridge, Southey, Keats, and Sir Walter Scott—Lessing, Klopstock, and Wieland. Now, when these authorities—from literature, ancient and modern, continental and English—are presented thus in succinct array, and without the context, it might be thought that they could hardly have been cited, especially by a woman, without something like pedantic ostentation. But the reader, most inclined to a censorious dread of female learning, will be able to detect nothing of the kind. Everything like pedantry or display seems to be charmed away by the mere power of simple-heartedness; and one ceases to think of the extent and variety of the learning that subserves the well-reasoning earnestness with which the subject is discussed. The reader cannot but feel that it comes from the abundance of genuine scholarship, and he will, I am quite sure, be disposed to think of the writer as Charles Lamb did when he described her as "the inobtrusive, quiet soul, who has digged her noiseless way" through so much learning.

selfishness narrowed her large and generous sympathies. In her last letter to a friend in America, she said: "Of course, all literary exertion and extensive correspondence are out of the question for me in my present condition. * * * * I wish to accompany [in thought] my friends in their ramblings on the face of nature, and I like to hear their views on religion, politics, morals—all subjects of general interest." Speaking of her malady, she said: "I endeavor not to speculate—to make the most of each day as it comes, making use of what powers remain to me, and feeling assured that strength will be supplied, if it be sought from above, to bear every trial which my Father in Heaven may think fit to send."

This was one utterance of the Christian piety which, not only at the approach of death, but through life, was joined with the genius and learning of the daughter of Coleridge.

THE CONQUEST OF SPAIN BY THE ARAB-MOORS.

VII.—THE INTELLECTUAL CULTURE OF THE ARABIANS.

IN this, the last paper of the series, I propose to consider the intellectual development and culture of the Arabians in Spain, and I shall hope, by a synoptical view of their progress in literature, in art, in the mathematical and natural sciences and in philosophy, to exhibit the nature and extent of the debt which Europe and the civilized world still owe to them. I can only express my regret that in place of a detailed account, which would be both interesting and instructive, I can only touch for a moment upon many topics which could readily be expanded into separate papers.

THE ARABIC LANGUAGE. The Arabians had a polished, flexible and powerful instrument in their language. All the languages of Europe are of the great Aryan family. The lineage and relationship of the Arabic are widely different. It is of the Shemitic or Oriental family, in which are found three very distinct and important languages: the Aramaic or Northern branch, the Hebrew or Middle branch, and the Arabic or Southern.

The Aramaic was spoken anciently in the countries between the

Mediterranean and Persia on the one side, and bounded by Asia Minor or Armenia on the other. The Hebrew, long but erroneously considered the original language of mankind, is the vehicle of our ancient scriptures. The Arabic, indigenous in Arabia, has a very strong structure and a full vocabulary, and has also a very marked individuality. Among its ancient documents are the Himyaritic inscriptions, which tell of a king of Yemen called Himyar and of his dynasty, which extended from about one hundred and fifty years before Christ until several centuries after Christ. Before the advent of Mohammed, the Arabic boasted of old popular poems which were called *moallakat* or *the suspended*, because they were hung upon the walls of the Holy House at Mecca. These seem to have been the earliest models of Arabic verse, both in fancy and in form. They described desert and nomadic life, and treated of the joys, griefs and rhapsodies of love, intermingled with heroic adventures.

More flexible than the Hebrew, less complete than the Aramaic, the Arabic has retained its vitality. They are dead; it remains a living language. It was a ready and powerful instrument in the hands of Mohammed and his successors. Wherever they went, their language imposed itself upon the conquered, supplanting or greatly modifying other tongues: the Koran was everywhere the instructor both in religion and grammar. When it came into Spain, it reigned supreme, receiving little or nothing from its contact with the Latin of the earlier conquerors, the jargon of the Celtiberians, or the German creole of the Goths. It instructed the Provençal; versions of existing works were made from other languages; and soon original Arabian authorship was so much cultivated, that we find in the works of their principal bibliographers, sketches of authors in the chief cities, divided according to special subjects.

The *written* language was not essentially altered in its transit from East to West, either lexically or in its characters, but the Spanish Arabs adopted a peculiar hand-writing, which, to judge from manuscripts still existing, was clearer and handsomer than that of the East. The writing is from right to left like the Hebrew, and each letter of the alphabet has four forms—the initial, the medial, the final and the isolated.

But the *spoken* language deviated considerably from that of the East, so that Ibnu Said declares,—“should an Eastern Arab hear even the prince of Andalusian grammarians, Shalubin, conversing with another man, he would burst out laughing to hear the blunders he made in speaking.” So much, in later times, have the Arabians departed from their original language, that the Arabic of the Koran is now taught almost as a dead language in the college of Mecca, and the Arabic of Algiers is a distinct tongue, for which the French have provided grammar, dictionary and phrase books.¹

The question has been asked, but not yet fully answered,—To what extent has the Arabic influenced the Spanish, and, in less degree, the other languages of Western Europe? The hatred of the Christian towards the Moor, and the jealousy of Moorish renown in any direction, have rendered such an investigation an uncomfortable subject for Spanish scholars. A great many Arabic words are in constant use in Spain; among them are most of those having the prefix *al*;² algebra, alchemy, alembic, &c. The truth is, however, that the common language of southern Spain abounds in words of Arabic origin. I have not space for an extended list; take a few of the most familiar;—adobe, alcalde, alcantara (the bridge), alcazar, alhamra, alameda, faquir and alfaquir, cabila, azotea (the house-top), azucar (sugar), arropa, arsenal, axarafe (carafe), caba, camisa, escarlata, fonda (eating-house), loco (crazy), mezquita (mosque), quintal, sierra (sahra, a desert mountain tract), xabeque (xebec). But besides and far more important than this lexical tribute, the Arabian stamped his modes of thought and his rhetorical forms upon the conquered people.

POETRY. Poetry was a branch of literature which they culti-

¹ One of these is, “Cours de la Langue Arabe, ou *les dialectes vulgaires d'Alger, de Maroc, de Tunis et d'Egypte*, Par J. F. Bled de Braine, ex-directeur des Ecoles Arabes d'Alger.” In his introduction the author says: “When the interpreters of the expedition arrived in Africa, although they had zealously pursued at Paris the lessons of the most learned professors of Oriental languages, they found, to their great disappointment, that they could not make themselves intelligible to the Arabs, and succeeded no better in understanding them.”

² Al, il, el, are forms of the article similar to the same in the romance languages; and with the Latin *ille*, may have a common origin somewhere in the mists of antiquity.

vated with pleasure and assiduity, and we may partly judge of their success by numerous and excellent translations. They delighted in metaphor, and were at the same time more euphuistic than Lyly or "Sir Piercie Shafton." From title to colophon they strained after happy illustrations; plain speech was water; apologue and allegory were the generous wine of Shiraz.

A collection of verses by *Ibn Faraj* is called *Kitabu-l-hadayak* (the book of the enclosed gardens): another is entitled *shodhuru-l-dhabbab* (gold particles). The latter contains a poem on alchemy, which was so highly esteemed, that it was commonly said of the author,—“If Abul-hasan’s poem cannot teach thee how to make gold, it will at least show thee how to write verses.” The Arabians had quickness of perception, fertile fancy, ease of adaptation and remarkable command of language. Besides, they really loved poetry: those who were not ready writers were appreciative hearers. The poet was an honored guest among the great, because his versatile art touched not only the sensibilities, but was also the vehicle of instruction to the mind: it was an instrument for conveying all kinds of knowledge,—biography, history, theology, science and the training of the schools. There is, for example, an entertaining History of Andalus, in verse, by Al Ghazal, the poet and philosopher.

While thoroughly satisfied of the superior general culture of the Saracens, I am equally convinced that the power of their poetry has been overrated. It is sweet but turgid: from its almost universal application it becomes artificial; it gilds commonplaces. The sentiment is often forced and the expression superlative: so much as to the matter: there is doubtless a great charm of rhetorical harmony in the Arabic language which is lost in translation,—a charm of the hum of bees, the twitter of swallows, the note of the whippoorwill; a charm of nature’s chorus in changing melodies.

Every scholar knows the inadequacy of translation: I am inclined to think that no poetry suffers more in the transcript than the Arabic. We must add too to the value of sweet sounds the effect produced by the *recitative*: they chanted their verses with rhythmic divisions.

The most favorite forms of poetry were,—the *Ghazele*, the *Caside*, and the *Divan*. The *Ghazele* was either a love song or an

idyl, something like what we call a canzonet or sonnet, containing from fourteen to twenty-six lines, alternately rhyming.³ The *Casside* is a heroic poem of from forty to two hundred lines; a scrap of history epically treated, or a story in verse. The *Divan* is a collection of *Ghazeles* compiled according to particular and arbitrary rules.

It is particularly interesting to observe the influence of this early Arabian poetry upon the literature of Western Europe. We trace it in the subjects and the structure of the French *fabliaux* and *chansons de geste* of the jongleurs and trouvères; and even later, in the charming stanzas of Ariosto and, in epic handling at least, in the twice told tales of Boccaccio. It is to be particularly noticed in *Le Gai Saber* of the Provençal troubadours; in a word, the entire Provençal literature owes as much to the Arabic for matter and form, as it does to the Latin for language.

Extended specimens of Arabian verse would be out of place in such a digest as this: a few examples will illustrate the *genre*.

Ibnu-l-Faraj writes to a friend for some old wine, in such words as these;—"Send me some of that wine, sweet as thy love and more transparent than the tears which fall down thy cheeks. Send me, O my son, some of that liquor, the soul's own sister, that I may comfort my debilitated stomach." An amusing anti-climax that.

"Name to me," says an Andalusian, boasting of the authorship of his region, "name to me one of your poets who has described the color which a draught of pure wine imparts to the cheek of the drinker in verses equal to these,—'The wine has colored his cheeks like a rising sun shining upon his face: the west is his mouth, the east is the lively cup-bearer's hand; when the sun had set behind his mouth, it left upon his cheeks a rosy twilight.'" So much for the praise of wine, which although forbidden by the Koran, was used much more commonly in Spain than at the East.

Let us take now one of the *Ghazeles* of Ben Hamad el Taharti, of which this is the argument: The Khalif had shut himself up in his seraglio, in luxurious ease, away from the cares of business, and denied himself to all comers, whatever their errand. Ben

³ The Arabians used assonances and imperfect rhymes, a feature permanently embodied in Spanish poetry.

Hamad greatly desired to see him, but was disappointed. He therefore sent in his poem with a fine bunch of roses.

The fair, the witching fair,
 They, even though slaves,
 Do rule their lord and render him their thrall.
 They make the bane of man, yet seek we roses
 When neither field nor garden more supplies them;
 The lovely flower; on their bright cheek we find them,
 Sweeter and without thorns: this then, my plaint,
 Being with roses written, I do look
 To have received with favor, since 'tis formed
 On that which is the image of their cheeks—
 The fair! the witching fair.

I shall not continue to present extracts which can give no fair notion of Arabian poetry. Whatever estimate we may now make of their verses, their influence upon the people who heard them can hardly be exaggerated. When a popular poet appeared and chanted his love songs to the multitude, it was a common saying that "all men's ears grew to his tunes as if they had eaten ballads."

STORY-TELLERS. Akin to their powers and their taste in poetry was their fondness for story-telling. Men of the greatest literary eminence prided themselves upon the number of entertaining tales they had invented or learned, and their ready language and dramatic skill in telling them. Such men were eagerly sought out by the Khalif and the grandees, to beguile their *ennui* or to recreate them after their fatigues.

Naturally gifted with a good memory, these *raconteurs* increased its power like actors in the modern drama; but they often improvised, while in the fervor of narration, charming plots of episodic adventure like the curious stories of the Arabian nights. Indeed, one of these Spanish collections would, from the praises of bibliographers, were it translated, divide our interest with the "Thousand and one nights." Its title is *The Book of Routes and Stations in the adventures of Abu-l-halyi*. There are numerous other collections of a similar kind.

METAPHYSICS. There was a distinct Arabian school of Logic and Intellectual Philosophy, but the chief debt of Europe to them was not so much for original investigation, as for reproducing, in Arabic translations, the great works of the ancients, and send-

ing them through Spain into benighted Western Europe. Thus it was that Mohammed Abu-l-Walid Ibu Roshd, whose patronymic is corrupted into *Averroes*, came into popular notice. He was born at Cordova in the twelfth century, and he translated the works of Aristotle into Arabic, while they were unknown in the west, illustrating the literary character of Moslem Spain with the glories of the age of Alexander. And yet so little did he rise above the function of a respectable usher, that it is evident from his commentaries he did not fully understand his author.

The most profound thinker in the domain of mental philosophy was *Al Ghazali*, who was born in the year 1058. He was a divine as well as a philosopher, and for his learning and penetration was called *the Imaum of the world*. In a consideration of that very difficult and subtle question,—the mode of intercourse between the mind and the body,—it was he who first advanced the doctrine known as the hypothesis of *Divine assistance* or *occasional causes*: from him it passed to the Western schools. He solved the mystery of causation by asserting that God is the only sufficient cause in nature, a postulate that was afterwards attacked by Averroes. His individual experience was interesting and sad. He argued himself into an almost hopeless condition. The senses and the reason, he said, were not sure guides to truth, and in the verisimilitude of dreams he found a token of the uncertainty of our best and brightest waking visions. Thus thrown, by the unreality of philosophy, upon religion,—an untrammelled faith superior to the Koran,—he spent his later years in retirement, conquering his passions, controlling his desires, and preparing for a better world.⁴

HISTORY. Under this head we enter upon the most successful and voluminous labors of the Spanish Saracens. Industrious in collecting statistics, they enwreathed the facts with allegory and imagery, and displayed great elegance in composition. Among these reproductions of the past is a General History by Ibnu Hayyan of Cordova. It is in sixty volumes and is entitled *Kitabu-l-matin*, "The book of Solidity;" certainly an appropriate name.

⁴ Avicenna, another Arabian, explains the process of mental causation by an irradiation of divine light through which the recovered cognition is infused into the intellect. See the references to the Arabian metaphysics in Sir William Hamilton's treatise.

Another is named, "The embroidery of the bride on the History of the Khalifs who reigned in Andalus;" a supplement to this is, "The Book of the Sphere," divided into two parts, one relating to Eastern History, entitled, "The light of the rising Sun on the beauties of the East," and the other, "The eloquent speaker on the beauties of the West."

This is not the place for a bibliographical list of books, most of them beyond our reach, both on account of the rareness of the copies, and on account of the language in which they are sealed to most modern eyes; but it is the place to say, that when Spanish scholars cast off their sloth, and their false pride of blood,—when they are ready to do simple justice to the Arab-Moors whom they have tried in vain to ignore—such books as these will shed rare light upon the Saracenic dominion, and give the historian valuable material with which to work.⁵

ARITHMETIC AND MATHEMATICS. In considering the tributes of the Spanish Moors to exact science, we must begin with the numeral symbols which we use in Arithmetic,—the simple but magical *open sesame* to the treasure-house of calculation. There is reason to believe that Pope Sylvester II. who was the first to introduce them, or rather a knowledge of them, into Italy in the eleventh century, learned them as the priest Gerbert at the Moorish university of Cordova.⁶

When we remember that the Arabic symbols from 1 to 10, including the cypher, were not fully introduced into Germany until the beginning of the fifteenth century, nor into England until some time later, we are ready to give due praise to those to whom Europe owes the great boon of their introduction. Simple as they are, and easy as it may now seem to have invented them, they are not of Arabian origin, nor did the Arabians claim that they were.

⁵ There were, in 1870, 6,000 Arabic manuscripts lying boxed in the basement of the Escorial, scarcely ever, if ever, consulted. If Spain should ever fix upon a permanent form of government, let us hope its public spirit will be shown by putting Spanish archives in order: and by unburying and translating such papers as those. With the exception of Gayangos and Condé, I know no Spanish historian who has drawn his material from unpublished Arabic sources.

⁶ He composed works on arithmetic and geometry, and made some astronomical instruments with his own hand.

They are of Indian device, and were doubtless brought from the farther East to Baghdad, in the days of Almansur or Haroun Al Rashid. The Arabians improved and named them. To them we owe our name for the cypher, that potent nothing which disproves the rule, *ex nihilo nihil fit*: they called it *Tsaphara*. The numerals as we have them, were constructed within circles, the figure 1 being only a vertical diameter; 2 being formed by a diagonal and two chords. An experiment will show the simplicity of the construction for all.

What an immense improvement upon the Roman numeral letters, and the cumbrous sexagesimal arithmetic of the Greeks, —the mode of computing by the sexagenary scale, or by sixties! It is easy to form an opinion of the value of the Arabic figures, by performing some of the simpler operations of arithmetic by the use of the Roman numerals.

The Arabic figures seem to be the starting point of a new progress, and it was by their use that the Arabians led the world in mathematics, analytical mechanics and astronomy. In Algebra, which owes its name to them,⁷ they accomplished much that was new, but in geometry there was really less left for them to accomplish. They however presented to the Western world, in translations, the treatises of Euclid on the properties of plane figures, on the theory of ratios, and on the elements of solids. If they added little that was new, they collected and annotated all that was known. Euclid, let it be remembered, was not translated from the original Greek text until the sixteenth century, after the influx of Greek learning incident to the fall of Constantinople; but he had already appeared in Latin dress. Adelard of Bath translated his work from an Arabic version which he found in Spain in the twelfth century.

Towards the end of the ninth century Ben Musa Ben Geber Albatani introduced the sine, or half the chord of the double arc, instead of the arc itself, and it was immediately used in astronomical and geodetical investigations. In a word, the well-instructed Arabian youth studied almost as much geometry as is now taught in our colleges.

If we pass from pure mathematics to astronomy we shall find

⁷ From *jabara* (to bind parts together).

the Arabians something more than a mere receptacle for former knowledge. Worthy heirs they were of what was known before them; they used the Egyptian calendar of days in the year, and the calculations of the Greeks; they translated the works and tables of Ptolemy, and the title *megiste syntaxis* was corrupted into *almagest*. They built great observatories and were ardent observers; they computed time by the oscillations of the pendulum; they used astrolabes or armillary spheres; they calculated the conditions of Aldebaran, Rigel and other stars; they gave us our *zenith* and *nadir* and *azimuth*; to them we owe the name and form of our *almanac*; to them is due the discovery of the motion of the sun's apogee, and the third inequality of the moon. I have already mentioned the measurement of a degree on the earth's surface, in the plains of Mesopotamia, by Al-maimon in the ninth century.

It should be observed however that all their tables were based upon the notion of Ptolemy as to the correlations of the solar system, which used apparent motions instead of real motions, an error which afflicted the heavens until the time of Copernicus.

Nor should it be forgotten that with the progress of *astronomy*, or exact star science, that of *astrology*, or star influences and star prophecies, kept pace in Spain; but in this the Spanish Arabs were only like the rest of the world. They lived in the credulous ages, but even superstition was working for truth. A great Khalif undesignedly did great service to the cause of true science by collecting and producing astronomical tables, mainly for the purpose of astrological consultation.

GEOGRAPHY. The Arabians were also accurate and practical geographers. To this science their astronomical investigations tended. They determined the obliquity of the ecliptic, and illustrated their instruction in the schools by the use of globes. The number of school geographies in Spain was large; and there is one voluminous geographical dictionary called *The Book of Routes and Kingdoms*, containing all the existing kingdoms and principal cities of the world.

CHEMISTRY. This science as we now know it is so different from that of even a century ago, that it may be called a very modern science; but the analytical study of elements and agents was ardently pursued by the Arabians, and they made great dis-

coveries and improvements. They were alchemists, but they aspired to be chemists. They shared the fond hopes of those who believed in the philosopher's stone, and they gave us the name of that *elixir vite* (Arab.—El Iksir, the breaker) which was to break the power of age and pain and death. The name *chemistry* is probably derived from *Cham* or *Chemia*, one of the names for Egypt, and with the Arabic prefix would mean,—The Egyptian Science; from its having been eagerly studied there: it was introduced to Western Europe, in its most advanced forms, by the Arabians.

The most renowned of their chemists, certainly the one best known to our time, was Abu Musa Dshafar Al Soli of Harran who lived in the eighth century. He is known to us as *Geber*,⁸ and his original works have been translated into Latin, and thence into English. He gives us a clear view of the early search for the *Lapis Philosophorum*: he knew the chemical affinities of gold, silver, copper, iron, tin and lead, to which he gave respectively the names of the Sun, the Moon, Venus, Mars, Jupiter and Saturn. All these metals, he says, are composed of mercury and sulphur in different proportions: by delicately altering these proportions, we may transform them, one into another. He calls the philosopher's stone *the medicine of the third class*. Geber was acquainted with the calcining and oxidizing process, and with distillation. He knew the methods of obtaining potash and soda and the properties of saltpetre. Nitric acid he obtained from the nitrate of potassa and called it *dissolving water*.

Abdallah Ibn Sina, corrupted into *Avicenna*, was born in or near Bokhara in the year 980. His treatise on alchemy is divided into ten dictions, four of which he devotes to the philosopher's stone and the elixir. The other six contain a more useful investigation of the metals. But Avicenna was far more famous as a mental philosopher and a physician than as an Alchemist.

MINING. It cannot be doubted that chemistry was very useful, even in that early day, to the mining interests, for Spain was and is a richly metalliferous country. Her treasures had been known from a remote antiquity, and the mines nearest the sea-coast had been worked by Phenicians, Carthaginians and Romans. Gold

⁸ Often confounded with *Geber*, a philosopher of Seville, who flourished in the eleventh century.

was found in several localities,—on the Darro, near the mouths of the Tagus, at Santiago and near Lerida. Silver lay in large quantity and extent in the mountains of Alhama, and in the district of Cordova. Both these metals were successfully mined and coined by the Moslemah. They had quicksilver in abundance.⁹ Tin was found in Portugal, and they profited by the lead and copper of the Northern part of Spain.

Although these rich ore beds have at no time been adequately worked, the Arab-Moors improved upon what they found, and one of their philosophers was a true peripatetic; he traveled with few intervals for forty years, in the study of mineralogy, and at last published an account of his labors and explorations: his name was Al Byroum.

MEDICINE. In the medical art the Arabians were in advance of their age. In this respect their fatalism was like that of more modern times, which is quite willing to assist Providence in carrying out the irrevocable decrees. There seems to have been a strange and puerile contradiction between their superstition and their better judgment. Accepting, and yet dissatisfied with, the predictions of astrology; eagerly seeking a perfect panacea, and believing that it would surely be found, they brought to the study of medicine, enthusiasm combined with rare learning and a cool head. Iatro-chemistry they regarded in a purely scientific light, and they made careful and judicious study of the diagnosis of diseases.

Spain abounds in healing simples, and thus the *materia medica* was greatly extended: the physician became a power in the social order, as he is to-day. In the early periods they had been forbidden to dismember the human form, and had therefore a very imperfect knowledge of anatomy; but the Spanish Arabs refused obedience to these silly directions of their Eastern progenitors, and the dissecting room soon began to form an important part of their medical establishments.

If they still adhered to the *Elixir vite*, it certainly is not our nineteenth century that should ridicule and condemn them. Every newspaper contains advertisements of catholicons and

⁹ According to a recent estimate, the quicksilver mines of Almaden produce one-half the quicksilver of the world.

miraculous cures, and there are thousands now who would hail the announcement of some nostrum, of which, if a man take, he shall never die. The difference however is this; the Arabian philosophers believed in the elixir, while the men who make the nostrums of to-day are charlatans, and only the low and ignorant are misled by them.

Abu Mohammed of Malaga wrote a valuable treatise on simples and medicamenta, which he arranged alphabetically, and which consequently furnishes us an excellent index to their general knowledge. Yahya, whose father was a Christian, also composed a work on simples in five books. Albucasis published a treatise on botany and natural history in their relation to medicine, and was further widely known for his great skill in obstetrics.

But perhaps the most valuable medical works to be consulted by the historical student are those of *Ibn Zoar*, called in modern days and in Christian Europe *Aven Zoar*. They embrace a wide scope, and treat of special diseases, such as fevers and leprosy, and he gives distinct hygienic rules for conduct and diet.

Of Avicenna, to whom I have already referred as a metaphysician, it has been said that he was an eminent student of medicine at the age of sixteen; his *canon medicinæ* was regarded for five centuries as the most distinguished authority in the schools of Europe.¹⁰

GENERAL PHYSICS. From what has been already said, it will be seen that there were few avenues of human investigation which had not been trodden by Arabian philosophers. In physical science they were eager observers. They laid the basis of the mechanical system of statics and dynamics, as applied to solids, liquids and gases: they determined the weight of air and the pressure of the atmosphere; they fixed the extent of the atmosphere at fifty-eight miles and a half; they understood capillary attraction and the law of specific gravities. Nor were they

¹⁰Chaucer says, in describing the Doctorer of Phisike:

Well knew he the old Esculapius,
And Dioscorides and eke Rufus;

* * * * *

Serapion, Rasis and *Avicenn*,
Averrois, Damascene and Constantin.

—*Prologue to the Canterbury Tales.*

wanting in a knowledge of the laws which govern optical phenomena: they understood the effect of refraction in the production of twilight. They enounced the general law of gravitation as it concerned bodies on the earth's surface, but their knowledge did not extend to the systems in space: the airy bonds of the heavenly bodies remained to them a mystery. It is said that Al Hazen anticipated Darwin in the theory of evolution by natural selection as early as the eleventh century.

INVENTIONS.—GUNPOWDER. To the Arab-Moors belongs the glory of having brought out of the mysterious treasure-houses of the East, many of the great inventions and discoveries which have had their full development and world-wide utility in the West. Thus, that great leveller of individual distinctions, and moral regenerator of war, which has transformed the classic ten years' siege of a city into a battle of Sedan; which has liberated moral courage from the thralldom of brute force or even mere manual skill; which has veiled danger in a cloud and made homicide impersonal,—Gunpowder, they brought from the East, before Roger Bacon concocted it by the aid of Friar Bungay and the devil.

PRINTING AND PAPER. Much has been said of the wonderful invention of printing, and there are several claimants for the honor; but it has not been sufficiently noticed that the printing press was greatly restricted in its usefulness, when there was no paper. It was not more the stolidity of man that kept the art back so long, than the cloth, the papyrus leaf, the sheepskins called pergamena or parchment, and the calfskins called vellum. As early as the eighth century cotton paper was made at Mecca, the idea having been borrowed from the Chinese, who had already manufactured a paper of silk. In Spain the flax of Valencia and Murcia, which was much more abundant than cotton, was soon substituted for it. As early as the beginning of the fourteenth century, paper-mills were numerous and lucrative in Spain, and the invention and the paper soon traveled to the North. "There can remain no rational doubt," says the accurate Hallam, "that the Saracens of the peninsula were acquainted with that species of paper *en rasuris veterum pannorum*;"¹¹ though perhaps it was yet unknown in every other country."

¹¹Doubtless of *linen* rags.

THE MARINER'S COMPASS. A silly attempt has been made to credit the compass to an Italian, and this claim has been contested by the French in the thirteenth century. It would not have required a profound search to show that the Arabians, finding it among the magical treasures of the East, brought it into Spain in the *eleventh* century, and universally employed it in the twelfth.

In all the common sciences and corresponding arts, the Moors were apt, patient and systematic. The knowledge, commodities and luxuries of the East, were brought by caravans from the farther East, and came by shipping from the Levant to the Mediterranean ports of Spain. Thus came rice, cotton and sugar, and thence at a later day they passed over to this new world of ours. The best of leather was made in Cordova; so good indeed that the Spanish word for all leather is *cordovan*. The sword blades, "in fair Damascus fashioned well," are not more famous in history than the rapiers of Toledo.

Silk, first made in China, passed thence as far as Greece, and, until the twelfth century, Greece was the only country of Europe in which silk-worms were known. "But," says Gibbon, "the secret had been stolen by the dexterity and diligence of the Arabs. The Califs of the East and West scorned to borrow from the unbelievers their furniture and apparel, and two cities of Spain, Almeria and Lisbon, were famous for the manufacture, the use and perhaps the exportation of silk."¹²

Ibn Firras made glass out of clay, and used it for vessels, and also in glazing those beautiful tiles, called *azulejos*, which embellish the wainscotting of the Moorish interiors. This inventive genius was not quite so successful in another project. He made experiments in flying, literally feathering himself for that purpose, and putting on wings. He succeeded in flying, but forgetting that birds always alight on their soft, fan-like tails, he failed to supply that caudal appendage, and so came to grief in a manner which need not be explained.

The Moors of Cordova were also very skillful in jeweler's work; and shops, very little if at all different from those of their day, may still be seen in that city, where filagree of gold and silver is beautifully made.

¹²Milman's Gibbon, V., 238.

XVIII.—THE MOSQUE AT CORDOVA.

I come now to a topic which demands far more consideration and space than I am able to give it; I mean Arabian art. Its principal form was architecture, and after laying down the principal features of their system, I shall still further limit myself to a brief description of what must ever be regarded as the grandest forthshowing of their taste, genius and skill, the *mezquita* or mosque of Cordova. To the eye of the cursory tourist Spain presents a conglomerate of architecture—Roman remains, Gothic ruins, Arabian temples and alcazars, cathedrals of the Renaissance, Tuscan enormities, and modern French palaces. But there is a system in the midst of this labyrinth.

The traveler in Spain, from north to south, passes on his way from modern France, through what may be called modern France on Spanish soil—so much have Gallic customs overflowed—without catching a glimpse of Arabian life until he approaches the frontier of Andalusia. At Burgos he finds indeed the great Gothic cathedral and the tomb of the mighty *Cid Campeador*, who won his matchless renown sometimes against his own king, sometimes against the Moors: but the cathedral is the work of Christian hands.

In the Church of Miraflores, near Burgos, is that remarkable alabaster monument, in the form of a star, of Juan II. and his queen Isabella; but it is the perfection of Italian art.

At Valladolid and Segovia he looks out for a glimpse of our simple friend Gil Blas, and also for souvenirs of the Hapsburgs. Just outside the ancient capital he may revel in the lately opened archives at Simancas, and verify the falsehood of former history. Madrid he will find a second-rate French city, which, when Toledo first fell into Arabian hands, was only a sort of outlying picquet to that Moorish capital. The only really ancient things of value there are found in the *armeria* or armory, and with regard to many of these there is a reasonable doubt that they are what they claim to be. There for example is a gold votive crown weighing over forty-six ounces, offered by Swinthilic, a Visigothic king, in the early part of the seventh century (621—631), and fragments of other Gothic crowns: there is a bridle-bit of Wittiza the Wicked: a sword, *said to be* that of Pelayo, is shown, and one perhaps more authentic which belonged

to Boabdil el Chico; and there too is *La Colada*, one of the famous swords of Rodrigo Diaz the Cid.

The traveler takes the rail to Cordova, and when he crosses the frontier of Andalusia, he exchanges the dry, unwholesome, stony country of the higher table-land, scourged by the icy north-east wind which sweeps over the snows of the Guadarrama,¹³ for orange hedges, square leagues of olive trees, and a laughing light of Nature upon man and beast. Then too he finds himself first unmistakably in the habitations of the Arab-Moors, and begins clearly to discern the traces of their residence.

He leaves the main line and switches off eastward to Toledo, to see the ancient city with its rock-perched alcazar, built by Alfonso VI. when he captured the city from the Moors. There too is the cathedral, originally built as a mosque by the Moors in 1032, upon or near the site of the older Gothic Church of Santa Maria. The mosque was converted into a cathedral on the recapture of the city in 1086.

In 1227 the first stone of the present edifice was laid: but its roof was not fully completed until January, 1493. In Toledo also is the Moorish bridge of Alcantara, a half-ruined Moorish castle, and the ruins of what *was not*—although long so considered—*el baño de la Cava*, the bath of Florinda.

From Toledo the traveler comes back to the main line at Castillejo, and is soon in Cordova, where although the Moorish remains are not numerous, there is one which challenges the admiration of the world as the most unique and the most striking among them all. The mezquita or mosque is one of the wonders of Spain, and has no rival in its own style in the world.

And now, before undertaking to speak of Arabian architecture, and to describe this its most remarkable illustration, let me lay down a few principles and state a few historic facts. Debarred

¹³Spain, a singular *mélange* of mountains and valleys, is on the average the highest land in Europe; some of the more elevated valleys are between six and seven thousand feet above the level of the sea, and a great central table-land, comprising 90,000 square miles, has an average height of between 2,000 and 3,000 feet. The timber from most of this was cut down long ago, and with no replanting, and no forestry laws, Spain suffers from north to south for want of trees. Sun and wind scourge its bare back continually. I never suffered more from cold than when crossing the Guadarrama range at night in April.

by the Koran from representing images of animal life, and thus shut out from the culture of the pictorial and plastic arts, the Arab Moors seem to have turned with the greater assiduity to architecture: thus when we speak of Arabian Art, we mean almost exclusively architecture; and when we speak of architecture we limit ourselves almost entirely to the proportions and ornaments of interiors.¹⁴

One who studies art in Spain encounters so many styles, that he needs some system to distinguish among them, and to be able to separate that which is essentially Arabian and Moorish, from the schools of Christian Art.

Thus he will find—1. The Roman Architecture, extending to the *fourth* century; 2. The Roman-Gothic, from the fourth to the eighth. 3. The Asturian-Gothic, from the eighth to the eleventh, in the northern parts of Spain. 4. The Roman-Byzantine or Romanesque, from the eleventh to the thirteenth. 5. The Hispano-Catholic, from the thirteenth to the sixteenth. 6. The Revival or Plateresque, during the sixteenth. 7. The Græco-Roman, from the sixteenth to the eighteenth. These are all Christian orders and styles.

Now apart from all these, partaking however somewhat of the Roman-Byzantine, and borrowing from the Persian, is the *Arabian Architecture*, Oriental in origin, and tinged particularly by its contact with the Egyptian forms, and the Berber tastes.

The artists of this school displayed their genius principally in the interiors of palaces and mosques, the exteriors being, as I have already indicated, massive walls of no beauty, meant to contain and protect the exquisite workmanship within.

Side by side with the Christian architecture, that of the Arab-Moors had its distinct periods, three of which are illustrated by splendid remains.

1. Under the sway of the Ommyades, from the eighth to the eleventh century, the *Byzantine-Arabic* appears, mainly because Christian architects were employed in their constructions. Of this the finest specimen—the finest in the whole world—is the Mosque at Cordova, to which I shall presently refer.

¹⁴The few Moorish pictures on the ceilings and walls of the Alhambra are the work of a later age, and show a less literal adherence to the Koran. They are rude and childish, and many of them are the work of Christian captives.

2. The next period is that from the eleventh to the thirteenth century, in which we find more of the unmixed Oriental features, as illustrated, in exterior, by the Giralda or Moorish belfry to the cathedral at Seville, and, in interior, by the Hall of the Ambassadors in the alcazar of the same city, which is the rival at least of the Hall of the Ambassadors in the Alhambra at Granada.

3. The third and last of these periods is even less tingured than the former by Christian Art. The remaining parts of the Alcazar belong to it; but its finest specimens are found in the Alhambra and the Generalife at Granada, the principal parts of which were erected after Granada became the only Moorish kingdom, and was tributary to the Christians.

Among the chief features of *Moro-Arabian* architecture are;—concave and arched ceilings, filled with stuccoes, and ornamented with arabesques and inscriptions; light pillars, single or in clusters, supporting a profusion of horse-shoe arches. The horse-shoe arch, beautiful if not powerful, is a peculiarity of Arabian architecture. It originated as early as the time of Mohammed, being suggested by a horse's foot. Its general rejection by Christian builders is due in part to its want of strength, but mainly perhaps to their hatred and jealousy of the infidel invaders.

Forbidden, as I have said, to depict animal forms, the Arabian decorator was thrown for resources upon mathematical figures and vegetable nature; and thus we find on ceilings, walls and arches, those botanical forms and those delicate interwreathing traceries of vines which constitute the chief beauty of the Arabesque. I venture to call it a living geometry,—innumerable polygons and stars and radiations, blossoming out of ferns and vines and trees of fruit and flower. The interstices are delicately filled in with texts from the Koran, and the whole plan is pencilled with the primitive colors, red and blue, picked out with gold.

And now I shall confine myself, in this branch, to a brief description of the oldest, the best preserved and most striking of the Arabian remains in Spain,—the Mosque at Cordova; which, detaching the Spanish Moslems from moral dependence on the East, while it preserved their veneration for Mecca, made Cordova a new centre of the Moslem faith.¹⁵

¹⁵ — de apartar más y más a los Musulmanes Españoles de la dependencia moral de Oriente * * los conservaba la veneracion de Meca, haciendo a Cordova un nuevo centro de la religion musulmica.—*La Fuente*, III., 152.

During the early Roman occupancy there was in Cordova a temple sacred to *Janus Bifrons*. Vandal and Goth had left little of this remaining but the foundation. Upon its ruins was erected by the Goths the Christian church dedicated to St. Vincent. When the Arab-Moors conquered the city, they acted according to a custom which they had instituted, beginning at Damascus. They divided the Christian temple, permitting the Christians to retain one-half as their church, while they used the other half as a mosque, and added to it grounds and sanctuaries as early as 745. In the year 784, Abdu-ráhman I. purchased the Christian half for about two hundred thousand dollars; and speedily demolishing it, he began the erection of a mosque, which, it was his purpose, should exceed in beauty and richness those of Damascus and Bagdad. He worked at it with his own hands one hour every day, but did not live to complete it: this good fortune was reserved for his son, Hisham I., in 796.

The plan was magnificent: it was six hundred and forty two feet long by two hundred and ninety wide: regularly arranged columns at equal distances divided the space into eleven aisles. Courts planted with orange trees and sparkling with fountains were added: a minaret rose above the pile, and thus it remained for two hundred years. Then Hisham II. increased the number of long aisles to nineteen, and, the length remaining the same, the width of the mosque became four hundred and sixty-two feet. Such, up to the time of Charles V., was the Mosque at Cordova. During the reign of that monarch the Archbishop applied to him for permission to add lateral chapels, transepts and a choir. When the work was done, the Emperor went to see it. He was disgusted: the new was not in keeping with the old: the beautiful double arches were resplendent with *white-wash*; and the monarch exclaimed: "I was not aware of this: had I known you intended to touch the ancient portion, I would not have permitted it: you have built here what can be built anywhere else, but you have destroyed what was unique in the world."

So much remains, however, that the structure is essentially Moorish: we can realize it in its ancient glory with scarcely an effort of the fancy.¹⁶

¹⁶La actual catedral de Cordoba compendia en si la historia de los quatro grades periodos de la España, Romana, Gotica, Arabiga y restaurada.—*La Fuente*, III., 152, note.

The nineteen aisles remain: they are formed by columns of colored marble of different kinds, collected from many sources. A singular but very pleasing effect is produced by this variety, making up a general unity. The pillars are of jasper, beryl, verd-antique and porphyry; and they still number, including those half imbedded in the walls, nearly one thousand; they form a vast grove of stone trees, at once delighting the beholder and inducing moral and religious emotions, like those which the living forests excited in the ancient Druids.

Ford calls the Moor "the thief of antiquity," and here he has stolen to some purpose: the columns differ slightly in diameter, being about eighteen inches, and evidently, when first brought there differed in length; those that were too long were cut off; to those that were too short a slight pedestal or a Corinthian capital was added. They average nine feet in length to the spring of the lower arch. Some of them came from Rome; some of them from Roman edifices at Narbonne;¹⁷ one hundred and forty were presented by the Emperor of Constantinople; a few were found among the ruins of Carthage, and the remainder were quarried in the mountains near Cordova. The effect of this interior is indescribable; it stands alone in the world. The traveller visits it again and again, not to see, but to feel.

Through an opening in the side wall the visitor enters into a pilgrim shrine called the *mihrab*; it is a room of heptagonal form, about fifteen feet in diameter: the ceiling is formed like a shell, of a single marble block, and is twenty-seven and a half feet high.

Here for centuries was kept a magnificent copy of the Koran, said to be that which was upon the lap of the Khalif Othman when he was assassinated, and stained with his life-blood. We need not scrutinize the story: if it was not that copy, it was surely one of many made, probably at his direction, by an *ashab* or companion of the Prophet. The box containing this priceless Koran was covered with gold tissue embroidered with pearls and rubies, and was placed upon a lectern of aloe-wood. Within the *mihrab*, and against one of its walls, in the Moorish times was a pulpit—that of Alkahern II. It was made of costly woods inlaid with ivory, and enriched with jewels; the nails joining its parts were

¹⁷The Christians captured at Narbonne were compelled to work in the erection of the mosque.

of gold and silver: its cost at that day was over one million of dollars. The marble floor of the *mihrab* was soon worn in a circle, as it may be seen now, by the seven circuits of each pilgrim around it. Occupying a large space in front of the door was a screen with portals of entrance called the *maksurah*, and on it a royal throne upon which the Khalif sat. It was inlaid with gold and lapis lazuli; the carvings were exquisite, the doors were of pure gold, and the enclosed pavement was silver.

The ceiling of the mosque was only thirty-five feet high,¹⁸ but this does not at all interfere with the architectural effect, for the forest of columns support double arches, one above the other, the lower a horse-shoe and the upper the smaller arc of a circle. The voussoirs of both were alternately white or red, with gilded edges.¹⁹ The floor was laid in mosaics of the richest patterns.

In the courts Alhakem II. built four long fountains for purification—two for men and two for women: the sexes entered the mosque at different doors, and passed into these courts. The fountains were supplied with water by an aqueduct from the mountain, which filled an immense reservoir lined with marble.

In the west of the mosque was a *casa de caridad*, a charity-house for poor travelers, and opposite the western gate were poor-houses for the indigent of the town.

The wonders of this mosque are given in full detail by the Arabian chroniclers. There were in the aisles two hundred and eighty chandeliers, constructed of captured Christian bells. Fifteen hundred tapers lighted the *mihrab* alone: there were upwards of ten thousand lights in the building, and clouds of incense from ambergris and aloe-wood gave to the grand festivals celebrated there the aspect of Paradise to the materialistic Moslem.

I shall leave the consideration of Arabian art without considering the Giralda, the Alcazar of Seville and the varied beauties of the Alhambra, which have been so frequently described; and thus economize space to inquire how the knowledge and art of the Saracens were disseminated and diffused. Popular enthusiasm did much, but was not alone sufficient; system was needed. We

¹⁸In strong contrast to the Christian cathedrals, that of the central nave of the cathedral at Seville being 134 feet.

¹⁹These effects were destroyed by the white-wash of the archbishop, which called forth the reprobation of Charles V.

have seen that in the East, the liberality of the earlier Khalifs of the house of Abbas, had instituted colleges of learned men, and made collectanea of the knowledge and wisdom then existing: we have also seen that there was always a party, chiefly of the ignorantly devout, which looked with concern upon the increase of knowledge, and especially upon the investigations in natural science: the Koran uttered from time to time a threatening voice, and a professor in advance of his age was in danger of being branded as a *zindic*, a dangerous heretic.

But Spain swung by long and light cables to the ecclesiastical moorings. Her *muftis* and *ulemahs* had no such abject fear of the conflict of truth with truth. Connected with the schools always attached to the mosques were professors of the various arts and sciences, who had fixed salaries and lectured at stated times. They acquired power and gained a European renown. At Cordova, in the tenth century, Alhakem founded an Academy, which was for several centuries the most celebrated educational institution in the world. Its basis, or rather its tenets, of religion, did not hinder Christian students from flocking to it in great numbers. Its library contained three hundred thousand volumes, of which the catalogue comprised forty-four. Such academies as this were the origin of those famous Spanish universities fostered into power by the Saracens at Cordova, Seville, Toledo, Salamanca and Alcalá, which came in all their completeness into the hands of the re-conquering Christians, but which soon fell into the state of torpor in which they may now scarcely be said to exist.

The period of progress in which I have found my illustrations was the palmy day of the Moorish dominion from the eighth to the eleventh century,—a day of light and pride and glory, a day of overflowing, widely irrigating learning—while yet the knowledge of the Christian North, limited as it was, was confined to the cloister; when it was a rare thing to find in France or England a layman who could write; when kings repudiated book learning; when to suppose that a warlike noble could read or write was to insult him by mistaking him for a monk or a priest; when to *sign one's name* meant to make the sign of the cross, or some rude arrow-head, as *his mark*.²⁰

It is by such comparisons as these that we may appreciate the true

²⁰Philippe le Bel of France made *his mark* as late as the thirteenth century.

character and full value of the culture which the Arabians achieved in Spain. In epitome, they caught upon their mirror-like minds the light which had risen in the East,—the original productions of the Hindoo, the scattered rays of Nabatean civilization, the rare adaptations of the Greeks,—and reflected these brilliant rays into the dark and cloudy North; thus preparing Christian Europe to receive the high tide of Grecian learning which came pouring in by the more direct route, just before and after the downfall of Constantinople.

The termination of the Saracenic dominion is but another illustration of the fact that men and nations are but instruments in the hands of the Almighty. A great learning lay hidden in the East; attempts to transfer it to the West were checked by the fall of Rome and the steady decline of the Eastern Empire. It had been encrusted and massed and grown motionless in Egypt; it was stationary in Greece.

A false prophet but a mighty man arose in the deserts of Arabia, among a quick-witted, light-footed people, and God chose them to bear the torch of learning, by rugged and bloody pathways, through Moorish darkneses, over a Southern, a provisional route, into Europe. Unconsciously the Arab-Moor accomplished his work: he labored for himself, he thought; in reality he was working for humanity. But in so doing he sowed the seeds of his own destruction; he became enervated when he became stationary; his progress in science unfitted him for war. It is strange but true that, in the words of Gibbon,—“the sword of the Saracens became less formidable when their youth were drawn away from the camp to the college; when the armies of the faithful presumed to read and reflect.” And yet with all this loss of power, the struggle to retain their hold in Spain was fierce and long,—eight centuries, foot to foot and hand to hand. What gave them their pristine power was union; what caused their decline was division, dissension, segregation. The task of the Mohammedan in Spain was completed long before Ferdinand and Isabella drove the unlucky Boabdil into Africa in 1492. The Christian monarchs only ejected a tenant whose lease had already expired, but who, with impotent insistence, refused to go.

[This paper completes the series, or rather, I should say, ends it. In conclusion I must not fail to say that many of the parts

might be worked up, at far greater length, to a better completeness. Much has been only indicated which would gain in interest by expansion ; and an additional paper should have been written on the illustrations of Arabian art. But I feel that I have exhausted the space and time placed by the editors at my disposal, and can only close with an acknowledgement of my deficiencies.

To those who have read these chapters with friendly interest, let me say that they form a cartoon, upon which it is my purpose to expend additional labor, and that if time shall serve, and needed material can be procured, I hope at some day not far distant to present, in a fuller and more permanent form, a historical picture of the events, the romance and the philosophy of the Conquest of Spain by the Arab-Moors.]

HENRY COPPÉE.

A DAY AT CHAMOUNIX.

WHAT apology can be offered to a traveling, guide-book reading, and somewhat blasé public for attempting to interest them in so hackneyed a spot as Chamounix? Might not one as well offer his truthful account of a journey down Chestnut street?

My story, however, is of Chamounix, and my only apology is that the story is such a little one.

The scenery of the Atlantic side of North America had never fully satisfied me. When looking upon our plentiful fields, our arcadian river valleys, our smoothly rounded hills, I had enjoyed them all, but longed for something grander. Our forests, and prairies, and great lakes, possessed the grandeur of horizontal expansion ; but this was not enough, and their one element of grandeur tended to monotony. Niagara indeed, after one has forgotten the shabby approaches, and has learned a little awe from tossing in the rapids below the falls, from feeling the mighty rush behind it, and from observing generally the terrific power associated with its beauty ; Niagara is in its way satisfactory, but I wanted mountains. To say a slighting word of any of the hills which had so

often given me refreshment and comfort, would be ingratitude, and to pretend indifference to the noble mass of the White Mountains of New Hampshire, with their solemn forests and their high uplifted cliffs and summits, would be mere affectation, but, after all, these were not enough. Where are the sky-piercing, inaccessible peaks, the gleaming eternal snows, the dreadful beauty that is almost lifted away from the earth, yet is of it and not absolutely unattainable? These our scenery lack, and for these I always hungered.

In a hurried tour of six weeks, I had visited for the first time much of Europe; had passed through the romantic Salzkammergut, seeing the snows of Watzmann; and from Zurich, from the Righi, the Brunig pass, and Interlaken had fairly beheld the Alpine peaks—hastily and distantly, no doubt, yet with much inward satisfaction. After this whirling journey I reached Geneva on the evening of July 24th, 1873, and next day took passage by the diligence of the day after for Chamounix.

To sit upon the banquette of a diligence on a fine summer day, and be drawn with agreeable swiftness over the excellent road, and through the charming scenery leading from Geneva toward Chamounix, is a pleasure which many Americans have enjoyed, and I do not mean to linger over it. The gradual change from comparative flatness about Geneva to the vine-clad hills, the distant cliffs increasing by and by to mountains, which crowd closer to the road and attain enormous magnitude before we reach St. Gervais, is extremely enjoyable; yet only at St. Gervais do real grandeur and full satisfaction begin, for there loom up in the distance before us the lofty and dazzling snows. As the road winds up the narrow and steep Arve valley, how solid and smooth it is everywhere; how it cuts into cliffs, and stands high uplifted upon great walls, and spans the rapid Arve by beautiful bridges, and in one instance pierces the massive rock by a handsome tunnel; how interesting to notice by this tunnel an old Roman gallery through the same rock, and to see upon tunnel and bridges the inscription, "Napoleon III. Empereur." No human work, however, can seem other than insignificant before these stupendous mountains, whose beauty is not inferior to their sublimity. Such living green of verdure, where the valley widens out to give room for fields and meadows, such cosy and picturesque habitations, such pines and emerald patches of grass upon the hills, the rushing and turbid

Arve always by your side, and the gleaming snows half way up to heaven breaking at intervals into view. To what splendor is all this the entrance?—Indeed, it is only the way to Chamounix, and when you arrive at Chamounix you find it but a stupid little place, composed mostly of hotels and shops; the mountains look lower and more monotonous than some we have passed, the glaciers, whose ends protrude into the valley, are dirty. Mont Blanc is mostly hidden behind the shoulders of the nearer hills, and your enthusiasm is somewhat dampened in spite of the saddle-mules and guides that pass you on the road, bearing mute testimony to excursions and adventures.

Here I was then, actually in Chamounix at 5 P. M. on the 26th of July, and my stay there being limited to a single day, I determined to make the most of it by climbing as high as the time would permit; in fact, eschewing the Mer de Glace and the lower levels generally, to push right up toward the summit of Mont Blanc, aiming naturally for the Grands Mulets, but retaining a freedom of choice as to stopping short of that mark or going still higher. In order to make my narrative clearer to the untraveled reader, I may as well say that the most direct route from Chamounix (which is 3,450 ft. above the sea) to the summit of Mont Blanc (15,781 ft.), is by way of the Pierre Pointue (6,722 ft.) and the Grands Mulets, which latter I find variously stated at from 10,007 ft. to 11,332 ft. in height.

After establishing myself in the Hôtel des Alpes (by-the-by almost every spot in Switzerland has a Hôtel des Alpes), and taking a peep through the telescope in the garden at the rugged crags and the sloping snowfields, the latter so foreshortened as to give no correct impression of the vast distances under observation, I wished to make arrangements for the morrow. To procure one or more reliable guides seemed to me the most important step, and the landlord promptly recommended one Couttet, whom he undertook to find. Couttet, however, after an hour of waiting, did not appear, and I refusing to wait longer, the landlord referred me to the Guide-chef, whose business it is to apportion guides to travelers, or when the latter are scarce, to parcel them out among the hungry guides. At his office I engaged two guides, very much as one would order a pair of horses from a livery stable, to be at my hotel before six the next morning.

Now, I had read of ice-axes, alpen-stocks, ropes, grappling-hooks, mighty nailed shoes, veils, and other apparatus used by doughty mountain climbers, and wishing to lack no needful equipment, I modestly desired the Guide-chef, who inherits the famous name of Balmat, the first conqueror of Mont Blanc, to inform me what preparations would be needful. He evidently thought the Grands Mulets no great matter, though it is marked on the tariff of prices as a "Cours extraordinaire," and said I needed nothing but some nails in my shoes. On my asking further how I should be clad for the occasion; "comme vous êtes," he replied, and without further parley led me to a shoemaker skilled in driving the needful nails. While inserting in the soles of my rather light summer shoes the nails which were to give me foothold upon the perilous glaciers, the shoemaker asked if I was provided with guides, and informed me that he also was a guide, merely filling up the intervals of the more manly craft by working in leather, and he said, in reply to my question, that the guides of Chamounix numbered 300, not counting the porters, who are a sort of guides in training. Considering that Chamounix is but a slender mountain town without industry; that its total population would hardly be estimated by the candid traveler at more than six or eight hundred; that a large part of these are waiters, mule-drivers, porters, shop-keepers, etc., and that the proportion of women seems equal to, and that of children (remarkably pretty children, too) seems higher than the average; considering all this, one can but admire the kindly providence which has nurtured this wonderful crop of guides.

The nails being duly set, I had still time before going to bed to peep through the telescope at the lofty snows, to look at the more mundane attractions in one or two handsome shops, and to read the invitation of a restaurant-keeper to visit his establishment near the foot of one of the great glaciers, his chief inducement being that his guests had "occasions frequentes d'assister aux chutes d'avalanche." How grotesquely French is this expression or this conceit; that the little creature sipping beer or wine at his ease in the valley is "assisting" at the avalanche-falls from those awful summits.

At 6 o'clock next morning, after a rather nervous breakfast, I saw for the first time in the street before the hotel the two French

peasants to whom I was shortly to be bound by ropes for my first scramble among the crevasses, and after procuring an alpen-stock, or bâton as it is here called (a stout stick five or six feet long with a spike in one end), I started off with them out of the town by dewy lanes, across the river, through a grove of pines, and shortly reached the dried bed of a winter stream, now encumbered with snow and ice which the guides say fell as an avalanche early last June from the Aiguille du Midi. This is startling, for the Aiguille du Midi, whose splintered peaks are towering far aloft in the early sunlight, is withdrawn behind forests and precipices fully three miles horizontally from the cool and shaded valley where we stand; yet had it thrown off these vast masses of ice, doubtless thousands of tons in weight, reaching even to this distance. Fortunately the season for such discharges is over, and we pass on, ascending rapidly by a rough mule track through forests of a charming freshness, until, after more than an hour of vigorous climbing, we reach a deserted chalet called "la Grange," where the guides declare it customary to rest. Up to this point the excursion had been one of unmixed delight; the primeval stillness and purity, the grand and beautiful peeps of scenery, the noble trees and luxuriant verdure, were all inspiring; joined to the brisk exercise in the mountain air and the sensation of novel adventure near at hand, they produced an elevation of feeling which would have caused me to sing aloud from mere hilarity but for a fear that the guides might mistake me for an idiot.

After leaving the Grange, the mule-track continues past rock and ferns and alpine roses, through pines and larches, ever mounting and affording ever loftier outlooks, until the region of trees is left below us and the consciousness of great height is unobscured by any near object, but over the deep set and hazy valley of Chamounix we see the mountains of the other side, and beyond them the more distant peaks and ranges bordering the road from Geneva.

At 8:10 we had reached the cabin at Pierre Pointue, and here the guides stopped for breakfast, while I, having breakfasted before starting, drew on my coat which had been thrown off in the heat of ascending, and prepared for half an hour of rest. On entering the cabin I encountered a young Englishman, who to my great satisfaction said that he was also bound for the Grands Mulets, and was waiting for his guides to breakfast. He had heard

the night before that another had arranged to make the ascent, and he had started early enough to be sure of intercepting that other one at the Pierre Pointue. This fortunate junction with an able-bodied young six-footer, presumably of gentlemanly instincts, removed at once a certain uneasy consciousness that it was after all a wild proceeding for me, an entire stranger to the mountains, to go up quite alone with my guides into dangers where they would have my life entirely in their power and would be the only witnesses. My new companion (who made me think before the day was over of a noble line I had lately observed on a mural tablet erected at a chapel in Oxford to a deceased student by his class-mates, viz.: "Adolescens fortis innocensque,") seemed equally glad of fellowship as we chatted together while our guides were feeding.

At Pierre Pointue the mule track ends, and is succeeded by a scrambling foot-path about 12 to 18 inches wide, which shortly passes around a low cliff and emerges into a vast region of steeply ascending rock partially clothed with grasses and Alpine flowers. Mr. C., who walked ahead of me, came into the open just in time to see a fine avalanche from the Aiguille du Gouter, while I only heard the roar of it; this roar does not resemble that of thunder, being more sustained and equable, but is not less lordly or less suggestive of untamable might. Our narrow path led us up a sort of wide ravine, the mountain on one side and a precipice of unseen depth on the other; on we go, however, without a thought of danger or dizziness, and I fear without sufficient attention to the magnificence of all around us, simply pushing onward and upward, zig-zagging up the interminable ascent, until quite above all vegetation or sign of life we came to a wide, bare hollow covered with fragments of rock ranging from the size of an egg to that of an ox. This is a couloir, and these fragments are the bits of rock that have fallen from the peaks which tower mountain high above us; the couloir is perhaps a quarter of a mile wide, and the guides while advising us to cross it quickly assure us that there is no particular danger. Scarcely, however, had we passed it when the guides turned with a slight exclamation, as a lot of stones went spinning down across our recent path, the largest of them as big as my head; afterward we heard that a guide had recently lost his life at this spot, his skull having been crushed by a falling stone.

Still we clamber upward, not caring for the gulfs below, nor much regarding the expanse of view lying dim with distance on our right, until the guides stop suddenly at the edge of a dirty ice field, for this is the *Glacier des Bossons*, and here we are to enter upon the region of eternal winter. The extreme heat and profuse perspiration of the lower ascent had already given place to a crisp coolness, and now when Simon Benoit, my foremost guide, said that the time had come for tying ourselves together, I buttoned my coat, well satisfied that I had not discarded it at breakfast time for a light woolen jacket which then seemed more appropriate.

This tying together, it must be confessed, brings at first very unpleasant images before the mind, not perhaps altogether like those which one must feel when the halter is being adjusted around his neck, and yet not perhaps totally dissimilar. A strong girdle is buckled about your waist, and the stout rope which passes through it is fastened to the girdle of the guide who marches six or eight yards ahead of you, and to that of the other guide or porter who follows you at an equal distance. The whole apparatus is very substantial, and you feel clearly enough that the several members of the party are firmly joined together for better or worse.

Now we move on again over the *Glacier des Bossons*, easily enough too, and not mounting very fast; the ice becomes clearer, and as we approach the junction with the *Glacier Taconnay* shows occasional crevasses, across which we step without difficulty, yet not without slightly timorous glances into their azure depths. We plod on in contented monotony, becoming accustomed to the ice which grows steeper as we proceed, yet regarding our footsteps more attentively than anything else.

But, lo! what wondrous cliffs of ice are these reared above us at the left hand; what speedy ruin to us if a fragment should topple off and come hurtling down the slope; how weird and strange are those grotesque masses toward which our path is tending—large as churches, and so quaintly carved and shapen into pyramids or arches; how certain it seems that this or that portion must before long break away and plunge off into parts unknown; how willingly we would "assist" at such a spectacle if personal safety could be assured. How stupendous, how grimly

ancient, yet how strangely beautiful, and how indicative of living forces that know not man's dominion !

Here indeed is a realm fantastic as a fairy tale, yet in its silent way so enchanting and so grand, that the dweller on the plains who sees it all for the first time, walks as the blind man whose eyes have just been opened. Here among the *Seracs* he stands at the threshold of the real alpine world ; of that beautiful but deathly region whose white peaks and edges only are distantly visible to the traveler in the valleys.

We had now been upon the ice an hour, and I had heard sundry peals of thunder in the valley of Chamounix below us on our right, without feeling entirely reassured by the guides' assertions that the storm, being on the other side of the valley, would not reach us, and that we were in no danger whatever from avalanches, when a halt was called by the side of a huge ice block at the junction of the *Glaciers des Bossons* and *Taconnay* ; here we were to consume some portion of the bread, meat and wine which the guides had brought from the cabin at *Pierre Pointue*, and which Mr. C., with the appetite of a man of twenty-two, professed a desire to investigate. The guides, voracious as is the nature of the tribe, fell to eating and drinking, while I, looking up to the gleaming slope, where, remote above us, was perched the cabin of the *Grands Mulets*, and listening to the muttering thunder, could neither eat nor be at rest, but fortunately did take a sip of brandy and water ; then observing dirty black rags of thunder clouds stealing up toward us like evil fingers from a gorge on our right, I protested that it seemed highly imprudent for us to stop in that exposed position ; the guides put up the provender with apparent reluctance, and we proceeded, my party in advance, and Mr. C's., to which a porter from *Pierre Pointue* had joined himself, following closely after.

We had rounded the *Serac* cliffs, and had crossed some crevasses ineffably lovely with their tender azure tints and sharp sculptur-esque ice-forms (or dreadful yawning traps with merciless fangs of ice, if you choose so to regard them), when we found ourselves enveloped in the rising cloud. Steep as the roof of a house, the slope we had to climb was flinty ice below and snow not yet compacted to ice upon the surface ; crevasses ranging in width from a few inches to a couple of yards, gashed across its surface, the smaller ones often quite covered with snow, so that the *bâton*

would strike through or the foot sink in a disagreeably suggestive manner. Mountain-high above us, cutting through this formidable slope were the friendly rocks called the Grands Mulets, sheltering the cabin we aimed for, and toward this we pushed as the tempest broke.

The flashes of lightning were incessant, but I did not mind them, thinking the great peaks about us more attractive to the electricity than our little group upon the ice could possibly be; the thunder, too, in that thin air was far less imposing than the terrific crashes we sometimes have in America, but the rain and the stinging hail were thoroughly disagreeable. Struggling upward over the steep glacier we soon came to a crevasse wider than any we had yet encountered, and having its upper edge 10 ft. higher than the hither side—the glacier seeming to have split right across at that line, and the lower portion to have dropped sufficiently to fit the lower level beneath it. Looking down into the lovely tints and the hard ice fangs of this abyss, no bottom could be seen or guessed at, and any one falling there could hardly expect other fate than to grind slowly down hill until, long years after, his remains should be protruded at the end of the glacier into the valley below. Here, however, a ladder was set, just long enough to rest upon the ice edge below, and to touch the ice edge above. Over this we clambered in turn, pelted by the hail and feeling strangely indifferent to the chasm below that slender bridge.

Beyond, stretched away that endless upward slope, into which the leading guide was diligently striking his toes, urging me as he did so to set my feet always exactly in his footsteps. This I patiently did, thinking a little of the fearful depths below, glancing upward occasionally at the formidable slanting ice field we had to traverse, and wondering at the steadiness of my own nerves in so novel a situation. In fact, the expediency of planting the next foot just right was extremely obvious to me, and as from the fact of my legs being longer than Benoit's, there was a constant tendency for my left foot to get into his right foot track, or the reverse, my attention was a good deal occupied and diverted from thoughts of danger—besides, there was the bâton to manage and to shift in my hands at every turn of our zig-zag track so as to keep it always on the upper side, with the point down to the snow, ready to dig in for a drag in case of a slide.

Thus we fared on, but as my orders to grease my shoes the night before had been neglected, my feet had for some time been thoroughly wet, the rain had penetrated to my skin, and I had passed from the drenching perspiration of an hour or two before into a complete chilliness. "How much farther, Benoit, to the cabane?" I cried. "Half an hour, Monsieur," he answered, and we pushed onward, I finding it constantly more tiresome to pick myself up after slipping, which happened not unfrequently, and thinking how the hail stung and how coldly the snow stuck to my hand when it had to go down to stop a fall.

The exhaustion which began to seize me, was not a mere muscular fatigue; heart and lungs were also overtaxed, for in that rare atmosphere the lungs must pump in two or three times as much air as in their accustomed plains, and the heart had to maintain temperature as well as feed the organs. Scarcely able to drag a limb and with twenty minutes yet to climb through the storm, I called to Benoit that I must rest, and asked if I might pull on him by the rope; perhaps the storm prevented him from hearing—perhaps he was anxious to get into cover while it was possible, and knew that I must be kept moving, and had besides enough to do himself. At all events on he went without replying, while I, disdaining to ask again for help, and considering that if I drew upon the rope he might be dragged over and all three of us go bowling down to the crevasse or to the distant valley, toiled on in a kind of desperation. Now, old fellow! I reflected, if you have any reserves of strength tucked away anywhere, bring them out, they will never be more needed; so wearily enough I dragged along, chilled, blown, exhausted, but not without resolution, toward the rocks looming up yonder through the tempest. Now we are but five minutes away, after a little more toil my feet touch the rock, and soon after we are at the door of the cabane, with Mr. C. and his party three or four minutes in the rear. That last was certainly a "mauvaise quart d'heure," but we have survived it, and here at 11:30 we are under shelter at last.

We took each a sip of brandy, rid ourselves of the clinging wet cerements of clothing, rubbed ourselves with towels, and crept into the rough blankets of a couple of beds in the next room, while our guides, whom a parting glance revealed in the act of emptying our brandy flask, built a fire in their room and made

themselves as comfortable as possible. My feet were so cold that the toes had lost all feeling, and though not quite frozen could not be restored for nearly an hour, even when aided by chafing, and later by a hot water bottle. Mr. C. with a more vigorous circulation (and better boots) soon was warm enough, but was troubled with cramps; however, there we were, taking comfort in each other's company, confessing to each other that we had had quite enough of it; resolving also that despite the guides' assertion that the worst part of the ascent was passed, and that it was a *bêtise* not to go on to the summit of Mont Blanc after having reached the Grands Mulets, we would get down again at the first opportunity. The ascent to this point, which usually takes seven hours or more, I had done in five and a half hours, and Mr. C's time was longer only because he had waited for me at Pierre Pointue; this speed, and our experience of the storm, we modestly said to ourselves should content us, for on no account would we go farther—on this point the meeting was unanimous.

As we lay there, listening to the storm and to the avalanches, my natural warmth gradually returned. Mr. C. had a nap, and we called for provender. At Pierre Pointue we had ordered for our own use one bottle of a wine said to be good (St. Georges) and two bottles of a commoner sort (St. Jean) for the guides.

"Apportez cette bouteille de St. Georges," we cried through the partition to the guides.

"Où est donc l'*etiquette* de St. Georges?" we overheard one of them ask another, and after a little delay a bottle was produced duly decorated with the label St. Georges, the label being as I found moist and slipping easily on the glass—just stuck on in fact. The wine was wretchedly bad and we demanded that if this was St. Georges, the St. Jean should be produced. Vain hope! it was the same vile stuff, and we abandoned it for some rum that came to light in the next room, never knowing whether St. Georges and St. Jean came out of the same cask of drugs, and vinegar and water, or whether the guides had drunk the single good bottle and had given us the two bad ones, having first shifted the label of one of them. Coarse bread and cheese we had enough of, in two senses, and at last mutton chops and potatoes appeared, all of which we consumed in bed; not entirely because this attitude was the most luxurious, but largely for the reason

that we had no clothes, and the climate was absolute winter. After three hours we donned our partially dried clothing and stepped out of doors, where all was now sunshine and splendor; barring a little temporary light-headedness, I felt well enough again—that is, well enough to go down to Chamounix, but not to go any higher at present, thank you!

The scene was certainly magnificent; below us the gigantic inclined plane we had ascended, its distant further side bounded by the Dome du Gouter and the Aiguille du Gouter; behind us the Grands Mulets and in their rear the formidable Aiguille du Midi; far out below to our right the mountains beyond Chamounix, and stretching above us to the left the same enormous glacier slope, extending right on unbroken to the Grand Plateau, which only the storm had prevented us from easily reaching. Everywhere the brilliancy and purity of the snow are so extreme that by contrast the sky and the fleecy summer clouds look lurid and coppery. No atmospheric hues can show otherwise than muddy and impure in comparison with the ineffable clearness and brightness of these lofty snows. Here then is a specimen of that Alpine sublimity of which I had read so much. Here I am in the midst of it, and I find the pictures not overdrawn—indeed how could they be? To describe adequately such scenes to one who has not beheld them is hardly possible; ordinary landscapes and experiences do not afford such mental images as serve by comparison to evoke a correct idea of these, and the mere piling up of words, no matter how many of them are the best of adjectives, can establish such an idea upon the mental retina.

There is perhaps a satisfaction in having something still above you unattempted, as Zschokke always refused to climb the hill which bounded the prospect from his house; in our case the imagination, having the vantage ground of surmounted heights to start from and the knowledge of loftier summits beyond, was in a condition most favorable to its activity. Is it not also true that a sense of disappointment follows upon the attainment of the utmost altitude; you can look up no longer, the thing is done, and there is no more juice in the orange; you can but look around you and below you, and then come down again.

So I reflected as at half-past three we were roped together once more and began the descent, stiffly and carefully at first, but soon

growing bolder as the needful management of bâtons and heels became familiar (the French word "talon" seems remarkably apt as we drive our heels into the snow and hold on by them). My guides scorn the distrust of spiked shoes which impels me to go on all fours along a narrow snow ridge or to pick my way timidly across a crevasse. "Si vous tombez, c'est moi qui vous releverai," said Romain, the guide who followed me, in an encouraging tone. "Tenez vous debout, Monsieur," they cry, but I take my own way for it. They invite me to try a glissade, which I decline, preferring the more ignoble cautious stepping in the footsteps of my predecessor until a sudden slip brings me down and an involuntary sitting glissade follows. We go down rapidly and directly, and I have to exclaim frequently "lentement" or "doucement Benoit," as that individual having safely crossed a crevasse, plunges on pulling me forward by the rope, in the natural expectation that I will make no pause on the brink; we cross the large crevasse in safety, where the guides make me observe that last winter's snow fall was about twelve feet. Mr. C. is practicing his glissades successfully behind me, and I find a standing one quite agreeable. Boldness and celerity become the order of the day, though it is certain that snow-covered crevasses exist, though my bâton has more than once struck through in an unpleasant manner, and though I once sank abruptly to my middle as if dropping through a trap-door.

Once we had a pause, for there yawned a crevasse which we must cross by a bridge of ice, and as Benoit was chopping a foothold upon this, his axe-handle broke, and the axe-head went rattling down into the crevasse. The latter was however wholly or partially stopped with snow fifty feet below, and just before reaching that snow, which it might have penetrated and been lost to view, the axe-head stopped upon an ice shelf; as it was worth five francs, Benoit instantly took measures to recover it.

The ropes were loosed from all our bodies, tied securely together, fastened at one end to Benoit, and while firmly checked by the other guides, was allowed to slide gradually over the axe-handle placed for a friction roller at the crevasse's edge: Benoit meantime, with another axe in his hands, cut into the walls of the crevasse notches deep enough to give him toe-hold as he slung half suspended by the waist. Thus he went down safely enough,

recovered his axe-head and rejoined us at the surface, the whole being so much a matter of course that Mr. C. felt strongly inclined to do likewise, and I think would have tried it, but for my suggestion that he might find himself in a crevasse before long without that trouble.

Without further adventure, but with a constantly increasing sensation of security, we sped on. Nothing seemed steep or dangerous, yet as we crossed a bit of moraine one of the guides happened to loosen a stone with his foot; the stone rolled a little, gave a couple of bounces and then disappeared over an edge into some hideous abyss. A little further, and having passed the ice, we are once more planted on the firm rock, when, the ropes being discarded, each is free to stand or fall alone. We cross the couloir safely, and on commencing the climb down to the Pierre Pointue I am struck with the dizzy and precipitous height at which we stand: around us is nothing but dreary and lifeless rock; not very far below one sees the first timid green of vegetable life, and then down, down, down, in a tedious zig-zag, goes the tiny foot-path until lost in the distance, the Pierre Pointue being still invisible.

Down the little foot-path, where a stone started anywhere would plunge for thousands of feet, we hasten with good will and cheerfulness to the cabane at Pierre Pointue, where Mr. C. and I say to each other without levity that we are glad it is over. We are glad to have been there, and to have mounted two-thirds of the way to the top of Mont Blanc; we are glad to have seen the storm, and in fact are glad generally, but most particularly glad that it is all over.

Over it is, though an hour and a half of swift down-hill walking remain to be traversed, Mr. C. pushing ahead and soon lost to view. How tame and vapid seems the achievement of those adventurous spirits we meet riding up on mules to the Pierre Pointue; yet even so would the scaler of Mont Blanc no doubt, regard our performance in attaining the Grands Mulets, while he in turn would be held in but light esteem by the conqueror of the Weiss-horn or of the Matterhorn.

After passing for a while through the solemn forest, my guides strike out into steep, open fields where cows wander, dangling bells as large as tea-kettles, and watched over by a little girl who runs after me as nimbly as a chamois, to sell a crystal for a sous; these

pastures are left behind, and the beautiful Cascade du Dard, and the river, and the wood; and so at eight o'clock I come down the level lane toward Chamounix after these fourteen hours upon the mountain, swinging easily along at a good four-mile gait, as fresh as a daisy. Here when one draws a breath, one imbibes the due modicum of oxygen, and how delicious it is to breathe. I really feel that to march along in this air and over this level ground for a few hours longer would be no trouble at all.

After a bath, and a supper consisting mainly of lemons to serve as antidote for the rum and cheese, I turned out for a short walk and found another thunder-storm in progress: a feeble, impotent little storm it seemed, but then I was not out upon the glacier, 10,000 feet above the sea.

Next morning returning to Geneva, the broken limbs of the trees, and the mud which was being carefully scraped from the excellent road, testified to the storms of the day before—to our storm—but the violence of the weather was most forcibly shown at St. Martin, near Sallenches, where we found a solid stone bridge utterly swept away, and the road for a hundred yards covered with sand, gravel, and rocks up to the weight of half a ton, to remove which a gang of peasants were struggling when the diligences arrived on the spot. The little mountain torrent, swollen by yesterday's storms, had done this mischief, and our diligences were obliged to make a long detour, for the road and bridge could not be put into passable order that day nor the next.

Here my little story should end, but I venture to offer a few words of counsel.

First. When you intend to make an ascent to a considerable altitude on the Alps, make sure of a good day if possible. A storm not only retards your progress and obstructs your view, but such a one as Mr. C. and I encountered is really very exposing and trying. I have more than once been one of the winning crew in a hard boat race, have mowed grass and have chopped wood from sunrise to sunset of many a midsummer day, have swum for my life in stormy water when, for the last quarter of an hour, every stroke seemed nearly the final one; but more utterly exhausted than on this glacier below the Grands Mulets, I never was. In fair weather the ascent would have been unmixed pleasure.

Secondly. After taking such precautions as you can to avoid

bad weather, yet prepare to meet bad weather. Let your stockings be of wool, and your shoes stout, looseish, and quite water-tight; let your clothing also be of woolen, stout, loose, and nearly as heavy as you would wear in winter.¹

Thirdly. Be careful about your guides; get them as trusty as you can, and let them carry provisions enough; but carry yourself a flask of brandy for your own use and behoof in a pinch. Our guides were probably as good as the average, and I feel a sort of regard for them, but I would not trust them with a brandy flask.

Fourthly. When climbing at a great height, do not hurry; it is the pace that kills, especially in that thin air.

Fifthly. And this being the most important bit of advice, I have reserved it to the last—read carefully the charming books of Whymper, Tyndall, Stephens, and the rest of the Alpine club. They are very life-like and true, and the scenes they describe are simply astounding; they lead you back to the ancient realm of ice and death, when glaciers covered Europe, and man was not. Read and enjoy; but if you are as I am, a middle-aged man of family, and are tempted to scale Mont Blanc—take Punch's advice to those contemplating marriage. and—Don't.

JOSEPH WHARTON.

¹ To illustrate the danger of being caught in a storm upon the sides of Mont Blanc, I append an extract from the *Swiss Times* concerning Prof. Peldtschenra, of Moscow, who attempted to ascend that mountain as far as the great Tacul glacier, on September 21st, just eight weeks after my climb: "They set out at 5 o'clock in the morning. The wind was very boisterous all the forenoon, and a heavy rain set in about 2 o'clock in the afternoon and lasted until after midnight. The professor was a tall, powerful man, and trusting to his strength was but slightly clad, and the party moreover had only two bottles of wine with them, and a slender supply of provisions. Toward 5 o'clock they perceived that snow was falling upon the summits and as far down as the Montanvert. They struggled forward in their attempt to descend, but overcome with the cold and exhaustion, darkness overtook them whilst they were still amongst the intricacies of the *seracs* of the Glacier du Géant; and finally the unfortunate Professor sunk down utterly powerless and soon afterward died, while his attendants were helpless to aid him. They left the remains when the necessity became apparent for providing for their own safety."

NEW BOOKS.

STATION LIFE IN NEW ZEALAND. By Lady Barker. New York: DeWitt C. Lent & Co. Pp. 238.

An intelligent and high-bred woman is probably the best of correspondents; and this not only because she is intelligent, but because she is a woman. She writes English undefiled, the simple Saxon of the nursery and the kitchen. Men deal with so many subjects requiring a special vocabulary, and are often so corrupted by the polysyllables of the daily newspaper, that their minds become subdued to what they work in. It is a real effort for a man to write as he talks; whereas for his wife, brought up among the simple facts of household life, the plain, terse language of her ancestors is at the end of her pen. Then, too, women love details, and details are the soul of letter-writing. Lady Barker's "F—," though a model backwoodsman and a pretty poet, could never have written such charming epistles as these.

They record the life of a young married couple who go out from England to spend three years at a "station"; "the expeditions, adventures and emergencies diversifying the daily life of the wife of a New Zealand sheep farmer; and as each was written while the novelty and excitement of the scenes it describes were fresh, they may succeed in giving an adequate impression of the delight and freedom of an existence so far removed from our highly-wrought civilization." The opening chapters are devoted to the voyage and the first weeks at Christ Church. Lady Barker found the "city" society very cordial, but somewhat dull. The scarcity of women is amazingly apparent at the balls, where the few who dance divide each waltz and *galop* among a dozen eager applicants. "My greatest interest and occupation," she writes, "consist in going to look at my house, which is being *cut out* in Christ Church, and will be drayed to our station next month, a journey of fifty miles. It is, of course, only of wood, and seems about as solid as a band-box, but I am assured by the builder that it will be a 'most superior article' when it is all put together. F— and I made the little plan of it ourselves, regulating the size of the drawing-room by the dimensions of the carpet we brought out, and I petitioned for a little bay-window, which is to be added; so on my last visit to his timber-yard, the builder said with an air of great dignity: 'Would you wish to see the *horiel*, mum?' The doors all come ready-made from America, and most of the wood used in building is the Kauri pine from the North Island."

Soon afterwards Lady Barker and F—, carrying their house with them, go up to their new home among the mountains. The

life of a New Zealand farmer has probably never before been told in such a lively and faithful narrative. Sheep, of course, occupy a large space. The shearing, branding and tarring which these unlucky animals yearly undergo; the danger of "scab"; the constant fear of those terrific storms so common in New Zealand, in which the flocks of a whole district some times perish—all these have ample comment. She describes pathetically the great snow-storm of 1867, by which the household were imprisoned and nearly starved to death. After their own liberation the first thought was for the sheep. Lady Barker accompanied the rescuing party, which dug some 1,400 out of the snow. "If I had been able to stop my scratching but for a moment, I would have had what the servants call 'a good cry' over one little group I laid bare. Two fine young ewes were standing leaning against each other in a sloping position like a tent, frozen and immovable; between them, quite dry, and as lively as a kitten, was a dear little lamb of about a month old, belonging to one; the lamb of the other lay curled up at her feet, dead and cold; I really believe they had hit upon this way of keeping the other alive." A description of a sailing excursion on Lake Coeridge will show the authoress at her best:

"The view from the sitting-room was lovely; just beneath the window there was a little lawn, as green as possible from the spray with which the lake had washed it yesterday; beyond this a low hedge, an open meadow, a fringe of white pebbly beach, and then a wide expanse of water with one little wooded island, and shut in gradually from our view by spurs of hills running down to the shore, sometimes in bold, steep cliffs, and again in gentle declivities, with little strips of bush or scrub growing in the steep gullies between them. The lake extends some way beyond where we lose sight of it, being twelve miles long and four miles broad. A few yards from the beach it is over six hundred feet deep. Nothing but a painting could give you any idea of the blue of sky and water that morning; the violent wind of yesterday seemed to have blown every cloud below the horizon, for I could not see the least white film anywhere. Behind the lower hills which surround the lake rises a splendid snowy range.

* * * * *

"Four gentlemen and I made up the crew and passengers, and a very merry set we were, behaving extremely like children out for a holiday. The wind was a trifle light for sailing, so the gentlemen pulled, but very lazily, and not at all in good 'form,' as the object of each oarsman seemed to be to do as little work as possible. However, we got on somehow, a light puff helping us now and then, but our progress was hardly perceptible. I had been for a long time gazing down into the clear blue depth of water, every

now and then seeing a flash of the white sand shining at the bottom, when I was half startled by our host standing suddenly up in the bow of the boat; and then I found that we were a couple of miles away from our starting-point, and that we had turned a curve formed by a steep spur, and were running right into what appeared a grove of rata-trees growing at the water's edge. The rata only grows in the hills and near water; it is a species of broad-leaf myrtle, with a flower exactly like a myrtle in character, but of a brilliant deep scarlet color and twice as large.

"When the bowsprit touched the rata branches, which drooped like a curtain into the water, Mr. H. made a signal to lower the mast, and parting the thick, blossom-covered foliage before us with both hands, the way the boat had on her sent us gently through the screen of scarlet flowers and glassy green leaves into such a lovely fairy cove. Before us was a little white beach of fine sparkling sand, against which the water broke in tiny wavelets, and all around a perfect bower of every variety of fern and moss, kept green by streams no thicker than a silver thread, trickling down here and there with a subdued tinkling sound. We all sat quite silent, the boat kept back just inside the entrance by the steersman holding on to a branch. It was a sudden contrast from the sparkling sunshine and brightness outside, all life and color and warmth, to the the tender, green, profound shade and quiet in this 'Mossy Hum,' as the people about here call it. Do not fancy anything damp or chilly. No, it was like a natural temple—perfect repose and refreshment to the eyes dazzled with the brilliant outside coloring. Centuries ago there must have been a great land-slip here, for the side of the mountain is quite hollowed out, and nature has gradually covered the ugly brown rent with the thickest tapestry of her most delicate handiwork. I noticed two varieties of the maiden hair, its slender black stem making the most exquisite tracery among the vivid greens. There was no tint of color except green when once we passed the red-fringed curtain of rata-branches; only the white and shining fairy beach and the gleaming threads of water.

"But it was over all too quickly; prosaic words of direction to back water, called us from shade to light, and in a moment more we were in front of the rata-trees, admiring their splendid coloring, and our little boat was dancing away over the bright waves, with her white wings set and her bows pointed toward the little toy-island in the middle of the lake."

We have already transgressed our limits, and must pass over the details of the storms and the terrible "nor-westers" which are the settler's greatest enemies. Life in New Zealand, as everywhere else, is made up of rough and smooth; but the delicious climate is a constant advantage, and we feel as we close the book,

that a sheep farm at the antipodes is "not half a bad thing," especially if one could take with him a companion so clever, so feminine and so attractive as Lady Barker.

MARJORIE DAW AND OTHER PEOPLE. By Thomas Bailey Aldrich.
Boston: James R. Osgood & Co.

In times when elegant disgust has become the prevailing complexion of criticism, it is refreshing to meet a book which leaves the reviewer, at the last page, full of entertainment. Not in the usual attitude—left arm curved behind his head, his right making tierce and carte, with dexterous point—but quite disarmed. The reader of these delicious tales completely forgets himself as he is presented by his affable host to group after group of curious fancy and conceit. To be sure, the old chord is often struck—but with what odd and pathetic tones. Love is the theme of seven out of the nine stories—and Mr. Aldrich does not nod! And this because he has the combination of humor and pathos that makes any man entertaining—him a prince of story-tellers. Lengthy descriptions and moralizings are eschewed. The rapid, clear narration, supplied constantly with incident, never allows one's attention to flag. It is, withal, quite American in its exaggerations, one-word descriptions and keen observation of small things. Mr. Aldrich may be able to roll mightier thunder, but certain it is that in this volume, when he tries other tones than these, he is at his weakest. For example, "A Struggle for Life" is best when it is most characteristic; that is to say, where it turns out to be a hoax. But in the description of Wentworth entombed with the coffin of his intended bride, we miss the awful mathematics of Poe's horrors. Two of the stories illustrate the extremes of his compass. "Quite So" is the sobriquet of a silent Yankee school teacher—as tender as a woman—who enlisted in order to free his one idol and one success from a marriage which he feared would be more a matter of faithfulness than of affection. The self-sacrifice, gentleness and bravery of the lonely spirit were touchingly summed up—quite without élan or glory—by a random picket shot. In a "River-mouth Romance" on the contrary we have the mishaps of a marriage contracted between Mr. Larry O'Rouke, a tipsy sailor, and a too confiding cook of twice his years. In associating with this fisher, she learned that "women must weep"—taking it quite on credit, if at all, that "men must work." Not the least of his striking Celtic—the charge should be narrower, of his Hibernian, nomen omen—characteristics was the confirmed impression that he knew how to do everything. The position of gardener for Mr. Bilkins, he assumed with awful mendacity.

"Though he had never seen a bulb in his life, Larry unblushingly asserted that he had set out thousands for Sir Lucius O'Grady

of O'Grady castle. 'An illegant place intirely, wid tin miles o' garden walks,' added Mr. O'Rouke, crushing Mr. Bilkins who boasted only of a few humble flower beds.'

"The following day he stepped into his garden to see how Larry had done his work. There stood the parched bulbs, carefully arranged in circles and squares on top of the soil.

"'Didn't I tell you to set out these bulbs?' cried Mr. Bilkins wrathfully.

"'An' didn't I set 'em out?' expostulated Mr. O'Rouke 'and aint they a settin' there beautiful?'

"'But you should have put them into the ground, stupid!'

"'Is it bury 'em ye mane? Be jabbers! how could they iver git out agin? give the little jokers a fair show, Misther Bilkins.'"

We take leave of the book with a hearty liking for it. Marjorie Daw and the Other People are our friends, and we desire to introduce them to the larger circle of our acquaintances as persons calculated to make those they meet both merrier and better.

W.

ROMAIN KALIBRIS. His Adventures by Sea and Shore. Translated from the French of Hector Malot by Mrs. Julia McNair Wright. Philadelphia: Porter & Coates.

No critical opinion can be formed of a translation without constant reference to the original. But in this one there are features open to exception noticeable at first blush. The French coinage, public functionaries, streets, are rendered with a disagreeable purism. We read of dollars and cents, policemen, Sevres street, the barrier of Trone. On the other hand, as to the idiom, the translator has sometimes evidently been misled by the formal resemblance of French to English words. On page 47 is recorded a "resting" that appears to have consisted of an incessant running from rock to rock. Undoubtedly a misapprehension of the idiom "rester." On page 12, "Port Dieu, our country being neighbor," etc., the French "pays" is used in the narrower sense of place of residence, but the English "country" is not. Page 83. "My mother considered these pursuits a *manner* of sacrilege." The French "manière," in the sense of "kind," is no doubt responsible for the English. We cannot offer this or any other excuse for "I am some tired, sir," on page 142.

One is prepared to see adventure dazzle the pages written for boys as love sicklies o'er those intended for not-boys. The young gentlemen demand a great many shocks in a short time. M Malot, with the help of Mrs. Wright, has put at the service of English speaking juvenility a perfect Ruhmkorff coil—and that without once employing supernatural agencies. After reading the story, our feeling is that the milk of human kindness has dried

up in France. Little boys and girls, may wander in rags and starvation from one end of that unnatural country to the other, living on mussels, berries, and an occasional crust, without attracting the attention of any save the coast guards, policemen, and sextons — governmental engines salaried to persecute them. But all this makes the little people rise above dependence on others. How puny are those of our acquaintance compared to them! The hero and heroine, aged respectively 13 and 12, in the course of a year run away several times; are bullied and starved by a miserly uncle and a dissipated scion of the nobility who owns a traveling circus; leap from a pole held by a super over running horses; sit on the backs of lions and take liberties with their teeth; walk from six to twelve leagues a day, feeding on crusts stored up beforehand, sleeping on the roadside, and warmed in the dead of winter by carrying a pot of mignonette. After this pneumonia to the weaker (all terms are relative) and a dreadful wreck to the stronger vessel. The author displays side attractions. While performing the "grand tour" we are made acquainted at Paris with an Ali Baba, possessor of a cave and a carefully elected vocabulary of slang — aged thirteen. Also one dog — a less unreal *deus ex machina* than the Genii and Brownies of other writers—who up to the 111th page, when he accompanies his master to the country, shares his dinner with the hero on rations of ten ounces of bread a day at his uncle's, and springs out of the hold of the sinking vessel on the 247th in time to lick him into consciousness when he is washed ashore.

The curtain falls on a tableau as it should be. The yawning sea gives up the hero, and the rich old protector of his (debatable land) youth. A wealthy uncle dies in India and the nick of time to make his kinsmen rich. Apropos of this windfall the miserly uncle deserts pawnbroking for magnificent speculation, is ruined and becomes a reckless gambler. The lion lies down with the lamb, the leopard changes his spots, and hands all around.

The paper, printing, cuts, binding and style of this, as of most of the publications of Messrs Porter and Coates, are excellent, and we have only to deprecate the old fashion of binding in at the end of each volume a coarse and badly printed list of the other publications of the firm

BETSY LEE; a Fo'c's's'le Yarn. New York: MacMillan & Co., 1873.
For sale by Porter & Coates.

Betsy Lee is the title of a short piece of rhyme in sailor dialect, wherein a certain Tom Baynes tells his own little romance to the "Watch below," with a good deal of pathos and some poetry.

That the horse should not depend upon the cart to carry him

is an unwonted thing in efforts of this sort, where a maximum quantity of bad spelling and worse syntax usually crave a plentiful lack of matter; but the story owes little to the Fo'c's'le *patois*, and poor Tom's crudities are less those of speech than of thought.

It is a simple plot enough with a lawyer's clerk—

“As neat and as pert and as sharp as a pin,
With a morsel of hair on the tip of his chin—”

for its villain, and the daughter of an old fisherman for its heroine.

Unfortunately the heroine becomes an heiress, and Tom, whose boy-love had been encouraged by the old folks, finds himself gradually dropped by all but Betsy.

Of course the lawyer's clerk is at the bottom of it, and his rival seeing this, adopts a novel but effectual method of revenge, which only hastens the catastrophe. A plotted accusation of his having ruined a girl of the village, drives him from home, after a vain attempt to combat it, and he returns from a long voyage to find that Betsy is dead from grief.

The other girl dying in want, confesses her share in the plot, and leaves him her child, which she had falsely sworn to be his; and as growing tenderness for the poor little fellow steals the cherished revenge from his heart the story ends.

It is to pastoral, rather than epic verse that the author shows his hand best fitted.

The children are playing upon the beach,

“Crunchin its gray ribs with the beat
Of our little, paterin, naked feet”—

or

“Chasin the bumbles hummin so crose
In the hot sweet air among the goss,
Or gatherin blue-bells, or lookin for eggs,
Or peltin the ducks with their yalla legs,
Or a climin and nearly breakin your skulls,
Or a shoutin for divilment after the gulls,
Or a thinkin of nothin, but down at the tide
Singin out for the happy you feel inside,
That's the way with the kids you know
And the years do come and the years do go.”

Tom, in clumsy sailor fashion, delights in cows, and one of the happiest effects in the book, is a scene at “milkin time.” Betsy is at work—Tom impatient and demonstrative—

“Well, Betsy, are you nearly done?
And I'd kiss her, and then she'd say ‘what bother,
And the cow lookin round like a kind old mother,
One cow they had—well of all the sense
That ever I saw, and the imperence
God bless me! the lek of yandher ould mailie,
* * * * *

She made me laugh till I abslit shoutit,
Pretending to know all about it.”

That this is a high type of poetic art no one will pretend ; it is not stately nor passionate, nor "grand," but it is wholesome and pure at least, born of fresh air and sunshine. The grassy slopes at the foot of Parnassus are pleasant to the eyes of most men, and since everybody cannot climb to the summit, it is well for such a one as the author of *Betsy Lee* to lie down below contentedly piping his small song, for then he is safe from temptation and far from the gates of Corinth.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

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The Queen's Revenge; and other stories. By Wilkie Collins. Pp. 226. Paper, oct., 75 cts. Philadelphia: T. B. Peterson & Bros.

Sex in Education; or, a Fair Chance for the Girls. By Edward H. Clarke, M. D., Late Professor in *Materia Medica* in Harvard College. Boston: James R. Osgood & Co., 1874. For sale by Claxton, Remsen & Haffelfinger. Pp. 181. Cloth.

Child Life in Prose. Edited by John Greenleaf Whittier. Illustrated. Pp. 301. Boston: James R. Osgood & Co., 1874. For sale by Claxton, Remsen & Haffelfinger.

Literary and Social Judgments. By W. R. Greg. Pp. 352. Boston: James R. Osgood & Co., 1873. For sale by Claxton, Remsen & Haffelfinger.

The Poems of Chas. Fenno Hoffman. Collected and arranged by his nephew, Edward Fenno Hoffman. Pp. 230. Cloth, 12mo., \$1.50. Philadelphia: Porter & Coates, 1873.

The Water Witch; or, the Skimmer of the Seas. A Tale. By J. Fenimore Cooper. Illustrated from drawings by F. O. C. Darley. Pp. 183. Paper, oct., 75 cts. New York: D. Appleton & Co. For sale by Porter & Coates.

The Boydell Shakespeare. Now first reproduced by the Heliotype process from the original plates, accompanied by selections from the text of the dramas illustrating each scene represented by the painter. Edited by J. Parker Norris. (Parts 1-8.) Philadelphia: Gebbie & Barrie. Sold only by subscription, complete in 25 semi-monthly parts at \$1 each.

Faire-Mount. By Henry Peterson. Pp. 30. Cloth. Philadelphia: Claxton, Remsen & Haffelfinger, 1874.

Mad Monkton, and other stories. By Wilkie Collins. Pp. 132. *Sights A-Foot.* By Wilkie Collins. Pp. 135. Philadelphia: T. B. Peterson & Bros. Paper, oct., 50 cts. each.

The Postal Laws and Regulations. Issued by authority of the Postmaster General. Compiled and prepared by Wm. M. Ireland, Chief Clerk, office of Third Assistant Postmaster General, and J. M. McGrew, Chief Clerk, office of Auditor of Treasury for Post-office Department. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1873. Pp. 434.

Backlog Studies. By Charles Dudley Warner. With 21 illustrations by Augustus Hoppin. Cloth, 12mo. Boston: James R. Osgood & Co., 1873. For sale by Claxton, Remsen & Haffelfinger.

