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THE MONTH.

THE trial of Marshal Bazaine has come to an end. After short deliberation his judges found him guilty and condemned him to death. Having thus far gratified the popular feeling, they, characteristically enough, recommended him to the mercy of the President, thus throwing upon MacMahon the responsibility of carrying out or commuting the sentence. The Marshal's penalty has, in consequence, been lessened to "seclusion" for twenty years, on one of the islands on the southern coast, which means exile during the uncertain tenure of the present government and the still more uncertain indignation of the people. We may see Bazaine brought back in triumph at the expiration of a few years. One can hardly help feeling that, with all his faults, the Marshal has been made the victim of political necessity and a peace offering to the national vanity. His position in Metz was certainly a difficult one. To the emperor he owed everything, and he cannot be blamed by other than French judgments for thinking that the government of the 4th of September—composed as it was of a few violent politicians, raised to power on the shoulders of a Parisian mob—was unworthy of obedience. He was to blame, of course, for attempting—though it is not demonstrated that he did attempt it—to secure the return of the emperor by any means, forgetting that his country's cause demanded his efforts first of all; but that sort of lofty and unselfish patriotism was not the

direct result of the teachings of the empire, or of the habits and manners of the French people, and the instances of it are rare in the history of the war of '70. MacMahon has done well to commute the sentence. He may, perhaps, remember his own career in that war, and realize how much the inglorious deed of Bazaine's has done to hide his own blunders. That purposeless march to Sedan, to fight an overwhelming force within four miles of a neutral territory, would appear much less glorious were it not for Metz. Gravelotte need not blush before Worth and Wissemburg, and the vanquished of Sedan become President of a French Republic may well be lenient to the surrenderer of Metz.

THE Virginius matter has been so thoroughly discussed, and is now so satisfactorily settled, that any lengthy notice of it here is hardly necessary. The vessel was delivered to the United States ships at the time appointed, and is now, at this writing, on her way to this country. The excitement in Havana has in a measure subsided, owing chiefly to the calm and sensible conduct of Jovellar, the captain-general. The settlement of the question in this amicable manner is certainly a triumph for the Administration, the glory of which none ought to grudge Mr. Fish. In spite of the clamor which arose in every part of the country, he seems to have gone to work very prudently, and to have accomplished his purpose in the completest manner. The Secretary of the Navy deserves credit, too, for the promptness and energy with which he put into some sort of condition the few ships which make up what we are pleased to term our Navy. Successful as the English race has generally been in naval conflicts with the Spaniards, the superiority of the Spanish navy over our own at the present time, threatened to make the war, about which so many persons were enthusiastic, a doubtful struggle, if not worse, and the peaceful settlement of the difficulty into which the Virginius and its crew of filibustering adventurers had drawn the two friendly nations is ground for great satisfaction. Castelar seems to be developing qualities of which none imagined him possessor. He has acted throughout this matter with courage and decision, and has apparently had power enough to do what he deemed right in spite of great obstacles. Gen. Sickles is reported to have sent

his resignation to Washington. Its acceptance is something quite too good to expect.

One of the most awful disasters in the history of navigation occurred during the month. The Ville du Havre seems to have been lost through the carelessness of the officers in command at the time. The captain had remained on deck until the fog, which had hung heavily upon the sea, lifted, and the night became clear, when he went below, leaving the ship in charge of the second officer. The Loch Earn was seen distinctly ten or twelve minutes before the collision, and prudence would have saved the steamship. But an attempt was made to cross the other's bows, and the result was frightful. In an instant, a hole as large as a house was made in the side of the Ville du Havre, and in twelve minutes she settled and went down. The horror of that short time can never be described. The passengers wakened from sleep rushed on deck to find the masts falling, the boats crushed to pieces and the great ship steadily sinking beneath their feet. More than two hundred persons lost their lives. There never was a more unnecessary sacrifice. After the collision everything seems to have been done to save life that was possible in twelve minutes, but there were not boats enough; life-preservers could not be found, and life rafts there were none. The loss of life might have been reduced one-half, had there been proper preparation for such a catastrophe. The passengers were chiefly persons of wealth and standing, among them Judge Peckham, of the N. Y. Court of Appeals, and several members of the Evangelical Alliance. In this respect the calamity was more terrible than the loss of the Atlantic, though the deaths there were more numerous. An investigation will take place in France.

Two very eminent men have died during the month. Judge Nelson had retired from the Bench and had reached a very advanced age. During his term of service, which covered nearly half a century, he had acquired great and deserved reputation. As a judge he belonged to that old school which under the softening influences of politics and the elective system is so rapidly disappearing from the bench. He was able, learned, and dignified,

and his opinions had great weight with his colleagues on the Bench, and with the country. A strong Democrat in his political views, he was sometimes misled by his prejudices, but as a jurist none could for a moment doubt his purity and sincerity, and his learning and ability were evident to all men. He died suddenly of apoplexy. Agassiz, on the other hand, was struck down in the midst of work. He was but sixty-five years of age, and bade fair three weeks ago to live for twenty years. His physique was powerful and his temperament lively and cheerful. Nothing seemed to weigh heavily upon him. But he overtaxed his energies and strength, and the machine, kept always hard at work, suddenly broke down. It is hard at this time to estimate the true influence of his character on science in this country. It is quite impossible to exaggerate it. He came here when scientific investigation and study was in its infancy, and he gave it an impetus which it must always feel. He has left great works undone, great plans unfulfilled, but the horizon of his ambition was always enlarging before him, and he would have left as many things unfinished had he lived to be a hundred.

CONGRESS has met and organized by the reëlection to the speakership of Mr. Blaine. The Democrats made one of those blunders for which they have shown such special aptitude, in choosing as their caucus nominee the Honorable Fernando Wood, and giving the Republicans the chance of identifying themselves with the anti-salary-grabbers. The Senate Republican caucus, moved thereunto perhaps by a sense of pity not unnatural, has elected to its Presidency, *pro tem*, the much abused Mr. Matt Carpenter. As a rebuke to that sort of political warfare which builds its hopes on the destruction of private character and makes scandal its chief weapon, this election is perhaps more valuable than as an addition to the dignity of the Senate, but as that body is now constituted, it might easily have made a much worse choice. The President's message contained nothing which requires special comment here.

One of General Grant's weaknesses seems to be a confidence in his skill as a financier, and familiarity with a financal intellect like Mr. Richardson's has not unnaturally bred in him no contempt

for his own powers. He expresses his views at some length and with earnestness, but unfortunately this is a time when every one has "views," and all doctors disagree. The Senate has taken up some time with a discussion on matters on finance, and the Ways and Means Committee of the House is wrestling with a proposition of Mr. Richardson's to increase taxation. Meantime, the latter gentleman having made liberal use of the $44,000,000 of which we have lately heard so much, modestly asks some authority to touch it further—terming it, facetiously enough, the fund "which is sometimes called a reserve." Once upon a time a little boy made way into the store-room, and having transferred to his stomach the contents of a box of raisins, crawled out again, and with a few raisins timidly held in his hand, asked his unsuspecting mother if he might eat them. Those raisins were sadly missed when the next plum pudding was to be made, and that the little boy had convulsions, and became very sorrowful about the whole transaction.

The many in this part of the country who had reason to expect a word from the President in favor of the Centennial were disappointed not to find it in his message. No mention was made of the matter, and it is too much to hope that Congress will do anything in the present condition of the country. One would think, however, that the men who have shown such alacrity in contributing to the increase of their own salaries ought not to be shocked at the request for money to carry out the Exhibition to which the world has been invited and the national honor pledged.

THE House of Representatives has been exhibiting its worst side to the country. The outcry against that famous measure which immortalized the last hours of the last Congress, to wit: The Salary Grab, has awakened in the hollow bosom of many a Congressman an acho of remorse. But it is quite characteristic of the men whom the people send to Congress that they failed entirely to appreciate the impropriety of their acts, and in their haste to make capital by the repeal of the measure unmasked their folly. To the increase of pay few persons made objections; the price of everything is high, and the amount fixed by the famous bill was not excessive; the obnoxious feature to honest men

was of course the back pay. This the house failed as a rule to see, and each member eagerly contested for the glory of bringing about the repeal of the act. That eminent statesman, whose audacity led the House last March down to the pitch of paying the bill, was at first so much impressed with the necessity of assuaging the popular excitement as to suggest the idea of instituting suits for the recovery of the money paid under the bill, but as the debate drew on and proved the incapacity of the House to appreciate the moral question involved, his impudence and spirits returned and he succeeded in defeating the repealing act by a small vote, and then carrying a new measure which practically will reduce his pay for this year to the extent of $125. During the debate, which was always hot and sometimes heavy, this virtuous personage delivered himself of a Philippic against the newspapers which was in the main as true as it was bitter, and as deserved as it was indecent. It is rather to be regretted that there is no Aristophanes in Washington to-day. A sequel to "the Knights" might be as useful as it certainly would be interesting. But the debate on this now famous measure did not depend entirely for its interest upon General Bntler. A Mr. Lawrence of Ohio, flickered into temporary fame as the champion of virtue, when a Mr. Lamison, his colleague, showed him to have been guilty of "a back pay grab" and thus extinguished him forever. Mr. Hale of New York, and Mr. Wilson of Indiana, differed at one period of the debate, and bespattered each other with the most ingenious epithets without having exhausted the repertory of either (to all appearances), and several days time was consumed in crimination and recrimination and the lowest billingsgate. Of such is the House of Representatives.

It may seem rather a severe thing to say of an appointment to any office that it is one of the worst that General Grant has made, and yet his recent nomination of the Attorney-General to the Chief Justiceship seems to merit nothing better. From his previous appointments, and, indeed, from the proof which he has given us of his knowledge and appreciation of offices and men, we had no reason to expect great things. And yet, the President was no doubt perfectly sincere when he caused it to be generally understood, after the death of Chief Justice Chase, that he would

take time to consider the appointment of a successor, and name no one without mature reflection. He has taken time; he has considered well; he has maturely reflected, and in his opinion the bar of the United States furnishes no lawyer so fit for the Chief Justiceship as the Attorney-General. From the many newspapers which have gathered with extraordinary diligence the leading facts of Mr. Williams' career, we learn that he was admitted to the Iowa bar at twenty-one and elevated to the bench by a prescient and appreciative people at twenty-three. There have been few better judges at that age—if we can credit a contemporary, and in no year of his judicial life were more than fifty per cent. of his decisions reversed by the superior courts. After a career in Iowa, "the like of which," to quote an eminent Irish lawyer, "is hardly to be found in the jurisprudence of the most barbarous nations on the face of the earth," Judge Williams went to Oregon as Chief Justice of the then newly created territory. Passing into the Senate when Oregon became a state, he remained an inconspicuous member of it until the eagle eye of the President detected in him those qualities which fitted him for the post of High Commissioner. He was thus enabled to bring into the service of his country the mature powers of a mind trained in the forensic contests of the Iowa bar, and steeped in the legal lore of Oregon. His experience in the formation of the Washington Treaty proves false, and indeed renders quite contemptible, the story which has been recently mentioned of his having expressed his belief that "Vattel was a western reporter." When it was found that the country could safely dispense with the gigantic intellect of Mr. Akerman, and that gentleman relapsed into obscurity, Mr. Williams became Attorney General. It is his misfortune perhaps more than his fault that he has been forced by circumstances to shine rather in the political than in the professional affairs of his department. It was he who originated the plan which enabled the twin legislatures of Alabama to lie down in peace together and eventually become one; it is he who has upheld the oft-failing hands of Gov. Kellogg, of Louisiana; it was the Attorney-General to whom the country owes the pardon of a Mr. Brown, not unknown to fame in Philadelphia, as the only one of the many fraudulent voters in 1872 whom the people

succeeded in bringing to justice and convicting; and it is Mr. Williams who has guarded with religious care that mystery which surrounds the names of those "prominent" citizens of Philadelphia whose souls yearned in secret for the repeater's pardon, who united to secure it, and having done so, blush lest it be known. Mr. Williams has occasionally appeared in court. In Hartford last summer he argued the Credit Mobilier case in such a manner as to call forth but one opinion from all who heard him, and to convince, if not the court of the strength of his case, at least the audience of his own incapacity, and to draw from a strong Administration journal the remark within the last fortnight that no one who listened to him there can believe that it is for his learning, or culture, or ability that he has been chosen for Chief Justice. But it should be remembered that he was opposed in that case by men like Curtis, and Evarts, and Shipman, and Bartlett (none of whom have ever been nominated for Chief Justice) and his case, too, was unskillfully begun. It does certainly seem to a finite and unofficial mind, that there might be found some person in the range of the American bar more worthy of this lofty place, but the President has no doubt made the best appointment of which he is capable. The circumstance goes a long way toward making us feel satisfied with an elective judiciary. The people would hardly have made such a choice. The newspapers of all shades of politics are almost unanimous in their outcry against it, ranging from the indignant scream of the Democratic to the gentle remonstrance of the Administration organs. It ought, however, to be chronicled in justice to Mr. Williams, that at least two newspapers have received his nomination with enthusiasm; one, a paper published in San Diego, California, and the other the official journal of Gov. Kellogg. With these exceptions perhaps the feeling is universal. The nomination has startled the country; it has shocked the bench; it will demoralize the bar. Not only on professional grounds have objections been raised to its confirmation. Charges of a serious character have been made from Oregon against the integrity of Mr. Williams, and he has been obliged to appear in self-defense. There is reason to hope that they are unfounded, but it is very sad to think that the choice of the President for the chief justiceship is a man against whom such charges can be made. The Senate has adjourned for the holidays

without taking any action on the nomination. It is perhaps too much to expect that it will reject it, but on its dignity and independence the country rests its final hope. The successor of Marshall should be a man who has won great eminence by professional labor. His learning should be great, his ability unquestioned, his character above reproach. He should be, at least, a leader of the bar, and the Senate cannot better fulfill its highest duty to the nation and to itself, nor earn more completely the gratitude of the people, than by rejecting the nomination of Mr. Williams, and thus preserving from degradation the Chief Justiceship of the United States.

THE great event in the religious world is the secession of Bishop Cummins. Convinced that the Episcopal Church cannot be purged of Ritualism; the Right Reverend gentleman has made up his mind to create another. Armed with his mitre and his crook and the rest of his ecclesiastical furniture, he has gathered about him a few persons like unto himself, and the result is the establishment of the Reformed Episcopal Church. From what we can gather in the New York *Herald*, which seems to be the official paper (for the Rev. Mr. Cheney telegraphed to it at once on accepting the post of Missionary Bishop), the intention is to start a free and independent Church on the basis of Bishop White's Prayer Book, which is said to have been "printed by mistake." There is a kind of Methodism in this madness. Excellent as Dr. Cummins' motives doubtless are, and repugnant to him as the ecclesiastical millinery and affectations of Ritualism may have been, there seems but little prospect of his accomplishing what he wishes in the manner he has chosen. And his secession on a sudden with the avowed intention of setting up a rival Church, and the exercise of those powers which he received from the Episcopal Church, puts him in a doubtful position as an honorable man. A soldier who deserts, and carrying with him his arms and ammunition, enlists followers and prepares to attack his old friends before any steps can be taken to stop him, or indeed before his defection is known, stands in no favorable light. It is hard to understand what Dr. Cheney wants with a Bishopric. He has demonstrated his belief, that the authority

of a Bishop is only to be respected by his inferiors when it suits their inclinations, and he seems not to be a man who would crave the glory of a place without the power. But there is no reading the minds of men. The Episcopate in the hand of the new Church may be worth two Bishoprics in the bush of the old one, and there is no measuring the attractions of the Mitre and the Lawn. Six months must elapse before Dr. Cummins can be formally deposed, and meantime he proposes to work like a beaver. Exactly what he will accomplish no one can tell. Of course, the Ritualists are as jubilant as their views of life and duty will permit, and there is commotion in all parties of the Church—High, Low and Broad, Altitudinarian, Platitudinarian and Latitudinarian, while Bishop White's Prayer Book is rushing through the press.

TWEED's conviction is a remarkable event. It was no common case and he is no common criminal. What a lesson will not his career afford to the future moralist; what a subject will it not be for the future Sunday-school book! A man who in 1871 ruled the first city of the Union with the rod of a dictator, who plunnered the treasury of millions, and whose statue was to be set up for his victims to worship, reduced in 1873 to a convict's cell and a convict's garb! It was a sense of humor most rare and happy which led him to describe himself as a statesman, and in the present age the term seems hardly misapplied. It is a source of regret that the statesmanship of which he is the "greatest living example," if not the originator, should have had its perfect reward in his case alone. Blackwell's Island is commodious, and there are other refuges for such statesmen in many parts of the country.

ONE of the great events of the month has been the contest in Pennsylvania over the new Constitution. For a short time after the Convention adjourned there was a period of quiet, during which men were making up their minds. Presently the fight opened, and for a short one it was sharp and decisive. The many objections which could be urged against the new Constitution were in the minds of most men far overbalanced by its advantages—its faults were, if not forgotten, at least forgiven for its virtues' sake,

and it became evident quite early in the struggle that the adoption of the instrument was from some points of view a necessity. Against it—in company, it must be confessed, with many excellent and honorable men—all the "ringsters" and "workers" and "managers" ranged themselves. With most of them the fight was for political existence, and they grew bolder as their cause became more desperate. Once or twice a gleam of hope encouraged them. After an argument, which occupied more than three days, an injunction was granted by the Supreme Court, by which the plan devised by the Convention for preventing the usual practices of elections in the city of Philadelphia was made invalid, and the election placed in the hands of the usual officers. But the struggle was in vain; the fates and the people were against them. For the first few hours on election day they kept up the fight, but as noon approached the news from the country was demoralizing, and their defeat was complete and overwhelming. Never was there a greater overthrow. The majority in the State in favor of the new Constitution is over 145,000, though the vote was light. Such a defeat carries with it demoralization, and there is certainly great reason to hope that we have reached in Philadelphia the beginning of a new era. Whatever may be said against the new Constitution this may be urged as the result of its acceptance. It has broken into pieces the chains by which the city of Philadelphia was bound. No party can "count" in its candidates at the sweet will of a few leaders. Salaries take the place of fees. The municipality becomes independent. The power and growth of monopolies are checked. The Legislature is restricted in the abuse of its powers, and deprived of numerous opportunities for plunder. There is a chance that the practice of politics will become less profitable, and therefore fewer to follow it, and if there be much to regret in the newly accepted Constitution, let us think of all these things and be thankful. Of course, various elements entered into the fight. No two men act from precisely the same motives, and many "a mute, inglorious" Tweed or Connolly, "guiltless of his country's" greenbacks, contributed to this victory of the right, as did more than one estimable, honorable man do his best, from good motives, to defeat it. But there is an opportunity now which has not been opened since the war, and it only remains for the People to secure and enjoy the rewards of their success.

THE 16th of December was the hundredth anniversary of the Boston tea party. On the evening of that day the Bostonians met in Faneuil Hall to celebra e the event. An immense concourse of people surrounded the few tea-tables, at which the once forbidden beverage was served by pretty girls, in the costume of their great-grandmothers, and listened to the speaking which, under the presidency of Hon. Josiah Quincy, went on for several hours. There was much enthusiasm and a good deal of what one person in the audience described as "real Faneuil Hall talk." In Philadelphia an immense audience filled the Academy of Music, and Hortieultural Hall. Manv hundreds of ladies dressed *a la* Martha Washington, drew around the numerous tables crowds of young men who under their gentle influence became recklessly extravagant. The affair was kept up for two days and three evenings, and several thousand dollars raised for the Centennial, and for the excellent purpose of supplying the poor with coal. In both cities the Centennial has received an impetus from this anniversary celebration.

THE COMMUNISMS OF THE OLD WORLD.[1]

A thinker of the last century has said, incisively if not truthfully, "command the circumstances of a man and you command his character." All sorts of social reformers fall into one of two

[1] Histoire du Communisme ou Refutation Historique des Utopies Socialistes. Par M. Alfred Sudre : Paris, 1849. [The best book.]

Etudes sur les Socialistes par M. Francis Lacombe. Paris et Poitiers, 1850. [Rather weak.]

Le Communisme Jugë par l'Histoire. Par Ad. Franck, Membre de l'Institut. 2mo. Ed. Paris, 1849. [Clever but brief.]

Histoire des Idees Sociales avant la Revolution Francaise. Par F. Villagardelle. Paris, 1846 [Communistic and often untrustworthy.]

An Outline of the Various Social Systems and Communities which have been founded on the Principle of Co-operation By Mary Hennell. London (1841,) 1844. [No historical order or critical accuracy. Valuable for single facts.]

Curiosities de l'Econome Politique. Par Louvet. Paris, 1861.

Les Origenes du Socialisme. Par Ozanam. (S L. & A.) [Republished from a periodical.]

De l'Egalite. Par Pierre Leroux. Boussac et Paris. 1848. [Full details about the Essenes.]

La Communanté c'est L'Esclavage et le Vol, ou Theorie de l'Egalite et du Droit. Par M. Avril. Paris, 1848.

great classes, as they assent to or dissent from his position,—the former being the naturalists, the latter the spiritualists.

The spiritualists regard society rather as the spontaneous outgrowth of man's mental development and progress, than as an instrument directly available in the work of civilization. They have a contempt for all "progress by act of parliameut" as a weak and ineffectual means of advance. They look upon human character as the root, of which all social arrangements are the fruit, and aim at the immediate reform of man himself as the only means to the reform of politics and systems. Raise men—they say—to broader views of life and duty, nobler attitude of the human spirit in its relation to the universe and to God, and all other needful things will come as a matter of course. Set up the kingdom of righteousness and peace within you, and all these other things will be added unto you,—will be thrown in as a make-weight. Among these spiritualists we might reckon large bodies of religionists in the old and new world, and also Messrs. Emerson and Thoreau in the more secular lines of thought.

The other class of reformers—whom Kant would call naturalists—lay more stress upon the power of circumstances; they regard these as mightily reacting for good or evil upon those who are exposed to their subtle and often unobserved influence. They regard men as hampered and dwarfed by bad social arrangements, as having no fair chance of spiritual and mental growth and expansion, until a simpler and nobler order of life and form of society take the place of those that teach men, from earliest childhood, the lessons of sordidness, cruelty and greed. But this description applies to very different parties, each of which would be very slow to admit that they had anything in common with the others. There are, for instance, those who hope to achieve these ends by an organization addressed to the development of the spiritual nature of man, which shall exist inside the state and independent of it. Such are the ultramontane Catholics, high churchmen of all parties, and even the Comtists or positivists. There are again those who expect it from the gradual reform of government by wise and scientific legislation, and in general from improving the form of the State without enlarging its sphere of operations,—or even by contracting it. Such are the utilitarian reformers of all sorts, headed by Jeremy Bentham. A third class

would effect this by greatly enlarging the sphere of the State at the expense of individual freedom of action. What is now left to the caprice of individual wills, they would make a matter of governmental responsibility. A beneficent paternal despotism is their ideal of government. To this party the name of socialist may be given in a broad and general way, but it must be remembered that it includes elements of the most different sort. Much that Mr. Carlyle, John Ruskin and Matthew Arnold have written on the sphere of government—not to speak of Fitz-James Stephens—would lead us to put them and similar advocates of paternal government under this head, though they would hardly relish the classification. Here again the Comtists would be ranked because of the apparent drift of some of their teachings.

An advanced wing of this party—the communists—would not merely like to see the adoption of strong governmental measures calculated to greatly affect the distribution of individual rights; they would at one blow abolish individual property itself and centre all possession either in the State at large or in some smaller society. In India and Russia this ideal is already realized as regards the rural population. As to how it shall be extended to the rest of the world there is a difference of views. Some would begin by voluntarily organized societies—phalanxes and the like; others by spreading these views by an energetic propaganda, and taking occasion of some great season of convulsion and revolution to carry the new constitution of society by acclamation, and bring in the golden era before the selfish egotists who now control society have time to reject or oppose the blessing in store for them.

Another line of division runs through this party in a different direction. Some would abolish the right of property only, and would leave marriage and the family intact. Others, more logical, seeing that property has its deepest root in the family life, would sweep away that form of life by absorbing it in a larger unity, and train the children as the wards of society at large. Some of these would and others would not abolish the sanctity of the tie that binds man and wife in exclusive and permanent union, and establish the community of wives (or rather of women) along with the community of goods.

Another profound difference exists between different parties of

communists—that in regard to the basis of the new society. A few regard enlightened self-interest as a motive all-sufficient to keep men in the new order of things; when once the experiment is fairly made, they think, men will no more think of going back to the exploded and superseded methods of the past—with their necessary concomitants, want, misery, greed and unhappiness—than we would think of going back to stage-coaches and clipper-ships after having traveled on railroads and in ocean-steamships. But the more part hold that communism must be a religion before it can become the basis of a society,—that only the enthusiasm that is born of religious conviction and feeling can carry mankind through the vast wrench involved in such a radical change of social methods, and permanently counteract those blindly selfish tendencies in man that find their natural expression in our present methods. Nor are these again agreed as to the shape that this new religion is to take. Some, with great boldness and some plausibility, urge that historical Christianity furnishes the necessary religious element. Others prefer the broad indefiniteness of pantheism, and still others—the majority, perhaps—prefer an unhistorical deism, in the attitude of patronizing the Christian faith as a noble product of human thought, while refusing to concede to it the authority of a revelation, or the claim of universal validity.

This imperfect classification will show that communism furnishes a very large variety of types and forms. These lines of division in no case coincide or run parallel with each other; they cross in every possible way, and furnish every possible variety of combination, according to the idiosyncracy of each system maker, or the circumstances of the age in which he lived. For none of these ideas are of yesterday. If they now and then present themselves as the very latest novelty in social philosophy, and though they generally have a sufficient flavor of originality and individuality, yet the student of history sees in them only the reappearance of ideas that have already played a notable part in the history of our race. It is our purpose in these papers to trace the transformations that the communistic idea has undergone in the Old World, chiefly as introductory to those curious chapters of American history, which Messrs. McGregor and Noyes have given us in the fullest and the most careful detail. We feel that the subject has not ceased to be both interesting and important. Communism enjoys

the unhappy distinction of being the only type of thought that still arouses the hate of whole communities and nations,—a hate so bitter that men of sober mind and ordinarily tolerant mood would, if need be, persecute and exterminate it with all the bitter relentlessness that characterized the religious wars of the sixteenth century. And it cannot be denied that it has earned its reputation by recent acts of cruelty and vandalism, that recall the darkest and saddest pages of human history, and are only explicable on the hypothesis of an epidemic of moral insanity. That type has cropped out again and again in places the most unlikely, and even in our own city, during the present winter, principles have been formally enunciated by a considerable part of our fellow-citizens, in regard to the responsibility of society, that would if acted upon lead us straight to this abyss of social ruin.

It has been well-observed that the negative features of communism are not in the slightest degree novel. The institutions which it would abolish, the rights of personal property, of the permanent possession of the soil, and of the family, are in strictness more or less the creation of civilized society. The famous maxim of the French theorist, *A chacun selon sa capacite*, is the fundamental maxim of savage life. Wordsworth only paraphrases the Saint Simonist when he says of Rob Roy and his caterans,

> The good old law sufficed
> For them; the simple plan
> That they should take who have the power,
> And they should keep who can.

Hence the grand denial, so common in lower and imperfect types of civilization, of the very highest form of property,—man's right to himself. Slavery was always *selon la capacite*, and upon slavery all the societies of antiquity were based. Aristotle declared it just that Hellenes should enslave barbarians, because it was a law of nature that mind should dominate matter. Hence also the degradation of conquered races as an inferior caste, as in Egypt and India. The laws of Manu tell us that the Brahmin has a right to all that exists, and that men of lower caste, who deny to the twice born anything that he needs, are violating essential rights, since it is by his favor that they enjoy all things. These claims—it is well known—are based on conquest. The right of inheritance again, as transferring large amounts of property to comparatively

helpless children, is a violation of the French maxim, as these can make but little use of the inheritance. In savage and half savage tribes, therefore, what is thus left is at once divided among the adult relations, where the children of the deceased are minors. Thus the uncles of Mohammed left the lad, of all his father's wealth, only one camel and a slave. It is equally clear that the proposed changes in the family life would carry us back not merely to the uncertainty of sexual relations that exists among the savages, but to the promiscuity of the lower orders of animal life. The jealous exclusiveness which is involved in the very idea of chastity, is the true human ideal. There is no more sure way to fix the mark of the beast on a man's whole life and character, than to have him sink in this respect below the requirements of the reason and conscience of the best part of mankind.

The lack of individual freedom of action, the subordination of the will of the man to the society he belongs to, are parts of the communistic ideal, that have been realized in the earliest stages of organized society. The hunter roams at will where he pleases; his hand against every man's hand, and every man's hand against his. We cannot call him a member of society. The shepherd in the next highest stage, is bound to the will of his tribe, of the recognized chief of his clan. He must go with them in their wanderings in search of pasture; to part from their company is to surrender all rights of property, for the flocks are held in common. It is also to give up the only guarantee of his life, for whoever finds him alone, may slay him with impunity. He is the slave of the community. Only when men pass to the yet higher stage of agricultural life, do they possess any measure of real independence, while at the same time their growing need of their neighbors and their increased power to be of use to these, bind them closer to their fellows by ties that are none the less forcible because they are enforced by no penalties or dangers.[1]

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[1] The Hebrew Scriptures to which we owe the conceptions of the moral and historical unity of the race, and of a world history, give us the data for constructing this picture of the earlier development of the race. It treats, indeed, the hunter type as a degeneracy from the shepherd type, not as its invariable and necessarily antecedent. It could not do otherwise consistently with its fundamental position that two great processes have been at work in history, a process of degeneracy, and a process of elevation.

Communism, then, is essentially a proposal to use the superior methods of our modern civilization to realize a state of things, in which both the root principles and the greatest gains of that civilization are set aside and declared effete. It seethes (or rather drowns) the kid in its mother's milk. Every disclosure of the past history of its negative maxims, makes them more intolerable and scandalous. Its shame is in the antiquity that puts honor upon wise and wholesome social methods.

It will not surprise us to find positive socialism existing in almost every type of early civilization, since we have seen its negative maxims to have been current in the barbarism that preceded; *nil per saltum* is a maxim generally valid in history.

To begin with the earliest, the paternal despotism of China has many such features. It has in common with these reformers the same ideal, to introduce into society at large maxims and principles that are valid only for the narrow sphere of the family. China indeed is governed, in spite of this ideal, upon principles of far greater practical wisdom than are current in Utopia. Family and proprietary rights are admitted, even while the paternal character of the emperor is asserted; her people are at least married sons living in pupilage: at the same time all sense of independence, all real freedom of mind and action, is as unknown to her millions, as a socialist could desire. Life is bound in an iron etiquette that crushes out egotism and absorbs the individual in the community. That dreadful subjectivity, which we hear denounced as the bane of society, is utterly wanting. This empire of babies walks—body and mind—in leading-strings. The power to go wrong through self-will is reduced to a minimum. The power to aspire to a higher right than tradition and society have yet comprehended, is entirely absent. One name, that of Meng Tsu, stands in Chinese history for a protest against the few liberties inconsistently allowed to his countrymen. He was a communist, and centuries before our era demanded the abolition of the right of marriage and of property, as the realization of the national idea. He had a following, but there was just a glimmering of good sense left in China, enough to foil his logic.

The village system of India is the oldest formal communism in the world, and like all the other parts of the caste system has preserved itself with an iron rigidity for milleniums. The distribu-

tion of labor and of its products is fixed by an inviolable religious tradition; the priests, the rulers, the water-carriers, the tillers of the soil, even the very dancing girls, have their recognized place and share. All is owned in common by the whole village. English rule alone has made a difference, and not for the better. Repeating the blunder made in abolishing the clan systems of Scotland and Ireland, the government treated the recognized head of the community as the land-owner and the rest as his tenants, inflicting by this step upon the mass of the people, a great and manifest injustice which is to this day a source of discontent and disturbance The English, even when actuated by the best motives, have repeatedly shown the strangest lack of perception and insight, when brought face to face with a people whose institutions and methods differ profoundly from their own. The Hindoos for this reason vastly prefer the Scotch to the English.

To India we owe still another form of communism. The great anti-sacerdotal movement that we call the rise of Buddhism, established a purely ascetic ideal of life, which naturally took the form of the monastic order, in which men sundered the ties that gave the earthly life its pleasantness, withdrew from associating with a self-indulgent world, at the first to the solitude of the hermit's life, and by and by gathered themselves into fellowships under a common rule. Wherever the ascetic ideal—so natural to natures of a higher order—obtains general acceptance in any form of society, that process invariably repeats itself, be the type of religious belief invoked to give it sanction, Jewish or Mohammedan, Catholic or Protestant. To suppose that monasticism is confined to any form of religious belief, or that there is any with which it cannot be made to coalesce, is to deceive ourselves with words. Not a few Protestant monasteries have existed on the soil of our own country, and there are possibilities that any great religious awakening may lead to the formation of many more. It is noteworthy that monasticism, in all its forms, has been a financial success. The problem of restraining the individual selfishness by a sufficient motive is here fully solved, especially as the correlated instincts to provide for the family are completely absent. Poverty and celibacy are the foundation of obedience.

The likeness of Buddhist monasticism to that of the Catholic Church is so striking, that Jesuit missionaries ascribed it to the deceit of the devil. Others (Malte Brun, Ritter, etc.,) have ascribed it to the influence of the Nestorian missionaries, who certainly met the Buddhists in Thibet and China. But the Jesuits found the likeness equally striking in Cochin China and Japan, where the Nestorians had never penetrated, and no scholar would now admit that Buddhist monasticism is younger than that of the Christian Church. The Buddhist monks, like the monastic orders, are mendicants, though their monasteries are very wealthy; and the celibate life, as well as obedience to superiors, is very rigidly enforced among them. The Buddhist type of asceticism is very much milder than that of the Hindoos, who seem to have been the models of the Mohammedan saints, and of some Christian hermits in the East.

In Egypt the caste system was established only less firmly than in India, and in the two higher castes a certain degree of communism seems to have existed. The priesthood lived in colleges, in which the land that fell to the sacerdotal order was held as common property; the warrior caste divided its landed property into assignments, but changed the holders of these with every year. More interesting is the fact that at all periods there seem to have been priests of another class, who withdrew from the world to deserts like that of Nisibis, and lived either in hermitage or in a sort of a monastic order. They led a severely ascetic life, and devoted themselves to bringing those waste lands under cultivation, and the like works of utility. It has been conjectured that they were great students of medicine—a science extensively cultivated in Egypt, and closely aasociated with religion in their conceptions and practices.

The Mosaic legislation secured many of the ends proposed by communistic reformers in a way that strengthened instead of weakening the popular sense of the sacredness of property. The landed inheritance of an Israelitic family could not be alienated, save for a time; in "the year of release" it reverted to its former owner, so that a certain equality of condition was preserved among the people. It is a Jebusite, not an Israelite, who sells David a site for the Temple, and the terms of the negotiation, no

less than Naboth's emphatic rejection of Ahab's offer, show how unusual a transaction it was. The transfer of land was something almost monstrous in the eyes of the people, and the prophets indignantly rebuke the land-hunger of later days, pronouncing a woe upon "them that remove the ancient landmark," and upon "them that lay house to h ouse and field to field, that they may dwell alone in the midst of the land."

No form of monastic life was recognized or provided for by the ancient laws of the elect people. The ascetic principle, indeed, occupied but very little place in their thoughts and practices, though measurably recognized in the existence of the order of the Nazarites. The ladder set up on the earth and reaching unto heaven, that the Hebrew believed in, was made up of human relationship and duties rightly discharged, not renounced and forsworn. Some have seen in "The Schools of the Prophets" a sort of monastic order, founded by great ascetic prophets like Elijah and John the Baptist. They seem rather to have grown out of the necessities of the times, when the prophets and their scholars fled in numbers to the wilderness to escape the great Baalitic persecution. Elijah's successor dwelt, not in the caves of a desert, but in a city. The Carmelite order, however, boldly seeks to trace its descent from the former prophet.

It was after the return from the captivity, that monasticism took root in the Jewish soil, and apparently first of all in the large Jewish colony that established itself in Egypt, and to which we owe the Greek version of the Old Testament and the writings of Philo Judæus. This author and Josephus describe for us a quite extensive brotherhood called the Essenes in Palestine, and the Therapeutæ in Egypt. These formed a third party beside the Pharisees and the Sadducees. The New Testament and the Talmud never mention them under these or any other distinctive names. They seem to have stood in very close affiliation with the family of Herod, and if not the same with the so-called "Herodians," to have been a section of that party. As the Pharisaical tendency is perpetuated in modern Rabbinical Judaism, and the Sadducean in the Karaites of the east and the Reformed Jews of the west, so the Essenes have been represented in all later ages by Kabbalistic Jews, whose peculiar theosophical speculations and doctrines concerning mystical numbers and the angels, they un-

doubtedly originated. Thoroughly Jewish in their positive adherence to the law and the national tradition, save in the rejection of bloody sacrifices, they seem to have adopted these complementary doctrines from "the wisdom of the Egyptians," and to have borrowed the monastic mode of life that we have already spoken of as characterizing one class of the Egyptian priesthood. They lived in small communities, supporting themselves by useful labor, and on entering, the postulant bequeathed his property to his nearest relatives. They wore a distinctive dress, ate only vegetable food, and that only after sunset. They abstained from marriage, and everything that could be pronounced self-indulgence. They sent offerings to the national Temple, and assembled on the Sabbath for united worship, which included reading of the Scriptures, songs of praise and preaching. They adopted, in a measure, the heathen usage of addressing themselves in prayer to the sun, as the chief visible representative of Deity, but they explained the act as directed to the invisible Sun that rises in the inner world of man's spiritual life. They put similar constructions upon the matter-of-fact statements of the national scriptures, finding very deep mysteries hidden under very plain words. The name Therapeutæ designates either their *medical* skill or their desire to *serve* their fellow-men.

Aristotle praises very highly a communistic usage which existed in many parts of the ancient world—the public meals, or *syssitia*, at which all free citizens ate together, and which were generally supplied by joint contributions required by municipal law. He says that these existed not only in Greece but in Egypt and Carthage, and among the Italian Opicans and Œnotrians and the Chronians of the Ionic Gulf. He lays great stress upon the institution as a means of promoting public spirit and fraternal feeling, and proposes elaborate measures for its extension and reform.

But it is in Krete and Sparta especially that this institution was a prominent feature of municipal life. In Krete it was traced to the mythical legislator Minos, who was said to have been actuated by communistic views in establishing it. This probably is but a conjecture, and we possess but few details of Kretan politics.

Spartan tradition, Herodotus tell us, said that Lycurgus had studied the institutions of Krete and transplanted them to the banks of the Eurotas. There seems to have been much in common, but the details that we have of the occupation of Palestine by the Israelites, and of the early history of Rome, are our best clues to the social state and history of Sparta. The Doric immigration that founded the state seems to have made an equal division of the land they seized, and to have forbidden all transfer of these shares by sale from one citizen to another. But the natural inequality of mankind *selon la capacite* soon reasserted itself; some families grew rich and others poor, and these differences widened and deepened as time went on. Various ways of indirectly transferring property were discovered, and no strong religious feeling prevented the prosperous from acquiring the estates of the poor, and no "year of release" provided for restoration. The new conquests toward the north and west added to the possessions of the city, and as in Roman history the lion's share of these new lands fell to the rich. Lycurgus came forward as a reformer of the state, doing the work that the Gracchi in vain essayed in the later history of Rome.. His work, like others, was in later times represented as an attack upon the rights of property—as a partition of the estates of the rich among the poor. Political romancers delighted to depict him as effecting peacefully a great revolution in the direction of equality—as effecting by a single stroke of legislation a fundamental change in the social order of the state.

It is equally improbable that he introduced the public repasts, called by the Spartans *Phiditia;* here too he seems to have been less an innovator than a reformer. At these, all male citizens from boyhood to old age ate in public of the same plain fare—to which each citizen contributed his share in kind and in money, or else he forfeited his right of citizenship. It marks the parallel growth of wealth and of poverty in the state, that when the Spartans has fallen off from 6,000 to 800, the entire land of the state, and therefore the political rights, were in the hands of 100 persons. Two-fifths of the land was owned by women, who lived in luxury and supported splendid establishments, while their husbands ate this soldiers' fare, talked aphorisms, and cracked dry jokes at the public tables.

A third feature of Spartan communism was the approximation to community of wives. To produce the finest possible human cattle was considered by public opinion a higher good than the chastity of their women, and the husband who resented this received no sympathy. Some women were mistresses of two separate homes, and mothers of two separate families. Sometimes one was the wife of a whole family of brothers, when the family estate was reduced too low to allow of a division of this household. On the other hand, only a single case of a plurality of wives is known.

All these communistic features owed either their origin or their preservation to the dangers of the situation. Great and sweeping reforms can be carried out in a beleaguered fortress as nowhere else. This insolent, slave-holding aristocracy, who almost rivalled China in the admiration of the democratic *philosophes* of last century—formed a camp, not a state. They lay on their arms, fed on soldiers' food in public mess-rooms, slept in barracks, practised an unceasing drill. Theirs was the communism of an army in active service or in perpetual readiness for it. If we may believe the Athenians, they were generally illiterate, not even knowing how to read. They have left us only a few camp-songs, whose burden and refrain is blows and battle.

The accounts of the great Pythagorean society, organized by the Samian philosopher among the Greek cities of Southern Italy, are both vague and contradictory. Most modern critics are of the opinion that it was on its social side merely a secret political club of aristocratic sympathies, united in strict subordination to a philosophic and religious teacher. The earlier authors who speak of it seem to say no more than this, but at the beginning of our era, when a "new Pythagoreanism" took its rise, we find in currency quite another version of its history. According to this, Pythagoras, after traveling into Egypt (and some say India), established in Italy a semi-monastic society, in which all things were held in common, and disciples were brought under very severe restrictions as regards their manner of life—marriage being not prohibited to them, but strictly regulated. In a word, Pythagoras was idealized into a religious communist as Lycurgus had been made by tradition a political communist.

Perhaps these myths were already current in the time of Plato,

and are in a measure reproduced in his *Republic;* but that great creation of the philosophic imagination owes far more to (the idealized) Sparta, for whom both the great disciples of Socrates had so strong an affection. In this wonderful dialogue, which competes with the Homeric poems and the tragedies of Sophocles for the chief place in ancient literature, we have an attempt to define "justice" by a study of the necessary elements of political society and their right relation to each other. In this study is developed the Platonic ideal of the State, whose functions are distributed between three castes. The highest place, the caste of the magistracy, is to be assigned to the philosopher, as the representative and possessor of political wisdom. The second caste is that of the soldiers, the representatives of the courage and force of the State, and from them the first is to be selected. The third contains the mass of the people, and in its due subordination to the rest embodies and represents the temperance of the State. The three correspond, therefore, to the three essential constituents in human nature in the Platonic anthropology—the rational, the passionate (θυμος) and the irrational elements. Justice must be the *quartum quid* that enables the other three virtues to take root in the state and keeps them intact in their union—that at once fuses together these three classes and keeps each in its proper place.

In a society thus constituted, the first two classes, the guardians of the state, would correspond to the free citizens of a Greek city; the third would take the place of the rest of the population, the great mass of slaves and of persons who had no political rights. It is to the training and education of the first class, the true subjects of political cnlture in the Greek conception, that Plato devotes his attention. The life he assigns to the auxiliary class especially, is by no means an easy one. With them the State is to be everything—their own ease and happiness nothing. Their drill is so be of the severest. They are to live in tents, forming a camp within the city, and eat at the common mess-tables (*syssitia*). They are to possess no individual property. They are to have all things in common, even to their women and children. This is to be in fact a mark and pledge of their close fellowship, according to the saying κοινα τα φιλων. In the *Laws* (V. 10.) he asserts that maxim to be the basis of the perfect society, the ideal

republic, and extends it to everything, eliminating the words *own* and *self* out of human usage. Men in that ideal state would think the same things, share the same hopes, and in a measure be the common possessors of all the hands and feet in a city. To such a result did this principle of necessity carry this great thinker, when the great duality of Church and State was as yet a social fact that the boldest prophets had no inkling of.

We must pronounce Pythagoras and Plato to have been retrograde in social philosophy. The undefined yearning, the blind hope of a better future, continually takes, in the absence as yet of clear light, the shape of a rehabilitation of the dead and buried past. The Samian would naturalize in Greece parts and fragments of the far inferior culture and civilization of Egypt; and in spite of the charm thrown around the plan by its air of mystery and its vast promises that won a following for a time, the Greek spirit rose in instinctive rebellion against the anachronism, in the consciousness of its own superior greatness. Only when that spirit had declined from its freedom and aggressive energy, could the Pythagorean ideal be revived, exaggerated and extended, and find a wide popularity.

The Athenian went back unconsciously to the caste system of India, once common to all the classic world, but by stress of circumstances perpetuated more largely in Sparta than elsewhere. With the insight of genius he reproduces India more fully in his fiction, than any historical knowledge of that country possessed by his age could have enabled him to do. The root-principle of the two societies is the same justification of inequality of condition by the plea of inequality of nature, although both confess a likeness of origin. Plato would tell his citizens: "You are doubtless all brethren, as many as inhabit the city, but the God who created you mixed gold in the composition of such of you as are qualified to rule; while in the auxiliaries he made silver an ingredient, assigning iron and copper to the cultivators of the soil and the other workmen." The Hindoo *Laws of Manu* tell us that Brahma "produced the Brahmins from his head, the chatryahs [soldiers] from his shoulders, the sudras [peasants] from his feet." The society that results from the two theories is the same. India had a republic in which the wise, whose duty and employment it was to search after the supreme good, were the recognized

heads of society, and in which the mass of the people were to find the end of their existence and the ideal of their virtue in submission to this highest caste and to the next highest who executed their will. The communistic features, we have every indirect reason to believe, existed among these higher Indian castes just as Plato would restore them in his. But we have no direct evidence, for this ideal state has had no history. The lifeless uniformity that Plato longed for was realized, and the historic movement of a great branch of the greatest stem of the human race was checked by social petrifaction.

It is a gross mistake to confound the *Republic* with the *Utopias* of Sir Thomas More, and his imitators. Plato is not inventing a state of society, but disclosing to us the principles involved in those that were known to him, and stripping those principles of the practical anomalies that hindered their actualization. The *ideal* in Platonic thinking is not the fanciful, but that which underlies the actual as more real than it, as the ground and basis of it. The ideal, therefore, is not to be evolved out of our inner consciousness, but rather to be reached by a careful comparison of the facts given in experience with the absolute and unquestionable data of right reason. Our belief is that what he thus undertook to do, he did not and could not do rightly; that he accepted anomalies as principles and rejected principles as anomalies.

The Neoplatonist Plotinus in the third century of our era, being in special favor at the court of Gallienus, begged permission to realize the Republic of Plato in an actual society. Tradition designated a city of Campania, then fallen into ruins, as formerly frequented, if not ruled by philosophers. If the emperor would only rebuild it, and assign to it a sufficient district of the adjacent country, and give it over to the philosophers, what a Platonopolis might rejoice the longing eyes of mankind, and eclipse the glories of the current Pythagorean tradition! Fortunately for the Platonists, the jealousy of the courtiers of Gallienus foiled his plan, and spared the world the scene of rivalry and crime, that would have proved that philosophers were but men. Plotinus had mistaken Plato as much as he had misunderstood human nature. Plato was not an inventor, but an inquirer; we have no reason to charge him with the belief that society, or even a single city, could be manufactured in a mechanical way out of elements at

hand for the purpose. He may have thought it possible to teach the rulers something that would enable them to do their work more simply and effectively, but we have no good reason to believe that he hoped to persuade Dionysius to remodel Syracuse after the conclusions of the *Republic.*

Apart from this Plotinus episode, the history of Rome furnishes substantially nothing to the annals of communism. We shall have occasion, in speaking of the Middle Ages, to glance back at the Roman and Grecian solution of the problem of the organization of labor and its connection with the Oriental Caste systems. But the chief attempts at communistic organization that fall within the Roman period, belong to the history of another kingdom, and will be taken up in our next paper.

R. E. THOMPSON.

ON THE RELATIVE INFLUENCE OF CITY AND COUNTRY LIFE, ON MORALITY, HEALTH, FECUNDITY, LONGEVITY, AND MORTALITY.

—Pericula mille saevae urbis.

God made the country, and man made the town.—*Cowper's Task, p.* 28.

SOCIAL Science Associations find their fields of usefulness in the consideration and correction of those abuses which grow out of existing social systems. Social systems spring from the convenience, indolence, sympathy, sociability, and the rivalrous vanity of human nature. Sociability owes its origin to civilization, and civilization is formed and fostered in cities. Indeed, civilizing is only citizenizing or conforming to, and adopting the manners, habits and peculiar life in cities.

"Aristotle was wiser when he fixed upon sociability as an ultimate quality of human nature, instead of making it, as Rousseau and so many others have done, the conclusion of an unimpeachable train of syllogistic reasoning." Morelly, the cotemporary of Rousseau, says that man "though composed of intelligent parts generally operates independently of his reason ; his deliberations are forestalled, and only leave it to look on while sentiment does the work."

The great ultimate aim of human nature is sociability. Every man looks forward to a time when he will have more leisure to give to his friends, to enjoy with them interchange of thought and hospitality. As man emerges more and more from a savage or semi-barbarous state (state of nature), he first acquires property, place, ease; then cordiality, hospitality, and sociability; and to facilitate all these, he must needs congregate with his fellows; hence arise towns and cities.

In our present theme we have to do with the ill effects on health, mortality, and longevity, arising from prolonged or continuous life in cities. And these effects can best be shown and appreciated by comparison with the much more favorable results of life in the country.

On these several conditions hang the fates of principalities and powers. Well and truly has the Roman poet said: "*Pericula mille saevae urbis*"—a thousand perils beset the great city,—and these words have as much weight and meaning to-day as they had centuries ago.

On the other hand, the unsparing praises of life in the country, with its attendant happiness, healthfulness, and purity, found in the poems of Virgil, Horace,[1] and Cowper,[2] are not less worthy of our careful consideration and thoughtful reflection.

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[1] This used to be my wish: a bit of land,
A house and garden with a spring at hand,
And just a little wood. The gods have crowned
My humble vows; I prosper and abound.
Hoc erat in votis--Sat. VI. B. II.
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The farmer dragged to town on business, swears
That only citizens are free from cares.—*B. I. Sat I.*
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And courts and levees, town-bred mortals' ills,
Bring fevers on and break the seals of wills.
Qumque dies tibi pollicitus.
John Connington's Horace, 12° Lond. 1872.

[2] Strange! there should be found,
Who self-imprisoned in their proud saloons,
Renounce the odors of the open field
For the unscented fictions of the loom;
Who, satisfied with only pencilled scenes,
Prefer to the performance of a God.—*The Sofa.*
* * * * * * *

The writer in the course of his statistical researches has so frequently observed the ill effects of city life, that he was lead to inquire whether the noticeable decline in health, fecundity, and longevity of the human race, and of the American people in particular, were not due to the too great crowding into cities; and he finds from an investigation of the subject that he is warranted in his belief.

That there is a well marked and fully appreciated decline in the health, fecundity, and longevity of the people of the United States, we have only to refer to the investigations of those of our fraternity who have given the subject much thoughtful attention, and are undoubtedly well able to judge. Among these, I may mention Dr. Nathan Allen of Lowell, Massachusetts; Dr. J. M. Toner of Washington, D. C; Dr. John S. Parry[3] of Philadelphia, and the late lamented Dr. Hunt,[4] President of the London Anthropological society.

God made the country, and man made the town,
What wonder then that health and virtue, gifts
That can alone make sweet the bitter draught
That life holds out to all, should most abound,
And least be threatened in the fields and groves.—*The Task.*

But though true worth and virtue in the wild,
And genial soil of cultivated life
Thrive most, and may perhaps thrive only there,
Yet not in cities oft; in proud, and gay,
And gain devoted cities. Thither flow,
As to a common and most noisome sewer,
The dregs and feculence of every land.
In cities foul example on most minds
Begets its likeness. Rank abundance breeds,
In gross and pamper'd cities, sloth, and lust,
And wantonness, and gluttonous excess.
In cities vice is hidden with most ease,
Or seen with least reproach; and virtue, taught
By frequent lapse, can hope no triumph there
Beyond the achievement of successful flight.—*Task.*

[3] *John S. Parry, M. D.*, "Infant mortality and the necessity of a foundling hospital in Philadelphia." Papers of the Social Science Association of Philadelphia, 1871, pp. 28. out of *Penn Monthly*,—1871.

[4] *James Hunt, Ph.D.* The influence of the climate of North America on the physical and psychical constitution. Reviewed in No. 1, *Anthropological Review*, London, May, 1863, p. 18.

These men are all habitually careful, thoughtful, and moreover, conscientious in the expression of their opinions; and we are forced to accept the weight of their evidence, however humiliating, as regards our future prospects as a nation.

Dr. Parry believes that "it may yet become a serious question, whether the Anglo-Saxon race is adapted for life in this country with its variable climate; and it may yet become a very serious question, whether the American will become a permanent nation, if immigration is cut off, for it is beyond doubt that though our people are not physically weak, the number of children born to native parents is small, and is decreasing every year. This is true not only of those families who have lived in this country for three or four generations, but it is more or less true of the immediate descendants of our Irish and German immigrants." I have shown in my article, "on the effect of nationality of parents on fecundity and proportion of sexes in births,[5] that foreign-born parents have a much higher degree of fecundity than native-born parents, and have as a consequence a larger proportion of male children.

If William Barton were living to-day, he would find his predictions of fertility, longevity, and increase of our people had fallen sadly short of his high hopes, as expressed in a letter to David Rittenhouse, dated March 17th, 1791, "On the probabilites of the duration of human life in the United States of America.[6] He calls attention to the fact of the population having doubled in fifteen years; while at the present time it will take more than twice that length of time to increase the population to the same extent, and this is only 82 years ago.

He attributes this unparalleled increase to the early marriages,[7] virtuous habits, and simple manners of the people. The lack of large cities did not escape his notice, for he compares the unfavorable circumstances connected with city life with the healthful employments of the country.

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5 Philadelphia Medical Times, Dec. 1873.

6 Published in the Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, Vol. iii, pp. 25 to 62, 1*st Series* (*Philadelphia*).

7 William Penn, in a letter to his friends in England, says that there is scarcely a maid of nubile age unmarried in the province of Pennsylvania—need I say how different it is now? How many men and women remain unmarried.—*Watson's Annals of Pennsylvania.*

Barton says that there were 138 deaths to every 100 births in Rome in the beginning of the eighteenth century; in Amsterdam 171 deaths to every 100 births; in Berlin, for the five years ending 1759, 131 deaths to every one hundred births. In London for 26 years, about the same time, 124.92 deaths to every 100 births; in Paris for the 14 years ending 1784, 97 deaths to every 100 births. In the city of Providence, R. I., during the 16 years ending 1870, there were 915 births and 977 deaths of colored people.

With these fearfully high rates of mortality he compares that of places in our own country; among which are Salem, Mass. (1782-3), where there were but 49 deaths to every 100 births; the parish of Higham, Mass., for the 54 years ending 1790, had 1113 deaths, or 49.5 deaths to every 100 births. Of the deceased, 84, or 1 in 13.2, survived 80 years. At Milford, Conn., 1777, of the 239 persons who died, 1 in every 7 was upwards of 70 years of age, and 1 in 13 above 80 years. In Philadelphia, 1789, 1 in 40.8 of the persons deceased as above 80 years of age. In the years 1789-90 there were 49.94 deaths to every 100 births in Philadelphia. In 1789 there were 1536 births and only 872 deaths. From 1861 to 1870 (10 years) there were 164,281 births, and 147,435 deaths, or 89.74 deaths to every 100 births in Philadelphia, which is more than double the proportion of mortality to births for the period above, named 83 years ago. In 1789 there was one birth to every 22 inhabitants; from 1806 to 1820 an annual average of 1 in 22.5; from 1820 to 1831, 1 in 22.6; from 1861 to 1872 only 1 in every 37.3. From 1806 to 1820 there was 1 death to every 47.86 inhabitants, from 1861 to 1870, 1 to every 39.1. The average duration of human life in Philadelphia near the close of the 18th century, was above 28 years, now it is but 24.5 years.[8]

Notwithstanding the fact that the mean average duration of human life has decreased apparently 3.5 years in our city (though in reality more), yet, strange to say, there is one person in every 33 of those dying who attained to 80 years and above, among those dying from 1860 to 1872; while there is but one in every 38

[8] See further in the author's paper on "Statistics Relating to Births, Marriages and Deaths in Philadelphia for the eleven years ending Dec. 31, 1872," *Penn Monthly*, Sept. 1873, pp. 24.

in the period from 1820 to 1830, and only one in every 40.8 for the years 1789 and '90,—above the age of 90, however, there was a larger proportion in the earlier periods than at present.

The fact of there being a larger *proportion* of persons above 80 years of age among the decedents in recent enumerations than among those taken some years previous, has furnished a foundation in fact on which some exceedingly clever men have based erroneous conclusions,—among which I may mention the seeming inference that the *average duration* of human life has increased.

Now this fallacy happens in the following manner, viz.: A certain proportion of those dying in the extreme ages mentioned, are exogenous, having come to the city in late adult or advanced age, and though they contribute to swell the number, and consequently increase the proportion in extreme ages, yet their number is not sufficient to very materially affect, though falsely increasing, the mean average duration of human life, on account of the immense numbers dying in infancy and inferior ages. The reason that there was a larger proportion among the decedents of extreme ages in the decade from 1860 to 1871 than the decade between 1820–30, was because there was a larger proportion of persons of advanced ages coming into the city in the first-named decade than in the last. In the ten years from 1860 to 1870, 91,674 persons, strangers from other places, took up their residence in Philadelphia, and by far the greater part of them were adults. This paradoxical contradiction is repeated in respect to the poor of cities, among whom, though the mortality be greater and the average duration of life less than among the rich, yet they have a larger proportion of decedents of extreme ages than the latter class.

In this connection, I cannot do better than quote the wise conclusion of Mr. George Harris, F. S. A., and vice-president of the Anthropological Institute. After mentioning the fact that the mean average duration of human life had increased from 18 years during the century from 1500 to 1600, to nearly 39 years from 1815 to 1826, he says: "Nevertheless, admitting all this, I must beg to suggest that it is clearly erroneous to contend that the increased average in the duration of human life affords any actual proof of increased longevity. All that it proves is, not that men are longer-lived than they used to be, but that owing

to increased attention to sanitary laws, they are less frequently cut off by diseases resulting from the neglect of sanitary precautions."[9]

This is one of the facts in evidence of the statement made in the beginning—that too many of our people of advanced age retire to cities.[10]

Mr. Bollaert has given out some opinions "On the Past and Present Population of the New World," in the memoirs of the Anthropological Society of London, 1863, pp. 72–119, as also Mr. Walford on the population of the United States, in the London Statistical Society's proceedings, an examination of which, had we the time, would be useful in this connection.

Of the character of the exogenous population of towns, Dr. John Edward Morgan, in his paper on "The Danger of Deterioration of Race," from the too rapid increase of great cities,[11] says: "The country is robbed of a large portion of its productive population; men and women in the prime of their strength, when their chances of life are the most promising, emigrate to the towns, and then a comparison is instituted between the places they have deserted and those to which they have removed.

"The result of all such calculations must needs prove fallaciously favorable to towns."

Of the 101,486 emigrants from the industrial counties to London, 53,495 remain, or 1.4 per cent. Of the 587,143 persons going to London from the agricultural counties, 444,890 remain, forming 9.1 per cent. of the total population. Thus the exogenous population of London consists of persons from the agricultural districts, to the extent of 9.1 per cent., and from the industrial districts, to the extent of 1.4 per cent. of the entire population.

Thus we find that it is not only persons who are in the prime of life, with families in many cases, preferring to remain in the crowded streets of towns, but others from the most vigorous class

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[9]The comparative longevity of animals of different species, and of man etc. *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, London, April 1872, pp. 68–78, p. 78

[10]Benj. Franklin, in 1785 (?), published an article on the "Augmentation of the Human Species," in the *Gentlemen's Magazine*, but I was not able to find it in the volumes for 1785, owing perhaps to wrong date.

[11]Published in the Transactions of the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science, held at Sheffield, (pp. 427–440.)

bring their delicate infants into them without fear of harm—and the acquisition of any considerable competence is a never-failing signal for city life, in those even who have been reared and made their fortunes in the country.

These changes of residence from city to country and the reverse, would seem to contribute to increase the mortality of both, if we may believe Dr. Nott, who says: "The citizen of the town is fully acclimated to its atmosphere, but cannot spend a single night in the country without serious risk of life; nor can the squalid, liver-stricken countryman come into the city during the prevalence of yellow fever, without danger of dying of black vomit."

The fault of over-crowding cities with idlers is a *mere matter of fashion.* In America it is the fashion to live in cities. In England it is equally the fashion to live in the country. Yet there is a reason for this fashion—and it is principally a matter of money. We Americans have not wealth enough to live in the country—though it may seem paradoxical to say that it costs more to live in the country than in the city—but I mean to live fashionably—which must always include a town house. In short, the people in America are utilitarians as yet, are too busy in making money, and have no time to do visiting at distances—and as a consequence country people would have no social life—their wives would have but one man to dress for, their daughters would languish in listless maidenhood, and their sons grow dull with *ennui.*

After a time, with more wealth, and when land is scarce and dear, it will become fashionable to have landed estates as the most solid and satisfactory investments. Thus, if not too late, we may reasonably hope that our citizens will be aroused to their interests and that of their posterity.

CONCERNING THE HEALTH OF INHABITANTS OF CITIES.

Sir John Sinclair[12] in his exhaustive work on "The Code of Health and Longevity," says: "The constitution of the generality of citizens may be denominated weak, irritable, and easily susceptible of diseased action; and when men are crowded together, to a cer-

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[12]Sir John Sinclair, Bart: The code of Health and Longevity; etc., etc., etc. In iv vols. 8 vo. Edinburgh, 1807. Pp. 2271.

tain degree, they engender diseases, not only fatal to themselves, but which are contagious, and therefore destructive to others."

He concludes that residence in cities develops a nervous temperament, and when he sat in Parliament, counseled his countrymen to engage in agricultural pursuits, with a view of counteracting this tendency to a prevalence of the nervous temperament in the English people.

A French physiologist has said that the lymphatic temperament indicates or accompanies physical degeneracy, and ought therefore to prevail among old families in cities—and it may be that this will, some day, serve as an indication of ancestral antiquity and unappreciated excellence.

As a further evidence of more rapid physical degeneracy in great cities than in country districts, the *decline in stature* is a proof. Dr. J. Adams Allen[13] says: "In the United States the average height of persons bred and living in large towns and cities, is something less than that of those living in rural districts." This fact is so noticeable that it need not be attested by actual measurement.

Lord Bacon[14] says: "The country life, also is well fitted for long life; it is much abroad and in the open air; it is not slothful, but ever in employment; it is without care and envy."

Dr. Price says:[15] "I have represented particularly the great difference between the duration of human life in towns and in country districts; and from the facts I have recited it appears, that the further we go from the artificial and irregular modes of living in great cities, the fewer number of mankind die in the *first* stages of life, and the more in the *last* stages. * * * * The greatest part of the black catalogue of diseases which ravage human life is the offspring of the tenderness, the luxury, and the corruptions introduced by the vices and false refinements of civil society. That delicacy which is injured by every breath of air, and that rottenness of constitution which is the effect of indolence, intemperance, and debaucheries, were never intended by the author of nature; and it is impossible, that they should not lay the foundation of numberless sufferings, and terminate in premature and miserable death."

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[13] Medical Examinations for Life Insurance, Chicago, 1867. 8vo.
[14] On Life and Death. Part 49.
[15] Reversionary Payments. p. 371.

MORTALITY OF CITIES.

I have stated that the mortality of cities was far greater than in the rural districts, and small villages.

The duration of human life is shorter because of this great mortality. Infants and the very aged suffer most from the ill effects of city life.

In New York city, of the 365,508 deaths reported during the 49 years ending 1853, 50.49 per cent, were of children under five years of age. In Chicago, from 1843 to 1869, there were 63,538 deaths, 51.24 per cent, of which were of infants under five years of age. Mr. Martin a member of the Health of Towns Commission, says it is reckoned that out of 1000 births, 221 only die under five years of age in agricultural districts, while no fewer than 385 die annually, under the same age, in closely built up towns.

In Philadelphia, I have found that 28.5 per cent. of the total mortality was from deaths of infants 1 year and under; 8.5 from 1 to 2 years; 8.3 per cent. from 2 to 5 years of age; or 45.3 per cent. were under 5 years of age. During the twenty years ending 1827, only 39.8 per cent. of the total mortality was from children under 5 years of age, –yet we are often told that the health of cities is improving and human life is increased.

Dr. Toner in his excellent paper[16] on "Free Parks and Camping Grounds; or Sanitariums for the Children of Cities," says: "The healthfulness of the country as compared with the cities, is in such marked contrast in this respect, that instead of the percentage of all deaths being greater under 5 years of age, (than of those dying above 5 years) as in cities, the percentage is largely reversed; and even when the whole annual mortality of the United States is considered in the aggregate, the small mortality among children in the rural districts is sufficient to overcome the unfavorable reports of cities." Mortality of children under five years, in Sheffield, England, 1863, 61 per cent. of total mortality; in 1864, 53 per cent.

In conclusion he states it as his belief "that a considerable percentage of the infantile mortality of cities could, under favorable circumstances, be prevented, is the settled conviction, not only of physicians, but of the parents of these innocent victims."

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[16]*Northwestern Medical and Surgical Journal*, Nov. 1872.

The most trying time for children in cities, is during the intensely hot weather of the summer months, as may be seen from an examination of Dr. Russell's comments[17] on the dreadful mortality of children in New York city, for the week ending July 6, 1872. During this week there were 1591 deaths in all, 229 more than ever before registered, 1007 or 63.2 per cent. of these, were children under 5 years of age; and 45 of persons above 70 years of age. Of 1007 infants under 5 years of age, who fell victims to diarrhœa, 499 were under 1 year, and 604 under 2 years.

The total mortality from diarrhœa, was 653, or 41 per cent. of the deaths from all causes. Of the 2,351 deaths from all causes in the month of July, 140 were of diarrhœal affections, and 102 of diseases of the nervous system.

Intense heat, bad food, and foul air appear to be the principal predisposing causes to this extraordinary mortality. The "Free Camping Grounds and Sanitariums" recommended by Dr. Toner are assuredly worthy of consideration in this connection, as offering a means of obviating a large part of this extraordinary mortality.

That this high rate of infant mortality is not unavoidable, we have a practical proof in the result of the efforts of the Paris Society for the Protection of Infant Life. Out of the 1,682 infants committed to its care during the past year, the society only lost sixty, or less than four per cent. while the mortality among infants put out to nurse in the provinces is about sixty per cent.

Diseases of the lungs are twice as fatal in great cities as in the country; diseases of the nervous system, 5½ to 1; of the digestive system, 2½ to 1; of children by epidemics, fourfold; and of convulsions, tenfold.

Dr. Farr asks whether this excessive mortality of cities is inevitable.

Some Sanitary Reformers, and among them, Mr. Chadwick believes that cities can be made as healthful as rural districts, but this is evidently beyond a possibility; and Mr. G. L. Saunders, in his paper[18] on "The Death-rate of Rural and Urban Districts."

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[17] *New York Medical Record*, p. 333. 1872.

[18] Transactions of the National (British) Association for the Promotion of Social Science, 1865, p. 452—59.

very wisely says: "The loss of life must be—until perhaps the millenium—considerably greater in urban than in the rural districts."

Lord Stanley in his address before the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science, 1857, pointed out that in 134 thickly inhabited districts where the higher rate of cholera mortality occurred, the population was 915 to the square mile; in 404 districts having a lower mortality, there were but 235 inhabitants to a square mile; in the remaining 85 districts there were no cholera deaths, and there were but 122 inhabitants to the square mile.

According to the Registrar-General's Report, of the inhabitants of England and Wales, 8,250,000 persons live on 2,150,000 acres, constituting the urban population, or 3.8 persons to the acre. Among these the death-rate was 25 per 1000 living. The remaining 9,750,000 live on 350,000,000 acres, or 1 person to every 35 acres, these constitute the rural population, and have a death-rate of 17 per 1000, giving a difference of 8 per 1000 in favor of the country.

In ten crowded cities there are 1,165,530 inhabitants living on 33,551 acres, or 34 per acre; with a death rate of 28 per 1000 living.

In twelve smaller places, 238,595 acres are occupied by 128,934 persons, or 1.8 acres to each person, with a death-rate of 21 per 1000.

In sixteen still smaller places, 217,282 persons live on 1,214,977 acres, or 5.5 acres to each person, with a death-rate of only 16 per 1,000.

In one district of Northumberland, 1 person to 10 acres, with a death rate of 15 to 1000. In another district of this county there were 21.5 acres to each person, with a death rate of 14.02 per 1000.

In Liverpool there are 108 inhabitants to the acre, with a death-rate of 36 per 1000.

In London there are 42 persons to each acre, varying from 7 to 429.

In the fourth ward of New York city there are 183,000 persons to the square mile.

These facts point to over-crowding in cities as a cause of the excessive mortality occuring in them, though there would appear to be more definite causes accompaning this, which seem to be

operative; for Dr. Robert Martin, after careful investigation, believes the death-rate of Liverpool was raised from 25 in 1000 in 1860, to 50 in 1000 in 1866, on account of the evils attending intemperance, owing to great development of the licensing system.

Dr. Morgan attributes the greater mortality of cities than rural districts, to foul air, constitutional syphilis and intemperance. To these might be added, irregular hours, want of exercise, sensual appetites gratified; and unhealthy and extra-hazardous occupations.

The death-rate among persons under 15 years, is, in

Liverpool	48.5 in 1000 living.	Wiltshire 18.0 in 100 living.
Manchester	42.5 " " "	Berks, Dorset and Westminster
Birmingham	39.0 " " "	18.5 in 1000 living.
London	33.0 " " "	

Berks, Dorset, and Westminster 18 5 in 1000 living.

Of all ages in 27 agricultural districts (1861-62) 21.4 in 1000 living.

" " " thc 4 chief cities 40.7 " " "

"To live in the country and in small towns, is favorable to longevity; to live in great towns is unfavorable. In great cities, from 1 in 25 to 1 in 30 die every year; in the country, from 1 in 40 to 1 in 50. Mortality among children is in particular much increased by living in great cities, so that one-half of those who are born, die generally before the third year; whereas, in the country, the half are not carried off until the twentieth or thirtieth. The smallest degree of human mortality is 1 in 69 annually; and this proportion is found only here and there among country people."[19]

"According to the Registrar-General's report on the mortality of children, nearly one-half of all that are born alive die before the end of the *fifth* year in Liverpool; while the same number in London live to the age of thirty-three; and in the county of Surrey to fifty. In 1845, nearly one-half of all the children born in Birmingham, died under *five* years of age; the entire half in Manchester died in the same period; and more than one-half in Liverpool. In London the proportion was between one-half and one-third; and in Wales less than one-third."[20]

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[19]Christopher William Hufeland: Art of Prolonging Life. Edited by E. Wilson. Boston. 1854. pp. 102.

[20]Ibid. Note by Erasmus Wilson. pp. 103.

Sussmilch[21] supposed that the mortality of the country was 1 in 35, 1 in 49, 1 in 50, and even 1 in 100. He estimates small cities 1 in 25 to 1 in 28; and of great cities 1 in 24 to 1 in 20. Graunt[22] estimated that the mortality in the city exceeded that in the country by 1 in 12. Friedlander calls attention to the fact, that many of those whose names are inscribed on the roll of births in the country and small villages, often augment the bills of mortality in great cities, thus favoring the city mortality by the acquisition of inhabitants who have passed the critical period of infancy in the country. Price observed that a fourth of those who die in London were not born there, and that it took ten thousand individuals from other places to cover the deficit between the births and deaths.

LONGEVITY.

The lower mortality of rural districts would indicate a greater longevity, which is always realized, where any calculations have been made.

The mean average duration of life in the eastern districts of London was from 25 to 30 years, in the northern and western districts from 40 to 50 years.

In 1,000 deaths in the country districts of England, 202 persons attained the age of seventy years. In Liverpool but 90 attained to the same age, and this, too, in the face of the fact of the larger part of the exogenous population coming into the city after the dangers incident to infancy are past. The average age at death in Rutlandshire was 38 years; in Liverpool, 27 years.

Taking the same population, it has been shown by the Registrar-General that in four years a greater number died in town districts than in country districts, by 99,752.

Out of 750,322 deaths in London from 1728 to 1758 (thirty years), only 242 persons survived the age of 100 years.

In agricultural districts 20.7 in every 100 living attain 45 years; in the four great cities, only 17.5.

The average age at death in the State of Rhode Island[23] from 1858 to 1870 (including Providence), was 31.45 years. In Providence[24], the largest city, during the fifteen years ending 1870,

[21]Dict. Des Sci. Med. Art. Mortalité v, 34. pp. 375.

[22]Natural and Political Observations on the Bills of Mortalité. London. 1759. 4to.

[23]Dr. E. T. Caswell's Rept. 1871, p. 70. [24]Dr. Edw. M. Snow's Rept. 1870, p. 28.

there were 16,203 deaths, and the average age of decedents was 27.09 years; leaving a difference of 4.36 years in favor of the rural districts.

The unhealthfulness of various callings in towns as compared with the country may be inferred from the following from Dr. Morgan's paper.

Class.	London. Average age at death.	Class.	Hertfordshire. Average age at death.
Gentry	44	Gentry	45
Tradesmen	25	Farmers	47
Mechanics	22	Laborers	39
Average	27	Average	40

Dr. Price[25] says the expectation of a child just born in the parish of the Holy Cross, near Shrewsbury, is 33.9 years; in Northamptonshire, 25½; in Norwich, 23¾,; in London, 18. In Holy Cross parish one in eleven die at eighty years and upwards; in Northamptonshire, one in twenty-two; in Norwich, one in twenty-seven; in London, one in sixty.

In the United States (1860) there was one death to every 78.32 inhabitants, in 1870 one to every 79.77; while in New York city (1870) there was one death to every 39.3 inhabitants. In Philadelphia, 1861 to 1871, one death to every 39.1 inhabitants. Gen. Walker[26] gives the mean average duration of human life in the United States (1870) at 39¼ years, while in New York and Philadelphia it is only 23 years, or 16 years less.

Mr. Farr, in his first annual report (1839), says that out of 1.000 deaths in England and Wales, 145 had attained seventy years and upwards.

210 in thinly peopled districts of W. Riding of Yorkshire and Durham.

[25]Richard Price, D.D. Observations on Reversionary Payments, Annuities, etc. London: 5th edition, 1792, 8vo.

[26]Gen. Walker, in his address before the American Public Health Association, Nov. 12, 1873. said that he estimated the deficit in the returns of deaths in the census of 1870, at 33 per cent.

198 in Northumberland, Westmoreland and Lancashire.
196 in Norfolk and Suffolk. 192 in Devonshire.
188 in Cornwall. 104 in London and suburbs.
81 in Birmingham. 79 in Leeds.
63 in Liverpool and Manchester.

According to the statements made in in the 5th annual report (1843) of the Registrar-General, of the persons aged from forty to sixty years, there were living in

Exeter, ...13.28 per cent. Liverpool.........14.87 per cent.
Sheffield...........15.50 per cent. Manchester.......15.43 per cent.
Birmingham......15.15 per cent. Leeds..............15.23 per cent.

In the following four agricultural districts,

Devon.............16.97 per cent. Essex...............16.27 per cent.
Norfolk............16.50 per cent. Suffolk.............15.98 per cent.

"Can anything," says Dr. Farr, "display the different effects of rural and town life, on longevity, more uniformly, more regularly, or more strikingly?"

It seems to be a universal law, says Dr. Edward Jarvis,[27] that condensation of population lessens the chances of life. The ratio of mortality is greater in the city than the country, and this increases as the people live nearer together in the city. From his admirable paper on "Infant Mortality" we take the following:

The Registrar-General[28] of England gives a table showing the number of deaths in 10,000 living, and average number of people to an acre of land, in each of the six hundred and twenty-three districts of England and Wales.

In the districts which had 100 to 250 persons to the acre, the annual deaths were 262 in 10,000 living.

In those which had 1 to 2 acres to each inhabitant, the deaths were 214 in 10,000. In thirty settled districts, with twelve or more acres for each, the deaths were only 168 in 10,000.

In cities the mortality increased with the crowding of the living, as shown by the reports of deaths in the four places below:

Town.	Living to square mile.	Annual deaths in 10,000 living.
London	50,000	251
Leeds	87,256	272
Manchester	100,000	337
Liverpool	138,000	348

[27] State Board of Health of Massachusetts, Rept., 1873, p 224.
[28] Twenty-fifth report pp. xxxviii to lviii.

The excess of mortality falls in greater proportion on childhood than on maturity.

The deaths in the healthiest districts were 10,604 in 100,000 children under one year. In Westmoreland and North Wales, they were 11,884. In fourteen city districts, 25,858. In Liverpool, 28,005.

The annual deaths under file in the period 1849 to 1853 were, in thirty cities, 338,000, and in healthy country districts 135,478, in the same population in each. As often as 100 died in the healthy country, 250 died in the city, among the same number living.[29]

The life-table, founded upon the most rigid observations, makes the proportion of deaths of children to be 5.29 per cent. for the country, and 13.34 in the city, or as 100 to 252.

The reports of births and deaths of Scotland, make three divisions of the people.

1. Those living on the islands.
2. Those living in the country of the mainland.
3. Those living in the great cities.

During the 14 years reported, the proportion of deaths of children, for every hundred births in each class were:

Divisions	Under one.	Under five.
Islands,	8.05	15.58
Mainland Country,	9.80	18.26
Great Cities,	14.91	30.90

As often as 1000 died on the Islands, 1,217 died on the mainland country, and 1,852 in the cities under one; and 1,172 in the rural, and 1,983 in the city districts under 5.

There are similar differences in France. The deaths in 1861 to 1865, were less than 12 per cent. in two departments; less than 15 per cent. in six; less than 17 per cent. in nine departments, and 39.07 per cent. in Paris, in the same number living under one year.[30]

A chart recently published by Bertillion, in France, shows the different rates of mortality of children under one and under five in each department. In the department of the Seine, which com-

[29]Registrar-General Repts. XXV. p xxvii.

[30]Mouvement de la Population, 1861–65, p. lxvii.

prehends Paris, the rate of infant mortality is 268,6 in 1,000; while seven of the neighboring departments have a mortality from 277 to 359 in 1,000. Dr. Jarvis, explains the apparently favorable mortality of the city, by calling attention to the fact of children being sent into the country and swelling, in this way, the mortality in the latter to the advantage of the former.

In 1863 the Public Administration of Charities, in Paris, had charge of 22,829 infants; 17,759 of these were sent into the country, and there 13,359, or 7.65 per cent. died; 4.397 were retained in the city, and 469, or 10.6 per cent. died.

Dr. Berg the chief of the Royal Statistical Bureau of Sweden says: "The difference between the towns especially the large towns, and rural districts has an important effect on the mortality of children of that country."

Dr. Herz makes the same report of Austria. And records of mortality of other European nations give similar accounts.[31]

"In the least unhealthy rural districts of England, the death-rates of children, in the first year, are not more than one in twelve or fourteen. In the least unhealthy urban districts, there dies one in eight or nine, in the first year. In Manchester, one in five dies, under one, and one-half of all that are born there, are dead, soon after their fifth year. But in Berlin, Prussia, one out of every three dies within the first year, and one half of all that are born there, are dead within two and a-half years after their birth. In 1871, 31,262 children were born, and 10,072, or 32.2 per cent., died within that year."[32]

In New York city[33] in 1871, there died 10,701 children less than two years old, or 39.6 per cent. of the total mortality, the per centage in 1870 having been 40.8 per cent. The mortality of children less than five years of age amounted to 12,791, or 48 per cent. of total mortality.

In Philadelphia, for the years 1870–1–2, the deaths of children under one year constituted 27.77 per cent. of total mortality; under five years 43.66 per cent.[34]

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[31]Journal of the Statistical Society of London, March, 1866.

[32]Edwin Chadwick, in Journal of Society of Arts, London, Dec. 20th, 1872, p 87.

[33]New York Medical Record, Dec. 1, 1873.

[34]Reports of Board of Health, 1872. pp. 20.

In Massachusetts for the ten years, 1860–1870, Dr. Edward Jarvis has tabulated the following facts, in which he compares the infant mortality of Boston with that in thirteen other and smaller cities in the State, and finally with the remainder of the State at large.

	Births.	Deaths under one.	Ratio of deaths under one to births.
Boston,	60,354	11,537	19.11 per cent.
Thirteen other cities,	80,088	13,863	17.30 per cent.
Rest of State,	198,030	24,547	12.39 per cent.

The rate of infant mortality, in comparison with the births, in the thirteen smaller cities (towns) exceeded that of the open country by 39.60 per cent., and that Boston had an excess of 54.23 per cent. Among the same number of children, born in each of these classes of places, as often as 1000 died in the country, 396 died in the smaller cities, and 1,542 in Boston under one year.

Dr. Farr[35] gives the following as the proportion of deaths under five years of age, occuring in London for the years named:

1730 to 1749, ... 74.5 per cent.
1770 to 1789, ... 51.5 per cent.
1851 to 1870, ... 29.8 per cent.

"So great was the rate of infant mortality in London, that an act of Parliament was passed in 1767, ordering that all parish infants should be nursed six years in the country. Before this almost all parish children died in their first six years."[36]

The advantage of the system of nursing in the country, already alluded to as practised in Paris, was shown in this latter place, to have reduced the mortality from 10.6 per cent. to 7.65.

The mortality of great cities is found to be both in this country and in Europe more than twice as great as that of the rural districts; indeed it is fully 2½ times as great, for the cities are counted with the country in those comparisons, thus reducing the difference in their favor, and moreover, the mean average age at death in cities is falsely increased by the fact of the exogenous population of towns having passed the most critical period of their lives in the country.

In England it is found that 50 per cent. of the inhabitants are

[35] In Macculloch's Statisical Account of the British Empire, ii., p. 543.
[36] Price's Annuities. ii., 32.

between the ages of 15 and 45 years, while in the agricultural counties there are but 42 per cent. hence there are 13 per cent. more persons of a marriageable age in cities than in the rural districts. Of these, however, it is probable that a majority are females.

On inquiry into the causes of the greater mortality of cities than rural districts, we find that circumstances connected with poverty are most noticeable, for in Philadelphia during the 10 years ending 1871, I found that there was but one death to 57 inhabitants in the richest ward though not exclusively inhabited by that class, and 1 death in every 42 inhabitants in the next richest ward, while there were but 36.50 inhabitants to every death, in the poorest ward, and there were but 4.86 persons to each family and 5.04 persons to each house, here; while there were 6.23 persons to each family and 7.04 inhabitants to each house in the richest ward.

Villot, in Paris, 1830, found that there was one death to every 42 inhabitants in the richest arrondissements, and 1 in 25 in the poorest. 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 5 years, 5.7 per cent.; among the poor of Berlin, 34.5 per cent. In Brussels, the mortality up to the 5th year was 6 per cent. in the families of capitalists, 33 per cent. amongst the tradesmen and professional people, and 54 per cent. amongst the workingmen and domestics. De Villiers found the mortality among the workingmen of Lyons 35 per cent, and in well-to-do families and agricultural districts 10 per cent.

Dr. Edward Jarvis has also noticed that "there are differences in the same city. In four of the districts of London the deaths under 5 were from 50 to 59; and in four other districts these rates were from 101 to 108 in 1000 living, of the same age. Between these extremes, there were all intermediate grades of mortality in other districts. This is due in part to the different densities of the population, and in greater degree, to the differences in their domestic condition.

Similar differences were found in Boston, in 1870, the year of the census. The State Board of Health divided the city into twenty-four districts, according to their sanitary condition. Some

of these were low and wet, others were hilly and dry. Some were laid out with wide streets, open grounds, broad sidewalks, and were inhabited by the wealthy and comfortable classes. Others were filled with narrow streets, lanes and courts, and in these were crowded the dwellings and families of the poor. In the most favored districts, the deaths of infants under one, were 86, 100, 167, 171, in 1000 living at that age. In the unhealthy districts, the mortality was 359, 379, 409, and 486, in the same number of living infants.[37]

Dr. Marc D'Espine,[38] a Swiss writer of note on mortality, says: "Wealth and comfortable circumstances increase vitality and longevity. They raise the mean average of life. They lessen the mortality at all ages, and especially in infancy. But poverty and misery have the contrary effects."

According to Dr. Jarvis,[39] Mr. Chadwick, in his report on the sanitary condition of the laboring classes, page 161, says: that he found in fourteen cities and districts that the average age, at death, of 1,232 members of the most comfortable classes, including the children and infants, was 44 years. Of 5,035 persons in families less comfortably circumstanced, it was 27.47 years, and 20,385 persons in families of the poor, had enjoyed an average life of only 19.58 years. The average longevity in the most favored class exceeded that in the poorest by 125 per cent.

The difference was most in the deaths of the children. Compared with the number living under one year, the deaths were 20 per cent. in the last, 44.4 per cent. in the middle class, and 50 per cent. in the poorest.

In Massachusetts,[39] the proportion of deaths under two years in the families of farmers who owned their farms, was 11.94 per cent. of those of all ages, and in the laborers' families, the proportion was about double, or 23.5 per cent.

THE RELATIVE INFLUENCE OF CITY AND COUNTRY LIFE ON MALES AND FEMALES.

One of the most curious facts in connection with the relative longevity of the sexes is the influence of country and city life.

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[37]Dr. Jarvis: Report of State Board of Health of Massachussetts, 1871, p. 350

[38]Annales d'Hygiene, etc. t xxxvii. p. 325.

[39]Massachusetts State of Board of Health Rept. 1873. pp. 214-6.

Women are longer-lived in cities than in the country, while men are longer-lived in the country than in the city, as may be seen by the following :

Quetelet says that "the prosperity of the state ought to consist less in the multiplication than in the conservation of the individuals of which it is composed."

This authority finds the mortality in cities in Belgium, as compared with country districts, as 4 to 3.

After birth, according to Quetelet, the probabilities of life in Belgium are as follows :

	MALES.	FEMALES.
In cities	21 years.	28 years.
In country	24 "	27 "
At 5 years in cities	48 "	51 "
At 5 years in country	51 "	48 "

The probability of life reaches its maximum at five years.

In the population of Belgium there were 91.14 males to 100 females in the cities, and 99.42 males to 100 females in the country districts. Among the deaths there were 101.45 males to 100 females in cities, 99.20 males to 100 females in country districts. There is, therefore, an excess of more than 5 per cent. in the deaths of males over females in the cities, while the proportion of the sexes among the deaths in the country is scarcely different from that in the living, in the general population.

In the State of Rhode Island (1871) [City of Providence excluded], the average age of female decedents was 32.35 years, while the average age of this sex in the largest city (Providence) was 37.92 years.

I have stated in another place, that the number of still-births and the proportion of males in such cases, was greater in the country (the excess amounting to 9.3 per cent. in Belgium) than in the city. This is in some degree, due to the greater fecundity and larger number of male conceptions in the country districts over cities, but there are other causes to which the death of a larger proportion of the difference between the mortality from this cause in cities over the country is due; and principal among these I would suggest the delay and lessened facilities for calling in a practitioner, and less skilful obstetrical aid, afforded to the parturient

woman and her issue. Seeing that the proportion of males among still-births[40] is greater in the country, and as this condition of the child is usually attended with greater danger to the mother, we are not surprised to find greater mortality among women of a child-bearing age in the country than in the city. Whether the greater mortality of females of all ages in the country than in the city is principally due to this cause, I am not prepared to state, but am persuaded it is not.

In the State of Michigan (1870) there were 10,766 deaths, 150 or 1.3 per cent. of which were recorded as occurring among women in childbirth. In Philadelphia, for the 11 years ending 1870, there were but 93 deaths registered from this cause, or .053 per cent. of total mortality; of these, 1 was from 15 to 20 years of age; 43 were from 20 to 30; 41 were from 30 to 40; 8 were from 40 to 50; average age of all at death, 31.05 years.[41] In Rhode Island (1871) there were 27 deaths in childbirth, or .808 per cent. of the whole mortality; in Providence, the principal city in the State, only .567 per cent. of total mortality was from childbirth. According to the U. S. census for 1870, the deaths from childbirth, abortion and pueperral convulsions numbered 4,810, or .977 per cent. of total mortality. In 1860, 4,066 women died from these causes, or 1.033 per cent. of total mortality. In 1850, 3,117, or .965 per cent. of mortality. Quetelet has shown, in the following table on the influence of the sexes on the deaths at different ages, that from the 14th to the 50th year of age, or during the child-bearing period, in cities, 1,025 females die for every 1,000 males, while in the country, 1,215 females die to every 1,000 males, during the same period. In this same table, which we give below, in cities, from 50 to 100 years of age, 1,185

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[40]The proportion of children still-born in the chief cities of Europe is 1 in every 22 births, the number being three times greater among illegitimate than legitimate children. In France, 1850, 1 in 37 were still-born; in Paris, 1 in 12.5; in Great Britain, 1 in 20; in Philadelphia, 1860–70, 1 in 21.7

From the larger proportion of still-births in cities over country districts, we might infer that citizens have a lower initial vitality or viability than those born in the country.

[41]From the author's paper on Deaths from Cancer and some of the Diseases peculiar to Women in Philadelphia, for the 11 years ending 1871. Journal of the Gynecological Society of Boston, Sept. 1872, pp. 201-2-3-4.

females die for every 1,000 males, while in the country, there are only 972 females to every 1,000 males attaining these ages. In Belgium, where the calculations were made, there are in the population of all ages, 1,098 females to 1,000 males in cities, and 1,006 females to 1,000 males in the country districts. There is scarcely a single city of any magnitude, in which the female population is not in excess of the male, though there be an excess of from 2 to 6 per cent. of males in the births. The proportion of females in the population of cities, as well as in the births, is nearly always greater than in the surrounding country. To this greater excess of females in cities has been attributed, among other causes, the larger proportion of illegitimate children in them than in the rural districts.

Table showing the influence of the sexes on the deaths at different ages, in Belgium.[42]

Ages.	Deaths of Females for one Male death — In the Cities.	Deaths of Females for one Male death — In the Country.
Still-Born,	0.75	0.59
From 0 to 1 mo.	0.75	0.73
" 1 to 2 "	0.73	0.84
" 2 to 3 "	0.82	0.83
" 3 to 6 "	0.79	0.86
" 6 to 12 "	0.94	0.97
" 1 to 2 yrs.	0.94	1.03
" 2 to 5 "	1.00	1.06
" 5 to 14 "	1.12	1.07
" 14 to 18 "	1.22	1.34
" 18 to 21 "	1.02	1.08
" 21 to 26 "	0.79	0.90
" 26 to 30 "	1.00	1.17
" 30 to 40 "	1.14	1.60
" 40 to 50 "	0.98	1.20
" 50 to 60 "	0.93	0.85
" 60 to 70 "	1.04	0.95
" 70 to 80 "	1.30	1.00
" 80 to 100 "	1.47	1.09
	.9857	.1008[43]

[42]Quetelet, Sur la Reproduct., Mortal., etc., 1832, p. 68

[43]101.45 males to 100 female decedents in cities; 99.20 to 100 in country.

MARRIAGES AND BIRTH-RATE.

The marriage rate in the 4 chief cities of England 1860-1 was	13.6 in 1000 Living
Birth-rate 1860–1	35.5 " " "
Marriage-rate in the country	7.0 " " "
Birth-rate " "	31.5 " " "
In Manchester in 1860-1 the marriage-rate was	18.5 " " "
Hertfordshire " " "	5.8 " " "
Manchester '60-1 the average birth-rate was	37.5 " " "
Hertfordshire " " "	30.5 " " "

Hence, "while marriages in the city were nearly fourfold more numerous than in the country, the births there only exceed the latter by about one-sixth."[44]

In the Parish of Higham, Massachusetts, before 1789, according to Mr. William Barton there were 2,247 births, or 6¼ births to each marriage. Dr. Nathan Allen, believes that there are scarcely more than three births to each marriage in that State at the present time.

I have found[45] that there were 3.91 births to each marriage annually in Philadelphia 1861, while there were only 2.67 to each marriage in 1870, or an average of 2.6 legitimate births to each marriage annually, from 1861 to 1871. There were 101 persons to each marriage annually during this latter period.

Villermé of Paris, contended that the restrained fecundity in his city was due to the will of the inhabitants, rather than to actual physical degeneracy, but the greater proportion of males in births in country districts than in cities, and the greater mortality of the latter fully disproves this theory.

It is said that it is impossible for three successive generations to survive who have lived continuously in London; and it is certainly true that an uninterrupted residence of 200 years in a great city, by a family who intermarry with others not less old, must result in its extinction.

One of the noble families of England, recognizing this fact, has adopted the rule of marrying the sons to the rural gentry or

[44] John Edward Morgan, M. A. M. D. Oxon. "The Danger of Deterioration of Race from the too rapid increase of great cities." Transactions of the National [British] Association for the Promotion of Social Science, 1865, pp. 427-49.

[45] The Author's statistics of Philadelphia, etc., Penn Monthly, September, 1873, pp. 24, and papers of Social Science Association of Philadelphia.

others of inferior rank, that there may be greater certainty of perpetuating the name in the male line. Indeed, I am credibly informed that in England, so great is the desire for issue, that marriages are too frequently postponed until this is assured.

Wealthy citizens who desire to perpetuate their names in succeeding generations of sons, should marry vigorous, healthy country women.

I have shown in another paper, on the Effects of Nationality of Parents on Fecundity,[46] etc., that foreign mothers with American fathers, have a larger number of children than where the nationalities of the parents are reversed.

PROPORTION OF THE POPULATION LIVING IN CITIES.

In England during the last 150 years, the population of country districts has decreased, from having 74 per cent. of the entire population to having but 44 per cent. ; the cities, therefore, have at the present time more than 56 per cent. of the entire population. From 1851 to 1861 towns and country districts increased at the rate of 3.9 per cent., while populous cities increased 17 per cent.

In the United States there were in 1860, 102 towns with a population of 10,000 each, 6 between 11,000 and 12,000 ; 4 between 12,000 and 13,000 ; 12 between 13,000 and 14,000 ; 7 between 14,000 and 15,000 ; 3 between 15,000 and 16,000 ; 5 between 16,000 and 17,000 ; 3 between 17,000 and 18,000 ; 3 between 18,000 and 19,000 ; 2 between 19,000 and 20,000 ; 19 between 20,000 and 30,000 ; 4 between 30,000 and 40,000 ; 6 between 40,000 and 50,000 ; 2 between 50,000 and 60,000 ; 4 between 60,000 and 75,000 ; 1 between 75,000 and 100,000 ; 1 between 100,000 and 150,000 ; 4 between 150,000 and 200,000 ; 2 between 200,000 and 500,000 ; 1 above 500,000, and 1 above 800,000 ; in all 4,763,717.

In 1870 there was 1 city above 900,000 ; 1 above 600,000 ; 2 above 300,000 ; 4 above 200,000 ; 2 above 150,000 ; 4 above 100,000 ; 4 above 75,000 ; 7 above 50,000 ; 7 above 40,000 ; 12 above 30,000 ; 6 above 20,000 ; in all, 50 cities having each a population above 20,000, making a total of 5,074,849 inhabitants, or about one-seventh of the entire population of the United States live in cities of above 20,000 inhabitants.

[46] Philadelphia Medical Times, December, 1873.

50 largest cities.....................1870.........................5,074,849
50 largest cities.....................1860.........................3,946,855

Increase of (22.2 per cent.).....................................1,127,994

At the present time fully 15 per cent. of our population live in fifty cities, having from 20,000 to 1,000,000 inhabitants; or on an average of 101,496 persons to each.

Dr. Price calculated that London contained in the eighteenth century (1758) 1-9 or 11.1 per cent. of all the people of England, and consumed from seven to ten thousand persons annually, who removed into it from the country, without increasing it.

Liverpool, Manchester, Bristol, Leeds, Sheffield, Hull, having a total population of 883,162 persons, had but 3,909 births in excess of deaths. Nine towns having a population of from thirteen to thirty-seven thousand, or a total of 227,870, had an excess of births amounting to 3,316, or nearly as many from about one-fourth the number of persons.

Drowitch, with a population of 19,237, had an excess of 288, while Liverpool with a population of 269,720 had only 152.

It is worth while for us to inquire whether there is any necessity for such a large proportion of those who do business in cities to live in them.

However much this may have been a necessity before the introduction of railroads, no such excuse can be offered at the present day; for every city, worthy of the name, has innumerable facilities for a residence in the salubrious air and quiet retreat of the country; and it is a matter of regret in view of the facts here detailed, that a much larger number do not avail themselves of the splendid opportunities afforded in this direction. Particularly is this true of those who are raising families of children, among whom the mortality is so great in large cities. Notwithstanding this excessive mortality among children in cities, cutting off all the weakest, yet a far larger proportion, if, indeed, not nearly all of our truly great men of the three learned professions—of arts and sciences, and statesmen, from the presidents down—owe their superior excellence to their rural origin.[47]

[47] In answer to a letter of inquiry on this point from Dr. S. Austin Allibone, the distinguished author of "The Dictionary of English Authors"—he says: "though I do not venture an opinion," yet "*a priori*, I should think your theory correct."

In another place[48] I have said that *life is but developmental death*, and one reason citizens are shorter lived,—they live faster, develop more rapidly, and die earlier from this cause. It is well known that children reach puberty sooner in cities than in the country, and what is this but the evidence of the completion of one of the stages of development,—*life is therefore developmental death.* Life in cities is shortened then, not only by disease, but by the circumstances connected with civilization, which favor and hurry on development, which finally culminates in death.

The reason of the excessive mortality among the poor, would appear to be due to improper preparation of, and scanty and inferior food, in addition to the evils of intemperance, inheritance, vitiated air, and over-crowding so commonly urged.

I am more than ever convinced of this since hearing Dr. Jarvis' excellent paper[49] on the importance of the proper preparation of food, and its influence on health, happiness, and longevity.

I cannot pass this point without also calling attention to Dr. A. C. Hamlin's (of Bangor, Me.) paper on "Alimentation Considered in its Relation to the Progress and Prosperity of the Nation."[50]

In 1749 the academy of Dijon proposed this question as a theme for their prize essay: *Has the restoration of the sciences contributed to purify or to corrupt manners?* The famous Rousseau was one of the fourteen competitors, and in 1750 his discussion of the academic theme received the prize. This was his first entry on the field of literature and speculation, and laid the foundation of his far-famed future.

John Morely[51] says, "people have sometimes held up their hands at the amazing originality of the idea that perhaps the sciences and the arts have not purified manners. This sentiment is surely exaggerated, if we reflect first that it occurred to the academicians

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[48] "A new Theory concerning the cause of Enlargement of the Prostate Body (Gland); ascribing it to developmental causes. Philadelphia Medical Times, January, 1874.

[49] "The Power of the Housekeeper over, and Responsibility for, the Health of the Family," Transact. of American Public Health Assoc., N. Y., 1874. (session of Nov. 11, 12, and 13, 1873.)

[50] Ibid.

[51] Rousseau, By John Morely, 2 vols, Lond. 1873. vol. I. p. 132.

of Dijon as a question for discussion, and second that, if you are asked whether a given result has or has not followed from certain circumstances, the mere form of the question suggests no quite as readily as yes."

"Egypt, once so mighty, becomes the mother of philosophy and the fine arts, and soon after comes its conquest by Cambyses, by Greeks,[52] by Romans, by Arabs, finally by Turks. Greece twice conquered Asia, once before Troy, once in its own homes; then came in the fatal sequence the progress of the arts, the dissolution of manners, and the yoke of the Macedonian. Rome, founded by a shepherd, and raised to glory by husbandmen, began to degenerate with Ennius, and the eve of her ruin was the day when she gave a citizen the deadly title of arbiter of good taste. China, where letters carry men to the highest dignities of the State, could not be preserved by all her literature from the conquering power of the rude Tartar. On the other hand, the Persians, Scythians, Germans, remain in history as types of simplicity, innocence and virtue." These are the words of Rousseau, in his reply to the King of Poland; and were he living to-day, he might safely say the same of France, the arbiter of good taste for the whole world, the most highly civilized people of the present time, physically and morally the weakest of nations, having a smaller population at the taking of the last census, than in the preceding.

History repeats itself, particularly where new nations ape the arts and luxuries of the old.

Luxury makes people indolent, pampers vices, leads to intemperance and debauchery, with all their attendant evils. It saps the military virtues by which nations preserve their power and independence, and renders immorality shameless.

Rousseau, in speaking of man, says: "This admirable creature, with foes on every side, is forced to be constantly on the alert, and hence always in full possession of all his faculties, unlike civilized man, whose native force is enfeebled by the mechanical protections with which he has surrounded himself. He is not afraid of the wild beasts around him, for experience has taught

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[52]Bougainville, a brother of the navigator, said in 1760: "Greece is the universe in small, and the history of Greece is an excellent epitome of universal history.—Out of Egger's Hellénisme en France, ii. 272.

him that he is their master. His health is better than the health of us who live in a time when excess of idleness in some, excess of toil in others, the ease of irritating and satisfying our sensuality and our appetites, the heating and over-abundant diet of the rich, the bad food of the poor, the orgies, the excesses of every kind, the immoderate transport of every passion, the fatigue and strain of spirit—when all these things have inflicted more disorders upon us than the vaunted art of medicine h s been able to keep pace with, since we quitted the simple, uniform, and solitary manner of life prescribed to us by nature."

Voltaire, on acknowledging the receipt of the second discourse of Rousseau, which was a kind of supplement to the first, said with his usual shrewd pleasantry: "I have received your new book against the human race, and thank you for it. Never was such cleverness used in the design of making us all stupid. One longs in reading your book to walk on all fours. But as I have lost that habit for more than sixty years, I feel unhappily the impossibility of resuming it. Nor can I embark in search of the savages of Canada, because the maladies to which I am condemned render a European surgeon necessary to me; because war is going on in those regions, and because the example of our actions has made the savages nearly as bad as ourselves; so I content myself with being a peaceable savage in the solitude which I have chosen near your native place, where you ought to be too." In conclusion, he says: "I am informed that your health is bad; you ought to come to set it up again in your native air, to enjoy freedom, to drink with me the milk of our cows, and browse our grass."

While I deny the anticipated results claimed by progressive transcendentalists, I equally disclaim all sympathy with the worst features of the iconoclastic natural perfectionists. And while it cannot be successfully denied, that advanced civilization and the congregation of immense numbers of people in closely crowded cities increases vice, immorality, and crime,—impairs health, shortens the duration of human life, and hastens the final extinction of the race, I cannot see how we could easily do without them, and should be the last one to attempt to devise plans to dispense with the comforts, the luxuries, the elegancies of city life. All of us willingly subscribe to the old motto—*Dum vivimus, vivamus*—while we live, let us live.

It is said that the deaths exceeded the births in London, by 10,000 annually, and this difference would be much greater were it not for the hundreds of thousands of strangers who annually take up their residence in this great metropolis. If this supply of sturdy strangers were cut off, London would rapidly decline in population; and indeed the same might with equal truth be said of any large city; none of them could keep up their population without recruits from outside.

If *all* the inhabitants of the globe were living in cities of the magnitude of London, and subjected to the same influences connected with the movement of population, the whole human race would become extinct in a century or two. And if you will imagine for a moment the entire human race living in a single city, little more than a century would suffice to annihilate the race.

Rome was not built in a day, but she grew apace and waxed strong, until the millions of souls encircled within her strong walls were only out-numbered by the broad acres comprehended within her empire. At one time this single city sat upon her seven hills, and ruled the world. And what became of this great empire, what caused her decay, decline, and fall? She was swallowed up in the *city* of Rome—too much civilization centered in a single city. The people were too much occupied with inconsiderable trifles—effeminancy and brutality sapped her strength until she became a helpless victim to every foe. Prof. Seeley in his lecture on Roman Imperialism says that Rome fell for want of men; the human harvest was bad,—it was a *physical*, not a moral degeneracy.

Thus it was with the city, founded on a myth, which rapidly rose to fame and good fortune, once the strength and fear of the whole world, and she fell without an adequate history, her language even dead, save as we hear it in the derived romance tongues; but thus it may be with any nation too much given to city worship. As a very recent example of this I need only name France—Paris had sapped her vitality by too much dilettante imperialism, until she became the easy prey of the sturdy German race. Too much civilization in Paris, the very centre of modern civilization, killed France.

Notwithstanding the fact that the mean average duration of human life was calculated by Domitius Ulpianus, Prime Minister to Alexander Severus (year of Rome, 975; A. D. 222 to 235) to be

thirty years, yet the mean average age at death in Philadelphia for the eleven years ending 1871, was less than twenty-four years, and in New York city still less. And these cities are both together not equal to Rome in numbers, and only 200 years old. Who can tell what may be their condition in their 975th year? Does this indicate that they will equal Rome? Still, commercial interests rule to some extent the rise and fall of cities.

Large towns have been emphatically called the *graves of humanity*, and certainly they are not favorable to health and longevity. Indeed they might be very properly compared to the fiery furnace, into which the condemned children were cast.

Those who would live to a good old age, and hand their names down through a numerous posterity in children endowed with rich mental gifts, should avoid the dangers of the great city and choose the country life.

It cannot be denied that cities are absolutely necessary for the fostering of the arts, the sciences, the elegancies of life, yet when they are so dearly bought, one cannot help the reflection, as he looks with wonder and admiration at these productions, of how many precious human lives they cost—of how many premature deaths—of how many souls are sacrificed on the altar of the arts.

The tender mother who has reared the helpless babe in the pure and quiet rural home, and watched it learn to walk and tell its name,—studied the growth of character and development of feature, until budding into healthy innocent manhood or womanhood—if she allow her offspring to choose the city as the field of their fortunes and fancies—with its sins and its syrens, its vices, and its vanities, its ills and its iniquities, its pitiless poverty—though mingled with elegance and luxury, with indolence and ease, its follies and frivolities, so attractive to us all,—I say if she loose him to all these without her guiding care, and have but little left, as is too often the case, but a misspent life—a wretched wreck, or an untimely death—well may she exclaim with the Roman poet—*Pericula mille saevae urbis.*

John Stockton-Hough, M. D.

SIEGFRIED, THE DRAGON-KILLER.

THE NIBELUNGEN-LIED.

The number of persons who understand what is meant by the Nibelungen-lied is doubtless large. Even among these, however, there must be many who have gained a dim idea of it at best. Some may have yawned over free translations of the song into English; others waded through stanza after stanza of one of the many modern adaptations to be found in German; a few, perhaps, have gazed hopelessly at the strange words of the original text. To all such the following exact translations of the most important verses may not prove unserviceable.

Literalness is surely the chief virtue of a translation. All other points are subordinate. What does the reader care for the poetical gifts of the second hand? It is the original he wants in all its essence, peculiarities of expression, turn of thought, halt of rhythm—all as near the spirit and letter as the sense allows. And it is this chief virtue which is here sought. The translation is word for word, except where rhyme or meter forbid; any ruggedness of verse which may ensue therefrom will only bring the English nearer to the original.

The Nibelungen song, with its marine sister, the song of Kudrun, stands alone in German literature. The two are the national epics; they are compared by enthusiasts to Homer, and not without a curious show of similarity. Both the Odyssey and Kudrun are essentially marine, while the latter approaches the Iliad still more closely in that, like Helen, the heroine is carried off and only rescued after many years and at cost of many lives. When the fighting begins, however, the champions of Kudrun are not ten years in hewing themselves to victory, nor do they find that princess to have yielded a moment to the enticements of the robber-king. The two heroes of the Iliad and the Nibelungen have this in common, that they are invulnerable, save in one spot only. But Greek and German epic are alike in dignity and chasteness of feeling, as well as in an open love for food, dress, precious things. Both Iliad and Nibelungen hinge on the wrath aroused by loss of a valuable possession; in the one case a slave,

for whom the hero's love may count for something; in the other a treasure, which wreaks its own revenge after the mystical manner dear to the Teutonic poet.

The old, heroic German literature will never be known in its fullness; we can guess at the vast quantity of folk-songs floating from mouth to mouth, at first known to all men and shouted in chorus, later the product of poets who were often unable to read or write. Hence came directness which strikes the meaning like a blow, and hence also certain peculiar inartistic repetitions, which were given with greater emphasis by the eager crowd. In the fourth century the Roman, polished by contact with Greek art, recorded disdainfully the singing of the Germans beyond the Rhine. They delighted in "savage songs very like to the croaking of rough-noted birds."

The polite Roman may have heard portions of the Nibelungenlied in a much more rough and direct form than our version. The killing of the dragon by Siegfried must have been an especial favorite, or the fight between Hildebrand and his son Hadubrand, a fragment of which has been preserved in the most archaic of German. All the principal legends of the Scandinavian Edda, in which the ancient version of our song is found, may have existed in primitive forms among these fair-haired barbarians, folk-songs tossed to the surface in the great movements of tribes and peoples by the intellectual activity which follows such upheavals. From materials like these an ancient form of the Nibelungen-lied undoubtedly arose and had its day of splendor and decline, but before the last copy disappeared a new poet was found to delight the Middle Ages with a mighty song which should embody the old traditions, dear to the commons, with scenes and customs proper to the nobles of the day.

We may imagine, then, as sources of the Nibelungen song, certain shorter chants thundered out in rough chorus at the mead-table, while to the lines which appealed most to the warlike temper of the singers, the shields were struck, or the table beaten after the manner of the German students in their banquets at the present day. Collected and redigested many centuries later, historical heroes like Attila were placed on a footing with the legendary Siegfried, and everything which went to make reality was

recast in forms to recall the habits and experience of the age immediately preceding each reviser. How often these recastings took place can not now be learned; we have the last only, a poem of 2,440 eight-lined stanzas, whose age is put in the thirteenth century, an age, therefore, when folk-songs were already considered vulgar by the learned and the nobility.

We can expect in the Nibelungen a certain amount of art, of modern ways of thought, of pompous description, but not the exquisite polish of Homer which fell in a single voice from some inspired mouth. The Nibelungen still shows its descent from a chorus, while in the Iliad, not to speak of the Odyssey, all signs of such an origin have been refined away. Yet there lurks a power in this very ruggedness. When a foot is defective in a line of the sing-song Nibelungen verse, it relieves unconsciously the monotony; in a happy, childlike way it breaks the even recurrent rings of verse and freshens the attention.

It will be seen that the text (which is that of Holtzmann,) was plainly eight-lined alternate rhyming, and that in most cases another foot has been added to the last or descriptive line. We are not unfamiliar with this verse, who have played as children in the spacious garret of Mother Goose, while the halting last line reminds one of certain comic songs popular in England.

In this way begins the Nibelungen-lied:

1. In many an ancient story wonders great are told
Of heroes in their glory, of labors manifold,
Of feast and of delighting, of weeping and of wailing,
Of daring nobles fighting, now list to hear the wondrous telling.

2 In Burgundy there bloomed a maid of high degree,
Lovelier in all countries might there never be;
Kriemhild her name was; she was a lovely wife;
Wherefore many a sworder had to lose his life.

3. There cared for her three monarchs, rich, of lofty birth;
Gunther they, and Gernot, warriors great of worth,
And Giselher, the youthful, who was a stately sword;
The lady was their sister, the heroes held her in their ward.

* * * * * * * * * *

12. Mid these lofty honors dream did dream Kriemhild,
How she reared a falcon, strong, fine and wild;
Eagles twain did tear it; this compelled to see,
Nothing in the whole world well could bitterer be.

This is the flaxen-haired Kriemhild, most beautiful and most implacable of women, who is to be Siegfried's greatest joy and the cause of his death. In the true epic manner there is no springing of a plot on the reader. Almost the first stanza foretells the end. Her mother, to whom Kriemhild tells her sad vision, prophesies that the falcon means a husband, fated to be slain, but Kriemhild is indignant at the thought of giving any man her love.

Yet another war has invested the scenes of the first part of the song with fresh interest. The Upper Rhine, that historic stamping-ground for heroes, that battle-field in the latest days, furnishes most of the actors. Worms is the capital of the three kings, Gunther, Gernot and Giselher, brothers to lovely Kriemhild; Metz sends one hero, while from lower down the classic stream comes the mighty Sîfrit, or Siegfried, to win the beauty and to lose his life The fact that Burgundians hold Worms as capital shows that the song must have already possessed its main outlines before that nation was driven south and westward into Gaul.

The Nibelungen hero is thus introduced:

20. Sîfrit was the name of the good and daring sword;
. Tested many a rich man in his powerful mood;
Through his might of body sought he foreign ground;
Hey! what daring sworders in Burgund' since he found!

Only an allusion is made to Sîfrit's education and his exploits, which are so numerous that many books might be filled with them; but the tourney his father institutes in honor of the coming of age of his wonderful son is given at some length. At this, we are told, both "wise," that is, old, and "tumben," *i. e.*, dumb, foolish from inexperience, break lances in what is plainly a more rough and ready manner than was customary at the jousts, when our text was written; it serves as introduction to Sîfrit's announcement to anxious parents and friends that he wants a wife, and that Kriem hild of Burgundy he will have. Nor can he be frightened from his purpose, let the Burgundians be as valiant sworders as they may.

65. So lovely women sate them through the night and day;
Leisure small of any kind taking now are they,
Till that they have worked Sîfrit all his need;
He would 'gainst his going take no sort of rede.

71. Then upon the sixth morn, at Worms the sand upon
Rode the very daring; the garments they had on
Were of gold so ruddy; their mount it was full meet;
Their horses stepped right evenly—the men of lord Sîfrit.

Hagen, the grizzly fighter, the Mephistopheles of the play, is summoned by his nephews, the Burgundian kings, to tell what manner of man this brilliant hero be. He recognises Sîfrit and tells them some of his exploits, particularly that by which he gained the hoard which always gave to its possessors the name of Nibelungen. For Nibelung was a king of the fog, shadowy and *nebulous* as his name, whose more real sons Sîfrit came upon as they were quarrelling over their father's treasure, after having slain the cloudy king. Urged by them to act as arbiter, he consents, but is attacked by the jealous pair.

89. Hoard there of Nibelung forth was being rolled
From a hollow mountain; now hear ye wonders told!
When they would have parted it, the men of Nibelung,
Saw it sworder Sîfrit; to marvel he begun.

* * * * * *

93. Then gave they him as wages old Nibelung's blade,
Yet were they for this deed evilly repaid;
With their father's falchion, Palming was the brand,
Took in storm the daring one their hoard and Nibelung's land.

* * * * * * * *

97. Alberich and his strong dwarfs him could not o'ercome;
Like to savage lions to the hills they run.
Once that he the tarnkap of Alberich had won,
Of the hoard was master Sîfrit daring one.

* * * * * * * *

100. Still more I've heard about him, this right well I knew;
For a snaky dragon his hands heroic slew;
Then in the blood he bathed, whence the courtly prince
So tough a hide obtained that weapons cannot cut him since.

* * * * * * * *

Here we catch a glimpse into the witching twilight of fairy-tale and adventure. Favored by the glamour of that mysterious land, the cloak or cap falls into the astonished hands of that lucky boy to whom its elfin owner is so polite; treasures of gold and dazzling jewels shine mysteriously in underground palaces, to which some hollow tree affords an entrance. Here work the

mighty dwarfs and silly giants, and proudly walks the invincible champion. Who has quite outlived their charm? Who does not love them, if not for their own sake, then at least for the gaping hours during which they slowly filtered into young and marvel-greedy minds? Only once again in this Christian and more unbelieving song occurs the supernatural; Hagen meets with nixies on the fatal journey to Atilla's court. But that belongs to the latter half of the song, the Revenge, which cannot be embraced in the limits of this paper.

Sîfrit, at the court of Worms, proposes, like the hero he is, to fight then and there for the crown of Burgundy, but soft words turned his wrath and he stays at court, longing for so much as a glance at his ladylove. She sees him from the windows, and when he knows she is looking on, his feats in jousting and athletic sports surpass everything that men have seen. At last a war of the kings of the Saxons and Danes on Burgundy gives him a chance to earn a right to see her; he takes the two monarchs captive with his own hand, and returning, is received by Kriemhild. According to the primitive manner, she gives him the kiss of honor, in this case the warmer kiss of love. In all of which the poet, the last poet of the Nibelungen, writes his own age; for we know that in the age to which he refers these scenes, no such jealous seclusion of women had obtained. The meeting of the two is very happily given:

283. Forth came the lovely maiden, as doth the morning-red
From the clouds so mournful; thus woe from that one fled,
Who bare her in his bosom and long had borne before;
The lovely darling standing right glorious there he saw.

* * * * * * * * *

285. As the shining moon doth stand the stars before,
And from the clouds its brilliance so purified doth pour,
Much like thereunto stood she 'fore many a lady good;
Whence was right well upraised the graceful hero's mood.

* * * * * * * * *

288. So loveable then stood there Sigemund's child,
As though upon a parchment he had been beguiled
By coming good of master; thus spake they then of him,
That hero they of any kind so stately ne'er had seen.

* * * * * * * * *

295. Right eagerly he bowed him; she took him by the hand.

How very lovingly by her the hero took his stand!
The lord and eke the lady with loving glances one
Upon the other gazed; this was in secret done.

296. Unknown to me if that his loving heart's distress
Then perchance in friendly wise her white hand did press,
Yet cannot I believe it, that he would let it go,
If she could him so clearly her inclination show.

While the lovers are secretly enjoying themselves, "as yet the foolish do," while feasts are spread and wounded men get well, Gunther, the eldest and chief king of Burgundy, is seized with a determination to take a wife. He insists upon the hardest won, an almost impossible bride. This is Brunhild, a virgin queen of supernatural strength, contending with whom rash suitors are always overcome and slain. "Putting" or casting a mighty stone, hurling spears at one another and leaping are the primitive games by which the trials are made. These alone would testify to an extreme antiquity in this legend were not the Edda there to witness that Brunhild is an old heathen legacy, a Valkyre or goddess of slaughter, who brought the truest souls to Walhalla, after loosing them from their heroic tenements with the kiss of death. These are the beings whose "Ride" Wagner has musically described with great clash of cymbals and roll of drums. But we are also reminded of the Greek legends of Abalanta, and are therefore forced to assign the tale a place far back among the common legendary stock of pre-historic days.

329. Now over seas enthroned sate a certain queen;
Like of her by no man has anywhere been seen.
O'er measure was her beauty, and great the strength of her,
She hurled with nimble swords, her love to guard, the spear.

330. A stone afar she hurled and in a bound it caught.
He that on her beauty wished to set his thought,
Must with high-born lady three contests undergo,
And lost he any one of them, his head must lie full low.

By solemn promise of Kriemhild's hand Gunther persuades Sîfrit to lead him, Hagen and Dancwart, Hagen's brother, to Brunhild's palace in distant Island or Isenlant, and Kriemhild, the rosy princess, having fashioned three suits of fine court clothes for each, bids them farewell. With a presentiment of evil she falls a-weeping, till "the gold before her breasts was dimmed with

many tears." Isenlant is safely reached. The mighty Brunhild, who knows Sîfrit, greets him, but he expressly acknowledges himself a vassal of Gunther, holding his stirrup as he mounts. In the ensuing trials, invisible and of supernatural power through virtue of his tarnkap, Sîfrit not only holds Gunther's shield, and with a force which brings him to his knees, returns Brunhild's spear butt foremost, but at the last trial, having hurled the stone far beyond the queen's mark, he tucks Gunther under his arm and leaps with him to an incredible distance. The tarnkap or vanishing cloak, by which this is effected, is thus mentioned:

342. Concerning savage dwarf-kin I have heard it said:
They dwell in hollow mountains, are 'gainst harm arrayed
In what is called a tarnkap, of wond'rous quality;
Who hath it on his body, preserved is said to be

343. From cutting and from thrusting; of him is none aware
When he therein is clothed; both see can he and hear
According as he wishes, yet no one him perceives;
'Tis said too he's far stronger, so the Aventiure gives.

Through the efficacy of this cloak Gunther is hailed as bridegroom; then, lest Brunhild should meditate treachery, Sîfrit slips away, and sailing to his own country procures a thousand Nibelungen knights. On arriving at one of his castles, he disguises his voice and wages a terrific combat with a surly giant of a porter. Hardly is the porter bound, when the dwarf Albrîch attacks him, and by striking him on the shield hand with a whip with seven gold buttons, brings him for a time into peril. In this useless fighting, for the mere love of it, we have another antique passage. Returning with his knights and persuaded to act as *avant courier*, Sîfrit announces to his beloved in Worms the approach of Gunther and his bride. Kriemhild, who has wept at seeing him return alone, now dries her eyes with the skirt of her dress, and bids her maids make ready for the reception. With peculiar zest the poet chronicles all the array of knights and maids, the golden saddles, cloths from "Arabîn;" silks "greener than a grass," and jewels stitched on cloaks and bridles, all to do the approaching royalty full honor. Ambitious knights ride impromptu tournaments as the parties meet, and the spectators become so covered with dust that Hagen must inter-

fere with an amusement evidently most exciting to the poet himself.

591. The king with many a worthy guest was come at last,
Hey! what mighty spear shafts 'fore the women brast!
One heard a sound of battle, of shields full many a clang,
Hey! how the jeweled bucklers in the thick press rang!

Those of the knights who strive for woman's favor, alight and assist "many a maid of color rosy red, who with love-awakening hand pushed higher many a rich headgear; not few were the rosy mouths that were kissed." All praised Brunhild as a most beautiful woman, but the wise "who saw better, said: One may well give her in exchange for Kriemhild."

A feast ensues, at which, according to custom, only the warlike Brunhild, the queen to be, and perhaps because of her masculine attainments, is allowed to be present; but Sîfrit rises and claims Kriemhild as his wife. He has fulfilled his promise; Brunhild is at Worms, and Kriemhild is his pay. She is called:

619. At the sweet eye-pasture was Sîfrit's color red;
To serve the noble maiden the sworder offer'd.
They told them one by other within a ring to stand,
And asked her if she willéd to have the doughty man.

620. As wont in maiden training, she showed a little shame,
But yet his luck would have it, the joy to Sîfrit came
That she could not resolve to deny him out of hand;
Then vowéd he to wed her, the noble king of Netherland.

621. When that she had sworn to him, and he unto the maid,
For embracing lovingly then were ready made
Sîfrit's mighty arms for that lovely child, I ween;
Then, as was the custom, was kissed the lovely queen.

From the fact that Kriemhild was publicly kissed and that no mention is made of a religious ceremony, we infer that in the thirteenth century kissing in public had already gone out of fashion, and that marriage was no longer a simply social compact like this, but required the sanction of the church.

But under all this brilliant scene of feasting, games and love, the deadly fire of jealousy and hate is smouldering, nursing a wrath which is one day to burst forth and envelop all the careless revelers in a common destruction. Brunhild, the warrior-virgin, has known Sîfrit in former years. Possibly she may have griev-

ances to redress, but at all events she finds him seated at Gunther's side and claiming Kriemhild, her sister-in-law, for wife. But is not this the Sîfrit who acknowledged himself Gunther's vassal in Isenlant? And it is too patent that Kriemhild, whom the vassal is to wed, is a far more beautiful bride than the queen!

It must be borne in mind that our author was a knight about the age of the culmination of feudalism. In his eyes nothing could be a stronger motive for indignation than a transgression of feudal rights. It was impossible that the haughty fighter, Brunhild, conquered though she was, should bear insult heaped upon injured vanity. She bursts into tears of rage and refuses to be comforted; she suspects, and even threatens that Gunther shall rue it, if he does not tell her what it all means. When, therefore, the latter, with a lover's impatience, has hastened the feast, and Sîfrit has found Kriemhild the ideal of his imagination, the luckless Gunther is bound hand and foot by his furious wife and hung on a nail above the nuptial couch. In the morning he capitulates on any terms, and his chamberlains, entering, find a strangely disconsolate groom.

Well can Sîfrit imagine what has befallen his friend; in the reckless generosity of happiness he agrees to help him yet once more. The ensuing night, while Kriemhild is toying with his hand, she suddenly asks her maids who has taken it from between her own? He has put about him his tarnkap, and entering Gunther's chamber has quenched the lights and seized Brunhild in his arms. She, thinking him her rebellious husband, hurls him first against a clothespress, but he returns to the attack.

677. What booted him how strong and how great his force might be?
She lightly showed the sworder her body's mastery;
With violence she haled him to prove her mightiness,
And very roughly drove him against a lofty press.

* * * * * * * * * * *

680. However firm she lay there, his wrath him did constrain,
As well his wondrous power, to raise himself again
Withouten thanks of any kind, so great his care did grow;
Within the chamber up and down was beaten many a blow.

681. And monarch Gunther also was not without all care;
Right nimbly he was made to spring between them here and there,
So very strong they wrestled, the wonder still remained,
How one before the other still life and breath retained.

* * * * * * * * *

684. And very long it seemed e'er he the maid o'erthrew;
She squeezed his hand so fiercely that from his nails there flew
The blood through her great power; this gave the hero pain;
Since brought he to denial the glorious maid again.

* * * * * * * * * *

686. Then snatched she up her girdle when near it lay at hand,
And therewith sought to bind him, but he so served his hand
Her limbs did sound as broken, her body failed the strife,
And thus the fight was ended; then was she Gunther's wife.

As if to arrange his torn garments, Sîfrit slips away, but in his pride takes with him a ring from Brunhild's finger and that peculiar girdle with which Gunther had been so easily bound. Both of these have a charmed and magical nature in the older legends, but here they are nothing more than ordinary articles, which Sîfrit, after many years, is weak enough to give to Kriemhild; whereat the earnest poet exclaims: "And would to God in heaven that he had let it be!" Sîfrit and Kriemhild depart for "Santen on the Rhine" where a son is born to them, while in Worms Gunther and Brunhild are equally favored. But from that surrender on, Brunhild's virgin might is irretrievably lost, in accordance with a belief which is probably universal among the more active races of men.

The hatred a man bears is different from that borne by woman. A man is only too glad to be rid of a person whose presence is a torment, but a woman either enjoys the excitement, or else is drawn by weakness, by curiosity, toward that very individual of all others, whom it is most to her disadvantage to meet. Children often experience in like manner a fascination for those who plague them. What match was brown masculine Brunhild, whose weapons heretofore had been sword and spear, for the fair implacable Kriemhild, every inch a woman? yet Brunhild it was who was woman enough to insist on Kriemhild's visit to Worms. That Sîfrit, Gunther's "man" as she supposes him, paid no tribute and did no homage; "of this" said she "I will have an end."

Ambassadors set out, the festival is fixed and the royal guests arrive. All is jollity until the eleventh day. (Twelve is the mystic number, the conventional word for "many," the sum of the zodiacal signs.) On this day Brunhild's resolution is taken;

she quarrels with Kriemhild respecting the comparative worth and rank of Gunther and Sîfrit, and at last Kriemhild rushes away in fury, threatening that on that afternoon at the minster, men should see whether she was a vassal's wife or not. Brunhild waits and bids her guest stand at the cathedral door to let her enter first, but the enraged Kriemhild calls her by the vilest name woman can hear, and sweeps in. Little of the service is heard by trembling Brunhild, and as they pass out she insists on an explanation. Then Sîfrit's infatuated wife shows a ring which Brunhild indeed recognizes as her own, and lost.

857. Then spake lovely Kriemhild; a thief I may not be.
Thou mightest well have kept it close, were honor dear to thee.
I can prove it by the girdle which runs about me here,
That I do not lie to thee; well was my Sîfrit thy dear.

858. Made of silk of Ninevah was the belt she bare,
Finely wrought in jewels, it was passing fair;
When that this Brunhild did see, weeping she began,
This Gunther verily must hear and each Burgundian man.

She calls on Gunther for justice, but what avails the sworn denial of Sîfrit and the bodily chastisement he inflicts on Kriemhild for her lies and folly. Brunhild has been too deeply wounded, has in all probability a suspicion of foul play; her lost might of body only drives her more inevitably to base means for revenge. At last Hagen, uncle and vassal of Gunther, swears that Sîfrit shall die, and consults with Gernot and Ortwin of Metz. The young and generous Giselhêr protests against the crime. Gunther also objects, but the wily, rapacious Hagen knows well how to play on his weak nature. "The hoard!" he whispers always in King Gunther's ear, "the Nibelungen hoard!"

The time has come for gray-haired Hagen to put a crowning infamy upon a life whose record is black enough. He has educated himself to the point at which a man is not a villain only because he does not meet with enough temptation. But here he has considerations of feudal honor, of trustiness to his queen, to aid in lulling his conscience before a deed at which even his ferocity might be daunted.

Gunther yields. A report is circulated that the Danes and Saxons, whom Sîfrit discomfitted in his days of courtship, are upon the frontier. Now Hagen knows the story of the dragon-blood

and Sîfrit's invulnerability. Before they go he bids his fair niece farewell, according to courtly etiquette. Leading the subject to Kriemhild's fear lest her husband should expose himself in battle, he asks her if there be any spot where a wound could be struck; if she will tell him he will do all in his power to guard it.

"We are of kin," she says, "so I will trust you with the secret." Between Sîfrit's shoulders a linden-leaf had stuck when he bathed in the dragon's blood. Over that spot Kriemhild agrees to sew a small cross on his coat, that Hagen, her kind uncle, may guard it in the press of battle. He takes joyful leave, and Kriemhild, whose forebodings cannot point out what the danger is to be, makes ready her lord for the campaign.

Despite her dreams and tears, Sîfrit departs gayly. He finds no foe, but instead of war a grand hunt organized in the Oden Forest

In this he joyfully indulges, slays numberless beasts, takes a bear alive, and is adjudged first among the hunters. But at the woodland meal, Sîfrit finds nothing to quench his thirst. Hagen explains that the pack train bearing the wine has gone to another meeting place, but that there is a spring not far away. He also broaches the subject of Sîfrit's reputation as a runner, whereupon the king challenges Gunther and Hagen to a race to the spring, the challenger to carry shield, sword and quiver. The race begins; although thus weighted, Sîfrit is nevertheless the first to reach the goal, but waits respectfully till the Burgundian king comes up. Then it is, when Sîfrit in turn stoops down to the water, that Hagen removes his other weapons, and seizing Sîfrit's spear, buries it in the little cross that Kriemhild has sewed upon his coat.

990. While the monarch Sîfrit from the springlet drank,
Right through this cross he shot him that from the wound there sprang
The blood from out his heart onto Hagen's weed,
No hero yet before this had ever done so foul a deed.

991. In his heart the spear shaft, left by Hagen, stayed.
Never yet so anxiously had great Hagen fled,
Ere this in the whole world any man before.
Now when the monarch Sîfrit perceived him wounded so sore,

992. From the spring the worder sprang as he were daft;
While from his heart outstretched stood the mighty shaft.
The monarch hoped to seize on bow, or on his sword;
Then Hagen for his service right soon had won his reward.

993. Now the sorely wounded in vain the falchion sought;
Beside the rim his shield upon, near him there was nought;
This snatched he from the springlet, at Hagen swift he ran,
Then could he not escape him, that right faithless-minded man.

994. And though to death sore wounded, so powerful his stroke,
From out the shield strong welded a shining torrent broke
Of precious gems a many; the shield in pieces fell;
That guest exceeding glorious, revenge had liked full well.

995. Hagen had to fall then 'neath his hand to ground;
Loudly from the blow's force, rang the woods around,
And had he sword in hand then, from this were Hagen dead;
Hardly thus the hero from his fearful danger fled.

Then as Kriemhild had dreamed, great Sîfrit falls among the flowers. He breaks into bitter lamentation at the vile cowardice of the deed, and reproaches Gunther's hypocritical sorrow before the hunt that now comes up aghast. Hagen alone is shameless, boasting of his work and hinting that now at least there is no one living whom they need fear.

1003. Right easily you boast you, quoth then Sîfrit,
But had I of your murderous habit known the rede,
I easily had guarded thus from you my life,
For this so much I grieve not, as for Kriemhild my wife.

1008. He ramped him in his agony, as thus compelled his need,
And spake then in his misery: "this foul, murderous deed,
Surely ye shall rue it, in days to be fulfilled,
Believe me now in honesty, your ownselves ye have surely killed.

Thus perishes the greatest hero of the Nibelungen-lied, perhaps the most besung of all the folk-heroes of the German race. His last words mourn a son whose relatives are now the foulest murderers, and bespeak for his widow some consideration at the hands of her treacherous kin. But before he dies he has cast the curse. Not even Sîfrit, great and good as well as invincible, could escape the horrible fate which is part and parcel with the Nibelungen hoard. For Nibelung cursed his parricidal sons, and they, slain in turn, bequeathed to Sîfrit the gold and the revenge. Now great Sîfrit is no more, the Burgundians already feel secure of that enormous wealth; but from the moment of his death their ruin is sealed. An older age clothes a moral picturesquely in a curse; now we can only trace the events and results of a life, and

by allusive pictures show how to this day great riches are likewise the greatest peril.

Great Sîfrit is dead. In the morning twilight Kriemhild's chamberlain enters her apartment with a torch, just as the minster bell has called her to matins. A knight, he tells her, lies dead before her door. Before she can see who it is, the remembrance flashes through her mind of Hagen's question, of his promise. "That was her first agony." She sinks speechless to the ground.

> 1022. "What if it be a stranger? her maids then outspake,
> The blood in her heart's agony from out her mouth did break.
> She answered "It is Sîfrit, my darling spouse, mine own,
> And that which Brunhild plotted, by Hagan has been done."

The whole city is stirred with the lamentations for the matchless hero. The hunt has agreed to say that robbers slew him, but Brunhild's joy and Hagen's reckless talk cannot keep up even this poor veil. Kriemhild demands a test, and at the solemn lying in state at the minster, Hagan's approach causes the wound to bleed afresh. There was no need of words.

Kriemhild's mind gives way. When she recovers she is persuaded by Giselher, the only brother she will see, to stay in Burgundy. Sîfrit's hapless father and knights retire into the Netherlands. She never sees her son again; her life is now devoted to one object, praying above her husband's grave. It was not through tenderness that her brothers wish her with them; gradually they procure a partial reconciliation, and then the Nibelungen hoard is theirs!

Is it for the mere satisfaction of weeping on a tomb that the haughty, but now outraged queen renounces her child and kingdom? No, her life is really given over to one absorbing passion —revenge. At first she hopes her treasure may procure what money often buys, but the craftiness of Hagen would not have given her that advantage, had avarice allowed it. Then desperate, but unflinching, purpose settles down upon her, becomes her air and food, at last finds her at the fitting moment—ready! But that must be left to another occasion.

Siegfried has been a favorite in all ages among many peoples. The last German song which may claim a place in his gallery is the "Nibelunge" of W. Jordan, a recent poet who has drawn from all sources, but chiefly from the Edda, materials for a long

poem in the ancient alliterative versification. The result is very pleasing in style and certainly dramatic enough in plot.

Switzerland possesses Siegfried in Struth von Winckelried, an exiled knight, who buys his return by killing a dragon, but whom the monster's blood destroys. Schiller sings "The Battle with the Dragon," the victor being a red-cross knight in the Levant; St. George is only another form of Siegfried christianized. But he can be traced backward too. His was once the death of Balder the Sun-god, in whose honor solemn mysteries seem once to have been performed in the sacred groves of Germany. But when we come to the sun, a host of cousins arise in every nation and land. Greek and Roman, Hindoo and Persian, each nation takes the mighty processes of nature and clothes them in different shapes of human grandeur.

Like the Iliad this song has great *naiveté* without indelicacy. The marriage relation, although strict and even sacred as applied to women, does not bind the hero so strictly, while previous to marriage indiscretions do not appear to be considered indiscreet. The wrestling scene is certainly a fine example of the simple, healthy style of treating a subject, which in the hands of the reigning poets of that day would have degenerated into impurity. For at the time our versions of the Nibelungen were written French literature had become the fashion at the German courts; the stories of the Knights of the Round Table, starting from Welch sources, had spread through Brittany and France, and undermined the old German folk song in the estimation of kings and nobles. It is astonishing how many immense poems of the Middle Ages were devoted to King Arthur's Court. The prudish idyls of Tennyson give no idea of the licentiousness of many of these romances.

But the Nibilungen song was, and remains of the people. Heathen and popular in its origin, its Christianity and court craft are merely surface gilding. Thus our version does not explain where Brunhild, strongest of women, has met Siegfried before he comes to her as Gunther's vassal. But other legends tell us how he plights troth with the vestal warrior whom he found in strange surroundings. For, as before remarked, Brunhild was a Valkyre, or heathen slaughter goddess, from whom most of her supernatural attributes have fallen. For disobedience

to his commands, Odin had thrown her into an enchanted sleep. Now, in the ancient legend, Siegfried climbs a mountain on his magic horse, pierces a barrier of flames, and cuts through a briar wall to find her who is Dornröschen of the slumbering palace, delight of our youth! Yes, the sleeping beauty is Brunhild, refined down to a fairy tale for children, Brunhild, whose very name is the opposite to softness and beauty, since it means "coat-of-mail" and "battle." But the lovely Kriemhild is not much better off, for her name likewise, like her fate, contains the idea of fight, war, slaughter.

It is worth notice that in accordance with a very wholesome way of looking at the marriage tie, Siegfried dies because a wife has been merely slandered, while *liaisons* with unmarried women call for no revenge.

The reason lies at the root of the strong common sense, the conservative principle of heathenism, as opposed to sentimentalism and asceticism, fostered along with the virtues of Christianity. For, practically the unmarried woman harms herself alone, while the married woman destroys by her looseness the family and the state. Christianity did not condemn married indiscretions less, but unwedded love more, and the effects are to this day visible, more especially in Roman Catholic countries, where absolution is obtainable for sins.

The Nibelungen is curious reading for English speaking nations. Not only is its German often identical with some local *patois* at this day, but many words are almost the same as their English equivalents, although no longer extant in Germany. The Nibelungen has three words for horse: pferit, ross and ors; the two former are still in use, but the latter not, having emigrated (with the invader, *Horsa*,) to England. Thus: ross, hros, hors.

It is a little puzzling to imagine how the eternal conflict between heat and cold, night and day, became humanized into Balder and Siegfried, and later, so exciting to the sympathies. The clue is found in runes. These were priestly hieroglyphics which indicated great truths and processes to a favored few; even these could read them many ways, but when the poet seized upon their mystic signs and figures he not only humanized them, but lent them in addition grace, majesty, love, wrath—all the passions that disturb the even paths of men. HENRY ECKFORD.

KENELM CHILLINGLY.[1]

Lord Lytton holds some such position among the writers of fiction, as that ascribed to Lady Mary Wortley Montague in the human race—an intermediate place between the two grand divisions. Almost as far from the realistic as from the school of pure idealism, he is entitled to claim companionship with the disciples of neither. His stories are nothing if not improbable; yet, while the element of improbability is set in with too much delicacy to drag them within the region of fairy tales, it keeps them too near its verge to permit the supposition that, whatever his model may be, it can be nature. It is this power, perhaps, of intensifying the better qualities of men and women, and then surrounding these attributes with such circumstances as to make them shine with abnormal brightness, that appears chiefly conspicuous in Lord Lytton's style; which, though in danger of descending into absurdity and insipidity, when skillfully managed carries the reader along in spite of his judgment, and leaves him in the last chapter with no other criticism than a sigh of relief that the climax was no more terrible than he found it. The sensationalism is somewhat mellowed in Bulwer's later books, in which he also seems anxious to write away the bits of immorality that escaped his pen in earlier years, but the distinguishing features of his talent remain, and his novels to the last, though readable, are but paraphrases of life, and often full of strange incongruities. Like the gentleman who, prone to a varied diet, ate this, that and the other, washed them all down with a glass of rum, and left them to fight it out among themselves, Bulwer sometimes casts the most amusing inconsistencies between the bindings of a single volume, and trusts to a thick covering of romance to make the whole digestible.

"Kenelm Chillingly," is among the author's best productions. In all respects characteristic, it is not the least so in being eminently the work of a gentleman—of a man who is of right familiar with the phase of society that he attempts to describe; a by no

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[1] Kenelm Chillingly, His Adventures and Opinions. A Novel. By E. L. Bulwer, Lord Lytton. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1873. For sale by J. B. Lippincott & Co.

means common quality among the novels of the day. It treats, of course, of the everlasting topics that make up the skeletons of most stories, but with more than usual originality, and some of the characters are decidedly interesting. The plots open with a description of Sir Peter and Lady Chillingly, who are expressing their regret that the fourteenth year of their married life is drawing to a close, and there has yet come to them "no pledge of their affection." The 'pledge' comes in the form of our hero, on the next page. By the important manner in which he takes possession of his cradle, he shows his parents that he considers himself no ordinary mortal, and their first flush of delight at his unexpected appearance is largely mingled with a sense of awe. He grows rapidly and developes eccentricities of disposition. At the age when to most children the alphabet is an unknown science, he tackles Locke on the Human Understanding with perfect ease, and startles his mother by inquiring whether she is not "sometimes overpowered by the sense of her own identity." The matter of his education causes his parents such anxiety that they summon a family meeting at Exmundham to dispose of the difficulty, and the result of it all is that he is sent off to a *ci-devant* clerical man of the broad church party, who contents himself with encouraging Kenelm's metaphysical bent of mind, and in stuffing him with all the disenchantments of a somewhat checkered existence of his own. At twenty-one, he emerges from Mr. Welby's tutelage, a tall young man, "too old for his years," of great physical strength, and a "face which had a grave, sombre, haunting sort of beauty," just in time to make a ridiculous address to the peasantry who are called together to celebrate his coming of age, in which he takes the opportunity of remarking that his father, as a landlord, is a failure, but that after all his father is but a 'man,' and a 'man' "but a crude, struggling, undeveloped embryo," and should not be praised as a 'dog,' for instance, which is a "completed *ens*." Having bored every one and himself with some other mild peculiarities, he becomes anxious "to get out of himself," and "to go in quest of adventure like Amadis of Gaul, like Don Quixote, like Gil Blas, like Roderick Random"; and he does so. In the disguise of a peasant, he wanders off one summer morning, and in a few months performs with appropriate skill all the usual deeds of prowess—except 'falling in love;' this

he positively declines to do, and so all the women fall in love with him. Among these is Cecelia Travers, really a charming character in the story, "one of those women whom heaven forms for man's helpmate;" but she does not, unfortunately, impress Kenelm in that light, so after awakening in her bosom a hopeless flame, he runs over to the continent.

We lose him now for a year and a-half, but he turns up again in Lady Glenalvon's drawing-room during the London season, where he is presented in state to his cousin, Chillingly Gordon, hereafter chiefly interesting as the work, and, to a great extent, the exponent of the ideas of another and older cousin, Mr. Chillingly Mivers. Mr. Mivers, be it understood, is one of the most important men in London. As principal contributor to that bitter sheet "The Londoner," and knowing all that is worth knowing in State-lore, he not only makes and mars the careers of those who would apply that simple science, but even authors, artists, and such poor people depend for their daily bread upon his nod of approbation. As acknowledged head of the clique of "The Intellectuals," he overflows with selfishness and worldly-wisdom, and terribly shocks poor Kenelm by the manner in which he scoffs at "Ideal Truth." He represents in short the "Progressive spirit of the Age," as he calls it; the world, the flesh, and the devil, as Kenelm thinks; and Chillingly Gordon in turn represents him. Gordon and Kenelm, showing the results of opposite educations, form the most amusing contrast to each other. Kenelm having lived in fantasy all his years, looks upon life as a beautiful theory; Gordon having lived in London, regards the attainment of his own ambition as the chief end of existence, and their contrary views are brought out in some interesting conversations on political ethics, that are held in Mr. Miver's bachelor chambers.

But the restless spirit of our hero carries him away from London civilization, and he rushes off once more into the country, where at last, in the second half of the book, he puts his theories on celibacy to the test. It happens in this wise. In his search for distraction he is beguiled to a juvenile garden-party at the house of his admiring friend, Mrs. Braefield, where, overcome by the oppressive joyousness of the children, he wanders off by himself to indulge in a reverie. His day-dream is suddenly terminated by one of the children, who seeks him out in his hiding place,

and who pelts him into consciousness with rose-buds; and, on awakening, his eyes rest on the lovely face and fairy form of Lilly Mordaunt. Great as the temptation is, we will not say more of Lilly Mordaunt, than that she is the heroine of the book. We will not anticipate the reader's pleasure in attempting to describe our author's ideal woman, who is none the less charming for being purely ideal. She comes before us unexpectedly, like an impalpable apparition that has drifted upon earth from some other and brighter sphere, and we look to see her as suddenly drift off again. She is not human, or she would never have found sympathy in the mysterious depths of Kenelm's heart, as she effectually does, however, for in the warmth of her gentle influence, his belief in celibacy is speedily dissipated. In these two characters, the interest of the book henceforth centres, and we follow them in their careers to the end, with sincere affection, though with no small anxiety, lest in the metaphysical analyses of love, to which they are much given, they may reason themselves out of the happy condition into which they are fallen, and in which we will drop the veil on their history.

In spite of all the exaggeration, "Kenelm Chillingly" is not exactly a silly book. Written at an age when its author must have realized that, whether success or failure was to be its lot, he might not live to be affected by either, we see in Kenelm's satirical outbursts of contempt for the moral degeneracy and the "faithless coldness of the times," Lord Lytton's own disinterested convictions. Having tried all the pleasures of the world, and about to leave them, he desires to have it put on record, that he holds them to be but vanity and vexation of spirit; and his asseverations have the interest and solemnity of "dying declarations." Of all fallacies, it is the theory of celibacy, perhaps, that he combats with greatest force, and in the surrender of Kenelm and Decimus Roach (Kenelm's chief authority for that creed) he shows his belief that Love is still the Lord of all. And if, for the fantastical loves of Kenelm and Lilly there is no warrant furnished us in nature, we know no reason why, in fiction, at all events, we should not contemplate with pleasure a passion, in which selfishness and the grosser qualities do not hold their customary parts.

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE PHILADELPHIA SOCIAL SCIENCE ASSOCIATION.

THE Association held its usual public meetings during 1873, when papers were read by Cyrus Elder on the Tax System of Pennsylvania; by A. Sydney Biddle, on the work of the Constitutional Convention; and a paper by S. Dana Horton, of Cincinnati, was printed on Proportional Representation; all of these subjects having immediate relation to the convention called to amend the constitution of Pennsylvania. A paper by Dr. Ray, entitled "What shall Philadelphia do with its Paupers?" was also read at a regular public meeting of the Association, and the discussion that followed was printed with this paper. The useful results of these meetings may be traced in the action of the Legislature on questions of taxation, of the Constitutional Convention in various matters introduced into the new constitution, and in the City Councils in a negative but very demonstrative way, in the fact that at the last election in that body for a guardian of the poor, Dr. Ray, in spite of his distinguished reputation as a man of scientific attainments, and of his free devotion of time and labor to the cause of the poor, and especially of the lunatics in the Philadelphia almshouse, was not re-elected. His paper before this association no doubt contributed largely to such a result, and if it was the reward for speaking the truth, the City Councils have certainly shown themselves properly sensitive and alive to their faults.

During the year the Executive Committee has received and accepted the resignations of Mr. C. H. Hutchinson and Mr. Guilford Smith, and elected President Allen, of Girard College, to fill one of the vacancies. The services of Mr. Guilford Smith to the association were always marked by great zeal and active intelligence, and in leaving it, owing to his removal from the city, he gave a further proof of his interest by offering a considerable collection of books.

Mr. Alfred Cope has sent to the association for the use of the members, the journal of the French Economical Society, but unfortunately this association, although gratefully accepting such donations for its library, has as yet no permanent abiding place,

and no room either for the proper storage or the convenient use of its books and papers. Until this is secured it can neither make nor preserve any collection of the numerous works issued on subjects of interest and importance in the broad field of social science. This year, in accordance with the suggestions of the association, efforts were made to secure an earlier beginning of its operations, and already two papers have been issued and distributed to the members, one relating to the vital statistics of the city of Philadelphia, by Dr. John Stockton Hough, and the other on the value of original scientific research, by Dr. W. S. W. Ruschenberger, and a paper on the relative health of country life and city life will be read by Dr. Hough, at the annual meeting. The other departments of the association will, it is believed, provide papers within the scope of their branches.

This association was represented at the eighth general meeting of the American Social Science Association, which was held in Boston, in May of this year; and its report makes a very fair share of contribution to the work done by the parent association and its various branches, as exhibited in the fifth volume of transactions recently issued. The Boston office has asked and obtained the aid of this association, in reference to the effort of Miss Mary Carpenter, of England, to advocate Prison Reform; and in relation to the future course of the American Association, no contribution in money has been made to their expenses; and indeed the statement of the treasurer of this association herewith appended, shows that the funds on hand are barely sufficient to provide for the very moderate outlay made in the effort to maintain some degree of activity and usefulness in this city. The invitation of the Penn Monthly Association, to share their rooms, No. 506 Walnut street, third story, is a very good opportunity for securing to the Philadelphia Social Science Association, a local habitation, a permanent resting-place for its officers, its meetings, and its collections; already the papers, etc. have accumulated to an extent that is a serious embarrassment to the secretary, and offers of books have to be refused, as there is no place in which they can be stored. To secure these quarters, even at the moderate sum named by the officers of the Penn Monthly, it will be necessary to secure a considerable addition to the present income of the association. There are one hundred and eighty-seven members on

its roll; of these a number have been removed by death, removal or resignation, and the treasurer's report will show the total received and disbursed during the year. By sharing the rooms at 506 Walnut street, and by securing the services of the gentlemen (connected with the Penn Monthly) permanently located there, the association would have a representative constantly there, and at a less expense than that incurred for the public meetings of the Social Science Association; its respective departments could carry on their work to greater profit and advantage than has hitherto been possible. To do any real good, the sub-committee must have a place of meeting, must meet regularly and frequently, and must secure that co-operation which comes from persons specially interested and instructed in the various subjects within their province, and not from ordinary public meetings. To carry out these suggestions, the executive committee ask the authority of the association, and invite the assistance of all who are interested in its objects and operations. They recommend the election of one person as secretary and treasurer, so that the executive work of the association may be united for its prompt dispatch. They have nominated for this place, Mr. Henry Galbraith Ward, whose name has been recommended by both the secretary and treasurer of the association.

The Report of the Treasurer shows for 1873 receipts from 108 members	$540 00
Balance from 1872	101 84
	$641 84
Expenses	582 07
Balance, Dec. 11, 1873	$ 59 77

Officers for 1874—President, Henry C. Lea; Executive Committee, Department of Public Health, Dr. Ray, Dr. Ruschenberger, Dr. Goodman, Dr. Ludlow, Mr. Bloomfield H. Moore; Department of Education, Dr. Stillé, Dr. Goodwin, President Allen, Lorin Blodget, Prof. Conrad; Department of Finance, Mr. Joseph Wharton, Mr. John Welsh, Mr. Wm. C. Ingham, Mr. E. A. Rollins, Mr. Clarence H. Clark; Department of Mining and Manufactures, Mr. Eckley B. Coxe, Mr. J. P. Lesley, Mr. J. S. Whitney, Mr. T. S. Emery, Mr. Joseph D. Potts; Department of Juris-

prudence, Mr. E. Spencer Miller, Mr. R. L. Ashhurst, Mr. Samuel Dickson, Mr. W. Heyward Drayton, Mr. R. C. McMurtrie, Mr. J. Vaughan Darling, Mr. J. G. Rosengarten.

Secretary and Treasurer, Henry Galbraith Ward, 506 Walnut street.

The annual subscription is Five Dollars payable in advance.

The Fifth Volume of the Transactions of the American Social Science Association, containing the Papers read at the Eighth General Meeting held in Boston, and much other valuable information, is now on sale at Porter & Coates's, at $1.25 per copy; the annual subscription to the American Association is also $5.00.

The Report of the Treasurer shows that out of 187 members only 108 paid their subscriptions, and part of this for the past as well as the current year, leaving 79 members whose subscription of $5.00 each, if collected, would amount to $395, which would be more than enough to enable the Association to resume and extend its original plan of operations. Of the expenditures, $582, a large proportion was expended in the rent of hall, in the salaries of the assistants of the secretary and treasurer, items which would be saved by securing the continued use of a place of meeting; as well as the services of one person as the executive officer of the association. In this suggestion the secretary and treasurer are both agreed, and they, therefore, recommend it to the executive committee, and it is by them in turn submitted to the association for sanction and adoption.

Papers by Professor Lesley and the Hon. Thomas Cochran, the former on a new Geological Survey of the State, the latter on Fair Valuations; other papers by Professor Frazer, on Mining; by Mr. Whitney, on Education, are also in preparation, and the co-operation of the members of the association can secure other valuable papers quite within the scope of its plan. Relying upon this the Executive Committee anticipate renewed interest in the work, and increased strength in the members of the Philadelphia Social Science Association.

BY ORDER OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

NEW BOOKS.

LITERARY AND SOCIAL JUDGMENTS. By W. R. Greg. Boston; James R. Osgood & Co., pp. 352. For sale by Claxton, Remsen & Haffelfinger.

If we were called upon to express our opinion of this book in a sentence, that sentence must be one of almost unqualified praise. Mr. Greg is a vigorous thinker, with an abundance of appropriate and forcible language at his command. His topics in the main are interesting, and his acquaintance with two great literatures—the English and the French—apparently thorough. This is a great deal; but it is not enough. No facility in expression can atone for a lack of ideas; style and diction are, after all, only accessory. Let us not be mistaken. This volume is the work of an able man. But we try Mr. Greg by the high standard which his ability seems to warrant; by the standard of Mr. Arnold in his literary essays, of Mr. Morley, of Prof. Freeman; and so tried, he must be found wanting. He has that *copia verborum*, that fatal flow of words which puts a man at the mercy of his pen. We should imagine that he composed at a white heat; that an idea occurred to him in a dozen different ways at once; that he wrote them out one after another in a series of well-arranged sentences, and printed them with the feeling that he had driven his meaning home to the dullest mind. In some of the essays here collected, this amounts to a positive paucity of ideas. There are 58 pages upon Chateaubriand, no favorite with Mr. Greg, in which the poor Frenchman's histrionic vanity is the staple of every paragraph. The essay reads like an indictment for murder. Now the defect upon which the critic insists was no doubt prominent in Chateaubriand's character; but could nothing else be found to say of the author of *Atala* and *Le Genie du Christianisme?* Incidentally, almost grudgingly, we are told that he was a man of genius, that his style was exquisite and his eloquence magnificent; some brief account is given of the plot and development of his famous works; but for one paragraph so employed, Mr. Greg devotes a dozen to convicting Chateaubriand of bad taste in describing an interview with a former friend, or of misstatement regarding the Royal Literary Fund.

Another complaint we are disposed to urge against Mr. Greg is want of originality. What he says is often very well put, and commands our assent in every paragraph; but we cannot say that any portion of it is absolutely new, either in sentiment or application; we feel rather that old trains of thought have, in a fluent and forcible manner, been repeated. This may perhaps arise from the comparative antiquity of some of the essays. A magazine contri-

bution of 1840 must be of a very high order to justify its republication in 1873. Indeed, the *raison d'etre* of the first three papers in this volume it would be difficult to discover.

The best thing in the book is the account of De Tocqueville, who seems to have been Mr. Greg's personal friend, and of whom he speaks with an affection and a veneration common to all the associates of that clear and noble thinker. This portion of the volume attains to a really high degree of literary workmanship, and the personal attachment and sense of loss, which are manifest beneath and sustain the vigorous style, give to its sentences a power over the reader such as the author has nowhere else attained. For this one thing which he has done so thoroughly well,—with all his heart and with all his mind—we forgive Mr. Greg for a world of pedantry and common-place.

R. S. H.

THE CHARACTER OF ST. PAUL. By J. S. Howson, D. D., Dean of Chester. Pp. 314. New York: Dodd & Mead. Philadelphia: Claxton, Remsen & Haffelfinger. Price, $1.75.

Dean Howson is widely known for his advocacy of the revival of the order of deaconesses, which led him to visit the last P. E. General Convention, and as the *collaborateur* of the late Mr. Conybeare in the preparation of that superb piece of scholarship, *The Life and Epistles of St. Paul.* The present volume is one of a series of smaller works from his pen, designed for a much wider circle of readers, but all gathering around the same favorite subject. *The Companions of St. Paul,* and *The Metaphors of St. Paul,* are both known to the American public.

The present volume contains only five discourses, which take up five points of the character of the great apostle: (1) Tact and Presence of Mind; (2) Tenderness and Sympathy; (3) Conscientiousness and Integrity; (4) Thanksgiving and Prayer; (5) Courage and Perseverance. Dean Howson has made a microscopic study of the text of Paul's epistles, and of Luke's narrative; he has also gone to the best and finest exponents of Paul's life and mission, especially to Monod and De Pressensé, and St. Bernard, all of them warm lovers of the apostle. He might also have found much in Luther, a spirit kindred to Paul, though (as Coleridge says) "not so fine a gentleman." Has Dean Howson been repelled by Luther's calling Paul "*ein armes duerres Mannlein, wie Magister, Philippus*"?

We need hardly say that the materials collected are used in the broad, genial spirit of the best English scholarship, and with the nice tact and sense of the fitness of things that is the very pith of scholarship. There is no attempt at oratory, but the author rises toward it in the straightforward simplicity and earnestness

of his style. No reader could rise from the perusal of the book without a clearer and more vivid comprehension of the apostle's greatness.

The fault we especially observe is the attempt to make Paul a rounder and more complete character than the facts warrant. The man saw in part, and prophesied in part; else Peter, James and John only thought they saw. Paley hits the strong and marked point in Paul's character, when he points out his fine business gifts. The best educated of the apostles, he was not the most profound of them, but the most business-like. Hence his immense success in Corinth and at Ephesus, as contrasted with his rejection at Athens. The mercantile cities understood the man who went about the work of his apostleship with as much directness as if he had wheat to sell—who could clench an argument with an illustration drawn from a bale of goods, or a bargain. Hence also (in some measure) the vast influence he has exerted upon the thinking of the great industrial nations and communities of modern times. It is part of the "eternal fitness of things" that "all around St. Paul's" is but another name for the greatest commercial city that the world has ever seen. Renan, on the other hand, sneers at him, with the fastidiousness of the mere scholar, as being "no saint," but rough-tongued and ill-tempered. He certainly was not a saint after Renan's ideal; it were a great pity if he had been.

Dean Howson writes from a thoroughly conservative stand-point, but seldom polemically. Now and then Baur, Renan and Jowett come in for a bit of protest; but on the other hand he makes large use of the writings of men from whom, in general, he differs very widely—such as Jowett, Stanley, Niemeyer and Colani on the one hand, and Newman and Vidal on the other.

JESUS. A portrait. By the Rev. Joseph Barker. Pp. 264. Philadelphia: Methodist Episcopal Book Store.

Mr. Barker was born of humble parents in the communion of the English Wesleyans, but left that body to become a preacher in the Primitive Methodist Church soon after the secession of the latter on the question of the representation of the laity in the conferences A few years' experience of the practical workings of Methodism excited in him so much disgust with its doctrines and methods that he withdrew from them, and took up an independent position as a Christian teacher, holding in substance the views of Dr. Channing, whose works he re-published. From this point he went on to avowed rejection of every form of Christianity, and, if we mistake not, of theism itself. Some years ago he came to this country, and became the leader and chief of a

body of sceptics in our city, and held a public discussion with the late Dr. Joseph Berg, in the old Chinese Museum, on the claims and character of the Bible. He left the city afterward, and for years was lost sight of, until at last a rumor came that he had gone back to the Primitive Methodist Church, and formally renounced his previous renunciation of Christianity. This rumor was confirmed first by a long letter, describing the steps that led him back to his first faith, and recently by his visit to our city, during which he repeatedly occupied the pulpits of various churches, seeking to undo the work of his first visit.

He is a man of very fine gifts—one of those natural orators that the English working-classes produce in such numbers—men of ready wit, and large command of the homely, direct English that De Foe, Bunyan and Cobbett wrote and spoke. It is no longer heresy to say that he was more than a match for his reverend antagonist in the discussion alluded to.

The book we are noticing grew out of an address delivered before the M. E. Preachers' Meeting, and was written in this city. He takes up thirty-six topics of thought, and specifies twenty-nine others that he had passed by, as excluded by the necessity of keeping the book within bounds. He speaks with the very strongest assurance of the truth of Christianity, and says that more than once, during the preparation of his work, he was moved to tears by the contemplation of the subject, and compelled for the time to desist. He writes in a thoroughly unconventional style, so much so at times that we have to turn back to the title-page to see if a church-board are indeed the publishers. Here are some sentences as a specimen of his style from the eleventh chapter—"Jesus and Woman:"

"If man were doomed to live alone, he would soon come to regard it as a thing to be prayed for, that he might cease to live at all. Even in Paradise man began to feel very uncomfortable when he found that every beast of the field and every fowl of the air had its mate, but that there was no mate provided for him..... Even those who live in what they playfully or wickedly call 'single blessedness,' owe all the little blessedness they enjoy to the influence which woman exerts, and the part which she performs in society at large. A man may live without eyes in a community in which others have eyes; but what would he do in a community in which all were blind? So a man may get along in some way without a wife in a world when others have wives, and when good, kind women abound; but what would he do in a world in which wives and mothers were unknown? He owes his life, first of all, to woman's love, and he is dependent for all that gives it value on woman's care......Man cannot be made happy by woman when woman herself is miserable......He cannot be wise, and leave her

foolish; he cannot be good, and leave her wicked; he cannot be great and strong and free, and leave her little and weak and enslaved. Their destiny is one; you cannot have Purgatory for woman, and Paradise for man."

FAIRE-MOUNT. By Henry Peterson. Philadelphia: Claxton, Remson & Haffelfinger.

The author of "Pemberton, or one Hundred Years Ago," evidently cherishes the past. The title of the present volume, suggestive of themes Spenserian, cleverly surprises the reader, who finds its subject to be the Park, whither he may any day be borne for the paltry sum of seven cents. But not upon the wings of the muse. The stranger in our city will derive great benefit from this epic as a collection of facts. With what excellent common sense has it been constructed! Given a public garden, with the usual incidents of dandelions, buttercups and trees, a river with several bridges and many boats, a number of men who, having done or said something worthy of memory, have visited the place; finally the project known as the Centennial—to make a poem. This is the triumph of the practical, and publishers, following the lead, might safely issue sealed proposals for a certain number of rhymed lines of standard length, on any subject, with a tasteful sprinkling of the "Aye," "Nay," "Let us," "Build we" style of architecture. But the work, like a judicial record, shall testify to itself.

The muse bids us advise our descendants, when we tell them of the late Mr. Jesse George, to forget

> "The famous conqueror, the mighty king,
> Who swept the world as on a vulture's wing,
> Glutting with human hearts his greedy gorge,
> But bid them reverence the name of George"

The epithet applied to the alimentary canal of the conqueror is strong and as full of meaning as that organ is of human hearts. We are on the verge of heinous ingratitude, for the acquisition of such a conception in pointing out that the rhyme between "gorge" and "George" is not unexceptionable.

"The conqueror" next receives a thrust in the concrete in the shape of Lord Cornwallis.

> "Not many days,
> And stout Cornwallis, wakening startled, says,
> 'That sounds like thunder!' Thunder it is, O Peer,
> It is the patriot army in thy rear."

We suspect that "days" and "says" rhyme in the circles in which the awakening general would be addressed as "O Peer!"

Among the distinguished men who have walked along the river's bank, particularly

> " Beneath the summer's sun,
> Our Newton and our Socrates in one
> Came to refresh his soul by Schuylkill's side."

The sagacious reader will guess what a few lines further on is more graphically told by "the vanquished lightning," "with a pen of flame," that his countryman who thus merged the two sages of physics and metaphysics was B. Franklin.

Finally we are invited to bring to the Centennial, inter alia,

> " Ripe brain of manhood, woman's kindly mouth,
> Skill of the north and richness of the south."

We infer from the balance of these lines that the poet expects the brains to come from the north, while by 1876 the south may be able to supply the great Exhibition with specimens of kindly-mouthed women.

ART EDUCATION, SCHOLASTIC AND INDUSTRIAL.—By Walter Smith, State Director of Art Education, Massachusetts. Late head master of the Leeds School of Art. With Illustrations. Boston, James R. Osgood & Co., 1872.

To the many who have regarded all art only as an agreeable pastime or fashionable accomplishment, Prof. Walter Smith's exhaustive treatise on " Art Education, Scholastic and Industrial," will prove an instructive revelation. With the comprehensiveness always distinguishing a mind which has mastered its subject, Prof. Smith has in this work exhibited in combination the cool judgment of an economist, the practical knowledge and experience of a teacher, the delicate and refined taste of a critic, and the profound learning of a scholar. The question of the education of the people of this country in the principles of true art, is not one merely relating to their general intelligence and refinement, but an eminently practical matter, affecting directly their pockets and the wealth of the country at large. Compelled now for want of educated taste at home, to send abroad for our designs, we not only lack that originality which is so important an element in good art, in our manufactured products, but send annually out of the country millions of dollars which might be expended among our own people.

As an economist, Prof. Smith has carefully investigated the causes which have led, from time to time, to the superiority of one nation over others in industrial art, and has in every case established beyond question the fact, that where the artizans of a country have been thoroughly educated in the principles of art, there will be found the excellence not only of artistic beauty but also of moneyed value of the manufactured products. The course of study recommended by Prof. Smith shows the impartiality and

cosmopolitan character of his views. Although an Englishman, he is remarkably free from the insular prejudices of many of his countrymen, and has united in his system the best elements of the English, French and German schools of instruction in industrial drawing. Ruskin has said that, "design is not the offspring of idle fancy; it is the studied result of accumulative observation and delightful habit," and Prof. Smith, a worthy disciple of this great art master, urges the positive necessity of establishing art museums which will contain works of art, fit to be "observed" by the people, by means of which they will form "delightful habits" of purity and correctness in their design. The museum at South Kensington, supplemented by solid class instruction, went far to recover the lost position of England, and instead of being low in the scale, as in 1851, at the Paris Exhibition of 1867 she equaled and in some of her art industries excelled the other nations of Europe. It remains now for this country to educate its people—a people fertile of invention, quick of apprehension and thirsting for knowledge—in the principles of industrial art; and then with grateful acknowledgment of the labors of Prof. Smith and his coadjutors, we may hope to see the day when our national pride will not be so often offended as it is now, when the popular way of indicating the merit of a work into which art enters, is by saying that it is imported.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

Lady Hester, or Ursula's Narrative. By Charlotte M. Yonge, author of "The Heir of Redclyffe," etc. Pp. 223. Cloth. $1.75. London: Macmillan & Co. 1874. [Porter & Coates.]

On the Origin and Metamorphoses of Insects. By Sir John Lubbock, Bart., M. P., F. R. S., Vice-Chancellor of the University of London, etc. With numerous illustrations. Pp. 108. Cloth. $1.25. London: Macmillan & Co. 1874 [Porter & Coates.]

Bianca Cappello. A Tragedy. By Elizabeth C. Kinney. Pp. 146. Cloth. $1.50. New York: Hurd & Houghton. 1873 [Porter & Coates]

Wild's Summer Rose; or, The Lament of the Captive. An Authentic Account of the Origin, Mystery and Explanation of Hon. R. H. Wilde's Alleged Plagiarism. By Anthony Barclay, Esq., and, with his permission, published by the Georgia Historical Society. Savannah: 1871. Pp. 70. Oc. Cloth.

The Principles and Practice of Fire Underwriting Systematically Arranged. By Jos. M. Rogers, LL. B. Second Edition. Revised and enlarged by the Author. New York: Office of The Spectator. Cloth. Oc. $2.00.

Fire Surveys; or, A Summary of the Principles to be Observed in Estimating the Risk of Buildings. By E. M. Shaw, Chief Officer of the London Fire Brigade. American Edition. 1872. New York: Office of The Spectator. Pp. 65. Paper. 50 cents.

The Insurance Register, 1873, containing, with other information, a recor of the Yearly Progress and the Present Financial Position of British Insuranc

Associations. By William White, Fellow of the Statistical Society. Pp. 143. Paper. Oc. $1 00. London: Charles & Edwin Layton. 1873. [New York: J. H. & C. M. Goodsell.]

Materialism: Its History and Influence on Society. By Dr. L. Büchner. Paper. 12 mo. 28 pp. 25 cents.

The Childhood of the World: A Simple Account of Man in Early Times. By Edward Clodd, F. R. A. S. Cloth. 12 mo. Pp. 91. 75 cents.

The Essence of Religion. God the Image of Man. Man's Dependence upon Nature, the last and only Source of Religion. By Ludwig Feuerback' Cloth. 12 mo. Pp. 75. New York: Asa K. Butts & Co. 1873. $1.00.

The Two Admirals. A Tale. By J. Fenimore Cooper. Illustrated with drawings by F O C. Darley. Pp. 207. Paper. Oc. 75 cents.

Common-Sense in Religion: A Series of Essays. By James Freeman Clarke. Boston: James R. Osgood & Co. 1874. Pp. 443. 12 mo. Cloth. $2 00. [Claxton, Remsen & Haffelfinger.]

The Liberal Education of the Nineteenth Century. By Prof. Wm. P. Atkinson, of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. Reprinted from the Popular Science Monthly, Nov. 1873. New York: D Appleton & Co. 1873. Paper. Pp. 28. [Porter & Coates.]

Circulars of Information of the Bureau of Education. No. 5. 1873. Account of College Commencements during 1873 in the Western and Southern States. Washington: Government Printing Office. 1873. Pp. 155.

Bec's Bedtime, being Stories from the Christian Union. By Mrs. Joshua L. Hallowell. Pp. 208. Cloth. 12 mo. $1.25. Philadelphia: Porter & Coates.

An Art Tour to Northern Capitals of Europe. By J. Beavington Atkinson. Pp. 455. Crown 8vo. $3.00. New York: Macmillan & Co. 1873. [Porter & Coates.]

The Grammar of Painting and Engraving. Translated from the French of Blanc's Grammaire des Arts du Dessin. By Kate Newell Doggett. With the Original Illustrations 4to. Pp. xxx. 330. $6.50. Gilt. $7 00. New York: Hurd & Houghton. Cambridge: The Riverside Press. [Claxton, Remsen & Haffelfinger.]

Painters, Sculptors, Architects, Engravers and their Works. A Hand-book. By Clara Erskine Clement, author of "A Hand-book of Legendary and Mythological Art." With Illustrations and Monograms Pp. xii. 661. Crown 8vo. $3.25. New York: Hurd & Houghton. Cambridge: The Riverside Press. 1874. [Claxton, Remsen & Haffelfinger.]

Nancy. A Novel By Rhoda Broughton. Pp. 411. 12 mo. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1874. [Porter & Coates.]

The Philadelphia Tea Party of 1773. A Chapter from the History of the Old State House. By Frank M. Etting. Respectfully inscribed to the ladies of the Centennial Tea Party, December 17, 1873. Philadelphia. Pp. 8. Edward Stern, 11 North Sixth street.

Bulletin de l'Académié Royale des Sciences, des Lettres et des Beaux Arts de Belgique 42d année. 2d série, tome 36. Nos. 9 et 10. Bruxelles: F. Hayez, Imprimeur de l'Académié Royale.

THE

PENN MONTHLY.

FEBRUARY, 1874.

THE MONTH.

SPANISH politics have assumed another phase. The fall of Castelar was a thing to be expected, and while it has occasioned regret almost everywhere, has given no one much surprise. When he took the Presidency, as his Dictatorship was called, he accepted it only on condition that the Cortes should vote him extraordinary powers and then adjourn. This in the then condition of parties it was ready to do and did, and ever since Castelar has governed the affairs of the country with an absolute sway. It is no doubt quite impossible for us to exaggerate the difficulties in his way, but the fact is unquestioned that notwithstanding all his efforts, the Cortes, re-assembling at the beginning of this year, found the affairs of the country substantially unimproved. The Carlists still continued to threaten in the North, the Intransigentes to hold out in Cartagena, demoralization was to be found in every part of the country, and, worse than all, the wisdom and moderation of the government in the Virginius matter could not justify to Spaniards an apparent insult to Spanish pride. The liberal views of the President on the subject of slavery awoke no doubt an opposition in the breasts of the many small men who make up such bodies as the Cortes, who, especially in a country like Spain, are as ignorant as they are bigoted and narrow, and the first vote revealed an opposition to the government which could not be overcome. We all

know the result. Marshal Serrano's return to power suggests the revolution in France of the 24th of May, though the parallel between him and McMahon is greater than that between Castelar and Thiers. The two Marshals are monarchists by nature and education. Of the two civilians, the elder contributed by his writings to build up the power which his votes and speeches did much to destroy, while the younger has been a consistent republican throughout his career. The Frenchman a conservative out of office, became a radical in office; the Spaniard a radical in opposition, was a conservative in power. To both their countries turned for guidance in a dangerous crisis of affairs. Both wielded unlimited power, and sought earnestly to found a Free Republic, and were unsuccessful. A weak, timid, vacillating legislature overthrew both alike and placed the reins of government in the hands of two soldiers of no strong political convictions or liking for republics, who owed their fame and dignities alike to those two thrones on the ruins of which they are now insecurely seated. The fall of Castelar, like that of Thiers, may mean re-action. In this case, also, the reaction may go to far—but notwithstanding the surrender of Cartagena and the flight of the insurgents into Algeria, where the French have seized them; and in spite of loud sounding manifestoes and pronunciamentos the accession of Serrano and his friends promises no happiness to Spain.

And notwithstanding all that has passed in France, the new ministry of McMahon seems rather insecure. Hardly was it in office when a proposition was introduced to transfer to the government the appointment of the Mayors of all the communes who number more than 75,000. Under the existing laws all communes of less than 40,000 inhabitants elect their own chief magistrates, and it was natural that this attempt on the part of the government to secure for itself the appointment and removal of such an army of office-holders should awaken not only indignation but dismay. On the 8th of January the bill was defeated by a majority of 42 out of 494 members. The ministry at once announced its intention of resigning, but yielded to the President's request that it would wait for a vote of confidence, which the Assembly, alarmed at its own act and dreading the consequences of such independence, promptly passed the next day. The ministry remains in power and so ends another "crisis."

THE approaching marriage of the Duke of Edinburgh is now the talk of the newspapers. Royal marriages do not mean as much nowadays as they did in other times, and it is not to be expected that this union of the lion and the bear will pare the claw of the one or dull the tusks of the other. It has no political significance whatever, and the Czar will hardly abate any of his ambitious plans of conquest in the East, out of regard for the feelings of his son-in-law. But the marriage will certainly be the occasion of great fêtes in Russia, and of innumerable civic processions, and banquets, and addresses, when the happy pair shall have reached the shores of England.

GENERAL SICKLES has resigned from the mission to Madrid. It seems that after making the Spanish foreign minister yield every point in the Virginius matter, the General learned, and first from the Spaniards, that Mr. Fish had accepted less advantageous terms from Admiral Polo. Naturally this was enough to impair his usefulness as a representative of the American government, and he tendered and insisted upon his resignation. It has been accepted, and he joins the list of Grant's ex-ambassadors, who have been offended by the administration. Motley, Curtin, Sickles—the catalogue is growing, but the majority remain satisfied within the fold. Mr. Russell Jones continues to shed light upon the Belgian court, the Rev. Mr. Cramer to illumine Copenhagen—Mr. Bancroft and Mr. Marsh talk of resigning—but General Schenck and Mr. Washburne are apparently fixed representatives of American character and culture in the capitals of England and France. The President's choice for Minister to Spain, to succeed the angry Sickles, was generally commended, and it is rather to be regretted, for the administration's sake, that he did not go at once to his post, instead of remaining at home to compose that address to the Mexican War Veterans, which, after all, he did not deliver. The learning, shrewdness, and ability of Mr. Caleb Cushing, joined with his knowledge of the language, character and politics of Spain, not to mention his long experience in affairs, seemed to mark his appointment as a very wise and proper one. He was at once confirmed by the Senate, but it is at this writing doubtful, in view of recent developments, whether he will start upon the mission.

CONGRESS re-assembled on the 5th of January. Its deliberations have thus far been marked by the repeal of the salary bill, by a discussion on finance in which the disagreement of the political doctors has justified every expectation, and by a debate in the House remarkable for three singular and noteworthy speeches. No decision has yet been reached on the subject of the currency, and the evident timidity of congressmen to touch the question prophecies further delay. Whether we need more money or less—inflation or contraction—is now the momentous question in the Senate, and the time of the body is being taken up with the expression of each Senator's views in turn.

The salary bill of last March has been repealed, and the pay of all officers, but the President and Supreme Court Judges, goes back to the former figures. In the House, in the civil rights bill debate, Mr. A. H. Stephens read a speech in part remarkable for the resurrection of all the old ante-bellum talk about the inferiority of the negro and the immortality of Democratic principles, but chiefly for having given occasion to the speech which followed in reply.

Mr. Elliot, of South Carolina, answered Mr. Stephens. His speech, even as reported in the newspapers was not only an adroit and able argument, but a forcible and polished piece of rhetoric, and judged by its effect was itself a dramatic and powerful reply, in so far at least as one negro was concerned, to Mr. Stephens' argument against the intellectual capacity of the race. Extraordinary indeed was the spectacle, and proof of a change which men like Mr. Stephens seem incapable of comprehending—this negro representative from Calhoun's own district of South Carolina, answering successfully on the floor of Congress the ex-Vice President of the Confederate States. The rebel impenitent, though pardoned, incapable of exercising or appreciating the magnanimity which had been so signally shown to him, and trying with all his might to dig up the buried prejudices of the past worsted in an intellectual contest with the enfranchised slave. What a commentary on the times and on the character of American institutions! The third speech of note was made by Mr. Butler. It is said to have surpassed all his other speeches, and the scene with which it closed, in which the speaker described himself as taking an oath on the battle field to defend the cause of the negro, reminds us of similar

incidents in the lives of ancient heroes as related in Plutarch. It is fortunate for that oath that it has been Mr. Butler's interest to keep it. The bill was recommitted, and so ended the debate.

THE great event of the month has unquestionably been the vain attempt to fill the Chief Justiceship. Had it not been for the delay occasioned by the adjournment over Christmas, there is likelihood that the Senate would have confirmed the first nomination. But this delay gave time for second thought. The country became fairly aroused:—the universal conviction in men's minds that the nominee was unworthy, found a voice and brought to bear upon the Senate a pressure that was irresistible. The effect of this frank expression of a unanimous opinion among his countrymen that he was utterly unfit for the great office (which, by the way, Mr. Williams gracefully calls the opening upon him of "the floodgates of calumny") at length became evident to the candidate, even if the Presidential eyes kept shut. Convinced that his rejection was certain, Mr. Williams generously asked the President to withdraw his name, expressing his request in a letter which ought to reconcile his professional brethren to the loss which our legal literature has sustained from his self-sacrifice. The light of Mr. Williams having been extinguished, the President sent in the name of Caleb Cushing. Long practice in unfit appointments in this case reached perfection. It is true that Mr. Cushing is an eminent and able lawyer, and a man of versatility and learning. But during the course of a long career he has proved himself a hundred times the most inconsistent and unstable of our public men. A Democrat of Democrats, he was up to and during the rebellion the most prominent of those Northern men who upheld the Southern views. In company with Butler he voted more than fifty times for Jefferson Davis in that famous Charleston Convention of 1860, of which he was the presiding officer, and led the bolt from that convention which divided the party and nominated Breckinridge and Lane. Convinced against his will, unless gross injustice is done him, that the Union was not destroyed by the secession of the South, he has remained from that time to this, uncommitted to any of the results of the struggle. It is asserted that his views upon the questions to which the war gave rise have undergone no change,

though he has always delivered himself with caution and adroitness, and like the "Little Joker" of the itinerant magician, it has been next to impossible to "place him." But after all, the worst feature of Mr. Cushing's character and history is an apparent lack of sincerity and want of principle. He has been all things to all administrations and all men, and such a man has never yet possessed, as he does not deserve, the complete confidence of his countrymen. Such was the man whom General Grant fixed upon as next to Mr. Williams, of Oregon, the fittest in the country for Chief Justice. The nomination caused a flutter of excitement. The many salient points of Mr. Cushing's history, of which the President was doubtless ignorant and to which he was certainly indifferent, were attacked at once. The newspapers, with one accord, began to make complaints. The Senate trembled on the horns of a dilemma: between it and the President yawned as dangerous a gulf as before. It was evident that Mr. Williams was too small a Curtius for the nonce. Nor was the situation improved by the sweet temper of the Democrats, who all the while protesting that Cushing was not one of them, unselfishly agreed to take him, for the sake of peace. But the question was soon settled. When a man is a candidate for office, he is a target for all arrows, but in this case the death blow came from no foeman's hand. It was a case of suicide. A letter from Mr. Cushing to President Jefferson Davis, dated the 21st of March, 1861, was found in a pigeonhole of the War Department, and read in a caucus of the Republican Senators. The effect was magical. No one paused to inquire where General Butler stood on that 21st of March, or Mr. Creswell either. To find out where some great men of the day were in 1861 would be a hopeless task, and none attempted it. This letter was enough. It proved a sort of boomerang, which during these dozen years has wandered about in space only to come back with unerring aim and awful force after so many days. The venerable candidate saw it coming from afar. The Senate held its breath, the party howled with rage, and the President succumbed. A second letter fluttered to the White House, and the Chief Justiceship was vacant as before. Thus was poor Cushing by a Cushing's hand hurled headlong into the gulf where Williams had plunged before him, and at this writing, the chasm between the two ends of Pennsylvania avenue is closed.

Whom General Grant will nominate next is a fertile topic for speculation. One mistake certainly he has not made. His nominees thus far have been members of the bar. Let us hope that in his efforts to fill this place by the free exercise of a judgment untrammeled by any knowledge of the subject he may not exhaust all the names of lawyers on his list. Having first encountered that prejudice which still exists in this country in favor of a Chief Justice learned in the law, he next ran counter to that other which would have him a man of lofty character. With such rocks in the way, he must find it hard to steer, and if it be true that he has refused with warmth to take advice upon the subject or hear mentioned the names of those whom the people would select, he has set for himself a task of difficulty. It will not be easy to fill the office from his personal followers and friends.

The Pennsylvania Legislature has assembled and begun its work. The first question submitted to it is one to test its sincerity and acquiescence in the new state of things, and the prospect is not flattering. But "men do not gather grapes of thorns or figs of thistles." On the first day, Mr. McClure presented a bill to regulate elections in Philadelphia which was at once referred to committee. Reported back to the Senate, it might have passed had not the leaders in Philadelphia, in very desperation, ordered its destruction. So it was killed by amendments, and in its stead a bill of different character will probably have been passed ere this is printed. It is quite evident that the great defeated of December 16th have taken heart again. By a skillful use of those powers which Satan and men's prejudices have put into their hands they hope, not without reason, to perpetuate under the new constitution the state of things which led to the abrogation of the old. It is too early now to speak of their prospects, or of the purposes of those who are opposed to them: the campaign is not yet begun. It is but just to say of Governor Hartranft's message, without paying him a compliment unless he deserves it, that it is an excellent document and creditable to its author. It urges upon the legislature the claims of the Centennial, and points out the many advantages to Pennsylvania and to the country at large. But it deserves especial mention for the manner in which it speaks of the new constitution and dwells upon the fact that no true reform can

be achieved by mere constitutional enactment, unless "sustained by a strong, active, healthful and intelligent sentiment that will interest itself in public affairs." The right to vote, it truly says, "carries with it a grave public trust," the neglect of which is "almost as culpable" as the direct violation of the law. It is not enough "to enact that integrity and fitness are essential qualifications for office unless the people see that none without these qualifications are selected." Let us echo and take to heart the sound advice to "attend diligently and conscientiously to the selection of men for office whose dignity and character will be an adequate guaranty that the new constitution will be safe in their keeping." A favoring fortune and long-suffering Providence has never vouchsafed to us all a greater opportunity.

THE COMMUNISMS OF THE OLD WORLD.

SECOND PAPER.

THE scenes that followed the day of Pentecost in the newly born Church of Jerusalem are often appealed to by the communists as showing that Christianity in its purest simplicity—"before it became the secret of the priest and the tool of the king"—favored at least a partial reconstruction of society in a socialist direction. In that church, we learn, as many as had possessions sold their goods and distributed to those who were in need. In this sense they had all things in common, but in no other. The abstract right of property was most fully recognized, in the very act by which its possessor transferred it to the church as a trustee for the poor brethren. "Was it not thine own?" asks the indignant Peter of the liar Ananias. Its distribution made it again private property, with the understanding that every needy brother had a claim in Christian love upon its holder. If the claim was refused, there was no redress save church censure. The policy seems to have proved a very bad one. Coleridge says of the proceeding: "This was a misunderstanding of our Lord's words, and had the effect of reducing the churches of the circum-

cision to beggary, and of making them an unnecessary burden on the new churches in Greece and elsewhere."

The fact seems to be that the new church took hold of the lowest classes in the social scale, just as every subsequent great awakening within the church has done. The majority of its memhers were such as had had a scanty breakfast, and did not know where their dinner was to come from, or if they were sure of a dinner to-day were not sure of one a month hence. The proceedings at Jerusalem seem to have been the act of a few wealthy converts, suddenly brought for the first time in their lives face to face with the misery of a mass of their countrymen, whom they had just confessed to be their brethren in Christ. "Sell all that thou hast and give to the poor" rang in their ears, and they did it. Their act is no more subject to our criticism than a mother's outburst of love or of sorrow. If they were wrong, it was well to be wrong in that instant. It has been suggested that they borrowed the idea from the Essenes' who were possibly represented in the ranks of the new church. But the act has nothing in common with the proceedings of the Essenes.

Although it is most probable that the struggling and dependent classes formed the majority in all the churches, save perhaps in Corinth and Ephesus, the experiment of Jerusalem was not repeated. Its results had probably shown that property is only the exponent of a social power inherent in its possessors and incapable of transmission by gift, and that redistribution of goods would not permanently get rid of the inequality. Paul set his keen business tact to solve the problem, and reached quite another solution of it. He put industry into the list of the Christian virtues, and brought the whole range of Christian motives to bear upon his converts to counteract the notion that work is ignoble, with which slavery had poisoned men's minds. He roused the have-nots of the church to set the world an example of self-support by honest work, instead of depending upon the alms of the rich brethren. Lest they should falsely plead his example, he forewent his just claim to a sufficient support as a minister of the church, and wrought with his own hands at the trade which he, like every other Jewish lad however rich, had learned in his youth. If any would not hear his exhortation, he declared that they had "denied the faith" and were "worse than infidel."

His teaching bore the fruit that might have been expected. The Christian community became richer and more prosperous with every generation, in spite of fines and confiscations. Just so did Quakerism and Methodism in their day take hold of large masses of the lowest, least hopeful and most thriftless classes, and raise them to wealth and intelligence.*

The fathers of the church did not regard the accumulation of property by her members as one of the blessings of the new faith. On the one hand their ascetic zeal led them to set the utmost value upon the self-denial by which the rich man strips himself to clothe his brethren in the church or even out of it; on the other they derived from a literal construction of the injunctions of the gospels a very severe code of duty for such as had possessions. The practical conclusions they reach are such as the communists love to quote to the *cures* and *pfaffen* of the continental churches; they sound not unlike the doctrines of Rousseau. "The rich man," says Augustin, "who does not give, commits theft. It is a species of sacrilege not to give the poor man what is good for him." "The earth," says Ambrose, "has been given in common to all men. Let us not pretend to own that which, in excess of our actual needs, we have forcibly taken

*We pass by the scandalous charges brought by the Pagans against the early Christians, as they are conceded on all hands to have been the offspring of ignorance begotten by malice.

One heretical sect, more Pagan than Christian in its opinions, but generally classed among the Gnostics, practised community of goods and women. The Carpocratians reached a thoroughly antinomian stand-point by starting from the oriental ideas of the immanence of all creatures in God, and the consequent divinity—much more the innocence—of their acts. Two inscriptions found in the Cyreniac country and first published by Gesenius, give us the names of the officers of one of their congregations, and avow their communism as the perfection which separates them from the vulgar herd. One gives a list of historical personages worthy of especial honor, possibly as having awakened to a consciousness of the unity of God and men. One of the names is that of Madzak, a Persian fanatic of the sixth century, whose history is given by Procopius. He preached the doctrine of community of wives and property, and made many converts, even the King of Persia being one. When the king died, his son and successor, the great Khosroes, took a bloody revenge upon the heresiarch for the indignity put upon his own mother, and exterminated the sect. The Carpocratians must therefore have perpetuated their organization secretly till well into the sixth century.

from the community at large. Do not plead: 'What harm do I do in keeping what belongs to me?' As if a man, when once he had entered the theatre and had taken his place, should wish to have the door shut in the face of all the rest of the spectators, and thus to keep to himself what was designed for all. Such are rich men of this sort. They are possessed of what is the common property of all, and they make it their own by right of seizure." "While you wrap up," says Basil, "in the insatiable folds of your avarice that which belongs to all men, are you not unjust? Are you not avaricious? Are you not a plunderer in thus appropriating what you received that you might share with others?" "That bread that you withhold belongs to your hungry brother. That garment that you keep in your chest belongs to the naked. That silver that you are hoarding in the earth is the ransom of your captive brother, is the fine you owe for your brother under accusation." Such quotations might be multiplied almost indefinitely; but their communistic savor is a matter of rhetoric, not of deliberate theory. Such paradoxes were felt needful to counteract the passion for wealth which was invading the recently established Church of the Empire.

These orators of the church had another argument against the rich; the bright example of a large body of Christians who had visibly renounced the world and embraced holy poverty. The primitive church, it is admitted, had no monastic orders. Tertullian, who was just the stuff to make a monk of, boasts that while the saints of the Indian faiths had separated themselves from the world, the Christians walked the streets, bought and sold, and pursued their trades like their neighbors. In the Decian persecution an Egyptian Christian, named Paul, fled to the wilderness and adopted the life of a hermit, after the example set by Egyptian and Jewish devotees on the same soil. His example was gradually followed by a host of others, of whom the most famous was Anthony. For a time they lived in isolation from each other, supporting life by planting gardens and weaving baskets and mats of palm-leaves. In the story of their lives we have occasional glimpses of beautiful hermitages, green spots in the wilderness, full of flowers and fruit trees. Others more severe to the flesh made their dwellings in the tombs, and practiced the sternest asceticism. Some only ate once a week—it was

forbidden to fast on Sunday—and then very sparingly. They visited each other at times, though the most strenuous shunned such breaches of their solitude as an indulgence to the flesh. The story of Anthony's preaching to the fishes is but one of a great multitude that tell of their curious relations with the animal creation. They made friends with the wolves, jackals and lions that had peopled the waste before them, sometimes receiving them into their cells, and sometimes, if need were, asking the same hospitality. In the course of time they filled up the deserts so closely that they could hardly avoid contact. The social instinct, too, began to assert itself, and it was felt that to renounce the world was not to renounce the brethren, and so the first monasteries grew, a cluster of hermit huts united and yet distinct, like the wax-globules of the wild bees' comb. The most venerable and experienced hermit was recognized as *Abbas*, and the virtue of obedience was added to those of "chastity" and poverty. With every year the community grew stronger and the individual weaker, till the monastery was evolved, with its severe and exact rule of obedience, its fixed hours of worship, work and leisure, its corporate wealth in conjunction with individual poverty, its vows that admit of no retraction and of no release. The industrial feature was kept especially prominent. The monasteries under the rule of Pachomius contained mills, bakeries, tanneries, while some of the monks made copies of MSS. It was a pious rule of theirs never to let the devil find them idle, and a monk who would not do his share was put on short rations.

Not till fully a century later was monasticism introduced into the west. At the commencement of the incursions of the Barbarians, great numbers of all classes sought this artificial escape from the miseries of the times, and Augustine and Jerome, as afterward Paulinus of Nola and John Cassian, exerted themselves to give a right shape and direction to the movement. Such as gathered themselves into communities either devised a rule of their own or adopted that of Basil. Another class wandered about singly or in pairs, subject to no rule, living by alms and professing to spend their life in prayer. Augustine expresses his opinion that they were largely lying rogues, and did his best to bring them to a better mind. Cassian traveled into Egypt to make a study of monasticism on its native soil, and besides giv-

ing us very full and often curious details of their sayings and doings, devised a rule for the monks of Gaul, the first of purely western origin, as that of Paulinus was the second.

But Benedict of Nursia, who, in A. D. 515, founded the great monastery of Monte Cassino, and drafted the Benedictine rule, is the first master of western monasticism. *Otiositas inimica est animae* said he, and his monks were required to find play for mind and muscles in the workshops and the fields of the order. By a happy innovation after his death, study and teaching were added to the employments required, and the order, taking its rise just at the point of severance between the ancient and the mediæval world, became one of the greatest benefactors of Europe. His rule was skillfully devised to bring all the energy of the western character into play, and to secure the highest possible efficiency of the monks and workmen, without interfering with their devotion as "religious." The order stamped out in the west the last poison that slavery had left—the contempt for labor. It gathered into the monastery the homely and useful arts of the ancient world as well as its literature, and preserved them intact till the storm of the barbarian incursions was overpast. It planted its monasteries in the wilderness, in remote valleys, in the heart of dense woods, and by dint of perseverance and courage more than human, it made those places a centre of population, intelligence and plenty. It set before the serfs and their masters, in the lands of every monastery, the spectacle of a vast model farm, which they might imitate but dare not plunder. It opened its doors to the ablest and most intelligent of the servile class, and made them free by its cowl, and clerks by its teaching.

The historians of the order dwell with just complacency upon the vast number of places and cities that owe their very name and existence to their occupation by the monks, while the land was yet a wilderness. The disciples of Bruno and the other orders for centuries after this faced and overcame the same difficulties. During the first summer at Clairvaux, Bernard's monks lived on a mixture of coarse grain and leaves; in winter chiefly on beech-mast and wild roots. "Indeed it would seem," says the saint's latest biographer, "that a new monastery was in a measure bound to make its way to public fame by first of all getting nearly extinguished by cold and hunger." Only the most vivid convictions

of duty and the sense of a divine vocation could have enabled men to sustain the struggle. For this reason the success of monasti cism cannot in fairness be pleaded by any school of modern communists. The conditions of the problem are entirely changed; the motive force and the restraining force have alike passed away, while the difficulties have only assumed other shapes.

Kingsley reproduces the whole situation to us in the words he ascribes to Walther von Varila in *The Saint's Tragedy*:

.... See that hollow;
I knew it once all heath, and deep peat bog—
I drowned a black mare in that self-same spot
Hunting with your good father. Well, he gave it
One jovial night, to six poor Erfurt monks—
Six picked-visaged, wan, bird-fingered wights—
All in their rough hair shirts, like hedge-hogs starved.
I told them six weeks' work would break their hearts:
They answered Christ would help, and Christ's great mother,
And make them strong when weakest: so they settled
And starved and froze.
Lewis: And dug and built, it seems,
Walther: Faith that's true, see—as garden walls draw snails,
They've drawn a hamlet round; the slopes are blue
Knee-deep with flax, the orchard boughs are breaking
With strange outlandish fruits. See those young rogues
Marching to school; no poachers here, Lord Landgrave;—
Too much to be done at home; there's not a village
Of yours, now, thrives like this. By God's good help
These men have made this ownership worth something.

But with wealth, in spite of all rules came luxury, idleness and ignorance, and even worse vices. The story of every order is a story of permanent decline from its first ideal and temporary reformations to bring it back to its first love. *Si naturam furcâ expellas, tamen recurrebit.* Human nature rebels against every form of communism as unnatural and inhuman; against even monasticism, the simplest of all, the one that can bring the strongest motives into play in its favor, and can bring unruly impulses under the strongest check.

The rise of the mendicant orders at the opening of the thirteenth century, was a protest against these corruptions, and a movement toward reformation. Francis Assisi, one of the truest saints the world ever saw, would bind his order to corpo-

rate as well as individual poverty. They were to own nothing save the bare necessities of daily life—a plain house over their heads, the books they needed to say mass, and their coarse gray frocks and girdles of rope. Not that they were to be idle, but instead of laboring in monastic farms and workshops, they were to seek work from day to day among those who needed their help. If their employers unjustly withheld their wages, or if they found no work, or if they were traveling or otherwise absolutely prevented from working, or above all, if they could not buy what they wanted even though they had money, then let them beg from door to door, as their founder did, and accept with thanks whatever humble fare of scraps and crusts was offered them. Francis saw even in his life-time that he had bound a heavy burden upon men's shoulders. When near his death he solemnly reiterated his rule of absolute and complete poverty, denouncing all evasions of it, and declaring that he was speaking not of himself but as God gave him to speak. A Pope had confirmed the rule, but another Pope sanctioned a non-natural and lax interpretation of it, by which the Franciscans in time became simply a wealthy order like their predecessors, with systematic and shameless mendicancy, instead of the industry or pretence at industry that in a measure redeemed the Benedictines and Cistercians.[1]

A charter of the year 1065 gives us the first glimpse of another and less monastic type of religious communism. The great disparity of the two sexes of Europe, which was one of the results of the crusades, led many women to unite in communities, in which they supported themselves by labor and devoted much of their time and of their substance to the relief of the poor and the sick. Feeling no vocation to the strictly monastic life, and perhaps repelled by much that they saw of the nuns of their days, they took only revocable vows of celibacy and obedience, and bound themselves by no general rule. The severest punishment

[1]The attempt has been made both by cotemporary controversialists and the communists of our own day, to show that the Albigenses, Cathari and other semi-Gnostic sects of the middle ages practiced communism of goods and of wives. The very searching examination to which the documents and facts of this part of religious history has been subjected by C. Schmidt, K. U. Hahn, and others, has resulted in fully disproving the charge. They had not even any form of monastic life among them.

they inflicted was expulsion from the community itself. These beguinages, or houses of *prayer*, were first established in the Netherlands, and in their earliest form were a cluster of little houses with a common hospital; but as in Egypt these by easy transitions became a common house with separate cells, but with dormitories and refectories and work-rooms that were occupied in common. The order abounded in good works, and was gladly welcomed by every city in which a branch was set up. It entered Germany through Köln (Cologne) and spread from thence over all Swabia, and then into France. About a century after we hear of the beguines, mention is made of beghards, bodies of men living in the same semimonastic style. At first they occupied private houses, but afterward erected beguinages, and in some instances men and women lived in the same community, while in others two communities, one for each sex, were near neighbors. The city we have named at one time had more than a thousand members within its walls. Then came a third order of the same type, the Lollards of the Netherlands and of Lower Germany, who took their name from their singing as the others from their praying. All these names in course of time became synonyms for heresy: the pantheistic and antinomian sect, called "The brethren and sisters of the Free Spirit," either in some instances gathered themselves into beguinages of their own, or infected with their immoralities and heresies the beguinages already established. The two parties became confounded; the church authorities hurled their thunderbolts at both without much discrimination. Such of the Beghards as desired to clear their skirts of all imputations of heresy, did so by joining the Franciscans, and therewith giving up a life of industry for mendicancy. It has been charged that much of these accusations were owing to the jealousy that the regular monastic orders felt toward this semimonastic body, and that Lollards and Beghards were driven into heresy by their intolerance, that they might have an excuse for suppressing them. But historians who are less anxious to make out a case against the regulars, generally admit that there was truth in these charges.

Clerical and monastic jealousy was profoundly excited, as we know, by the foundation of "the Brethren of the Common Life," by Gerhard Groot, in 1378, in the Netherlands. Its members were mostly priests, but they supported themselves by manual

labor, and devoted much of their time to school-teaching and preaching to the people in Flemish. Thomas A'Kempis, author of the *De Imitatione Christi*, was a member of the order, and has written the biographies of its most eminent men. Among its scholars were Erasmus, Hegius and a great number of the earlier humanists, who learned in its schools a more real and valuable lore than was imparted by the scholastic teachers of that age. The order lasted till well into the times of the Reformation, for which it had helped to prepare the way. Luther said of it: "Such monasteries and brother-houses please me beyond measure. Would God that all monastic foundations were like them!"

Many features of the feudal life of the middle ages were markedly communistic. The feudal system grew out of the military occupation of a country by an organized army of invaders. At the start that army, through its chiefs, was in law and fact the common possessor of the whole land so conquered, and the first distributions made did not contemplate any change in this respect. The principal chief or king, as the pronouncer of the national "yes" and "no," assigned districts to other chiefs to be held in fee for a single year; then for convenience the year became a life-time. If the hands of the invaders were strengthened by the arrival of other chiefs and parties of the same race, shares were cut out for them without the slightest hesitation, from the fiefs that already existed. Then as the hereditary principle asserted itself, life tenure became really perpetual, though the original form and purpose of the fiefs was confessed by the homagings rendered by one who had newly succeeded to a fief. That the king personally, not as the representative of the whole body politic, was vested with eminent domain or ownership, is disproved by the fact that this office also was filled by election. In this last respect, also, the form has outlasted the the substance, although in English history, at least, the officiating prelate at comparatively recent coronations used the fact to exact concessions from the monarch, before he would ask the suffrages of the assembled people in his behalf. For some time past, however, the sovereign of the British empire is chosen by the acclamation of the boys of Westminster school.

In the organization of labor, outside of agriculture, the middle ages took a long stride toward the communistic ideal. As this

was confined to the municipalities, where the laws and traditions of the Roman Empire were still cherished, we can only understand the movement by turning back to ancient history. The classic peoples, as is well known, came into Europe from Asia, and are of the same stock as the ancient Persians and Indians. Much of their culture and development, even in later times, consisted in the elimination of Asiatic elements and the adoption of a life and methods more consonant to their new situation. Thus the picture of Greece given in the Homeric poems has far more points of contact with Asia, than that given us in Thucydides and Demosthenes. The same is true in a different measure of the picture of Rome furnished us by the traditions of the Regal period, and that given us by Cicero, though here the true features of the earlier period have been greatly disguised and distorted by tradition.

That the caste system existed at one period among these peoples is beyond all dispute. Even in historic times its essential feature —the strictly hereditary transmission of trades and professions— existed in Athens, and not until after the great reforms of Solon was a man free to choose his own profession. The fierce tenacity with which the Greek aristocracies clung to their places, and the sense of irreligious sacrilege with which they resented all intrusions of the οχλος into the sacred seats of power, is another Asiatic feature of Hellenic history.

In early Rome, through the mists of misunderstanding and willful misrepresentation, we discern a society organized in social castes, whose lines of division were matters of religion. The colleges, or sodalities, or confraternities of the artizans, had each their distinct places, times and rites of religious worship, and Servius Tullius seems to be their champion or patron. In Republican times the vast increase in the number of slaves made free labor less necessary, and it sank into such contempt that no Roman citizen was at last allowed to either work with his hands, or carry on any mercantile business in his own person. With the long era of peace, the number of slaves declined and their price rose, till from the time of the Antonines free labor came to the front again, but still in organized form. The Emperors at first dreaded these *collegia* and *sodalitia* as furnishing occasion for sedition. Trajan would not even allow a city in Pontus to organize a fire company. But the Antonines discovered that, if well-watched

and regulated, these corporations of artizans might be a great help to keep the public peace, and so they encouraged them. They spread into the provinces and perpetuated themselves to the very latest times of the empire; the recollection of them became part of the tradition of the empire that lingered around the old municipalities.[1]

When the cities secured their freedom again, in despite of the feudal lords, the corporations or guilds of workmen reappeared also. So closely was the imperial tradition adhered to in their constitution, that they stood in sharp contrast to the thoroughly democratic organization of the cities themselves, and this led to struggles on the part of the artisan to secure as much freedom of action inside his guild as he possessed in the commune at large. Especially was the unequal distribution of the money earned a source of great contention, and in Sienna, at least, it led to political disturbances and revolutions, and the destruction of the city's commercial prosperity. These guilds had many features in common with the trades unions of later times, but in others were decidedly unlike them. The dualism of labor and capital was as yet unknown; the master, journeymen and apprentices were all united in one body, and the former contracted for the whole corporation. A long apprenticeship must be served before the freedom of the guild was reached; and the candidate for full membership was bound by the most solemn oaths to abide by the rules and maintain the privileges of the guild. For the transaction of the affairs of the confraternity, especially the initiation of new members, they met in chapter in secret session; the door was most carefully guarded. A sort of dialogue or catechism was rehearsed by the officers of the chapter, and strangers of the same craft were only admitted after giving evidence of their membership elsewhere, by signs and passwords agreed upon in provincial chapter. Each guild searched the Bible for traces of its own history, as that was the only record of the past accessible to them;

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[1] To what extent communistic ideas were spread amongst the poore and discontented classes in Greek and Roman times, we cannot say. Dr Drumann of Koenigsberg, has investigated the subject, and gives, it is said, surprising results in his book: "The Workingmen and Communists in Greece and Rome," (*Die Arbeiter und Communisten in Griechenland und Rom; Koenigsberg*, 1860.)

what they found there was made a part of their traditions and formulas. Each was under the patronage of some saint, and on that saint's day attended public worship in a body. In a word, all the now meaningless paraphernalia of Free Masonry is but the shell of an old Mediæval guild, from which the industrial life and the real significance has long departed.

In France, at least, the principle of communism was extended in the middle ages to agriculture, and that on a very extensive scale, if we may judge from the allusions in the local collections of *Coutûmes*, and the broad declarations of old lawyers and historians. Thus Guy de Coquille, who lived 1525–1603, says that the whole Nivernois district was farmed by communities, in which several families were united under the same roof, and governed by a "Master of the Community," who was elected by the whole body, vested with full powers to command, and constituted their legal representative. In these communities work was divided according to the capacity of the members, who were called *part-çonniers*, now *personniers;* they ate in common, while each family had its own apartment; the women married out of the community and were dowered from its treasury; the men inherited their share only while they remained in its fellowship. They were generally tenants, not proprietors of the land,—serfs, in fact,—who found that they could only hold their own by co-operation. In some cases, at least, all were descendants of one ancestor and bore one name—a tribe gathered beneath a common roof.

The family (or group of families) of the Jaults still exists near St. Benin des Bois, in the Nivernois, and preserves all the traditional usages of mediæval times. Among the charters in its chest of archives, is one that bears the date of 1500, and speaks of the community as already an ancient one. "The Jault-house contains an immense common hall, with a chimney at each end, opening above a fire-place nine feet in width. By the side of each is a large oven for bread, and on the other side a stone vessel for washing, as old as the house itself and polished by constant use. The grand room in its entire length is flanked by a passage, into which open separate apartments, in which each family has its own domicile. These are kept very neatly; in each are two beds, and sometimes three," and other furniture. The Jaults number some two score persons and own land worth

200,000 francs, besides sharing in the common pasturage and forest lands of the village. Near Thiers, in Auvergne, the family of the Pignons have kept up the same life in community for more than six centuries, and many similar associations are still to be found in the same part of France. Though the families of this sort that have survived the vast social changes that have swept over France are but few and sporadic, yet the custom was once general, and their dissolution was not general till the latter part of the last century. M. Troplong says: "The association of all the members of a kindred under the same roof, on the same property, and with the view of uniting in labor and sharing its profits, was the general and characteristic state of things from the south of France to its opposite extremities.

"In the bounds of the Parliament of Toulouse, in Saintonge, the Angoumois, Brittany, Anjou, Poitou, Lorraine, the Marche, Berry, the Nivernois, the Bourbonnais, the two Burgundies, Orleans, the Chartrain country, Normandy, Champagne, Bassigny, etc., the population had a fondness for that sort of association, and the local statutes favored it."[1]

In some places the old community mansions still exist, but are divided up among various families. According to Sir Walter Scott, somewhat similar usage existed among the tenants of the monastic lands in Great Britain, though they had no common house or table; and it may still be seen in the full vigor among the curious Norsemen who inhabit the Shetland Islands.

The middle ages were the period of association preëminently. The sense of individuality, of man's personal worth and strength, had not yet dawned upon the mass of men. The strongest did not feel able to stand alone, but must seek close and formal association with his fellows. Was he pious? let him enter a religious brotherhood, if not as a monk, then at least as a lay member of a third order. Was he industrious? the guild had a place for him. Was he learned? the university opened her arms to him. Was he a soldier? it was his duty to find his place among his brothers in arms in some military order. Was he an enterprising trader? the ***Hansa***, or some similar bond of merchants, gave play to his activities and fixed their limits. Was he a singer? the

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[1] *Commentaires des Societies Civiles. Pages* 35 *et* 47.

Minne-singers and the Master-singers had their guilds also, in which the joyous art was cultivated. Almost all that men do singly and alone in our days, men did in companies and associations in those times. Saints and sinners kept and broke the commandments in fellowship. Each gathered himself to his like and made a compact of offense and defense with them. The larger unities of the modern world were wanting, as also the larger individualities that those unities have cherished. The city, the commune, the borough, the guild, the cloister, the fraternity, were all a man's world. In such a state of things a certain kind of communism was at home. The defects of such a society enabled it to strike its roots deeply; it was indeed not altogether unsuited to the ends of such a society.

But in later days communism must be imperial in its conceptions or confess itself behind our age. It is of no use to appeal to the precedents of the middle ages in times when the national predominates over every other form of social consciousness. We shall see two things exemplified in the communisms of modern times. (1) A sense of the need of the larger methods of organization, and (2) a sense of the greater adaptability of those that are more limited. They would fain be modern; but to be practical they must needs be mediæval in their scope. They belong to a time when the national consciousness of Europe was only forming, and when the arbitrary constitution of unions, intermediate between the two that are natural, because a part of the divine order, of the world—between the family and the nation—was all but universal. Even the nation had to strengthen its hands by these artificial associations; it formed men into communes, corporations, guilds, and orders, and dealt with these as political persons. England, which was as much ahead of the rest of Europe politically as at any later period, had the whole population organized into tithings, hundreds and counties, with periodical assemblages for military and other purposes, while by the method of frankpledge each of these associations was responsible for the conduct of all its members. To this mediæval training, no doubt, she owed her superior unity as a nation, the speedy union of heterogeneous elements in one body politic, and the development of that spirit of freedom, which made the later steps in her political history necessary and certain.

At the era of the Reformation socialism came forward in two forms, one theoretical and highly respectable, the other practical and highly disreputable. We shall notice them separately.

Less than a year before Martin Luther nailed his ninety-seven *Theses* to the door of the Wittenberg church, the first edition of Sir Thomas More's *Utopia* was printed at Louvain. The starting point of his work, More seems to have found in a passage in the narrative of Amerigo Vespucci's voyages (printed 1507) in which he speaks of having left twenty-four of his company in a castle on the coast of Brazil, April 3, 1504, with sufficient arms and ammunition and provisions for six months. Ralph Hytholodaye, one of these twenty-four, travels thence to a strange land called Utopia (or Nowhere), lying beyond the line, between Brazil and India, where he spends five years in studying the manners of the people, and then returning falls in with More in the porch of the cathedral at Antwerp, and tells him and his three friends the story of his adventures. The Utopians are communists as regards property and slave-holders besides; but their social order is a model for Christian nations. They possess all the virtues that the good chancellor wished for his countrymen, besides adopting a few pet notions that he was probably half in jest in urging on his neighbors. The practical purpose of his book is not communistic, though it is reformatory. It is to urge a wiser economic policy upon England—a policy that shall not make farms and tenants give place to sheep walks, and that shall not thereby multiply the proletariat, the idle or ill-employed "dangerous classes," who were already becoming the puzzle of English statesmanship. In a word he anticipates the views of the physiocratists, a school of economists who flourished last century. Another thing that this just judge has at heart, is the wiser adjustment of penalties to crimes, and the abolition of capital punishment for theft—an abuse of power that lasted almost to our own days.

The communism of the *Utopia* is pretty carefully elaborated; it had evidently been the subject of much thought with More, though he takes care to remind his readers that he has the authority of Plato for all that he says and more. In his ideal commonwealth the unproductive classes are reduced to a minimum in numbers; the products of industry are stored in vast public granaries and treasuries, and dispensed to the heads of families ac-

cording to their needs. Public kitchens, refectories and nurseries bring the people together in large masses, but every man has his own wife, woman's purity is a strong point of public policy, and and every mother is the nurse of her own children. Confirmed incompatibility, however, is admitted as a just ground of divorce. Gold and silver are used only for the vilest purposes and for foreign trade. The magistrates must be petitioned for permission to travel, and the state furnishes the means.

It is characteristic enough, and perhaps gives us a clew to More's half jesting mood, that the unanswerable arguments against communism are clearly stated in the book, and that the traveler only answers: "Ah! but you never were in Utopia!" Our later socialists might adopt the reply without detriment to the force of their logic.

Jean Bodin, in his famous treatise, *De Republica* (1576) thought worth while to urge at some length the natural objections to More's scheme of society and to that which has the sanction of the great name of Plato, and of the example of Sparta and Crete. He had an acute skeptical French intellect, and evinced it not less by this attack on the classical superstition of the schools, than in his long suppressed *Heptaplomeres*, in which he cast doubt on the reasoning by which the doctors of the church defended her doctrines.

The Dominican, Thomas Campanella in his "City of the Sun" (*Civitas Solis*) which was published in 1643, four years after its author's death, depicts another social Utopia. Campanella was a Calabrian and a patriot; he suffered twenty-five years of imprisonment, and was repeatedly put to the torture, for his share in a conspiracy to drive the Spaniards from Naples. His last years of life were spent in France, under the patronage of Cardinal Richelieu. His ideal city savors of the monk, of the admirer of classic traditions and monuments, and of the scholastic divine. If More forces us to remember that an English judge and statesman holds the pen, his disciple does not let us forget that he is an Italian and a religionist. He has dwelt in the cloister; he has looked at men through the grated window of his cell; the monastry is type to which he would—unconsciously probably—conform all society; the scholastic philosophy furnishes the phrase-

ology of his new state; the edifices of their common life are modeled after the palaces and porticos of the old pagans.

In the City of the Sun the chief magistrate is chosen for his eminence in science, and bears the title of Grand Metaphysician. His three chief subordinates are styled Power, Wisdom and Love, and are entrusted with the departments of war, of science, and of the arts and industry respectively. Under them are grouped a vast hierarchy of officials, who assign and direct the duties of the people. Four hours a day are devoted to labor, and all the lighter tasks are assigned to women; for the rest of the day, the people are trained in philosophy and the sciences, each and all being taught the *omne scibile.* Civil and religious authority are united in the same persons, and exercised with the utmost severity; every official is a priest and receives the auricular confession of his inferiors, and transmits it to his superiors. The clear headed logician saw how many and how closely woven must be the chains of despotism that were needed to hold men in the common life; he left no instrument of tyranny, secular or sacred, unused. He gives yet another proof of his logical keenness. Unlike his master More, he sends marriage to Coventry as well as property, pointing out very keenly the close connection that exists between them. The intercourse of the sexes in his ideal city is regulated, however, on the same principles as are applied to the breeding of domestic animals, and much of the beastly nonsense that is talked now a days by our quasi-scientific writers, is here anticipated, not unfitly, by this Italian monk.[1] As to the ultimate basis on which communism is to rest, the Italian counts patriotism a sufficient motive, and the statement comes with a good grace from the lips of a Campanella; but he has so contrived things that no other attachment than the love of country shall be a permanent one. Once in six months the dwellers in the City of the Sun change their abodes, leaving houses, beds and all to another set of occupants.

Our last Utopist is the author of *Telemachus*, Fenelon of Cambray. In that classic romance, written to teach an expected

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[1]Campanella s'etonne que l' on consacre a l' amelioration des races d'animaux des soins que l' on refuse á celle du genre humain. Il vuet done que des magistrates president à l'assortiment des couples, et il s'abandonne sur cet objet a des dissertations d'un incroyable cynisme. (SUDRE.)

King of France the first outlines of political wisdom, there is an episode devoted to the imaginary Republic of Salente, where community of goods exists. Of course Ferelon had no serious purpose in drawing this picture, and would have been very much disturbed to find any one proposing seriously to have men act on the communist principle, which has, however, a certain harmony with the doctrine of disinterested love, that Fenelon and others of the Quietists professed.

From the Utopists we turn to the practical school of communism represented in the age of the Reformation by the Anabaptists of Germany. The story of their communistic struggles fills four separate chapters in the history of the period (1) the uprising under Münzer and Stork, which centered in at Muehlhausen in Thuringia; (2) the Anabaptist struggle in Switzerland, especially at Zurich; (3) the Anabaptists' colonization of Moravia under Hutter; and (4) the terrible closing scenes of the communist tragedy at Muenster, where John of Leyden was leader and ruler, with the fruitless attempt to seize the city of Amsterdam.

Münzer must be regarded as the mind that gave shape to the doctrines that underlay all these movements. He was, like Luther, a Thuringian; he was gifted with a rude eloquence that gave him great ascendancy over the boors and burghers of the region. He joined Stork and the Anabaptists from a sympathy with their view that Luther was not going fast and far enough in reforming the Church. Stork started out with opinions about the inward light, adult baptism, the abolition of images and of the mass, and the like. When by Luther's influence he was driven from Wittenberg, he fell in with the discontented country people, who were concerting an insurrection to rid themselves of the feudal burdens imposed by the nobility. He is said to have helped them to draw up their famous Twelve Articles, which are reformatory, but by no means communistic; he took part in their military movements, and was recognized as in some sort their religious head. Münzer was preaching, in the mean time, the community of goods as a law of nature restored to men by the Gospel, and was seeking an opening for his teachings among the burghers. Repulsed from Nuremberg, he succeeded first at Alstadt, and then found larger field of action in the Imperial city of Muehlhausen,

where his eloquence and management secured the election of a majority of his adherents in the city councils. He at once became actual ruler of the city, banished the old magistrates, and established community of goods. He then sought to unite his fortunes to those of the boors, who had risen throughout Thuringia, Swabia and Franconia. The miners of Mansfeld and the boors in his immediate neighborhood responded to his appeal and inaugurated a reign of terror around Muehlhausen. Before the main body of the rebels could come to his aid, he was attacked by the united forces of the German princes, while his army was entrenched on a hill near Frankenhausen (May 15, 1525). At first, the Anabaptist forces were so terrified that they were about to accept the terms offered by the princes, give up their leaders and lay down their arms; but Münzer roused their fanatic confidence by a skillful speech, in which he promised to catch the bullets of the enemy in the skirt of his coat. When the assault began, the Anabaptists only responded by singing the *Nun bitten wir den Heiligen Geist* (a mediæval German hymn) and finding the promises of Münzer falsified by facts they took to flight in all directions. Münzer himself fled for his life, but was found in disguise. He broke down under the torture, and disclosed his accomplices, but at the last faced death boldly, and spent his latest moments in an outburst of fervid eloquence, exhorting the assembled princes to bear juster and milder rule, and give relief to the oppressed people. The horrors and miseries of the boors' rebellion lasted two years longer, but only as an aimless, bloody series of assaults, without theory or purpose.

Those who escaped from the rout of Frankenhausen fled in all directions, many of them zealously, though secretly, spreading the views of the new sect. Some made their way to Silesia, others to Holland, but it seems as if the larger part sought refuge in Switzerland, as hoping for some sympathy from the followers of Zwingli. Disciples of Stork had already preached his doctrines in Zurich, and the parties seemed bent on making of the city another Muehlhausen, till the magistracy, in terror at their anti-social doctrines, drove them out. They betook themselves to the little town of Zoltikon, which at once became the head-quarters of the movement, and from which they sent out their first "Confession of Faith." In this document they reject all civil magis-

tracy, all punishments but excommunication, all oaths and military service, and denounce marriage and property as the marks of an imperfect community, while they claim perfection for the re-baptized brotherhood of the saints. In obedience to inward illuminations, they cast aside all modesty and decency, and committed crimes of the most atrocious species. Inspirations and convulsions become the order of the day among them, and prophecy was dog-cheap in their ranks. They spread themselves over all Switzerland, preaching resistance to all authority, and the right of the saints—that is of the re-baptized—to take and use whatever they found needful. They sowed the seeds of discontent and idleness among the laboring classes; they intrigued to obtain control of the cities by aid of these malcontents, and all but succeeded at Basel. At last the magistracies of the Republic united in the forcible suppression of the sect; many were burned alive, others were drowned in the rivers. Protestant and Catholic cantons vied with each other in measures of successful violence; but it was against sectaries, whose success would have been a cause of far greater evils than any that were inflicted on them. To this day the name of Anabaptist is an abomination to the ordinary Swiss.

It was among those Anabaptists that fled to Silesia, and their converts, that the most honorable and peaceable efforts were put forth to realize in practice the communistic principle, by the colonization of Moravia. Gabriel Scherding preached the new movement far and wide, wherever possible or actual Anabaptists could be found to listen; Jacob Hutter purchased (1527) the needed lands with the joint contributions of the little groups of the faithful, finding willing sellers among the nobility of that rich but thinly settled province, and soon all the roads of Germany were thronged with pilgrims bound for this new land of promise. While Hutter rejected all civil authority as unchristian, he founded, upon the authority of a divine inspiration imparted to himself, a despotic system of government such as was needed to make the new community a success. And a success it was for the time (1527–30), even in the confession of hostile critics, so far as material results could make it one. The new communities grew rapidly in wealth, at the sacrifice of all freedom and individuality. A year of exile, imposed by the Emperor Ferdinand, was terminated at the urgent request of the land-owners of the province. At last individuality

reasserted itself; Gabriel Scherding ventured to dissent from Hutter, and to assert the duty of submission to the laws of the country. The colonists split into Hutterites and Gabrielites, and were not reunited until Hutter left Moravia, and after a time was burnt at the stake at Inspruck, as a seditious opponent of all authority.

Under Scherding all for a while was peace, and the number of colonists increased to sixteen thousand. But at last the entering wedge was thrust in by woman's love of dress. The men had to re-establish, secretly and illegally, the right of property, to gratify the wishes of their wives. Then came sexual license, for which the life in community furnished manifold opportunities; then sectarian divisions upon this and that point of opinion and practice; and Scherding was forced to fly to Poland when he attempted to bring them back to unity. Michael Feldhaller succeeded him, and for a time matters took a better shape, but after a while the communities fell to pieces. The Moravian experiment showed, what has again and again been shown, that human nature fights against communism, and will in the long run be too much for it.

The story of the Anabaptists of Munster is much better known, and of much less importance in the history of communism. It would be the merriest of comedies were it not the saddest of tragedies--the seizure of the Episcopal city, the establishment of the rule of the saints, the sudden transformation of a severe puritanic theocracy into the most florid of mushroom monarchies, the atrocious cruelties mingled with fantastic ceremonies—no such phantasmagoria ever swept over the page of history until the days of the French Revolution.

One phase of this uproar is not so well known. A very large proportion of the Anabaptists shut up in Munster were from Holland, and when the siege of the city began, repeated attempts were made by their coreligionists at home, especially in Frisia, to come to their relief. These were put down vigorously by the government. At last a bolder plan was formed—to seize the city of Amsterdam where the Anabaptists were pretty numerous, and had an understanding with the classes who have nothing to lose and much to gain by a time of general pillage. On the night fixed, the Hotel de Ville was seized and its guards killed, with the exception of one who happily escaped into the belfry and

drew up the bell-rope after him, so that the conspirators could not sound the tocsin, the preconcerted signal to their associates in the purlieus of the city. When day broke they were surrounded and not one escaped alive; their defeat saved from pillage the wealthiest city of Europe and sealed the fate of Munster, whose Prince Bishop was besieging it at the head of an army.

The communisms of that age shared in the character of the period. They were not attempts to solve the industrial problems of society, but attempts to regenerate society by the propagation of certain religious principles. Their authors ask themselves: "How shall we set up the kingdom of the Messiah, how shall we overthrow the un-Christian kingdoms of this world?" Modern communists ask: "How shall we be rid of this dehumanizing rush for riches, and secure to every man a competent subsistence, and check his greed to gain, at the expense of his fellows, more than he really needs?" There is something of a foretaste of the modern, the industrial way of judging, in the Moravian communities, but far more in the *Utopia* of that noble English statesman, that martyr for truth and righteousness, the great Sir Thomas More.

KRIEMHILD'S REVENGE.

TO those who have read of the marriage and murder of Siegfried the Dragon-Killer, in the January number of the PENN MONTHLY, there will be no need of again introducing the *dramatis personæ* of the Nibelungen song. Gunther, Gernot, Giselher, kings of Burgundy on the Rhine, Kriemhild their widowed sister, and Hagen the uncle, murderer of the hero Siegfried, there play their parts of hate, crime or grief. The assassination of Siegfried at the spring, closes the former half of the song. This is unquestionably the more antique in subject matter and handling; the latter, which is before us, bears the mark of modern fancy. It is even more terribly tragic, yet we find it flowing calmly on through its thousand stanzas, child-like and unconscious of the horror gathering on its way.

If bloodthirstiness were a test of antiquity, the second part of the Nibelungen might claim priority. It may indicate on the

other hand an artificial heightening of interest, and so betray a later age ; the predominance of a woman, moreover, points to a time when chivalry and Virgin Mary worship had given the taste for heroines. In truth, the Nibelungen song, first and last, is not so much a record of Siegfried, as a life of Kriemhild. His was the great heroic fame, but her's the tragedy. So powerful is the interest centred on the revenge that one is inclined to look upon Siegfried's portion as a mere prelude to the drama. His coming to Worms, his wooing and marriage to Kriemhild, the deception practiced upon the martial Brunhild, by which she loses her virgin power, and the murderous vengeance the latter wreaks upon the dragon-slayer—all these may be looked upon as so many acts preparing the way for the final catastrophe. "Kriemhild's Wreaking" was the name of one of the first editions of the song, when the manuscripts were brought to light in the last century.

With all this leaning toward a feminine character, the poet gives us a very curious conception of woman. Petty, jealous, avaricious, brawling, murderous ; these are the adjectives one must apply to the marvels of womanhood whom he admires so naively and so unconsciously damns. Both the queens, Brunhild and Kriemhild, find time in bridal days to haggle over portion and inheritance. It is true that older legends give the key-note to characters whose ferocity a more refined age could not tame. As a poet he loved his heroine ; as a minstrel he was forced to adhere to the early legend which made Kriemhild an enchantress and Brunhild a battle-wraith. Nevertheless the result has its cynically amusing side, and strangely reminds one of Thackaray's heroines, whose elder cousins, ethnologically speaking, they are. In pursuit of honors, in fury for precedence, they are sisters.

We have seen Kriemhild blushing in the ring of relatives and vassals which formalized and witnessed the primitive marriage peculiar to her day ; we have known her the proud and joyous wife of the greatest hero her country owned. Then we heard how pride led her to insult her hostess, and folly to reveal the fatal secret of the linden leaf to her deadly enemy. We listened to her shriek when in the gray dawn Siegfried's corpse is found at her door ; we left he mourning above the grave, her one hope of revenge, the Nibelungen hoard, having been taken from her by the pitiless craft of

Hagen. The Burgundian kings have now become the *Nibelungers;* they have carted the gold and silver, the jewels, the magic wishing-rod which lay beneath, to their court at Worms, but so ill at ease are the owners that it is finally agreed they shall secretly sink the whole treasure in the Rhine. This Hagen does, but it had been better for the owners had the hoard been wrested from them, for the curse of the Nibelungen is upon them still.

This is the situation when an embassy arrives from the great conqueror Attila, here called Etzel. Ruler over a great part of Europe, we find at Attila's court princes of all nations, as we should suppose. But the man himself is very different from the idea we gain from historians of the Eastern Roman Empire. His affability is as marked in his relations with the Burgundians as his haughtiness and violence in the colored reports of the Romans. The pretentious sloth of the emperors of Constantinople must have called for little respect from such a man. It is probable that as an Oriental he was a politician, but as a warrior he admired bravery, and while he abused the ambassadors of a potentate who sought to compass his death by poison, the rough fearlessness of the Nibelungen heroes won his admiration.

Between history written by courtiers and tradition influenced by poetical fiction, it is hard to choose. This we may suppose, however; that the mention in the song of castles and fortified towns is a later touch; there is every reason to believe that Hungary was desolated at the time, and moreover that an Asiatic conqueror would scorn a town and walls.

The embassy comes to demand Kriemhild's hand. She says no, her brothers, yes. They have no further use or love for a sister whose husband they have murdered, whose treasure they have seized. At last the ambassador, who is Rudiger, a folk-hero introduced here as an exile from his own land, in great favor with Attila, strikes upon the right argument. He promises to be her champion in the foreign land (Austria), and to avenge whatever grievance she may have. Then she yields. Attila is a heathen, but she hopes through power of wealth and friends to gain her one object in life. Hagen alone protests; he knows his niece and the power of an empress. He is overruled with taunts of cowardice, and Kriemhild parts with tears from her good mother, the unnat-

ural brothers and the tomb of him for whom alone she submits to such degradation.

Before Vienna is reached they meet with subject kings and princes; to those whom Rudiger quaintly indicates she gives the kiss of honor. All celebrate her charms, and when Attila approaches she finds instant favor in his eyes. For a heathen his courtship was discreet. As in the former paper the rhymed translations are literal in word and metre.

1385. What they spake together, that is to me unknown;
But ever lay her white hand in between his own.
Right lovingly they sat them, for sworder Rudiger
Would not permit in secret the king should care for her.

They ride with joust and brilliant array to Vienna, where, upon an Easter-day, the wedding takes place. Seventeen days the banqueting continues. Kriemhild begins to win friends by lavishing all her little wealth. On the eighteenth they pass on to Attila's court in Hungary.

Seven years bring a child to the imperial couple, but no change to Kriemhild's deadly hatred. She thinks tenderly of home and mother, relentingly of young Giselher, bitterly of those who caused the wreck of her life and forced her to a second marriage. Etzel's Paganism, which has been brought forward as a special grievance, could hardly have offended Kriemhild. If, as is by no means improbable, a Burgundian princess really married Attila, it would be polygamy which would prove most repugnant to her race-traditions. From the song, we perceive that Attila and Kriemhild did not live in close companionship. He did not always know what she was doing; she was probably reigning wife, while political motives and oriental custom sanctioned other marriages. A Burgundian queen who has thus lost caste, first by marrying again, then by having legal rivals, has nothing to think of but revenge.

Accordingly, a loving moment is chosen to work on Etzel, and ambassadors set out for Worms to bid the Kings and Hagen to a feast. The brothers receive the invitation with favor and resolve to go. Hagen is again overruled and accused of cowardice. They retain the messengers for some days, and start quickly on their heels in order to catch their enemies, if such exist, unprepared. The parting of Gunther with Brunhild reminds one of Hector and Andromache.

1555. Of weeping and of wailing heard was plenty there;
Her child in arms the princess to the monarch bare.
How can you render desolate of us two the life?
Thou should'st for our sake tarry! quoth that miserable wife.

By stages carefully described they reach the upper Danube. No boat or ford appears. But Hagen, wandering up-stream, hears a noise and surprises certain "wise-women" bathing in a spring. These nixies, pixies or water nymphs are generally described as clad in swan-skins, like the women in one of the Arabian Nights. But here their garments are only "wondrous weed," which Hagen seizes. They fly in confusion, but settle on the stream to parley.

"Before him then the flood upon, like fowl, they lightly float."

1571. Then outspake one o' the merewives, Hadeburc her name:
Our raiment, oh, Sir Hagen, give thou back again;
And if, oh noble fighter, thou wilt return our weed,
Then 'mid the Huns what fortune shall thine be, I will rede.

Thereupon, as she prophecies a brilliant reception, Hagen joyfully gives back the "magic weed," but another merewife, Winelint by name, informs him that her "aunty" has lied; that, save the king's chaplain only, none of the little army shall ever see Worms again. Finding Hagen, nevertheless, determined to proceed, his former protest having been charged to fear, they instruct him how to call a rich, powerful and insolent ferryman across the river. The ferryman, hearing a knight declare himself to be his absent brother, comes across, and, finding himself deceived, strikes Hagen so fearful a blow with the oar that the latter has great difficulty in despatching him. Hagen conceals the murder and ferries the knights and seven thousand squires to the Bavarian shore. Now he thinks he will test the merewife's tale. On the last trip he hurls the chaplain into the stream. Now if he will but drown, the wise-woman has lied; but, sink or swim, the poor clerical regains the other shore, and Hagen knows their doom has overtaken them. He first hacks the boat to pieces with his sword, and then tells the prophecy to the little band. From rank to rank the news flies and "quick heroes" grow pale.

In a desperate night skirmish of the rear guard, as they hurry through Bavaria, Count Gelpfrât, whose boatman has been slain, dismounts the dreadful Hagen, and would have killed him, had

not Dancwart interfered. A verse here throws a milder light for a moment on the grim Hagen :

> 1660. A little brighter from the clouds the rays of moonlight shone,
> Then spake the fighter Hagen : Let it be told by none,
> My dearest masters unto, that we this night have done,
> But let them ride withouten care till that the morning come.

At last they reach the lands Attila has assigned to Rüdiger, the hero who brought Kriemhild to him. Rudiger belongs to another age, but is here introduced with a disregard of centuries not unnatural to a time when history was not. This gentle childe of valor was beloved of all men, and the finest simile of the Nibelungen song is in his honor. A knight tells Hagen of him that

> 1679. His seat is by the highway ; a host came never yet
> Better into housen ; his heart doth virtues 'get
> Even as the bright May grass and flower-brood.
> When heroes should be servèd he is right gay of mood.

Into such pleasant lines fall the doomed Nibelungen heroes, as if to taste the purest and mildest joys of life, before they plunge into the cataracts of wrath and war which lead to their common destruction. Rudiger's household receives the way-weary men with pomp of retinue and loving joy of heart ; one manuscript has an amusing insistance upon the reality of all the good and beautiful things recorded ; the women need no small deceptive arts :

> 1594. Woman's lying color little there was found.
> The head-dresses they carried were with bright gold bound
> In form of garland running, lest their lovely hair
> The breezes should unravel ; this by my troth is clear.

Rudiger's young daughter is brought in at the feast. Her loveliness is loudly praised, and Giselhêr, the youngest of the three kings, becomes her lover. He says nothing, but a proposition to betroth the two finds them mutually enamored, and their pretty loves serve to shed a last rosy gleam above the sombre veil of horror which from now on settles slowly but inevitably upon the Burgundians, and all the friends and foes who have to do with their last days. As they ride away with salutations from such hearty kindness, Hagen and Gernôt carry weapons which are presents from the wife of the great, the ill-starred Rudiger.

Hagen, the cruel and treacherous, has been upheld by patriotic Germans because of his "genuine German fealty"—"his invin-

cible spirit of fidelity to his lords, typical of the Teutonic race." The poet surely looked upon him with very different eyes. Rapacity, avarice, envy far outweigh these feudal virtues, and to them one may fairly add insolence and brutality, such as no real hero can afford. Rapacity and envy drove him to the murder of Siegfried; brutality allowed him to taunt a dying man. A chance was offered by which the Burgundian house could be saved by his self sacrifice; he does not dream of embracing it.

This singular character has had his portrait drawn with greater distinctness than any other person in the song, just as the devil, in the Miracle Plays, was the most marked and generally the most interesting personage. The heroes are come to court, and the Huns eagerly crowd around to see the man who slew the mighty Siegfried:

1774. The hero was well-woxen, that is very clear,
Great was he about the chest, mingled was his hair
With a grizzled color; his legs were very long,
And horrible his glances; his gait was proud and strong.

Kriemhild, the empress, meets the heroes as they arrive and kisses Giselhêr alone. At this Hagen tightens his armor and murmurs at the distinction, "Ye're welcome," says Kriemhild "to those that be glad to see you; but what have ye brought from Worms? Where have ye bestowed the Nibelungen hoard which, as ye know, was mine own? Ye should have brought it into Etzel's land." Hagen informs her that the treasure is sunk in the Rhine, and that for his part, neckpiece, helmet, shield and sword were burdensome enough without further weight to carry. "One murder and two robberies," Kriemhild rejoins, "require some palliation, even if it be in treasure."

She now bids them enter unarmed to a feast. When they refuse to lay aside their weapons, she is overwhelmed at the discovery of her plans. "Alas, my woe! They are warned, and knew I the man, I would have his life!" "It is I who warned them, you she-devil!" cries the great Dietrich, the bravest and most powerful of Etzel's vassals, and indeed none other than Theodoric the Great. Whereat the sovereign quails, and hurries from the scene.

And now the poem has taken on a gray disquiet easier to feel than tell. Inherent in it is an anxiety not warranted by the

measured flow of verse; an effort is needed to free the spirit from a load of indefinable care, as when on a sandy coast a boat becomes involved at ebb tide in a strange region of channels and keys. The gulls wail, and flap across a darkened sky, and on the bar the breakers lift an ominous voice. It is the same spot where the bay was laughing cherrily a little time before, but all is changed.

Hagen and Volker, a fighting musician below the knightly rank, swear comradeship. They walk apart from the other Burgundians. Kreimhild perceiving this, comes upon them with many friends whose silken breadth of chest reveals their coats-of-mail. She hopes to revenge herself on Hagen. The two insolents will not rise at her approach.

1824. Hagen now, the mighty, o'er his leg has thrown,
A right brilliant weapon; in the handle shone
A right brilliant jasper greener than the grass;
Kriemhild well did know it once her Sîfrit's was.

1825. When she saw the weapon bitter was the sting.
(Ruddy was the sheathband, gold the covering)
It spake to her of sorrow; a weeping she began,
I ween to irritate her by Hagen this was done.

1826. Volkêr very daring drew nearer on the seat
A fiddle-bow of power; long it was, and great,
Likest to a sharp sword, very light and wide;
Thus sat the two great sworders all unterrified.

But no encounter takes place; Kriemhild's followers are terrified at the "quick glances" of Volker, while Hagen boasts of his murder. The heroes go in to be received by Etzel with all the cordiality warriors so renowned and relatives of the queen demand. The Huns jostle them as they leave the audience, but shrink away at Volker's ferocious jokes. The weary men are brought to a building made "long, high and broad," to accommodate the retinues of princes visiting Etzel. Here beds are found for all. Hagen and Volker, the new brothers-in-arms volunteer to keep the watch, and thereby give rise to a scene conceived and expressed in the happiest taste. It is evening, and Volker, leaning his shield against the wall outside, fetches his viol.

1878. Beneath the house's doorway sat he on the stone;
Never on a bolder fiddler shone the sun.
When from string so sweetly sounded out the tones,
Full many a thanks he gainéd from the proud exiléd ones.

1879. Sounded then his fiddle-strings all the building through;
His strength, thereto his skillfulness, mighty were the two.
Softer now and sweeter to fiddle he began;
Asleep in beds then floated full many a careworn man.

An attempt to capture Hagen by night is frustrated by their watchfulness. At length their cooling mailings tell them day is near; grim Hagen wakes the sleepers and as they dress for matins his voice brings them like a death knell to all the bitterness of reality: "Instead of sewing yourselves into jeweled clothes, ye must wear to-day the burnished coat. For deep cloak bear the wide, firm shield, and in the place of roses bring weapons in your hand. Get ye, my beloved lords and kinsmen, to the minster. Tell God of your woe, but know surely that death approaches. Lofty heroes, ye are warned! Unless God in heaven will, ye shall never hear mass again."

They march armed to the cathedral door, where Etzel asks in surprise: "Who has made heavy their hearts!" Too proud to complain, they answer through Hagen that it is Burgundian fashion to arm the first three days of a festival. Kriemhild dares not deny, but, glaring savagely on her foe, sweeps in with kinsmen and jostling Huns behind her. In a rough and ready tournament, which afterward takes place, Volker kills a young Austrian count, whose pompous garb has irritated him. The many kinsmen of the Austrian rise in vengeance, demand justice from Etzel, and are on the point of attacking the Burgundians, when the conqueror daunts them by his furious wrath, swearing that he himself will slay the man that touches his guests.

Kriemhild is again baulked. She turns to Dietrich, of Verona, mightiest of her vassals, but he will not listen to treachery. By prayers and bribes, however, she wins over Bloedel, the king's brother. He goes to prepare his forces, while all the rest proceed in arms to the feast. There Etzel is the radiant host, forgets his unruly Huns, compliments his desperate guests, and presenting to his young son, Ortlieb, to them, asks that the boy may go back with them to be trained in their famous school of arms. Hagen brutally replies, that "he, for his part, will rarely be seen at the young king's court, so marked for death is the youth."

One vessel now contains all these dangerous elements. It only needs a shock to throw them upon each other and effect a destruction which nations and kings shall rue. And it comes in the

shape of Dancwart, Hagen's brother, who all at once appears, staring, bloody and battered, in the doorway of the hall. He had charge of the esquires. Bloedel has fallen upon them with his Huns, and their leader alone has cut his way to tell the news. To this ghastly apparition cries Hagen in a sort of joyful fury:

2008. Now tell me, dearest brother, how came you so red?
I ween that you through woundes thus are ill-bested.
That man hath done this evil, if he be in the land,
And though the foul fiend guard him, for life he now must stand.

2009. He said: Oh brother Dancwart, keep thou the doorway now,
And of the Huns not one man out to pass allow;
I'll parley with these nobles, since now we're forced by care,
Our house without a reason is brought to ruin here.

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2013. Now long it is of Kriemhild I have heard them say,
That she her heartfelt sorrow never would allay;
Now let us pledge the love-draught and pay for's wine the king;
The youthful prince of Hunland as firstling we shall bring.

2014. Then struck the young child, Ortlieb, Hagen sworder good,
That up his weapon's handle flowéd high the blood,
And the young child's head sprang Kriemhild's lap within;
Then rose among the sworders murder huge and grim.

Volker instantly follows, and the three kings, powerless to check them, join in with ill-concealed delight. While Dancwart holds the doorway, they rage in the Berserker fashion until the mighty Dietrich of Verona bestirs himself to save Etzel and his queen. "Like a bison's horn," he thunders so terribly through the uproar that Gunther hears, makes a silence, and asks if any one has harmed him. Dietrich takes out the king and queen. Rudiger and his men follow, but a Hun who tries to get away is struck by Volker the fiddler, and his head rolls at Etzel's feet.

"Alas, the festival!" cries the latter. "A man stands there within who rages like a wild boar, and yet is only a play-man. All of red are his bow-strokes, evil his tunes, and at his measures many a hero dies."

At last there falls an ominous silence. The Burgundians appear and cast from the high steps two thousand dead and wounded. Hagen taunts the wretched king for not battling at the head of his vassals. So enraged is Etzel that his attendants have to drag him back by his shield. And Hagen pursues him with mocking:

2077. It was a right close kinship, Hagen grim did roar
That Sîfrit and that Etzel one another bore;
In love he conquered Kriemhild e'er that she saw thee!
Oh, wicked king, now wherefore plottest thou 'gainst me?

But when Volker stings the knights with taunts of cowardice, Hawart and Irinc, Danes, and Irnfrit of Duringen arm a thousand, and Irinc begs his reluctant friends to allow him single combat with Hagen. He assails him in vain, turns successively upon Volker, Gunther and Gernot, and is cut down by Giselher. Only stunned, he leaps up and, wounding Hagen, returns to his friends. Vain of the praise heaped upon him, he tries again, is wounded and struck by Hagen's spear, Troy-fashion, through the head. The rest fall on and all perish.

2134. Thereafter fell a silence, when the noise was done
The blood on each and every side through the holes did run
And at all the rain spouts from these heroes daring;
This wrought by their great might those from the Rhine stream faring.

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2138. His helm from head then lifted many a rider good,
Upon the dead they sat them that prone within the blood
Before them in the fight lay and unto death were done
For Etzel's guests was later and evil notice won.

The day is spent and their savage ardor cooled. They ask a truce of Etzel; he refuses. They asked to be allowed free exit into the open; to this Kriemhild puts a terrified stop. Giselher, her favorite, appeals to her for mercy, and she gives them one chance of escape. Let them deliver up Hagen, and she will see that the rest return to Burgundy.

2162. Now God forbid in heaven, quoth then Gernôt,
And though we were a thousand and though death us smote
By hand here of your kinsmen we ne'er should give to thee
A single man as hostage! Now never shall this be!

The unappeasable sister now orders the building fired. They drive in the Nibelungen men with blows and darts, and soon the edifice is in flames. Owing to an arched roof, the wretched men are able to exist by standing close to the wall with shields held above their heads, and treading the falling brands into the pool of blood on the floor. So horrible is the heat and smoke that a knight cries out he shall die of thirst. He and his fellow-sufferers are advised by Hagen to good purpose:

2172. Then went one of the nobles where he found one dead;
He kneelèd down beside him and soon unhelmed his head,
And then began to drink deep the flowing blood.
Howe'er he was unusèd he thought it wondrous good.

In the morning six hundred of the bravest are found alive, and another band of Etzel's men perishes at their hands. There is no hope. Hagen has lost the chance of redeeming his name by sacrificing himself for his lords; all must perish.

For now they have become an ulcer in the country's flesh, drawing to it all healthy blood; a maelstrom into which friend and foe are irresistibly sucked, or rather say, the fashion of an epidemic frenzy has been set, and no man may escape.

Rudiger, who led the heroes to their fate, whose daughter is betrothed to Giselher, may strike dead the rash Hun who reminds him of castles given him by the king, of vows of championship sworn to Kriemhild. He feels his doom; appeals to king and mistress are only a staving off of the inevitable.

2211. Ah, woe is me, God's wretched! spake the trusty man.
Of my honor henceforth I bereft must stand;
Of my truth and right rule, as God hath made decree,
Oh, right rich God of heaven, death takes this not from me!

Either course is ruin. Giselher, seeing him approach in arms, supposes with a lover's sanguine heart that he is on their side. Bitter is his disappointment and sad the words of Rudiger, and his former friends.

2242. Oh would to God, said Rudiger, noble lord Gernòt,
Ye were by the Rhine, and that death me smote
With my several honors, since I must contend,
Never yet to sworders worse was done by friend.

Gernot shows the sword and Hagen the shield given by Rudiger's wife. The latter being broken, the magnanimous assailant gives Hagen his own.

2236. Now when that he so heartily the buckler offered,
Then were their eyes a plenty from weeping very red,
For it was the last present that henceforth evermore
Gave any sworder, Rudiger, the Knight of Bechelar.

2259. Now for the gift I'll pay you, Hagen spake, the sword,
From all evil toward you I myself shall guard,
Never shall in fighting touch you here my hand,
And though you slaughter all those that came from Burgundland.

The Bechlaren men rush to the attack and the storm begins again. Rudiger's sword lays so many heroes low that Gernôt can bear the sight no longer. They rush together and fall at each other's hands. Their leader dead, the Bechlaren men are mowed down by the furious Nibelungen, some of them drowning uncut in the bloody sea. The hideous silence that falls upon the ruined building is construed by Kriemhild as a truce. When the truth is known, a wail arises from king and nobles at the death of the kindliest hero men had seen. "The father of all virtues in Rudiger lay dead."

At length the dire news is brought to Dietrich's ears. He is a power greater than any other in the land and has from the first withdrawn from any share in this unnatural contest. But Rudiger's death arouses even him; he sends his trusty Hildebrant, a grizzled warrior celebrates in many a folk-song, to verify the report. The latter is persuaded by his nephew, Wolfhart, to arm before he goes. When therefore Master Hildebrant at the head of his men demands of the Nibelungen the body of Rudiger, the fiery Volker and indignant young Wolfhart fall to reviling and suddenly to blows.

2333. How great soe'er the leap that hallwards Wolfhart bears,
Yet Hildebrant the ancient passed him on the stairs.
He never would allow him, that first of all he fought;
They found among the exiles later all they sought.

2334. Then unto Hagen swift sprang Master Hildebrant,
Now loud was heard the clangor of swords within each hand.
Full sorely were they angered, as later you shall find,
From out of each one's weapons flew the fire-ruddy wind.

Soon Volker meets and slays a nephew of the mighty Dietrich, whereat old Hildebrant, whom the press has separated from Hagen, strikes that valiant fiddler such a blow that helm-band flies against the wall and the playman never sounds a viol again.

This is Hagen's moment of agony. He only waits for revenge for the death of his brother-in-arms. Prince Giselher and Wolfhart slay each other, and now in the wide roofless hall, knee-deep, in blood, three only are left alive—Gunther the King, Hagen, and Master Hildebrant. The latter tries to save his nephew from the lake of blood; he can not, and Wolfhart, rejoicing that he dies by a royal hand, and warning his uncle against Hagen, sinks

from his arms. Hagen, desperate and crazed with longing for revenge, strikes the old man a wound, but the latter escapes by flight.

"God has forgot me!" cries the astonished Dietrich, when Hildebrant, all dints and blood, reports that he alone remains of all his followers. He enters the house of slaughter, and in temperate, even compassionate, words addresses the two relicts of a host of mighty heroes. His powerful sword shall be a pledge for their security, if they will surrender themselves to him as hostages. But no, Hagen is of too base a clay. He can not trust, or else envy will not brook surrender to a hero, his confessed superior. He and Hildebrant revile each other till Dietrich cuts them short by disarming and binding Hagen. He is magnanimous, and wisely considers the little credit he would gain for killing men worn out by days of strife. Gunther is served in the same way, and both turned over, with demand for clemency, to Kriemhild's. unwavering hate. Then mournful Dietrich betakes himself away.

At last has come the longed for day of vengeance; but without the hoard Kriemhild's triumph will not be complete. While any one of the king's live, Hagen's oath prevents his revealing its anchorage in the Rhine; this scruple Kriemhild relieves by bringing him her brother Gunther's head. Hagen laughs:

2431. Of Burgundy the monarch high of birth you slew
Giselher and Volker, Dancwart, Gernot too.
The hoard is known to no one, save to God and me,
And shall from you, she-devil, ever hidden be!

2432. She said: Why then in bad coin pay you my reward!
Yet at the least shall I retain noble Sîfrit's sword,
Which that my dear love carried, when you took his life
Faithless and with murder! spake that miserable wife.

To the grief and horror of her husband she draws the charmed blade from the scabbard and strikes off Hagen's head. Hildebrant, enemy of Hagen though he be, is seized with rage at sight of murder by the hand of one for whose sake so many priceless warriors lie dead. Their blood cries for revenge.

2436. Hildebrant with fury straight at Kriemhild flew.
He struck the queenly woman so very grim a blow,
Hurt enow she gainèd from that sworder's care;
Little did it help them, the scream of her despair.

All are dead. Even the gentle Rudiger, Bloedel, brother of Attila, and the young son, have been ground to pieces in that

horrible mill whose hoppers run torrents of blood. If the bloodiness of Hamlet raised Voltaire's indignation, what would he have said to the Nibelungenlied? Not without some reason would he have inveighed against those "brutal Germans." There is a grossness in the very flesh of the poem revolting to the Latin mind. Its chastity, on the other hand, would not appeal to natures different from and perhaps in some respects less noble than the German. Riches, fine clothes, food, wine—these are the healthy longings in the Nibelungen. Heroes sell their swords and show themselves lusty, life-enjoying men, coarse in all things but love—pugnacious animals, whose greatest delight is in splintering shields and cracking helmets. Even God is a "right rich God."

Much the same may be said of Homer. At Ulysses' return, the open love for wealth shows itself again and again. And in spite of the length of the Nibelungen and the signs of its composite origin, much art is shown in the treatment. Each man, each woman, is an individual, although each a victim to an unforgiving woman, or rather to the curse of overweening riches. What theme more startling; what plot more sensational? Yet nothing hurries; the poem marches with an iron dignity to the end, as at a later day figures grave and irresistible in their ponderous battle-robes must have stalked their fated paths to slaughter. At first indeed a smile plays here and there on joustings, on happy feasts, brave clothes sought out from silver chests, on joyous bustle when maidens are told to make them ready for hightide or festival; before the worst an artful gleam of joy and hope drowns out the remembrance of adverse omens. This is good art, but when that last light too is gone, and the tragedy unrolls in the quiet lapse of verse, a dignity accrues to the unknown poet who shows himself master of his theme, who is so great.

Since the spectroscope of modern German criticism has been brought to bear upon the Nibelungenlied, there remains no question such as haunts the memory of Homer. There is no doubt of the compositeness of the song, although the difference between the first and second parts is not as great as that between the Iliad and the Odyssey. As before mentioned, the Edda pointed out many of its parts. But we may reverse our steps and from the Nibelungen judge of Homer. We will then discover with surprise in how many points of general, national interest the two

epics are alike. From that we draw our deductions, and make a shrewd guess that no man has ever lived who could have originated and written the Iliad and Odyssey as they have come down to us; that such an act would be superhuman, as far as we can judge humanity, and that Homer, at the most, collected and arranged with exquisite art the rough popular legends that sprang from every nook and corner of pathless, water-circled Greece. It is sufficient that he who goes by the name of Homer was greatest; there is no need of making him a demi-god.

But Homer and Nibelungen once placed side by side, the mind springs to the simile of the wave of nations, like in origin and in its results organically the same, whether running northwest to spend itself among the shallows of the Germanic lands, or heaping up its human waves in Asia Minor and the Greek peninsulas. Here peace came first with its train of arts, but there among a race unequally favored the beauties of song had many centuries to wait before the hour of blossoming arrived. The difference between Greek and German was for much, but perhaps their respective countries for more. Thus we see the rough excess of imagination in the Edda and the Anglo Saxon Beowulf. These seem to tell of uncut forest, morass and wilderness sparsely occupied by men, whose passions were not unlike the beasts they delighted to pursue. But behold how poets must infallibly write from the stand-point of their time, how they must write their nation's thought and temper, just as every little artist draws himself upon the canvas or cuts his inner man into the unconscious truth of marble. The Nibelungen song, despite its bloody scenes, reflects a land softened by centuries of patient tillage of corn and wine. Its very lack of similes proclaims the civilization which gave birth to its present form, and in its thousand links of steady verse we almost see that combed and trimmed effect we of the West appreciate in the motherly home-look of the German Rhine.

The dull little town of Worms, the nucleus of this and still another long poem of Kriemhild's varied adventures, derives its name from a worm indeed, but one that raised no smile. A worm, a snake, a dragon, these were interchangeable terms, and a dragon gave the town its name. A tract of land in Esthonia bears the like ignoble appellation and probably from a like cause. There,

it may be, was placed the scene of Siegfried's encounter with the Snake-worm or Lind-wurm, which won him his impenetrable skin.

To nine persons out of ten this town is associated with the word Diet. The Diet of Worms is to be found in every school history. But under Latin influences we have been pronouncing the word Diet in two syllables, as if it came from *dies*, a day. The truth is, however, that Diet is an old German word meaning People—the People (assembled) of Worms—and is uttered in one syllable; thus: Deet. The proof lies in this, the last verse of the Nibelungenlied:

> 2440. I'll tell you now no further of distress so dread
> (Let those who there were slaughtered lie among the dead),
> How their affairs they settled, since the Hunish diet.
> Here hath the tale an ending; this is the Nibelunge-liet.

HENRY ECKFORD.

THE SUCCESSION OF LIFE IN NORTH AMERICA.

THE United States, east of the Missouri river and the plains, have been free from changes of level for a much longer period than that portion which lies to the west of such an imaginary line. It was alternately dry and submerged during a long period in the infancy of geological time, but became finally so established as to permit of no further descent of level, or, at most, of slight ones only. The last stages of this process of creation were witnessed at the close of the carboniferous period, when the elevations of land were wide-spread, inclosing tracts of water within bars or in depressions. These water areas were of course at first salt, but as they had communication with the sea, and received abundant supplies of pure water from streams and rains, they soon became fresh. They then became the centers of rank vegetation, which either as moss filled them up with its dense growth, or as large trees formed forests on the shores. Later submergences covered all this material with a heavy coating of mud deposit, which now appear to us in the form of strata of clay and sandstone rock. Thus was produced the coal, which has played so important a part in human progress. So frequent were the

alternations of level that at one place in Nova Scotia as many as seventy-six beds of coal separate as many strata of other materials, and the whole amount of deposit amounts to fifteen thousand five hundred feet. As the elevating force became more powerful, the amount of dry land increased, until the lifting of the Alleghany mountains to a height of twenty thousand feet concluded the process.

Previous to this time vertebrated animals had been inhabitants of water only, so far as the preserved remains have been discovered, but now air breathers were introduced, which, instead of fins, possessed limbs adapted for walking on dry land. These creatures were all salamanders, and related to the frogs, beginning life in the water and passing through a metamorphosis before reaching the perfect state.

The western regions were during this time occupied by a boundless ocean, whose western limit has not yet been ascertained; and such it continued for many ages, while the East was bringing forth plant and animal each after its kind. The strata deposited in the bottom of the western sea covered each other successively, so that it is only the latter chapters of the history that are now revealed to us in the exposed beds of the upper formations. But the history of the East was repeated. Its eastern coast-line rose and fell gradually, and islands appeared in the far West, heralding the birth of another continent. Slowly the land areas extended, the western growing from islands to a long, narrow continent, honey-combed with lagoons and lakes. The great central sea (now Kansas, Dakota, etc.) contracted, and finally lost its connection with the ocean altogether. The water areas were, however, for a long period brackish, and brought forth oysters and other shell-fish of dubious proclivities, capable of living in either salt or fresh water, but thriving in a mixture of both. The land was covered with a rich and dense forest vegetation, and the bog-moss again encroached on the lakes. But the forest was in great contrast to that of the carboniferous period. Instead of huge ferns and tree mosses we have the more highly-organized and beautiful forms represented by the existing deciduous trees. Oaks, sassafras, magnolia and poplar shaded a dense undergrowth of shrubs, while palms and some other tropical families distinguished the general effect from the familiar one of to-day. But the moss

performed its old function of coal maker. Humblest among plants, its existence has been more important in world-building than that of all the lords of the forest. Its mosses died, and new layers of the living plant grew upon them, until the descent of the land and encroachment of waters deposited the stone lid upon their treasury of carbon, not to be unsealed until the long future day of human empire. The alternations of land and water were numerous. At one point on the Union Pacific railroad a section displays one hundred and seventy-three distinct strata, of which thirty-six are either coal or mingled with vegetable matter, while the others are frequently composed almost exclusively of fresh and brackish water shells. The elevation, however, exceeded the depressions, the brackish estuaries and lagoons were transformed into fresh water lakes, and at length the noble ranges of the Rocky mountains bounded the horizons in many directions.

The salt ocean had not only been the dwelling place of gill-breathing fishes, but also of many forms of air-breathing vertebrates. These were reptiles, and exhibited a great superiority of structure over the air-breathers that peopled the swamps and land of the coal period. When the land and the fresh waters claimed the great West, the sea saurians perished, for their limbs were not fitted for the changed circumstances. Smaller races held the land, and with a few monsters that had never been ocean dwellers, represented the swarming reptillian life of the past.

But a new dynasty was to rule the earth; the mammal, with hot blood and active brain, was to use the rich stores of the newer vegetable world, and life was to be exhibited on a higher platform.

The lakes of the west were gradually dried by the cutting of their discharging streams down to the level of their bottoms. This was of course soonest accomplished in lakes of the greatest elevation; for instance those within the highest range of the mounain chains. Others continued for a longer period, and others to a comparatively still more recent date. Their deposits contain a faithful record of the life of the surrounding land, doubtless embracing many species that ranged to the Atlantic ocean. We have thus the means of studying the character of five successive periods, which must be to us a mine of interesting inquiry, and source of evidence as to the nature of that life and the thoughts of its great Author.

The names of the beds, with the regions where chiefly found, are the following: (1) The Lignite series or Upper Cretaceous, (Montana, Dakota, Wyoming, Colorado); (2) Eocene Lake, (Wyoming, West Colorado); (3) Miocene, (Nebraska, Oregon, E. Colorado); (4) Pliocence, (Nebraska, Idaho, Orgeon, E. Colorado); (5) Post-pliocene (Caves of the East). The quadrupeds begin in full blast in the Eocene, and none whatever are known from beds of the preceding or cretaceous age: a remarkable circumstance, and not easy to account for, especially as it is the case all over the world, so far as known; yet there were a few of this high division during a period that preceded the cretaceous. In Wyoming, therefore, we find life first in the form with which it has pleased Divine power to invest ourselves, but in no case presenting any close resemblance to the human species. The predominant styles were those resembling the tapir, the opossum, the bat, the mole, and the squirrel. There were no cloven-footed animals that chew the cud (ruminants); no horses, no elephants, no rhinoceros nor hippopotamus, and, it is thought, no true cat or dog-like flesh-eaters. To take their places were strange creatures that combine the characteristics of these divisions now so widely separated. Thus there were forms between the horse and tapir, between the elephant and tapir, and between the rhinoceros and tapir. There were numerous monkeys, which resembled nearly as much the raccoon and the coati. The land carnivora resembled in many ways the seals, and the division of the opossum and the kangaroo had sundry representatives. A more curious and to some unexpected faunal combination, constituting a homogeneous whole, does not exist in any known formation.

In the next period (Miocene) a great addition to the living types of animals took place, so that the contrast between this formation and the Eocene is very great. A portion of almost any part of the skeleton of a quadruped would thus enable the paleontologist to determine the age of the formation from which it had been procured. Thus ruminating animals exist in the greatest profusion; a few horses appear, two species of elephants (mastodon) are known, and there are a great many species of rhinoceros. The peculiar intermediate divisions of the Wyoming beds no longer peopled the land; the strange beings compounded with the tapir, have abandoned the earth in favor of more decided types. One

or two tapirs hold over, and one of the anomalous monkeys. The snakes and lizards are nearly the same, but the crocodiles that swarmed during the Eocene, have entirely disappeared.

If we examine the character of the representatives of living orders in greater detail, we shall find the phenomenon observed in the structure of the Eocene quadrupeds repeated, but within a narrower limit of variation. Thus the modern ruminants may be roughly stated as belonging to the families of the hogs, camels, musk-deer, and oxen. In the Miocene there are neither oxen nor deer, while many species in enormous droves present structure of hog, camel, and deer, combined; or camel plus musk and hog. The horses had three toes, and were more or less like tapirs; and some of the rhinoceroses shared similar peculiarities. One strange set of creatures, combined characters of tapirs, and rhinoceros, with those of those Eocene beasts that combined the elephant and tapir. The latter have been called *Eobasileus;* the former *Symborodon.* The *Eobasilens* had three pairs of long horns, the first at the snout, the last on the back of the skull. The feet were like the elephant, and it carried a pair of knife-like tusks. It probably had a short trunk. The *Symborodon* had feet more like the rhinoceros, but it stood high on the legs like the elephant. The tusks were reduced to a small size, while one pair of horns stood upon the top of the head. They represented the front pair of the *Eobasileus,* and either stood on the nose or over the eyes. Their shape differed in the different species. In some they were long and round, in others, flat; in others they were three sided, and turned outward. One species had enormously expanded cheek bones, and was nearly as large as an elephant; it has been called *Symborodon bucco.* The long-horned species was as large as the Indian rhinoceros, and is called *Symborodon acer.* The species with three-cornered horns is intermediate in size.

Besides these larger quadrupeds, there were myriads of the small ones, whose evident adaptation for insect and seed eating habits indicate the abundance of such supplies. Thus there were moles, mice, squirrels, and not less than seven species of rabbits. Areas exist where the beds of the formation laid bare by the weather are found to be covered with the delicate remains of these animals. They cover the surface in such profusion as to

resemble the loose grain on the farmers' barn-floor in harvest time.

The Pliocene stratum, above the Miocene, is usually present in the regions where the latter occur, though not invariably. It has a more sandy character, while the older beds are more clayey. The life they disclose is quite distinct from that we have just passed in review, differing from it much in the same way that it differs from that below it—*i. e.*, the Eocene. In other words, it is still more like the life of the present time, and the curious intermediate or (to speak inaccurately) the mixed divisions have nearly disappeared. We have now true dogs and weasels, true elephants and a few true deers and antelopes. The camels are almost like those now living, and while the horses have three toes, the side toes are much reduced, and the teeth are much more nearly like those of living horses. Rhinoceroses still abound, but all their mixed tapiroid and elephantine kindred have utterly disappeared.

A curious feature in the dentition of the horses and camels of this period has been observed. The temporary or milk teeth of the horses was very much like that of the permanent or second series of the horses of the preceding or Miocene formation. The second or permanent teeth differed from them, and resemble exactly in type the temporary or milk teeth of the living horses. The case of the camels is similar. Like the hogs they possessed a full set of upper teeth in front which they soon shed, thus taking on one of their true camel characters; but their permanent series all round after this shedding was like that of the milk dentition of the existing camels and lamas. In the latter animals the number of the permanent teeth is less than that of the first series in one part of the mouth, thus producing another type.

In the fifth and last period we observe another marked change in the life. Most of the *mammalia* are nearly related to those now living in this and other continents, while a great many forms of the past are lost. The monkeys did not reach into the Pliocene, so far as we know; now the rhinoceros leaves us. A few remnants only survive of the camels and horses. Oxen first appear either as the giant bison, or the Southern musk oxen; deer of great size exist. The loss is replaced by South American types, especially gigantic sloths, in great abundance, with droves of tapirs and peccaries. For the first time we have the raccoons and bears, the

latter of the same character as those found with the fossil sloths in Buenos Ayres. True cats, like the jaguar and the tiger, roam the forests, and weasels and otters inhabit the banks of the streams.

The modern time has come, so far as the patterns of the animals are concerned, but their habitations are still different from those which their representatives preserve at the present. But nearly all the post-pliocene quadrupeds belong to different species from those now living.

The present appearance of the mammalian family in North America is due to the following changes: The lamas, sloths, tapirs and peccaries have all been banished to Mexico and South America; so also most of the large cats. The horses, mastodons and elephants were extinguished. The deer type seems to have expanded; while one ox (the bison) and an antelope remain. The wild dogs, weasels, etc., number about as many species now as in the past, while the variety of bears seems to have increased; on the other hand only one (the panther) of the large cats remains. That strange creature, the opossum, still holds his own far away from his Australian kindred. The smaller rodent quadrupeds are almost as much varied as ever. Many of these changes have evidently been wrought by the glacial period. That frozen epoch brought down the Arctic life, and either destroyed those forms that could not resist its rigors, or drove them into a more southern climate. The musk ox then roamed through the southern States, the walrus haunted the coasts of Virginia, and the reindeer peopled New Jersey. With the return of the milder period these again sought the North.

But a small proportion of the actual number of the species which lived during these successive ages is yet known, and the field offers many returns for exploration. As an illustration of the manner in which opinions respecting the history of life may be connected by discovery, I cite two examples. The bony gar fishes have been often pointed to as exhibiting a remarkable break in the times of appearance in geological history. Their latest fossil relatives were known to have existed during the ancient period called the jurassic; they did not recur until the present, and now only in the fresh waters of North America. This break of at least one-third of all geological time has been recently much reduced by the discovery of gars in great abundance in the Miocene and

Eocene periods, on this continent. The second case is that of the serpents. They were only known for a long time in the Eocene of New Jersey, then in the same epoch of Wyoming, and lately in the Miocene of Colorado.

Until recently no fossil monkeys, bats nor opossums were known to exist in American formations, and the curious intermediate divisions above described as related to elephants, rhinoceros, tapir, hog, camel, horse, monkey, etc., are all recent American discoveries.

EDWARD D. COPE.

THE PUBLIC SCHOOL SYSTEM OF PHILADELPHIA.

THE knowledge of letters and figures, of words and numbers —even the mental training which the acquisition of this knowledge involves,—are not the whole of education. But facilitating, as they do, the interchange of thought among men, they lie very near the foundations of civilization. The method by which, in a single city,[1] in one year, 84,000 children receive this knowledge and training, at the hands of 1600 teachers, in 400 schools, at an expense of $1,400,000, is a local matter, but of local interest only as are the institutions of ancient Athens, or medieval Venice—whose far-reaching influence makes their locality conspicuous and exemplary. This may serve as an apology for occupying some pages with the following remarks on the Public School System of Philadelphia.

By an act of the Legislature in 1818, the city and county of Philadelphia were designated the "1st School District" of the State; and by the same and subsequent acts, notably that of Feb. 2d, 1854, (providing for the consolidation of the county,) and of April 5th, 1867, the present system, so far as due to State legislation, has been formed. Each ward constitutes a section of the district, and by its board of school directors, elected for terms of three years, controls its schools, subject to the superior authority of the *Board of Public Education*. The members of the

[1] See Public School Report, Philadelphia, for 1872.

latter are appointed, one for eachward, and for three years each, by the judges of the Courts of Common Pleas and the District Courts; and each member is ex-officio a member of the board of directors of his section. It will be seen that the organization has the good features of our Federal system, in that it has local legislative bodies, designed to act in harmony with a central one,but with this difference, that they do not represent the same constituency. Until 1867, the central board was elected by the local boards from their own menbership, but by an act of the legislature, in that year, the present plan was substituted. It has all the advantages that are usually found in appointments by impartial courts over elections by popular bodies; and will lose them as soon as the evils of a judiciary, itself elective, shall have had time to develop themselves.

The Board of Public Education has the general superintendence of all public school affairs in the district; it receives and acts upon applications from the sectional boards for new school buildings, repairs, furniture, books and other supplies: it also fixes the grades of schools, the courses and hours of study, and the text-books; the qualifications of teachers, their salaries, and that of other employees, and certifies their names to the city controller for payment of salaries. The bills for these expenses, when approved by the board, are paid from the city treasury, from annual appropriations by Councils, based on estimates originating mainly with the local boards, but revised by the general board, and afterward by Councils.

To the sectional boards remain the *details* of supervision, both material and personal, indicated above. They have authority to contract bills to a limited amount without consulting the central board, and to a larger amount with its approbation, but may not exceed, in any class of expenditures, the allowance proper to that class under their quota of the whole annual appropriation. Their most important prerogative is the exclusive privilege of electing (and perhaps of dismissing) their teachers. These must, however, hold such "certificates of qualification" as the general board alone issues, and their election must be approved by the latter as a necessary condition to the payment of their salaries.

The GRADES OF SCHOOLS, as fixed by the Board of Public Education, are: 1. The Primary, which receives children reported as

not less than six years of age, and, "beginning w h the beginning," conducts them a little way in spelling, reading, writing, music, and through the four elementary rules of arithmetic. 2. The Secondary schools are designed to be reached at the age of 7½ to 9 years, and carry the instruction in the above-named studies somewhat further, adding geography and drawing,—hardly distinguishing marks of a separate grade. 3. At the age of 9 to 12, the pupil should be ready for the Grammar school, where he adds gradually to his former studies, pursued still further, grammar, composition, history, book-keeping, constitution of the United States, etymology, algebra, mensuration, physiology, natural philosophy, and chemistry. In the primary and secondary schools are also taught (or presumed to be) object lessons, and in all, vocal and physical exercises. 4. In the Boys' High School, which a pupil should reach at from 11½ to 14½ years of age, natural history, the German and Latin languages, political economy, and mental science are added to the list of studies, and arithmetic, book-keeping and elementary free-hand drawing develop into astronomy, commercial calculations and forms, and mechanical and engineering drawing. The Girls' High (or Normal) School, being intended not so much for the "higher education of women" as for the production of teachers for the lower schools, has no technical study but that of the science of teaching, and substitutes English literature and geology for the languages, political economy and natural history.

The number of schools in each ward is limited only by the demand, but *in fact* each ward has one grammar school for each sex, with five exceptions, three having each two schools, and two having as yet none. The number of primaries, of course, largely exceeds that of the secondaries, being, in 1872, 192 against 111. There are also 31 schools of mixed grade, known as "consolidated schools," in the rural wards. In each ward the special secondary school to which a child passes from a primary is usually determined by the residence of the child, the Grammar school receiving from all the secondaries in the ward.

The detailed "COURSE OF STUDY" (outlined above) prepared by the Board of Education, specifying text-books, the extent to which they shall be used in each grade of school, and manner of instruction, is followed more or less closely throughout the dis-

trict. By the rule, each school must be taught the entire course proper to its grade, and each division of a school must occupy six months on those studies allotted to it; but this allottment is very properly to be made by the principal of the school. The periods of six months are marked by the semi-annual EXAMINATIONS, when, theoretically, the pupils composing one division should pass into the next higher, and those of the highest divisions of the primary and secondary should enter the lowest of the secondary and grammar schools respectively. Individual pupils, however, may be promoted *within the schools* at any time at the discretion of the principal; but, practically, this is almost a dead letter, as each teacher wishes to reserve her best scholars for the examinations. The ages given above for entrance into the schools above the primary grade are therefore arrived at by taking these conditions into consideration, *with the number of divisions* in the schools, which vary from three to six. New pupils are received in any school (except the high schools) for which they may be ready, but after entering must follow the same law of progress as those who begin with the lowest. Each principal examines her or his own school, with the exception of the first division of the primaries and secondaries, which are examined by the principal of a school of the next higher grade to which they are respectively tributary, and all examinations are under the supervision of the grammar school principal. The standard of scholarship required to pass these examinations varies with the number of children which the superior school can accommodate, and depends also to some extent on considerations on the part of the principal of the inferior school as to the number that may remain to her after promotion; for the rules of the board require a full division to every teacher, and, in the primaries, make the salaries of the lower teachers depend on the number of divisions in the school.

These remarks as to examinations and promotions do not apply to the two high schools, excepting only the statement that they are held there also semi-annually. Three marked differences exist between this and the other grades of schools. 1. They are entirely under the control of the Board of Education, who appoint their teachers, &c., and entirely free from the control of the sectional boards. 2. No pupil, nevertheless, can enter them except as a

graduate of a grammar school; and 3. The examination to which such are subject is held by the principal of the grammar school, each for himself; the high school authorities simply notifying the latter how many pupils each is entitled to send, the whole number depending on the vacancies in the former, and the quota on the number of divisions in the latter. The lowest division of the high school is therefore but an upper division of the grammar school, held for convenience in the High School building, "in limbo," to be prepared for the classes proper of the high school. Whether, between this stage and the senior class of the grammar school, *which was designed for the extension of high school advantages, but which alone may furnish pupils for the latter,* there is not a waste of six months time, is a matter for consideration.

The CERTIFICATES OF QUALIFICATION issued by the Board of Education, the possession of which by those elected as teachers, is a necessary, and, practically, the only condition to their confirmation by the board, are of two classes. The first makes its holder eligible, after one, two, and three years experience in teaching, respectively, to the principalship of a primary, secondary, and grammar school. The second to no higher position than the principalship of a secondary, and to that only after teaching for three years. To obtain these certificates, applicants must reach certain fixed standards of scholarship, at semi-annual examinations held under the direction of the board, by professors of the boys' high school, and principals of grammar schools. Candidates are examined in reading, spelling, definitions, etymology, grammar, composition, penmanship, geography, history, United States constitution, arithmetic, algebra, and mensuration. Geometry was formerly included, but although taught in the Normal school, which furnished more than one-half of the successful candidates at the last examination, it has since then been dropped from the list, because not taught in the grammar schools; and "sectional" influence demands that all shall have an equal chance.

The perfect school, whatever else may distinguish it, must combine the advantages due to the undivided attention and personal knowledge of the private tutor, with those given by the mutual aid

and stimulus of many learners. Its course of study must have a close relation to the after life of the student, and the teacher must be as free in the use of his discretion, as an expert of any other profession. The ideal, though high, is not beyond the reach of zeal, patience and wisdom, unfettered by arbitrary rule, and urged by the love of the work, and the just rewards of wealth and reputation. There are many conspicuous examples of single schools, and even of series of schools, organized or carried on by one or more observant, judicious men, and thoroughly filling their part in the educational work of their time. But when not only a school or a series of schools, but a *number* of *series*, embracing hundreds of individuals, whose lower members, receiving scores of thousands of children of all classes, must be so nicely graded as to allow an interchange of pupils, and a uniform progression to the highest; when this organization is to be devised and maintained by the agents of a multitude, where economical ignorance contends with wasteful empiricism, and the balance of power is held as often by venal or partisan as by honest intelligence; where the teacher is less a wise director than the machine of such a directory, should it surprise us were the result to fall far short of the object, and utterly fail to justify the labor and expense?

Yet it is under such conditions that the public school system of Philadelphia has been formed, and has grown by the force of its own "raison d'être" to its present importance as an educating agency. Like many of the children whom it has trained, it has, despite over-care and under-care, turned out much better than might have been expected. Its growth has vigor, and often a right direction, though as the resultant of opposing forces. Those forces are still active. The contests in the Board of Education, and between it and the sectional boards, are signs of a vitality that will yet cast off the injurious and improve the valuable. The writer aims to present such a view of it *as a whole*, as may contribute to this result, as the designer surveys his drawing from a distance, that he may note its general effect, and the relation which the details bear to that effect.

The system evidently recognizes the schools of each section as *one*, dessgned to give a general English education, and whose highest classes are those of the grammar school; and very properly, therefore, gives the sectional board the supervision to that

extent. The high schools appear, so far as an intelligent design can be traced, to be technical schools, to prepare those few who are allowed to enter them for the arts, or professional, or literary life. The plan seems faultless; but in the executive details there is so much ill-adjustment, irresoluteness, even inconsistency, that the observer may be pardoned if he discovers, with difficulty, a design which the results themselves do not always declare.

And these defects are precisely such as we should look for from, the difficulties of the work, already suggested. For a small community, as this was comparatively, thirty-five years ago, it was and is, natural to plan a uniform school system. Although, therefore, each section stands alone, rules and courses of study were made to apply equally in all; and now when the population and almost the sections have trebled in number, the evils of this uniformity, like the defects in an enlarged photograph, appear. If there is to be a uniform standard of scholarship, it will certainly conform to the ability of the majority, which is equal to saying that it must be *low;* and where 400 schools must be governed by one set of rules, there must be a want of flexibility and adaptability to special conditions. It is for the last reason, especially, that so many persons of moderate means, but with a high valuation of their children's education, will economize in other expenses, to be able to send them to a private rather than a public school. They will be content to buy their clothing in Market street, ready made, but they will not have their minds furnished to a machine pattern. They prefer a school where the principal can watch closely the progress of each child, and after consultation with the parent alone, or in the exercise of discretion for which he is responsible to the parent only, can act promptly in any case. Surely such is not the school where 40 to 80 children are under the care of a single teacher, who is under the control of a principal, who, with a class of 30 or 40, is himself directed by a committee of a sectional board and the board itself,—which board is governed by a general board, composed of twenty-nine gentlemen meeting monthly as their business engagements permit, acting hastily on the most important questions, and from want of coercive authority legislating popularly, after all, rather than according to their judgment.

But I shall be told that this is all well known, and well understood as past remedy; that boots and shoes for the million must be made by machinery, and, therefore, to standard sizes, and he that is so unfortunate that he cannot afford to have his own made to order, on his private last, must suffer the tender pedal protuberances to adapt themselves to the law of necessity, and the nearest "number." And as to the evils of Democracy, we may as well make up our minds to bear them, in school as well as other affairs.

There is just truth enough in this view of the situation to make us wholesomely uncomfortable until we get out of it. But no sane American, after recent events here and in New York, need despair of adapting Democratic forms to the highest civilizations; and as to the special subject before us, a "back-sight," such as surveyors take to rectify their observations, will show us that the progress of the public school system, on the whole, has been upward, and that perhaps from not comprehending fully our own advance and destination, we have strayed into this present "lowness."

The impetus to this progress was given by some features of the present system, that to-day need re-adjustment to the new requirements of its growth. Instead of attempting forever to make rules, studies, scholarship, that may be, or may be called, uniform throughout the city—an undertaking as unnecessary and almost as impracticable as to do so for the whole State—let us now leave to the local boards a large share of this authority. Let them occupy, in regard to the internal management of the schools, nearly the ground now held by the general board, leaving to the latter the fiscal affairs of the whole, and through the high and normal schools, the ultimate tone of scholarship, and the supply of well-qualified teachers.

This does not require general legislation, but simply a readiness on the part of the board to make exceptions to the present rules as to courses and hours of study, on special application in each case from the local boards, to enable them to meet the wants of special schools. The control of the high and normal schools remaining with the general board, would enable it to maintain a standard of scholarship throughout, *if only* these schools *themselves* examine applicants for admission, and receive all, whether public

school pupils or not, who can pass such examination. It is by this silent force only that Harvard and Yale give the tone to all the academies of the land. From the absence of some uniform ultimate standard the measure of scholarship now always varies in different sections, and at times in the same section, so that pupils frequently, and sometimes intentionally, change the real grade of their school by changing its location.

I know that it has been proposed to dispense with all boards but the central one, on the ground of the difficulty of harmonizing two authorities. But we have had the same problem in our Federal and State governments, and it has been satisfactorily solved. Surely the principle of combined, general and local powers has advantages that are not lightly to be thrown away, at the risk, too, of all the evils of centralization. The present sections may be too large or too small; their bounds may not be the best that can be made; and the central board may not feel so instinctively the superior personal fitness of some of their directors as to impel it on that account to transfer any of its own duties; but these are matters that can be adjusted.

Much of the routine and rigidity of our system is due to certain features, which the Board of Public Education is responsible for requiring or allowing. These are the results of an excessive systematization which has grown upon us unperceived, till what should be a vital force, developing all while itself unseen, has become a crystallizing agency, that extinguishes life, and presents us a fossil. After legislation has provided for every difficulty, it is generally found necessary to obviate those which itself has created; and the steps already taken towards the equalization of salaries and the simplification of teachers' certificates may be welcomed as the beginning of this movement. The points to which I would call attention now, are the maintenance of the primary schools as a distinct grade, the unwise apportionment of pupils to teachers, and the inequality of salaries.

The common experience of educators has united in the adoption of three grades of scholastic life; the Preparatory, the Academic, and the Collegiate. We can find the parallel grades in our schools only by considering the primary and secondary as lower and higher divisions of the preparatory course. And why not do so, in practice? This is not a question of names merely, for in the promotion of pupils, the salaries of teachers, andnumber the of

pupils assigned to a teacher, it makes a "distinction with a difference."

The manner in which the limits of a division is fixed is this: The rule provides that "each division of the grammar and secondary schools shall *contain* at least an average attendance of 40 pupils *to each teacher*," which remarkable collocation of words is construed in practice to mean that the average attendance of each division shall be at least 40 pupils. "The average attendance in the primary schools shall not be less than 45 to each teacher." This ambiguous expression is understood similarly to mean that the average attendance of *each division* shall be at least 45. Why children just beginning to learn should require *less* individual attention from the teacher than when older, it is hard to see. In the first case the soil must be prepared, in addition to planting and nourishing the seed. As the number absent from sickness is to be computed in the average attendance, the above numbers are not always as large as they appear, but from the fact that *no provision is made for a new division until the old one has double these numbers*, it is often the case that a young girl of 17 or 18 has the charge of 75 to 85 young children; and as this is more apt to be the case in the lowest division of the primary, many of these children will be those learning their letters. Because this is the lowest class, too, the salary is the lowest, all of them being in an inverse ratio to the number of pupils to be taught. Is it surprising that the children of the poorest classes make the bulk of these lower divisions? Would it not be better, throughout the preparatory department at least, to simply provide a number of assistant teachers, in a certain ratio (and a larger one than at present) to the attendance of the whole school,—the principal to apportion the pupils among them, as she already apportions the studies and decides the promotions? This, with the freedom of promotion *at any time when the child is qualified*, from the highest division of the primary to the lowest of the secondary school, as well as in any other stage of progress, would free this branch of our school service from a great burden of "system." I know that to dispense with an examination will be objected to as dispensing with a test of the *teachers'* work; but it may be submitted whether scholastic any more than physical "vivisection" can be justified in the interests of criticism alone.

The "more stately mansions" which the soul of the school-child, as well as the man, delights to "build"

"As the swift seasons roll,"

are, like those of the Chambered Nautilus, the results of its own powers, and to be entered as soon as, and only when, the old are outgrown. And what will justify the checking of the child's progress by "hurdle-leaps" under the name of examinations, written examinations of children eight years old! and as many of them to the "through" pupil as there may be divisions in the school—the combined effect of board rules as to examinations in primaries, unequal salaries, and fixed numbers in a division.

As to salaries, if the teaching well of the youngest children differs in kind from that of the older, it does not in degree; and one uniform salary throughout the preparatory (except for principals and first assistants,) and another for the grammar schools, would obviate frequent changes, and, being just, serve the best interests of the pupils.

The preparatory schools, if any be so, are the most important in our system. Defective instruction here, arising either from bad rules or poor teachers, affects all the after school-life. And when we remember that 75 per cent. of all the pupils of this department have no subsequent school instruction, we must realize the importance of giving them such teachers as only good salaries will secure, and of giving these teachers the fullest opportunity for usefulness.

I have already suggested two important changes that might well be made as to our high schools, viz: to admit only those who can reach standards fixed for and applied by these schools, and to admit all such, whether from public schools or not; the latter change requiring in time an increase in the number of buildings. With this elevation of standard, and extension of use, there should be a more complete development of the distinctive feature of this grade of school—the technical. As the preparatory fits the child for the general instruction which the academy or grammar school gives, so this general instruction is a basis on which to rear that proper to his life's vocation; for literary and mathematical training, though supplying all else, is not the whole of mental culture, as the roots and leaves are not the whole of a plant. This principle, slowly realized by the pressure of science,

abstract and applied, to an equal front with the old studies, is modifying the curriculum of every college. The Boys' High School claims to rank as such; there is no reason why the Girls' should not also; and if so, they should offer as varied and as complete a course of elective studies as any. The former has lived down much opposition; it will turn that opposition into hearty aid when it makes its literary culture so thorough that a man may earn bread and fame through it, and when its training in the arts becomes more than a preparation for a book-keepers' desk. The Girls' High School, while preparing no fewer competent teachers, might then qualify many young women to shine on a higher stage than that of the Academy of Music; illustrious though this be with tulle, crinoline, and textile and other illusions. Much preparatory work might be done in this direction in the grammar schools too, by a larger study of drawing, and by the use of scientific text-books that should give the practical application of the principles explained.[1] These studies would prove of great value to those (always to be in the majority) who cannot go beyond these schools, giving them such a taste for, and so much of a knowledge of the manual arts, as would make them more willing and more apt to learn them than at present. When it is fully realized that the Grammar school should only supply a basis for technical learning, whether the latter be acquired in the workshop or in the High School, it will not be difficult to find more room for drawing and applied science.

Our idea of the scope of a public school system may seem visionary, but not to those who compare the present course of study with that of only forty years ago. Led on as we have been from the bare design of giving to the poor an elementary education—from ideal to ideal, always a little in advance of our attainment, we shall not know fully the final goal until we reach it; and can be sure of this only, that Providence has opened in this way a means to the universal elevation of the race through a realization of its universal brotherhood. So far from being hostile to the

[1]While writing this paper I have read with much interest a little book by Mr. Charles B. Stetson, on "Technical Education," in which the importance attached to drawing in the European schools is fully illustrated from official documents, governmental reports, etc. See also Gov. Hartranft's message and the report of Supt. Wickersham for 1874.

Church, this movement presupposes a State more than welded to the Church, even pervaded by its very spirit, as the body by the soul.[1]

There remains one, the most prominent feature in a school system, yet to be noticed—the agents and means for enforcing its rules. It may be thought indeed that these are only "conspicuous by their absence" in our scheme, for unlike any other locality in this country, I believe, we have no officer known as superintendent, and no means of compelling obedience but the impracticable one of stopping the supplies of a section. But here, as in some other things, we have "builded better than we knew," and the germ of a most efficient superintendency lies undeveloped in our system. By maintaining the right to dismiss, as well as to qualify and confirm all teachers, and by placing the oversight of all the schools of a section in the hands of its chief teachers, the principals of the two grammar schools (for boys and girls respectively), the desired object, we think, would be effected. Each of the present sections contains on an average about 3,000 pupils, certainly enough for two superintendents; and the influence of the high schools should accomplish more than one general superintendent, even with numerous assistants, in keeping up a universal standard of scholarship. The principals, in this case, should, like those of the high schools, and *other ar smaller institutions* than the combined schools of a single section, be free from the care of special classes of their own. The close supervision and rapid communication with the general board, thus secured, would prevent many departures from rules, that now occur simply because they are found impracticable or injurious, as well as practically unenforced, by the sectional boards, through whom they are to be administered. That such a concentration of supervisory power in the hands of a few persons giving all their time, will be better than the present accidental division of it between different boards and committees, cannot be doubted.

A summary of what has been offered embraces the following points.

An enlargement of the powers of the local boards.

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[1] The writer has long thought that the interests of both religious and secular instruction would be advanced if the larger part of the energy and expense bestowed on Sunday-schools were applied to week-day schools for the youngest children, by each religious denomination.

The abolition of the distinction between Primary and Secondary schools, by dispensing with examinations of the former and equalizing salaries and ratio of pupils to teachers.

The assignment of teachers to schools in a fixed and reduced ratio to the *whole* attendance, and their apportionment to pupils by the principals.

Admission of all to the High Schools who can pass examinations held by these schools, and greater extension of their technical character.

Superintendency of the schools of each section by the principals of its grammar schools, as chiefs of the sectional system.

There are many other topics that press on our attention, such as the excessive hours of study, particularly for the girls and the youngest children, the inadequate provision for colored youth, the want of control of the school-fund by those whom the law makes the sole controllers of the schools, and others of less importance. But we have risen from the consideration of systems to that of their agents, and the limits of our space forbid a return to themes which these govern. Can we close with a higher one, proper to our subject, than the ultimate superintendent, the true teacher—she (for it is almost everywhere a woman, and by rule, *always* where the salary does not exceed $400) who is after all, the life and soul of the organization I have traced. The nine and twenty gentlemen who spend an afternoon every month in their comfortable chairs in the Athenæum building, may flounder and blunder over revised codes of study, reports of musical experts, and the relative value of composition and geometry in a teacher's mental *repertoire;* their knowledge of the subject may be no more profound than may be expected from manufacturers, merchants, and——— statesmen; and the promptly communicated result of their deliberations may often fail to commend itself to her understanding, yet she goes on her way teaching—by the rules if she can, yet never forgetting that her business is to *teach*. Such a one, and they be many, magnifies her office. Her reward in the love and learning of her pupils, and the interchange with them of Christmas and other felicitations, is quite as large a part of her compensation as the $108.75, or thereabouts, that every quarter-day brings. In fact, in the fear of an unknown "discount off," the latter may be the least.

"Gentlemen of the Board of Education," to conclude after the manner of a Commencement, a discourse addressed both to you and to a larger audience, and greater Board, our chief business is to increase the number and the reward of such teachers—teachers who will show us, by their persistence in doing right, where our rules are wrong, and by their success in teaching how unnecessary many of our rules are to such instructors as alone we want, however needful they may be to those who are kept "in position" by the stays we place around them. Mrs. Jarley's wax-work figures, ceremoni ously brought out and brushed, with the stately direction, "Wind her up and let her"—teach (if you please), are very funny on the stage; but their living counterparts are quite as worthless off it.

There is but one of the professions that can outrank that of the teacher, and they vie with each other, too, unfortunately, in inadequacy of compensation. But the Board of Education of the City of Philadelphia may esteem itself fortunate that, though it cannot command the payment of deserved wages, or wherever else its power may be restricted or questioned, it is undisputed in ts chief functions—the education and the examination of those who shall serve its schools. Our system may be worse than it is, but in a body of faithful, capable teachers, will always remain a corrective agency. In many lesser plans besides that of creation, mankind are prone to seek an automatic system, but a deeper insight will eventually find all that have vitality to be the *method* as well as the *product* of unresting intelligence.

A MEMBER OF THE BOARD OF PUBLIC EDUCATION.

AFTERMATH.[1]

IT is a common fault among writers of a certain order, that when they have attained to a recognized excellence in their art, they are willing, under cover of their reputation, to produce works that are very unworthy of it. It might matter little enough that this were the case, were it not for the insinuation that in

[1] AFTERMATH. By Henry Wadsworth Longfellow. Boston: James R. Osgood & Co., 1873. For sale by Claxton, Remsen & Haffelfinger.

being once dazzled by some passing brilliancies, our critical eyes were effectually closed to any subsequent shortcomings, and, we may add, for the annoyance of being called upon to admire what has nothing interesting in it but the sign-manual that gives it circulation, and to see the honors and sacred privileges that hedge in the divinity of authorship sullied with the tricks of charlatanry. If not the product of the present age, this order of men grows with a rank virulence in it. They exist on both sides of the Atlantic. Quantity seems to be their gauge of success, and "who writes most writes best" their principle. Their brains teem with ideas as a park with rabbits, which multiply and multiply again till the world itself soon will not be able to contain the volumes that shall be written. The passion of writing, with them, seems to grow with its indulgence, and in the end becomes ungovernable; a book's a book—to its author—though there be nothing in it. Mr. Henry Kingsley, for instance, who wrote such a capital novel as "Ravenshoe," must needs produce works like "The Hillyars and Burtons," and "Hettie." The author of "The Cloister and the Hearth" must show his mental decline by fathering "A Simpleton." Mr. Wilkie Collins should know by this time his mysteries seem as harmless to us as the Cock Lane ghost. Mrs. Wood, Miss Braddon, "Ouida," "Rhoda Broughton," and composers of that class, are forever springing up like the tares among the wheat, and will not be exterminated. Mr. Trollope's mill has produced some excellent wares, but we are growing a little tired of the monotonous hum of its machinery. The last works of even Mr. Dickens and Lord Lytton were not their best, and in spite of "Gareth and Lynette," Mr. Tennyson added little but number, in his "completion" of the Idylls. Mr. Lever, it is true, was blessed with the same fecundity, but he totally changed his style, and "That Boy of Norcot's" and "Charles O'Malley," might have been written by different men. For the fallings-off of poor Sir Walter, we need enter, I am sure, no plea. The vice is no more rare in New than in Old England, whence so much that is good comes that we cannot tolerate any literary Brummagen. Dr. Holmes' songs have now lost their usual pertness. Mrs. Stowe has never recovered from the success of "Uncle Tom's Cabin." Mr. Harte writes more bad than good things. Mr. Lowell and Mr. Emerson, it may be confessed, are artists too

true for such condescensions, but, like true artists, when they have nothing to say they say nothing; and in the meanwhile, we are obliged to content ourselves with the mental efforts of such men as Mr. Parton, Mr. Aldrich and Mr. Howells, and such women as Mrs. Celia Thaxter and Mrs. Helen Hunt, most of whom follow the opposite doctrine.

Without supposing for a moment that Mr. Longfellow has any thing in common with this set, we wish that he would not act so much like them. In other words, we would be glad to have him explain the *raison d'etre* of this last volume of poems. It can not be that he thinks that he had any thing new to say, for he has not said it; and it is hardly possible that he believes that the tones of his "one clear harp," which have echoed so long in our ears, will bear continual reverberation. Mr. Longfellow must compose with the assurance that whatever he writes will be eagerly read by the people of both hemispheres, in whose hearts he is so safely enthroned that no one but himself can dethrone him; and the consciousness of this fact should make him very critical. We, for our part, have so often seen his kindly face in his charming poems, and, we may add, his poetry in his kindly face, that the associations therewith are among the last that we would part with. Indeed there is no poet of the day so popular. He is translated into as many languages as he has translated. He is the most frequently read of foreign verse-writers in Germany, for his lines are brimming with the simplicity and sentiment that the Germans have learned to love in their own poets. His charms have long since broken down the stiff barriers of English prejudice, and in the first cheap edition of standard poets published in England (the Chandos Classics) he comes second in order after their own Shakspeare. He is described in the preface as "the American writer, whose poems are as household words in English homes, and whose genius has naturalized him in our land;" and his poetical works may be bought to-day in London, and are bought, in good clear type, for the small sum of nine-pence. Our chiefest dread, then, in reading Aftermath, is that the position which he has acquired among us, and which we would protect from even his own assaults, may be thus by himself materially affected. For if it be shown that the secret which produced the many beautiful poems that gush from his heart, with the freshness of sun-shiny April showers

from the sky, and whose power over us we ever love to acknowledge, is indeed no secret, but a "knack," and that the sympathy and comfort in the gentle rhythmical flow of his verses may be served up to order in lines of seven and six;—if such a dreadful revelation is in store for us—then, as Tiny Tim says, "God bless us, every one."

The volume is principally made up of the "Tales of a Wayside Inn." The Spanish Jew, the Poet, the Student, the Theologian, the Sicilian, the Musician, are once more seated with the landlord around the gleaming fire of the old hostelry.

> "Built in the old Colonial day
> When men lived in a grander way
> With ampler hospitality;
> A kind of old Hobgoblin Hall
> Now somewhat fallen to decay
> With weather-stains upon the wall.
> And stairways, worn, and crazy doors,
> And creaking and uneven floors,
> And chimneys huge, and tiled and tall,"

as it is described in the original. They tell their stories in turns as they did before, but they are not as well worth telling, nor are they as well told. The Spanish Jew begins, and his mind is still running upon the "inevitableness of death." His tale is called "Azrael," and glides along in smooth pentameters:

> "King Solomon before his palace gate
> At evening, on the pavement tessellate
> Was walking with a stranger from the East,
> Arrayed in rich attire as for a feast,
> The mighty Runjeet-Sing, a learned man,
> And Rajah of the realm of Hindostan."

To them appears the Death-Angel Azrael, and the "learned man and Rajah," alarmed, wishes to escape, and in his fear cries to Solomon:

> "O King, thou hast dominion o'er the wind,
> Bid it arise and bear me hence to Ind."

The king grants his request and he is whirled away, when

> "Said the Angel, smiling: "If this man
> Be Rajah Runjeet-Sing of Hindostan,
> Thou hast done well in listening to his prayer;
> I was upon my way to seek him there."

The poet's tale is one of the finest, and least of all suggests any previous composition of the author. It is called "Charlemagne," and describes with much power the advance of the great Emperor and his mighty army over the plains of Lombardy, and the awe which

> Olger the Dane, and Desiderio,
> King of the Lombards,"

felt in the mere prospect of his coming. When at last the "innumerable multitude," "the Paladins of France,"

> "The Bishops, and the Abbots, and the Priests
> Of the imperial chapel and the Counts"

had drawn in sight, there came

> "A light more terrible than any darkness;
> And Charlemagne appeared;—a Man of Iron!
>
> "His helmet was of iron, and his gloves
> Of iron, and his breast-plate and his greaves
> And tassets were of iron, and his shield.
> In his left hand he held an iron spear,
> In his right hand his sword invincible.
> The horse he rode on had the strength of iron,
> And color of iron.
>
> * * * * * *
>
> "This at a single glance Olger the Dane
> Saw from the tower, and turning to the king
> Exclaimed in haste: "Behold! this is the man
> You looked for with such eagerness!" and then
> Fell as one dead at Desideria's feet."

"Emma and Eginhard" is a pleasantly written story, and differs chiefly from the other poems of Mr. Longfellow, in pointing a moral with more of worldly wisdom in it than spiritual. The Theologian's tale suggests its author's style in every line. It is in hexameters which are made so familiar to us in "Evangeline" and "Miles Standish," but it only painfully reminds us of these two poems by its inferiority to them. Compare the passage in "Elizabeth,"—

> "Tarry awhile behind, for I have something to tell thee,
> Not to be spoken lightly, nor in the presence of others;
> Them it concerneth not, only thee and me it concerneth.
>
> * * * * * *
>
> "I will no longer conceal what is laid upon me to tell thee;
> I have received from the Lord a charge to love thee, John Estaugh"—

with the passage in "Miles Standish," in which John Alden is pleading the cause of his captain to Priscilla. She coyly implies that she is otherwise interested, in her spirited answer,

"This is the way with you men: You don't understand us, you cannot.
When you have made up your minds after thinking of this one and that one,
Choosing, selecting, rejecting, comparing one with another,
Then you make known your desire, with abrupt and sudden avowal,
And are offended and hurt, and indignant perhaps that a woman
Does not respond at once to a love that she never suspected,
Does not attain at a bound the height to which you have been climbing.
This is not right nor just: for surely a woman's affection
Is not a thing to be asked for, and had for only the asking.
When one is truly in love, one not only says it, but shows it.
Had he but waited awhile, had he only showed that he loved me,
Even this Captain of yours—who knows?—at last might have won me,
Old and rough as he is; but now it never can happen."

And as the stupid fellow continues to urge his friend's suit,

"Archly the maiden smiled, and, with eyes overrunning with laughter,
Said, in a tremulous voice, 'Why don't you speak for yourself, John?'"

"The Monk of Cassal-Maggiore" is perhaps the best thing in the book, and is full of vivacity. It is in the flowing metre of "Don Juan," which the poet uses before in "The Birds of Killingworth," and rolls along with much more smoothness than we always find in Mr. Longfellow's verses. "The Rhyme of Sir Christopher" is a quaint little poem, "*simplex munditiis*," and recalls Chaucer's dry, simple manner of narration.

The last part of the book is devoted to "Birds of Passage," and here Mr. Longfellow's characteristics are very conspicuous. But they do not appear to most advantage, for, as we have said before, there is nothing very new in these poems, and each one as we read it seems to be a hasty moulding of an idea that was not needed in making up some other poem, now grown old in our memories from constant repetition. That Mr. Longfellow recognizes all this is finally discovered as we turn to a little poem in the last page of the book which has been hid away there out of its proper place in the volume. It is a preface in itself, and should be at the beginning of the collection to which it gives the names, but the author artfully keeps it to the last, that he may entrap us into an expression of the ideas he seems to anticipate, and then destroy us by denoting his entire agreement with them.

He thus musically endeavors to disarm criticism:

When the summer fields are mown,
When the birds are fledged and flown,
And the dry leaves strew the path;
With the falling of the snow,
With the cawing of the crow,
Once again the fields we mow
And gather in the aftermath.

Not the sweet, new grass with flowers
Is this harvesting of ours;
Not the upland clover bloom;
But the rowen mixed with weeds,
Tangled tufts from marsh and meads,
Where the poppy drops its seeds
In the silence and the gloom."

That he has not yet explained the worth of the aftercrop, and whether good harvesters, unless they be some needy Ruths, would care to gather in what they will not know where to house when it is gathered, we will not dwell upon. Mr. Longfellow's sincere modesty, which is evidenced in this, as in all his volumes, reproves us not a little, we must confess, for the dissatisfaction which we have ventured to express for these last productions of his genius. But we are sure that Mr. Longfellow himself will be the first to acknowledge that it is the test of a true artist that, with the development of his powers, should grow his ideal toward the purity of perfection, and with the growth of his ideal, an almost morbid unwillingness to give existence to anything that does not approach as near as possible to it.

NEW BOOKS.

THE CHILDHOOD OF THE WORLD. By Edward Clodd, F. R. A. S.

The hope which the author very modestly expresses that his little book may interest an older class of readers than those for whom it was intended, is not doomed to disappointment. Very few will put it down without caring to make him the acknowledgment of having read it with pleasure and of being satisfied with its judicious method. In their eyes it will have the merit of showing what education means under the control of a more liberal idea. True, it is no more than a hint of what the future is to bring about in the way of change. But this is certain, that studies that have been retained on account of their supposed disciplinary virtue will

be rejected for others of immense practical importance. It is an honest owning of the claim that science makes upon the responsibility of those who have in training the minds that are to pass finally upon questions to which the present owes the simple duty of investigation. What we know is after all so much of what we are that the value of a single ascertained *fact* cannot be exaggerated. Knowledge is not only power, it is tolerance, virtue, charity. It apprehends the end of life. It comprehends the whole of character.

PORTER & COATES, of this city, have become the publishers of Dean Stanley's volume of *Sermons and Travels in the East* (pp. 272, with maps and plans.) These sermons were preached and the accompanying sketches were written while the Dean was accompanying the heir-apparent to the English throne on his Eastern tour. The brevity of the discourses fully confirms what we are told of the Prince's dislike of long speeches; the longest do not fill twelve pages. Of course, in ten minute sermons there can be —as a rule—no great display of the various gifts that mark the great preacher. These, however, have the merit of fastening the discourse to some local association, and using it with fine skill and literary grace. Thus at Damascus Paul's conversion is made vivid and real by tracing in a few graphic allusions the city itself and its place in history.

The sketches of locality which fill nearly half the book, are of course not so elaborate and brilliant as the masterly pictures drawn by the same hand in his *Sinai and Palestine*, and partly reproduced in his *History of the Jewish Church*. The finest of them—we think—is the description of Patmos, in connection with the reproduction of its weird and rugged scenery in that most glorious of all prophetic visions, the Apocalypse. In this, as in all these sketches, there are hints that would be of the utmost value to any preacher competent to make use of them.

The general tone of the book is good, wholesome and unprofessional—yet it is not the highest tone. In the Broad Church party of the Anglican Church, two different spirits are striving for the mastery, just as in the Broad Church party of the seventeenth century, the Cambridge Platonists. The best of the two, that which stands farthest above "the spirit of the age," is not that which we find in Dean Stanley. Here is a man who has come to a good understanding with his own times, whose most intense enthusiasms are for secondary matters of church politics and comprehension—a man who wears soft clothing and dwells in king's houses. He is the Tillotson of the party, and may, like Tillotson, lead it into a new era of vapid, unearnest latitudinarianism. The question of its future is this: can it carry with it

the moral earnestness of the Evangelical party in putting off their exclusiveness, as Whitchcote wished the Platonists to retain all the earnestness of the Puritans, while advancing to a broader and more human theology.

LOMBARD STREET: A description of the Money Market. By Walter Bagehot. New York: Scribner, Armstrong & Co., 1873, pp. 359, cloth. For sale by Smith, English & Co.

This book may be called, in the best sense of the words, a book of one idea. Its multiplicity of illustration and of reasoning converges to one point—that the Bank of England, the depository of the specie reserve of the country, should keep in its vaults a large and determinate proportion of that reserve, and should lend it freely upon all valid securities, in times of commercial distress and alarm. This amounts, under the peculiar system of England, to a positive duty on the part of the bank. In his own lucid sentences, but too much in detail to bear quotation, Mr. Bagehot explains the functions of that great corporation whose wealth and credit have passed into a proverb. The explanation of its anomalous position, like that of most anomalies, is historical. We will resume in a few words the author's doctrine.

The Bank of England, as readers of Macaulay will remember, was founded under William III. The credit of the government was low, and it wished to borrow £1,200,000 at what was then considered the moderate rate of eight per cent. To induce the public to lend on these terms, the subscribers to the loan were incorporated under the name of the Governor and Company of the Bank of England, and received three most important privileges: 1st. The possession of the government balances; 2d. Limited liability, of which, until very lately, its shareholders had a monopoly; 3d. The monopoly of joint-stock banking. Of late years these latter advantages are shared with many smaller banks; the second by statute, the third by an unforeseen construction of the common law. But for over 150 years, the government made it practically impossible for any other corporation to compete with the Bank of England. The services, political and pecuniary, by which this primacy was secured, are a matter of history. The Whig merchants helped the Whig ministers, and were rewarded with exclusive privileges which made their corporate name synonymous with the credit of the State. This relationship still continues, and marks out the bank as the centre of the financial system. It stands toward other banks as they stand toward their own depositors. The uninvested surplus of the immense sums committed to their keeping is left by them in the Bank of England. Thus it has charge not only of the balance required by law to meet the demands of its own depositors, but of the reserve fund of the nation. Should this fund be employed according to ordinary

banking rules, the actual sum available in case of a panic falls far below what should be kept, and what under any other system will be kept, to meet those seasons of terror and collapse. A panic is bred of universal distrust, of the feeling that no security, however good, can be immediately converted into money. Let it be known that the bank has an immense sum in its vaults and that it will lend to the last penny upon every good collateral, and the storm will never gather. This the bank, from obvious motives of self-interest, has not done; this it must do, if the credit system of England is to repose upon a firm bases.

Such is Mr. Bagehot's theory, the *idée mure* of his book, urged with a clearness, a copious illustration, a command of facts and of language which recall the wealth of nations. In the course of his argument he ranges over the whole of that vast financial organization whose centre is in London and whose power reaches to the ends of the earth. The Joint Stock Banks, the Private Banks, the Bill-brokers each have a chapter of their own. Seasons of dullness and depression are explained, and seasons of prosperity and excitement. In the following extract, the author assigns a reason for "the increasingly democratic structure of English commerce":

"English trade is carried on upon borrowed capital to an extent of which few foreigners have an idea, and none of our ancestors could have conceived. In every district small traders have arisen, who 'discount their bills' largely, and with the capital so borrowed, harass and press upon, if they do not eradicate, the old capitalist. The new trader has obviously an immense advantage in the struggle of trade. If a merchant have £50,000, all his own, to gain ten per cent. on it, he must make £5,000 a year, and must charge for his goods accordingly; but if another has only £10,000 and borrows £40,000 by discounts (no extreme instance in our modern trade), he has the same capital of £50,000 to use, and can sell much cheaper. If the rate at which he borrows be 5 per cent., he will have to pay £2,000 a year; and if, like the old trader, he make £5,000 a year, he will still, after paying his interest, obtain £3,000 a year, or 30 per cent. on his own £10,000. As most merchants are content with much less than 30 per cent., he will be able, if he wishes, to forego some of that profit, lower the price of the commodity and drive the old fashioned trader—the man who trades on his own capital—out of the market. In modern English business, owing to the certainty of obtaining loans on discount of bills, or otherwise, at a moderate rate of interest, there is a steady bounty on trading with borrowed capital, and a constant discouragement to confine your self solely or mainly to your own capital."

We commend Mr. Bagehot's book to all institutions in which Political Economy is studied. Nowhere else will they find so

clear, so succinct, and so attractive an account of the complicated world of Lombard Street.

THE POEMS OF CHARLES FENNO HOFFMAN. Collected and edited by his nephew, Edward Fenno Hoffman. Philadelphia: Porter & Coates. 1873.

In a modest and affectionate preface, the best of its kind we have seen this long time, his nephew offers again to the public, after an obscurity of twenty-five years, the poems of Charles Fenno Hoffman. They give evidence of a mind in the highest degree musical. Much poetry deeper and stronger has been written. Perhaps the author was too bright and versatile to attain his full excellence by labor. But he has couched fine though spontaneous sentiment in finished verse. Wine, woman and song, friendship, chivalry and devotion, after the manner of Moore, come warm from his heart; not in a style didactic, but in lyrics as much music as they are poetry. It is the temper which, when the two were never separated, inspired minnesingers and troubadours. Two stanzas from "The Hunt is Up" show unusual merit of versification:

"The hunt is up—
The merry woodland shout,
That rung these echoing glades about,
An hour agone,
Hath swept beyond the eastern hills,
Where, pale and lone,
The moon her mystic circle fills;
Awhile across her slowly reddening disk,
The dusky larch,
As if to pierce the blue o'erhanging arch,
Lifts its tall obelisk."

"And now from thicket dark,
And now from mist-wreathed river
The fire-fly's spark
Will fitful quiver,
And bubbles round the lily's cup
From lurking trout come coursing up,
Where stoops the wading fawn to drink:
While scared by step so near,
Uprising from the sedgy brink
The clanging bittern's cry will sink
Upon the hunter's ear;
Who, startled from his early sleep,
Lists for some sound approaching nigher—
Half-dreaming, lists—then turns to heap
Another fagot on his fire,
And then again, in dreams renewed,
Pursues his quarry through the wood."

There is one most excellent reason for reading these poems and taking a genuine pleasure in them. They were written when American literature was fighting its way into existence, and when

there was small encouragement for one in this country to try his fate in the career of letters. Irving, Bryant and Longfellow had somewhat of courage in standing up before the world as Transatlantic writers, and if not their equal, it is a fact all the same that the author of the book before us was one of them, as a kindly and eulogistic letter from Bryant to the editor testifies.

THE FAIR GOD; OR, THE LAST OF THE TZINS. A tale of the Conquest of Mexico. By Lew Wallace. Boston: Jas. R. Osgood & Co. 1873.

The chief divinity in the Aztec mythology was Quetzal, or the Fair God. For some reason he departed from among his people, leaving the promise that he would one day return. In Cortez and his fair-faced followers, the Aztecs saw the promise fulfilled, and this connection of the religious tradition with the conquest is here woven into an historical tale.

A book whose principal characters stagger under such names as Guatamozin, Iztlitl, Cuitlahua, who draw on all occasions the terrible maquahuitl, and who worship Huitzilopotchli, attired in the tilmatl or national dress-coat, cannot be counted on for family entertainment; but the single reader will derive from it much accurate and interesting information. He will enjoy a vivid and, as reference to Prescott will verify, a correct picture of the Aztecan civilization. The manners, religion and history of this extraordinary race, thrown into an almost continuous conversation, present the added charms of fiction. In these respects the merits of the book are very great. But it is simply a story. There is no study of character, and we rise up from it more with the feeling of those who have listened to the tales of a traveler than of those who have been moved by the contemplation of great men and women. As might be expected from one of his profession, General Wallace is strongest in battle and in men. The capture of Montezuma by Senor Hernan, the conspiracy to free him while worshiping in the temple, the battle of the Noche Triste, are powerful and life-like. Had the author confined himself to such scenes he would have individualized the book. But either deeply convinced that he is a lover of nature and has a nature for love, or desirous to show that he can write finely in any vein, he has given us much like this, page 71: "The air was soft, balmy, and pleasant, and the illumination mellowed as if the morning were shut out by curtains of gossamer tinted with roses and gold." Page 163: "Nenetzin's face * * * he thought outshone the lamplight, the flowers, and everything most beautiful about his path; her eyes were as stars, rivalling the insensate ones in the mead above him." 120: "So their past lives had vanished like two summer clouds, borne away by a soft south wind." In places like these, O for the swing of the maquahuitl and the sound of attabals and conchs!

The Aztecs built their temples as did the Incas in Peru, and as Nebuchadnezzar built his hanging gardens, in rising terraces. The author seems to send his characters up and down these for the especial purpose of using the word "clomb." Another affectation is the placing of the verb at the beginning of the sentence: "cursed he the infidels, prayed he the return of Cortez." General Wallace has certainly achieved what few men do: a success outside of his calling. But the great American novel has yet to be written. In expressing our regret that he has not made a theme hitherto untouched and so suited to his power, more short and homogeneous, we hope that our estimate of the work as highly interesting and accurate, will not be overlooked.

WILDE'S SUMMER ROSE; OR, THE LAMENT OF THE CAPTIVE. An authentic account of the origin, mystery and explanation of Hon. R. H. Wilde's alleged plagiarism. By Anthony Barclay, Esq. Savannah. 1871.

In this handsome volume the Georgia Historical Society perpetuates Mr. Wilde's poem, entitled The Summer Rose, and the literary war that followed its publication. The former, without needing it, deserves the compliment which cannot be said of the latter. It was carried on in newspaper English—and Irish—of 1834: favete linguis. The poem was published in the year 1815, sometime after it was written, without Mr. Wilde's knowledge, and quite contrary to his wishes. On account of his reticence, it became to some extent filius nullius, and perhaps this encouraged the claim to its authorship, made in 1834 for O'Kelly, occasionally referred to in the narrative as "the Swan of Killarney," "the far-famed author of the curse of Doneraile," etc. Merely to add to the mystification of certain of his friends, Mr. Barclay, of Savannah, translated the Summer Rose into Greek, and passed it off as a fragment of Alcaeus. This got into print in the year 1835, and the vigor of the war was renewed by the champions of O'Kelly and Alcaeus, Mr. Wilde receiving a Benjamin's share of blows. The claims of Alcaeus were first put to rest by the late Horace Binney, who showed that the Greek of the ode in question was of a much later period, and the whole matter, by the confession of Mr. Barclay, that he himself had written it. He now comes forward as the historian of the affair, and surely no one knows more about this tempest in a tea-pot. But in this review of a review we ought not to forget the subject of both. The poem is beautifully simple, natural and touching, and deserves all its popularity. To prove him capable of writing it, Mr. Barclay gives other specimens of Mr. Wilde's powers. These are the most damaging features of the case, and will convince the reader that the author of the Summer Rose occupies among poets the place of single-speech Hamilton among orators.

THE

PENN MONTHLY.

MARCH, 1874.

THE MONTH.

THE event of the month in foreign politics has been the fall of the Liberal Ministry. Ever since the defeat of Mr. Gladstone on the Irish university bill, his power has been of a most uncertain kind. The mistakes which he has made from time to time have lessened his control over his own party, whilst the peculiarities of his temper have alienated many of his followers. Mr. Lowe, who shares with Mr. Ayrton the doubtful honor of being the most unpopular man in England, would be a load for any ministry to carry, and has certainly contributed to break down the late government. It must be admitted that Mr. Gladstone himself has shown at the most important moments singular inability to control himself, and of course corresponding inability to control the House. He has more than once strained the prerogatives of office to accomplish ends not always too desirable, and it has required all the discipline of the party to bring his followers up to the point of supporting some of his measures, of which the appointment of Sir R. P. Collier might be cited as an instance. Finding his majority slipping away from him rapidly and apparently failing to appreciate the force of the Conservative re-action of which the Tory newspapers were full, the Prime Minister rushed upon an appeal to the country. The manner of proceeding was unfortunate. He kept his design a secret most inviolable. No one

outside of the members of the cabinet seems to have dreamed of the contemplated move until one morning all England was roused to intense excitement by an address from Mr. Gladstone, dissolving Parliament and ordering a general election. The very suddenness of this, and the secrecy with which the preparations were made, had a bad effect, and contributed to defeat the end it had in view. It had the appearance of a *coup d'etat*, if parliamentary one, but still it was unusual and un-English thus to spring a general election upon the country within eight days of the re-assembling of Parliament. It offended the English feeling of fair play, and smacked too much of continental state-craft, and no doubt aroused in the breast of many a voter a feeling of opposition to the author of it. Though taken by surprise, the Conservatives rallied at once, and entered with great vigor into the canvass. After a short contest they were very successful, and the new Parliament will consist of 351 Conservatives and 302 Liberals, among whom, too, there are two or three factions represented, the Irish Home Rulers claiming over forty representatives. Mr. Gladstone and his colleagues at once resigned, and Mr. Disraeli (or as the Philadelphia *Age* hath it, "Lord" Disraeli) is at this writing engaged in forming his Cabinet. It will be a strong one, for his differences with the Marquis of Salisbury and the Earl of Carnarvon have been settled, and those noblemen, with Lord Derby, take the chief places in the Ministry. The return of the Tory party is a very important event, but it is not to be expected that its tenure of office will be long. The causes of the re-action which has defeated Mr. Gladstone are many and peculiar, and not such as are likely to continue. Out of office he will be stronger with his own party than he was while in, and opposition will unite the various elements which make up the Liberal strength. On the other hand, the Conservatives are by no means a unit, and their ablest leaders, with the exception of Disraeli, are banished to the Upper House, which is too long a range from the battlefield of English politics for even the biggest guns. Power in England, as well as here, is a sad disintegrator of parties, whilst the cold shades of opposition seem to check the growth of dissensions and to unite all men in the common cause. It is far easier to attack than to defend, and Mr. Gladstone, relieved of the burden of his unpopular and blundering colleagues, will have fewer chances now to

display the weaknesses or make the mistakes which have frittered away one of the largest majorities with which an English ministry ever began its work, and finally driven the Liberal party out of office.

NOT the least welcomed of the great men who in these latter days have come to visit the Trans-Atlantic audience to whom they have talked and for whom they have written, is Charles Kingsley. The work that he has done for the masses has endeared him to every mind capable of generous emotions. The literary men have received him, as is their wont, with large oysters and suppers, and the usual item of speeches. Fortunately, he is one of the Englishmen who can hold his own with his tongue quite as well as with his pen. Such visits are of immense importance, if for nothing else, as affording an excuse or an occasion for men of high tastes to meet together and know each other better. A great deal of indigestible food at a late hour is a good thing if it strengthens the ties and sympathies of the genius that is diffused, sometimes almost without shape and void, over our continent. This is what does not happen in thickly populated countries with recognized centres, and fellowships, and endowments. The United States has not had leisure enough yet to rise, we use the word in no invidious sense, above the sphere of the practical.

THE tremendous effervescence of spirit that took place in the navy department during the Virginius affair has blown itself off in a grand naval drill in Florida Bay. Twenty-nine sail—which figurative expression includes Monitors—performing peaceful evolutions in the immediate neighborhood will create a feeling of relief at the Morro castle. As the drill is to last until February 28th, we ought to be thoroughly informed in regard to the efficiency of our service. And certainty upon such a point must be considered as important by lovers of peace as by the stern dogs of war. The extended connections of the United States necessitate a respectable national patrol on the high seas. During the war we were at least in the front rank of naval powers, but there are now those who maintain that not only is our material far behind the times, but that the American seaman can no longer be trusted. In the days of torpedo-science, naval architecture is

subject to as many changes as ladies' bonnets, so that perhaps the most needed information to be derived from the drill is whether we produce thoroughly trained officers and obedient men.

THE fate of the Centennial Exhibition will be decided in a few days. The necessity for national aid apparent to many from the first has become at last evident to all, and upon the action of the Senate in passing or rejecting the measure passed by the House authorizing the President to invite foreign nations, and formally make the general government responsible as it has practically always been, the success or failure of the celebration must depend. Everything that Philadelphians and Pennsylvanians as private citizens can do has been done. A large amount of money has been subscribed and an immense amount of work already accomplished. But it is impossible for one city or one state to carry the load alone. There is nothing local in the proposed exhibition; the responsibility belongs to the whole country, and though the weight of both labor and expense rests chiefly upon Philadelphia and Pennsylvania, both should be shared by other states and cities. The trouble evidently is that the course of public affairs has vigorously excluded from public service the men who appreciate the proposed celebration, and made it necessary to fall back upon a class to whom the idea which it expresses is but sickly sentiment, and the occasion nothing but an opportunity to make money, and the ordinary habits of American money-getting life have not fostered among the people that feeling which leads them to see the proposed celebration in the light of a patriotic duty and its failure as a national disgrace. Our appearance as a nation, too, at Paris and Vienna, has not been such as to arouse in the effete monarchies or groaning serfs of Europe any unbounded confidence in our manner of carrying on such a work, and we are suffering from the consequences of our own sins. One would naturally imagine that where there were Revolutionary memories and men descended from the leaders of Revolutionary times, there would be unbounded enthusiasm for the Centennial, and that among our newly made citizens of foreign birth little feeling would be found to exist. The reverse, strangely enough, seems to be the case. The West is alive with enthusiasm, and the South shows its interest in a hundred ways, while the East, and especially New York

and New England, are either lukewarm in its favor or frigid in opposition. The conduct of Philadelphia has not been altogether what could have been wished, but she has done enough to have merited generous aid from the rest of the country, and it is devoutly to be hoped that the Senate of the United States will avert from the nation the disgrace which will follow the failure of the Centennial. For disgrace national and lasting it will surely be if we thus prove that we have not public spirit enough left in us as a people to celebrate the Centennial anniversary of the events of 1776. Whatever of patriotism has been suffered to remain in the land should be aroused in behalf of the Centennial. If it succeed the glory will belong to all alike, if it fail they who have done all they could to help it, though they share the disappointment, need not feel ashamed—it is for them to feel disgraced who have done nothing.

It seems rather late to speak of the last appointment to the chief justiceship, but it has been made since the last number of the Monthly was issued. After the recall of Mr. Cushing's name there was a lull of a day or two, when the President sent in the name of Morrison R. Waite, of Ohio. The inquiry which seems so naturally to follow the announcement of General Grant's appointments to high places, "who is he?" which in this case sprang to every lip, seemed to meet with an answer re-assuring enough. He is a graduate of Yale, in the same class with Mr. Evarts, with whom he was associated at Geneva, and a man of rather more than fifty years of age. His professional reputation has been confined to the neighborhood of Toledo, in which place he has lived for many years, and where he is understood to be esteemed. It is rather significant that though one of the American counsel at Geneva, he made so little figure before the Tribunal as to be quite forgotten afterward, and he is said never to have argued a case before the court over which he is called upon to preside. The Senate when bearing in mind its experience of the other nominations, no doubt did a wise thing in confirming the appointment; there might have been many worse ones made, and there was no hope of any better. It does seem unfortunate that the President should resolutely overlook the leaders of the bar to choose a chief justice from among the rank and file. There are many eminent

lawyers whose nomination would have fitly crowned long years of labor and great talents devoted to the practice of the law, and it is not improper to say that Mr. Waite is not one of these. In England men of ability and high character are reasonably certain sooner or later to win the highest honors of the profession. In America the more eminent they become the more likely are they to see themselves forgotten and passed by. Our political system is rather one of punishments than of rewards, and its tendency certainly is to drive great talents out of public life. It was the strength of President Lincoln that he rarely took his hand from the pulse of the people, and made himself on all occasions the exponent of their will. It is the weakness of President Grant that he is either carelessly ignorant or culpably regardless of the popular feeling, and acts half the time in direct opposition to it. Nothing should impair in this country the remembrance of his great services in time of war, but systematic blunders in time of peace may after a while break down and destroy even the greatest military reputation.

THE Siamese twins are dead. Chang, the larger, had been ailing for some time, and died suddenly at night. Within two hours Eng had followed him. After the first paroxysm of grief was over the families of the curious pair began to reflect how their parents might be made useful even in death, and accordingly deposited them without the unnecessary formalities of a funeral in a hole in the cellar, and filled it up with charcoal. From this tomb the famous twins have been raised by the enterprise of some well-known medical gentlemen of Philadelphia, and after a parting from their families, in which grief and greenbacks were rather curiously mixed, the widows of both yielding to the inexorable demands of science—have journeyed to Philadelphia and taken up their abode among the horrors of the Museum of the College of Physicians. There, night after night, they have remained for a week past, awakening the enthusiasm of the scientific mind as the surgeon's knife explores the innermost parts of that strange link which has united them for more than sixty years. Just what it was like and how formed, whether death would have followed a separation or not, and whether Eng died of fright or otherwise, are interesting questions to us all, and we shall soon be thoroughly

enlightened. The gentlemen whose energy and promptness secured this treasure to science, deserve unbounded thanks. Amid all the unutterably awful nuts which Medical Science has rejoiced to crack, there surely has not been in our time a sweeter thing than Eng and Chang.

THE United States, however dependent on foreign nations for other things, can boast the latest and greatest *spectacles* in finance. In the heat of the discussion as to the best manner of legislating ourselves rich and returning to a gold basis by the magic of a statute, the Sanborn contracts were brought up for investigation. It seems that the method of farming the revenues which finds such respectable precedent in early Roman history, and in the times that preceded the French revolution, has been put into operation by the government. Under the legislative, executive, and judicial appropriation bill, approved May 1, 1872, contracts were made with General Sanborn, John Clark and Malcolm Campbell to discover and report delinquent taxes on railroad dividends, successions, and legacies, at the nominal consideration of fifty per cent. of the amount of such taxes when collected. These gentlemen catalogued the delinquents in a manner that smacks of the supernatural, or at least gives proof of special facilities not within the command of the revenue department.

The length of the lists that they have furnished, indicates that their services as experts will be magnificently profitable to themselves. Men will always be found to criticise as a business measure the expense of supporting a department to collect these taxes, and then dividing them with volunteers. At all events, their success has made the contractors the object of investigation, and produced a school of affidavits, disclaimers, and insinuations that are quite appalling. The historical parallel we hinted at is seriously departed from in this. But as it has never been alleged that General Sanborn is in the habit of driving over babies in the street, and throwing a piece of gold—we are thinking of other days—to its parents, he certainly does not deserve the guillotine.

THE tendency to exaggerate is as marked in bad things as in good. Not only are our own crows white, but our enemy's are, if

such a thing can be, "dark-black." This fact will comfort any, one who reads the alarmist newspaper accounts of frauds, rings, and corruption. There is a great deal of it, no doubt; but there is not as much as some would have us believe. That, to speak most moderately, it does not all go unpunished, is to be learned from the conviction of George O. Evans. After a long trial, a verdict of almost $200,000 has been brought against him in favor of the State, and this in the face of the sympathy felt for his utter prostration in health. The war, and the loose dealings and contracts that are inseparable from so critical and feverish a period, produced an army of philosophic pilferers from the public. The thorough and systematic way in which many of them have been hunted down gives evidence that dishonesty is not a necessary feature of Republican government—at least the dishonesty that goes unrebuked.

THE late contest for the mayorality is in some things the most remarkable, and in all respects the most brilliant, which Philadelphia has ever seen. Immediately after the election of the 16th of December the friends of the new constitution were full of rejoicing, and its enemies correspondingly despondent. The latter had arrayed themselves against it, fought its adoption by every means in their power, and heard, as they thought, and most men then agreed with them, the death-knell of their political power in the cheers which greeted its adoption. It introduced reforms against which they had been struggling for many a year; it made the municipalities comparatively independent; it destroyed the capacities for evil of the legislature; it was thought to render fraud difficult to perpetrate and easy to detect, to insure comparatively fair elections, and to lessen the opportunities for plunder. And more than this, the chief rulers of Philadelphia had been caught in the mayor's office, at 2 o'clock on the 16th of December, in the act of changing the returns of the votes cast on that day. The prospect for future power looked for them dark and inauspicious, and for a week or two they were dispirited in the extreme. But gradually they took heart. The Reformers and others, including the great mass of the Democrats and a large portion of the Republicans who had united in the adoption of the new law, seemed willing to rest upon their laurels and do nothing. There was

much talking done and a little work, but a variety of counsels divided them, and the weeks went by. The honest men of the Republican party, many of whom were called leaders by courtesy, or because of past and almost forgotten influence (as one who has been once in Congress is always called "the Honorable" to the end of his days), were full of very bold talk in private and very guarded talk in public about the inevitable reform in the party. The Reformers, unused to being on the winning side, were either satisfied and sanguine, or differed among themselves as to what should be done. The Democrats, stirred, too, by the unusual sensation of victory, began to look upon the vote of December 16th as somehow or other a Democratic triumph, and as the first of the miracles which were to be wrought in behalf of the Democracy, which all men had anticipated, though so many prophets and kings had died without the sight. With each day the spirits of the men who had so long ruled Philadelphia rose to a higher point. They worked ceaselessly, and without noise. They canvassed here and there, consulted, planned and laid their wires with the skill of long experience. Little by little they grew stronger and more confident, until at last, believing that the opposition could not find a candidate to rally upon, they proceeded to re-nominate all the present incumbents, not one of whom, three or four weeks before, seemed to have a chance. The regular nomination, by the Crawford county rules, at which a few gentlemen counted up for unopposed candidates in a few hours 48,000 votes, tied the hands and sealed the lips of most of the great men of the party. Those who had had and hoped for more, those who had still and wished to keep, and those who had not but hoped to have, all alike bowed their foreheads in submission. The mass of the party grumbled, and one or two newspapers spoke out impulsively, but in a few days held their peace and watched. The audacity, as it seemed, of the re-nomination of the active enemies of the new constitution, within a month of their detection in the act of manipulating the votes of the people in the inner sanctuary of the mayor of Philadelphia, stimulated the opposition into action. Meantime the Reformers had not been idle. Various names were taken up, discussed, and laid down again. Some unobjectionable gentlemen were spoken to, and declined to allow their names to be used. There was a most pitiable lack of men for the emergency.

The systematic exclusion from public service, for at least a generation, of men of ability and force of character showed at this time its fruit. There were in Philadelphia, as all men know, many persons of brains and character who would have been suitable, but no one could lay his hand on any, and say this is the man. Driven at last by the near approach of the election, the Reformers, Independent Republicans and Independent Democrats united in a letter to Mr. W. E. Littleton, asking him to become a nonpartisan candidate for the mayorality. The Democratic convention then met and nominated its former candidate, Mr. J. S. Biddle, an unexceptionable man, turning a deaf ear to the arguments of those who urged the acceptance of Mr. Littleton. Mr. Biddle not being at once supported by the Reform organization forthwith declined, and Mr. Littleton finding his chance of Democratic support to be lost followed his example. The Regular Republicans at once considered the battle won, and the Democrats became disheartened. Six days passed, during which great efforts were made by the Reformers to find a man to fill the breach. But their standard was very high, and there were innumerable tastes to suit, and the thing could not be done. At length the Democrats took the matter in their own hands. Re-assembling their convention on the 28th of January, they recommended the nomination by the people of Mr. A. K. McClure, and adjourned. This action created great excitement, and at once rendered the Republican success doubtful. At a mass meeting on January 31st, Mr. McClure was nominated formally, and accepted the honor in a speech of remarkable ability and power, and the brief and memorable campaign was at once opened. From that time until the 17th of February Philadelphia was in a turmoil of excitement. Mr. McClure's energy and force, joined with courage, eloquence and unusual powers of sarcasm, drew to his support varied elements and aroused unusual enthusiasm among the people. A large majority of the Democratic party, nine-tenths of the Reformers, and many Independent Republicans took up his cause. Many who cared nothing for the man himself saw in his success an opportunity to break up the "Ring" whom he nightly attacked with extraordinary power, and accordingly labored earnestly to secure it. The *Press*, the *Evening Herald* and the *Germantown Chronicle*, took up the cudgels on the same side. On the other hand were arrayed all the other

newspapers, both Republican and lately Democratic, the organization of the Republican party, all of its rank and a majority of its file, the officeholders, the negroes, many well-iutentioned citizens, to whom Mr. McClure's ability was very alarming, still more who believed him to be a very improper character, both in private and public life; Republicans who opposed him because he was the Democratic candidate, and Democrats who could not endure him because he was a Republican, and who vehemently believing that no good could come to themselves, or the city, or the country, or the party, except by the election of a straightout Democrat, voted with characteristic logic for the Republican candidate; and finally, some of the leading Reformers, to whom Mr. McClure was personally distasteful. Among these last was Mr. H. C. Lea, the president of the Reform Association, who has labored with great zeal to build up an opposition to the "Ring," but who distrusting Mr. McClure, and believing that his election would not be a triumph of true reform, opposed it with great earnestness, and in a letter to Mr. Addicks (which was read at a public meeting by Mr. Littleton, who by this time had returned from wandering after strange nominations, and whose defection had been condoned, if neither forgotten nor forgiven,) describes Mr. McClure as "a reckless political adventurer," and himself as "earnestly" desiring "the success of Mr. Stokley."

Besides these two parties, strange to say, there was a third, and this time it was unusually large. Many thousand men of both political parties could not make up their minds which side to take. The character and surroundings of Mr. Stokley were distasteful to them, and yet so terrible were the reports of Mr. McClure's shortcomings that they could not feel confidence in him, and so between the two horns of the dilemma stood an embarrassed multitude, which, although the vote was very large, swelled the number of that peculiarly American party of conscientious stay-aways to unprecedented proportions. The McClure party, under the lead of the candidate, attacked with unexampled vigor and ability; the Stokley side, after a few sharp demonstrations, changed its policy and worked by different means. It was a struggle between enthusiasm and organization, and the latter triumphed, as it generally will. On election day the First ward and the Tenth were literally taken possession of by repeaters, and the Democratic

districts, under the lead of statesmen like Mr. William McMullin and the Honorable Samuel Josephs, declined to give the usual Democratic majorities. The command of unlimited means enabled the Stokley party to scatter messengers and extras of newspapers with imaginary returns in every quarter of the city. A panic was thus produced, and the innumerable company of men upon the fence, hesitating how to exercise the inalienable right of freemen, jumped down with one accord upon the Stokley side. In a poll of nearly 111,000 the Republican candidate had about 11,000 majority. It has become so customary after elections in this country for the defeated party to raise the cry of fraud that it has quite lost its significance, and seems to be a sequel of every political contest. In this case, however, the fraud was not of the kind with which we have become familiar under the registry law; it was perpetrated rather through personation and repeating than by a false count, though in some cases where the minority inspector could be bought, that also was indulged in, but it is not reassuring to find that the safeguards which the new constitution was supposed to throw about the ballot do not avail to secure to Philadelphia a fair and free election. It is doubtful, however, whether an election can be held in a large city without the commission of fraud, for we hear at the present of much trouble arising from it in England, and in France elections are no purer than elsewhere. So ended the most brilliant contest of which Philadelphia has been the scene, and at this writing the triumph of those who opposed the new constitution, and were sixty days ago wearing sackcloth and ashes, their knees knocking together under them for fear, seems complete. The most peculiar feature of the case is the want of enthusiasm with which the success of "the Ring" is hailed by its most respectable supporters. It is a victory over which there has been little exultation, a triumph over which there have been even tears. And of course there is already much of the usual after election talk of reform within the party. Had the reform candidate been a man of Mr. Biddle's known character, he would have secured the vote of a large class who were either neutral in this contest or openly hostile to Mr. McClure; but then he would perhaps have lacked the latter's ability and eloquence, and his power of inspiring enthusiasm. The lawyer who would refuse to try a cause unless

the testimony and the facts were exactly such as he could wish, would find little employment in the courts, and the politician who would work out a great and needed reform, and yet remain unwilling to accept much good that is attainable because it falls below the standard of an unattainable ideal, will accomplish little for humanity. Many to whom Mr. McClure's career as an active politician was distasteful, voted against him, without remembering that they were contributing to the success of men of whom the world said no better things, and who while the former was struggling manfully in the Senate in behalf of all reforms were as resolutely engaged in opposing and defeating them. And if Mr. McClure be a wicked man, the exclusion of one bad man from power is no great gain for good, if it mean the success and triumph of a score who are no better. But laymen as well as doctors must agree to disagree. In any event, so long as the Republican party and its best and ablest men are controlled by its present managers, and the Democratic party continues to cling to its idols, and Reformers in their search for angels to refuse the help of men, the result could not be far different. The opportunity to renew the struggle on as favorable terms cannot be expected very soon.

TEMPERANCE PLANS AND POSSIBILITIES.

THE temperance movement in Ohio and Indiana, under the lead apparently of Dr. Dio Lewis, is taking the form of a mild, moral and religious epidemic, not unlike the religious revivals which in this country accompany periods of mercantile disaster and depression. The machinery by which "revivals" are "got up" is very freely employed; the people of each town are carefully worked up to the right degree of fervor by sermons, prayer-meetings and private conferences throughout the churches of the place; and the heat thus elicited is brought to a focus in a union meeting of all the churches, at which a two-fold committee is appointed, one of men to hold and protect the purse, the other of women to besiege the liquor-sellers with prayer, hymns, entreaties, exhortations and the other forms of "moral

suasion" at their disposal. Where the sinner does not surrender at sight and promise to stop his traffic, prayer-meetings are organized—in the bar-room if the victim will let them, on the pavement in front of his place of business if he is too surly. A very large measure of such success as was expected has attended this plan of operations. We hear of towns in which all but a single dealer has surrendered; others in which not a single "grocery" is now open. But we hear, also, of ungallant and case-hardened sinners who stand out against all the artillery brought to bear upon them. It is notable that this class are mostly, if not always, Germans. It is said that a prayer-meeting has been held for weeks in front of one liquor-selling place, Sundays and week days, fair weather and foul, from five o'clock in the morning till ten at night, but with no result.

One effect of these operations is the temporary suspension of the traffic. Most men prefer to go without their "pizen" rather than run such a gauntlet. The westerner is especially likely to act act the modest part, and stay away from "the corner" till the storm is over. For woman—as may be seen by the success of the movement, and by a thousand lesser signs familiar to those who have traveled much beyond the Alleghanies—holds an exceptional position in western society. A crowd of the wildest roughs that you can gather into a western railway car, will cease their coarse talk and horse-play jests if a woman enter the car. This is largely owing to the rougher, free and easy style of western life; largely it is a tradition from the times when western life was far ruder than at present. In an era when the feminine qualities of gentleness, tenderness and quiet dignity are generally wanting in men, women become a species of divinity as their sole representative. Hence the deference shown to women in the wild days of the age of chivalry. But when the masculine character partakes of woman's refinement, with or without a loss of its native strength, woman ceases to hold an exceptional position. She may be more valued as a companion; she is less worshiped as a divinity. Now even if we grant that the end aimed at in this movement is excellent, and the means adopted are worthy of it, still it may fairly be doubted if these energetic western women are acting wisely in staking their prestige upon such an experiment.

The uneducated western German does not share in this western

chivalry. He has learned his estimate of woman in Europe; he looks upon his wife as a child under tutelage, and if all tales be true does not hesitate to administer bodily chastisment for her faults, without in any way impairing their mutual good understanding. He has not much faith in hymns or prayer-meetings; it would take a long education to make the highly technical phraseology of the ordinary American religionist intelligible to him. He just smokes his pipe and waits—in a quiet, stolid resistance to "moral suasion" that bodes ill for the permanent success of the movement.

The rum-sellers have to fight their battles single-handed, although a very large part of the community are in cordial sympathy with them. Right or wrong, the shape that the temperance movement has taken has created a public sentiment against this class, that even the opponents of the movement do not care to face. The consequent proscription of their class and their profession, has made them as a rule—there are many exceptions—the same sort of men as the publicans of the Roman empire. Their life, as a rule, is sordid, vulgar, selfish to a degree. They fight their battles with any weapons that come readily to hand. Nobody cares to make common cause with "the rummies," as their enemies call them, however little sympathy he may have with those enemies. The abolition of the class would be regarded by nine men out of ten as no great loss to the community, and a decided gain as regards the purity of our politics.

The only sensible attempt to solve the problem of the liquor traffic that we know of is the Swedish one. 'Till recently every family in Sweden could distill its own brandy, and paid no duty on it. Since the abolition of this privilege, and the consequent establishment of public houses, a united effort has been made, with the help of the government, to check the gross intemperance of the people. The number of public houses in a given district, the days and hours at which they are to be open, and the conditions under which they may sell, are all fixed by law, and the privilege of opening these is disposed of at public auction. An association of the friends of temperance buy the privilege, and keep these houses in their own hands. Pure liquors only are sold, and coffee and other beverages are to be had over the same counter. Rooms are kept pleasant and cheerful; innocent games and news-

papers are furnished their guests, and every care is taken to make the place one to which the workingman can bring his family and meet his neighbors socially. On the other hand, it is the purpose of the managers to restrain rather than promote intemperance. The counter is not covered with raisins, pretzels, salt crackers and other provocatives of thirst. Men are not pressed to drink, and the man who has had "enough" can have no more at that time. The net profits are expended on works of local charity. At least one Scottish burgh was to petition Parliament, at the last session, for leave to establish the same system; with what success we have not heard.

Whether such a system would be feasible with us, depends upon the constitution and strength of the parties into which the community is divided upon this question. If enough of those who play the *role* of indifference either possess, or can be awakened to, a real interest in the matter, and enough of those who act with the temperance men are really temperate in their opinions, a middle party might easily be formed to carry out the plan. Two parties would fight it as for very life, knowing that its success would be their destruction. The total abstainers and the "rummies" would join hands for once.

THE COMMUNISMS OF THE OLD WORLD.

THIRD PAPER.

THE period of the Renaissance, the Reformation, and of the religious wars, was one in which archbishops, monks and chancellors could spin Utopist romances with impunity. The theory of man's natural character, current at that time, was such as to prevent men from laying any undue stress upon external arrangements and social methods, as helps or hindrances to the progress of the race. Neither statesmen nor churchmen believed in human perfection or perfectibility. The former went for lessons to Machiavelli, and thought there was a fair share of truth in the philosophy of the *Principe*. The latter held tenaciously to the doctrine of the inherent corruption of human nature, and the

necessity of Divine grace to effect the very limited transformation that was attainable in this life.

When we reach the eighteenth century, however, we come upon a period in which a decidedly different theory of human nature was prevalent—a time when all but a few strong heads, like Frederick the Great, were firm in the faith of the natural goodness of mankind. The poor *genus homo,* after centuries of abuse and fault-finding, found itself all at once canonized. The ugly charges scored against it by Christian theology were wiped out; the cynical estimates of it recorded by politicians were denied with a fervent and not ignoble eloquence. "It had faults to be sure; it needed corrections and restraints still. But its faults were the fruit either of bad education or of unhappy circumstances. Let it be trained after the fashion of the *Emile,* and translated into a perfect social order, and these spots upon the sun of humanity would disappear forever."

The transition to this new stand-point was, of course, not a rapid one. It began in the theological sphere with the Socinians and the early Arminians,* who whittled down the blunt doctrine of natural depravity to the finest point possible. Then came the Lockian philosophy with its denial of all innate ideas and virtually of all innate qualities. Then followed in France, at least, the rise of a political school of reform, that having no historic precedents to plead in its favor, was forced to fall back upon the natural rights of mankind, and to construe existing institutions as artificial and unnatural. And so all obstacles to the new theory were swept away, and the state of nature was reconstructed by the imaginations of eloquent and popular philosophers as the golden age of the past.

Old age, dying nations, decrepit schools, hopeless men look back to the past alone for the golden age. Youth and hope look to the future for it. And so the most youthful and hopeful minds of the century were not content with the work of criticism and

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*We say "*early* Arminians," because those who now bear that name are as far from Grotius, Episcopius and their school in sympathy and general drift of thought, as pole is from pole. The only real point of agreement is that both reject the doctrine of unconditional predestination. Much of the fierceness of the Calvinistic opposition to Methodist Arminianism was due to this confounding under one name of two very different theological systems.

destruction. They would build on the ground thus cleared. They would not sit down content, like Voltaire and his set, with the effete conventionalities of existing society; they would gird up their loins and make bare their arm to build up a glorious future.

But how build it? Rousseau hoped for great results from the adoption of better educational methods. The *Emile* began that vast agitation for worthier training of the young, which has occupied the greatest minds in Europe and America, and has not ceased its advance. Others would go farther; they would lay their hands upon the edifice of society itself to reconstruct it according to the communistic models that antiquity was supposed to furnish (Morelly and Babeuf), or at least to establish very extensive restrictions upon the existing system in its worser features (Mably and Antoinelle).

To see how much of the current writing and thinking of that time favored communistic schemes, it will be worth while to quote from writers who were not communists. They show how earnestly men of great abilities went about the work of shaking public confidence in the whole edifice of society, and thus preparing a field of operations for the Utopists. This was begun by writers of the previous century. Puffendorf, in writing *Of the Law of Nature and of Nations*, describes the fanciful "state of nature" as one of equality and community of possessions, terminated by the social contract, and describes existing inequality as an injustice that brings in its train all the other inequalities, through the insolence of the rich and the degradation of the poor. John Locke, in his *Essay on Civil Government*, declares that whoever possesses more than he needs, passes the bounds of natural right and appropriates to himself what belongs of right to others. He alleges that all superfluity is a usurpation, and declares that the sight of the indigent should awaken compunction in the soul of the rich. The philosopher, in his view, must regard money as one of the most unhappy inventions of human skill. Pascal, in his Pensées, says: "'The dog is mine,' would say those poor children, or 'Here is my place in the sunshine.' Behold the beginning and the picture of the usurpation of the whole earth."

Was Rousseau so much an innovator when he wrote: "He who first inlosed a patch of earth, and had the skill to say, *This*

is mine, and found people simple enough to believe him, was the true founder of civil society. What wars, crimes, murders, miseries and horrors would he have spared the race of man, who, snatching away those stakes and levelling up the ditch, had cried to his fellows, 'Be on your guard against that imposter! You are lost if you forget that the fruits are for all, and that the earth belongs to no one!'"

"Men," he says elsewhere, "are equal in their rights. By nature all goods are common to all. Every one at first could take possession of whatever land he found unoccupied, as much of it as he needed and wished to cultivate himself.........In all cases society is always the sole owner of all property."

To society he ascribes, in words that anticipate Fourier, the origin of opposing interests and mutual hates. "There cannot be a man in comfortable circumstances, whose death is not secretly longed for by hungry heirs, frequently by his own children; nor a vessel on the sea whose shipwreck would not be good news to some man of business; nor a house that some debtor would not be glad to see burnt down with all the papers it contains; nor a people that would not be overjoyed at the disasters of its neighbors. The calamities of society are the hope of a multitude of individuals. Some long for epidemics, some for wide-spread mortality, some for a war, others for a famine." And yet he repudiates all desire to overturn society and restore the state of nature, or establish a better order of things upon the ruins.

Helvetius goes a little farther. He finds the origin of theft purely in circumstances, and discusses the remedy. "When, in any state, every citizen is a proprietor, the thefts are but few. If the great part, however, be without property, theft becomes a general vice. What remedy is there? The only one that occurs to me, is to multiply the number of proprietors, and make a new division of lands. But such a division is always hard to carry out." In view of the inequality of possessions, and the conflicts of interests, he thinks it would be well "to change insensibly the laws and the administration, and especially to suppress the use of money, as it facilitates the inequality of men's fortunes.........In countries where money has no currency, it is easy to encourage the talents and the virtues, and to proscribe the vices." In another country "all the vices, children of cupidity, introduce themselves at once, spread their infection to all its members, and

hasten its ruin." To reform existing society thoroughly, he would as far as possible get rid of the vast differences between the rich and poor. He would "diminish the wealth of the one class, and increase that of the others; secure some property to each and every citizen, and put the poor man in such a position of comfort, that no one need work more than seven or eight hours a day."

That Helvetius avows such opinions is even more significant than any like utterance of Rousseau's. If Jean Jacques was the social philosopher of the period, holding up an ideal before men's eyes and defending it with an eloquence and a brilliancy of argument and illustration never surpassed, Helvetius was the representative of polite opinion. His book, *De l'Esprit,* reflects the talk of the *salons* and the *cafes* of the French metropolis. It contains no opinion that would have shocked the refined society of his day. The upper classes of the old *régime* were playing with firebrands among casks of gunpowder on the eve of the explosion that sent them skyward. Even the legitimists and the monarchists followed the fashion. Linguet and Necker sing the same song as Rousseau and Mably; Turgot, Beccaria, Raynal, Diderot, Condorcet, Beccaria join in the chorus.

The most thorough and unflinching exposition of these views is to be found in a little treatise by Brissot de Warville, *Recherches philosophiques sur le Droit de Propriete et le Vol.* (1780). He accepts all the ideas of his age, and defends them with a candor and a precision without parallel, unless it be in the writings of De la Mettrie. If man's nature is thoroughly good, and his evils be only the result of circumstances, what shall we say of his passions and their indulgence? Our author is not afraid of consequences. "Man of nature be what you wish—follow your need; it is your only master, your only guide. Do you perceive a secret fire coursing through your veins at the sight of a lovely object? Do you perceive an agitation, a trouble in your being? Do you perceive impetuous impulses arising in your heart?.........Nature has spoken. That object is thine; enjoy it. Your caresses are innocent; your kisses are pure. Love is the sole title to pleasure, as hunger is to possession." *Voila* the logical outcome of the moral theories of the age.

As to property, in Brissot's view, the measure of our needs is the measure of our rights. Even in the state of nature and in the

animal world, no equality of possession exists. The philosophers who would establish equality as of natural right, would outrage nature. But the existing distribution is not natural. The poor man has less than his needs call for; the rich man more. The state should recognize no exclusive right that would prevent a rational distribution, "for exclusive property is in nature a robbery...... The thief in the state of nature is the rich man, he who possesses a superfluity. In society, the thief is he who strips the rich man. What a perversion of ideas." Brissot thus anticipates Louis Blanc and Proudhon.

None of these writers we have quoted are communists; even in suggesting a re-distribution of goods, they do not wish to abolish the right of personal property. They do not face the question whether that re-distribution would be final, or would require to be continually repeated.

M. Morelly, who published his *Basiliade* in 1753, and his *Code de la Nature* in 1755, is the first notable communist of this century. The former work is a Utopian romance describing an ideal community; the latter was virtually a defense of the former. For a long time it was ascribed to Diderot, both by those who replied to its arguments and those who strove to reduce its theory to action. The two works form a link between the old Utopists and the modern communists. The second of them enjoys the doubtful honor of having inspired the conspiracy of Babeuf, the last effort of the Jacobin faction to re-establish the terrorist *régime* in France.

Morelly is a man of his age. Its favorite notion that there is no radical evil in human nature,—that vice and crime are the fruit of circumstance and education—forms his starting-point. His problem is "to find a situation in which it will be almost impossible for a man to be depraved or wicked, or at least *minima de malis*." Morelly, as a pious deist, must believe that man comes perfect from the hands of God. It is our vicious and repressive institutions that render him evil. His passions are legitimate in their tendencies. If they seem to lead him into evil, be sure that it is our gloomy morality and our sour methods of education that are the real cause of the evil. The unwise order of society has excited the cupidity of mankind, by making life a very battle for existence. What correctives do they offer us for

these mischiefs that they have wrought? Voluminous treatises on morality, which we might entitle "The Art of Rendering Men Wicked and Perverse under Pretexts the most Specious;" and ponderous volumes on politics, that might be called "Means to Rule Men by Laws and Regulations better fitted to make them Fierce and Barbarous."

Community of goods (but not of wives) is the measure that alone can solve the problem proposed to us, and give full scope to the natural human sentiments of benevolence and sociability. Analyzing the list of evils that afflict society he finds he can reduce them all to one root—covetousness. The analysis might pass in that age, but if Morelly had lived two centuries earlier, he would have found some evil passions rampant in society, that *his* powers of analysis would hardly have traced back to that source. "But what is to replace self-interest as a motive to active industry, Monsieur Morelly?" Man's natural tendency is not to idleness and laziness, but to activity for its own sake. Where the former exist in society, they are the fruit of bad institutions, which have created a public opinion in favor of the *otium cum dignitate*. In nearly all these positions our author anticipates Fourier.

Morrelly closes his book with a system of law, by whose enactment the communistic ideal is to be realized. Like Bentham, he reduces morality to the science of legislation. The theology to be taught is a vague deism. The household is to be preserved intact, excepting liberty of divorce ten years after marriage; mothers are to nurse their own children. The state is divided into provinces, cities and tribes, each of the lower organizations, in its turn, supplying a head to the next above it, and every magistrate holding office for life.

But in this "situation, in which it is to be almost impossible for man to be depraved and wicked," the prison is not abolished, and for especially gross offenders a civil death is provided. They are to be inclosed in artificial caverns of strong masonry, lighted only by a heavy grating. Their site is to be in the public cemeteries, and their occupants once inclosed are to come forth no more. This fate is reserved for murderers, and for any one who has "sought by intrigue or otherwise, to abolish the established laws to the introduction of the detestable right of ownership."

Communism, forsooth, is the only natural form of society, but the most fearful punishments are needed to prevent the revolt of those who have tasted of its blessings. And the legislator who devises them, starts from the conviction of the natural goodness of man, and the legitimacy of his passions!

The Abbe de Mably is better known to us than Morelly, or at least was better known to our fathers. He was one of those French authors who evinced their liking for free institutions by defending the American colonies in their resistance to England. A thin, wiry intellect this, with abundance of shallow erudition and pedantic enthusiasm; deviser of books that once were read with some eagerness, but are now fallen utterly dead and unreadable for the most part. At first he was a legitimist, the secretary and protégé of a cardinal in the French ministry, wearing purple and fine linen and dwelling in great men's houses. His advice in matters of state—of war even—was found to have a measure of insight and wisdom in it; not common articles among the servants of French kings in that age. A quarrel with his patron put an end to his political career in a way very honorable to himself. He resisted the bigotry of the cardinal in some matters relating to the validity of a Protestant marriage, and with such vehemence, that they must part company. In scholarly solitude and meditation upon the great heroes of antiquity, his republican tendencies throve apace. He wrote a multitude of treatises which found readers and brought him reputation, if not cash—probably both. Men spoke of him and of Jean Jacques in the same breath. Rousseau was jealous of him, and charged him with having pillaged his ideas—not justly. Poland, then evidently in the last stages of its decline, invoked these two to come and decide her constitutional perplexities. Our Abbe painfully journeyed thither, but effected nothing. He was talked of as preceptor of the Dauphin, father of Louis XVI., but only until he set forth with great candor his views of education.

His historical works are chiefly devoted to showing that poor nations are great, virtuous and vigorous; rich ones weak, corrupt and tottering to their fall. Our new experiment in nationality was the only people poor and virtuous enough to be worth naming beside the republics of antiquity. His moral stand-point was exceedingly low; he seemed to have no conception of love save

as a brutal passion; no belief in the devotion to duty as a working principle. To admit either would have been to set aside his favorite principle of equality.

In 1768 Mercier de la Riviere, one of the school of *economistes* founded by the physician Quesnay, published a treatise on the *Ordre naturel et essential des Societies*, in which he maintained that absolute monarchy was the only form of government conformed to the nature and the needs of mankind. The adjective *naturel* in his book's title was a red rag flaunted before the eyes of every theorist of the time. DeMably replied in *Doutes sur l' Ordre, etc.*, in which his communistic principles are set forth for the first time. Sparta and Paraguay are his ideals now; everything depends on establishing equality of condition through the community of goods. "Can any one seriously doubt but that in a society where avarice, vanity and ambition are unknown, the least and lowest of its citizens would be more happy than our richest proprietors now are?" A magnificent begging of the question! Yet he did not propose to actually establish that happy state of nature on the soil of France. The prejudices are so deeply rooted, you know. There were, however, a great many half-way measures that he would like to see adopted—restrictions upon the increase of great fortunes and the like. Thus would he "prepare the citizens of a corrupted state to return to the laws of nature." He sets forth these in his *Traite de la Legislation* (1776). In all, he has his eye upon the (misunderstood) precedents of antiquity. But withal he is conservative; he will tolerate no atheist in his ideal state, and he regards it as a just cause of reproach to Plato that he wished to introduce community of wives. Neither he nor Morelly had seen deeply enough into the true constitution of society to apprehend the close connection that exists between the family and property. Any communistic organization that tolerates the form of property that man and wife have in each other and in their children, is doomed to dissolution. It cannot long concede the greater and reuse the less.

At the close of the Reign of Terror, when a considerable body of the Jacobins were in prison after the execution of their political chiefs, a copy of Morelly's *Code de la Nature* fell into the hands of one of them. He read it eagerly and showed it to one of his fellows. There was nothing in the book and its

plans that could repel or shock them. Its utter radicalism, its plans to reverse the whole constitution of society, chimed in with their mood of exasperation and tigerish wrath. They had heard many a speech from their old leaders that sounded like this; none just so definite and explicit in its proposals. Saint Just himself, when alive, had been a half-way communist like Mably. His *Fragmens sur les Institutions Republicains,* first given to the world in 1836 by M. Nodier, show us that his ideal of society was far more radical and socialist than any entertained by Robespierre, to whom he played jackal. He, too, finds in men's circumstances the root of human evil. Morals are the one thing worth striving for, but unattainable so long as men are impelled to covetousness. He would therefore establish not community of goods but poverty; he would abolish the arts and sciences as ill befitting the citizen, and reduce all men in the nation to agriculture.

The Jacobin to whom the *Code* was shown was Babeuf; both he and his friends, like many others of that time, accepted the book as the work of Diderot. They embraced its proposals with enthusiasm, and organized a two-fold society to secure their realization. The smaller and more secret organization, modeled after the *Comite de Salut Public,* plotted an insurrection against the new government; the larger consisted of those who were brought to adopt communistic opinions as the true philosophy of society, without being committed to any plan of action. The communistic propaganda was carried on vigorously. A journal, *le Tribun du People,* was published, and at least one statement of opinions, *la Doctrine de Babeuf,* was circulated in pamphlet form. Missionaries of the new faith spread it through Cafe and Faubourg with great zeal. Among the prominent members of the party were Sylvain de Marechal, author of the famous *Dictionnaire des Athees*; the Tuscan Philip Buonarotti, a descendant of Michel Angelo; and Antoinelle, who had belonged to the revolutionary tribunal. Between the latter and Babeuf a very serious difference of opinion existed. Antoinelle had grave doubts of the possibility of effecting so complete a transformation of society *per saltum;* like Mably, he would rather see the adoption of restrictive laws looking toward socialism. He went so far as to publish letters in two republican papers expressive of these views, and was answered by the *Tribun.*

When the old Jacobins in the movement felt strong enough to show their heads, they began to meet in club at the Pantheon. As the new laws forbade the organization of any such society, they had for a time no presiding officer, and no order of proceedings. Any one who could gather a group of hearers spoke, twenty or more declaiming at once. When times grew quieter, they became more confident of the indifference of the government, and established a formal organization. The leaders kept their plan of a grand *coup d'etat* steadily in view. As the time for it drew near, their movement was gradually shaped into a military organization in which some 17,000 armed men were enrolled, and among the commanders were numbered several of the political and military leaders of the Revolution, such as Gen. Rossignol. Their eagerness to secure the aid of military men caused their ruin. An officer with whom they sought to tamper betrayed their plans to the Directory. Seven of the principals were arrested, their papers seized, and the whole plan exploded in an instant. All its details were laid bare in the documents published at their trial, and their conspiracy was expiated on the scaffold.

Their plan had been completed down to the smallest detail. Proclamations had been printed; declarations of principle prepared by Marèchal; an economic code had been drafted by the committee of Insurrection. Nothing but a favorable moment was wanting. Their seizure before the word was given perhaps saved Paris from the horrors that seemed so imminent in 1848, and that fell upon her under the *régimè* of the *Commune* in 1870.

The natural right to absolute equality was the fundamental idea of the new movement. The Revolution had indeed established that in the political sphere, but had gone no further. Hence the profound dissatisfaction of the French people with its results. But in truth that Revolution was but the first step to a greater one—the establishment of equality of possessions. This natural state of society, would it abolish crime and fill all who lived in it with love for its good order? Babeuf had no more faith in its power to do so than Morelly. His code is loaded down with measures of restraint; the provision of numerous places of punishment is one of its most notable arrangements. Like all the rose-colored theories of the century of the *doctrinaires*, it ends in deeper red. The blood hue of the scaffold is in the long run its favorite tinge. The

age that prided itself on its broad humanitarianism, its wide and tender sympathies, its hatred of oppression and of cruelties, is the age of dungeons and of scaffolds beyond any other in the history of Christendom.

THE UTILITY OF GOVERNMENT GEOLOGICAL SURVEYS.

THE origin of geological surveys must be sought in the curiosity of mankind respecting the planet on which he rides, as on a chariot, through time and space. Men have desired to gaze with the eyes of their imagination at the round earth, as they have been gazing for thousands of years with untired wonder and pleasure at the moon. How splendid, how quaint an object would the world we live on look to an inhabitant of the moon? Artificial globes enable us to create this object. They are but the ripe fruit of the leafy tree of geography. To dissect this fruit and study its tissues, count its veins, trace its circulating fluids, develop the history of its past life, and learn the practical value of its material elements—*that* is to make a geological survey.

The curiosity of man once awakened, his artistic powers are set at exercise; then his understanding sits in judgment upon his work of art; his necessities push his inventive talents into all the fields of labor; and civilization is the product of the whole. Civilization! That means a nation observing truly, thinking judiciously, laboring economically, and living in peace and plenty.

I place the power of observation first. It gives the beginnings of useful knowledge, the means of progress toward a perfect state of society.

The curious but uncertain inquiries of the ancient geographers resulted in a mass of almost useless myths, a world of silly anecdotes. It was the boy-play of science.

The precise and exhaustive study bestowed by modern geologists is concentrating, consolidating, defining and completing for man a perfect idea of his large and copious ancestral estate, on which and by which he lives with a splendor of comfort, with resources of action, and with anticipations of a future, not to be thought of by Plato, Aristotle and Herodotus.

Why should I stand before you to-night to justify this modern manly mode of treating things? It justifies itself. It has come about in the regular course of ages. It is the destined progress of human society. It is the seal of civilization. It makes the common man of the ninteenth century equal to the princes of the world. It has carried the western nations to a pitch of wealth and power from which they look out over the sleeping East with pitying contempt. It has filled Europe and America with cities more splendid and powerful than Thebes, Babylon, Antioch, and Rome ever could have made themselves. It has covered continents with railroads dug out of a thousand mines; strewed the oceans with iron steamers born of blast furnaces as high as old baronial towers. It lights the homes of Europe with an annual export of 5,000,000 barrels of oil sucked from the rocks a thousand feet below the river beds of Pennsylvania; and it gathers to the foci of the printing press the daily news of what is happening over the surface of the globe.

Do you object, that I am speaking of science as a whole, and not of geology—and not of one application of geology, viz.: to surveys instituted and effected by government?

I answer, that the glory of the modern times is this: that a status of war has been replaced by a status of peace; and accurate distributed science has done it. Governments are now democracies, and the good of all is regarded, instead of the greed and ambition of a few. Governments are now bosses in a workshop A government undertakes that which individuals cannot accomplish. Formerly, some Herodotus, some Agathodemon, some Pytheas of Marseilles must travel alone, unaided, unprotected, to work out in an unsystematic and dissolute-wise the geography of unknown lands, with the result of merely keeping alive the flame of learning in the hearts of his few scattered and helpless compeers. Now, governments organize geographical expeditions and geological surveys, with immense resources and the finest apparatus for discovery, investigation and publication; entrust the work to corps of thorough-bred experts; continue it for an indefinite number of years, and are not satisfied until they make it known in its complete shape to all other governments and the people of christendom.

Thus was prepared that fine topographical map of Switzerland,

under the direction of General Dufour; and the great geological map of France, under the direction of Elie de Beaumont. Sweden is publishing annually the sheets of its geological survey as fast as they are completed. Holland has for years been doing the same. Great Britain has had four geological surveys in progress in the last forty years—one for England, one for Scotland, one for Ireland and one for India. Already a little library of their volumes and atlases stands on the shelves of all the learned societies of the world; and reductions of the work, published for the use of miners, civil engineers, travelers, and capitalists, may be bought cheaply at any English book-store.

Besides all this, the government of Great Britain has had for many years an ordnance survey at work, mapping the British land; and her hydrographic charts are used by the marine service of all commercial nations.

Even Italy has her geological commissioners, with their central office in Florence, regularly publishing the results of their surveys of the peninsula.

Bavaria has its geological survey. Russia has its geological survey. Austria has had on foot for a long time the grandest geological survey which the world has as yet seen, not excepting that of Great Britain. The maps of the provinces of Austria, colored geologically, would cover one of the walls of this room, and the reports of the special geology of the different districts already studied are of unsurpassed excellence. Nor does there seem to be any relaxation of this noble ambition of regenerated Austria to portray, with all the perfection attainable by modern means, the surface features, the underground wealth, and the practical machinery of her national possessions.

There was a time, forty years ago, when the United States of America seemed fired by a like spirit of wise economical inquiry. Geological surveys were established by Massachusetts, Connecticut, New Hampshire, Vermont, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, South Carolina, Alabama and Ohio; followed in subsequent years by Maine, Vermont, North Carolina, Kentucky, Tennessee, Mississippi, Arkansas, Missouri, Illinois, Wisconsin, Iowa, and lastly by Indiana and Texas.

But how utterly ignorant were the legislatures of the States thus

named, *then*, of the proper way, the actual cost and the immense value of the work they ordered to be done! How few and how ill prepared were the workers! How vast the fields they were set to till. Most of these States, empires in point of territory, were to be surveyed by one geologist, authorized to employ one or two assistants. No provision was made for the future. No hope was given to the State geologist that he would be kept employed. No sufficient funds were placed at his disposal to do his work well. No preparation was made for properly publishing his results. Discouragements dogged his footsteps. Every farmer claimed the right to have his own farm surveyed completely first. No idea of the real nobility, the true utility, the enormous difficulty of the enterprise was entertained even by the intelligent of society. What did the hoi polloi think of it? They alternately jeered and vituperated. Every year a new Legislature renewed the discussion whether or not there was such a science as geology; whether or not people needed maps; whether or not a government had any business with finding out the mineral value of its own territory; whether or not to individuals could not be safely left the task of informing each other on such points; and whether or not the revenue of a great State could bear the drain of the salary of a geologist and his corps of assistants.

Speculators in lands and mines hated a government survey, because it interfered with and forstalled their speculations. Miners hated a State survey, for they knew its natural effect to be to restrain the waste of the precious minerals belonging to the commonwealth and to future generations. Politicians hated a State survey because it set a bad example, by constituting a kind of office which was not manageable with wires, paid no bonus for bills passed, and established an irresponsible precedent of honest work and economical utility.

One by one the State surveys on this side of the Atlantic were stopped. When the civil war came not a single survey could be said to have a real existence. Publications of the old surveys had been so meager that scarcely any record of all the work done could be found. There is but a single complete copy known of the reports of the State geologist of Virginia, and that is not at Richmond, but in the private office of Major Hotchkiss, in Stanton. I do not know of a single complete copy of the seven

annual reports of the State geologist of Pennsylvania. The reports of Lieber, Tuomey, Task, Percival, Hitchcock, and Jackson are exceedingly hard to obtain. Nor has any good compendium of the facts contained in these reports, meager as they were, been given to the public.

After the war, the western States woke up to the necessity for State surveys, and the State geologists of Illinois, California, Ohio, New Jersey and New Hampshire have been publishing noble volumes, illustrated with wood-cuts and maps. Tennessee has published a volume; Indiana one; and smaller reports have been made in three or four other States. Kentucky has just granted a small subsidy for re-opening its survey.

At last the United States government was made aware that its vast territorial possessions must be explored. Western men clamored at the doors of Congress. Dr. Hayden had aroused a genuine enthusiasm for geological knowledge in the interior by his personal publication of his own unaided explorations. The geological survey of the territories under the auspices of the Secretary of the Interior was commenced. Dr. Hayden has received larger and larger appropriations each successive year. Clarence King has had a large amount of government money placed at his disposal. At last, publications on a scale worthy of so great an empire are at the command of students, and of business men. The work will never stop; of that you may be well assured. It is of a nature so imperative, and its nature has been so clearly demonstrated to the satisfaction of our western population, that no British survey, no Austrian survey, will surpass the survey of its territories by the United States government in the course of the coming twenty or thirty years. As it goes on it will become more local, more precise, more exact in its details, more full in its illustrations, and always more rich in its consequences.

What has been doing ever since 1837 on the British side of the St. Lawrence and the St. Johns, that great provincial government geological survey of Canada under Sir W. E. Logan, of which I have not spoken; a survey now directed by Mr. Selwyn, with a large corps of assistants, in Upper Canada, Labrador, New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, Cape Breton and Newfoundland, with a splendid museum at Montreal, and one of the finest geological maps ever made—just that is destined to go on for the next gene-

ration in all the country west of Kansas and Minnesota, and on a grander scale.

But, gentlemen, poor Pennsylvania, meanwhile,—poor Pennsylvania is left out in the cold; nay, insists on standing out in the cold. With all these great fires burning in Europe and America, in full view,—with elaborate and costly surveys of the highest utility prosecuted year after year with steadiness and ever increasing facility, even by governments as democratic as that of Switzerland, and of lands, like those of the Swiss cantons, almost totally destitute of coal, iron, gold, and the other more valuable minerals—Pennsylvania, in her own estimation the richest of all States in mineral wealth—Pennsylvania refuses, year after year refuses, point blank, to take any share in this stage of the world's progress. She says: she is too poor to make a geological survey of her counties. She says: it is not of much consequence anyhow. She says: her position is so well established in the society of Christian States, that she can dress in old clothes if she pleases. She says, that if the people of Bucks or Adams or Venango county want their land surveyed, let them do it for themselves; if iron men want iron veins let them find them; if oil men want to know how long the "over-production" is to last, let them find out; if architects and engineers want to know where the most lasting building stones are, let them hire their own experts to get the information; and if a farmer be enlightened enough to wish to know something of how the world is built beneath his fields, let him be patient; no doubt his children or grandchildren will discover it.

The oldest geological survey on record was found in the tomb of an Egyptian mining engineer, of the age of Seti I., the predecessor of Sesostris Rameses Meiamoun, 1st Pharao of the XIXth dynasty, 1500 years B. C. It is a colored map of the Nubian gold mines, 21 inches long, preserved among the precious archives of the Turin Museum; has been published and described by Lepsius, Birch, Chabas and Lauth, and may be studied in a paper of the Sitzungsberichte of the Munich Academy for 1870. Streets, houses, smelting works, shafts, canals, and surrounding hills are portrayed upon this curious relic of the practical science of an age previous to the dawn of Greek and Etruscan history. The objects

designated are all named as upon modern maps; and we read among the legends that "the hills from which they get the gold are colored on this plan red." One of the streets has the legend "this leads down to the river Juma." In the middle reads "a monument to king Raenma (Seti 1)."

Geological surveys are but the modern differentiation of the more ancient geographical surveys of the earth's surface. The earliest of these, well known to us, is that planned by Julius Cæsar, ordered by Augustus, finished after twenty years of work under Tiberius, and described by Pliny in his XXXVIIth book; where he says: "As for myself, I think that the measurement of these countries is not always very certain." We may say the same of our modern geological surveys; but with what a tremendous difference in the force of the expression in the two cases! There is nothing like absolute perfection, complete certainty, in any part of human knowledge outside of mathematics. But a glory of our age is the rapid approximation we are making to that ideal perfection which is both the goad and goal of human effort.

Long before Cæsar's time geography was followed as a pastime, a science, or a business. Our earliest prehistoric hints of the geography of the old world are in the orphic poems. Then come the descriptions of Herodotus, of Aristeas, who seems to have traveled as far as the gold mines of the Oural mountains; of Ctesias, the physician of Artaxerxes; of Hippocrates, of Democritus of Abdera, 445 B. C.; of Hecateus the Miletian, and Hellanicus of Mytilene, (504 B. C.) of Hippys of Rhegium, and Anaxagoras the teacher of Euripides; of Plato and Aristotle (429 and 368); of Antiochus of Syracuse (350); Scymnus of Chios (373); Scylax, the describer of the circumnavigation of Africa by the Carthaginian Hanno (390–360); of Pytheas of Marseilles, who in 360 B. C. sailed along the coasts of France into the Baltic; of Hipparchus of Nicæa (128), Agatarchides (120), Posidonius and Eudoxus (96), Metrodorus, Pliny, Strabo, Ptolemy and Tacitus, and a crowd of smaller names.

The object of Cæsar's survey was worthy of the practical and intellectual genius of that wonderful man. But what appeared on the surface of it to his contemporaries was only the determination of the geographical limits of the Roman empire. In the mind of Octavius Augustus the work was narrowed down to taking a cen-

sus of the nations for fixing the fiscal income of the court. Such, no doubt, were the views of David, King of Israel, in view of the extraordinary expenses of his projected temple. Such was probably the dominant motive of the Pharaohs, centuries still earlier. Such has been the standing motive for such State surveys in all ages and countries governed by an autocrat, an oligarchy, or a priesthood.

A wiser spirit rules the modern world. Autocracy, oligarchy, and aristocracy, temporal and spiritual alike, have received their death blows. We are now all democrats. Princes talk democrat. Science is the pure spirit of democracy ; it knows no distinction of persons ; it is the very thought of God the Common Father, who makes his sun to shine, his rain fall, his grain grow, his coal burn, his gold shine, for the evil and for the good.

A geological survey, if not pursued on democratic principles, must be a failure. Its utility is an outcrop of the great underground benefaction of the God of metals and of soils. It is meant to teach all—every farmer, every citizen, what and where are his stuffs of livelihood. To confine it to the learned would be to reproduce the obsolete absurdity of sacerdotal and baronial times.

Let me develop this idea by homely personal illustration, out of my own experience in business life.

I have received large fees for professional reports on special properties in Pennsylvania and elsewhere. To make these reports I was obliged to call to my aid all the resources of modern science, and the observation and reflection of a life spent in the field, at the drawing board, and in the library. I was compelled to survey with instruments and map on paper, and sometimes model in clay, the district to be reported on. I had also to study the surrounding country, and compare all with still more distant localities. Every surface indication must be noticed ; every hole explored ; old openings re-opened ; new ones made ; specimens analyzed, and the practical working of mineral from the same beds elsewhere found out by inquiry at iron works and other centers of activity.

All this cost previous education, time, hard work, exposure, hire of hands, traveling expenses, instruments, chemicals, sleepless nights and waste of brains. Hence the high fees.

My employers were either large capitalists or bold speculators.

Sometimes I was paid, sometimes I was not. It was never anything to me whether my employers made money or not. That was their affair, not mine. My only concern was to learn the truth that I was paid to tell; if that truth were agreeable or disagreeable to my employers was nothing to me. Some of them wished to buy; some to sell; some to raise additional funds for honest mining operations. All sorts of practical questions were to be answered: the cost of labor; the way of approach; the kind of machinery; the mode of exploitation under ground; the best use in the arts of the special quality of mineral. But underneath all these questions, and preliminary to their answer, was always a truthful, hardly worked out and carefully portrayed geological survey of the property. Many of these practical questions I relegated to experts who were not geologists. I busied myself chiefly in making a faithful geological survey When that was done there were plenty of good practical heads who could work out the practical problems from my data as well as, or better than myself. But they could not get the *data;* I had to do that myself.

And now this is precisely what a State geological survey does for the whole of society; it gives the data. Practical men of all kinds can then work out the practical problems for themselves. But until they get the data they cannot. They are all in the dark about the prime facts. When these are obtained by the State geologist, the miner can easily tell how to open and work his bed; the civil engineer, how to lay his line; the mechanical engineer, what works to put up; the railway superintendent, how much rolling stock to provide; the capitalist, how much money to invest; the iron man, where to look for the ores he needs; the farmer, what chance he has for a market.

Everybody is interested in *having the first facts.* That is what a State Survey gets and makes public. That makes its MATERIAL utility to a commonwealth. It tells facts, and it dissipates errors. In fact, it does more good in preventing capital from being badly invested, than in drawing capital to safe investments. It does as much for farmers who dream that they have gold, or coal, or magnetic iron, or zinc, in their lands, when they have not, as for farmers who have such riches concealed beneath the sod and do not know it. It saves the commonwealth from throwing away

millions of money, and many an unhappy enthusiast from ruin.

But this is not what many desire. The power of the few is enhanced by a monopoly of knowledge. The largest part of my geological life is hid away in reports to employers who have never published them, nor wished them to be published. To have made known facts thus obtained and placed in true relationship with the speculations of the business world, would have interfered with plans and prospects, to the realization of which a certain class of people dedicate their lives. To disseminate accurate geological knowledge among farmers and small land owners naturally enhances the value of farms and warrants, and enables their owners to make better terms with those who mean to buy and sell speculatively. To publish the exceptional value of one range of minerals, and the inferior value of another, redounds to the economy of society at large, but it jeopardises the existence, or at least the pecuniary success, of incorporated companies formed on insufficient bases.

To my mind this is precisely one of the loudest calls which the people at large make upon their legislators. It is precisely that which makes a State Survey so radically democratic.

Let me offer for your consideration now another train of thought.

The public utility of a government geological survey can rather be felt than described, because the relation of its special utilities would be tedious, while its intellectual influence in informing the general mind, and in training professional experts for the future service of the commonwealth, belongs to that system of common education which justifies itself with difficulty before the every day working world.

It is none the less true, for this, that a State geological survey is a practical school of superior order and of the highest usefulness to society. It manufactures slowly and surely the best experts—men of original research. Book-learning, the old fashioned didactic instruction in colleges, never made a geologist or mining engineer. Even the improved curriculum of polytechnic institutes and schools of mines can merely prepare a young man to take the field, where his own close study of nature must fit him for the service of society. The State alone can furnish such a postgraduate course for those who are to be the servants of the State in a peculiar sense.

I must hurry over another branch of the subject which would interest you. A geological survey is a gymnasium of the highest style of art, perpetually leading back to absolute fidelity to nature a certain number of representative artists, who by their position and vocation must needs exercise a powerful influence upon the art sentiment of their age.

I think I have covered the ground at your request. A volume might be written in illustration of the truths I have this evening sketched or hinted at. But you will not be dissatisfied, if I allude to that strange anomaly—Pennsylvania holding the centennial celebration of national progress in the tillage of the soil, the exploration of the mines, and the conversion of minerals into tools and objects of art without herself having a geological survey in progress.

That is an odd circumstance, is it not? The Government of the United States invites all nations to dine with her in the house of one of her children at a time when that child has no cook in her own kitchen. And Pennsylvania expects the State geologists of other parts of the Union to expose their systematic museums of minerals and metals in her own memorial hall of 1874, and at the same time begs to be excused from doing the same herself, because she is too poor to have a geological corps of her own to organize her own museum.

Gentlemen, we are all Pennsylvanians. I myself was born within a gun-shot of this house. I shall be mortified, and you will be, if this absurd state of things continues until it be too late to obviate its natural consequences. But I fear something still more mortifying. I fear that our assembly will take inadequate action on it this winter. The men at Harrisburg have no conception what a good geological survey of this State should cost. They will be likely to appropriate enough money to survey a couple of counties, and then demand that it shall suffice for the survey of the entire State. Or they will appropriate money for the mere haphazard collection of Pennsylvania minerals for the exhibition of 1874, and overlook those considerations of utility which, as I have said, weigh with all other enlightened governments except our own.

Let us have a State geological survey, whether the Centennial be creditable to Pennsylvania or not. Let that survey be well

ordered and sure, permanent and perpetual; a training school of public servants, genuine geologists, mining engineers and metallurgists; an apparatus of discovery; a conservator of economy; a publisher of real data for all the people; a disperser of errors; a recorder of knowledge got which would otherwise perish; and, in one word, be the geological brain of the State, giving a heathful reality to all those movements of our business world which have to do with the mineral world.

The considerations which I have urged will weigh against the objection that there has already been a geological survey of Pennsylvania, under the direction of an able man, assisted by a large and efficient corps, resulting in the publication of a great report, with many hundred pictures, sections, tables and maps, including a map of the State.

True; but it is none the less a necessity for Pennsylvania to continue to have a geological survey.

Besides, the old survey was little better than a magnificent sketch; a foretaste of what could be done; the groundwork of future explorations.

One-half of the State can be truly said not to have been surveyed. It was a forest thirty years ago; now it is well settled. Then it had no roads; now it is crossbarred with railroads. Bituminous coal was then worthless; now it is of priceless value. Small cold blast charcoal furnaces then made enough iron for the country's consumption; now, highstack hotblast, coke and anthracite furnaces clamor for ore.

Besides that, the whole outcrop of our fossil ore is to be studied.

Besides that, the Adams and York county ore region has come into market and was never surveyed. The geology of the gold, chrome and serpentine region south of the Chester Valley is almost wholly unknown.

Besides that, petroleum was not thought of until long after the old survey was stopped.

And to finish with but one more of many arguments for the utility of fresh surveys—not one of our hundred counties has a geologically colored map. We need a new survey if for no other reason to provide all the people of Pennsylvania with a small, cheap, handy atlas, in which each county shall be accurately colored to show its mineral resources. Mark, I say *accurately*. No

slip-shod, perfunctory, penny-wise, pound-foolish deception of a map—but something that will bear the test of wear and tear in a thousand hands, deceive nobody, enlighten everybody, especially our growing boys; one accomplished with all that outlay of wealth, work, time and science which perfection in such a thing demands.

J. P. LESLEY.

GREEK POTTERY.

IN the paper on pottery and porcelain which appeared in the September number of the PENN MONTHLY, the ordinary limits imposed upon a magazine article forbade even a cursory glance at one of the most interesting phases ceramic art has ever assumed.

The Greeks, who in both architecture and sculpture surpassed in purity of style and nobility of type all succeeding as well as all preceding civilizations, were no less happy in the humbler walks of creative genius, and although their tools and materials were of the simplest kind, we of later days, with all the advantages of modern invention, can scarcely hope to improve upon the models they have left us. Yet the beauty of the vases in the Hamilton and Campana collections, must not lead us to the conclusion that the Greeks were more fortunate than other nations in being able to express their artistic aspirations, without passing through centuries of education and experiment. Archaic attempts in sculpture, and ill-shaped vessels decorated with almost barbaric simplicity, exist in abundance to testify that their progress was slow, and that they were greatly influenced by the examples of neighboring nations.

At this point we can scarcely refrain from asking why it was that the Greeks possessed so pre-eminently the power of bestowing beauty upon everything that they touched. Many of their fundamental ideas were evidently derived from Assyria, more still perhaps from Egypt and Phenicia, but what in its original form, was clumsy, grotesque, or monstrous, became under their magic treatment, graceful and noble. Again, Rome borrowed from Greece nearly all the decorative features of her architecture, but

in applying what she thus borrowed, she often debased it by misuse.

Various theories have been advanced in the endeavor to solve this question. Mr. Ferguson, in his history of architecture, asserts that the peculiar sense of fitness, which seems to be the basis of Greek success in art, is due to the union of the Pelasgic races of Turanian origin, with the pure Dorian races of Aryan descent. If we are to believe him, the descendants of the Aryans are absolutely deficient in artistic instincts, and if the Anglo-Saxon and Teutonic races have ever shown any artistic capacity it is due altogether to the admixture of Celtic or Turanian blood. Thus, he claims that Athens, which he declares to have been Pelasgic, was artistic in the highest degree, whereas Sparta, peopled by Dorians, was quite deficient in this particular, and in the other cities of Greece the artistic or common sense elements predominated in degrees proportioned to the intermixture of the two races.

In direct contradiction to this theory, Buckle and Mill agree in the conviction, that race counts for little or nothing in explaining national characteristics, and that we must look to physical influences, such as climate, soil, food, and the aspects of nature, for the producing causes. Certain it is, that in India, the cradle of the Aryan race, its tropical climate, the stupendous character of its scenery, and the prevalence of frightful epidemics, would seem to have imbued the minds of its inhabitants with the images of honor represented in its deities, while, on the other hand, the equable climate of Greece, and the softer beauty of its scenery, may serve to account for the anthropic nature of its religion, and for the noble subjection of the imagination of the Greeks to their reason. They were the first of all nations to clothe their deities in human form; the idols of all tropical civilizations were either monsters unlike any created being, or efforts to represent animals, and those generally of a terrible or disgusting nature. Fascinating as speculations such as these are to the student of ethnology or archæology, too little is as yet proved on either side to make them very profitable to the general reader, and we ought, perhaps, to apologize for referring to them, since they scarcely lie within the scope of our present subject.

As a foundation for the study of Greek pottery, we are most

fortunate in having within easy access the admirable collection of General Di Cesnola, lately bought by the Metropolitan Museum, of New York. A full catalogue of the collection has not yet been prepared, and the information afforded by the "Guide" now offered for sale at the museum is necessarily scanty, from the fact that so little is known of the early history of Cypress, the scene of General Di Cesnola's excavations. It is, however, precisely in supplying the links which connect Greek art with that of Egypt and Assyria, through the intermediate influence of Phenicia, that this collection is so valuable. An extract from the "Guide" will show the reader how all the ancient civilizations followed each other in the possession of the island, each leaving behind it remains which testify to the fact of their occupancy.

"From an Egyptian stela discovered at Thebes and now deposited in the museum at Cairo * * * it is known that Thothmes III., an Egyptian king, of the eighteenth dynasty, made the conquest of Cyprus 1440 years or thereabouts before the Christian era, and seems to have kept it till the end of the twelfth century before Christ. * * * We next find Cyprus paying tribute to Hiram, king of Tyre, the contemporary of Solomon, till B. C. 725. It is known from a cylinder in the British museum, found by Mr. Layard, at Nineveh, and also from a monumental stela now in the Berlin museum, discovered at Larnaca (the site of the ancient Citium), in 1846, that the Assyrian king, Sargon, received tribute from the seven kings of Cyprus from B. C. 708 to 550.

"The island passed under the Egyptian rule for a second time, during the reign of king Amasis, but only for a short period, that is from B. C. 550 to B. C. 525.

"The Persian king, Cambyses, conquered Cyprus from Psammerritus, the son and successor of Amasis, and annexed it to his empire by incorporating it with the fifth satrapy or Persian province B. C. 525.

"From that time forward, with short intervals of independence under a native Greek king, Evagoras I., and afterward under Niocles, his son, Cyprus remained under the Persian rule till Alexander's victory at Issus, when the nine native kings of Cyprus voluntarily transferred their allegiance to him B. C. 333. Ten years later Alexander died, and his vast empire broke into fragments.

"For twenty-five years a war of conquest raged between the generals of Alexander, and Cyprus, after a great many vicissitudes, finally passed under the undisputed possession of Ptolemy Sotor (Lagus), who governed it by means of a viceroy. * * * The Ptolemies continued to hold the island till B. C. 58, in which year it was reduced to a Roman province without any resistance."

The objects composing the collection were chiefly found in tombs identified as Phenician, Egyptian, Greek and Roman. Room A, with which the visitor begins his investigations, contains vases discovered at Idalium, a Phenician city conquered by the Greeks. Of the 4,000 vases thus found scarcely any two are exactly alike. They are, in spite of their rudeness of material, form and decoration, singularly harmonious in coloring. The clay is of tawny yellow, and is ornamented by dark-brown and purplish-red, laid on in circular and chequered patterns of the simplest character; the occasional presence of the lotos flower suggests an Egyptian influence. Chemical tests show that the colors were applied before the clay was baked. A very beautiful vase of singular elongated form, bears a Phenician inscription, and similar chequered designs, and gives ground for the belief that the other potteries thus ornamented are of Phenician manufacture. Room A, contains also sepulchral lamps of the Greco-Roman period.

The most interesting objects in room B are the vases of Samian ware, also of the Greco-Roman period.

The island of Samos was famous for this ware, which is of a close, fine texture, and of a full pure red color. Small as was the island, the industry and taste of its potters made its soil more valuable than gold, and their vases and domestic utensils found their way over every sea and to every port. Samian pottery is not painted, and depends for its beauty on the fineness of its clay and the grace of its forms, although it is sometimes found with a decoration modelled in relief. A kind of pottery very similar to this was made by the Romans, at Arezzo, and extensively exported by them. Numerous specimens have been found in France and England.

In some of the vases in room C, Egyptian scarabei were found; in others ear-rings of Assyrian workmanship, and cylinders of meteoric stone. Cases Nos. 3, 4, 5 and 6, contain vases of which the decoration is composed of lines scratched or engraved on the

surface after the vessel had been varnished and baked. These vases were discovered in tombs near the village of Alambia, a half-hour's distance from Idalium. In each tomb was found a copper or bronze spear-head, or a knife, sometimes a small figure in clay representing a horseman, or a warrior on foot.

The vases are believed to be among the ancient in the collection, and may have adorned the tombs of foreign invaders. There are also some beautiful vases of a rich red clay, ornamented with bands of darker color, in this room. They have been cleaned with diluted muriatic acid, which has restored their original brightness.

We would gladly extend our notice of the Cesnola collection by describing the sculpture, glass, and other objects of equal interest, but we must content ourselves with the recommendation to our readers to visit it themselves at their earliest opportunity.

It will be seen from the foregoing glance at the pottery, that the collection does not contain any specimens of the *artistic painted* Greek vases. It is, therefore, but a stepping-stone, although a most valuable one, to the study of such vases.[1]

It may be well for us to begin this study with the description and nomenclature of the more familiar forms of Greek vases.

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[1]There are, in the Loan collection of the museum, some fine Italo-Greek vases, contributed by Messrs. Blodgett and Marquand, of New York. We may be permitted to say a word here in praise of this Loan collection, and of the public spirit which has induced so many of the citizens of New York to contribute to the education and enjoyment, not only of their fellow-citizens, but of their fellow-countrymen. The Japanese bronzes and the Cloisonné enamels compare well in quality, although, of course, not in quantity, with those exhibited at the South Kensington museum. Mrs. Prime's porcelain and pottery is interesting and creditable, although it would be improved by careful weeding and perhaps a little less exercise of the imagination in bestowing names upon more than doubtful specimens. One so-called Luca della Robbia, fortunately too small to attract much attention, is simply impossible as a work of the great Italian modeler. The Majolica in this room is also poor. Two large vases in the case near the window are especially bad. In fact, the admission of bad or spurious articles only serves to bring discredit upon the museum, and in this point of view, we cannot too earnestly deprecate the attempt to pass off as an original, what could only at the best be a school picture, and is apparently a poor copy of Leonardo da Vinci's La Joconde in company with Tintoretto's, Bonifazios, etc. This picture is so famous as one of the gems of the Salle Carrée of the Louvre as to make such an attempt especially unfortunate.

The Amphora, with which we head our list, is a two-handled jar of varying dimensions. The word, derived from *amphis*, both, and *pherein*, to carry, is applicable as well to a coarse receptacle for storing grain, oil or wine, as to the magnificent painted vases filled with the finest oil and bestowed as prizes on the victors in the games of the Panathenæan festivals. In the former case, it was generally pointed at the base, and was either inserted in the ground or in a stone hollowed in the middle for its support.

The *Hydria*, derived from *Udor*, water, is a water jar of graceful form generally provided with but one handle; sometimes, however, it is found with two lateral handles besides, probably added for increased convenience in lifting it to the head. Used, as it was, to carry water from the fountain, less care was lavished on its decoration than on that of the *Crater*, a large and beautiful vase, with a wide mouth and two small handles placed at the junction of the cylindrical neck with the spheroidal base. The crater was used for mixing the wine and water for feasts and sacrifices. The wine of the Greeks being a sort of thick syrup made this process indispensable. The Helebe was applied to a similar purpose, although somewhat different in shape. Both were decorated with all that Greek art could invent to add to their beauty.

In proportion as the use of the vase advances in dignity, does its form acquire grace and delicacy. The *Œnoehoe* is the vessel into which the mixed wine and water were poured to distribute to the guests. Its egg-shaped bowl, with its narrow neck, expanding into three lips, and its S shaped handle seem to combine into a harmonious whole, every curve that delights the eye. So at least the Greeks themselves appear to have thought, for this vase is represented in pictures of the feasts of the gods, as the one from which the ambrosia was poured.

The cantharus, a bell-shaped vase with delicate handles, was especially devoted to sacred libations, and was one of the usual attributes of Bacchus.

The *Lecythus* is a small vase of cylindrical form, narrow neck, and cup-shaped mouth; intended for perfumes. It is often seen in the hands of goddesses and women occupied with their toilette.

The *Olpe* was devoted to various purposes, according to its size. In the most ancient times it was used at the table for wine,

but later, for the oil with which the athletes anointed themselves, before going into the public games.

The *Oxybaphon* and the *Stamnos* were both employed at the table; the former for vinegar and sauces.

The *Amphotis* and *Calyx* or *Cylix*, are shallow bowls of various forms.

The Pithos is interesting from the fact that it must have been the original of Diogenes' tub, the word being translated thus, because the immense earthen receptacle of Greeks has no counterpart in northern Europe. It, like the amphora, was used for storing oil, wine and other produce, but unlike it, was often of a shape and size which permitted a man to lie or sit within it at his ease. In fact, at a later period, the cast-off Pithos actually served as habitations for the poor of Athens. There are still to be seen in Pompeii, huge vessels of earthenware, shaped somewhat like a hogshead, which by a slight stretch of the imagination might almost be described as tubs.

Of the decorated vases that have been preserved to our day, however, an immense proportion could never have been designed for domestic use. In some cases their enormous size would have made it impossible to move them without risk of injury; others are bottomless, and were manifestly intended only for ornament; others again bear inscriptions designating them as cinerary urns. Some of the most beautiful amphoræ, as we have already seen, were filled with oil made from the produce of the olive trees consecrated to Minerva, and bestowed with a laurel wreath on the victorious athletes in the Panathenæan games. The oldest known vase of this kind is in the British Museum. Its inscription read thus, ΤΟΝ ΑΘΕΝ ΕΘΕΝ ΑΘΛΟΝ ΕΙΜΙ, *I am the prize given at Athens.* But perhaps the most numerous class of all consisted of those intended for presents. Offerings of lovers to their mistresses, of friends to each other, and wedding gifts. The inscriptions on such make their destination sufficiently plain. Many vases are inscribed with the names of both the potter and painter, although in some cases the modelling of the vase and its decoration are by the same hand.

We proceed now to the composition of the vases; they all belong to the class of soft pottery, in other words, earthenware. They are turned on the wheel, not cast in moulds, and are baked only at a low temperature. Their surface is easily scratched by a

sharp instrument, and when unglazed, they are porous. The paste is made up with infinite care, and composed principally of silica, aluminium, iron, and lime, yet upon this comparatively humble material were lavished the exquisite designs and the harmony of coloring that make almost all other potteries seem vulgar in comparison with them. The composition of their black glaze or lustre, long baffled the researches of savants. It has been found to consist of an alkaline silicate, modified and hardened by the devitrification consequent upon its long burial and contact with the soil. Its black color was produced by the use of oxide of iron and the oxide of manganese. Greek and Italo-Greek vases have an original ground of brick-red, sometimes heightened in tone by the polish bestowed on it by the turner, sometimes by a very thin varnish of a brighter red. On the polish or glaze, as the case may be, is spread the black lustre. This latter is so perfectly diffused over the surface of the piece, as to make it difficult to believe that the paste beneath is of a different color. Exposure to smoke during the firing sometimes changed the black to a bronze hue, and excessive thinness of the glaze, by allowing the red color of the clay to show through, produced a brownish shade. Again, if the temperature at which the vase was baked were too high, the black glaze turned to a very glossy greenish olive. These accidental peculiarities produced by the firing must not be confounded with the more radical changes wrought in vases burnt on funeral pyres, the latter being changed to brownish yellow and ashen-grey. Their decoration also is often partially effaced.

Besides the black lustre, the Greeks used colored washes of clay; red, white, blue, green, yellow, and gold were laid on, often in relief. These polychrome vases are, however, exceedingly rare.

In describing the decoration of Greek pottery, the quality which most strikes the eye, is its absolute yet voluntary subjection to conventional laws—a subjection as far removed as possible from the slavish accuracy of the Chinese copyist. The Greek artist was inspired by the beauty of the natural objects around him, and confident in his own powers, he, as it were, absorbed them into his mind, to reproduce them, transformed by his intellect. The honeysuckle, the acanthus, the ivy, the olive leaf, all abandoned their capricious grace to assume symmetrical curves at his bidding. It has even been supposed that the familiar scroll border

was suggested by the waves of the sea and the curl of their crests as they rolled in on the shore. The Greeks used it most appropropiately on the bases of their architecture and vases. Modern decorators, in their ignorance and poverty of invention, apply it without reference to its primary intention. Human and animal forms and drapery were all equally subjected to this noble conventionalism. The subjects thus treated were too numerous for description. The Greek mythology and system of symbolism afforded inexhaustible motives for the pencil of the artist, of which he was able to make admirable use according to the destination of the vase.

The chronological classification of vases is extremely difficult, because of the tendency, particularly in those designed for religious uses, to revert to archaic types.

The most primitive, probably, are those found in the islands of the Archipelago, Rhodes, Corfu, etc., and Cypress. They probably date from the tenth or twelfth century before the Christian era, and are well exemplified in the Cesnola collection. Next in order come the vases imitated from Asiatic originals, ornamented with fantastic animals, syrens, sphinxes, winged goddesses, and the like, the ground sprinkled with flowers similar to those found on Assyrian bas reliefs. Vases of this style were imitated long after art had reached a high point of development, so that it is almost impossible to distinguish between the originals and the later imitations.

The early Corinthian vases resemble those just described. Theracles, a potter of Corinth, made his work so famous that the name "Theracleian" came to be applied, not only to cups of earthenware, but to those of glass, gold and silver. It is on the vases of Corinth that the earliest inscriptions have been found in ancient Greek characters. Singularly enough, the researches at Cervetri, the ancient Agylla in Etruria, have brought to light great numbers of these potteries.

History fortunately provides an answer to the question as to why they should have been found so far from the place of their manufacture. Demaratus, a merchant noble of Corinth, of the family of the Bacchiadæ, being threatened by a conspiracy in his native city, fled to Etruria, taking with him a large body of retainers and artists, who are supposed to have introduced light and art

into Italy. This emigration took place B. C. 655. Much confusion has existed with regard to the Etruscan potteries, both Greek and Asiatic productions having been erroneously classed under that convenient name. The fact, however, seems to be, that the genuine Etruscan potteries are very different, both in form and composition, from the Greek. The paste of which they are made is inferior, and the shape and style of their form and ornament is not unlike the grotesque barbarism of American potteries.

A fact eminently significant of the Greek origin of *painted* vases is that none have been found except in localities known to have been colonized by the Greeks. Pompeii, Herculaneum and Stabiæ have not one to show, whereas Nola and Cumæ have produced endless examples, and it is to the cities of Magna Græcia that the Museums of Europe are chiefly indebted for the superb specimens they exhibit.

In the earliest of these Italo-Greek vases, we find the ground to be yellow or red, while the decoration is laid on in brilliant black enamel. We trace a perceptible advance in them over those before described. The outlines of the design are sketched with a sharp pointed instrument. High lights of white and purplish red enliven the painting; the naked portions of the bodies of the women are white, as well as the hair and beard of old men, and the chariot horses are alternately white and black. Still, the heads are stiff and drawn only in profile, the muscular movements are awkward and exaggerated, while no attempt seems yet to have been made to group the figures harmoniously. Nevertheless, these paintings possess a severity of outline which is full of dignity.

The next class of Italo-Greek vases consists of those in which the ground is black, while the decorations are red. These are far more numerous than the preceding, and are much more harmonious in effect. The outlines of the figures were traced on the ground, which was then covered with black lustre, leaving the red design untouched. Thus the decoration was *kept out*, or *réservé*, as the process was called in the Rouen potteries. After this, the fine lines of the features and the drapery were filled in with black, with wonderful delicacy and accuracy. It is difficult to decide the precise period when the use of the black enamel on the red ground gave place to the reverse, or *réservé*, decoration. Indeed, there

are vases on which both systems of ornamentation were employed, and the name of the same potter has been found on pieces of both styles. The character of the drawing offers a more certain guide as to date. The Archaic school of art in Greece seems to have existed as late as B. C. 460, or quite to the middle of the fifth century before our era. Phidias, the greatest of Greek sculptors, was probably born B. C. 490, the time of the battle of Marathon. His career as a sculptor would therefore have begun near B. C. 464. The characteristics of the school of art which he founded was ideal beauty of the highest order, free on the one hand from the stiffness of the hieratic school which preceded him, on the other from the meretricious grace of his successors. His death took place B. C. 432. It seems but natural to place the date of the best vases during the time that his influence must have prevailed through Greece and her colonies. Thus we find the outlines of the figures acquiring a new grace, the faces of the women are readily to be distinguished from those of the men by the difference in expression, and the form and quality of the vase improve in a corresponding manner.

As in art, in all other branches, however, this period of perfection is of but short duration. The acquisition of the power of technical expression seems just to precede decay. So it was with Gothic art. When the architect seemed to have overcome every mechanical difficulty, and to be able to carry his ribs and groins as high as his ambition could prompt, that moment the soul of Gothic architecture took its flight, leaving only its skeleton behind. So also with the art of the Renaissance. Michael Angelo, in the pride of his almost superhuman genius, rejected with scorn the ideal repose and dignity of the Florentine school, and the tender grace of the Umbrian school, to grapple with anatomical difficulties and physical development. His followers, unable to imitate his nobler qualities as an artist, copied his exaggerations, and thus it is to the false idea of art introduced by him that we must ascribe the decline which followed his death.

Greek art underwent a similar deterioration. The Ionic or Asiatic school, with its sensuous perceptions of beauty, its idealism of form, not of character, at once degraded it. The heroic spirit and religious earnestness which preceded the Peloponnesian war were followed by habits of luxury and self-indulgence. Praxiteles

and Scopas, Zeuxis and Parrhasius, were the representatives, the former in sculpture, the latter in painting, of the gradually debasing taste of the day. The potters, sensitive as are all artists, no matter how humble their sphere, to surrounding influences, and finding that the simple colors heretofore employed no longer satisfied their patrons, applied purple, yellow, gold and white to their vases, whose forms became eccentric to correspond. The Rhyton, a drinking-cup ending at the bottom in the head of some animal, and double-faced vases, were invented. The handles were twisted into knots and scrolls. The delicate borders of foliage, instead of marking the curves and base of the vase, meandered among the figures painted on its sides. Simplicity had given place to overloaded ornament, and the purity of the Greek art was departed never to be revived in its perfection. It is toward the end of the fourth century before our era that we must place the commencement of the decadence.

If it be asked why, since we of the nineteenth century have the models to imitate, and better mechanical appliances than the Greeks themselves possessed, should not we reproduce Greek pottery? We reply, that when any artistic object is *exactly* imitated or copied, it is because the inspiration which created the original is extinct. Copies, engravings, photographs, are doubless admirable things, serving to train the eye in the absence of originals, and most important when, as in frescoes and other perishing embodiments of art, the originals are in danger of being lost. Other than this a copy is simply a lifeless thing.

Particularly is this the case with regard to imitations of Greek art. The ideas which supplied the stimulus to Hellenic inspiration have passed out of existence The system of symbolism, which to the Greeks was full of meaning, is now a matter of speculation to the student. Their domestic habits are equally subjects of curiosity and research. Their religion is to us an absurdity. The soul has left it ages ago. Why shall we try to galvanize it into life? If instead of servilely copying the models bequeathed to us by the Greeks, we set ourselves to the far more difficult task of following their example before their days of degeneracy, and eschewing everything that is meretricious in art, devote ourselves to representing only what is noblest, purest and simplest, might there not be some hope of the long-expected revival that many despair of?

UEBERWEG'S HISTORY OF PHILOSOPHY.

A History of Philosophy from Thales to the present time. By Dr. Friederich Ueberweg, late Professor of Philosophy in the University of Koenigsberg. Translated from the fourth (?) German edition, by Geo. S. Morris, A. M., Professor of Modern Languages in the University of Michigan, with additions by Noah Porter, L.L.D., President of Yale College. Two volumes large 8vo. Pp. xvi. 487, 561. New York, Scribner, Armstrong & Co.

There are signs of the times that go to show that philosophy, metaphysic, speculation, is not out of date yet in this third quarter of the nineteenth century. All the questions raised by modern science are found to run out into this field. Darwinism brings men back to the old issues that occupied Descartes and Kant. Comtists proclaim an age of science, in which men will at last recognize the fact, as Goethe did, that it is not for them to solve the mystery of the universe, and so be content with a knowledge of the relative and the phenomenal; but men will also remember that Goethe said that man is born to attempt the solution. And so in the very heart of this most utilitarian nation, in umbilical St. Louis, within hearing of the scream of a thousand steamboat and a hundred locomotive whistles, a man of practical faculty and clear business insight publishes and finds readers for a *Journal of Speculative Philosophy*, chiefly devoted to the exposition of the most abstruse of German thinkers, that Hegel whom even his countrymen find hardly intelligible. There is a fascination, a witchcraft in the matter that cannot be resisted, and which to practical men seems inexplicable.

But the most practical man has experienced in other forms what is the very essence of this witchcraft. Two facts—it may be of trade or it may be of politics—that had seemed to him sundered and separate, are suddenly united in one broader and higher conception. He perceives that they are but two faces of the same fact—that they rest in a common ground. In the instant of that perception he feels what is of the essence of the philosopher's delight in pure speculation. But as he would remain "a practical man," let him beware how far he follows the impulse to pursue

that delight. Let him "draw the line somewhere," draw it clearly and sharply and with precision, or he will be carried headlong into pure metaphysics. Starting from election returns or sacks of wheat, he will be led on by the sacred hunger to a theory of "the absolute." He has begun to philosophize, to see one fact where he saw two, and that is where he will end if he be not careful. "The end of philosophy," says Bacon, "is the intuition of the unity," and every abolition of an apparent diversity is but one step toward that last intuition.

"Then all scientific men are philosophers." To be sure they are; in England and America they have been exciting the laughter of the metaphysical schools by dubbing themselves "philosophers" for some two centuries back. A distinguished metaphysician told us that he once attended a *seance* of our own Philosophical Society, and found them discussing the best method of destroying worms at the roots of trees; he thought that when philosophy had got that far it ought to take a vermifuge. But if metaphysicians are philosophers κατ' εξοχην, the name belongs in a lesser degree to every scientific man; all are engaged in a search for the unities, in tracing the isolated facts of experience to the underlying laws or order which unite them, and then in showing how these lines of law and force all converge toward a centre, whither the empirical eye cannot follow them. The talk of the practical services that science has rendered obscures this. Half the great physicists cared nothing, and care nothing, for the use of their discoveries. To know the truth about the universe, and by the truth to be made free from old errors and misinterpretations, is their aim. Agassiz had no time to stop and make money, as his utilitarian friend, the lecture agent, wanted him. Of him it was as true as of Samuel Taylor Coleridge, that he loved knowledge apart from its use, or as Aubrey de Vere, says:

> ....Sedulous and proud to give her
> The whole of his great heart for her own sake;
> For what she is; not what she does, or what can make.

Bacon himself, whom Macaulay has so eloquently slandered in this connection, tells us that "as the vision of light is more excellent and beautiful than its manifold uses, so surely the very contemplation of things as they are,—without superstition or impos-

ture, error or confusion—is in itself a thing worth more than all use we make of what we discover there."

And if it is true of the scientific world, that the philosophic impulse to the intuition of unity is the root of its activity, much more true is it of a sphere in which a far greater horror of philosophy is current. Religion is eminently an impulse toward unity. Schleiermacher's famous *Discourses on Religion addressed to Educated Persons who despise it,* starts from this very point in one of the most masterly arguments ever addressed to the human reason. "Say what you will," he declares, "of the Church and its forms; I do not at this moment care to defend them. But if you cast off religion, you give up the unity of your life. Your powers and affections are frittered away upon a multitude of objects, with no common principle or bond to unite them. You thus come short of the highest culture possible to man. Granted that some rush to the other extreme, and became so religious as to give up our common human sympathies, and are absorbed in the single object of their devotion. But two wrongs won't make one right." In a word, all religion is a practical philosophy. It is theistic when it discovers a living God, the source of all good and life and existence. It is Christian when it confesses a Son of God, who is also the son of man, the Head and the Centre of the human race. It is spiritual when it finds in Christ, revealed in men's hearts through His Spirit, the centre of the individual life, about whom its parts gather into organic wholeness. It is churchly, when it acknowledges a fellowship or communion of all who are Christians in one household of faith, visibly established by the founder Himself, and endowed with outward signs and seals of its traditional authority and historical origin. All these are but so many unities apprehended as existing, where otherwise man had seen only diversity and severance.

Yet the religionist cries out against "vain philosophy." So Paul, with every great critic, pronounced the current philosophy of the East, in the days of Nero, a mixty maxty of half understood speculations devised by traders in opinions. But if there is a vain philosophy, there must, by contrast, be one that is not so, and Paul found something worth quoting in the hymn of the Stoic Cleanthes. Plato brought Justin Martyr and Augustine to Christ, and furnished Clemens of Alexandria, Basil and the Gregories

with weapons to defend Christianity. Clemens well says, in answer to such despisers of *all* philosophy, that if we made up our minds to philosophize as little as possible, we would first have to go over the field so as to learn the bounds we must not pass.

But while every scientific man and every religious thinker is in his measure a philosopher, the name especially belongs to those whose calling it is to address themselves directly to the problem. We say "calling," for we cannot regard speculation as the caprice of individuals. Some there are who are inwardly driven to give to themselves and their fellows a full and complete rationale of the lives they lead, the thoughts they think, the relations that bind them to others and to the universe, and the nature of that world outside them. They cannot live intellectually from hand to mouth, and "take life as it comes;" they are driven to seek larger formulas and more comprehensive forms of thought than undigested experience furnishes. They must attempt the solution of the riddle of the universe, and try to pierce through from the seen and temporal and relative to the unseen, eternal and absolute, or at least persuade their fellow-men that the attempt to do so is neither a blunder nor a blasphemy.

A multitude of books, mostly of the worthless and chaotic sort, show us that such minds exist among us, and are striving to these ends. The "big swelling words of vanity" that fill many of them are no proof that their authors are incapable of better things. What they chiefly lack is a right philosophic propædentic—a training first in logic, mathematics and the pure sciences, and then in the history of philosophy itself. They need to be made to feel that they are members of an order whose sacred succession comes down through the ages, whose *raison d'etre* is the welfare of mankind and not their own poor vanity. They need to feel that their value is not in the factitious originality that casts off all previous forms of speech and modes of thought, but rather in their sharing in a work shared in already by a great multitude of minds, and so "entering the circle of the great dependence of all things—secure that there is no independence of heart or mind on any other terms." They will work healthfully and nobly when they learn that the history of human thought has not been hitherto, as we hear from many pulpits, a weltering chaos of no results, of empty and fruitless speculations, but a vast and steady advance

from age to age. They are not to light the torch by superhuman exertions, and bring light *per saltum* upon a benighted world, but rather to pass the torch already lighted to other hands. We can only hope for the future by believing in the past and reverencing its achievements. Every great discoverer in the scientific field started from the discoveries of his predecessors. And again, it is not by lazy feminine intuitions of the Bronson Alcott type that we are to found a school of American philosophers. In the sweat of brow or of brain all lasting results are to be achieved. Honest philosophy prizes hard and patient thought and its logical results, more than brilliant guesses. It sends men to investigate the facts of man's inner life, and of the world into which that life opens, with all the care, patience, humility and suspension of judgment that scientific men devote to the world of nature.

For these reasons we are glad to welcome such a work as this of Ueberweg's in an English form, as a most valuable ally to all wholesome and purifying agencies in the world of mind. It is one of a series of able histories of philosophy that have enriched German literature since the death of Hegel, by such masters as Michelet, Sigwart, Marbach, Kuno Fischer, the younger Reinhold, Scholten, Duhring, Erdman and Zeller. We hope that Ueberweg will meet with such a reception as to lead to the translation of some of the others, especially the two last, and to the preparation of more satisfactory native histories than we as yet possess.

Not that our literature is absolutely wanting in this department. Stanley's *History* of ancient philosophy was one of the first ever written. Enfield's dreary abridgment of Brucker is still inflicted on those who put their trust in "Manuals of English Reading." Tennemann's brief *Manual* exists into two English versions, but the book is a mass of short notices only, and the more common of the two translations is grossly interpolated by an unconscientious editor, with statements that would have set that rather narrow and hard-headed Kantian's hair on end. The ancient part of Ritter's laborious work was translated and printed at Oxford, but can hardly be called published. Dr. Henry gives us a good version of his master Cousin's *History*, which in spite of its French faults has great value. Dr. Murdoch, of New Haven, long ago wrote a short sketch of German philosophy, when the interest excited by Coleridge and Henry had turned men's attention in that direction, but it is now

forgotten even in New Haven ; Dr. Porter does not name it. We have two translations of Schwegler's very able but brief *Manual*, of which the Scotch edition by Stirling is enriched with valuable notes. But the book passes from the Neoplationists to Bacon in nine pages, and never once names John Scotus Erigena! The *History of Ancient Philosophy*, by Archer Butler, lacks depth and thoroughness, standing in decided contrast to what is found on the same subject in the *Remains* of the late Prof. Ferrier. Blakey's books are valuable by bits only ; they are collections of facts useful to the historian. Mackintosh, Whewell, and some others, have written well of the history of Ethical philosophy, especially in England.

Almost the only native book on the subject that ranks in ability and completeness beside the great German historians, is Professor Maurice's *History of Moral and Metaphysical Philosophy*. Originally a sketch contributed to a volume of the *Encyclopedia Metropolitana*, he re-wrote it with great care, in four volumes of very unequal size, and just before his death the four were reproduced in two, with no change save a new preface. It is one of the richest and most attractive books in English literature. The large, generous thought of the author warms every page ; it is at once a history of society and of the great drifts of thought. But, technically, it is not a history of philosophy. Its author detested systems, while he delighted in order, and he has treated his subject accordingly. The authors of the philosophies are here, sketched in their weakness and their strength (especially the latter), and with a delicate humor, a fine conscientiousness, a vivid appreciation of character, and a desire to find and confess the presence of all things noble and of good report. Some of the results are given ; but not the systems as systems, in their entire development from an inward centre of thought. And then the book really closes with Kant and Jacobi, little more than a few glances at authors of our own century following.

Dr. Ueberweg's book is one of very great merit. Its author was a man not unworthy to sit in the chair of Kant. In some sense a disciple of Benecke, he shared in the impulse of that school to turn away from pure metaphysic as comparatively barren, and make inductive psychology the chief part of philosophy. But he had learned much from Trendelenburg also, and shared

in his preference for logic as the safest form of *a priori* philosophy, as may be seen from his *System of Logic and History of Logical Doctrines* previously translated. In his later years he was involved in a controversy with an English admirer of Berkeley as to the tenability of the Irish bishop's idealism. He published a translation of Berkeley's *Principles of Knowledge*, with annotations, which have appeared in English in the very excellent edition of that book which Rev. Dr. Krauth has recently published. In these *Annotations* he certainly comes nearer than any of his predecessors to what Hamilton pronounces an impossibility, *i. e.*, a logical refutation of Berkeley's system.

As a historian of philosophy, Dr. Ueberweg is, like Tennemann, Ritter and Reinhold, a man of talent, industry, patience and vast information, without being like Kuno Fischer, Erdmann, and Zeller, a man of genius, of profoud searching insight and artistic power of presentation. He gets at his subject mechanically, not dynamically. His analysis gives you all the facts, but often leaves out the informing life that bound them into an organic whole. His workshop is a clear, collected understanding, whose every power and possession is fully under his hand. He knows how well he can do his work, and does it. The man of genius does better than he knows how. Such a mind as Ueberweg's, of course, is more in sympathy with one set of philosophers than another, and is likely not to do full justice to the latter. Such another historian was Tennemann, who understood all that lay in the hard, clear Kantian lines of thought, but needed a Rixner to complete his *History* by writing another, equally one-sided, in which those whom Tennemann had misrepresented with the best intentions had fair play given them. Dr. Ueberweg needs a Rixner. This is seen, not only in the quality of the account given of more eminent men, where the quantity cannot be found fault with, but also in the exceeding brevity of the space allotted to others. Malebranche, for instance, receives a notice four lines in length. His doctrine of knowledge is stated as an outcome of the Cartesian dualism. His independent merits as a thinker, and as the founder of a school that held its ground in the Roman Catholic Church, and even the Jesuit Order, and his famous controversy with Arnauld,are utterly ignored; as are *Pere* Andre and others of his disciples. Jakob Böhme gets whole ten

lines, in which we have a single salient point of his theosophy stated, *and stated wrongly.* Generous allowance for the man whom Schelling regarded as "a theogonic spirit," and Hegel as "the profoundest of philosophers," and as justly called "the Teutonic philosopher." On pages 223–4, indeed, Böhme's ideas are reproduced at second hand in the analysis of Schelling's treatise *On Freedom.* Of Bœhme's school, Œtinger's and all the earlier names are entirely ignored; St. Martin all but ignored. Baader gets two pages, mostly made up from title-pages. His views occupy fourteen lines, and the statement reads as if borrowed from a book notice in some *Kirchenzeitung* or *Kirchenblatt.* It is something gained, however, that Baader's school have at last convinced even the Ueberwegs that their master never was, and therefore never ceased to be, a discipl e of Schelling; that Schelling had much rather studied under Baader. But we do not hesitate to say that Ueberweg never read a whole page of any one of the works that he quotes as authorities—a very imperfect list—in regard to Böhme and Baader.

Ueberweg's strongest point is the bibliography of philosophy. He furnishes the student with just the guidance that he needs, if he would undertake independent investigation. Nothing but a perusal of these closely printed lists of book-titles, interspersed with brief remarks, will give a clear notion of the vast labor that has been expended upon philosophy and its history in Germany, Holland, France and Italy, and the number of minds, many of the first order, that have concentrated their attention upon clearing up single and often microscopic points, and so contributing to the completeness of such a book as this. The dissertations, programmes and articles of the Continental professors and teachers make up a large part of this vast bulk. Any of these gentlemen is as much delighted to discern a neglected light in mediæval philosophy, or an ignored nexus between two Greek doctrines or schools, as is one of our Shaksperean microscopists, who

> Believes he sees two points in Hamlet's soul
> Unsiezed by the Germans, yet, which view he'll print.

And then intermediate between these masters of detail and the general historian, come the historians who have gathered up the results for a whole period into works of vast labor and acuteness. Such are Braniss and Zeller—may we not add Ferrier?—in the

department of ancient philosophy. Under their hands the old chaotic story of Greek speculation, in spite of ugly chasms in the literature, now discloses to us its meaning, order and connection. In the mediæval history the French have accomplished most. Cousin's studies in the Neo-Platonists, to whom he was led by his affinity for their eclecticism, brought him to their mediæval scholars, some of whom learned Neo-Platonism from the Latin translations of Porphyry that Boethius made, while others, like John Scotus Erigena, learnt it at second-hand in the writings of "Dionysius the Areopagite"—a man of straw of the sixth century—and his commentator, Maximus the Confessor. Then came Cousin's grand find of the lost treatises of Abælard, and French zeal and pride were all awake to glorify the great mediæval teachers who founded and illustrated the University of Paris, and made France for centuries the centre of the literary and intellectual movements of Europe. In the history of modern philosophy each people has accomplished most in the study of its own, although Frenchmen love to plume themselves on the idea that all opinions must come to Paris for naturalization before they can become European. German philosophy can hardly be said to have reached Paris yet; it was not even heard of there, in spite of the labors of Villers in Kant's behalf, until it had penetrated every other country in Europe. Except the generous appreciation of the Italian Vico and the German Krause, we know of no thinker outside France, not even Leibnitz, who owes anything in this regard to the French. Krause's verbose and artificial system seems to suit the Latin mind admirably. A considerable number of Frenchmen follow him, though he has now hardly any school in Germany, and in Spain a vigorous group of young philosophers almost worship him as the grandest philosophic mind of the age!

Professor Morris has added greatly to the value of the book by supplementing the two brief accounts of later German thinkers with extracts from Erdmann. This is especially true of Trendelenberg, Lötze and Ulrici, three very interesting writers, and all of them more exact and scientific in their form, and therefore more likely to interest English and American students, than most of the German philosophers. The most bumptious Anglo-Saxon despiser of the dominant German tendencies, would find in these men, and in Herbart and Benecke, authors as much to his mind as Locke or Paley

These later chapters of the book show how absurd the opinion is that we sometimes hear expressed, that German philosophy ended its career with Hegel. The half century between the publication of the *Critique of the Pure Reason* and the death of Hegel, was indeed the most vigorous and productive in German philosophy as in German literature. There were giants in those days. But in the criticism of what was then done, the reconciliation of the sharp antitheses then developed in a higher synthesis, and even in independent original work, the philosophers of Germany have not been idle. When twenty years ago materialism, as at once the reaction from a one-sided idealism and the fruit of an exclusive devotion to the natural sciences, began to assert itself, philosophy showed how much strength it could put forth. Moleschott, Büchner, Vogt, and their ilk, found at least their match in Wagner, Lange, Schaller, etc., and in fighting the pessimism of Schopenhauer and his school, especially in the form given to it by Hartmann in his *Philosophy of the Unconscious*, the other schools show all their old vigor.

The translation has two long additions in the second volume. The first is by President Porter, and concerns English and American philosophy. We get the impression from reading it that Dr. Porter began to write a very elaborate treatise, but "was not able the finish" upon that scale. His work reminds us of the western politician's description of political platforms, which he compared to a far-west turnpike that opened wide and grand, with a row of trees on each side, but by and by narrowed to a bridle-path, and then dwindled to a squirrel-track and ran up a tree. The close of each department is just a long string of names and title-pages, with hardly a hint beyond.

But Dr. Porter's subjective views have had a worse influence than his lack of space. The perspective of the subject seems to be taken from the Scotch corner of the field, and the farther a man is from that corner, the worse he fares and the smaller he looks. Reed has eight pages; the rest of the Scotch school about five each; the two Mills, nine. Alexander Knox is not named at all, and *Samuel Taylor Coleridge gets sixteen lines* Disgraceful as the fact is, there have been mystics who wrote English,—found a vehicle for their insanities in the same language as has been honored to express the views of the common

sense school. They even philosophized in it. Such were Peter Sterry, John Everhard, Thomas Bromley, John and Samuel Pordage in the seventeenth century, and William Law in the eighteenth. In a German history something would be said about them, if only to slap them, or kick them. Sterry's strange book on the will, would hardly escape notice. But Dr. Porter has better sense; he lets them alone most severely—he passes by such fellows as rather a discredit, of whom it is as well to say nothing. His arithmetic justifies him. His first proportion ran—Reed: Coleridge : : 8 pages: 16 lines. Substitute Sterry or Law for Coleridge, and the sixteen lines become silence. Yet Southey and F. D. Maurice and Mrs. Augustus Hare admired Sterry, while John Sterling says of Law's answer to Manderville: "I have never seen in our language the elementary ground of a rational ideal philosophy, as opposed to empiricism, stated with nearly the same clearness, simplicity and force."

In the notice of Baxter, nothing is said of his logical speculations, in which Coleridge says he anticipated Kant's schematism. Nothing is said of Henry More's *Philosophiæ Teutonicae Censura*, or of his and Glanville's *Lux Orientalis*. The whole account of the Cambridge school is amazingly deficient, if we consider that Dr. Porter had Tullock's *Rational Theology* before him.

Some sort of rough classification of the names massed at the end should have been attempted, such as to point out by themselves the new Berkeleyans, the Hamiltonians, the champions and the opponents of the evolution theory, the school of Coleridge, the British and American Hegelians. Especially disappointing is the notice of the late F. D. Maurice, a man who has set more men a-thinking, and in purely philosophic lines too, than any other man since Hegel and Coleridge. Dr. Porter quotes two of his treatises without his name, in his notice of Dean Mansel, and then a few pages farther on gives us the name of Prof. Maurice and the titles of three of his books, and not even those correctly. He does not appear to know of Dorner's pamphlet on "*The Mansel-Maurice Controversy*," He omits Maurice's *Kingdom of Christ*, which contains more genuine philosophy, or what Plato or Augustine would regard as such, than all the books of the Scotch school from Hutcheson to Hamilton. Maurice's books

are moulding the thought of a multitude of the generation now growing into manhood, more than all their recognized teachers.

The American part of Dr. Porter's work is equally unsatisfactory. Jonathan Edwards, is the only single name that receives much attention, but he deserves all he gets. Prof. Maurice well says: "Even at the end of a century......the treatise of Jonathan Edwards on *The Freedom of the Will*, still remains the most original and in some respects the most important product" of American literature. But even Edwards has not fair play at Dr. Porter's hands; so completely does he move in the Scottish groove of thought. To him philosophy means the discussion of what and how we know; and the grounds of our certainty; it means to find a satisfactory answer to Hume's puzzling questions. And so to him Edwards is a philosopher because he agreed with Berkeley, and his chief diploma of recognition as a philosopher is that Dugald Stewart patted him on the back and said, "not so bad for a Yankee, now;" and so the remarkable ontology of Edwards is passed by as not to the point. For the same reason, it may be supposed, there is no attempt to describe the systems of later American thinkers. What is the transcendentalism of the Concord school? Dr. McCosh has devoted a considerable space in one of his books to proving that he does not know; Dr. Porter avoids his worse than ridiculous blunders; but of Emerson he can only say that he belongs rather to the imaginative than to the scientific department of philosophy. Scientific men would be the first to repudiate that distinction, and to tell Dr. Porter that the imagination is the instrument of science. But if Emerson belongs to *any* department of philosophy, a historian of philosophy cannot afford to ignore him. Among the omissions we notice that—as already said—Dr. Murdock's little *History of German Philosophy* is passed by. So is Judge Stallo's very able work, *The Philosophy of Nature*, in which the views of Schelling and Oken, but especially Hegel, are expounded, and the current atomic theory of the scientific world is exploded. So is Dr. C. P. Krauth's edition of Fleming's *Vocabulary of Philosophy*. Frothingham's *Philosophy of the Absolute* is described as Swedenborgian, which is not our impression of it.

The second addition, by Dr. Vincenzo Botta, is a sketch of Italian philosophy, from the era of the Renaissance to our own

days. To us, as to most readers, the field is entirely new, especially the latter part. We had heard of Vico, Gioberti and Vera, and had read them in translations, but of names not less illustrious we knew nothing whatever. The notices are clear and well proportioned, if not long, and the author seems to be completely the master of his subject. He has certainly introduced us to a very considerable body of interesting thinkers, and has furnished to many of us a new motive to master the musical language of his native country.

We take leave of the work, wishing it a wide circulation, and hoping that we shall have many more like it. Any fault we have to find with its details is but a trifle in comparison with our admiration of it as a whole, and we hope to see it exert a great and good influence upon the intellect of the land.

JOHN DYER.

CARMEN XXXVIII.

Persia's pomp, my boy, I hate;
For me no linden chaplets plait;
Cease to seek where blooming late,
The last rose lingers.

Plain myrtle suits your brows and mine,
Drinking beneath this shady vine;
Suits thee in simple wreaths to twine
With idle fingers.

T. C. C.

NEW BOOKS.

"THE NEW CHEMISTRY." By Josiah P. Cooke, Jr., Erving Professor of Chemistry and Mineralogy in Harvard University. (International Scientific Series, 1874.)

These lectures, delivered before the Lowell Institute, in Boston, in the autumn of 1872, aim to show in a popular way the reasons for that complete change which chemistry has undergone in its fundamental theories, and even in its language; a change which,

while setting adrift many chemists of the old school, has shed additional light on all that was previously known, and widened the fields of research.

To accomplish this task before a popular audience was an undertaking of such boldness, that before Tyndall had demonstrated the possibility of thus handling equally abstruse subjects no one would have attempted it.

Much of the admirable method of Tyndall is to be found in these lectures, together with much of Hofmann's ingenuity in the discussion of experiments.

This method brings again to notice a striking feature of modern science, as interpreted by its masters; namely, their ability to adapt it to the comprehension of persons of ordinary culture.

Ambiguity, long words, and a lack of candor in acknowledging what is not yet understood, are now-a-days becoming the distinctive characteristics of the charlatan. If Galileo were alive and wished to preserve his scientific reputation, he could not now put off the scientific inquirer who asked an explanation of the stand of the mercury in a closed tube, by any such dictum of a previous philosophy as that "nature abhorred a vacuum." The lecturers on science, and pre-eminently among them Tyndall, have introduced a most commendable habit of exact, trenchant statement and of perfect honesty; a desire to present to the minds of their auditors a clear picture of what is in their own—be it right or wrong—so that the layman is informed of just how far the knowledge of our leaders reaches, and what is still acknowledged as unknown. We feel justified in calling this a modern method of treatment, for almost all lectures and textbooks of the past (and but too many of the present) confine themselves to a mere statement of the known, and even there cloud the subject ("squid the topic," as a learned modern naturalist calls it,) when on delicate ground; while they leave the imagination of the reader to be his only guide in defining the limits of the hitherto attained.

We have made these remarks that we may render our warmest thanks to Prof. Cooke for following the lead of Hofmann and Tyndall, not only because this method is the best, but because we have needed some one to introduce it in this country. In no country in the world are there so many lecturers, and in none are there fewer lectures which deserve to be preserved in written form. The plan adopted by Prof. Cooke is original and thorough, and assisted by the vigor of his language and his skill in marshalling facts and extracting all the information from his experiments, it carries his hearers in thirteen lectures from molecular physics—the cradle of the science—to the most recent discoveries in organic chemistry, and enables him to construct an outline of the whole subject, to point out the deficiencies of the old system and

the advantages of the modern, while incorporating and assimilating all that is new, both in physics and chemistry.

A sketch of this plan is somewhat as follows: In the first two lectures Prof. C. reviews our conceptions of matter, and embodies Sir W. Thompson's latest researches on the limits of the size of molecules. An explanation of the laws of Mariotte, of Avogadro, and of Charles, leads to a consideration of the molecular motions in gases and liquids, and of the molecular structure of solids.

In this connection the analogy between the rings and crosses observed when polarized light is passed through plates of Iceland spar and nitre, and the singly and doubly polar magnetic curves are alluded to as possibly suggesting molecular polarity as the cause of crystal formation. The third lecture expounds the methods devised by Dumas and Hofmann for ascertaining the molecular weight and specific gravity of the gases. The fourth deals with the division of the molecule, the definitions of chemical union, analysis and synthesis, and introduces the atomic theory, which the lecturer acknowledges to be provisional only. The fifth is devoted to establishing the separate existence of the elements and the laws of combination, and the sixth to the modes of determining atomic weights, and the uses and meanings of chemical symbols. Here ground is broken for a comparison of the two systems of theoretical chemistry. The seventh and eighth concern stoichiometry and the classification of re-actions, and the ninth handles the subject of combustion very deftly. The tenth contains a very interesting discourse on the nature of explosion, and its illustration by gunpowder and nitro-glycerine, in the light of the new chemistry, but this lecture concludes with a somewhat worn piece of metaphysical conservatism in a defense of the phlogistic theory.

The eleventh lecture is an able disquisition on quantivalance; the limits of its variation; the fact that it presupposes structure, and the formation and combination of radicals. In the twelfth, the influence of the compound radicals on the molecule is shown, and Berzelius' electro-chemical theory is applied to account for the replacement of the hydrogen atom in acids and bases by radicals which are their opposites in polarity.

Lavoisier's dualistic theory is shown to be incapable of accounting for the facts of modern organic chemistry.

Finally, the thirteenth and last lecture is a most masterly treatment of the theory of the types of organic structure. By the selection of a few isomeric bodies, Prof. Cooke shows the importance of structure within the molecule, and cites several instances where the graphic symbols have indicated the possibility of several varieties of structure of a given compound molecule, before a search had been rewarded with the discovery of the isomers themselves.

The defects in these lectures are comparatively few and unim-

portant, but it lightens the ungracious employment of pointing them out to think that the very excellence of the lectures has made them more noticeable.

Such we would regard the contradictory statements as to the constitution of matter, which occur on pp. 14 and 102: for how can Prof. Cooke feel "drawn to that view of nature which * * * sees in the cosmos, besides mind, only two essentially distinct beings, namely, matter and energy * * * * and which refers the qualities of substances to the affections of the one substratum modified by the varying play of forces" (p. 102), if he believes that "if nature were made out of a single substance there could be no chemistry, even if there could be intelligences to study science at all?" (P. 14.)

The remark (p. 33) that "we cannot separate, to any considerable extent, the molecules of water from each other * * * without changing the liquid into a gas," depends for its correctness upon the meaning which we assign to "considerable."

The statement (p. 68) that "density, however, is a weight," is in antagonism with the ordinarily accepted idea of density, as it is with a previous statement on the same page, that "the density of a substance is the amount of matter in a unit volume of the substance."

Again (p. 160) we are told that "the evolution of heat is an indication of chemical combination," whereas the converse is the view generally entertained.

In the chemical equation given (p 181) want of space seems to be an insufficient reason for omitting the reaction of chlorine on the zinc, and giving only thaton the copper of the tinsel.

(P. 180) It is stated that "the symbol of one molecule represents what we call a unit volume," etc. This nomenclature seems to us to be inferior to the old method of considering the half molecular volume (sometimes called the "atom volume") as that unit.

These objections are made in no hypercritical frame of mind, nor do we believe that they seriously detract from the value of a book which we can heartily recommend as the best of its kind which has come within our knowledge.

ERASMUS, HIS LIFE AND CHARACTER AS SHOWN IN HIS CORRESPONDENCE AND WORKS. By Robert Blackley Drummond. 2 vols. Pp. 413 and 380. London: Smith, Elder & Co. 1873. With portrait,

Is a fairly brief account of the busy literary life of the chiefest man in the creation of modern literature. Erasmus is the author to whose industry, zeal and fertility are largely due the revival of classical learning, and that literary reformation which preceded

the great religious reformation of his great contemporaries—Luther, Melancthon and Zwingli. Mr. Drummond shows a hearty appreciation for the love of letters, which was the great merit of Erasmus, and he discriminates sharply and fairly between his conservative effort to reform within the church of Rome, and that violent and drastic revolution which produced the great reform and brought about the modern life of the church and the world. It is to be regretted that Mr. Drummond did not give a catalogue raisonée of the writings of Erasmus', for he was certainly one of the most voluminous authors of that busy writing age in which he lived. Apart from his estimate of Erasmus as a reformer, Mr. Drummond's volumes give, in a fairly readable way, a sketch of the enormous literary activity of that period of transition in which Erasmus lived and led so active a part. The universality of Latin as the language of letters and of men of the world brought him into close communion with his contemporaries in all the countries where learning was cultivated, and nothing is more striking than the ease with which he moved from Holland to England, from France to Italy, all the while maintaining the most intimate relations with scholars, statesmen, princes, both temporal and ecclesiastical, and yet needing but the one language with which to make his way everywhere. In this respect the cultivation of a stricter nationality has been no great gain to those whose work is now limited to their native speech, and whose scope of labor is therefore proportionably reduced. To those of us who know Erasmus by his *Adagia*, his *Copia*, his *Encomium Moræ*, his *Familiar Colloquies*, and his *Apothems*, there is a charm in the almost garrulous fluency of a mind devoted to learning, and full of pleasant fancies, and a quaint yet gentle wit. But over and beyond these, the incubations of his learned leisure, there was a vast amount of solid work done by Erasmus, which had abundant merit in point of scholarship as compared to the learning of his day, and which had a vastly greater merit in the good it did by reviving a love of learning, and by bringing to the sacred writings, to the early fathers, and to the controversies of the church, a critical knowledge far beyond anything that was known before. As the translator of the New Testament, as the editor of Ambrose, of Augustin, of Basil, of Chrysostom, of Cyprian, of Jerome, Erasmus did his share to bring about a real reform in the church. By his editions of Aristotle, of Cicero, of Juvenal, he broke the road for modern classical learning and criticism, and it is only by measuring the progress that has been made since his day that we can see how far he advanced beyond his contemporaries and his predecessors. He helped to overthrow the wretched "philosophy" of the schoolmen, and founded in its stead a learning that still lights up the world. He was one of the unconscious authors of the Reformation itself, and indeed the great contest over him, both living and

dead, was to ascertain exactly where he stood on that, the great question of the day. The best answer to it is found in Mr. Drummond's account of his life and death. Apart, however, from all that is strictly personal, the book gives a picture of the literary life of men of learning in the sixteenth century, which cannot fail to instruct and interest those of the nineteenth who follow in their footsteps—"*sed longo intervallo.*"

MIND AND BODY—THE THEORIES OF THEIR RELATION. By Alexander Bain, LL. D., Professor of Logic in the University of Aberdeen. New York; D. Appleton & Co. Pp. 196. For sale by Porter & Coates.

For any one anxious to become acquainted with the latest results of mental science, we know no better treatise than this. Prof. Bain's works upon psychology are standard books in England, and might perhaps be so in this country, were it not that every teacher of the subject thinks it necessary to publish his lectures as a text-book for the college in which he has a chair. Into these two hundred pages the author has condensed the facts which are discussed at greater length in his two larger volumes. But the condensation is perfectly compatible with clearness. By a moderate degree of thought and attention, a novice may easily learn from Prof. Bain those results toward which the investigations of the last thirty years have tended, and which are themselves no doubt only provisional conclusions, to be corrected and amplified in the future. They are sufficiently wonderful, however, even in their present development, to reward a careful study.

In his last chapter the author gives a summary of the conflicting theories entertained since the days of Aristotle, upon the relationship of mind to body. This chapter will be found not the least interesting in the book, containing as it does, in a compact form, information which must otherwise be sought in the pages of Scotus and Aquinas. But before he reaches it, the reader is in a position to judge between the rival doctrines of Spiritualism and Materialism; to see where each has fallen short, and how they may be reconciled. Much of the difficulty has arisen from a misconception of what constitutes an explanation. "With regard to the nature of gravity, we have, since the Newtonian discovery, learned to consider that as a solved problem, and a good example of what constitutes finality in scientific inquiries, namely, when we have generalized a natural connection to the utmost, ascertained its precise law, and traced its consequences. That matter gravitates—that the property called inertia or resistance is united with the separate property of attraction at all distances—we accept as a fact, and unless, indeed, we saw our way to generalizing it one step further, we ask no more questions. So in the subject

before us there are two very distinct natural phenomena: the one we call consciousness, or mind; the other we call matter and material arrangements; they are united in the most intimate alliance. It is for us to study the nature of each in its own way, to determine the most general law of the alliance, and to follow them out into the explanation of the facts in detail, and then, as with gravity, to rest and be thankful."

It will be seen that Mr. Bain recognizes the ultimate distinction between mind and body, and entertains no hope that one may be represented in terms of the other. Nor does he see any reason for complaint or bewilderment in this duality. "There is surely nothing to complain of in the circumstance that the elements of our experience are, in the last resort, not one, but two. If there were fifty ultimate experiences, none of them having a single property in common with any other, and if we had only our present limited powers of understanding, we might be entitled to complain of the world's mysteriousness, in the one proper acceptation of mystery, namely, as overpowering our means of intellectual comprehension, as weighing us down with a load of unassimilable facts. But our actual difficulty is far short of this; the institution of two distinct entities is not in itself a crushing dispensation."

But Mr. Bain is at his best when he illustrates the positive side of his doctrine, the constant co-existence of the two entities, and the impossibility of mental action without a corresponding motion of the fibres and corpuscles of the brain. The body of the book is devoted to a careful account of this connection, and to a description of what takes place in the bodily organism from the moment when the nerve is impinged upon by a shock from without, to the ultimate outcome in muscular action and change of position. Popular phrases, such as that the mind and the body act upon each other, or that the mind uses the body as its instrument, are examined and objected to, and the real phenomenon is shown to be in all cases, "mind-body giving birth to mind-body." One more quotation will illustrate the author's story:

"We have every reason for believing that there is, in company with all our mental processes, *an unbroken material* succession. From the ingress of a sensation to the outgoing responses in action the mental succession is not for an instant dissevered from a physical succession. A new prospect bursts upon the view: there is a mental result of sensation, emotion, thought, terminating in outward displays of speech or gesture. Parallel to this mental series is the physical series of facts—the successive agitation of the physical organs, called the eye, the retina, the optic nerve, optic centers, cerebral hemispheres, outgoing nerves, muscles, etc. While we go the round of the mental circle of sensation, emotion and thought, there is an unbroken physical circle of effects. It would be incompatible with everything we know of the cerebral

action to suppose that the physical chain ends abruptly in a physical void, occupied by an immaterial substance, which immaterial substance, after working alone, imparts its results to the other edge of the physical break, and determines the active response—two shores of the material with an intervening ocean of the immaterial. There is in fact no rupture of nervous continuity. The only tenable supposition is that mental and physical proceed together as undivided twins. When, therefore, we speak of a mental cause, a mental agency, we have always a two-sided cause. The effect produced is not the effect of mind alone, but of mind in company with body."

Yale Lectures on Preaching. By Henry Ward Beecher. Second series. Pp. 330. New York: J. B. Ford & Co. Philadelphia: Smith, English & Co. Price, $1.50.

This second series of Mr. Beecher's lectures on the Lyman Beecher Foundation, before the Theological Department of Yale College, was, like the first, delivered to crowded audiences, all the ministry of the city and its vicinity thronging the place of their delivery. The topics are more specific than in the first; they cover such subjects as prayer-meetings, Bible-classes, church music, and the like, on all of which Mr. Beecher was something fresh and striking to say. A good deal of what is said grows out of the workings of his own church in Brooklyn, which is not merely a large congregation of New Englanders devotedly attached to a brilliant pastor, but a centre of vigorous missionary work in the neighborhood. Now and then he gives us a glimpse from his own life, as when he says:

"When I was a child, my dear Aunt Esther used to promise that if I would be a good boy, she would read to me on Sunday afternoon about the ten plagues of Pharaoh; and I was enough of a Christian to like to see a fellow thrashed, so I always wanted to hear about Pharaoh."

"The Methodist brethren take men literally right from the plow, from the flail, who cannot even speak good English. I knew good "Old Sorrells," as we used to call him, of Indiana; now a sound, well-educated, cultivated man—a man of great influence and power. But when he first went on the circuit in the Whitewater valley, he didn't know enough to tell the number of the [chapter and] verse of the text. He had to count off from the beginning: 'one, two, three, four,' in order to announce 'the fourth chapter and the sixteenth verse.'"

Somebody should gather up the autobiographic passages from Beecher's books, sermons and articles, and have them arranged and ready to print when he dies—may the day be distant!

The part of this volume that will excite most opposition, is that

on revivals. A few sentences will be enough to give Beecher's view of them:

"A revival of religion is nothing in the world but a religious feeling in its intense and social form, so that it becomes contagious, electric. It is not an abnormal or unnatural condition; it is not one hard to produce."

"If you draw a line across a man's head, half way between the top and the base, every one of the faculties below it, when violently excited, tends to re-action. If you take the faculties above, which we call moral or divine, if they have anything like fair usage, there is no re-action to them. If you rouse men up by the vasilar faculties, and fill them with horror and all sorts of lurid phantasmata, look out for a re-action—you ought to have one. But if renewals of religion come in with hope, with love, with courage, with faith,—in other words, if they are brought in by Gospel influences in distinction from legal influences—they are not subject to re-action."

"Most of the revivalists that I have known were men with immense bellies and immense chests and big under-heads. They are men who carry a great deal of personal magnetism with them, a sensuous magnetism, too, and they have great power of addressing the under-mind; and they will set feelings undulating like waves, and will carry men on them; * * * * and because they preach to the under-class, men who are moved by conscience and nothing else, they preach these acerb and terrific doctrines, and preach them with all the imagery that has come down to us from the mediæval times, with hoofs and horns, and all manner of exaggerated statements."

BOOKS RECEIVED.

A Treatise Concerning the Principles of Human Knowledge. By George Berkeley, D. D., formerly Bishop of Cloyne. With Prolegomena and with Annotations, select, translated and original. By Chas. P. Krauth, D. D., Vice-Provost of the University of Pennsylvania. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1874 Pp. 424. Cloth. Oct.

Half Hour Recreations in Popular Science, No. 9. The Stone Age past and present. By E. B. Tylor.

Theory of a Nervous Ether. By Dr. Richardson, F. R. S. Boston: Estes & Lauriat. [J. B. Lippincott & Co.] Pp. 47. Paper. 25 cents.

Public Ledger Almanacs, 1870–1873. Pp. 233. 12 mo. Cloth. Philadelphia: George W. Childs, publisher.

The Atlantic Almanac, 1874. Pp. 80. Paper. Large oct. Illustrated. 50 cents. Boston: James R. Osgood & Co.

Half Hour Recreations in Natural History. Insects of the garden, their habits, etc. By A. S. Packard, Jr. (Part I. of Half Hours with Insects to be

completed in 12 parts.) Boston: Estes & Lauriat. Pp. 32. Paper. 25 cents. [J. B. Lippincott & Co.]

A Dictionary of Medical Science. By Robley Dunglison, M. D., LL.D. Enlarged and revised. By Richard J. Dunglison, M. D. Philadelphia: Henry C. Lea. 1874. Royal oct. Pp. 1131. Cloth, $6 50. Leather, $7.50.

The Young Magdalen and Other Poems. By Francis S. Smith. Philadelphia: T. B. Peterson & Brothers. Pp 280. Morocco, Cloth, gilt top and side, with beveled boards. $3.00.

Problems of Life and Mind By George Henry Lewes. First series. The Foundations of a Creed. Vol. I. Boston: Jas. R. Osgood & Co., 1874 [Claxton, Remsen & Haffelfinger.]

French Home Life. Reprinted from Blackwood's Magazine. New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1874. [J. B. Lippincott & Co.]

The New Chemistry. By Josiah P. Cooke, Jr., Ering Professor of Chemistry and Mineralogy in Harvard University. International Scientific Series. New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1874. [Porter & Coates.]

The Conservation of Energy. By Balfour Stewart, LL.D., F. R. S., Professor of Natural Philosophy at the Owens College, Manchester. With an Appendix. International Scientific Series. New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1874. Pp. 236. [Porter & Coates.]

The Young Artist's Series of Copies and Outlines for Water Color Painting after John Absolon and other artists. Porter & Coates. No. 2. Price 25 cts.

The Life of Edwin Forrest, with Reminiscences and Personal Recollections. By James Rees (Colley Cibber). With a portrait and autograph. Philadelphia: T. B. Peterson & Brothers. Pp. 524. Oct. Cloth.

Married; a novel. By Mrs. C. J. Newby. Philadelphia: T. B. Peterson & Brothers. Pp. 132. Paper, 50 cents.

The Parisians. By Edward Bulwer, Lord Lytton. Philadelphia: J. B Lippincott & Co., 1874. Oct. Cloth.

Poems of Twenty Years. By Laura Winthrop Johnson. New York: De Witt C. Lent, 1874. Pp. 148. Oct. $1.50. [Remsen, Claxton & Haffelfinger.]

The Iliad of Homer Rendered into English Blank Verse. By Edward Earl of Derby, with a biographical sketch by R. Shelton Mackenzie, D. C. L. Fifth edition from the ninth English revised edition. Philadelphia: Porter & Coates. Cloth gilt top, beveled boards. Oct 2 vols. 887 pp. $4.00.

Only Temper; A novel. By Mrs. C. J Newby. Philadelphia: T. B. Peterson & Brothers. Paper. 122 pp. 50 cents.

Bulletin de L'Académie Royale des Sciences, des Lettres, et des Beaux-Arts de Belgique, 42 année, 2 série, tome 36. No. 12. Bruxelles: F. Hayez, Imprimeur de L'Académie Royale, 1873.

THE

PENN MONTHLY.

APRIL, 1874.

THE MONTH.

ENGLAND is in a state of excusable excitement over the result of the Ashantee war. The general rejoicing has, of course, been made greater by the reaction which followed the correction of the false reports of Sir Garnet Wolseley's defeat. The campaign against King Koffee seems to have been skillfully and energetically conducted, though with some loss to the English army. One or two of the engagements deserve the name of battles—in one particularly, the English commander had to carry out a manœuvre as old as Julius Cæsar. Beset on all sides at once by his numerous foes, he formed his command into a square and broke to bits the Ashantee army by the solid weight of a phalanx. Comassie, the capital of the savages, was occupied, after a hard fight, and a great part of it destroyed, after vain attempts to make a treaty with the king. Laden with "loot," as plunder is euphoniously called, the English army marched safely back to Cape Coast Castle, and the telegraph has assured us of Sir Garnet's arrival in London, where he received an enthusiastic welcome Mr. Disraeli, after the Abyssian campaign, spoke of the British General as planting the banner of St. George on the mountains of Rasselas. We shall await with impatience the epigram upon this last achievement, upon which he is doubtless meditating during the few unoccupied moments of official life.

THE most important news from France are the elections to the Assembly of Ledru-Rollin and Lepetit. Of the latter we know little, save that he is reported generally to be of the radicals most radical;—of Ledru-Rollin little that is not known remains to be said. Great efforts were made by the government of the Septennat, as McMahon's provisional Republic is now called, to prevent the election of so dangerous a man as the former Minister and late political refugee. But the people of the Vaucluse seem to have made up their minds to do as they pleased, and their favorite has an official majority of twenty-seven hundred. It is, perhaps, significant to find the official journals congratulating themselves that this majority is no larger. Ledru-Rollin is said by his enemies to have changed in his twenty years of exile. St. Addlegourd was a radical: says Bret Harte in his exquisite parody of Lothair, "being heir to a Dukedom and £1,000,000 a year he could afford to be." "Having grown immensely rich," say the haters of the new deputy, "Ledru-Rollin can afford to be conservative." There is more than one definition of the term, however, and M. Gambetta's idea of a Conservative may suit M. de Broglie's of a Radical. If M. Ledru-Rollin be the man he used to be, he will not leave either of these gentlemen in doubt as to his political character.

THE gossip of the French capital has been much exercised of late; first, over the appearance of M. Emile Ollivier; secondly, over the announcement of his reception by the Academy, and thirdly, over the startling news that the reception has been indefinitely postponed. It seems that it is the custom of that venerable body, the French Academy, to appoint a committee to hear read the speech of the new member and the reply. Ollivier's duty as the successor of Lamartine, was to deliver a eulogy upon the poet and the statesman. The latter had, at some late period of his too long life, expressed great admiration for Napoleon III., and this remark M. Ollivier had quoted, accompanied by several comments of his own of a very eulogistic character. Praise of the "Sedantaire," as the Parisian's have delighted to call their late ruler, sounded unpleasantly in the ears of the committee appointed to hear M. Ollivier's address, and roused the anger of M. Guizot, in whose ashes still glow their wonted fires. An altercation took place at once, and

the matter was referred to the Academy. Never Bonapartist, and far too French to be very magnanimous, the Academy gave M. Ollivier his choice between the omission of the lines or no reception at all. He chose the latter, but immediately published his rejected oration in the newspapers, over which unacademic and apparently undignified performance the Academy seems to have gone into hysterics. Paris has greatly enjoyed the quarrel, and deems it far too pretty to spoil by peace-making, as it doubtless is, but a little patience on M. Ollivier's part would have been creditable. It is not impossible that he might yet have delivered that eulogy of Napoleon, and expressed the impulses of ever changing Paris in doing so, had he bided his time and kept it unpublished a little while. It is certainly among possibilities: there are no probabilities in French politics.

On a beautiful day, in the midst of an admiring multitude, with religious services, speeches and the like, the Prince Imperial attained his "Dynastic majority." The Duc de Padone, and many other noblemen and gentlemen from various parts of France, made him an address of congratulation and homage, in which each sentence seemed to struggle with each other in the vain attempt to be epigrammatic. The Prince was more successful, and in his reply expressed a yearning for a Plebiscite, in which very creditable wish he showed himself to be a true son of his father, and not of his uncle, as was sometimes irreverently said of the lamented Emperor. The queen of England, with equal taste and generosity, seems to have enlivened the birthday proceedings with the present of a silver plate, properly engraved, which it would appear still remained wanting to her former cheerful gift of a sarcophagus. The receipt of this touching testimonial was one of the features of the birthday celebration. It is not surprising to learn that many of the pilgrims to Camden House, who were mayors or officials in their departments, have been removed from office since their return home, as rigorously as if they were recalcitrant Postmasters or District Attorneys under a real Republic. There is a good deal of human nature in Republican rulers, after all, whether you call their governments Unions, Confederacies, Provisional Governments, or Septennats.

THE little Prince may continue to yearn in vain for his Plebiscite for some time to come, perhaps, unless the luck changes with Pretenders. They have been enjoying lately what is known to the sporting world in England as "hard lines." Since the last number of this monthly the famous Sir Roger Tichborne, Baronet, has met with his deserts. After an extraordinary trial of great duration, the jury have found him guilty, and the Lord Chief Justice sentenced him to fourteen years penal servitude. There has been little doubt in England, for a long time past, as to the true character of "the claimant," as he was called, and the decision of the jury, after an absence from court of but twenty-nine minutes, is universally approved. The punishment inflicted seems hardly sufficient; but as the Chief Justice said, the law had not conceived the possibility of such a crime as the prisoner committed, and the fullest extent which it allowed was imposed. It seems as if laws were, after all, ineffectual to prevent or to punish; for what reparation is to be made to the innocent family whom this scoundrel has been pursuing since 1866, keeping the members of it in a state of continual anxiety, and in one instance, of anguish, and driving them to the expenditure of half a million of dollars in defense of their own rights? The administration of justice has done all it could, and the jury characteristically enough—for it was apparently made up of honest Englishmen—included in its verdict an expression of belief in the innocence and purity of poor Lady Radcliff, and an indignant denial of the plaintiff's shocking story. At the same time, with the collapse of the Tichborne case, that of Naundorff came to an unlucky end at Paris. Naundorff was one of the ten or a dozen men who called themselves the sons of Louis XVI. He died in 1848 or 1849, and since the destruction of the original records by the Commune his descendants have come forward to establish their rights at law. M. Jules Favre conducted their case, of course with ability, but without success, for the court held that Naundorff was not the King Louis XVII., and dismissed the suit. Whether it decided the question whether the young Prince did or did not die in the Temple, we are not informed.

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MILLARD FILLMORE had reached, at the time of his death, the age of seventy-three. He was a man of fair talents, of excellent

character, of pleasing manners, of an amiable disposition, and kind heart. He came into power at an unfortunate time, when the slavery question had finally assumed the position it had long been threatening to take in American politics, and refused any longer to go down at the bidding of compromise. Speculation, of course, at this time is useless as to what would have been the result had the occupant of the presidential chair twenty years ago been a man of strong convictions, of foresight, and of determination. Mr. Fillmore possessed none of these qualities. He was a fair example of that school of politicians which controlled the country for the twenty years preceding the Rebellion. He signed the Fugitive Slave Law and the Compromise Measures with a sincere belief that the trouble was not deep-seated, and would soon be at an end. He lived to see the destruction of slavery, and the re-establishment of the Union, and the triumph of principles which in his best days he had thought hardly deserving of the name. Since his unsuccessful campaign in 1856, Mr. Fillmore has been entirely out of public life, and almost out of the public remembrance, and his death has caused no sensation beyond that which is occasioned everywhere by the passing away of an old man who has led a useful, honored, and honorable life, and deserved the respect of his day and generation.

THE death of Mr. Sumner ends at once all controversy in reference to his recent unpopular course in the Senate, and recalls only his great services to the nation in his earlier and better years. He was a thoroughly and well educated man, and his whole life was an instance of the result of culture in a man of not uncommon gifts. Besides a fine personal appearance, nature had not bestowed on Mr. Sumner many strong qualities either of mind or judgment. He was from the outset, and he remained to the last, a diligent, patient, exhaustive student, and his work, at the bar, in the Senate, and on the stump—though it seems difficult to class his elegant oratory with the effusions of our ordinary politicians—was always the result of hard, steady application. As a lawyer, he reported and edited the opinions of others, he lectured on law at Harvard College, and wrote a pamphlet on the Oregon question, but

he gained no great distinction at the bar. His entry into political life was in opposition, and he showed to best advantage in his persistent advocacy of the abolition of slavery and in the establishment of equal rights to the colored race. His addresses in and out of the Senate were labored, careful and thorough, but had little of the fire of eloquence or of the force of conviction in them. But in them, as in his whole life, he was honest, open and straightforward, and persistent. He alone in the Senate of the United States maintained the traditions of the orators of an earlier day, as one who had united scholarly eloquence with active political partisanship, and with him the race of great public speakers seems at an end. Contrasted with Clay and Webster, it is clear that he had little of their innate fire and genius, but measured by the standard of his colleagues of to-day, there is no one of them who could cope with him in the sort of studied oratory which he made his own to the very last. But his best and highest quality as a citizen and as a Senator, was his inflexible honesty. It never occurred to him that he could be asked or expected to do anything that would sully his character, and no man ever suspected him of any but honest motives in all he did. This is unfortunately but too rare now-a-days, and in his own State the step from Sumner to Butler will but serve to heighten the memory of the dead at the expense of the living. His love of literature led him into kindred pursuits of art, and his collection of books and pictures, of rare engravings and sculpture, was such as showed the nicest taste and the most refined culture. In this, too, he stood almost alone, for his colleagues in Congress, almost to a man, are too deeply immersed in the business of politics, to have any time for cultivation of their intellects. As a representative, therefore, of the best culture of the country, his loss will be felt in Washington and in Boston. The incidents of his life are too well known to be rehearsed here, and his death is too recent for an impartial judgment of his merits as a statesman and of his services to the country. His example of honesty in the midst of corruption, of courage in the face of bitter hostility, may well efface the painful recollections of the later years of his life, embittered by ill health and sad domestic griefs.

Before this shall have been printed his successor will have been

chosen. The spectacle which the Massachusetts Legislature has afforded the remainder of mankind, since the death of Mr. Sumner, has not been re-assuring. The Democrats in the Bay State seem to be not unlike Democrats in other places. Passing by Mr. Charles Francis Adams, whom the independent Republicans might have been willing to unite with them in electing, they have, it is said, nominated Judge Curtis, whom the Republicans will not support, and the new Senator will probably, therefore, be chosen without their aid. The Republicans are divided between Judge Hoar and Mr. Dawes, with the chances in favor of the latter. Had Mr. Dawes taken the position in the Credit Mobilier investigation and back salary debate, which his friends and all who were familiar with his career had reason to expect him to have taken, or made use of the numerous opportunities which Providence and General Butler have given him to identify himself with the opponents in Massachusetts of the hero of New Orleans, he might have commanded the seat of Mr. Sumner by a sort of right, and his election would have been hailed with satisfaction by all the better elements of the Republican party. But for some reason he has not done so, and the support of which he might otherwise have been sure, is given to Judge Hoar. "You're afraid of Pitt," said Sheridan to Erskine, "and that's the flabby part of your character." The member from Berkshire may not be willing to expose himself to the attacks of his colleague from Essex for a similar reason, or from motives less lofty than (it was thought) have been wont to influence Mr. Dawes. Certain it is, that General Butler is pushing his interests at this time at Boston, and General Butler's friends are working for him with characteristic zeal. It would be too much to expect an ordinary mortal not to couple this fact with the absence and apparent neutrality of Mr. Dawes during the fight over the nomination of the excellent Simmons. It may also be noticed, perhaps, with a glow of satisfaction at the example of patriotic self-sacrifice, that his devotion to the interests of Massachusetts has detained General Butler in Boston, though the rest of the delegation, including Judge Hoar, have returned to their duties at Washington. Mr. Adams, of course, takes no part in the struggle which is now at its height. The result will prove two things: The sincerity of the sorrow over Sumner's death, and the powers of endurance of the Republicans of Massachusetts.

It is premature to speak of the investigations now going on before the Committee of Ways and Means. Enough has, however, been revealed to show the existence of a system which can hardly be justified even on grounds of expediency, and it may be hoped that it will be entirely abolished. Congress will deserve thanks indeed, if it should succeed in devising, as a correspondent says the committee will recommend, an amendment of the laws "so as to protect private rights without impairing the efficiency of the customs service." The present system may be very well for the individuals who grow wealthy by means of moieties, but it is very bad for private citizens and for commerce; and it is certainly a strange thing, and a melancholy one too, that all these abuses have had to be committed and endured and investigated and exposed in order to remind us that one of the objects for which free governments exist, is the protection of the persons and property of the governed. If ever a people was long suffering and patient, it is this. Nowhere is the insolence of office more common or more loud than in this country; nowhere is it so patiently endured. No ordinary exercise of it could have aroused the indignation which has been poured out for ten days past before the Committee of Ways and Means. It may be safely expected that the chief object of this righteous anger will now retire to other spheres of usefulness than that in which he has been so active for the past two years.

Mr. J. G. Rosengarten's article upon the Law of Partnership, in our present number, treats in a manner showing unusual research, one of the most important topics for an enterprising people. It is hardly too much to say that the vigor, freedom, and precision with which associations are formed and operated, constitute the best index which could be named of a nation's civilization. They are, in fact, the principal token, fruit, and utensil of that organizing power which builds up nations.

In Pennsylvania, corporations have habitually been regarded with suspicion by our legislators, and since the necessity for associating and organizing is so pressing as to cause the existence of associations in spite of all obstacles, advantage has been taken of that necessity, and of that suspicion or odium, to burden all associations, except ordinary partnerships, with exceptional taxes.

Probably it would be too much to expect that the Legislature of our State will soon become entirely reasonable upon this subject, and probably Mr. Rosengarten is right, therefore, in calling upon Congress to act, but we are unable to perceive the grounds (beyond having a convenient pretext for taxation) upon which the jealousy of our State legislators stands, for to our eyes the instinct of association is as healthful as that of marriage, and should as little be discouraged; particularly should close and permanent union between capital and skilled industry be made easy.

It will hardly be pretended that all of those great industries which require considerable capital ought of right to be monopolized by a few individuals, each of whom is rich enough to own his whole establishment, and that a dozen men who can collectively command as much capital as the wealthy individual shall be prevented by force of law from competing with him. It can hardly be thought good policy for the commonwealth that upon the death of a diligent and skillful man, who has by a laborious and upright life built up a large industrial establishment, that establishment shall no longer be kept together and be run for the family in the careful, settled manner of its founder, but shall be torn apart, sold to strangers, and probably destroyed. These are, however, some of the practical effects of our existing laws, and no one can tell to what extent prudent persons are deterred from engaging in the most desirable pursuits by the various discouragements which our laws hold out to everything in the nature of an association.

It is, of course, impossible for us in the limits of this brief notice to attempt any indication of the proper remedies for this state of things, further than to say that the old stinginess, hostility and greediness toward corporations and associations must give way to a liberal and encouraging policy.

Of course, this should be done by general legislation, not by private charters, and very probably the Société en Commandite may be the best model after which to frame the law we need. It is, however, curious, that while England, and we may well add America, are looking to the commandite as their best resource, France has been considering whether the English limited joint stock company may not have advantages.

Those of our readers who may wish to look at the subject from

that side, will find in *Hunt's Merchant's Magazine,* for May and June, 1865, a translation from the French of Ch. Coquelin, which shows in the clearest manner how the practical, and we may say empirical, English methods have reached certain results which the more logical and theoretically perfect French system has failed in. It is but fair to add that both methods or systems are now much improved; the English by a most liberal act passed in 1870, which we are almost tempted to copy in full; the French or Continental, not only by improvements in the French code, but particularly by the thorough and careful revision of the whole subject by the German Imperial government.

As Mr. Rosengarten so justly observes, we now have the experience of all the most enlightened nations to guide us, and it will be strange indeed if some clear and brief law cannot be framed which will give us all that is best in the existing systems of our own country and of others.

THE LAW OF PARTNERSHIP.

THE diversity of law concerning joint stock companies, both in legislative enactments and judicial decisions, throughout the numerous States now comprised in the Union, is a source of constant practical trouble to men of business, in which lawyers can aid but little; since they are confined to the study and practice of the law on the subject in their own several States, by reason of the hopelessness of finding any clue of principle to guide them safely through the contradictory enactments.

This condition of things, inevitable primarily from the disconnected manner in which the various State codes are built up, should not be permitted to continue. A people such as the citizens of the United States, having the same general ideas of commercial right and law, bearing the impress of the same mental and moral constitution, pursuing every where similar ends by means of the machinery of compact associations, should have, throughout the length and breath of the land, machinery of uniform character

for the formation and government of these associations. Especially is this the case in regard to that large class of associations which are founded upon a patent granted by the general government for an invention or a process of manufacturing, and valid throughout the Union ; for there seems a particular absurdity in the circumstance that the corporations created to reap the advantages of such a patent in Georgia or Texas, should have quite different powers and limitations from those governing corporations united for the same purpose in Maine or Illinois.

No doubt the legislation of all the States in relation to manufacturing companies is susceptible of improvement, though that of the New England States, has, by the greater development of manufacturing industry in these States, attained a greater perfection than has been reached elsewhere.

Just as New England, urged by her large experience, has enacted upon this subject laws so liberal and enlightened as to be worthy of study by the other States, have several of the leading European nations made advances which we of the United States cannot afford to overlook. Whatever devices have there been found efficacious in promoting the union of capital and skilled industry, upon terms advantageous to each other and to the State, should be sought out and studied, with the view of introducing their best features into our own legislation.

This field has been hitherto so inadequately explored by American students and legislators, that it is perhaps as well that no general law should yet have been attempted in our own country. In acting now we should have the recent example of the German Empire showing us how a central government can take up and regulate the complicated relations arising from the activity of corporate bodies in the several States composing an Empire.

The following summary of legislation concerning partnership associations, in several of the most enlightened commercial nations of Europe, may we trust attract the attention of some who are interested in this class of subjects, and who can find means to make their opinions felt in the legislation of Congress, and of the separate States. Doubtless a desirable complement of this sketch of European legislation, would be a lucid comparison of the laws of the various States of our Union, in relation to associations and

joint-stock companies, particularly those relating to manufacturing and mining companies, and this may hereafter be offered.

A form of partnership, well known abroad and little understood here, the "Commandite," is especially worth examining, as having proved well adapted for bringing together skill and capital in the way best suited to encourage manufactures and commerce.

Partnership *en Commandite* [Commanditgesellschaft] is defined as that sort of partnership in which one or more partners are engaged as capitalists, having no liability beyond the fixed sum invested by them in a business carried on in the firm name of one or more other persons, whose liability is unlimited. The inviting profits of business as far back as the middle ages, led to the introduction of partners in trade, with only limited liability up to the amount of capital invested, so that the old canonical rule against loans for interest was avoided by loans which received a return in proportion to the earnings of the business in which the money was used. This form of partnership en Commandite soon became common in all European countries except England.

IN GERMANY, however, theory and practice varied as to the effect of such a form of partnership—in practice, it was "limited" as to those engaged in the business; in theory, the limitation of liability bound all those who dealt with it. The German code of commerce put a stop to all doubts on the subject. It regulated, under the name of silent partnership, the relations of such partnerships as had previously been positively binding only upon those engaged in them; and the fact that third persons had no knowledge of the conditions agreed upon by those who had put a fixed sum of money at risk in the business, was made the ground of a new rule at law on the subject, so that the old doubts as to when such an agreement made the silent partners only creditors, and when partners generally, were all settled. The German code of Commerce proceeds on the ground of an analogy between the general and limited partnerships, but varies it by allowing the general partners, or persons carrying on business in their own or a firm name, (the public partners, complementars, gérants,) to associate with them persons whose interest is limited to the amount of capital invested, (the commanditists, or special partners). These latter as not being personally concerned beyond the sum invested, are not allowed to lend their names to the firm, nor to take part

in the management, nor are they responsible to third parties for more than the amount invested or promised by them, and their death has no effect on the existence of the business; their limited liability, along with the unlimited liability of the general partners, is the basis of the credit of the firm, and the public with whom it expects to deal has a right to know its resources; therefore the amounts invested must be entered on the public trade register kept for the purpose. The creditors of the firm are entitled to a direct action for the amount of the capital paid in or promised, so that in case of any default or delay in contributing the promised capital, creditors can sue the commanditists or special partners directly, who can however show by a proper balance-sheet that any interest and earnings drawn by them were fairly due. The internal relations of the firm are regulated by their own agreement, and where it is not otherwise provided, the commanditist has no right to interfere in the management of the business, but only of inspection of the books, and a view of the yearly balance-sheet, and he can carry on other business on his own account; profit and loss are to be divided among the commanditists according to the sums paid in, after payment to the gérants or active partners of a fixed sum or per centage of profit for their services, determined, if necessary, by a judicial investigation.

"Commandite en action" is a somewhat similar association, where the partners who have invested fixed sums receive shares of stock for the whole amount thus paid in. These are considered as more nearly related to Joint Stock Companies, and are regulated by many of the provisions of the law governing the latter. Among the limitations of this, are the provisions which forbid shares at less than 200 thalers; unconditional responsibility of the original subscribers; restrictions upon the special partners, and an absolute prohibition of the issue of shares to general partners; recording the whole and payment of at least one-fourth of the capital before registry; requiring a committee of inspection, which must be regulated by by-laws and be responsible for the proper conduct of the business to third persons; limiting the general partners to certain prescribed rights, as against the directors representing the "special" partners of a commandite stock company. The rights of the special partners are to be regulated at the general meetings; dissolution of the business ensues

by reason of the retirement of a general partner, unless special provision be made for such a case. Finally, the Code of Commerce requires approval of the government, but leaves it to the law of each State to regulate such license, and, in fact, the State laws which control stock companies are generally extended to limited liability companies.[1]

Holtzendorf says, Commanditgesellschaft—partnership with limited liability—is an association doing business under a firm name, in which one or more persons—commanditists—are liable only for the sum invested by them, and others are generally liable. Their credit is based on the unlimited liability of the one class, with the fixed liability of the other. This limited liability is exposed to the risks of the business, and is made a guarantee of the credit of the concern, by being put on the Trade Register, but without naming the persons who have invested the capital. The difference is clear between such a limited liability capital and that obtained simply on loan which any one can make to a business; sharing in its profits, but without any liability growing out of it. This latter is recognized in the Code of Commerce as silent partnership, which is in no sense a partnership as far as the general public are concerned, and which has its own rules for the management of the moneys so invested. The "Commanditgesellschaft," or limited liability company, has quite another set of rules to govern the relation of the special partners and their share of the capital, and both in its legal definition and its relations to the general partners and the general public is treated more nearly like the ordinary business firms.[2]

The subject of "Partnerships" and "Corporations," belongs to to the Imperial German Legislation—corresponding in many respects, to our own National Congress—and is regulated by the

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[1] *Literature: Goldschmidt*, de societate en commandite. Hal. 1851

Anschutz, die aktiencommanditgesellschaften, in the Jahrbuch des gem. Recht. 1, 326.

Auerbach, Das Gesellschaftswesen, Frank. 1861, Books 2 and 4.

Gudemann, H. R., Sec. 48.

Holtzendorf's Rechtslexikon, vol. 1, p 202.

[2] Holtzendorf's Encyclopedia of Law—Part 1, p. 424.

Citing Thol.—Sec. 40.

Endemann—Sec. 48.

The German Code of Commerce—Art. 174-205, also provides for joint stock companies with limited liability stockholders.

General German Mercantile Code, "das Allgemeine Deutsche Handelsgesetzbuch," which was prepared by a general commercial convention held in Nuremberg, in 1862, and adopted by the separate German States, and finally in 1869, by the North German Confederation, and in 1870–1, by the Empire. The Imperial law of June 11, 1870, made a number of changes in the provisions of the code, and since then a number of suggestions for further changes have been made, mostly in pamphlets and in law and commercial journals—a fair abstract of them can be found in the Journal of Commercial Law, "Zeitschrift fur das gesammte Handelsrecht," published in Erlangen.[1]

In Germany very lately the public attention was directed to the subject by the successful effort of Lasker in the Prussian Lower House, to inquire into the necessity of investigation of the abuse of power by corporations. The newspapers both abroad and at home have given a pretty full account of the abuses that led to this investigation by the Prussian legislature, and we may be sure that it will in turn lead to such measures of reform as are needed to provide for greater safety in the use of the rights and privileges granted to corporations, and to a severe punishment for any abuse of the quasi public power and private confidence thus conferred. The relations of the several German States to the German Empire are not altogether unlike those of our own States to the United States, and we cannot but take a lively interest in watching carefully the exercise of the national power in Germany for the remedy of abuses that with us have apparently outgrown the control of State legislation, without in any way being successfully met by the action of Congress. A comparison of the measures employed there and of those suggested here, may be made the more easily by the references we have here given to the official and other sources of information on the subject.

In England originally every partner was responsible to the extent of all his property for debts of the firm, and of course the growth of trade partnerships was necessarily limited by this rule. In 1844 was passed the act enabling all such partnerships, except

[1] The best statement of the existing German Commercial Law, is that given in Hahn's Commentary, "Commentar zum Allgem. Deutschen Handelsgesetzbuch von Dr. Friedrich Hahn," of which a second edition was published at Brunswick, 1871.

banks, to be incorporated, by registering the names of the shareholders and the by-laws of the company. By subsequent acts of Parliament, passed in 1855, 1856 and 1857, the limited liability was really adopted, for all but Insurance corporations. The act of August 7, 1862, amended by that of August 20, 1867, consolidated all previous legislation, and extended its benefits to all corporations, with the following provisions: at least seven persons must be associated together; but if there are ten in a bank, and twenty in any other money business, they must register and submit to the provisions of the acts; any corporation thus constituted may be either with general or with limited liability of its members; those of the latter class are either companies limited by shares, or companies limited by guarantee, or the two may be combined, but in any case, the word "limited" must invariably be used. Shares in the name of the bearer were originally not recognized, nor was any provision made for the liability of the subscribers or for the partial payment required before the organization of the company, but under the act of August 20, 1867, shares payable to bearer can be issued to full paid shareholders. "Commandit" or special partnerships on shares are also provided for, with the reservation of full personal liability on the part of the Directors, and that shares must be paid up in full, unless the fact, if otherwise, is duly put upon record; the "memorandum" or plan of organization, and the "articles of association" are carefully prescribed, and any provision not agreed upon in them, is supplied by a general model draughted in the law; only on a proper registration and authentication, does the association become duly incorporated. The place of business and any change in it, the increase of the capital or of the number of shareholders, with an annual list of the members, and every change in the by-laws, must be regularly registered. So too a decrease of the capital can only be made in the way provided by the act of 1867, upon judicial approval, and a like provision is made for a division of the shares into a larger number of a lesser value. If the association continue after the number of members has decreased to seven, and so continues for six months, every member who knows it is personally responsible for debts thereafter contracted. The list of shareholders must always be shown, to any member for nothing, to a stranger for a prescribed fee. The

name of the firm, followed by the word "limited," also its seal, must be used in all its writings. There must be a special book kept showing the debts due by the firm; and under a penalty of fifty pounds, it must be always kept ready for the examination of shareholders and creditors. Twice a year, in February and August, there must be posted in the place of business a full report and detailed statement of the condition of the firm. At least once a year there must be a general meeting of the stockholders. and the rules for their government, as well as for that of the Directors and Auditors, are prescribed in great detail.

Stockholders who are dissatisfied with the management have a right to the appointment of commissioners, by the Board of Trade, to make a thorough examination, with the privilege of seeing all books and papers, putting the officers and agents under oath, and reporting fully on the facts, or the company itself can make such an investigation. All the details are worked out to the minutest point, and enforced by money penalties.

Mr. Lindley in his excellent treatise on Partnership[1], gives a summary of the English Statutory Law of Partnership, which is both curious and interesting in itself, and valuable as a means of comparison between the English and the Continental systems of legislation. Beginning with the Bubble Act of I. Geo. 1. c. 18., intended to put down joint stock companies altogether, it consists of nearly fifty laws. The second was passed more than fifty years after the Bubble Act had vainly striven to crush out all combined enterprises of skill and capital, and the effort to consolidate this mass of legislation, as well as to amend it so as to conform to the judge-made law on the subject of partnerships and joint stock companies, has led to a great deal of sharp criticism. All this time, however, there has existed, as there still exists, the curious and anomalous fact that the law looks on partnerships as simply a combination of individuals, each and all of whom are liable for the debts of the concern, while the trading world has always treated the firm in the light in which lawyers look upon a corporation, that is, as a body, distinct from the members composing it, and having rights and obligations distinct from those of its

[1] A Treatise on the Law of Partnership, including its application to joint stock and other companies, by Nathaniel Lindley, Philadelphia, 1860.

members. The system of commandite-partnerships borrowed from the Continent has secured to the firm some of the privileges and immunities of a corporation, while it has given to the owners of the capital invested the advantage of active managers with an interest beyond that of the ordinary paid agent of a corporation, for they share in the profits and losses of the concern.

IN FRANCE the "limited liability" principle was recognized in the Code of Commerce, and the dislike of government interference hastened the growth of stock companies "en commandite." The law of July 17, 1856, was intended to regulate such corporations by prescribing for their public registry, strict responsibility of their managers and frequent inspection. The law of May 23, 1863, relieved them of government interference, but endeavored to guard against fraud by minute regulations as to organization, management, etc., largely drawn from the earlier law, augmented by some of the provisions of the English acts. The law of July 24, 1867, repeals both the earlier acts, takes away all government interference in the way of license, limits shares to one hundred francs, with a capital of 200,000, and to five hundred with all larger sums; provides for final organization only when the whole capital is subscribed and one-fourth of each subscription paid in; prescribes the terms of shares payable to bearer when one-half is paid, but reserving the liability of the original subscriber for two years, and regulates the reduction to a cash basis of all investments other than in cash. The rules for the control of the management provide a committee of inspection, give each shareholder a right to call for the annual report at least two weeks before the annual meeting, and shareholders representing a twentieth part of the capital can name attorneys to bring suit against the officers and directors without affecting other shareholders. The regulations prescribing the organization must be followed implicitly, under penalty of absolute forfeiture, but once organized, neglect of rules is punished by money penalties and even imprisonment

Issuing shares on unpaid subscriptions or insufficient security, beginning business before the board is properly constituted, abuse of loaning shares and the use of borrowed shares to control the general meetings, are all punishable with fines ranging from 500 to 10,000 francs, and with imprisonment of from fourteen days to six months. Selling shares not properly negotiable, and the

graver offenses coming under the penal code as "escroquerie," such as getting money by false signatures, or the exhibition of untrue statements, or declaring false dividends, are all carefully met by prescribed penalties of proportionable severity. The regulations prescribed for joint stock companies, for co-operative associations and other such partnerships, are laid down in great detail.

THE ITALIAN legislation on the subject is not without interest. The 156th Article of the Codice di Commercio of 1865 prescribes the royal authorization for joint stock companies. By subsequent decrees of December 30, 1865, and May 27, 1866, there was created in the Ministry of Finance an "ufficio del sindicato," consisting of a "censore generale," an "inspectore generale," eleven inspectors, and a number of "officiali locali delegati." This was simplified by a decree of September 5, 1869.

A report of Minghetti, the Finance Minister, found great fault with the expensive machinery in use, and with so much State interference, and suggested an adoption of some of the provisions of the English act of 1862, and the transfer of all supervision to local authorities, and this is now in a fair way to be adopted.[1]

At the risk of some repitition, I proceed to submit abstracts of two important articles by Mr. Henry D. Jencken, of the English Bar, who is now preparing a work on the Comparative Legislation of different countries as to Joint Stock Companies. The first is upon "Companies in Commandite, and the desirability of their introduction in England," and is published in the Law Magazine and Review for April, 1872; the second is on the Laws of Foreign Joint Stock Companies, and is published in The Law Magazine and Review, Nos. 11 and 12, N. S. Dec. 1872.

Joint Stock enterprise is not of civil law origin, but takes its origin in the Germanic races; in their early mining undertakings, imitated in the English cost book mining system, and in those Genossenschaften of the 12th century, which Troplong says resemble the associations known as the partionarii or participators of Southern France with their managers and annual distribution of gain. This system came into use as early as the 10th and 11th centuries, and five centuries later the celebrated ordinance

[1] See the very full report accompanying the draught of a law on limited liability companies, made to the North German "Bund" in May, 1870, and by that body transmitted to the "Reichstag."

Louis XIV. (1673), gave so far as France extended, legislative sanction to those rules which traders had created. As early as 1407 the Bank of Genoa was established as a joint stock company. Scarcia, in his "tractatus de commerci et cambio" informs us that the capital of the bank was divided into 20,400 loca or portions of 25 scutonino each; that the sum paid upon these portions could not be reclaimed, and a custom of selling the loca had arisen, as no personal liability attached to their holding. In 1555 a joint stock company was constituted to farm the revenue of the Holy See under Paul VI. This was followed by many other such in Italy, mainly in consequence of the decision of the rota or Supreme Court of Genoa, in favor of the exemption of stockholders from personal liability. In Europe the discovery of the Indies gave an impetus to similar enterprises. In 1628 Richelieu authorized the Compagnie des Indes Orientales, and in 1664 another similar company was formed. These, like that of Holland in 1602, to carry on the trade with the Indies, are typical of the great system that has since been adopted in France, Holland, Italy, Spain, Portugal, Belgium, and at a later period, in Germany, Switzerland, Hungary and Russia. This system is based on the German-Italian or more properly speaking, Italian-French principle, which rests upon a sound scientific basis, upholds the rule that the shareholders are not personally responsible for the debts of the company; that the legal relation between the shareholders inter se, does not partake of the character of a partnership, but on the contrary, goes no farther than to extend to the shareholders a right of succession to a portion or share in a common fund, contributed by the subscribers; that the legal relation between the administration or management and the shareholders, partakes of the nature of an office, an executive bureau, like the office of a municipal body, and that hence the theory of principal and agent in no wise applies; that the office of the manager or director is at any moment revocable, subject to action for wrongful dismissal. It follows from what has been said, that the interest in a share or quota might be transferred without disturbing the rights of the parties inter se, that shares might pass by delivery to bearer, and from this there arose a custom of dealing in these securities in all European countrics. The collapse of the South Sea company provoked in the year 1719 the celebrated

Bubble act of 6 George I. c. 18, and this barrier to joint stock enterprises was not removed until 1825. The Equity courts formerly treated all joint stock ventures as partnerships, but both the Courts and Legislature have been busy of late years in their efforts to release commerce from all its legal shackles.

Mr. Jencken gives an account of the rise of such associations, beginning in the 10th and 11th centuries, growing in importance until the ordinance of Louis XIV., in 1673, gave legislative sanction to the rules which the trading community had created for itself; he cites the following from Pardessus: "As far back as 1063, the statutes of Trani contain a clause describing the Societa accomandita; in the 12th and 13th centuries the great trading towns of Marseilles and Genoa fully adopted the commandite. Primarily this was only used in maritime adventures, more rarely in ordinary trading undertakings, but its extreme usefulness compelled attention to its claims. The principle is carried out in stock and sheep farming in the colonies; in the whaling trade the lay or share of the seamen is but a commandite. Laws' famous Societe en commandite, 1716, showed the scope and system given by Louis XIV."

The right of the commanditaire to exercise control is a questio vexata—(vide Code Nap., Art. 27 and 28—Sirey T. 3. 381,) in Belgium the right is favored; in France a more rigorous rule as to immixtion has been followed—registration is required, the partnership agreements must be in writing, and the style and firm must be that of one of the gerants—not a fictitious person nor one of the commanditaries.

Commandite par actions, as it exists on the continent, governed by the French Law of 24 and 29 July, 1867,—and by the North German Confederation Law of June 11, 1870, is in strong contrast to "the illy framed, badly reasoned out, joint stock companies acts, e. g. 28 and 29 Vic, c. 86. 1865."

The last legislation in France and Germany provides that a company in commandite exists when an ordinary trade business is carried on under a common name, but in which one or more of the partners participate only by contributing capital. The contributions are divided into shares; these may be drawn to bearer, provided 50 per cent. be paid in France, 40 per cent. in North Germany.

The commandite par actions must have a council of control, conseil de surveillance or Aufsichtsrath, composed of at least three members. The gerants, whose names must be registered, remain liable as to third persons; they have the whole conduct of the business; their rights and liabilities are the same as in an ordinary commandite. By the French Code, Law of 24 and 26 July, 1867, a fourth of the nominal capital must be paid up, from the date of its promulgation. This form of partnership is exempt from State control and sanction. The German law does not require that the payments shall be in money, but only a statement of the money value of the contributions, of which a valuation has to be made by a competent person; registration and the appointment of a council of administration are absolutely necessary. In case of liquidation, the rights and liabilities of the company pass to a receiver.

Belgium is the seat of the largest development of industrial enterprise by this sort of partnership; it is, however, mainly governed by the French Code of Commerce of 1807, modified by the Belgian law of 1869. The first title of the First Book of the Code treats of Commerce in general, and the section relating to Business and Mercantile Paper has been supplemented by the law of May 20, 1872. The question of stock companies and partnerships is, or was, lately under discussion in the Belgian legislature, and the law submitted by the government has no doubt been adopted, for such projects are always the result of very exhaustive study of very able men. The text books on French Partnership Law are:

Vavasseur.—Traité théorique et pratique des sociétés par actions avec commentaire de la loi du 24 Juillet 1867. Paris. Cosse-Marechal.

Rivière.—Commentaire de la loi du 24 Juillet, 1867. Paris. Marescq.

Worms.—Traité des sociétés par actions et des operations de bourse.

Waelbrock.—Commentaire Legislatif et doctrinal du titre du nouveau code de commerce relatif aux societes.

The German text-books are:

Endemann.—Das Handelsgesetz betreffend die Commandit gesellschaften und die Actiengesellschaft vom 11ten Juni, 1870. Berlin, 1870.

Löhr.—Das Allgemeine Deutsche Handelsgesetzbuch erlautert aus Rechtslehren und Entscheidungen der Deutschen Gerichten. Elberfeld. Frederick. 1871.

In England the standard work is Shelford's Law of Joint Stock

Companies, and the 2d edition by Pitcairn and Latham is said to be "an original work," giving the acts and a digest of the case law on the subject, and constituting it the standard authority on this important branch of the law which interests not only lawyers in their professional capacity, but now that stock companies do everything, interests also everybody who has money invested in any kind of shares or bonds.

In the article by Mr. Jencken on Companies in commandite, he says, referring of course to the laws of the various States concerning manufacturing companies and limited partnerships:

"The commandite, which has proved of such great value to the continental trading communities of Europe, has been introduced into America, and a study of the laws in respect of this system in the United States might serve as a useful guide through the labyrinth of difficulties which beset English law reformers in dealing with this important question."

He suggests with a view to securing an international code of laws for joint stock companies:

1. That an international register of companies be established.

2. That each entry be accompanied with the names and addresses and an attested copy of authorization of the persons empowered to deal in the name of the company.

The codes of Germany, France, Spain, Portugal and Russia, subject foreign companies to these and other more stringent regulations. In France, a decree of May 22, 1858, imposes a restriction on the dealings in the shares of foreign railways, until proof be furnished to the authorities that such shares or securities are quoted in the stock exchange of the country where the company was created, and that the company has been duly and properly constituted in accordance with the laws of that country.

Conventions have been made between some of the European States, extending to joint stock companies the privileges they enjoy in their own country; Great Britain has negotiated such commercial treaties with France, Belgium and Italy.

Mr. Jencken suggests a universal rule, regulating by convention between the different States of Europe and America, the limits of liability of stockholders and the mode of enforcing payment; the mode of transfer of shares, and the question of agency or representation. In the continental system, the directors and offi-

cers of a corporation are its executive, while in England and America the relation of principal and agent is supposed to exist. It is suggested that an international register be made of those who, as directors or officers, are authorized to represent the company in foreign countries, and that the powers of each company should be clearly defined. A further condition of such registration should be proof that a fixed share of the capital has been paid up, and that all the shares have been subscribed for in good faith; and another subject for international regulation is the right of creditors, and especially of the holders of policies of insurance companies having offices and doing business in foreign countries.

Our own Pennsylvania act of 1836, concerning limited partnerships, following the New York law of 1822, is an imitation of the French code, which was in substance a re-publication of the ordinance of 1673. Abroad, however, the system of Partnership en Commandite has been developed in various ways, chiefest of them a system of organization for special partnerships in shares made deliverable and payable to bearer. This system takes its proper place for enterprises in which a comparatively small capital is needed, along with the skill of individual managers as general partners, and in no wise conflicts with the special corporations, with their cumbersome machinery of boards of directors, and the want of direct responsibility on the part of those entrusted with the management to the owners of the capital. It is especially suited to encourage and assist the growth of existing business, safely entrusted to the men who have made it successful, and who seek the help of capitalists by loans or advances of money, to be returned by a share of profits, but secured by the interest of the general partners in making the most they can out of their own, and so enhancing the value of their property and the profits of their special partners. The partial adoption of the French or Continental system in this State was only partially successful, because it was made subject to legislative restraints, which have in turn been followed by judicial decisions still more closely narrowing the usefulness of this form of partnership. This was mainly due to the fact that our jurisprudence is still largely drawn from English courts, where the old hostility to limited partnerships, or any form of limited liability in joint enterprises, has not

even yet been satisfactorily or successfully allayed by the various statutes passed for that object.

The legislation of this State has not attracted any very large amount of capital into this sort of partnership. Perhaps the facility with which joint stock companies are created has helped to produce this result, yet the restrictions and conditions upon all charters granted by the State have made many persons slow to risk their business or their capital in them. Recent legislation, as for example, that curious act of 1870, allowing capitalists to loan money and get a share of profits, yet incur no risk whatever, has not given much encouragement to the establishment of such anomalous business houses as that would invite. Indeed, the comparative infrequency of any establishments of that kind, and the limited extent to which capital is supplied by special partners, serve to show that there is still room for some other system, and the course which seems best likely to be useful and practicable is such further extension of the limited partnership as shall bring it nearer to its original—the French Commandite Partnership.

The limited partnership as it has existed here since the act of 1836, although modified in some particulars by subsequent legislation, can hardly be said to have produced any of those good effects which are attributed to similar legislation abroad. The law requires that all such partnerships shall be recorded in the Recorder's office. From 1836 down to the present, there have only been three volumes filled with such certificates, and a fourth is but just begun. Assuming that there are two hundred certificates in each volume, and making a deduction for mere renewals, it may safely be said that not five hundred firms have been formed under this law in thirty-eight years, and at the rate at which business houses are formed and dissolved, this can hardly make an appreciable portion of the mercantile community. It is true that for manufacturing and mining purposes our law affords facilities for incorporation not known abroad, but it is also clear that corporations do not give that degree of confidence which seems to be inherent in the personal responsibility of the general partners under the French system of commandite. The tendency in that direction is shown in the act of April 6th, 1870, providing that a loan with reservation of a share of profits in lieu of interest shall not constitute a partnership; an act which is quite out of harmony

with our common law notions of what constitutes a partnership, and is clearly traceable to a popular notion that there exists outside of our own limited partnerships, and our corporations, and our partnership laws generally, the necessity for some means of inviting capital without risk.

Mr. Troubat [1] says in his summary, that the great and important difference between the system of limited partnership in this State and that of partnership en commandite in France, arises from the fact that the 42d article of the French code provides that a neglect to publish the creation of the limited partnership, or a mistake of substance in the terms of the publication, is a cause of nullity of the whole contract, which will let in the separate creditors, in company with those of the firm, for a proportionate share of its assets, just as if no contract of partnership had ever been executed, and as if no firm had ever carried on business; third persons trusting a limited partnership are bound to see that it has been created or renewed according to law, and has been regularly registered and advertised. In this country the special partners are made generally liable for any false statement in the certificate, or for any neglect of registration and publication of the partnership. In France the penalty is nullity of the partnership; in this country it imposes on the special partners general liability. Another important peculiarity of the French system is the provision included in nearly all partnership agreements for the appointment of a liquidator, in case of dissolution, so as to avoid the risks, delays and expense of assignments and other proceedings in the nature of equity suits. This homely fashion of avoiding litigation is the result of the practical experience of men of business, and is practically part of the code, although not embodied in any law; it might well be included in the forms prescribed by our own statutes.

In Belgium, nearly half the great trading companies of that wonderfully prosperous country are en commandite, and in Germany and Austria the wonderful impulse given to trade and manufacture is in a great measure attributable to the security the well framed joint stock company acts offer to the public.

Troubat, in his Law of Limited Partnership, says that this form

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[1] Troubat on Limited Partnership. Philadelphia, 1853.

of partnership, the creature of statute law in New York and Pennsylvania, was drawn from the French law, especially that in force in Louisiana, and that it is the first instance, according to Kent's Commentaries, vol. 3, p. 35, in the history of the legislation of New York, that the statute law of any other country than that of Great Britain has been closely imitated and adopted.

Although the commandite partnership is of very ancient origin, even in France it takes its present shape from the Code Napoleon, under which the capital of limited partnerships may be divided into shares, held, circulated and transferred precisely as the stock of chartered or incorporated companies. By thus permitting the division into shares, assignable at will, the code has created a class of special partners who may retire from the concern whenever they think proper, without dissolving the partnership, merely by substituting some third person in their places, to whom they assign their shares. In this way there is created an association of capital analogous to that of incorporated companies, together with the personal interest of the active partners responsible for the business.

A brief summary of the actual provisions of foreign countries may best show the kind of legislation that is supposed to have contributed so largely to the successful development of their industries by Commandit Partnership.

The French Code of Commerce recognizes three kinds of associations:

1. Societe en nom collectif—an agreement of two or more persons for the purpose of carrying on business under a firm name—general partnership.

2. Societe anonyme—equivalent to our joint stock company.

3. Societe en commandite—when one or more persons are liable in solido, generally, and one or more simply loan funds, these are called commanditaries or special partners. The name of the firm must be that of one or more of the general partners. When there are several general partners, of whom one or more are the active managers of the business, it is a general partnership as far as they are concerned, and special only as to those who simply advance capital.

The name of a special partner cannot be used in the firm designation.

The special partners are liable only up to the amount paid in or subscribed to the firm.

The special partners cannot take any active part in the business or be employed in it, even as attorneys for others. Any violation of this prohibition makes a special partner liable generally along with the other general partners. The capital of a limited partnership can be divided into shares, subject to the other provisions of the code. Provision is made for registering the agreements of limited partnerships, and for publishing the names of the partners, the nature of the business, the capital, and the terms of the partnership generally.

The form of the articles of agreement of a French Societe en commandite, gives

1. The names of the partners, place of residence, etc., with a statement of the business and of the nature of the agreement, its duration, of the proportions of interest of each class of partners, of the terms of the payments to be made by the special partner.

2. The distribution of duties relative to the business among those who are the active partners.

3. A provision for a book-keeper to be appointed by the general partner, subject to removal by the special partner, who is to have the right of inspection of books, papers, etc., with the privilege of making extracts.

4. The general partner has the right to sell his interest, but not to appoint an agent to attend to his duties, without the approval of his special partner.

5. A semi-annual balance sheet and division of profits is to be made, and a complete inventory at the close of the partnership, and the balance is to be divided according to the proportion of profits.

6. In case of the death of the partners, or either of them, the business is to be carried on by an agent duly appointed and confirmed by the parties in interest.

The code provides a system of arbitration for regulating all disputes between the partners.

The latest German legislation extends the rules of "Limited Partnerships" to joint stock associations or partnerships, in which the special capital is represented by shares of stock, and includes banks and non-mercantile associations in its privileges. The certificate required to be filed must contain:

1. The name of each general partner.
2. The name of the firm and its place of business.
3. The kind of business.
4. The period for which it is formed.
5. The number and amount of the shares.
6. Provision for a committee of at least five of the special partners to be elected by all of them.
7. The prescribed form for calling general meetings.
8. The form of the notices in reference to the business of the partnership.

Until this registry is duly made, all members of the firm are generally liable.

Every change in the articles of co-partnership must be duly registered.

A repayment of any portion of the special capital must be duly noted upon the registry.

The general partners and the committee of special partners are made subject to three months' imprisonment for any of the following offenses:

1. False entries on the registry as to the special capital.
2. Neglect to keep the committee of supervision up to its full number.
3. False reports as to the condition of the business of the concern.

A partnership in the nature of a joint stock association is created when the one class of members participate only as stockholders without being personally liable for the debts.

The capital can bė divided into shares payable to bearer or to the persons named therein.

The shares drawn to order must not be less than fifty thalers, those to bearer not less than a hundred, and in insurance companies the latter is always the minimum, while the amount cannot in any case be increased or diminished.

The limited partnership can be made both for commercial and other undertakings.

As soon as the capital is subscribed, there must be a general meeting to provide for the payment of ten per cent. or, in insurance companies, twenty per cent at least on each share.

The value of all articles, other than money, taken in payment of shares, must be fixed by the articles of partnership.

This must be approved by a meeting of the shareholders. There must be an affirmative majority of at least a fourth of all the shareholders—representing at least a fourth of the capital, and the member who derives any advantage must not have any vote.

The certificate to be filed must also show that—

1. The capital is all subscribed.
2. Ten per cent., and in insurance companies twenty per cent., at least have been paid up.
3. The supervisory committee is duly elected.
4. The proper notarial certificates are executed.

In every district where the copartnership does business and has an agency, it must file a certificate.

Every change must be certified by a notarial act.

A company cannot deal in its own shares either by way of purchase or loan, unless the authoriry to do so is specially given in its articles.

No specific rate of interest can be promised the shareholders; only that can be paid which is fairly distributed on the settlement of the year's business, after setting aside a fixed amount of profit for a reserve fund; no dividend can be paid until the whole capital is made good, in any case where it has been diminished by losses.

When the shares are made to bearer

1. The issue cannot be made until the whole nominal capital is paid in, and for partial payments no certificates drawn to bearer can be issued.

2. The subscriber is liable to pay forty per cent. of his shares according to their nominal value, and this can neither be avoided by transfer nor be relieved by the company.

3. The partnership articles must provide for cases of subscribers who cannot fulfill their subscriptions or for any reason desire to be relieved of their obligation. The Committee of Inspection has the right to examine all books and papers, and to inform itself of the conduct of the business at all times.

The members of that committee are personally liable

1. For knowingly allowing shareholders to be repaid.
2. For permitting dividends not earned to be declared.
3. For any diminution of the capital in either way.

The managing partner must see to the book-keeping, and that a semi-annual balance sheet is struck, in which

1. All securities must be entered at their actual market price.

2. The expenses of the business must be fully exhibited as part of the current debits.

3. The capital and reserve must be accounted for.

4. The credits and debits must be properly entered so that the balance can be shown.

As soon as there is a loss of half the capital, the stockholders must be called together.

As soon as the capital is insufficient to pay the debts, application must be made to the courts for a proper suspension of the winding up of the business.

A joint-stock partnership is dissolved

1. By lapse of the fixed term of its existence.

2. By a notarial or judicial agreement of the stockholders.

3. By insolvency or bankruptcy.

Any consolidation of two or more concerns must

1. Provide for keeping accounts intact until every original creditor is paid or secured out of his proper fund.

2. Keep its original office open until this is done.

3. Leave the creditor free to look to the new firm for payment.

4. Give proper notice and register it.

5. Leave money enough to satisfy creditors of the original concern standing to its credit on the books of the new.

The provisions of the new laws on the subject are made to extend to existing partnerships upon due notice to all their members and filing certificates of consent. The necessity of an authorization on the part of the local government to create a commandit or limited partnership is repealed. This was done by successive German States from 1862 down to the date of the law finally adopted by the empire in 1870. The purpose was clearly expressed to be to relieve the government of the responsibility of an imperfect supervision and to substitute the more active and interested watchfulness of shareholders and creditors.

In concluding this paper, which will I fear seem to the general reader a dry and somewhat confusing mass of details and references, I would remark that to bring our legislation up to that of foreign nations we must so amend our own law of limited partnership

as *first*, to relieve the special partner or partners who contribute capital in the manner and according to the formalities prescribed by the law, from any risk of becoming liable for any greater amount than that subscribed by each person; and, *secondly*, to permit the fully paid capital subscribed by the special partners to be represented by transferable shares of stock; in this way we shall enjoy the advantage which has been found so great abroad, of attracting capital to existing firms, to enable them to extend their operations, while at the same time the owner of the capital will secure the benefit of that personal interest and enterprise which the general partners will give to their own business; in this way too we shall secure the capital which is now so freely confided to joint stock enterprises, and instead of the services of paid officers, agents with often no interest beyond their salaries, there will be the active, constant, close supervision of general partners, who are engaged to the whole extent of their fortunes and abilities in making the enterprise successful. It would be well if to this end a law should be passed by the general government authorizing the creation of limited or commandite partnerships upon the general terms here indicated. But over and above this, we must endeavor to secure a greater uniformity of legislation throughout the States of the Union upon all commercial and mercantile subjects, and if need be, such a measure of legislation at the hands of Congress as shall give us, if not a national code of commerce, at least such laws as shall regulate the interest of our mercantile, manufacturing, mining and other enterprises, over the wide extent of the Union, through which business extends in imperial disregard of all mere State lines. The example has been set in nearly all the great nations of Europe, and we cannot afford to disregard their experience or to lose its advantages.

THE COMMUNISMS OF THE OLD WORLD.

[FOURTH PAPER.]

THE full history of Communism in Europe in the nineteenth century would fill volumes, rather than the few pages that we can devote to it here. As in the era of the Reformation, it comes once more within the scope of ordinary history, and plays a part in the political world. Theories take shape in popular agitation and insurrection, instead of being confined to the study of the scholarly Utopist. Doctrines subversive of the existing—and we believe the only possible—order of society, have set in motion large bodies of men bent on carrying them out to their utmost consequences. We shall confine ourselves to England and France in what we shall say here, and to those leading types of communistic theory, which have attracted a large measure of attention and exercised a great influence on both sides of the Atlantic.

Some wide differences between this and the last century are very clearly disclosed to us in this chapter of history that runs through both. Ours is a more hopeful, and therefore a more practical age. It has seen great abuses and anomalies, that seemed destined to outlast the everlasting hills, go down before a breath of public opinion. They sat on the seat of authority, blinking at the light of day, and asking men "What do you mean to do about it?" and found their answer. The French Revolution put an end to much that no recall of the Bourbons could restore. It gave point and emphasis to every denunciation of old abuses, and terrified rulers into conceding what they would else have fought for as for life itself.

Our communists of the nineteenth century, therefore, generally have, as the French say, "the courage of their principles." The Sphynx's last question, kindly formulated for us by a statesman now retired from business, meets with a ready response from them. They are prophets proclaiming a new faith, that is to show itself in works according to the faith. They "mean to do" as well as to teach; to build up a new social order, rather than to spin Utopias out of their brain. But for all their good intentions they have failed and must always fail because of a fundamental defect of their plans. If they could get rid of the existing *genus*

homo, in a quiet way, and supply the place with a new race, somewhat less complex in its constitution, less burdened with troublesome impulses and aspirations, more like that abstract money-making man, who, as John Stuart Mill tells us, is the true subject of political economy, then something might be done. "If we could only find a breed of niggers, whose women did n't care for their children," the profits of slave-trading might be much enlarged, the slave-dealer thought. Somewhat singular, we should judge, must be the aspiration of the veteran communist, who has seen phalansteries rent asunder and communities ground into fragments by the omnipotence of one of those irresistible natural forces that wise men like to have on their side and never care to fight. That force is sometimes alleged to be the selfish egotism of the individual; we do not believe it. Wherever we have been able to trace the inner history of any such organization to its dissolution, we have seen the family instinct overmastering and destroying communism, and all else that stands against it. Wherever as in monasticism, and in the two types of communism that hold their own among us to this day, the family instinct is carefully checked and religiously proscribed as wrong in itself, or for the persons associated—there communism has perpetuated itself. After all, property itself is but a material exponent of the family life; the impulses that lead men to strive after it and add to it, are rooted first of all and most deeply in the family affections. So long as these impulses are kept in wholesome contact with those affections, the man is safe from the sordid and debasing influences of mere greed and covetousness. He can seek to be rich and yet not sell his soul for riches. Communism must either cherish this far more powerful and antagonistic form of society in its own bosom and to its own destruction; or it must destroy it, and with it the one element that ennobles and purifies the toil and striving that else are sordid and selfish. The more practical communism becomes, the longer the record of its defeats and failures. It faces the facts, but the facts are too strong for it.

Of the three great socialists of our century—Saint Simon (1760–1825), Fourier (1772–1837), and Owen (1771–18—), it was the last whose theory was the first to attract wide attention and shape itself into practice. In practical, common-sense England, about the beginning of this century, all classes were roused to an interest in

an experiment that a loomlord was making among the peasantry of Lanarkshire, across the Scottish border. But Owen was no Scotchman; it would be hard to find a man more decidedly un-Scotch in many of his characteristics. If he had something of their dogmatic temper, his was a dogmatism that resolutely shut its eyes to the problems that occupied the highest and sternest thought of the Scotch people. He was a Welshman; by birth as by name, a Celt of the Celts, and possessed of that peculiar Celtic gift of so writing about half a subject as to make most readers think he has gone over the whole. As James Martineau says of John Stuart Mill, (himself a Celt in this respect, though of Saxon blood we believe,) he could hide a precipice with a row of trees so skillfully, that you cease to be aware of its existence. Like his race he must have a clear-cut, rounded theory to start from; his fundamental tenet is that the character of an individual is formed *for* him, and not *by* him. Everything, therefore, depends on education. The mischievous habits of idleness, intemperance, thriftlessness and crime are the fruits of no education. He admits that in some slight degree men inherit propensities, but he thinks the degree so slight that no account need be made of it. Upon this foundation he built up a theory of man and of society, and a gospel of "human irresponsibility," which may be regarded as the result of a study of his own not very broad or deep character, and on this he proposed to base a reorganization of society. There was much in his theories that coincided with the hard and narrow spirit that characterized the first third of our century, the age whose prophets were Bentham, Hume and Brougham. The true prophets, the men of insight and genius, like Wordsworth and Coleridge, were crying in the wilderness; the court prophets, whom the people delighted to honor, talked political economy and "facts, sir." And so the age of facts without ideas bowed down before the theorist; common sense glorified communism.

Mr. Owen's first experiment was certainly a brilliant success while it was in his own hands—so brilliant that it turned his head. A factory had been established in a sparsely-peopled and only half cultivated district of Lanarkshire. Either in execution of original purpose, or on perceiving the need of some such step, the proprietors undertook to supply it with "hands," by collecting hundreds of children from the wynds and workhouses of Glasgow and Edin-

burgh. These they were to furnish with food, clothing and night-school education, in return for their work. They were lodged in one large building, and not ill taken care of, so far as a thoroughly utilitarian system could go. The Scotch are fond of learning and not ill to work; but young Sandy found the joint regime of loom and primer simply intolerable. Narrow and sordid as his life had been, it had awakened needs in him that Bentham had not fathomed, and these things could not satisfy. He would not come under the definition of the economist as "a covetous machine" in which "avarice and the desire of progress are the constant elements." He ran away as opportunity offered, and so constantly that the factory seemed likely to come to naught.

An association consisting of Owen, Bentham, and a number of Quakers bought the place in 1799, apparently with a view to giving the Welshman a chance to try the practical operation of some social principles, he had avowed as his convictions. There can be no doubt, whatever, of his success, in the form and to the extent he looked for; the place grew rapidly in numbers; the condition of the people improved; bad habits were extinguished by the creation of a better public sentiment; very unpromising material became amenable to kind treatment; the institution "for the formation of character," built by Owen, was crowded with children; and at the urgent request of the parents, an infant-school—the first of the sort, and well if it had been the last—was established. But what was the cause of the success? Not in any communistic features, certainly, for there were very few such. The people worked for wages, although the masters felt that there were other bonds between them than the nexus of cash payments; felt that they were "captains of industry," the responsible heads of an industrial community. The nearest approach to communism was a sort of "co-operation." Large quantities of necessary articles were purchased at wholesale and retailed to the employees at a small advance; a peaceable monopoly of the whisky trade was secured and the traffic gradually suppressed; an extensive cook-house was set up, in which the advantages of co-operative cookery were secured; a money system of "labor checks" was introduced to supplement the ordinary circulation. But no right of property was given up on either side. Mr. Owen thought his success was due to the entire change of circumstances that he suc-

ceeded in producing, and to the training in sobriety and thrift that he imparted to the people. He was unjust to himself in ascribing so much to the machinery he had set in motion. His was but one out of many instances in which an unselfish, devoted man of business capabilities has made himself a blessing to the community in which he is placed. "Mr. Owen showed that men brought by certain contrivances, under a laborious, kindly, self-denying superintendance, would be more happily situated than those who were treated as animals, capable of producing a certain quantity of cotton twist." But upon this happy experience he proceeded to base theories for which it afforded no warrant whatever. He went on to the conviction that the secret lay in the use of the right machinery, and that every desirable moral result could be attained by its adoption. "That Rubicon once passed, it needed only a mind somewhat more generalizing, daring and self-conceited, than that which is found in the majority of men—one withheld by no historical knowledge, and few intellectual impediments from experiments for the disorganization of society—to produce a preacher of the doctrine that men are mere creatures of circumstances, and that by a re-adjustment of circumstances their condition may be completely reformed. The necessary corollaries from these principles worked themselves out by degrees, without the help of any intellectual subtlety, as the obstructions made themselves manifest—whatever principles, practices, institutions, existing among men were connected with the idea of a will or a spirit in us which might be superior to circumstances, must be abandoned."[1]

About 1812, Mr. Owen began his career as a public teacher in the city of Glasgow, and soon after published several written statements on the subject. Travellers had spread his fame over all Europe. He went up to London in 1817, and addressed large audiences at the Freemason's Tavern, but "the religious world" soon scented heresy under his promising generalities, and introduced discord into the general applause. The Duke of Kent, however, presided at one of these meetings in 1818, and there was some talk of his daughter, now Queen Victoria, then a mere child, being placed under Mr. Owen's care that she might be trained in the true philosophy of life and society. A subscription was started

[1] F. D. Maurice's *Kingdom of Christ* (pp. 188–9.)

to purchase lands near London and found another New Lanark, but it fell through for want of sufficient funds, although several peers of the realm subscribed and thousands of pounds were raised. He hoped to achieve his reforms through the ruling classes; in 1817, he had gone to the continent to memorialize the allied sovereigns assembled in Congress at Aachen, as also to visit Fellenberg's Fourierite establishment at Hofwyl in Switzerland. He sent his *New Views of Society* to all the principal men in England, and Lord Liverpool, the Tory Prime Minister, asked Lord Sidmouth, one of the cabinet, to examine and report upon it. In 1819 he stood for the House of Commons, and was defeated. He sowed books and periodicals broad-cast, subscribed freely to every plan to carry out his ideas, and spent a large part of his fortune in this vigorous propaganda. He assailed all parties equally, from the clergy to the radicals, for their unreadiness to undertake a thorough reconstruction of society.

We believe that his first success and his later failure to command national attention—leaving all matters of detail out of sight—were equally creditable to the nation. So long as Mr. Owen was known simply as a friend of the working classes, he was heard gladly by the highest in the kingdom. When it was found that all his measures were based upon a theory of human irresponsibility, and that he would persist in proclaiming that among the classes whose misery made a sense of principle and of duty all the more necessary to their well-being and their humanity, he was dropped out of sight. It was not Mr. Owen's communism, but his antinomianism that excited disgust. Had the age been less shallow, less devoid of all sound philosophical and historical instincts, the former would have been as repellant as the latter.

In 1825, he visited the United States; in 1829, he came hither for the second time to establish a community. But such attempts had already been made at home with varied results. A brother of Andrew Combe and some other Scotchmen united in purchasing and fitting up the Orbiston estate near Glasgow, and in leasing it to an association of Owenites, ascertained to be such by their signing the creed: "The character of an individual is formed *for* him and not *by* him." But the bulk of the capital was wasted in expensive buildings, and experience showed that even that creed was loose enough to let in lazy rascals, and strict enough to keep

out honest, industrious men, of the sort that have made barren Scotland into a garden. Orbiston went to pieces, with loss to all concerned, and broke Combe's heart.

Of another experiment made in Ireland, we have heard the full details ior the first time in our own days. Ralahine was an estate of some six hundred acres in the County Clare, owned by a Mr. Vandaleur, a good-natured Irishman, whom Owen's writings had aroused to a sense of his responsibility for the condition of its thriftless, wretched tenantry. He called them together and offered to lease the estate to them as an organized association, in which he should take place of superintendent or director. The rent agreed to was £700 a year for the land, and £200 for the stock and implements, and the surplus was to be divided equally between all in the community who were above seventeen years of age. A committee of themselves assigned all labor and settled all disputes, and in the body of rules drafted, a host of matters of detail were justly and equitably provided for. They lived in a common dwelling, and ate together. In the short time that the experiment lasted, the profits increased rapidly, and were more than the expenses. But the generous Irishman, like the great part of his class was "his own worst enemy." He fell in with a wild set of squireens and blacklegs, and gambled away all he had, and Ralahine passed out of his hands. The proposed lease was not yet drawn up, and his successor in possession had no faith in experiments of that sort, so all things went back to their former status.

One of Owen's proposals to the British government was a plan to get rid of pauperism and to relieve poverty by means of agricultural colonies. It received little attention at home, but fell into the hands of the Dutch Ambassador, Gen. Vanderbosch, who had served in Java, and had watched the agricultural methods of the Chinese settlers in that island. It occurred to him that by a combination of the two plans, the paupers of Holland might be supported upon the unoccupied soils of that country, and on his return home he succeeded in starting a movement to this end, under the royal patronage. A society was formed, which purchased a considerable extent of land to the east of the Zuyder Zee—a charming mixture of sandy heath and swamp. To this the poor families were taken and first trained—the men in the Chinese spade tillage and preparation of manures, the women in cookery

and household economy. To each family were given a house and seven acres of land, an average of an acre or less to each person; and on this they were expected to support themselves, and in the course of sixteen years to repay the society for its outlay of about $1,700 a family. It was during this time of pupillage that the communistic features were preserved: they were under a sort of military discipline, by which their duties were prescribed; and they could obtain labor checks or orders upon the society's store only as they discharged the duties required of them. By 1833, the society had settled over five hundred families in this way, besides establishing large farms on which, in some instances, orphans, and in others, paupers and beggars were cared for, but placed under a much stricter control. In 1849, over 11,000 persons were so provided for. The attempt to repeat this experiment in Belgium was a failure.

In 1835, the Owenites in England organized two societies, the one of a national character for financial purposes, the other cosmopolitan, with arrangements for a socialist propaganda. The party made several attempts to carry out their ideal of an industrial society, none we believe with any permanent success. During the agitations of 1848–50, they came very decidedly to the front, and at times excited a good deal of fear among those who had any thing to lose, and some real dismay among the true friends of the working classes. The modern Owenite is a workingman, who cordially detests as his class enemies the aristocrats whom Owen hoped to see adopt and carry out his ideas. He looked to rich and philanthropic landlords and loomlords, hoping that they would do the right thing for the people; his disciples look to the people to do the right thing for themselves. Fashionable society has utterly forgotten how it smiled upon the wild theories of the rich and benevolent Welshman of half a century ago. His name is a Nehushtan now.

One wise and wholesome impulse he certainly did impart, an impulse which has not ceased down to our times, which has extended to the continent and to America, and bids fair to greatly modify the industrial status of the working classes throughout Christendom. Robert Owen was the father of coöperation. He was never tired of dwelling upon the fact that very much of the earnings of labor were absorbed by the profits of the series of middlemen,

through whose hands commodities pass unchanged in form or value, but taxed at every step of their way from the producer to the consumer. The purchase of goods at wholesale, to retail them at a small advance to the employees of his factory, will be remembered as one feature of his Scotch experiment. Under his influence coöperative trading societies were widely established. There were forty-two in London by 1830, although the first there was not established until 1824. Yet there is a widely diffused notion that the Rochdale Equitable Pioneers (founded in 1843) began the movement, and that it first obtained attention and extension when the Christian Socialists (F. D. Maurice, Thomas Hughes, J. K. Ludlow, Charles Kingsley, etc.,) took hold of it in 1848. Prof. Fawcett as good as asserts this, and Dr. Elder writes as if it were the case. But in truth the Christian socialists expressed their surprise at finding how many of these societies were already in the field. They themselves rendered great services in extending the movement, and in securing such legislation as would protect and foster it, but neither they nor the Pioneers claim to have originated it. Mr. W. L. Sargent (*Recent Political Economy*, 1867) refutes this mistake, but can not be quite correct as to the date in saying: "The policy of Owen and his followers at this time (about 1832) had undergone a considerable modification, though their principles remained unchanged. They confessed that without arrangements difficult to effect, agricultural communities such as those that had been tried in the United States, could not long proceed without fatal dissensions: and they recommended, for this reason, the founding of coöperative societies, in which working men should combine to buy the necessaries of life at wholesale prices, and undertake gratuitously the task of distributing the commodities among themselves. Every man his own shopkeeper! was the cry. It was hoped that the retailer's profit thus saved, would be set aside to form a fund with which hereafter to found true communities. A great many of these coöperative stores were in fact established; and many of them had a continued existence."

A very marked feature of the German system of coöperation, as elaborated by Schultze-Delitzsch, may also be traced to Owen, though so far as we know, it was not adopted in England. This is the labor exchange by which a workman deposits the result of his work at a central bazaar and receives for it labor-exchange

notes, in proportion to the cost of the materials and the amount of labor expended on it. These he can then expend in purchasing any other goods left on deposit, or in obtaining other articles at the Society's store. Owen was busy in 1832-3, in establishing such bazaars, but with as little result at home as in the case of his magnificent schemes for the establishmen t Owenite communities. These latter were planned on the very grand scale that becomes a man who is expending nothing but ink and paper on their construction. Owenite capitalists are to unite in joint stock companies for the purchase of some two or three thousand acres of land, upon which they are to erect a grand palace, with dormitories, refectories, libraries, conservatories, schools and museums, forming a square of some sixty acres. They are then to lease the establishment to an Owenite colony, whose members have been tested and found fit by passing through several preliminary stages of discipline. Persons still in these candidate stages are to form dependent communities, like the colony itself under the government of a central council invested with plenary powers. The character of the industry pursued is to depend upon the locality and other circumstances; its net products are to be devoted to the support of the community as a whole. We do not find Owen proscribing the family relation in his proposed communities; some, at least, of his followers were logical enough to go that length.

Henri Count Saint Simon, grandson of the famous and witty writer of memoirs, and heir to his title and estate, was eleven years older than Owen, but comes into public notice much later; in fact it was not till after his death that his doctrines attracted much attention, being zealously propagated by his disciples.

"I was born October 17th, 1760; I entered the service in 1776; I gave up in 1779 the command of a company of cavalry to go to America, where I served under the orders of M. de Bouille and those of Washington." "The war in itself had no interest for me, but I took a lively interest in the purpose of the war, and that enabled me to endure its hardships. It was not my vocation to be a soldier; I was drawn toward a very different sort of activity, and could not resist. To study the advance of the human intellect, to labor accordingly for the perfection of civili-

zation, that was the end that I set before me. The rest of the time that I remained in America, I employed in meditating on the great events which I witnessed. I sought to discover their causes and foresee their consequences. From this moment I discovered in the American revolution the beginning of a new era in politics; that this revolution would necessitate an important advance in general civilization; and that in a short time it would cause great changes in the social order, which then existed in Europe." "At the return of peace, I laid before the viceroy of Mexico, a plan to establish [water] communication between the two oceans. . . . As it was coldly received, I gave it up. On my return to France, I was made colonel, being but twenty-three years old. . . Drilling all summer and paying court all winter, was a sort of life to me unbearable. I set out for a Holland in 1785." He was to take part in a joint French and Dutch expedition against the English possessions in India, but the plan fell through. In 1787 he went to Spain, still in government service, to inspect the construction of a canal, but the breaking out of the Revolution put a stop to that and to much else. He returned to France, but found himself unable to work heartily with either party, the one being bent on preserving what could no longer exist, the other having no idea beyond destruction. He gave up politics and went into money-making, that he might have that wherewith he could found a grand industrial establishment, which should be at the same time a school of human perfection. In connection with a Prussian, Count von Rœdern, he speculated in the national domains, which the Revolution had thrown upon the market. This connection lasted till 1797, when the difference of their aims led to a separation.

His own notions of a career had began to take a definite direction; he expected to be the author of a great onward step in the march of the human intellect, and he began (1798) to furnish himself for his task. He recommenced his education, attended first the Polytechnic and then the Medical schools, made acquaintance of the professors, haunted the libraries, kept open-house and table to all who could teach him, and spent years in the pursuit of knowledge, in spite of a keen consciousness that his most teachable years were long past. He visited England after the Peace of Amiens, to learn if that country offered him a proper sphere of

activity; then he went to Geneva and passed through a large part of Germany for the sake of studying the state of science. In both cases the result was unsatisfactory. English science aimed at wrong ends; German started from false (mystical) principles.

To knowledge he must add experience of the actual life and society of his times. He therefore married in 1801, choosing for his wife one who would draw that society around him, and make his home the place in which its most varied elements would find their representatives. They lived in such grand style that the remnant of his fortune was exhausted in a year, but his end was achieved. He was a spectator simply in his wife's saloons, studying the varied scenes with the impartial eye of the philosopher.

His education was now complete, and he began his work as a physico-political teacher. In 1802 he printed but hardly published *Letters of an Inhabitant of Geneva to his Contemporaries*, and six years later his *Introduction to the Scientific Labors of the Nineteenth Century*. In his first works we meet with his notions about "the hierarchy of capacities." Europe is falling into chaos and perpetual war; the sentiment of justice is decaying. Why? because the men pointed out by their confessed abilities as fitted to organize and to govern, are not called to the places of power. Take the suffrages of the people upon their merits and the true kings of society, the hierarchy of talent, would easily be sifted out from the mass. It was by this discovery that he attained his "desire to find some means gently to put an end to the frightful crisis in which all European society finds itself involved." (Such critical periods of the clash of individual interests—say his disciples—must always intervene between the great organic periods, when society is crystallized around dominant ideas shared in by all. Such was the time between the organic age of paganism and the establishment of the organic age of Christianity mainly through his ancestor Charlemagne. He himself was to found a new organic age through the proclamation of a new Christianity.) He had high hopes of the future. "The golden age is not behind us but before us; it consists in the perfection of social order; our fathers have not seen it; our children will realize it; we must smooth the road for them." The Restoration brought no change of condition to this scion of an illustrious house, whose grandfather had made the court and society of the Grand Monarch immortal, but whose

bizarre opinions had alienated all his aristocratic friends. A former employee, Biard by name, rescued him from utter poverty, took him to his own house, supplied his simple wants, and paid the expense of publishing some of his works. In 1819, St. Simon filled up the measure of his offences by publishing a bizarre *Parable*, in which he contrasted the loss that France would sustain by the death of three thousand of her ablest men, with the loss that would be inflicted by the death of three thousand of the actual governing class in church, state and the army, beginning with the king's brothers and sisters, whom he named. The shot took effect on the grandees; they felt as did Hosea Biglow's slave-holding senator—

> If brains were to do it—horrid idea!
> Which of our hon'able body 'd be safe.

The audacious author, who had, perhaps unwittingly, furnished the wicked wits of Paris with such jesting matter, was arraigned before the courts for *lese majesty* in having told France that the death of the Comte d'Artois or the Duc de Berry would cost France less than would that of an eminent savan or an able manufacturer. But he was acquitted.

After Biard's death, his life became one of great privation; he toiled on incessantly at the elaboration and the exposition of his views. As early as 1812 he wrote "I have lived for five days on bread and water and worked without fire; I have sold everything to my clothes." We may judge what his later years were. Book after book appeared from his pen, and all of them showed that the mantle of his grandfather had in a fair measure fallen upon him. He writes exceedingly well, often epigramatically. If he lacks the precise, sharp cut qualities of the best French literature, it is because his subject is so vast, unexplored and indefinite. As to the matter of his books, his great merit is to have perceived that in our century the industrial state was to take precedence of the other two aspects of the national life, which had hitherto thrust it into the background—of the jural state and the culture state. He wished to make the industrial state supreme and to reorganize the whole of society with reference to the needs of production and distribution. He interpreted the century to itself; the same idea reappears continually among the industrial classes. To them the state has but one great function, to defend the capitalist and in a

less degree the workman in the business of enriching themselves. Popular education means the outlay of a fragment of national wealth in fitting the people to make money themselves, or to serve others who make it. The maximum of production is the standard of national success or failure. The very highways of the land are, in their view, the channels appointed for commerce simply, and it is curious to notice the extent of the feeling that a procession of citizens occupies the street only by sufferance, but that to prevent a merchant from piling his boxes and bales on the sidewalk is an intolerable hardship.

St. Simon would fain turn this sordid prose into humanitarian poetry; he wished the industrial state to assert itself as the nation and to subordinate all other departments of the national life to itself. He wished it to break with all that past, in which it held a secondary place, and begin history anew with a hierarchy of the ablest, chosen by universal suffrage. But reorganized society would be religious after a pantheistico-Catholic sort; it would find the apex of its unity in the all-embracing religious idea. "The idea of God is for man the conception of unity, order and harmony, the belief that he has a destination, and the explanation of this destiny. The sciences derive their power from an idea essentially religious—that there is consistency, order and regularity in the succession of phenomena." He would therefore found a new Christianity, meaning a new Catholicism, with its hierarchy of the ablest and its sacraments of the industrial life. Religion, like all other social institutions, "should direct the movement of society toward the great end of ameliorating as rapidly as possible the condition of the most numerous and the poorest class." The Pope and Luther were alike heretics for not making that their aim, as the founder of Christianity had designed; but Luther was the worse heretic of the two.

In his later years a body of young and enthusiastic disciples gathered around him, treasuring up his sayings and revering him as their master. Those who know anything of recent French literature will be struck with the brilliancy of the little school, and led to ask how far St. Simon's thoughts furnished fructifying germs for later harvests that are not commonly traced back to him. There were, among others, Augustin Thierry (St. Simon's *fils adoptif*), Michel Chevalier, Amade Carrel, Emile Girardin, Au-

guste Comte, Leon Halevy and Adolphe Blanqui. But the three who were to exert the greatest influence upon the school and its doctrines were Bazard, Enfantin and Olinde Rodrigues. Comte may be said to have withdrawn while his master was alive, though he never ceased to regard St. Simon as his friend; he had been entrusted with the task of writing a third part to his master's *Catechisme des Industriels*, which bore the name *Systeme de Politique Positive*, and described its author as *eleve de Henri St. Simon.* The master's quick wit detected under apparent agreement a vast difference in the flavor and spirit, and justly described Comte's as an Aristotelian intellect, that grasped only the scientific side of the subject to the exclusion of the sentimental and the religious sides. Comte soon went his own way and suppressed the book.

St. Simon was held back by no shame from depending upon the gifts of those who sympathized with his views and even of some who did not, and made their gifts as an alms. He was proud of the poverty incurred in his devotion to the interests of society at large. But his life was so full of privatians that he yielded to the temptation to make away with it. The shot meant to be fatal failed of its purpose; under the care of his disciples he rallied and lived several years longer, dying in 1825, just as his disciples were about to establish a newspaper—*Le Producteur*, for the diffusion of his ideas. He died in their arms, bidding them with his last breath "be of good courage and go steadily forward."

What gives St. Simon a place in the history of communism? Not his own writings or teachings certainly. They contain ideas, not plans; they propose a grand revolution in the organization of the state, by which the industrial life shall become all embracing, and subordinate all things else to itself. But they do not reject the right of property, or of the family as inconsistent with that.

But his disciples did not stop there. They soon found themselves in the midst of the troubles that led to the Revolution of July, all France in a ferment, and grand openings on every side for the proclamation of new ideas. They organized an extensive propaganda in Paris and the Provinces. Eloquence and literary ability was dog cheap with them. "But what do you propose, Messieurs? Whither will you 'direct the movement of society for the benefit of the most numerous class, that is, the poorest?'

Fine words butter no parsnips. What do you mean to do about it?" Under the pressure of such questions the doctrine took a new shape, and it seems clear that the daring conspirator Bazard, who had hardly saved his neck from a Bourbon rope, was the man who gave it that shape. He and not St. Simon was the author of the views that the world fathers upon the latter. His plan was the abolition of all individual rights of inheritance; all privileges of birth without exception; he would make the State every man's heir, and invest the redistribution in the hierarchy of capable men. The entire capital of the nation would be concentrated in a general bank, to which the capable man would come for the tools of his work and which should insure to all who were willing both work and its just reward. The religious idea would form the consecrating band of the whole system. St. Simon was held up as the Messiah of the new era: "Moses has promised to men universal brotherhood; Jesus Christ has prepared it; St. Simon has realized it. At length the true Catholic Church is come; the reign of Cæsar ceases, the warlike gives way to the peaceful. Henceforward the Catholic Church embraces the temporal as well as the spiritual, that which is outward as well as that which is within. Knowledge is holy, industry is holy, for they help to better the condition of the poor, to bring them to God. Priests, savans, industrials—these compose our society. The chief of the priests, of the savans, of the industrials—these compose our government. All wealth is the wealth of the church; each profession is a religious function, a grade in the social hierarchy. To each according to his capacity, to each capacity according to its works. (*A chacun selon sa capacite, à chaque capacite selon ses œuvres.*) The kingdom of God comes on earth—all prophecies are fulfilled."

Of course this programme carried them into cosmpolitanism; a merely national church is a contradiction in any case,—most clearly a contradiction to those who had grown up amid Roman Catholic influences. The whole human race was their sphere; France was but the starting point, the *που στῶ* of the movement. Through *le Globe*, by weekly sermons and services, by missions to the Provinces, in prose and song and parable, they wooed France to the new Gospel. They opened schools in defiance of the laws, to teach it to the rising generation. They established workshops in which their four thousand affiliated work-

men were employed. Never probably was so much talent and ability of various sorts employed within as brief a period for the promotion of any cause. A great degree of popular interest was awakened, beyond all question: but no practical measure that they undertook had any success, and the school was rent by a double schism on the inevitable woman question. Enfantin, their acknowledged leader, with iron logic and rigid consistency, proposed the abolition of the family and the total emancipation of women in every respect. Bazard opposed the measure with all his might; he was a man still, cherishing human relationships, not a theory grinder. After stormy conferences Bazard with a large following, including Pierre Leroux—was excommunicated, Nov. 21, 1831, and Olinde Rodrigues took his place as the associate leader of the body. But even Rodrigues was not prepared to follow Enfantin to all lengths and a second succession took place, February, 1832, amid bitter recriminations, in which Enfantin was charged with favoring a "religious promiscuity." The day for a great popular movement was clearly past by; even before this last division the opportunity was lost. Bazard, the true founder of the school, was dead of a broken heart. Enfantin and the faithful had left Paris for Menilmontant, his paternal estate, where a sort of communistic family was organized after the religious forms of the new Christianity, with ever new and more bizarre oddities. Its history was interrupted by the prosecution of Enfantin, Michael Chevalier, Duveyrier and Barrault, by the government of Louis Philippe, August 27, 1832, and their condemnation to fine and imprisonment, in spite of Enfantin's efforts to magnetize the jury by his hierophantic glance.

When they were released at the expiring of their term, they made hardly any attempt to rally their school. One after another they passed into other lines of activity. Chevalier and Blanqui became political economists; Duveyrier, a dramatic poet; Barrault, a novelist; Gueroult, Charton, Carrel, Rodrigues and Cazeaux made their mark in the newspaper world; Pierre Leroux, Reynaud and Buchez, social philosophers; Thierry, the beloved disciple, and Comte, the ablest disciple of St. Simon, at a much earlier date devoted themselves to the works which have given them immortality.

So died into nothingness the school of St. Simon, the Plato of

modern socialism—the man whose very life was in ideas and principles. His theories electrified the world with their vivid representations of universal order and harmony, if they were too etherial for taking root in this earth of ours. Could they have been realized, the world would have seen "nothing new under the sun," but only another added to the list of man-made theocracies, that have blasphemed the name of God and defaced His world. The short history of the school fully foreshadows what might have been. On their theory "it became a duty, or what seemed to them the same thing, a logical necessity to invent a supernatural machinery, and assume the airs of inspired men. Upon this fraud, of course, followed every species of absurdity and falsehood—under the weight of which the system sank rapidly."

Just about the time when the school of St. Simon passed out of sight, that of Fourier began to attract attention. As it was an aristocrat who had demanded that the ruling caste should give place to the hierarchy of talent, so it was a bourgeois shopkeeper who was to demand that the system of competition and profit should cease to control the industrial world. But the two men were as different from each other as can well be conceived. Fourier had a fierce intolerance of the mere glittering generalities of the St. Simonians, and of their religious sentimentalism. He attended some of their seances in Paris, and has left on record his deep disgust for all that he saw and heard among them, their Messiahism, their hypocrisy, their utter lack of business tact, their gasconading, their hierarchical pretensions. He was full of righteous indignation against them—not the less so because he detected them in attempts to supply their own lack of practical plans and ideas by stealing them from his books. Practical plans and the mastery of details were at once his weakness and his strength. His was an intellect of wonderfully great constructive power. However abstract the idea from which he started, he could never stop short of developing it to its last consequences in the methods of real life. To a few minds of more than ordinary consecutiveness this is one of the greatest charms of his books; to most readers these wonderful details are merely laughable through the striking contrast between their own pettiness and the grandeur of the principles they are supposed to

exemplify, and it has been well said that in France to be laughable is worse than to be criminal. Nor was the unrestricted use of his talent a blessing to himself; it led him from rejecting the leading maxims of the world around him, into the construction of an ideal "societary world" in which he really lived—a *chateau en Espagne* that touched this actual earth at no possible point—a cloudland whose foundations were dissent and protest. He was no prophet that came forth with the genial eloquence of the school of St. Simon, to win the people with enticing words. He held the world's secret in his hands; he would descend so far as to expound it in tangible, purchasable, legible books; if the world sought more, let it come to him.

Fourier's life has none of the brilliant vicissitudes that give variety to the life of St. Simon. The son of a shopkeeper of Besancon, trained behind his father's counter, hardly escaping with his life from the bloody vengeance that followed the Lyons insurrection of 1793, losing his patrimony in colonial trade, he was impressed as a soldier. During "the hundred days" he held a small government office, but on the overthrow of Napoleon he retired to the house of a widowed sister, where he led the life of a hypochondriac old bachelor, frank and free with a few chosen friends, hardly on speaking terms with the rest of the world, even under the same roof. For some years in his later life he was in Paris, supporting himself by a petty clerkship and an annuity left him by his mother. But the man had an eye and a sympathy for the miseries of his times. When a school child he daily divided his luncheon with a crippled beggar, unknown to all at home. He never forgot the shock he received, when he found that his father expected him to deceive customers about the quality and worth of the goods he sold. He had a worse shock when he found his employer at Marseilles pouring a large quanity of damaged rice into the sea in a time of great scarcity, in order to keep up prices. In 1790, on a visit to Paris, he bought an apple on the street, and found he had to pay a hundred and twelve times as much as it would cost him at Besancon, which set him thinking about business profits and extortion. The commercial preponderance of England, so selfishly and mercilessly used "to crush in their cradle the manufacturers of the continent," carried his thoughts to yet wider fields of speculation. All things set him to give himself an account of

the actual state of the world and its possibilities. He turned away from the earth to the heavens and found there no clash or conflict of interests—a harmony of forces and a mutual coöperation that men justly called the *cosmos*. He asked, if these have the same Author, why is there order among them and disorder among us? The priests professed to give him a reason, but he found that they only extended and perpetuated the mischief by setting one half of man's nature in a life-long struggle with the other half. In 1799 he "discovered the law of universal attraction" by which he felt himself justified in declaring that the same order exists among men on earth as among the stars of heaven, the same forces of attraction and repulsion being conferred upon all orders of creation for their government, but in degrees that vary with the functions and the destinies of each. The principle of universal analogy he assumed as the true guide to knowledge. In his view cosmogony, sociology and psychology, are but different branches of the same science, and the practical problem which they help us to solve is the perfection of man. The supreme good designed for man in his creation, he finds in the gratification of man's desires. Not on the artificial restraint of these, but on their mutual limitation when developed to the full, and guided by a wise perception of their true design, is human morality based. Society is incoherent, because it fails to perceive and act on the lines of harmony disclosed to us by analogy. Our boasted civilization ignores the solidarity of humanity, and is therefore utterly incoherent; it is a radically vicious order of society, the source of immorality and crime. Men hate work, not of necessity nor by any fault of their own, but because we have made it needlessly monotonous, and assigned it badly *i. e.* with no due reference to individual capacities.

His whole system was embodied in an imperfect way in his *Theory of the Four Movements* (1808). His practical plans were elaborated in *A Treatise on Domestic and Agricultural Association*, (1822). To these, his later books, pamphlets and articles, have added substantially nothing. Neither of them attracted any attention. Down to the Revolution, of July, he had but a single adherent, his townsman, Muiron, who fell in with his book in 1814.

His plan of association is to gather some two thousand persons into a common family called a phalanx, in which passional attrac-

tion—both sensuous and spiritual—should play the part of the bond of unity. They would live in a common home called a phalanstery. The labors, whether agricultural or manufacturing, he would divide into short periods, and cultivate to the utmost that friendly rivalry that makes toil a delight. Passional attraction furnishes, in his view, the true basis for the relation of the sexes; not that he would introduce that at once, as Enfantin proposed. It would be necessary to wait until all the other parts of the social system had been brought out of disorder into order, and then carry this change by the united suffrages of the fathers of the families of the whole globe. To introduce it before the degrading habits and propensities engendered by civilization were exterminated, would be only our present confusion worse confounded. Like the St. Simonians, he utterly repudiates the principle of equality of possession, and would divide the products of labor according to the time, the talent and the capital expended. But unlike them, he proposed no sufficient central authority to carry out and enforce these regulations, no hierarchy of the talents. His theory left no place for such a feature of the organization; his perfect society would govern itself. Yet he must make his appeal to the masters of the existing accumulations of capital for the means to establish such an institution, but he promised four-fold interest in return. In his second work he fixed the sum needed at a million francs, designating his own house and the hour of noon as the time and place where an interview could be had. For ten years—whatever the call of business or friendship that might have kept him away—he did not once fail to be at home at that hour, waiting for the capitalist that never came.

When the St. Simonian school went to pieces, the day of the Fourierite school was come. Many who felt that there was something in the new ideas of social reorganization, also felt that they had no fair show amongst the eloquent theorists of that party. Several notable men at once went over to Fourier, but he already possessed in Victor Considerant a convert second to none in ability and popular power. In 1832, *La Phalanstère* began to appear, in exposition of the new doctrines. Baudet Dulary, a member of the House of Deputies became a Fourierite, resigned his seat and devoted his fortune to the advocacy of the new doctrines. He supported the new periodical; he offered his exten-

sive estate in Conde-sur-Vesgres for the site of the first phalanstery; but the steps preliminary to its formation were taken with such want of good management, that the experiment fell through. The world judges all things by success; the school of Fourier like that of St. Simon was reckoned a thing of the past.

It would have been so had Victor Considerant not been among its members. He returned to Paris bating not a jot of heart or hope. In the Historical Congress (1835) he attracted universal attention by a brilliant address on the application of the societary principle to the study of history, and in his book *Destinée Sociale*, made the ablest attack upon the incoherent civilization of the modern world, and the ablest exposition of the societary theory, that the Fourierites have to show. He has well been compared to Bazard. Under him the school took a new lease of life. Its influence crossed the French frontiers, the channel, the Atlantic. Its weekly became a daily; its adherents were multiplied; its antagonists grew fiercer. When Fourier died in 1837, he may well have hoped that France and humanity were yet to revere in him the greatest of reformers. In one respect the school has made a great moral advance upon the teachings of its master, though it has in so far given up the logical thoroughness and precision of the system. It has put the relations between the sexes upon a very different footing from that of passional attraction. But the mischief that Fourier did by his theories has not been confined to his school. Vast numbers of loose thinkers who care nothing for his phalansteries, and have no faith in *travail attrayante*, have studied, accepted and popularized his psychological theories, and reduced them to practice also. He enjoys the unhappy distinction of being the author of the modern theory of free love, and the slang under which it clothes its beastliness is borrowed from the books of this frosty old bachelor; this hypochondriac to whom his own family circle was too wide, but who yet invented the phalanx.

These three (or rather five) minds were the originative intellects that gave shape to the communism of the nineteenth century—Owen, St. Simon and Bazard, Fourier and Considerant. Yet its history in France would be inexcusably incomplete were we to pass by other well-known names. Cabet is a communist of the undisguised type, a Utopist in an age of practice, a reviver of the dreams of More, Morelly and Babœuf. His *Icaria* is a cloudland

where absolute equality reigns, and his new Christianity is the doctrine of common ownership, based on a religious system. It was manifestly his aim to unite in one scheme all the essential features of those of his predecessors, especially the religious theorizing of St. Simon and the "attractive industry" of Fourier. But his school split on the inevitable question of the relation of the sexes. He himself held with the hare, and hunted with the hounds. In his published works he declared for the conservation of marriage; in letters meant to be kept private, but divulged by his correspondents, he confessed that he recognized the inconsistency of his position and would abandon it when the question became practical, and the innovation safe. Such a fellow need not detain us.

Pierre Leroux, who did himself honor by leaving the school of St. Simon with Bazard, is a communist of cloudland, one born out of due time—too late for a busy age. The closer mankind can be associated, the better, in his view. The *Syssitia* of the Greeks and the Eucharist of the church were in their original intention sacraments of universal and equal brotherhood. The possession of individual property certainly divides and sunders them. "Would you abolish it then?" Really I have no time for such questions. I am too busy with weightier matters.

Prudhon is the incarnation of the Eternal No. He denies with the communists, and denies with their opponents also. Property is robbery. "Would you abolish it?" Not unless I could abolish everything else with it. Both parties suppose they have read the riddle and discerned the secret of humanity. I believe that the secret, the destiny of man will be legible only at the end. I have no end. I seek for means.

'Louis Blanc and Ledrou Rollin are you communists?' By no means; but we believe that it is the duty of society to organize labor. The workshop should be a national institution, as the post-office is. Men who will work have a right to work. Individual management in this matter having clearly failed, government should step in permanently, as it does spasmodically in case of famine. What is needed for the purpose it has a right to take by taxation. In the course of time it will of course become so extensive an employer that it will fix all prices and control all commerce; all other employers will be driven out of competition with it. But who can contemplate the possible abolition of the

present selfish system of competition without pleasure? In 1848 that possible abolition was begun by the Provisional Government, and France threw herself into the arms of Napoleon le Petit to escape it. If there was no other escape, France was wise.

CIVILIZATION AMONGST THE INDIANS.[1]

A distinguished lecturer on introducing his subject, The Lost Arts, rebukes that modern conceit which arrogates to itself the highest excellence of accumulated ages in *artistic* matters. He shows that modern art has not as yet even commenced to rival the ancient, and wounds our conceit by demonstrating how immeasurably we are behind, in this respect, an age we affect to despise.

A similar disposition exists to despise the aborigines of America as ignorant and degraded barbarians, incapable of any civilization, and without progress in the social scale.

This age, however, ought to stand abashed before the evidences furnished in this volume on the League of the Iroquois of the astonishing progress in organized, systematic government amongst the so-called barbarians of America, some of the civilizing results of which challenge in importance the greatest triumphs of modern social science.

Nearly 300 years ago there existed an organized government on this continent amongst the Indians, having in some of its features a remarkable resemblance to the present form of government in the United States, and in other respects demonstrating a degree of forethought and wisdom which puts modern civilization to the blush.

"The League of the Iroquois" was a confederacy formed of, at first, five nations, and afterward increased by a sixth. The system under which these six nations were confederated was not of gradual construction nor the result of necessities arising from time to time. It appears to have been suggested by a wise man of the Onondaga nation, who persuaded separate and hostile bands to meet together in council, and form a united nation, destined to wield undisputed sway over an immense territory, and to totally abolish civil wars for three centuries.

1 League of the Ho di-no-rannee or Iroquois. By Louis H. Morgan. Rochester, 1851.

On the formation of this confederation, fifty titles or sachemships were founded and distributed amongst the several nations, as follows: the Mohawks and Oneidas each had nine, the Onandagas fourteen, the Cayugas ten and the Senecas eight. These sachemships were hereditary in the several tribes, into which each nation was divided.

The sachems of each nation governed its internal affairs, and were entirely independent of the general council of the League which assembled once a year to legislate for the whole. In this general council resided all power—executive, legislative and judicial.

When any individual, upon the death or deposition of one of the fifty, became a sachem, his own name was taken away, that of the vacant sachemship given to him, and he was invested with his title by a council of all the sachems with much form and ceremony. This ceremony was the act of confirmation without which no one could become a ruler.

Perhaps the most remarkable feature in this organization was the manner in which the tribe was formed. It was not a group of families, nor was it made up of the descendants of a common father, for the father and his child were never of the same tribe.

Each nation was divided into eight tribes in two divisions, as follows:

Wolf,	Bear,	Beaver,	Turtle,
Deer,	Snipe,	Heron,	Hawk.

These tribes are common to all latitudes from Montreal to Louisiana. Each one of these tribes was divided into five parts, and one-fifth of it placed in each of the five nations. "Between those of the same name there existed a tie of brotherhood which linked the nations together with indissoluble bonds." Every member of the Wolf tribe, for instance, no matter what *nation* he belonged to, counted every other member of that tribe as much his brother or sister as if they were children of the same mother. This relationship is preserved to this day in the remnant of the League, and is the principal feature which guarded the Six Nations against internal disorders or civil commotions for such a length of time. Civil war would have turned Hawk against Hawk, Heron against Heron, brother against brother, throughout all the nations.

The laws of marriage were notable as preventing any thing like "family influences" in the same tribe. The members of a tribe could marry into any tribe but their own, and whoever violated this marriage law incurred detestation and disgrace. Hence, husband and wife always belonged to different tribes. The children followed the tribe of the mother, and more remarkable still, all titles, rights and property were transmitted in the female line to the exclusion of the male. There were some curious results of this arrangement which secured important objects. The son was perpetually disinherited. Belonging to the tribe of his mother, he could succeed his father in nothing, not even inheriting his medal or tomahawk. At first sight it might appear that such a marriage law would be difficult to enforce and would require the construction of genealogical trees, not easily kept up by a people having but scant written records. But the method of naming children avoided much of this difficulty. The near relatives of each child, soon after its birth selected a name for it, and at the next council of the nation, the name and birth of the child, the name and tribe of the father, and name and tribe of the mother were publicly announced. In each nation the names are so strongly marked by a tribal peculiarity, that the tribe of the individual can usually be determined from the name alone. This must have guarded effectually against any marriage within the limits of consanguinity, and have prevented any unwitting violation of the strict law in regard to marrying within one's own tribe. A sachemship originally assigned to a particular tribe being limited in its descent to the female line could never pass out of the tribe, and was thus the means of preserving its individuality and independence.

The sachemship was hereditary in the tribe, but was not so in the family nor was it, strictly speaking, elective. When a vacancy occurred a tribal council assembled to determine upon a successor, who must be selected unanimously. The one selected could not decline the honor. When the choice was made all the other tribes of that nation were notified, and if they all approved it, a general council of the six nations was called. If this council also approve the nomination the installation took place. In the first tribal council the choice usually fell upon a son of one of the deceased ruler's sisters, or upon one of his brothers, but if the relatives of the deceased were unfit, a selection was made from the tribe at large.

A tribal council possessed the power to depose a sachem, if by misconduct he lost the confidence and respect of his tribe, and having selected a successor, to summon a council of the League to confirm him.

The typical "Long House," to which their political edifice was likened was supposed to have its eastern door on the Hudson, while its western looked out upon the Niagara. In the Long House, special duties were assigned particular nations. To the Senecas, for instance, the largest and most westwardly of the nations, was given the office of "door keeper" to the western door which was the only direction from which danger was apprehended. An enemy more unexpected and more powerful than the wild tribes bordering on the Mississippi, entered at the eastern door and gradually over-ran all the domain of the Long House Had the white man not made his appearance upon the scene, it is difficult to say what would have been the limits of this powerful. League, or whether it would have had any limit so long as an unabsorbed wild nation remained on the continent. The system was susceptible of an indefinite extension, and was gradually extended until all tribes from the St. Lawrence to the Tennessee and from the ocean to the Mississippi, were united in one common family.

The prime object of the League, as was the constant boast of the Iroquois, was *peace*—"to break up the spirit of perpetual warfare which had wasted the red-man from age to age." Such an object declared from the first, and successfully carried out, stamps the League as one of the grandest of human efforts, and the originator of it, the old Onondaga Sachem as benefactor of the race. The more we examinine the features of the League, the greater is the impression of the sound sense and wisdom of the system.

Although the number of sachems assigned each nation was unequal, yet each nation was equal to and independent of the other, and the method of deciding questions in the council was such as to deprive the larger representation of undue influence.

When an important question was brought before the general council, it was discussed in "open court," but no sachem was permitted to express an opinion in council until a certain preliminary was gone through with. The sachems of each nation were divided into classes of two or three each, and until these sub-

committees had agreed in each, and amongst themselves, what the answer should be, no opinion was expressed in council. Each sub-committee having reached a conclusion and appointed one of its members to express it, the representative spokesmen assembled and when they had reached a conclusion, appointed one of the number to express their opinion, and this was the answer of that nation. The several nations having thus become of "one mind" separately, a conference of the individual representatives took place and when they had arrived at unanimity the answer of the League was determined.

Unanimity was a fundamental law. All the sachems had to be of "one mind" to give effect to their legislation. If an obstinate individual held out against all inducements, none of those used by modern civilization were resorted to, but the whole matter was quietly laid aside to await, it is presumed, some more favorable opportunity—a plan which ought to commend itself to some of our own legislators.

Such an organization as this cannot fail to excite a degree of respect, but little in keeping with the popular idea in regard to the Indian race. It makes one feel that there is a possibility that more *can* be made of the red-man than has heretofore been regarded as within the bounds of reason.

Perhaps those who are most ultra in the popular sentiment alluded to may find a powerful appeal to a better judgment in the fact that George Washington was the only white man deemed worthy, in the six nations, of a place in the Indian heaven. In his justice and benevolence to the Indian he stood preëminent above all white men. After his death he was mourned by the Iroquois as a benefactor of their race, and a belief was spread abroad that the Great Spirit received him into Heaven—the only white man whose noble deeds entitled him to such a favor. If this touching tribute to a noble character does nothing more, it demonstrates that the red-man is not devoid of the sentiment of gratitude.

JOHN GIBBON.

THE EPITAPH OF ADONIS.

FROM THE GREEK OF BION.

Sadly I wail for Adonis: Adonis the comely hath perished.
Lost is Adonis the fair:—for Adonis the Loves are lamenting.
Slumber no longer in tissue of purple, disconsolate Cypris,
Rise from thy couch in the night-black stole, and with blows on thy bosom,
Utter the cry to the nations: "Adonis the comely hath perished."
Sadly Adonis I mourn:—for Adonis the Loves are lamenting.

Low on the hills, with his white thigh gashed, lies comely Adonis.
Gashed is his snow-white thigh with the white tusk. Frantic is Cypris,
There as he lies with expiring breath, while over his white skin
Trickle the blood-drops dusk, and his eyes dim under the eyelids.
Now from his lip is departing the rose, and around it expires
Faintly the kiss of disconsolate Cypris,—the kiss that she clings to.
E'en though he feel not her kiss, the kiss is to Cypris a joyance.
Sadly Adonis I mourn:—for Adonis the Loves are lamenting.

Cruel, ah cruel's the wound in the snow-white thigh of Adonis.
Crueler yet is the wound that the Paphian bears in her bosom.
Near him his loved hounds plaintively howl, and the Nymphs of the mountain
Sadly lament him. Unloosing the braids of her hair, Aphrodita
Shrieks in the forest, unsandalled—her tresses dishevelled—in anguish.
Thorns as she flies transpierce her, and cull the celestial blood-drops.
Piercingly wailing in grief, she is borne through desolate valleys,
Calling in anguish the name of her boy—her Assyrian husband.
Over his body the dark blood flows, and empurples his bosom,
Tinging to crimson the snow-white breast and the limbs of Adonis.
Ah Cytherea, alas! And the Loves too join in lamenting.

Lost is her beauteous spouse, and with him the beauty of Cypris.
Beauty divine was the Paphian's whilst her Adonis was living.
Perished with him is thy beauteous shape. Woe, woe, Aphrodita!

Mountains and oaks the refrain are repeating: "Alas, for Adonis!"
Rivers that wind in the vale are lamenting thy woes, Aphrodita.
Streams of the mountain are trickling with tears for the fate of
Adonis.
Flowers encrimson with grief as sadly the lone Cytherea
Chaunts in the glen and the thickets remote of the mountain her
dirges.
Echo the story rehearses: "Adonis, the comely hath perished."
Who would not mourn the disastrous love of the Paphian? Woe,
woe!
She, when she gazed on the wound—the incurable wound of
Adonis—
She, when she saw dark gore-drops ooze from his thigh in its
languor,
Wide unfolding her arms, sobbed forth: "Stay, hapless Adonis!
Stay, that with final embrace once more to my breast I may
clasp thee,
Winding thee close in my arms and commingling my kisses with
kisses.
Rouse thee a little again, my Adonis—a little, and kiss me.
Kiss while life's in thy kiss, that into my mouth and my bosom,
Ebbing thy spirit may flow, till I drain the bewildering philtre,
Drinking thy love to the lees; and the kiss forever I'll cherish,
E'en as Adonis' self, since thou, ill-fated, hast left me.
Long is the journey, Adonis, for thou unto Acheron fleest,
Realm of the gloomy and terrible king; while I, an immortal,
Wretchedly live, nor may I pursue thee. Receive Persephóna,
Him that I love. Far greater art thou, and more potent than I,
for
All that is beautiful flows unto thee. All-hapless and anguished,
I for Adonis lament, for to me he is dead, and I tremble.
Thou thrice-sorrowed departest, with dream-like, all that I longed
for.
Widowed is Cypris, and void of behest are the Loves in her palace.
Perished with thee is her cestus. Why wentest thou hunting, O
rash one?
Why with such beauty the madness to match thee in conflict with
monsters?"

Thus does the Paphian grieve, and with her the Loves are lamenting.
Ah, Cytherea the hapless, for dead is the comely Adonis!

Fast as the blood gushes out do the tears of the Paphian trickle,
Each of the drops and the tears as it falls is transformed to a flower,
Tears into roses bloom,—to anemones blossom the blood-drops.
Sorrow no more for thy spouse in the oak-wood, lone Aphrodita.
Here is a well-decked couch, all pillowed with leaves for Adonis.
Such is thy bed, and upon it, O Cypris, Adonis reposes.
Dead though he be, he is beautiful—dead in his beauty, as sleeping.
Wrap him in tissues of delicate softness, wherein he would slumber
Heavenly sleep in a couch all golden when thou wast beside him.
Yearn for Adonis the sad-faced. Lay him in chaplets and flowers.
All of the flowers are withering since thy Adonis departed.
Strew him with myrtles, besprinkle with Syrian unguents and perfumes.
Perish the perfumes all. *Thy* perfume Adonis hath perished.
Sadly Adonis I mourn:—for Adonis the Loves are lamenting.

Robed in his vestments of purple reposes Adonis the gentle.
Round him the Cupids lament in the woe-fraught accents of sorrow.
Shorn are their locks for Adonis; and one on his arrows is trampling,—
One on his bow, and another his well-plumed quiver is breaking.

This one loosens a sandal. Another in aureate ewers,
Carries the water. Another the thigh of Adonis is laving;
While at his side, one fans with his pinions the wound of Adonis.
Sadly Adonis I mourn:—for Adonis the Loves are lamenting.

Ah Cytherea, alas! and the Loves too join in lamenting.
Quenched hath Hymen each nuptial torch that shone at the door posts:
Shredded hath Hymen the marriage wreath; and no longer is Hymen—
Hymen no longer the song that is sung—woe, woe, that is chaunted.

E'en more deeply than Hymen the Graces lament for Adonis:
Saying, the one to the others, "Adonis the comely hath perished,"
E'en more shrilly they utter the wail: "woe, woe," than Dione.
Him do the Muses lament, and invoke in their lays, but he heeds not:
Not that he wills not to hear—Persephóna consents not to loose him.

Cease thy plaints, O Cypris:—refrain for to-day from thy dirges:
Cease till a year shall have sped; and again thou wilt weep and lament him.

J. G. BRINCKLÉ.

WORKINGMEN'S CLUBS AND INSTITUTES.

WORKINGMEN'S Clubs and Institutes, although very well known abroad, and especially in England, have not existed as yet to any great extent in our own country. The reason may probably be found in the fact of the prevalence of the impression that such institutions are adapted only to the working classes in England by reason of the peculiar social relations existing there, and are not needed in our own country, where, as far as possible, social distinctions are abolished and social barriers removed; that in England, from the necessities of the case, the workingmen must be assisted because they are not able to take care of themselves, while here, from the very structure of our political system and its effects on our social institutions, the workingman is able and is expected to help himself. Even in England, however, the establishment of workingmen's clubs and institutes is a comparatively recent thing, an affair of the last twenty years, and it becomes therefore a matter of interest to inquire what such institutions really are, what they are intended to do, and how far in our own country they may be likely to prove the means of accomplishing valuable results.

About fifty years ago an active effort was made in England to improve the condition of workingmen by the establishment of Mechanics' Institutes. The agitation in that direction was commenced

by Dr. Birkbeck, a man thoroughly devoted to the interests of the working classes, and received the active support of Lord Brougham, then in the early days of his parliamentary career. It was purely an educational effort, intended merely to teach mechanics the correct knowledge and principles of their trades, and as such, these institutes accomplished at the time most valuable results, and both in England and in our own country have since become recognized means of affording the workingmen instruction which they could obtain in no other way. But even under the powerful support and vigorous administration of their first promoters in England, it was found that for the full attainment of their object of really improving the condition of the working classes, they lacked an element which constitutes one of the greatest needs of workingmen, the means of rest and recreation of mind and body, and an easy social intercourse in their hours of leisure. Many efforts were made to meet this want, in the shape of "reading rooms" and "mutual improvement societies," but with indifferent success, until finally about the year 1852 the first workingmen's club and institute was established. There are now more than 500 in operation in England, with an aggregate of 90,000 members.

Properly a workingmen's club and institute, as its name imports, is an organization composed of workingmen for the purpose of recreation and improvement. As a club it should afford means of rest and recreation in the hours of leisure after the day's work is done; as an institute it should provide means of instruction which will fit a man better for his daily work, enable him to do it more intelligently, and to bring to its performance the aid of knowledge which will entitle him to that position in the life of trade or business and in the society of his fellow-men which he is capable of acquiring. Obviously then the means for accomplishing these results should be just those by which we find such results always attained. For rest and recreation there are provided comfortable rooms, books, newspapers, magazines, and games of all kinds; for instruction, a well selected and well managed library, classes of instruction in technological and industrial subjects as well as in rudimentary branches, lectures and readings; and with al these, that most valuable aid to both recreation and instruction, a hearty genial social intercourse of men united in a common purpose, with common interests and common aims.

Now, whether in England or in our own country—in fact, it matters not where—the value of such institutions is substantially the same. Whatever the political character of a country, whatever its social distinctions, clearly there is just the same need of providing the means of recreation and improvement to those who from the nature of their daily work most require them. And indeed there are many reasons why the necessity of such agencies is especially urgent in our own country. In the first place, we need to rid the minds of the people of the prevalent fallacy that the mere fact of citizenship in a Republican country indicates a qualification to fulfill the duties of a citizen. Upon a broad principle of equality by virtue of common manhood, we make citizens of all men who claim the right; the duties and responsibilities of citizenship then attach, and these, under our free system of government, are weighty matters. Logically, a good and intelligent government by the people can evolve only from a good and intelligent people, and therefore the successful working of our political system is dependent upon the attainment by the people to that standard of good and true manhood from which alone good and true government can be obtained. Nowhere, then, more than in our own country, where so great a responsibility rests upon each citizen, is there greater need of means for bringing men to an appreciation of the fact that as religious beings they are "members one of another," and as citizens, are members of a community, a State, and a nation, whose honor and integrity are dependent upon their own. Again, especially are workingmen's clubs needed in this country because nowhere so much as here are workingmen in need of rest. We are the most overworked people in the world. Instead of being a nation strong in physique and in intellect, we are in danger of reaching in the one weakness, and in the other a dull mediocrity. Therefore, to teach men in this country to rest well, to give to body and mind that recreation and repose so necessary to the "*Mens sana in corpore sano*," is to be doing a good which millions of money could not accomplish. And again, the condition of the workingman in this country has materially changed since the railroad, the steamship, and the telegraph have made competition no longer local, but world-wide. Skill and taste count for very much more now than they did fifty years ago, and skilled labor is

the only kind which holds out to the workingman in this country a sure promise of advancement. Skill and taste cannot be acquired merely by manual labor; they are not the product of bone and muscle merely, but require for their development a generous culture of the mind. Even a small amount of instruction, of just the right sort and properly applied, will make an earnest workingman a progressive man instead of a mere machine. A full share of such instruction will enable him to develop his capabilities to the full.

The practical working of a workingmen's club and institute is simple enough. Its organization and government should be upon a sound basis, such as will insure its permanence and its integrity. Its members will undoubtedly apprehend the nobility and the value of its purposes, and there will always be found men of thorough culture and attainments who will gladly furnish to its educational department the aid requisite to accomplish its ends.

If we want to make the working people of this country better in every way; to free them from habits of vice and immorality by raising them to a higher level of thought and purpose; to educate them, that they may use their abilities to the best advantage both to themselves and to those who pay them for their labor; to preserve the tone of health among them by teaching them the proper relations of work and play; if we want all these things, and surely our country has no greater needs, we should encourage in every way in our power the workingmen's club and institute as a means of bringing about these results in a way which is at once practical, sensible, and sure; for in a country like our own, however much culture we may gain among a few, we can never accomplish great results as a nation until the masses of the people reach that standard of intelligence by which they may be good workmen, good members of the society in which they live, and good citizens of their community, State, and country.

DR. KRAUTH'S BERKELEY.[1]

No body of English-speaking people, that we know of—not excepting the Lowland Scotch, since the days of Hume, Robertson and Blair—has been, in proportion to its numbers, so prolific of great names in literature as the English colony in Ireland. Numbering in our days, at the outside, some half a million souls, and far less numerous in earlier times, it has given to literature Archbishop Ussher, the poet Denham, Sir Wm. Petty, Richard Steele, Jonathan Swift, Laurence Sterne, Oliver Goldsmith, the two Sheridans, Henry Brooke, Mrs. Tighe, Miss Edgeworth, Edmund Burke, Alexander Knox, Bishop Jebb, Adam Clarke, Crofton Croker, Wm. Hartpoole Leckey, and a great number more. On the other hand the Scotch colony in Ireland, hardly if at all less numerous, has produced almost nothing in the same field. The only names that occur to us, are those of the philosopher Hutcheson, Miss Hamilton, Dr. Abernethy, and Captain Mayne Reid—and perhaps Joseph John Murphy, who will yet be known as the very able investigator of the philosophical questions started by the theories of Mr. Darwin. This is the more notable as Ulster has stood in the very closest relation to Scotland through the whole period of Scottish literary greatness, and might fairly have been expected to share in its influence. The explanation perhaps is to be found in the very different situation of the two colonies; the English being—as the native Irish called it—a *garrison*, endowed with offices, places and grants in the richest parts of the island, with the revenues of the Establishment to support many of its members in a literary leisure; while the Scotch in Ulster were colonists in the truest sense of the term, sustaining a hard conflict

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[1]Philosophical Classics; a Treatise Concerning the Principles of Human Knowledge. By George Berkeley, D. D., formerly Bishop of Cloyne. With Annotations Select, Translated and Original, by Charles P. Krauth, D. D., Professor of Systematic Theology and Church Polity in the Evangelical Lutheran Theological Seminary in Philadelphia; Professor of Intellectual and Moral Philosophy, and Vice Provost of the University of Pennsylvania. [Pp. 424. 8vo.] Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. [Price, $3.]

for existence in bringing "the barren North" under tillage, and making it what it is, a garden of civilized beauty in comparison with the other three provinces.

Of all the names in the Anglo-Irish galaxy, none surpasses in brilliancy that of Bishop Berkeley, and none occupies a place of greater prominence in the history of human thought. Born of a noble stock in 1685, at Dysert in Kilkenny; matriculated at Trinity College, Dublin, in 1700; made a fellow in 1707; published his *New Theory of Vision* in 1709; his *Principles of Human Knowledge* in 1710; left college and went up to London in 1713; chaplain to Lord Peterborough ambassador to France and Italy, 1713–14; tutor to the son of the Bishop of Clogher during his tour on the continent, he met Malebranche at Paris, and tradition says discussed with him "the vision of all things in God;" returned to England, 1720; made dean of Derry, 1724; married, and came to America with a view to establishing a college in the Bermudas, 1728; returned to England, 1732; assailed the theory of Fluxions, 1734; became bishop of Cloyne, 1735; died at Oxford, 1753. He was equally notable as a man and as a thinker. Could we run the dividing line through his two-fold life, and sunder the scholar's half from the rest, either of the parts would be a record full of honor, a just basis for a claim to the gratitude of mankind. But such a severance would be as unnatural as impossible. To him the worlds of theory and of practice were but one world. His strange treatise *Siris* is the best emblem of his life, rising as it does from plans to benefit his poor and suffering neighbors—*gradatim* to the highest Plato-like speculations of metaphysic. This idealist, whom some looked on as sceptical of the commonest principles that are universally accepted among men, was in very truth the most intense realist of his time. His idealism was the outgrowth of his realism—it was an attempt to sweep away artificial abstractions and unreal notions that prevailed in the schools of his day, notions about the unseen that had no moral validity, notions about the seen that had no basis in experience. His whole manner of thought was realistic: "From the general philosophical notions, which tradition is wont to fix, Berkeley falls back upon the concrete intuitions on which those notions rest, and tests the notion by the intuition. This is the evident secret of his power. Among the writings of modern

philosophers I know scarcely any which are so free from the untested adoption of traditional abstractions, so independent and bold in reconstruction, such classic models in style, as the *Meditationes* of Des Cartes and the *Principles* of our Berkeley."—(Ueberweg.)

Men of his own time were made to feel this in a way that surprises even Berkeley's admirers. They might jest at his theories, but they felt that here was a man of deep humanity, true insight and fine feeling. It was an unbelieving, sneering age of English history, but he surprised them into faith and affection. "Our dear philosopher Berkeley," is the name that the misanthrope Swift knows him by.

"To Berkeley every virtue under heaven,"

writes the consummate caricaturist and satirist. "Let us go too, let us go with him!" is the cry of enthusiastic admiration with which the wits of the coffee-house hear his explanation of his American plans; they had just before joined in a good-humored banter and ridicule of his proposals. What were the qualities that drew such men to this man? Not mere good nature, amiability and geniality; for those qualities being in great demand at that time, there was a vast and varied supply of them. No amount of them would have given Berkeley an exceptional position among men. Rather he was like an Irish bishop of the previous century, whose outer life, save in its unhappy but most honorable close, much resembled Berkeley's—we mean Bishop Bedell of Kilmore. His life recalls also the great and wholesome influence exerted upon the same "set" of people by one who was in every superficial respect unlike him, Dr. Sam. Johnson. He made men feel that there was a reality in him beyond what was ordinary—that he had got away from the notions, hear-says and opinions which constituted the intellectual life of his times, to the hard-pan of truth and fact. He was therefore capable of enthusiasm in an unenthusiastic age. But his enthusiasm was very unlike that of the Methodists, his cotemporaries. It did not lead him into their denials and negations; it did not withhold him from valuing and cherishing the things that to most men make life graceful and elegant, that keep it from being sordid and vulgar. Rather it made him value these things and defend the whole existing system of society as resting upon the unseen and the unspeakable.

As might be supposed, therefore, he was very strongly conservative—a Tory on principle, in days when most Tories were such from mere prejudice or policy. This was the real reason why the government so long hesitated about raising him to "the bench." The really Irish bishops of that day were secret Jacobites almost to a man, and men who exercised the large judicial powers entrusted to their diocesan courts, in such a fashion as to harass their fellow Protestants to the utmost. The Scotch Presbyterians in the North were subjected to vexations that are now inconceivable, and that did much to drive out of Ireland to America, the most thrifty and useful population that Ireland ever possessed. Every ministerial act of their clergy was declared invalid; grave and sober elders were sued for living in concubinage with their own wives; their children were declared bastards and incapable of inheritance. On the other hand when—as very commonly was done—Catholic "cosherers" carried off and forcibly married a Quaker or a Presbyterian girl, who happened to be heiress to a bit of land, the bishop's courts held the marriage valid because a priest performed the ceremony. For a very long period it was impossible to carry through Parliament a measure to declare such marriages invalid, because of the opposition of the bishops in the Upper House. In these circumstances the English ministry determined to make sure of the men they made into Irish bishops—to prefer Englishmen and Whigs only. Hence the fierce sarcasm with which Swift assailed these doubly hateful nominees; the king, he assured the Irish, chose only learned and holy men for Irish bishops, but they were stopped on Hounslow Heath by highwaymen, who robbed them of their credentials, and proceeded across the channel to occupy their sees. This state of things caused reluctance to appoint a man of Berkeley's known principles and affiliations to a bishopric. It may have been a hardship that some of the ablest men in the Irish church were excluded from preferment; but when church and state are united, such hardships must often be inflicted in carrying out a wise policy.

In his bishopric, as in all other positions and relations, Berkeley did his duty with a singleness of heart that left little to be desired. He was in all things the Christian gentleman, with a warm heart and a ready wit. He was greatly concerned as to the decay of trade and the decline of Irish prosperity under the shop-

keeper's policy of England (1699–1783), and abounded in suggestions as to making the best of the bad situation in which Ireland found herself. Still more was he concerned for the condition and the prospects of the colonies, whose coming greatness he foresaw with the prophet's eye that also belonged to a kindred spirit—George Herbert. He was not much given to poetry, but he wrote, in 1726, a poem of twenty-four lines which fairly surpasses all our "spread-eagle" of native growth in its grand anticipations of our future. His Bermudas plan, defeated by Walpole's failure to keep his promises of a grant of money, had for its object the education of a sufficient body of ministers for the colonies and the conversion and civilization of the native tribes. Among the first to adopt and defend his philosophic views were two able Americans—Jonathan Edwards of Northampton, and Dr. Samuel Johnson of Columbia College—the latter his personal friend. Dr. Johnson was the author of *Elementa Philosophica*, a Berkeleyan text-book of philosophy, printed by Franklin in 1753 for the use of the University of Pennsylvania. This was probably the first work on the subject for academic use written or published in America. As the writings of Mr. Rowland G. Hazard and Mr. Henry James show, his school is still represented among us.

But all these considerations are but secondary; for the interest that attaches to Berkeley's works, and especially to his *Principles of Human Knowledge*, extends far beyond anything that we could expect before studying the history of modern philosophy. We have seen Ueberweg comparing the book to Des Cartes's *Meditationes* in its importance and value. Like that book, it holds a strictly *cardinal* position in the historical course of philosophical literature. It is a hinge upon which that course turns. Without Berkeley, no Hume; without Hume, no Kant; without Kant, no Fichte, or Hegel, or Schelling, or Schopenhauer, is as certain of the continental history of philosophy as anything can be in regard to contingent affairs. Or, to take up the insular series, without Berkeley, no Hume; without Hume, no Scotch school, no Reid, no Hamilton, no Ferrier, no Mansell, no McCosh, no Porter. The book decided the shape that philosophic discussion was to take during the century and a-half that have followed its publication. It gives us the first statement of the great questions of human certainty, in the form of a very positive answer to them,

such as at once challenged discussion and provoked thought when its character was perceived.

Berkeley started from the current philosophy of his own day—the philosophy of Locke and of Des Cartes, especially the former. Des Cartes introduced an intensely dualistic mode of thought into philosophy. He drew the line of distinction between matter and spirit with great severity, and to some extent made each the negation of the other. In his view they were utterly heterogenous; any real knowledge of the one by the other must be the work of God the Creator of both, who excites in us the ideas of the material world. Some of his disciples made God the immediate and universal cause of all material effects, the apparent cause being the *occasion* only. Malebranche made God himself the medium of our knowledge; we see all things in Him. Leibnitz supposed a pre-established harmony of mind and matter. Mind and body are two clocks set by the same hand; they beat together but are bound in no causal nexus. And be it noted, that Des Cartes was as yet the only thinker that proposed to modern Europe any theory of the universe that did not involve perpetual, miraculous interruptions of the established order. Hence the extent and influence of his school; he impressed his dualism upon the mind of his age, not on this or that thinker only.

Locke succeeded in being less theological than Des Cartes, by avoiding questions of *cause* and discussing those of mode. In his view the mind is conscious only of its own ideas; it has no direct and immediate knowledge of the external world. Yet that world is justly to be inferred from the ideas found in consciousness. For we have perceptions of two very different classes of qualities in the objects of our perceptions—the one primary or evidently inherent in some object outside ourselves; the others, secondary or effects produced upon the sensorium by the external object. Various comparative experiences show us that the former—as shape, motion, and other mathematical qualities—are more objective than the latter, such as heat, color, sound, etc. To two persons, or to the two hands of the same person, a stone will be hot and cold; but there can never be any honest difference as to whether a body is square or triangular.

Berkeley simplified both these systems by cutting out what was in his view mere dead wood. Both were painfully laboring to

establish the existence of an unseen something called "the thing in itself," unperceived and unperceiving; a something not implied, as is the unseen spiritual world, in the postulates of the conscience; nor given in intuition, as are our own being and personality; nor given in experience, as are the ideas, which philosophers agree are alone found in consciousness. His first quarrel with them was with their method of procedure. Both Des Cartes and Locke were rebels against scholasticism. Neither had cut himself loose from the worst vice of scholasticism, the creating abstractions and dealing with them as things. Locke indeed had gone very far in the right direction. He ridiculed the scholastic distinction of substance and accident, and very rightly; but what he kicked out at one door he handed in at another, when he proposed to prove that there was an objective material world outside our knowledge, but inferrable from it. Had he kept to the concrete and the actual he could not have reached such a conclusion. The ordinary common sense of men never does reach it. They do not, by a process of reasoning, pass from what is given them in consciousness to an unknown something. They say, "I see the thing that is," and they are right. The idea is not the copy or reflex of a possible something; it is itself the sole object of knowledge. Our knowledge is indeed of simple ideas only, but these we group into assemblages according to a certain harmony of relation, and call things. An apple for instance is a group of such simple ideas—a certain color, shape, density, and the like—individualized from all other combinations like it. When I have once mastered this combination, and am again presented with it, I recognize it by means of a few of the simple ideas and remember the rest as previously ascertained. But I do not need to suppose that the nexus which unites these simple ideas is a material substance in which they cohere That substance which neither perceives nor is perceived, is a phantasm of the brain. The common sense of mankind repudiates it. What unsophisticated intellect admits that there is a something in the thing—the group of simple ideas—that he has no sense that can perceive? You say 'these simple ideas are the effects of which the material substance is the cause!' Another unhappy instance of your method of abstraction. What are cause and effect? You derived the knowledge of their existence from the intuitive perception of a will in yourself.

What right had you to transfer that conception, which belongs to mind, to personal will, over to this dead abstraction you call material substance? You are but repeating the process by which the myths of the first idolators grew into shape and life, endowing the impersonal with personality, ascribing to things the will-power that belongs to minds only. You ask 'How can we suppose such effects, without a material cause?' I ask you, is the effect less vivid and real in dreaming, where not only your supposed material cause, but the actual causes, the simple ideas are wanting. If our mind so works in sleep, why may not a greater mind so work in waking hours. After all, what is this material substance to which you refer these ideas as its cause? You define it as utterly of another sort from matter. I find no such difference *in genere* between these ideas and mind. Why should I regard it as their origin? Like begets like; you make it beget unlike. In the last, truest analysis the universe resolves itself into *minds*, *ideas* and the *relations* of ideas. The first are the causes of all the rest. You ask where this world of ideas comes from. Not from within you, certainly. It has the same Author, as you are forced to conceive as calling your world of matter into existence.

This statement has neither the vigor nor the completeness of Berkeley's argument; it is but a hint at the line of his reasoning. He proceeds to answer all the objections that occur to him, and the list is not a small one. The whole treatise is a model of pure, vigorous English, here and there slightly obscure, as is natural in breaking new ground. Its tone and manner stand in the very strongest contrast to the notional style of his times; and in spite of the Christian meekness that no one would deny to its author, one can trace in it something of the Irishman's enjoyment of a fight. But he fights fairly; he always means to argue justly, whether he succeeds or not.

Hume has the honor of first calling attention to the cogency and significance of Berkeley's reasoning. He made the *Principles* the starting point to arrive at a complete Pyrrhonism. He added a "never mind" to Berkeley's "no matter." He refused to concede the validity of the intuition by which Berkeley thought he ascertained the being of personality, the unchanging basis of the soul. He said "mind is an inference no less than matter, and not a bit more necessary inference. All that my experience

reaches to is a succession of mental states or frames. That there is a personal mental substance underlying those states and giving them unity is not certain and never can become so." But if personality and its permanence are not certain, then morality is "an hypothesis incapable of verification." All absolute truth disappears, and the reign of universal doubt comes in. Could a man go as far as Berkeley, and then logically refuse to go on with Hume? We most certainly think he might. If consciousness were purely intellectual and not moral as well, Hume's conclusions might stand. But every conviction of responsibility, of duty, of sin, rests upon the knowledge of continuous personality. "All human language, all human observation, implies that the mind, the 'I' is a thing in itself, a fixed point in the midst of a world of change, of which world of change its own organs form a part. It is the same yesterday, to-day and to-morrow. It was what it is when its organs are of different shape. It will be what it is when they have gone through other changes" (Fitz-James Stephen).

Kant was roused, he tells us, by Hume's Pyrrhonism to investigate the ultimate bases of belief, and thus inaugurated the new era in speculative philosophy. He took great care to repudiate Berkeley as well as Hume; but by remanding "the thing in itself" to the noumenal world, in which the category of cause and effect, according to him, has no validity, he certainly gave up the doctrine that the sensible impressions found in consciousness are caused by "the thing in itself," and prepared the way for still bolder forms of idealism.

From that day till our own, Berkeley has been remanded to forgetfulness. The text-books and university lectures of the Scotch school gave him a rap now and then, generally missing the mark. Some took large space to show that they knew nothing about him; witness Provost Beaseley's *Search of Truth.* Even Reid, who tells us that he once held with Berkeley, shows that he never understood him. The general position of the school was an appeal to "the common sense" *i. e.* the crude, undigested experience of mankind against the doctrine; their boldest position was that we had an immediate knowledge of material things in themselves. Leaving out "material" this was exactly Berkeley's doctrine. Hamilton scolds furiously at Berkeley in his *Lectures*, and every now and

then makes a show of taking his scalp. But in his *Dissertations* he admits that his idealism never had been refuted.

In our own days a vigorous Berkeleyan school has arisen on the other side of the Atlantic. A superb edition, the first that is complete and critical, of Berkeley's works, has been published by Prof. Frazer of the University of Edinburg, who with Mr. T. Collyns Simon, has shown himself a staunch defender of the doctrine, and by his biography has done much to make the man more thoroughly intelligible to us. Mr. Simon has attracted attention to the subject in Germany; and the historian Ueberweg, besides subjecting the theory to a severe examination in various articles, published an annotated translation of the *Principles* in Kirchman's *Philosophische Bibliothek.*

This last work and Frazer's superb edition of Berkeley suggested to Dr. Krauth the idea of preparing such an English edition of the *Principles,* as should serve as an introduction, not only to the study of Berkeley, but of modern philosophy in general in its two great lines of development, the Scotch and the German. We are proud of the result, for no other such edition of any philosophical classic exists in the English language. The text of the treatise occupies something over a fourth of the book. The first 147 pages are occupied by sixteen prolegomena. These give first of all Berkeley's personal history, the estimates formed of his life, writings and influence, by his friends and his critics, his predecessors in philosophy, the various statements of his theory and the lines of argument adopted for its refutation. Dr. Krauth then passes to Idealism in general, the attempts to define it, and the great Idealist systems that have arisen since Berkeley's day. The student who has mastered this much of the book, has gone over the outline of the history of modern philosophy as he will find it given nowhere else; he will have had before him some of the very finest specimens of philosophical statement and some of the worst; he will have a chance to compare the generally slipshod, careless, inaccurate method of the Scotch school, in regard to a native subject, with the conscientious work of the Germans. Much of the matter will be completely new to him, unless he has a wide acquaintance with German literature. Such a writer as Platner, for instance, here speaks English and courts our acquaintance for the first time, and the strange pessimistic idealism of Schopenhauer is

described with the fulness that its extensive popularity in Germany demands.

But the closing prolegomena are those that will give most pleasure; here the Editor speaks for himself and his estimate of Idealism strikes us as the best and finest thing in the book. Most people who have a fancy for idealism, are drawn to it by disgust for the pretended refutations of it. Dr. Krauth does not so much assail it directly, as trace it to its roots in the existing state of Western speculation. With Carlyle and Baader he finds its chief cause in the unwholesome dualism that has predominated in European schools since Des Cartes, through which matter and mind, body and soul, nature and spirit, are sundered from each other. As "every extreme involves an equal reaction," so philosophy having lost the conception of unity in harmony, has been vibrating between this crass dualism and the false unity produced by an absorption of matter in mind (idealism) or mind in matter (materialism)—each of these latter extremes also reacting upon each other. In "a sober realism," such as will not present to us either "nature spiritless, or spirit natureless, and both godless" (Baader), he hopes for the true form of philosophy. Such a schematism of the history of philosophy exactly coincides with the deepest thought of the Hegelian logic, while that most anti-Hegelian of Germans, Franz Baader would have subscribed to every sentence in Dr. Krauth's estimate.

The text of the *Principles* is republished from Prof. Frazer's edition, with his preface and foot-notes, and the variations of the early additions, and also the first draft of the "Introduction." Then follows a translation of Ueberwegs's elaborate controversial notes, with others by the editor. These certainly contain the ablest attack that has ever been made upon the Berkeleyan theory. He assails every point that is open to him with vast knowledge and incomparable acuteness. He rejects Berkeley's polemic against abstraction after submitting it to searching examination. He argues from the popular uses of the words perceive and feel, that the common sense of mankind is decidedly hostile to the idealist hypothesis. He insists on a more careful analysis of the perceptive act, and shows that the mental process by which we infer a material world outside ourselves is a primitive involuntary act of thought, and not a piece of philosophic speculation,

and that Berkeley continually begs the question in his use of the word object. He defends Locke's distinction between primary and secondary qualities, and shows that the former have in them an objective element that is not possessed by the latter, and that this fact points to an objective material world. His case is especially strong when he comes to discuss the improbability of the hypothesis in view of what we know of the constitution of the universe through the discoveries of science. Whether Berkeley's theory can be accepted by one who admits all that mathematical and physical science tells us, remains to be seen. He himself felt constrained to cast doubts upon much that had already been discovered in his own days, but is now regarded as past all doubt. Ueberweg uses this fact and later discoveries, such as the transmutation of forces, with great effect; but he also proceeds from a hypothesis of the nature and properties of matter much less gross than that which Berkeley was combatting. Indeed, he admits that the gross dualism of those times gave great force to Berkeley's theory, and that it must be given up before idealism can be refuted. He admits also that Locke did much to suggest the idealist hypothesis, while he claims that he might have rejected it with perfect consistency.

Ueberweg charges like a *Uhlan*, but he fights fairly. We hope that his objections will receive the attention that they deserve from Prof. Frazer and other British Berkeleyans. For ourselves we are rather indisposed to believe in logical refutations of idealism. We suspect that there is a possible reply to every answer, even when we cannot see what it is; and in more than one place we think that Ueberweg is strong because Berkeley has not done himself justice. The whole impression that we derive from the notes, especially from the concluding ones by Dr. Krauth, is the same as from the "Estimate" in the XIVth Prolegomenon: They who refute Berkeley must first give up Des Cartes and Locke.

The book crowns its merits by a full and accurate index. The style in which it is printed, and everything that concerns its general appearance, reflect no doubt the taste and judgment of the editor, but they do great credit to the publishing house that has enabled him to put his work before the public.

John Dyer.

NEW BOOKS.

A Dictionary of Medical Science. By Robley Dunglison, M. D., LL.D. Enlarged and revised by Richard Y. Dunglison, M. D. Philadelphia: Henry C. Lea, 1874. Royal oct. Pp. 1,131. Cloth, $6.50; Leather, $7.50.

During the preparation of this edition the author was attacked by the illness which terminated with his life. The medical profession cannot but feel his loss sensibly, for not only were his talents of inestimable value, but his courtesy and kindness so endeared him to them all, and especially to his students, that his memory will not be soon forgotten.

The present editor has necessarily been associated so intimately with the author, and has labored with him in so many of the former editions, that no one could be better able to continue and complete the work, and to carry out the system. It is now nearly forty years since this book was given to the profession. In that time it has become the standard authority for the definitions of medical terms. Quotations from "Dunglison" are seen repeatedly in the best English dictionaries. The author has succeeded most satisfactorily in his desire to produce "a lexicon, in which the inquirer may search without disappointment for any term that has been legitimated in the nomenclature of the science."

Since the last edition the science has made immense progress, compared with any equal portion of time during the last century. This would of itself have demanded a new edition that the wish of the author might be fully realized and the work retain its usefulness. Six thousand subjects and terms have been added, and yet the volume has been enlarged by less than one hundred pages. The arrangement of the typography which has effected this, economizes space and renders reference more easy, while it gives to the words themselves their relative importance.

The value of a technological dictionary is thoroughly understood and appreciated by those who have received a classical education, and its importance to those who have not cannot be overestimated. Nothing is wanting in this work from the orthography to the pathology to render it complete. It is in fact an abstract of the present condition of medical science.

That the accentuation is so clearly marked that the pronunciation of the words cannot be mistaken, is a subject for profound thankfulness; for it is a lamentable fact that there is no unanimity among the profession on this point. Sectional peculiarities exist throughout the country, which may be overcome in time. But we refer particularly to the difference which exists among instructors in the same institutions. It would be well if

students were taught to pronounce according to this lexicon. With such an acknowledged authority there is no reason why there should be want of harmony on this question, however much there may be on others.

There are one or two points concerning which some criticism may be offered. In compound words all the component parts in the original tongue are not given. This especially occurs when one of the components has been used before. Under these circumstances it is necessary, in order to understand fully, to search for the one not specified. While space is economized, the time of the student is wasted.

In a work of such intrinsic merit the omission of the accents on Greek words and derivatives is a matter of surprise, inasmuch as the accent is an integral part of a Greek word, and therefore cannot well be dispensed with. Amendment in this respect would have been an improvement on the last edition. The definitions are always simple, easily understood and thoroughly well expressed. It is a mistake, however, to confine the definitions of general technical words to medicine. For example, actiology is not exactly "the doctrine of the causes of disease;" it is rather the doctrine of causes and reasons of phenomena in *any* branch of science. It is impossible to be too exact in a technological dictionary.

The new subjects and terms scattered throughout the volume are evidence of the labor expended in order to render it complete and exhaustive. The work evidences the great advance that has been made in the last ten years in every department of medicine. The editor has taken due notice of every new discovery and improvement. New names are given, and upon rational principles. The questionable policy of labeling every discovery with the name of the discoverer, or with that of the person who has most fully made out the pathology, is not encouraged. Names which convey some idea of the lesion are used in their place, and the terms simplified thereby.

On the whole, the medical profession has reason to congratulate, itself that this dictionary will continue, so long as it remains in the hands of the present editor, to maintain the position it has always held. For however much is due to the author in forming the plan, quite as much is due to him in efficiently executing it.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

Tables in Song. By Robert Lord Lytton. Boston: Jas. R. Osgood & Co., 1874. Cloth, gilt top. Small 12mo., pp. 333. $2.00. [Porter & Coates.]

Common Sense; a novel. By Mrs. C. J. Newby. Philadelphia: T. B. Peterson & Bros.

Lincoln and Seward. By Gideon Welles. New York: Sheldon & Co., 1874. 12mo., pp. 215. Cloth. [J. B. Lippincott & Co.]

No Intentions; a novel. By Florence Marryatt. New York: D. Appleton & Co. Paper, pp. 171. 75 cts. [Porter & Coates.]

Trodden Down; a novel. By Mrs. C. J. Newby. Philadelphia: T. B. Peterson & Bros.

The Martyrdom of Man. By Winwood Reade. New York: A. K. Butts & Co., 1874. Cloth, pp. 543. 12mo., $3.00. [J. B. Lippincott & Co.]

The Safest Creed, and Twelve other Recent Discourses of Reason. By Octavius B. Frothingham. New York: A. K. Butts & Co., 1874. Cloth. 12mo., pp. 238. $1.50. [J. B. Lippincott & Co.]

Half Hour Recreations in Natural History. Insects of the Garden, their Habits, etc. By A. S. Packard, Jr. Boston: Estes & Lauriat. Paper, pp. 64. 25 cts. [Claxton, Remsen & Haffelfinger.]

Half-Hour Recreations in Popular Science. Dana Estes, Editor. No. 10. Origin of Metalliferous Deposits. By Prof. T. Steny Hunt. The Phenomena of Sleep. By Dr. Richardson. Boston: Estes & Lauriat. Paper, pp. 46. 25 cts. [Claxton, Remsen & Haffelfinger.]

Ivan De Biron, or the Russian Court in the Middle of the Last Century. By Sir Arthur Helps. Boston: Roberts Brothers, 1874. 12mo., Cloth. [Claxton, Remsen & Haffelfinger.]

ERRATA.

Page 379, line 10, for "frustrate" read "penetrate." End of line 37, for "*et*" read "*vel.*"

THE

PENN MONTHLY.

MAY, 1874.

THE MONTH.

LITTLE news of importance has come to us from Europe during the past month. France has been discussing the powers of the present government, no very definite end having been reached as to the true character of Marshal MacMahon's government. The Legitimists and Bonapartists hold that the Septennat, as it is called, is merely an interregnum or temporary government which may be made to give place at any moment to a permanent one. On the other hand the Republicans claim that the powers given to the Marshal for seven years cannot be taken from him by the Assembly, and that the present form of government cannot be changed. It is odd thus to see the men who overthrew the reign of Thiers, and placed the sovereign power in the Marshal's hands holding the first theory, while those who bitterly opposed the revolution of the 24th of May, are warm supporters of the other view. The Marshal, in very calm letters and speeches, professes that he has no business but that of maintaining order during the seven years, and declines to commit himself to the theories of any parties. He is said to be by no means pleased with the late birthday speech of the young Napoleon, in which he (MacMachon) is alluded to as if he were but keeping the seat warm for the Prince while he remains in England, in order to finish his military edu-

cation. The Committee of Thirty appointed long ago has drafted an important law on the right of suffrage which has occasioned much, and some fiery discussion. It makes few changes. One of them at least seems to be wise in view of past experience. The law makes six months' residence in the district a pre-requisite to the right of voting, which of course would cut off the "colonizing" many who have frequently been the cause of riot in Paris and Lyons, and had no small share in elections like that of M. Barodet last spring. Another provision changes the voting age from 21 to 25, which it is thought will disfranchise a million and a half of voters. There are no educational or property qualifications attached to the right of suffrage by this measure. The chance for that has long gone by.

It must have been pleasant news for lovers of order and quiet in Paris, when they picked up the journals the other day and found that Henri Rochefort and Pascal Grousset had escaped from confinement in New Caledonia, and were *en route* for Leicester Square or Belgium. It has been equally agreeable to all well disposed persons in the country to learn that they are to take the United States on their way. It is to be regretted that these distinguished travelers will not see us at the time when certain gentlemen, who oppose the centennial celebration on this ground, especially, think that we offer to foreigners a terrible spectacle, to wit: during the fire and fury of a Presidential election. The effect upon these admirers of ideal Republics might be beneficial. Rochefort's health, by the way, is quite remarkable. Half a dozen times during his imprisonment he was reported to be at the point of death. Our sympathies were wickedly aroused by stories predicting that he could not survive his trial, or that the voyage to New Caledonia would surely finish him. But here after that threatening voyage, and a short sojourn in durance vile, he is not only well enough to escape to sea in an open boat, but it is said, proposes to lecture in the United States, on his way across our unhappy country. The proverbial nine lives of a cat are nothing to this!

The telegrams from Spain remind one of those which the Washington correspondents used to delight to send to the North during the war, announcing with perfect regularity every twenty-four

hours that the Government was about to take vigorous measures to put down the Rebellion. Marshal Serrano has been busily engaged in vigorous efforts to put down the Carlists. After the defeat of Moriones, which seems to have been signal, the Dictator took active command himself; but thus far his experience has been as unhappy as his predecessor's. In his attempt to relieve Bilbao, to which the Carlists have laid siege, he has been repulsed and at the last accounts, his prospects were no brighter. Bilbao is a large and important city and its fall would be a great triumph for the Carlists. Their position is described as almost impregnable and their numbers are said to be increasing. On the other hand, a recent dispatch gives a pitiful account of Serrano's forces. The last, however, with which the cable man has favored us, repeats again the story that the Government is about to take vigorous measures, etc., etc., etc.

DURING the past winter the number of marine disasters has been appalling. The Atlantic has been unusually tempestuous, and the shipwrecks have not been confined to vessels of the smaller or medium class. This month of April, marked last year by the loss of the White Star ship Atlantic, has witnessed two terrible disasters to the French line. There is a singular similarity in the cases of the Europe and the Amerique. Both ships have recently been lengthened; both sprung a leak in the new part; on both the pumps proved defective and almost useless, and both were abandoned under circumstances which—judged by our present knowledge—reflect little credit on French seamanship. Had the Europe been properly provided with steam pumps, she might have been saved, as well as the Amerique. Indeed, it is the opinion of Mr. Buck, the officer who attempted to bring her into port, that if he had been allowed to take possession in the evening, instead of the next morning, when the water had risen and put out the fires, he could have saved the ship. It seems as if the French captain had abandoned his vessel without the proper investigation as to her condition. More haste and certainly worse speed were shown in the case of the Amerique. More than twenty-four hours after her abandonment, she is found floating in the trough of a rough sea, in such condition as to be brought into Portsmouth three days afterwards without very great difficulty. French seamanship cer-

tainly shows to no advantage in either case; nor is it creditable to French character that an attempt has been made to throw part of the blame of the Europe's loss upon the English officers who saved her passengers, and sought to save her too; and in the case of the sister ship to shift the responsibility of her supposed loss upon the English shipbuilders. It is a happy thing that in the case of both vessels the transfer of many hundreds of men and women was made in mid ocean, in a storm, with the loss of but one life.

THE Samana Bay Company has come to grief. Having omitted to pay the rent due on the 1st of January, it finds its privileges withdrawn, its charter revoked, and the treaty which gave it existence annulled by the new President of Santo Domingo. The company seems to have been prepared for this action, and to have laid an anchor to windward by inducing the United States Government to become a sub-tenant of part of its possessions; and we hear that it proposes to ask the President to interfere in its behalf. The device is a shrewd one, but we fancy not likely to work. What with currency bills, moieties, informers, investigations, the Louisiana question, the Arkansas question, the South Carolina question and the like, our rulers have enough business on their hands just now, even if the name of Santo Domingo has lost significance and ceased to teach them caution.

THE Connecticut election is full of significance and at the same time it is not. Connecticut is always an uncertain State, and this year the feuds among the Republican leaders, coupled with the strength of Governor Ingersoll and the prestige of his excellent administration, would have made the result doubtful in any case. But on the other hand, the prize for which both parties were contending was not the Governorship, which is open every year, but the seat in the Senate occupied for the past six years by Governor Buckingham. Under these circumstances, the defeat of the Republicans is a severe blow. Their candidate this year was an excellent one, the leader of the bar in New Haven, and nothing was left undone to win success. But in Connecticut, as in some other States of the Union, many of the best men in the Republican ranks have become disheartened and disgusted; and

in such a state of feeling there seem to be worse things in this life than the defeat of one's party. Some stayed away from the polls and others even voted aginst the ticket, from the belief that a defeat perhaps would be beneficial punishment to the leaders of the party. It must be added, too, that the Democracy of Connecticut is of rather a liberal and practical kind. It is very apt to place good men before the people, and is not entirely incapable of taking advantage of its opponents' mistakes. It has courted, too, rather than repelled the advances of the Liberals, and of discontented Republicans, with evident benefit to itself. Should the re-election of so admirable a Governor as Mr. Ingersoll be followed by the choice of some equally good man as Mr. Buckingham's successor, there will be no occasion to regret this Republican defeat; but there is great danger, from what we hear, of the election of some one who will strengthen neither the State, the Senate, nor the cause of reform.

WE ventured to predict in last month's issue, though but two ballots had then been cast, that neither Judge Hoar nor Mr. Dawes would be elected successor to Mr. Sumner, and that the new Senator would be chosen without Democratic votes. For a fortnight or ten days before, the final ballot, Mr. Adams might have been chosen Senator. At no time was it possible to elect Judge Curtis. Day after day the breach widened between the Dawes men and the Hoar men, and the chances of each grew more desperate. Offers of compromise were rejected, and neither party would yield an inch. So the matter stood for a fortnight. The Dawes men were the first to show signs of weakness, and a proposition came from them to give up their man if the Hoar men would unite in a resolution eulogizing his life and works. This weak offer was at once declined with scorn, and the usual formality was again gone through with. At length the threatening split in the party frightened the wiser and cooler heads, and compromise became possible. The Hoar men having succeeded in casting 93 votes for their candidate to Dawes 92, were willing to yield him as an offering to peace. But here the breach was torn asunder violently again; for it turned out that Butler's friend, the unselfish Dr. Loring, was the next choice of the Dawes party, and for him the Hoar men indignantly

refused to vote. The convention met; the excitement was intense. Adams ran up to 29 votes, and would have perhaps been chosen on the next ballot, when a recess was proposed and carried. The leaders of the Republican wings had a conference with Vice-President Wilson, and yielding to his earnest entreaties, agreed to shake hands and make it up. The convention reassembled, the balloting recommenced, and Governor Wm. B. Washburn was at once elected. He is a graduate of Yale, and served for three or four terms in Congress; but he is best and most favorably known as the successful opponent of Butler in his raids upon the governorship. It is no mean triumph for the Republicans of Massachusetts that after a three weeks' contest, which had apparently become bitter, they could reunite in the choice of so excellent a character, and so determined an enemy of what has come to be called all over the country "Butlerism." A man of strong and resolute character, strict integrity and fair talents, he will make an efficient and respectable Senator. Had either Judge Hoar or Mr. Adams been elected, Massachusetts would have had a representative worthy of her best days. As it is, with Mr. Boutwell and Governor Washburn, she will sink to the position of most of the other states, few of which are now-a-days represented in the Senate by men of high character or great ability.

THE beautiful condition of affairs with which we have grown familiar in Louisiana, seems to have had its effect upon Arkansas. At the gubernatorial election some time ago, the candidates were Joseph Brooks and Elisha Baxter. The latter was declared elected, and took his seat as governor; but there were loud cries of fraud, and Brooks contested the election. Little has been heard of the matter until recently, when, having obtained a decision of the circuit court in his favor, he marched up with a party of his supporters and forcibly took possession of the State House and all that therein was. Baxter seems to have been caught napping, or at least, more off his guard than experience would show to be safe for a southern or southwestern governor, and all that he has thus far seemed able to do, has been to stand at a safe distance, and dare the usurping Brooks to do so again, and threaten that he would tell his big brother at Washington. The "big brother," to whom such family incidents have become an old story, very

sensibly declined to interfere; and Baxter and Brooks have for the past five days remained in the attitude of two warlike chickens, gazing defiantly into each others' eyes. Up to this time, however, neither has yet jumped, and there is some comfort to lovers of peace to be drawn from the fact that both declare themselves to be on the defensive. Offenses will come, however, very easily, out of such a condition of affairs; and the figure which Arkansas makes in the eyes of the world, is at once distressing and disgraceful. Brooks holds the State House and Baxter the chief part of Little Rock; mutual fear keeps open a strip of neutral territory between the two parties, on the borders of which their pickets are posted and sentinels march up and down, after the most approved fashion. Each side declares itself driven to this warlike necessity by the wickedness of the other, and both express the most vehement yearning for a peaceful settlement by the courts. The President has advised the latter course, and sensibly refused to interfere beyond instructing the United States officers to prevent bloodshed; but the supreme court, we understand, will not regularly meet until September. What in the meantime is to become of the peaceful inhabitants of Little Rock, to whom the personal disputes of a hundred Brookses or Baxters are of small account, or the fair fame of the sovereign State of Arkansas?

It is premature, perhaps, to speak of the Sanborn investigation, for the Committee of Ways and Means has not yet made its report. It is easy however to form a correct estimate of the whole business. The most lamentable feature of the investigation was the examination of the Secretaries of the Treasury. Mr. Richardson testified practically that he knew nothing about this or any other matter connected with the contract; that Mr. Boutwell made it, and Mr. Sawyer or Mr. Banfield prepared the papers, which he signed as "mere matter of routine;" that he was in the habit of signing such papers as were presented to him, if they happened to be marked in a certain way by the clerk or chief of bureau, and admitted that in point of fact the clerks of the Department "run" it, though, as the Secretary said apologetically, "not entirely." Mr. Sawyer, the Assistant Secretary, seemed to know more of the business than his chief, and acknowledged greater acquaintance with the Sanborn contract; but he threw the blame

upon Mr. Banfield, the solicitor, who immediately returned it with thanks, and at this moment it is going about like a shuttlecock among the heads of the Treasury Department. Sanborn has produced his accounts, though we are not told whether he kept them in pencil, in a little memorandum book, after the manner of Oakes Ames of virtuous memory. He denied vehemently ever having paid money to General Butler, though he had paid some forty thousand of his hard-earned dollars to one Prescott, a henchman, of the Essex Statesman. It is an unsatisfactory statement, to say the least. The indictment which District Attorney Tenney, of Brooklyn, had prepared with the greatest difficulty (for he received no help whatever from the authorities in Washington, in spite of repeated efforts to obtain it) against Sanborn & Company, has fallen to pieces on technical grounds, and the parties have been discharged. There is little doubt that the contract system has received a blow, and that Mr. Sanborn will, in the future, have to turn his talents in other directions than in acting as champion of his defrauded country. How permanent or thorough the reform will be, remains to be seen.

The President has vetoed the Senate Currency Bill. The news has just reached us as we go to press, and we hear much of the indignation of the "inflationists," and the joy of the "resumptionists." His behavior during the past fortnight had led no one to anticipate this action, the most sanguine of his admirers among the hard money men not daring to predict what he would do. The pressure brought to bear upon him in favor of the bill was undoubtedly terribly strong, and he has shown great force of character in resisting it. Butler, Cameron, Logan, Morton, and others of his trusted advisers, were warm advocates of the "more money" policy. Conkling alone, of his confidential friends, opposed the bill. Indeed, the other day, when a number of the leading merchants of New York called at the White House to present the resolutions of a great meeting held in that city, and urge the President to veto the Senate bill, they were kept waiting in the ante-chamber half an hour in order that General Butler, who had hurried in just before their arrival, might finish his talk without interruption. Those who remembered the effect upon the Presidential mind of a similar timely visit of Senator Patterson's

before the reception of the South Carolina taxpayers' delegation, anticipated rough treatment for the bloated bond-holders and selfish capitalists of New York. But they were received with no unusual demonstration and no unusual cordiality, and the interview was as bare of interest as even General Grant could make it. But he did seem to intimate that he required no instruction from New York, and even resented an attempt at the like which had come from the direction of Boston. He certainly led no one to expect as much as he has given us. Of course, there will be intense bitterness over the veto, and many who have been singing the President's praises will change their tune. But when the excitement shall at length have subsided, the sober second thought of the masses of his countrymen will thank President Grant for this veto, as sincerely as they ever did General Grant for his greatest and most signal victories. He has killed a measure which, founded on the worst theories in finance, was most to be dreaded, not for what it did, but for what it made possible; and he has given Congress an opportunity which it did not deserve, to turn in the direction where only safety lies. It is not easy to exaggerate the effect upon our credit among foreign lenders had this bill become a law. The judgment and the courage of the President have saved the people from their representatives—perhaps even from themselves. We are not yet able to judge well of the effect of this veto upon politics. The Democrats are as divided as the Republicans. The day may not yet be at hand, but there are men who look to the formation of new parties upon this issue of the currency alone. But the bud is perhaps yet green, and Time is your only ripener.

METHODS OF VALUATION OF REAL ESTATE FOR TAXATION.

THE discussion of taxation that affects the rights, property and welfare of communities should be conducted with the purpose of ascertaining principles, which, when adhered to in the enactment of laws, will work uniformly and justly in their application to the subjects upon which a levy is made. It is too often treated by disputants, in the excitement of political and partizan contests, as an evil from which there is no escape, which yields no

substantial benefits, and as crushing the energies of the people without any compensation for its exaction.

From their very nature, discussions under such circumstances are accompanied with exaggerated and inaccurate statements, and so far as they have a tendency to promote and exact fidelity in public officers, or curtail improvident or wasteful expenditure of public money by those invested with the power and responsibility, may measurably be productive of good results, but they are seldom conducted with the intention or in a manner calculated to elucidate any of its intricacies or perfect or improve the system itself.

[Taxation is as necessary in all civilized countries for the comfort, convenience and protection of their citizens as are the wages of labor or profit of trade and commerce in providing the people with the moneys required in their private expenditures and in well governed states and municipalities, it yields as large a return and as many compensating benefits as any outlay made by individuals on private account.]

With this view of the importance of dispassionate investigation to arrive at methods for the just and equal distribution of local taxation, it is proposed to call attention, as briefly as a consideration of the subject will admit of, to one of the necessary incidents in promoting equality of payments, the enactment and rigid adherence in the execution of the law of a rule of valuation which will not only furnish those charged with the duty of valuing for tax assessment or revising the returns made, with the most reliable guide in the performance of their official obligations, and at the same time present some facts and reasons which can be advanced for and against the several methods heretofore in use, for public attention.

It is not, however, intended at this time to consider the practical operation of a rule upon any of the many classes of property other than real estate, which, under all the complex systems of the States of America, as well as in England, forms the largest and most certain basis for taxation for local requirements—the same rules will apply to most other kinds of property, but as there are known exceptions it is thought best to confine this examination of the subject to the one class of property which forms the largest por-

tion of the aggregate of the returns, and is the most difficult to value correctly.

Before proceeding further it may not be uninteresting, and is certainly instructive, to ascertain from the statutes the authorized modes or rules of valuation which have been adopted in Pennsylvania at different periods of time from its first settlement to the present day. The experience of the past, when understood in this, as in all other matters, furnishes an index to many errors which can be avoided without the penalty of a second trial.

The law prescribed by the colonial statutes, and which remained unchanged after Independence, until 1795, simply required estates (seated lands) to be equally and impartially assessed, and the assessor was sworn or affirmed that "The rates ...... be duly and equally assessed according to the best of thy skill and knowledge, and herein thou shalt spare no person for favor or affection, nor grieve any for hatred or ill-will." The exact measure of equality arrived at during the last century under the directions stated can not now be accurately known, but it is probable that as no costly public improvements were undertaken by the authorities, such as the introduction of water and gas into cities, the paving and draining of streets, and the construction of large bridges, the support of a system of public schools for the education of youth, the maintenance of numbers of police made necessary by dense population, the purchase and adornment of parks and pleasure grounds for the health and recreation of the people, and with inefficient means and dependence on voluntary assistance for the extinguishment of fires, and the absence of many other municipal provisions and conveniences now deemed indispensable, that with an unequal and indifferent execution of the law, the small amount of money raised for local purposes upon the basis returned, worked much real hardship to the owners of estates. The colonial indebtedness contracted in the French and Indian Wars was, during a portion of the time, a subject of much complaint; but a conclusion may inferentially be drawn that the rating was not at the full value, from the legislation of the Commonwealth in 1782, wherein by enactment provision was made for levying and collecting the sum of £420,297.15, being the quota required of the State for that year for Federal use, to enable it to carry on the war for Independence with vigor and effect; and instead of collecting it upon the exist-

ing basis for county rates, the new law provided for an assessment wherein all property was to be "valued, and for for so much *bonâ fide* as they are worth or would sell for."

No material change seems to have been made in the directory provisions of the law for county rates and levies until 1795, when a code was enacted by which the command to the officers was to make "a just and faithful valuation," and this was followed in 1799 by a new code which contained the first definition as to what should be the standard for reaching equality in the words, that they (the assessors) "shall proceed to value the property for what they think it will *bonâ fide* sell for in ready money."

The intention of the framers of this law evidently was to furnish a practical test for uniformity throughout the Commonwealth, instead of committing the decision of what shall constitute a just and faithful valuation to the undirected judgment of the assessor; but with triple tax rates for State, county and borough or township purposes imposed upon the same property, the effect of which will be more fully noticed hereafter, it was found impossible to secure a compliance with the law in all the counties or in all the townships within counties, and in order that injustice should not be done those willing to enforce it, a repealing act was passed in 1808, and the county officers were vested with a discretion to agree upon such a method as would enable them to adjust the valuation according to circumstances, in the following words: "That the commissioners shall fix upon some uniform standard to ascertain the *bonâ fide* value of all property, taking into consideration improvements, proximity to market, and other advantages of situation, so that the same relative value of property may be observed as it respects wards, townships, boroughs and districts in the same county, that is observed in the valuation of property in the same township."

This flexible or discretionary clause remained in force until the Revisers of the civil code reported a new act in 1834, in which they retained the provision quoted, substituting the word "real" for "*bonâ fide*," and making a few other unimportant verbal alterations, and it was again adopted.

In 1836 the State government committed a grave financial error by repealing all taxes upon real and personal property for its revenue, and substituted for this resource a bonus from the Bank of

the United States. The crisis which preceded 1840 found it with an uncompleted system of railroad and canal improvements, which had been undertaken to facilitate state and inter-state transportation, and the development of its mineral and agricultural wealth, and with a funded and floating debt contracted in their construction of about $40,000,000: the perplexing question was forced upon the attention of the people at a time of great monetary depression, to devise means to maintain the credit and honor of the Commonwealth, and meet the increasing demands upon the treasury for the interest of debt, and for the ordinary governmental expenses, and for several consecutive years many radical changes in the tax laws were enacted.

The method of ascertaining and appraising values by the act of 1840, required "That in all cases the estimates of the assessors, where practicable, shall be made as they would appraise the same in payment of a just debt from a solvent debtor, provided that in estimating the value of any real estate subject to the payment of any dower, ground-rent or mortgage, the principal of said dower, ground-rent or mortgage shall first be *deduced*, and the tax assessed on the remainder of the estimated value of said real estate."

The regulations prescribed, excepting the proviso for the deduction of indebtedness, are those in operation by statute in the State of New York.

It required the practical experience of one year only to demonstrate the folly of the requirements of this law, and that the change worked neither reform in the system nor increase of revenue. It was difficult, and indeed found impossible to materially augment the aggregate valuations of the several counties, each controlled by the fear that it would be compelled to pay an undue proportion of the State tax, and in many instances of encumbered estates, the remainder after the deduction of the debt from the assessed value was inconsiderable; and on the other hand, holders of mortgages who were subject to the same rates concealed the fact of ownership and avoided the return of them.

The stern necessities of the time caused speedy action on a corrective law. Legislators, a majority of whom are always timid when a subject so dangerous to personal popularity and partizan success as the imposition of taxes is forced upon their attention, were compelled to act, and devise ways and means which

would yield substantial results; accordingly, in 1841, the authority to deduct debts was repealed, and it was enacted that it should be the duty to "assess, rate and value all objects of taxation according to the *actual value* thereof, and at such rates and prices for which the same would separately *bonâ fide* sell," and to make this direction more emphatic, the oath which the assessors were obliged to take and subscribe to was reconstructed at the following session of the Assembly, a part of which is as follows: "That you will honestly and to the best of your judgment assess and value every separate piece or tract of land with the improvements thereon, within your (district) at the rate or price which you shall, after due examination and consideration, believe the same would sell for if sold singly and separately at a *bonâ fide* sale after full public notice." And this continues to be the law of the Commonwealth.

The several acts of assembly in force at different periods have been thus particularly stated for the reason that they contain the history of the efforts of a great State to equalize the public charges upon the property of its citizens, and as some of the methods tried and abandoned are in theory looked upon with favor by persons in a generation with but few living who have a personal remembrance of their practical operation, that they may profit by the experience of their progenitors.

The difficulties of approaching equality in urban assessments (absolute equality upon any rule or guide adopted being impossible of attainment) is hardly appreciated by that portion of the people who give but occasional thought to the subject, or who have not been charged in some way with the duty of accomplishing it. Frequently, it is spoken of as a matter of easy performance; but it will be found in most instances, that persons expressing such opinions have vague and indefinite ideas of the intricacies of the work, and have not considered or taken into account the fluctuation in prices and changing value of even real estate, the most stable and permanent of all kinds of property, occasioned by the plethora or stringency of money, the activity or depression of mercantile business, the shifting of trade, the extension of new improvements stimulating surrounding values, the conduct of an unpleasant or annoying business which makes neighboring properties less desirable and of diminished worth, and many other causes which are active and disturbing in their effects.

Notwithstanding this, however, it is possible and practicable to make a fair appraisement, which corrected, at annual periods, will produce substantial equality; but to accomplish it, all who are engaged in the work must be guided by some one standard or rule, and if there be any difference in opinion as to its meaning, they should at least apply it by one and same interpretation to property in the several districts in which they may be engaged.

The methods prescribed for assessment of property, in some States of the Union by the constitution, and in others by statute, differ in the words of direction. In the State of New York real estate is to be estimated at "the full and true value thereof, and at which they would appraise the same in payment of a just debt due from a solvent debtor." In Massachusetts at the full cash value. Ohio at its true value in money, and in other States the "true value thereof," and words of similar import are used. Like Pennsylvania, the laws of all the States, if complied with, require a return of the full market value, varying only as to the kind of sale upon which its estimate is to be made, yet so general and universal, has a disregard of the laws governing the subject grown into practice and assessments made upon percentages of true value become, that compliance with the law in very few of the cities is regarded as exceptional, and in Philadelphia, when in 1868 the valuations were first advanced, many well informed citizens supposed that it was done by special enactment, and the enforcement of a new and peculiar law, whilst in point of fact every assessor in office, from the year 1842 to that date, had taken a solemn oath, a part of which has been quoted, to make returns upon the same basis, but had failed so to do. In this practice they were supported by the authority of custom and the weight of supposed public opinion, encouraged by the fear that any increase would be accompanied with the payment of an undue proportion of State tax. It must be evident to every one who reflects upon the subject, that it is demoralizing to require or encourage public officers to swear or affirm, that they will perform a duty which is defined in words so plain and unmistakable, that no person can doubt their import, and then to permit them, or what is much worse justify the act, to violate it by making returns upon an average of twenty, thirty, forty, or fifty per cent. of their value which they have obligated themselves to make the appraisement.

If there be any advantage in fractional returns of the valuations, the law should be so framed as to fix the standard upon such partial estimates; but assessments so made, in violation of law, are chaotic, and neither citizen nor officer can form an intelligent judgment of the relative equality of the sum placed upon his estate, except in its relation to other property in the vicinage or ward. For example, before the assessment of 1868, in the city of Philadelphia, above referred to, the average valuation in one of the wards was sixty-five per cent., in another sixty per cent.; others varying in percentages down to twenty; and yet the assessments were made, returned and massed in one aggregate, and a tax-rate levied upon the whole sum irrespective of locality. Each owner and estate was subject to the same law; each officer obliged to perform his duty by the same solemn and explicit oath; but when law and obligation were by common consent violated, can greater fidelity, in the execution of official trust, be expected than the results stated?

But equality is not promoted and an advantage is not gained in the effort to arrive at it by partial or under valuations. The appraiser must be able to ascertain what is the full value in order to calculate the fractional part of it, and to determine a sum equal to thirty-three, forty or fifty per cent. of the same, and a municipality requiring a certain amount of money for its expenditures must increase the tax-rate in the same proportion that the valuation of property, on which it is levied, is diminished.

The knowledge, too, that the sum at which he is expected to appraise estates, is at a less sum than that required by law, and his own will the rule of action, leads to great carelessness in the respective amounts apportioned to each, and the assessment is frequently made by a guess at a sum which he thinks would be sufficient for the owner to pay upon, without any calculation of the fractional part or per centage of its actual worth.

On the other hand, assessments made at the full market value furnish a guide as to their accuracy, both for the officer and citizen.

If the property of the citizen is rated at a greater sum than it is worth, the error will be patent to him and he is entitled to relief upon appeal, without the trouble and inconvenience of comparative examination of other appraisements; and there is a further

advantage in approximating equality of payments in this, that an error made in valuation upon the basis of per centage, is more likely to produce injustice to owners than by a uniform return at full value. Thus, if A. has a mansion worth in the market $36,000, which is assessed at $16,000, and the average of the aggregate valuations is not over thirty-three per cent., it is evident that he should have been placed at $12,000, and will be required to pay tax on $4,000 more than his just proportion. The sum at which it is returned being only forty-four per cent. of its value, and not having information of its variance from the general average to induce inquiry and comparison, he pays the amount demanded without protest. When, however, the assessments are at market value, and the correct return of the same property would be $36,000, an error as flagrant as that in the example would rate it at $48,000, or $12,000 in excess of its worth.

It needs only a statement of the case to demonstrate how much more readily injustice can be detected, in like instances, by full than partial values; but on the other hand, whilst some may be above the general average, others below it make no complaint, and unless detected and rectified by revising officers, the public are injured by it.

It is, indeed, a fact which can be verified by examination, that in every large jurisdiction where the system of fractional return of values is permitted, a large majority of properties will be found to be either above or below the mean average of the whole number, and hence the liability to error is two-fold, and such differences are not as easily known and corrected as by the method prescribed by law.

If it is admitted that the method of full valuation is best adapted to secure equalization, the next question to consider is, by what standard is that to be ascertained? This is important to secure uniformity, and when that is determined, it should be intelligently and strictly adhered to in its administration. It is true that real estate, like other property, is worth what it will sell for; but there are a number of kinds of sale and variance in terms, any one of which will produce a different result, and estimates based upon them would correspondingly differ. Among these may be mentioned sheriffs' sales, sales for cash or ready money, forced

sales, purchases for investment, and *bonâ fide* or fair sales, after full public notice.

A sheriff's sale, though public with notice to all who may desire to become owners is accompanied with so many risks to purchasers, that the prices obtained at them furnish no uniform guide to determine actual value of property; such sales must be made to enable judgment creditors to collect the amounts due them, but the purchaser takes such title only as can be vested in him by the sale, on the judgment on which execution is issued. *Caveat emptor* is the maxim which he must bear in mind; and if the property sold was not subject to the lien, he acquires no valid title by the purchase. The property may be subject, also, to prior mortgages of which there is no proclaimed notice, and which will not be divested by the sale.

The uncertainties stated, together with the unwillingness of very many persons to profit in the disposition of the estates of distressed debtors, precludes in all but exceptional instances those not directly interested, either as creditor or defendant, from participating in the sale, save only persons who attend to purchase at prices much below real value

No one conversant with the risks of such sales can form any judgment of the amount which property will sell for, and they consequently furnish no reliable guide for the equalization of assessments for taxation. The same remarks apply with equal force to a marshal's sale of a bankrupt's property. Sales for cash, as expressed by some laws, or what is equivalent to it, "ready money," the words of the Pennsylvania statute of 1799, are objectionable for the reason that real estate is seldom thus sold, and when the terms of sale stipulate for the payment of all the purchase money it is generally by necessitous holders, who make a liberal deduction on the price which could be obtained for it on terms of the ordinary sales, in order to possess the cash or ready money. If there was any fixed discount governing the considerations of such conveyances, this reason would form no substantial objection to their acceptance; but cash prices vary according to the necessities of weak holders, to such an extent that there is even less regularity in them than in usurious rates of interest demanded by capitalists for the use of money from persons unable to give satisfactory security for the repayment of money

loaned. Hence the appraiser, having but few sales upon such terms to form a correct judgment for uniform assessments, would be compelled to act under circumstances of great uncertainty, and a number of persons in different districts of the same jurisdiction will vary in their estimates so much that the differences in themselves will produce great inequalities. But it contains another element, also, which would be productive of unequal payments. Large estates or properties of great value will not, in a majority of instances, sell for the same percentage of their actual value in cash that can be obtained for small and less costly ones, and such estimates would proportionately reduce them in appraisements—for instance, if a building and lot worth $300,000 is sold, and the terms require all the purchase money to be paid in cash, the persons able to acquire ownership of so valuable a property even by the usual terms of partial payments being comparatively small in number, are necessarily further limited by the terms, and by precluding the larger competition it is reasonable to assume that there will be a diminution in the price. On the other hand, properties worth one, two, three, or even five thousand dollars, when sold on similar terms, will bring much more nearly their full worth, for the reason that those sums of money can be commanded by a large number of purchasers. Experience teaches that this result will follow, and if it be argued in answer that the demand for the smaller properties is larger, and will account for the relative prices to be obtained for them, the reply is that it is true that the demand for small estates is greater than for more expensive ones, but it is also true that the supply is proportionately as large.

The best method for approximating to the actual value of properties of all kinds is believed to be that required by the last enactment in Pennsylvania, to wit: what they would sell for separately and singly at a *bonâ fide*, or fair sale, after public notice. This standard for tax appraisements strips the question considered of many embarrassments, some of which have been already alluded to, and permits the assessor to strengthen or correct his judgment of the actual value by the frequent sales of estates upon ordinary and usual terms.

An assessor, competent for the performance of the duties of his office, should possess ability and qualifications not commonly

found in persons willing to accept or seeking the office. He should be a person of undoubted and unyielding integrity, combining general intelligence with good judgment; he should be able to control his mind so as not to permit prejudice or dislike of owners to govern him in official action; able and willing to apply himself and become familiar with the property in the district for which he has been appointed to act, and to note the differences in the size of lots and construction of the improvements; he should inform himself of the many and various circumstances which sustain or depress the values of streets or squares, such as opportunities for business or desirability for residence; but even though he be thoroughly equipped with all the requisite qualifications we have mentioned, there are so many unseen circumstances which influence the value of property in a prosperous city, that it is necessary to have comparative sales to form and strengthen his judgment, and whatever kind of sale furnishes the largest number for comparison recommends itself as the standard for that reason if for no other.

It is true that in the daily transfers there are occasional instances of variances in the prices paid for properties of seeming equal value, which do not admit of any satisfactory explanation, and where, also, by reason of the exacting demands of an adjoining owner who sells a premises which has become necessary for the extension of the business or other requirements of his neighbor, and excessive sums are demanded and paid, and others where the necessities of owners induce them to hastily convert it into money for a less price than its known actual or real value; yet the exceptional cases first mentioned are not so numerous as to unsettle the application of the rule, and are easily detected, and those last mentioned are readily separated from the mass of transfers, and rejected as fixing the actual value at a fair sale, interpreted by a reasonable and just construction of the term. This in no way can affect or injure the party who has been a fortunate purchaser at an advantageous price, but rejects it as a sale to determine comparative worth for taxable purposes.

Incident to this mode of valuation, all properties should be appraised separately and singly, irrespective of ownership, for if those of one owner having a large number of contiguous houses and lots are valued at the price which the whole number undivided will

sell for, it is evident that a sale under such circumstances will produce a less sum than if each were separately offered, and an appraisement based upon it would produce a lower average than upon the estates of owners of a single property.

Untrammelled by the uncertainties and doubts which always embarrass persons appointed to estimate the worth of real estate by tests of which they have few examples to aid and assist their judgment, they are left free and unembarrassed in the formation of their opinions to consider every advantage and disadvantage which pertains to the property that would be considered by and govern a purchaser in the transaction of a fair sale.

To what extent annual rent is to be considered, in arriving at an estimate, is determined by the rule stated. It is to be taken as one fact, and given the same weight that a purchaser would in fixing the price which he is willing to pay for the property. As it is a subject frequently mooted that rents should be taken and assessments measured by them to a much greater extent than the rule of fair sale will admit of, it may be proper to state more at length some reasons which ought to be considered in the determination of the question.

I. A large amount of property has no fixed rental value—vacant lots in cities held by an owner without use and from which annual rent is neither received nor can be gathered, may be instanced as of this class. The fact that rental income is not derived from them does not furnish an argument for their exemption from their proportionate share of taxation; for such property being held for investment and on speculation, yields in its increase of value frequently a large profit. There is no more certain means of compounding money than by the judicious purchase of vacant ground in or contiguous to prosperous American cities, by persons who possess capital for investment, and who can afford to hold it without inconvenience until by the growth and extension of improvements it becomes ripe for occupancy.

II. Dwelling houses, which comprise a very large proportion of the buildings of a city, can not be rated upon any multiplication of rental, without producing an injustice in the amount of tax paid upon the small and least valuable houses; and the increased burden which would fall upon them, would proportionately relieve the owners of the larger mansions from their equitable share of the

public charge. How this result will follow rates upon rental income, can be well illustrated by a statement of the rental of dwelling houses in Philadelphia, and the facts which control the amount to be obtained from them.

The number of dwelling houses enumerated at the census of 1870, was 112,366, and the population 674,022; being an average of 5.998-1000 persons to each house. The number of dwellings on the first day of January, 1874, was nearly 130,000, and those built since the last census was taken have supplied the wants of the increase of population, without addition to the number of inhabitants to a dwelling. The houses of the city comprise an abundant supply for the accommodation of people of all conditions in life; and the additional number built, from year to year, are erected with a view to supply the demand for the several sizes occupied. Many thousands of them are worth $1000, and less; thousands from $1000 to $1500; other thousands varying from $1500 to $2000, $2000 to $2500, $3000, $4000, $5000, $6000; from $6000 to $15000 there is an abundant supply, and of more pretentious mansions, there are a large number worth 20, 30, 40, 60, 80, and 100,000 dollars, and comparatively a much smaller number exceeding the prices last mentioned. The gross rent of houses worth $1000 and less, is a sum equal to 12 or 13 per cent. upon their market value; and those from $1000 to $1500, from 10 to 12 per cent.; from $1500 to $6000, about 10 per cent.; and in some favorable locations, dwellings worth from $6000 to $18,000 may produce the same per centage of revenue; but in other neighborhoods houses of the value last mentioned, when rented to tenants, yield a smaller annual sum than the amount stated. Mansions of higher value are seldom occupied by tenants, but the rent which they would command diminishes in the rate of interest on the capital invested, as they attain the higher prices—a $60,000 house and lot not yielding more than about $3,000.

This statement of rents must be taken as applying to the majority of each of the several kinds mentioned; many instances may be found in each class where, for special reasons, a larger or smaller rent than that stated is obtained; but they may be regarded as exceptional in their class.

When the value of real property can be measured by the rent

produced, the owner should receive not less than one-tenth of its worth in the rent of each year, from which, after the payment of taxes, water-rent, expenses for repairs, etc., he will be able to derive an interest of from 5½ to 7½ per cent., the amount varying with the charges for repairs in each year. This is the most accurate approximation to a rule which can be stated upon income, and it applies to a part of the real estate only; no sliding scale has been, or perhaps can be devised, to suit property differently conditioned, for which this rental measure of value will apply. The reason that a higher gross rent is received for small houses, may be stated briefly in the risks and liability to loss of rent—the occupants being frequently irresponsible persons, and on default, the goods on the premises not being sufficient to satisfy the demand; the larger cost for repairs, and other expenses for maintaining the premises in tenantable order—the damage by wear and tear of six $1000 houses, with a family in each, of necessity being greater than by one family in a $6,000 house; and the trouble and expenses attendant on the collection of rents.

On the other hand, houses erected at great cost are built either by the owner for his own occupancy, or by builders with a purpose of sale to persons who will occupy them, and neither the cost of construction nor the purchase money is determined by the probable rental value of the premises for tenancy, but the owner is compensated by its enjoyment.

If it was required that the assessed value of dwellings is required to be determined by a multiplication of rentals, the first obstacle to be overcome will be to ascertain the multiplier which will produce a just and satisfactory result for all grades and conditions of property.

To multiply the rent by one mean figure, say ten, results as follows: a house worth $1,000, renting for ten dollars per month, would be rated at $1,200, and a mansion of the market value of $60,000, for which not more than $3,000 could be obtained, would be assessed at $30,000 ; thus the small property would be taxed upon a sum greater than its true market value, and the more expensive one at only one-half what it would sell for. The examples given are not extreme ones and by no means exceptional. The same inequalities would result in the rating of the major portion of all the dwelling houses, for the principle will in some degree apply to

all in the various grades. An examination will disclose the fact that dwellings may be classed as of two kinds—those from which a reasonable income is expected by the owner, and others which are used by occupants without regard to rental value. The rents of those first mentioned vary according to the many circumstances which appertain to and surround them, and every advantage or disadvantage is measured by the market value much more accurately than by any arbitrary rule of multiplication of rents.

Many small tenements producing a higher average of gross rents than others of like size, yield to their owners a less net revenue on account of the expenses incident to them, and all such circumstances are carefully weighed in determining the sum they would sell for.

It may not be capable of very clear demonstration or illustration by written statements, but a practical application of either rule would convince a theorist of its truth.

The other kind, being mansions more costly and desirable, are occupied by owners whose income enables them to live in and maintain them. The reason they will not command rent in accordance with their cost and market worth, obviously is that there is an opportunity to select a suitable dwelling at all times from any one of the several grades, and persons not able to build or purchase a house with elegant appointments are content to own or rent one of less worth. For example, if A. owns a dwelling house worth $40,000 and proposes to rent it, he should receive $4,000 per annum, to net, after payment of taxes, repairs and other charges, a fair interest on the capital invested. B., who applies for the tenancy, may assent to the justice of the claim by calculation of interest and expenses, but rejects the terms, reasoning that he can purchase a genteel house in a respectable neighborhood, with all the modern conveniences, for the sum of ten thousand dollars, upon terms by which only a portion of the purchase money need be paid at the time of the transfer, and the amount saved by not incurring the rent of the dwelling of A., will enable him to pay the whole amount of the purchase money in a period but little exceeding three years.

III. Improved real estate used for business purposes can be estimated by rental only when the improvement erected upon the ground is of sufficient dimensions and suitable in its character and

appointments to command the rent which the business of the location will warrant. The first value of all real property may be said to be in the ground, but this furnishes only surface and space for the building; and its rental value, as well as that of the improvement upon it, must be derived from occupancy of the building. If it is not adapted or suitable for the business which pertains or could be attracted to the situation, it will not produce a rent equivalent to an interest upon the worth of the property.

Many instances of property not producing an interest equivalent to its market value on account of the increased worth of the ground and unfitness for its use of the building upon it, may be found in all locations, and examples are numerous in some some of the principal business thoroughfares of all the large cities; and Philadelphia is no exception in furnishing its full proportion of them. If the statement needs illustration, reference need only be made to some of its central business streets, and especially in those portions improved many years ago for residence or a limited retail business, which have become eligible sites for the location of larger mercantile establishments; and hence if upon a given square two adjoining lots are situated with the same dimensions as to frontage and depth and with no difference in their respective market values—upon one a modern store building has been constructed, covering the entire area of the ground, and on the other an old dwelling house altered to accommodate business so far as it can be adapted for the purpose, with a portion of the lot in the rear unoccupied, it follows that the more modern improvement on the one is adapted and capable of yielding the full income for both ground and improvement, whilst the old tenement on the other cannot be made equal to the task of producing revenue for its worth and that of the ground used and unused.

IV. Occasionally rents are obtained far in excess of the sum which would be a fair interest upon the value of property from which they are derived: this arises from some circumstance known to be of temporary duration, and does not enhance the price it would bring at a sale. And in other cases the rent is fixed at a comparatively low sum for considerations other than those which would govern the agreements of strangers: cases of this kind may frequently be found in occupancy of store property owned by

one of the co-partners, and in the renting of dwellings to relatives of owners.

The several reasons above stated, and many others could be advanced, are intended to demonstrate the impossibility of ascertaining the full market value of real estate by any fixed rule founded upon annual rental obtained for it, or which, in its condition at the time the assessment is made, it is capable of producing.

If it be contended that annual rent should be the measure for tax appraisements irrespective of its true value, and such valuations can be defended as just and equitable as between owners, the objections urged will not apply to such a system.

Without attempting to enter at length upon a discussion of the proposition, it may be proper to state that the valuations made upon real estate property in England are mainly upon rental values. This system was inaugurated not by the representatives of all classes of people, including both owners and occupants, but by a government in which the land-owners had a much more potential voice in legislation than the tenant, and at a time when it was believed that all taxes imposed were charged to and re-imposed upon the tenant. This theory has, in recent years, after careful parliamentary inquiries and testimony of experts, been much shaken, and as to many kinds of estates and tenements it is admitted to be an error.

If we take the facts, as they exist in England, it is a question of grave consideration whether the aggregation of the real property in ownership by the few is not favored by the continuance of the system of taxation upon rentals.

In a country where there is so large an amount of wealth, capitalists are content to invest their surplus moneys in extensive landed possessions without considering its present income, feeling that the principal invested is secure and an interest or profit may be yielded in the future by its increase in value, and if the property is left to produce inconsiderable annual income the taxation is not inconvenient to them.

That taxation upon the market value does not encourage such aggregation to the detriment of the public interests, but has a tendency to divide the ownership of the soil among a larger number of people, could, if the scope of this paper permitted, be sustained by facts in experience under a different rule in America. With this suggestion, however, we shall not at present notice it further.

Some objections which may be urged against the appraisement at market value as involving hardship, will next be briefly noticed.

Is it right that the owner of a costly dwelling house should be rated upon a larger sum than its highest annual rental value—that estimate of annual income being but two or three per cent. of its market worth, or what it will sell for? This is, of course, irrespective of its cost for construction, for that is frequently a sum much greater than the price that can be obtained for it.

If there be any apparent hardship in the case stated, it has many compensations in the system of classified taxation of Pennsylvania. For public reasons, and for the more equal and uniform distribution of taxation, all property, real and personal, is not taxed at one and the same rate, as in some other States; but certain classes are selected for assessment and levy, and notably for municipal or county purposes, only visible property, viz: real estate, household furniture, horses, cattle and pleasure carriages. The mansions to which we refer are the residences of the opulent and wealthy inhabitants, and are but a portion of the property of each. The invested estate of one differs from another, but a large portion of many consists of personal estate, which is not taxed by the municipality. The tax paid by them to the city's treasury, apparently a large sum on the one item of their possessions, would be a very light tax rate if levied and distributed over their personal investments, as well as the property taxed.

For instance, if A. pays taxation to the city upon property at a total valuation of $50,000, at the rate of $2.20, the sum he would be required to pay would be $1,100; but if in addition to the property on which a tax is levied, he is possessed of personal estate worth $250,000 on which no tax is laid or demanded, the gross tax paid by him will not average more than a rate of 36⅔ cents upon his estate. All cases are not parallel: but if the mansion be an index of the owner's ability to maintain it, there are none in which the supposed unreasonable taxation of the visible and tangible property of the owner is not more than compensated by the freedom from inquisitorial taxation of his personal estate. True, it is not a tax which can be imposed upon others; the occupant who enjoys the use of the dwelling must pay without being able to charge the tax in profits or interest on the consumer or borrower; but that enters into the principle upon which it was adjusted, and the cer-

tainty of reimposition on those not able to bear it, is one of the reasons for permitting the personal property of the owner to be exempt from its share of the burden.

A second instance of seeming hardship may appear in the instance cited of improved property which is unsuited to the increase of the value of the ground by the advance of business or other causes, and from which the owner is unable to gather an income equivalent to its assessed value. But this also has its compensation, in the fact that the increased value of the ground which, although not an annual rent, is a profit which accrues to the owner, and is a recompense for any temporary inconvenience which may arise. The opportunity is open to him to improve with buildings suitable to the ground, and he can delay that to a time appointed by himself, or, if indisposed to improve, others will do so upon purchase at no less sum than that upon which it is rated. Very often such property is held to attain higher values; and it would, in addition to all other reasons which may be given for assessment at market value, be unjust to those who add to the material wealth of the city by the construction of modern improvements, to rate properties less convenient or attractive, and held for future enhancement in prices of the ground, at a lower proportionate rate upon its true worth than upon property where the larger relative income is derived by much greater outlay. Entailed estates subject to life interests, with no power of conversion or disposition on the part of the tenant for life to improve, do in some cases present facts of seeming hardship, but the acts of assembly of more recent years have permitted conversion where it is to the interest and advantage of the estate and the parties benefited thereby, to greater extent than formerly; and at all events it would be impossible to adjust the laws for revenue suited to the circumstances of the years in which it is gathered, to the wills of persons who died years ago without contemplating that such changes would or could occur; and those who are their beneficiaries must hold and enjoy the devise subject to all the inconveniences or losses which the will of the testator in effect imposes upon them.

One exception has been made in the city of Philadelphia since the time of the consolidation of the entire county into the chartered city, in a discrimination in the rate of tax imposed on those

districts which are not supplied with water and gas, the extension of street improvements, and where the police are necessarily scattered over a wide expanse of territory. Later acts of assembly designate the districts of the city to which such discrimination shall apply as that "not built up," which shall pay two-thirds of the highest rate of tax, and "farms," which shall pay one-half rate.

The reasons for this allowance in tax in the original act referred to, are not in themselves entirely satisfactory; for such differences would seem to be adjusted in the respective valuations. If an acre of ground in the rural districts is worth one thousand dollars, the same amount of ground in the portions supplied with all the municipal conveniences would be worth ten, twenty or a hundred times that amount according to its location, and be taxed upon such values; but a stronger argument for such discrimination may be urged in the fact that such ground has been advanced in value beyond the *possibility* of the production of income from it commensurate with its worth by reason of its proximity to the improved portion of the city, until a remote and uncertain period when it may be made available for buildings, and that it is against the interests of the city and the people to force owners by onerous taxes to attempt its improvement, to gain increased income before it is ripe for occupancy—such experimental improvements generally resulting in the erection of an inferior class of buildings.

It will be noticed that the method of assessment is in no manner different from other real estate, but it is made an exception in the rates of tax imposed on account of its use, and from use only could income be derived.

From what has been stated, it will be obvious that much of the property subject to taxation must be valued irrespective of its being desirable for purchase at its market value as an investment. The term "purchase for investment," as understood by the majority of people, implies the production of income sufficient to yield a fair interest on the purchase-money, and the probability or certainty of enhancement in value for additional profit. Both income and enhancement frequently accompany and follow very many purchases which fix the standard for tax valuations; but such conditions could not be adhered to in appraisements as tests of correct

estimates, without irregularity with the prices obtained in many other instances at fair sales.

The facts stated as controlling the values of property are not peculiar to the real estate of Philadelphia, except in a few particulars, which are the result of its local features, but are applicable to other cities, and will be recognized as incident to tax valuations in all the principal business centres. Annual rents cannot be relied upon as indications of actual value to any greater extent in any of them than in Philadelphia. Higher rents are obtainable in some than in others for expensive dwelling houses, in consequence of the supply being more limited to the requirements of population; but where these conditions exist, the real values are also graduated upon a much higher scale, and the income necessary to produce an interest on the principal invested is, of course, proportionately greater; and it may be noted in support of the reasons and arguments that in Boston, where the words of direction for assessments by the statutes of Massachusetts require them to be made at the full cash value, they are arrived at by approximating them to the daily sales and transfers upon terms agreed upon between the parties.

Before concluding, attention is called to one of the defects of the systems of taxation in all the States, in imposing taxes upon the same subjects of levy for State, city, or county and township purposes, and relying for efficient execution of the law upon local officers. It has been found impossible to compel or exact a satisfactory return by this system in any State, and the many methods for remedying or correcting the irregularities, as between counties, which have been adopted and tried, have proved unavailing—as indeed they must, for the error lies in the system itself. Thus where a tax is imposed on real estate for State purposes, and a second tax for county purposes, and the law is executed by persons chosen in the respective counties, the default of one or more of the counties to comply with it and by undervaluation of its property to escape a just proportion of the State tax, induces the citizens of the other counties to attempt to equalize by a similar disregard of the fixed rule; the result is, that each adopts a standard of valuation of its own, irrespective of the provisions of the law. Central State boards of revision or review may attempt to correct the returns by adding to the valuations of counties believed

to be less than the average of them all, but to perform this task with accuracy requires a more intimate knowledge of the assessments in the several counties than can can be obtained by non-resident officers, and those representing them from the resident population too frequently act in their positions with the object of retaining the advantages which will result to them by the small returns, irrespective of their relative equality with the other counties. Fortunately, Pennsylvania has gradually adopted a peculiar system of taxation, by which the State revenues are collected in the main from certain classes of property, and the receipts from those sources have been ample for its expenditures, and real estate was, in 1866, relieved from all imposition for State purposes. This relieves the county officers from the embarrassment in their official duties which was forced upon them by the irregular and inefficient execution of the law in other counties, and permits them to act in conformity to it.

With a restrictive force so strong as the uniform State tax on real estate, and popular opinion in localities so potential, it is impossible for local assessors to perform their duties with fidelity and continue in office, and it resolves itself into committing to them the power of returning property upon any basis which they may choose to adopt, irrespective of the regulations of the statutes, with few complaints on the part of the tax-payers, except those who seek to obtain reductions by comparison with other properties.

Experience in Pennsylvania, since the repealing act of 1866, fully justifies the suggestion that simplifying taxation by the selection of classes of property, in respective jurisdictions, for the revenues necessary for their requirements, is the only mode by which compliance with the law in any of the counties can be accomplished, and that tax rates on real estate, for State and county purposes, are an insuperable obstacle to equalization.

THOMAS COCHRAN.

THE UNDER-WORLD OF THE AMERICAN INDIANS.

MAN everywhere has fashioned for himself some theory of his origin. Even those most brute-like specimens of humanity who have scarcely any notion of a deity higher than charms and fetishes, who cannot count beyond four, and who have never had a suspicion that the world has not always existed as it now is, still have some story to tell of the way in which the earth first became peopled by its human inhabitants. With remarkable unanimity, too, the race of men has been assigned a humble rather than a noble origin. Only the divine race of kings has claimed kinship with gods. The great mass of mankind, the *ignobile vulgus*, came of a different stock, and is more closely allied with earth than heaven.

A large proportion of the legends of man's origin represent him as literally earth-born,—as having sprung, in some manner, as in the legend of Deucalion and Pyrrha, from the very soil. Among the American Indians this tradition, or theory as it may be called, assumes a very curious shape, and is embodied in a great number of legends found here and there in both North and South America, which, although sometimes to be paralleled among other nations, constitute a marked feature of the folk-lore of the New World. The ancestors of the Red Indians are very commonly represented to have come *out of* the ground, issuing either from some cavern, or from some lake or other body of water. In the opinion of Catlin,[1] whose acquaintance with the Indians and their legends was very extensive, at least one-half of the American tribes give this account of their origin. The tradition usually points to some particular cave or lake as the spot whence the first men came, which is for this reason held in peculiar veneration. The natives of the Valley of Xauca, in Peru, declared according to Herrera, that they were descended from a man and a woman who came out of the Spring of Guaribalia; those of the Valley of Andabayla, that they came out of Lake Socdococa; those of Cuzco, out of Lake Titicaca. There was another Peruvian tradition that after the flood six persons who came out of a cave restored the human race. The famous migration of the Aztecs, again, which has

[1] *O-Kee-Pa*, p. 3.

given rise to so much speculation, started at a place called Chicomoztoc, the Seven Caves. The Appalachian tribes place the location of their earliest ancestry near an artificial eminence in the Valley of the Big Black River, in the Natchez country, whence they pretended to have emerged.[1] The Caddos, Ionies, and Ah-man-dau-kas, Texan tribes, had a tradition that they issued from the hot springs of Arkansas.[2] The Mandans and Minnetaries, on the Missouri River, came out of an underground cavern. In the country of the Blackfeet there are, says De Smet,[3] two lakes known as the Lake of Men and the Lake of Women. From the former of these issued the fathers and from the latter the mothers of the Blackfeet tribe, and a legend, given by De Smet, tells of the first meeting of the men and women, and how the latter were outwitted in a shrewd bargain, by which the men agreed to become their protectors on condition that they would assume all the cares and perform the drudgery of the household.

Occasionally the story presents features more decidedly mythical. A legend of the Lenni Lenape, or Delaware Indians, represents that the first man was created in the shape of a snail, on the banks of a beautiful and large river which takes its source in a distant mountain near the rising sun.[4] The Choctaws asserted[5] that they were created *craw-fish*, living alternately above the ground and under it, as they chose. Having one day come out of their little holes in the earth to enjoy the sun, a portion of them were driven away and could not return. These founded the Choctaw nation; and the remainder of the tribe are still living under the ground. In some instances an animal—the coyote, in the tradition of the Root-Diggers, and in those of the Lenni Lenape and the Toukaways of Texas, a wolf—has acted an important part in releasing man from the bowels of the earth by scratching away the soil.

The tenor of these legends is so nearly the same—the most essential point of difference being that in some cases the race issues from the ground, in others from the water—that one is strongly

[1] Brinton—*Myths of the New World*, p. 225.
[2] Schoolcraft—*Ind. Tribes*, V., p. 682.
[3] *Oregon Missions*, p. 178.
De Smet, *Western Mission*, p. 221.
[5] Catlin, *loc. cit.*

tempted to regard them as the vestiges of some one primeval tale, which, handed down from generation to generation, has outlived changes of language, place, and circumstances. Such it is barely possible they are. There can, at least, be little question that they have been current in some shape for a long time. But whether they are thus connected by the ties of a common parentage, or have sprung up independently of each other, it seems impossible to regard their points of resemblance as fortuitous. There is too much method in their extravagance to allow for a moment the supposition that they are the offspring of pure caprice,—idle tales invented from a sheer love of the marvelous. Whatever be their meaning, it can hardly be doubted that they rest upon some common basis.

The belief in an "earth-born race" has very generally been looked upon as a bit of primitive philosophy. Dr. Brinton, who adopts this view in explanation of these American legends, thus presents it:

"The seed is hidden in the earth. Warmed by the sun, watered by the rain, presently it bursts its dark prison-house, unfolds its delicate leaves, blossoms, and matures its fruit. Its work done, the earth draws it to itself again, resolves the various structures into their original mould, and the unending round recommences. This is the marvelous process that struck the primitive mind. Out of the earth rises life, to it it returns. She it is who guards all germs, nourishes all beings. The Aztecs painted her as a woman with countless breasts, the Peruvians called her Mama Allpa, *mother* Earth. *Homo, Adam, chamaigenes,* what do all these words mean but the earth-born, the son of the soil, repeated in the poetic language of Attica in *anthropos,* he who springs up as a flower?" [1]

It must be admitted that for some forms of the legend this seems a very complete explanation. The rise of the Theban *Sparti* from the stones sown by Deucalion and Pyrrha, —the bones of their "great parent,"—presents a perfect analogy with the growth of plants from seed sown in the ground; an analogy which, it may be remarked, Ovid has not failed to make use of in his poetic version of the story. The same is true of the armed men who sprang up from the dragon's teeth sown by Cadmus;

[1] *Myths of the New World,* p. 223.

and a very remarkable tradition found by Humboldt among the Caribs on the Orinoco, may possibly have originated in this conception. According to this tradition, *Amalivaca* and his wife, the sole survivors of the deluge, re-peopled the earth by sowing it with the fruit of the Mauritius palm, which sprang up, as in the Greek legend, into men and women. A tradition of the Yuracares, of Bolivia, that their ancestors came forth from the hollow of a tree, might also, without much violence, be interpreted in this way. But we cannot be too cautious of referring popular traditions to philosophical speculation. Legends are not made to order, either by philosophers or poets; nor do they spring up in a day, nor in a generation. As has been amply demonstrated in the field of Aryan folk-lore, the historical legend of one age may be the religious myth of an age long antecedent. In the course of its transmission some of its features may be suppressed, and it may acquire others. But every change which it undergoes in the course of its development is made honestly, or at least with a purpose, and if in the end it comes out with a moral appended to it, this is the result of afterthought,—of some suggestion in the story itself,—and can by no means be accounted the basis upon which it rests.

There are various features in these American legends which seem to indicate such an origin. Except in the instances mentioned, and perhaps some others, there is little or no analogy between the appearance of the first men and the sprouting of vegetation from seed dropped into the earth. They do not spring up "as a flower," but they walk out from the deep recesses of some rocky cavern, or even more frequently they issue from the waters of a spring or a lake. Nor is there, as a rule, anything to suggest that they have previously existed within the maternal earth in an embryo state. On the contrary, if the story be scanned carefully, it will be seen to be an account, not of man's birth or creation, but simply of a change in his habitation,—of his first appearance upon the scene of his present existence. For how many ages he had lived under the ground, tradition saith not. In fact the story of his real origin is not touched at all.

The account given by the Mandans is very full, and furnishes, as I believe, a clue to the real meaning of these traditions. Their legend, as narrated by Lewis and Clark, is this:

"The whole nation resided in one large village under ground, near a subterraneous lake. A grape vine extended its roots down to their habitation, and gave them a view of the light. Some of the most adventurous climbed up the vine, and were delighted with the sight of the earth, which they found covered with buffalo, and rich with every kind of fruits. Returning with the grapes they had gathered, their countrymen were so pleased with the taste of them, that the whole nation resolved to leave their dull residence for the charms of the upper region, Men, women and children ascended by means of the vine; and when about half the nation had reached the surface of the earth, a corpulent woman, who was clambering up the vine, broke it with her weight, and closed upon herself and the rest of the nation the light of the sun. * * * When the Mandans die they expect to return to the original seats of their forefathers, the good reaching the ancient village by means of the lake, which the burden of the sins of the wicked will not enable them to cross."

This subterranean world of the Mandans is, evidently, no ordinary cavern in the ground. It is a region purely imaginary. It is, in fact, like the Greek Tartarus, simply the ideal counterpart of the upper and visible half of the world. The ancestors of the Mandans not merely came *out of* the earth; they actually came *through* the earth, conceived as a thin disc dividing the great cosmical sphere into two equal parts. This idea is not clearly brought out in the account before us, and very likely was not apprehended by Lewis and Clark themselves; but additional particulars given by Prince Maximilian, leave no doubt that such was the conception of the Mandans. They divided the world, as has been done by many other nations, into stages or stories. Four of these stages were above the earth and four below, the earth itself forming the fourth stage from the bottom.[1]

The belief in an under-world as the abode of the dead is not uncommon among the American tribes, but is in no other instance, so far as I am aware, clearly identified with the cavern from which the first men issued. Nor is the real character of this world very clearly portrayed in popular legends, any more than was that of the Greek Hades. Yet there are often points in the description of it

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1 Maximilian, *Travels in North America.* (London Ed.) p. 366.

which lead to its recognition. The Greenlanders pictured it as a delightful region *within* the earth, where, in the waters of a lake, was the abode of their chief god, *Torngarsuk.* In this region, to which only the favored few were admitted after death, there was good water, deer and fowls in abundance, and constantly *fine sunshiny weather.*[1] The Kenaiyer Indians on Cook's Inlet suppose that after death a man leads in the interior of the earth, where a sort of twilight reigns, a life similar to his former one, but that *he sleeps when those on the surface are awake, and wakes when they sleep.*[2]

Assuming for the present, what we shall find confirmed as we advance, that the cavern which dimly lingered in the memories of the Indians was in reality no other than this ideal under-world, we may now ask what strange conceit led them to imagine that their ancestors came from a region below the earth. It has already been hinted that the tradition has in reality a mythological import. We again, may question its entire accuracy, although a good many points have been remembered, and suggest that while the narrator believed himself to be telling the story of his ancestors, he was in fact repeating the story of his ancestors' gods. In proposing this amendment we are doing no violence to tradition, nor making a merely arbitrary assumption, but rather are profiting by a lesson taught again and again by discoveries made under more favorable circumstances among the myths and legends of the Aryan world. It is no surprise for the student of Aryan mythology to find a reputed king or warrior, even one so firmly established in history as King Minos of Crete, prove upon a close examination of his antecedents an ancient sun-god, or at any rate a personage

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[1]Egede, *Description of Greenland,* (London Ed.) p. 185. The Greenlanders had also a tradition that the first man came out of the ground, although, as it is given by Egede, there is no connection between it and the belief in a lower world.

[2]Richardson, *Arctic Searching Expedition,* p. 241. Dr. Brinton, in regarding these tales of an under-world as merely an "outgrowth of the literal belief that the race is earth-born" has, it seems to me, missed entirely their true import, and has inverted the relation which the two classes of legends sustain to one another. This is the more surprising because he has clearly apprehended the character of the Peruvian Viracocha (to be mentioned further on) and the significance of his connection with the cave of Pacarin Tampu. cf. *Myths of the New World,* pp. 227, 229.

purely mythical. Let us see if there are not indications of a like metamorphosis in these waifs of American ancient history.

In the Island of Hayti, there was found a very singular legend which will afford us a convenient base of operations, and carry us a long way toward identifying our *first man*, viz: that the sun and moon came out of a cave.[1] Puerile, indeed, this legend must have appeared to the Spaniards, and probably not one of them was shrewd enough to guess that this cave was, in fact, the lower half of the world, as it appeared to those ignorant of the real form of the earth. Stripped of its thin veil of mythology, the legend is simply an account of an occurrence which takes place daily and nightly. Even we, with all our astronomical and geographical knowledge, can still so far forget ourselves, as to speak of the sun as "rising from the deep," or as "sinking below the western horizon." How much more pardonable are such conceptions in the unenlightened mind of a barbarian. Yet the Haytians appear to have been themselves ignorant of the real import of their legend; for this cave, called *Fovobaba*, was identified by them with a particular cavern on the island; and here they had set up two images, no doubt to represent the Sun and Moon, before which they made sacrifices and offered up their prayers for rain. The legend is instructive as showing how strong is the propensity to locate a mythic tale. In this instance, the story has in a sense been buried while still alive.

Are there in these legends of the first men any distinct traces of the Sun and Moon? It must be borne in mind that in the geography of the American Indians, as well as of most primitive races, the earth was washed on its outer edge by the waters of a vast ocean. The Sun, therefore, in entering or emerging from the under-world, passed through this sea, or at any rate near to it—for the conception must have been one of the most vague. Hence the story was equally true, whether it was said that he issued from a cave or from the water. This conception of the sunrise is so natural, that it has nearly universally left traces in mythology. When it became confused, and the story of the Sun passed to its mythic stage, this world-sea was shifted to the lower-world itself, where it became a lake, as in the legends of the Mandans and Esquimaux, just cited, or a river, the Stygian wave of

[1]Herrera, *General Hist. of America*, Vol. I, p. 162.

Greek mythology. Among the New Zealanders, it became the Wai Ora Tane, the Water of Life, in which the Sun nightly bathes; and the same sea may likewise be recognized in the Fountain of Youth heard of by Mandeville in India, and to return to our American legends, also heard of by the Spaniards as existing somewhere on the Island of Bimini.

When the meaning of a mythic legend has been forgotten, the way is open for modification. Apparent discrepancies are reconciled as best can be done. The coming out of a cave through water was, to say the least, a dark saying when once the clue to its meaning had been lost. We cannot be surprised, therefore, that one or the other, either the cave or the water, has usually disappeared from the legend. Yet in some instances both have been preserved, their relation merely being modified. Among the Mandans the tradition was preserved that the orifice through which their ancestors emerged was near the sea;[1] and the Aztecs declared that their ancestors, after emerging from the Seven Caves, crossed an arm of the sea upon trunks of cypress trees. The Lenni Lenape legend, that the great ancestor first appeared near the source of a large river which rises in the east, is still more suggestive.

Through obscure reminiscences of this sort, preserved here and there, we can catch occasional glimpses of the great cosmical tale of the rising Sun. But it is in the mythology of Peru that we find its features the most distinctly preserved. The Peruvian *Viracocha* is one of those personages who form a connecting link between mythology and history. In the legends of the country he fills a double rôle. On the one hand he appears as the highest of the Peruvian gods, creator and preserver of all things,—a deity to whom, indeed, no temples were erected nor sacrifices offered, yet whom all revered in their inmost souls,and whose title *Pachacamac*, World-Sustainer, none uttered but in an attitude of deep humility.[2] On the other hand, tradition represents him to have been the great civilizer of the Peruvians. Having created the race of men, and awed them into submission when they impiously turned

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[1]Maximilian—*loc. cit.*

[2]The worship of *Inti*, the Sun, appears never to have been very prevalent in Peru. It owes its prominence to the fact of its having been the state religion of the Incas.

against him, he taught them what was most essential to their happiness and well-being, He showed them how to clothe themselves, to build habitations, and to till the soil, and established among them the institutions of religion. He it was, too, who erected those massive structures whose ruins are still found on the islands and shores of Lake Titicaca.

The story of the advent of Viracocha is the same story we have been pursuing. According to the most common version, he arose from the waters of Lake Titicaca. Another legend tells that he issued from the cave of *Pacarin Tampu,* situated five leagues distant from Cuzco and hallowed from its religious associations.[1] Both these legends are, as we have seen, one in import when we have canceled what is local. The name *Pacarin Tampu* is said to mean Lodging of the Dawn, and this of itself would lead us strongly to suspect that the original of this cave was the same with that consecrated to the Sun and Moon on the island of Hayti. But apart from the significant manner of his first appearance, there is other evidence that the beneficent Viracocha was originally the Sun. The whole tenor of his story is the same with those of the *Bochica* of the Muyscas, of the *Quetzalcoatl* of the Toltecs, of the *Manabozho* of the Algonquin tribes; and these personages have various features which lead to their easy recognition as solar deities. What other interpretation shall we give to the myth of Viracocha, when we see him at the close of his career on earth disappear in the western ocean?

The legend of Manco Capac, who with Mama Oella, his sister and consort, first came among the Peruvians from Lake Titicaca, claiming to be children of the Sun commissioned to instruct and rule his people, is obviously the story of Viracocha with a change of names; and we can hardly be wrong in referring to the same myth the other Peruvian traditions before noted, whether the number of the ancestors be reckoned as two, or six, or an indefinite number.

Here, then, in Peru, the evidence is quite complete that the idea of an earth-born ancestry originated in a misinterpretation of old mythological tales. If in other places the genesis of this idea cannot be traced so satisfactorily we may in fairness plead

[1] *Myths of the New World,* p. 227.

the defectiveness of the mythological record. But how, it may be asked, did it happen that a tale which was in its origin simply an account of the sun-rise, was preserved so long as to lose entirely its meaning; or, to go back still farther with the inquiry, how came this phenomenon in the first place to assume the shape of a legend? Without attempting in the short space of a paragraph to give a full answer to these questions, which would really be to give a solution of the whole intricate problem of mythology, it will be sufficient to direct attention to one highly important agent in effecting these results. This is the chant or hymn, the use of which as a formula of worship would appear to be universal. All nations have their stated religious festivals, and however much these differ in points of detail, singing and dancing and the making of votive or penitential offerings are common to them all. These practices must be of a very remote origin. The Hindu Vedas contain, as is well known, the most ancient preserved hymns of the Aryan race, and although there is no reason to suppose that any of these hymns represent the earliest attempts of the Aryan to celebrate his gods in verse, the extreme simplicity of many of them shows plainly what was the character of these first utterances. Simple addresses to the Sun, or to the Dawn, describing their appearance, and recounting the blessings they bring with them—such is the artless theme of hymn after hymn of the Rig Veda. Nowhere except in India have these early utterances in their original simplicity been preserved. But as the mythologies of the western Aryans still show traces of these ancient hymns—those of the Vedas have been used as a key to unlock their meaning—so the rude ballads and songs which contain the mythological tales of barbarian tribes presuppose more ancient chants of a more fragmentary character.

Set phrases having a rhythmical structure are easily remembered and may be preserved for a long time. Where the language in which they are uttered is a still nascent speech, wanting wholly in precision, such phrases may readily lose or change their meaning, or suggest ideas foreign to their first intention. Herein lies the secret of the myth. Thus a phrase used in hailing the returning Sun—that luminary toward which man everywhere has addressed his prayers—such as, "He cometh up from the deep; he cometh out of the vast waters," if expressed in a tongue which

made no pretense to distinguish acts present, past, and future, might equally well be understood, "He *came* up from the deep; he *came* out of the vast waters," and it is already a tradition. The moment there arises the least doubt as to the personage of whom it is spoken, the latter will be the most natural interpretation to put upon it. If too much stress is thought to be laid here upon this ambiguity of primitive speech, it is only necessary to call to mind that even the Hebrew, a literary tongue, makes so little distinction in the tenses of its verbs that the context only can show whether a given expression is prophetic, historical, or merely descriptive in in its meaning.

With our myth once started, it is hardly necessary to follow it through its subsequent career, or to note all the forces which come into play to determine its ultimate form. That mythological personages, whose stories are thus passed down from age to age in ballads, should in some cases come to be regarded as real men, is a most natural—indeed, it must be regarded an unavoidable result. Men are curious to know the story of their ancestors, and what more certain records have they than their ancestral songs? When the question finally arises, whence came the race of men? what was its origin? they have no need to rack their brains with vain speculation. The question is fully answered by their traditions.

In this somewhat rambling survey of these American legends, I have made no attempt to connect them one with another. Such an attempt not only would be unprofitable in itself, but is not necessary to the establishment of their fundamental unity. The conception which underlies them is far too simple, and the mode of their growth too natural, to give them much value in an ethnological discussion, even where they exhibit a very close correspondence with one another. GEORGE S. JONES.

MOORISH BALLAD.

SUNG PREVIOUS TO THE RISING OF THE MORISCOS IN 1568.

A Spanish translation of the following ballad, sent with an intercepted letter to Philip II. by the Marques de Mondejar, in April, 1568, gave the first authentic confirmation of the rumors of the Morisco rebellion.[1]

[1] See Marmol, Historia del Rebelion y Castigo de los Moros, Lib. III, cap 9.

Its elevated conceptions of God, its hearty contempt for the less simple Catholic theology and ritual, and its vivid account of persecutions endured, invest it with a certain historical interest.

Let the God of love and mercy's name begin and end our theme,
Sovereign He o'er all the nations, of all things the Judge Supreme.
He who gave the book of wisdom, He who made His image, man,
He chastiseth, He forgiveth, He who framed creation's plan.

He the One sole God of Heaven, He the One sole God of earth,
He who guards us and supports us, He from whom all things had birth;
He who never had beginning, sovereign Lord of the high throne,
He whose providence guides all things, subject to His will alone.

He who gave us Holy Scripture, who made Adam, and who planned
Man's salvation, He who gives their strength to nations from His hand;
He who raised the Saints and Prophets, ending with Mahoun the greatest—
Praise the One sole God of Heaven, with all his Saints, from first to latest!

Listen, while I tell the story of sad Andalusia's fate—
Peerless once and world-renowned in all that makes a nation great;
Prostrate now and compassed round by heretics with cruel force—
We, her sons, like driven sheep, or horseman on unbridled horse.

Torture is our daily portion, subtle craft our sole resource,
Till we welcome death to free us from a fate that's ever worse.
They have set the Jews to watch us, Jews that know nor truth nor faith,
Every day they find some new device to work us further scaith.

We are forced to worship with them in their Christian rites unclean,
To adore their painted idols, mockery of the Great Unseen.
No one dares to make remonstrance, no one dares to speak a word;
Who can tell the anguish wrought on us, the faithful of the Lord?

When the bell tolls, we must gather to adore the image foul;
In the church the preacher rises, harsh-voiced as a screaming owl.
He the wine and pork invoketh, and the Mass is wrought with wine;
Falsely humble, he proclaimeth that this is the Law divine.

Yet the holiest of their shavelings nothing knows of right or wrong,
And they bow before their idols, shameless in the shameless throng.
Then the priest ascends the altar, holding up a cake of bread,
And the people strike their bosoms as the worthless Mass is said.

All our names are set in writing, young and old are summoned all;
Every four months the official makes on all suspect his call.
Each of us must show his permit, or must pay his silver o'er,
As with inkhorn, pen, and paper, on he goes from door to door.
Dead or living, each must pay it; young or old, or rich or poor;
God help him who cannot do it, pains untold he must endure!

They have framed a false religion; idols sitting they adore;
Seven weeks fast they, like the oxen who at noon-tide eat the more.
In the priest and the confession they their baseless law fulfil,
And we, too, must feign to trust them, lest they work us cruel ill.

Toil they spare not to entrap us, day and night, and far and near,
Whoso praises God aloud cannot escape destruction here.
Vain were hiding, vain were flight, when once the spies are on his track,
Should he gain a thousand leagues, they follow him and bring him back.

In their hideous jails they throw him, every hour fresh terrors weave,
From his ancient faith to tear him, as they cry to him "Believe!"
And the poor wretch, weeping, wanders on from hopeless thought to thought,
Like a swimmer in mid ocean, by the blinding tempest caught.

Long they keep him wasting, rotting, in the dungeon foul and black,
Then they torture him until his limbs are broken on the rack,
Then within the Plaza Hatabin the crowds assemble fast,
Like unto the Day of Judgment they erect a scaffold vast.
If one is to be released, they clothe him in a yellow vest,
While with hideous painted devils to the flames they give the rest.

Thus are we encompassed round as with a fiercely burning fire,
Wrongs past bearing are heaped on us, higher yet and ever higher.
Vainly bend we to their mandates; Sundays, feast-days though we keep,
Fasting Saturdays and Fridays, never safety can we reap.

Each one of their petty despots thinks that he can make the law,
Each invents some new oppression. Now a sharper sword they draw!
New Year's day in Bib el Bonut they proclaimed some edicts new,
Startling sleepers from their slumbers, as each door they open threw.

Baths and garments, all our old ancestral customs are forbidden,
To the Jews are we delivered, who can spoil us still unchidden.
Little reck the priest and friar so they trample on us yet;
Like a dove in vulture talons, we are more and more beset.

Hopeless, then, of man's assistance, we have searched the prophets o'er,
Seeking promise in the judgments which our fathers writ of yore;
And our wise men counsel us to look to God with prayer, and fast—
Through woes that make our young men old, He will deliver us at last!

I have done; but life were short our sorrows fully to recal.
Kind Señores, do not blame me, if I am too weak for all.
Whoso chaunts these rugged verses, let his prayers to God arise,
That His mercy may vouchsafe me the repose of Paradise!

Philadelphia, April 20. HENRY C. LEA.

"THE PARISIANS." [1]

A MODERN French writer of repute, in a recent novel, or as he better calls it, a *fantastique*, is pleased to consider and to solve the great mystery of death. With that power of piercing the infinite that appears to be enjoyed in the highest degree by the romancers of the Gallic school—because, we suppose, they most deserve it—he describes the soul's efforts in its struggle to shake off the terrestrial coil, and rising with the soul through space to its destination, notes its *sayings* and *doings* there, and discusses with it the retrospect of the life with which it was lately encumbered, and then returns to us with the results of his investigation, which he gives with a calmness, exhaustiveness, and lucidity that is truly startling. Owing to the gift of some such faculty as this, Lord Lytton's son, the present incumbent of the baronial title and honors, has been able to follow his father's spirit in its flight, and to bring back with him some interesting information, which he imparts to the public in an introduction to this, his father's last literary effort. He tells us that the author's three works, "The Coming Race," "Kenelm Chillingly," and "The Parisians," form a trilogy, the burthen of whose song is an expostulation against certain modern social and political theories. The three, he says, are like in their difference, and are meant to work by divers routes to one great result, the overthrow of these same ideas; but while the subject of "Chillingly" is psychological, that of "The Parisians" is social; the former illustrating the influence of said "modern ideas" on an individual, the latter their influence on a community—for the type of which community he finds "The Parisian Society of Imperial and Democratic France" most *apropos*. But in thus clearing away the ground for our comprehension to take hold, he gives us the secret of the book before we want it, and as we begin to turn over the nine hundred and forty-two pages, it is with some misgiving as to their probable attraction. Such misgivings, we must confess, are fully justified. Still if the book falls short of its general purpose, it has an interest and value of its own in being the final effort of a man distinguished in his time,

[1] "The Parisians." By Edward Bulwer, Lord Lytton. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co., 1874.

and, if not eminent in any department of literature, successful in them all; in being the last aerolite from a meteoric mind that for half a century flashed along the earth, if it never soared far above it.

With Lord Lytton's design in itself, as thus explained to us, and we think that we might have discovered it without assistance, we have the greatest sympathy. It would be difficult to exaggerate the natural results that would follow the prevalence of such "modern ideas" as were illustrated in that collection of vanities, the Paris of the Empire; and no satire aimed against them can be keen enough. A usurped government, good only in that, and so long as it appears good. A throne resting on the ignorance, indifference and depravity of the people A people willing to sleep on while they get the *quid pro quo* for their oblivion. An inclination displayed everywhere, and springing from the magnification of the importance of appearance in the government, to exaggerate the value of the external, and to make every word, deed, and thing essential for its effect, and not for its actual merit. Morality, as that of Dumas *fils*, consisting in a sudden progress, accompanied with many tears and gesticulations, from a very low place in the moral scale to one a little less low—the necessity of descending to the former point being an unexplained ingredient of the system. Pathos, appearing, for instance, in the interest manifested by two people for each other, who having been running together on the easy road to Avernus for some time, and with perfect unconcern, find the journey of one, to the annoyance of both, brought to an unexpected termination. Sentiment that, like the pathos, has something seductive in it, but dangerous, and all the more so, because the danger is partly hidden. Affections that decline to fasten on what does not glorify the flesh and that run riot among *salons*, broughams, horses, toilettes, operas, and all that is of the earth, earthy. Worth that is calculated by the guinea's stamp, and that knows no other standard. Such modern ideas as these characterized the place and generation of which Bulwer now writes, and against such it is his design to direct his satire.

We wish that it had been differently executed and that a volume of bright essays had dropped from his pen instead of the present novel. The romance in it is not good enough for the satire, and very much impairs its effectiveness. It is put in as padding, and

as padding it appears. We are first introduced to the Marquis de Rochebriant, a youthful but decayed noble from the provinces, who promises to be our hero, and whose heroism is made up of pride and impecuniosity; but he afterwards contents himself in representing the Legitimist interests in the story, and yields his place to another. That other is Mr. Graham Vane, who is imported from England for the occasion; a man with "a clear-cut, handsome profile, and rich dark auburn hair, waving carelessly over one of those broad, open foreheads, which, according to an old writer, seem the 'frontispiece of a temple dedicated to Homer;'" and endowed, by the author, with every quality desirable for man, though he kindly contents himself with exhibiting but a few of them. He too, is poor at first, but on the death of a considerate uncle, is put into possession of a large fortune, most of which, however, he holds in trust, at the request of said uncle signified in a letter found with the will, for the child of said uncle, if alive, or the issue of said child, should it be possible to discover that the uncle left such a child, or if that child, if dead, had left issue—the uncle being rather uncertain when signing his will, what treasure he was leaving behind him in the form of children. The discovery of this possible creature forms the staple of Graham's occupation, and is the plot—as much as anything is—of the story.

The heroine of the story, Isaura Cicogna, as her name imports, is a lady of Italy. With an Italian *Dame de Compagnie*, known as "the Venosta," she lives mysteriously, in a small cottage on the outskirts of the "*Bois*," and is supposed by those who have the honor of her acquaintance to be educating herself for the stage. She is a young woman of southern temperament, with exquisite beauty, strong passions, worships the ideal in Art and in life, and in the first volume discovers that in Graham Vane she realizes one of her day-dreams. The feeling is reciprocated by Graham, but unfortunately the letter which cast upon him the voluntary trust, also contained a request that if the surviving relative of the deceased uncle should prove to be a girl, Graham would make his uncle's spirit happy, by taking her to wife—her acquiescence being assumed. Which obligation he considers of like force with the other, and insists upon making himself and Isaura miserable by regarding it as an insuperable lion in their path to happiness. While sympathizing in their gloom, we are suddenly introduced to

an American and his wife, and astonished to find them received in such good society, we hail their appearance as another sign of the coming of that great day in which our countrymen are to have their proper place in foreign fiction. But the gentleman is called "Colonel Frank" Morley, and the lady is known as "Lizzie," and when they begin to talk, our spirits sink. "The Colonel" "had a slight nasal twang," and introduced "Sir" with redundant ceremony in addressing Englishmen, however intimate he might be with them, and had the habit (perhaps with a sly intention to startle or puzzle them) of adorning his conversation with quaint Americanisms. The "quaint Americanisms" which he indulges in as adornments, betray, it seems to us, an intimate familiarity, on the part of the author, with the bar-rooms of the Far West, for we are tolerably familiar with the rest of the country, and have never met with the words that Colonel Morley employs. For instance, he calls a gathering of people, a "bee," and says to Vane: "I am glad, sir, to hear from my wife that you dine with us to-morrow. Sir, you will meet Mademoiselle Cicogna. and I am not without a *kinkle* that you will be *enthused.*" Can it have been in his language that he showed his right to be "esteemed—what he appeared to the French—a high-bred specimen of the kind of *Grand Seigneur*, which Democratic Republics engendered !"

The most interesting character in the drama is the "Vicomte de Mauleon." A Legitimist by descent, an Orleanist by birth, and a spendthrift by nature, he devotes the early part of his career to getting rid of what property came to him from his ancestors. This does not occupy him long, and he then contrives to live by his wits, becomes a *chevalier d'industrie*, and having cleared himself of the encumbrance of respectability, has great success in his profession. Duellist, sharper, Don Juan, and "sportsman," while in the indulgence of his inclinations he becomes involved in some little difficulty, and thinks best to leave Paris for the country, where disgusted at the government that fails to appreciate and the city to support him, he determines to give rein to his patriotism, and in the latter to work the overthrow of the former. With another change of hue, he now becomes the typical French Iconoclast, lives in disguises which he changes with the rapidity and ease of "our protean artist" of a "Variety" theatre, and in

dismal *cafés*, and dark chambers in winding alleys, weaves plots and counter-plots, working along underground as successfully as the ghost of Hamlet's father, and revealing his existence in the manner of that perturbed spirit, as occasion calls. In his political theories, he claims to stop short of Communism, but he does not hesitate to use the *ouvriers* and the *gamins* of Paris for the accomplishment of his schemes, and under the title of Monsieur le Beau, leads these mercurial people on to *demonstrations*, and when too excited, assuages them with a grace and facility that outrivals the skill with which Æolus controlled the winds. But melodramatic as the career of De Mauleon appears, his is, perhaps, the best portrait in the book, and it graphically illustrates the manner in which the opposition was organized that overthrew the Empire, bubbled over into the Commune and has settled down into the present Republic.

Time would fail us to tell of all the lesser characters in the story. There is M. Louvier, the great *bourgeois* Banker and Terror of the *Bourse*, who speculates on information obtained from false government officials; M. Duplessis, also a Banker, whose safety as such depends on ruining Louvier. Literature is represented by M. Savarin, Author, Critic and Editor, and by Gustave Rameau, modeled probably, though badly, after Alfred de Musset, who writes poems of the period, is full of absinthe and *liaisons*, and professes a passion for Isaura. There is Count Raoul, the good, and his brother Enguerrand, the naughty, who, however, expiates his faults in a brilliant *sortie* on the besieging Prussians, made one dark morning, when he falls, at the head of his Mobiles, under a Krupp gun. The plot of the story is clear from the first. The author endeavors to conceal the identity of Isaura Cicogna, with the missing grand-daughter of Graham's uncle, but he only succeeds in wrapping what is apparent in a labyrinth of action, which occupies without interesting the mind. Vane of course marries Isaura, and they go to Italy together, where we are glad to leave them.

But we appear to be sinning against the "*de mortuis nil nisi bonum*" precept, and will stop. The light which has now gone out for ever has, without doubt, lightened the gloom of many a weary hour. The class for which Lord Lytton wrote—and it was a large one—will not soon look upon his like again. But

let us hope that in his death they have found their own salvation. "Earnest Maltravers," "Godolphin," "Alice," and the rest of them will flutter the hearts and rouse the imaginations of clerks and shop-girls for some time to come. They must run their course. But for what he might have given us had he lived longer, let us hope that more than an equivalent will be found among works of a higher order, and that they who must look to fiction for their types and models, their sentiment and pathos, will look where they can find sketches that draw nearer to Nature, from whom, after all, must come everything that is new and true.

BEALE ON PROTOPLASM.[1]

The present work may be regarded as a popular exposition of the author's discoveries respecting the organic unit, or what was formerly called the ultimate cell of the plant and animal, and of his deductions therefrom, as to the nature of life. As is well known, Dr. Beale ranges himself in opposition to the doctrine of the "Physical Basis of Life," denying that life-phenomena are due to a force of physical or cosmical character, and therefore rejecting the doctrine of the correlation between them which has been asserted by various physiologists. He is, in fact, a leader of the extreme right, a vitalist, and strenuous opponent of the materialistic tendencies of modern science. He is, however, distinguished as a histologist and physiologist, and not as an anatomist or zoölogist on any extended scale, so far as his writings furnish indication. Probably for this reason there is in the present work a general omission of allusion to the doctrine of evolution of vegetable and animal types, as propounded by Lamarck, Darwin and others. There is no direct expression of decided opinion on this point so far as I can discover, although there is evidence of a disrelish for the idea of the descent of man from apes. In another place the door is evidently left open for the adoption of the prevalent views of descent as not inconsistent with his own respecting the supernatural origin of life.

[1]Protoplasm, or Matter and Life. By Dr. Lionel Beale. Philadelphia: Lindsay & Blakiston. Third Edition. 1874.

The question as to the structure, etc., of the ultimate unit of animal structure, has been greatly elucidated by Dr. Beale. He first announced in 1860–1 that the so-called animal cell consists of a mass of homogeneous protoplasm, which might or might not possess a bounding membrane or wall, and might or might not possess a nucleus or nucleolus. This protoplasmic unit is undoubtedly living, and cannot be distinguished structurally from the membrane or cell wall. He has, however, discovered that it may always be known by retaining the stain of an ammoniacal solution of carmine, while the wall does not. These protoplasmic units are found in all tissues, which when treated with the carmine solution exhibit them as stained bodies of round or oval shape situated at various intervals in its extent. Thus they are scattered along a nerve fibre or muscular fibrilla, stud a thread of connective tissue, or a sheet of cartilage ; exist in prodigious numbers near the surface of the gray matter of the brain, and float freely as leucocytes in the blood.

Dr. Beale shows that these bodies appropriate their pabulum or food in solution, from the nutritive fluids, and absorbing it to their centres, convert it into living substance like themselves ; and that they develop a superficial layer by deposit from the surface of the living matter, which is the cell wall, and not receiving the carmine stain, evidently possesses different physical properties from the central mass. This superficial deposit extended from adjacent bodies, unites to form the structureless intervals of the cartilage sheet, and the muscular, nervous, and connective thread or fibre. This substance is the formed matter, and is regarded by Dr. Beale as not-living or dead. He shows conclusively that all growth originates in, and is supported by, these units, and that it not only produces structure, but also the various secretions, all of which he regards as dead. This substance he names *bioplasm*, to distinguish it from the dead or formed matter, which in the case of tissue, is structurally and chemically identical with it, and bears the general name of *protoplasm*. The products of secretion are, of course, often chemically distinct. The nucleus is shown to be the newest portion of living matter within the cell, derived latest from the pabulum, while the nucleolus bears the same relation to the nucleus. The bioplastic bodies break up or multiply by budding or division, in constructing tissue

and diseased products. Many diseases are due to a too rapid multiplication of these bodies, which prevent the formation of new tissue, or destroy that already in existence; other diseases are due to the retardation or suppression of bioplastic production, often in consequence of deficiency of pabulum. His explanation of the production of pus is singularly simple. He says the pus corpuscle is derived from the bioplast of an epithelial or other tissue cell, by the too rapid appropriation of pabulum. This follows an injury which gives too free access to the bioplast, as a cut, rupture, etc., or by saturation of fluids which frustrate the surrounding mass of formed matter. The over-fed bioplast multiplies by subdivision, and the products failing to produce tissue, are discharged. In chronic diseases similar abnormal bioplasts find lodgment in certain parts of the organism, and consume the pabulum which should be appropriated by the normal bodies.

The essential substance of all the tissues is identical. Thus Dr. Beale believes that a nerve only differs from a muscular fibrilla, in its connections, and in the fact that it is enclosed in a very tough sheath of formed matter which isolates it effectually throughout its length. The axis cylinder consists of several fibres of formed matter, which interlace back and forwards, and at intervals support living bioplasts. These he regards as batteries, which are essential to the support or propagation of the nerve current. Finally, in old epithelial cells, the formed matter is in great excess over the bioplasm; while in red blood corpuscles, the latter is entirely metamorphosed, so that those bodies are, in Dr. Beale's view, dead.

These valuable results are stated in a portion of the work covering 76 pages, out of a total of 387. The remaining chapters fall into sections; the first entitled "Dissentient," with which the book opens, devoted to a vigorous protest, offensive and defensive, against the views of Grove, Huxley, Owen, Tyndall and the physical school; the second, closing the book, being an exposition of the author's views respecting the nature of life and its origin, etc. Spontaneous generation and its advocates receive short shrift at his hands, and it is evident that the author handles his weapons with something more than the *odium scientificum et theologicum*. He has apparently had cause of grievance against some of those whose opinions he combats. Perhaps the cause jus-

tifies this effect, but the facts do not, in the reviewer's opinion, justify the conclusions adopted as to the matter in hand. He cannot but think that had Dr. Beale been a student of botany or zoölogy, or an adept in comparative anatomy on a broader plane than the field of the microscope, he would have modified his expressions, if not his views. Like other men, he has been impressed by the marvelous nature of life-phenomena, and asserts that there is a great difference between them and those of any physical force—a point about which there can be no difference of opinion. But when, on account of this difference, Dr. Beale denies that life-force ("growth-force or Bathmism") is correlated with physical force, and that it is a highly specialized form of such force, he assumes a position where plain evidence is against him, and a large number of the most thoughtful scientists cannot follow him.

He thus defines this question in dispute (p. 17):

"Let me first state broadly the two antagonistic and incompatible doctrines concerning the nature of everything that is alive. The one which is undoubtedly just now the most popular is, that living matter and non-living matter alike consist of the ordinary matter and forces of our earth, and that the living and the non-living should be included in the same category. The other is, that in things living, in addition to inorganic matter and inorganic forces, is what may be termed *vital force* or *power*, which unlike any ordinary force is separable from the matter with which it is temporarily associated, and therefore is in its nature essentially different from every form or mode or mood of ordinary inorganic force.

"It must, however, be conceded by those who accept the physical doctrine of life, that no one has yet succeeded either in obtaining vitality from the forces of inorganic matter, or of converting vitality into any one of these. But, nevertheless, they affirm that it will eventually be proved that life is ordinary force."

He then presents some of the obvious objections, which first present themselves against the physical view:

"It is true that men eminent among philosophers, if not among divines, as well as some of the most distinguished living physicists, chemists and naturalists, have accepted this physical theory of life. They think that life is but a mode of ordinary force, and maintain that the living thing differs from the non-living thing, not in quality or essence or kind, but merely in degree.

True, they do not attempt to explain the difference between a living thing and the same thing dead. They would, perhaps, tell us that living and dead are only relative terms; that there is no *absolute* difference between the dead and living states; and that the thing which we call *dead* is, after all, only a few degrees less actively changing than the thing we say is *alive*. But this sort of reasoning is not convincing, seeing that although matter in the living state may suddenly pass into the dead state, this same matter can never pass back again into the living condition. The dead animal has been likened to a steam engine at rest; but there is at least this difference between the two, that the last will resume its work as before, if its fires are relit, but the dead animal or man can never be made to work again if its machinery has been once brought to a stand-still. Have not the results of the action, in the production of tissue and in the formation of living beings, of that something more than mere force, been made to stand for that something itself? The processes of disintegration, and chemical change occurring in matter which has ceased to live—a direct consequence of prior changes which occurred while the matter was yet alive—have, we shall see, been regarded as the life itself."

Dr. Beale has done great service to evolution in distinguishing so broadly the functions of formed and germinal matter; that is to say, between nutrition and other vital phenomena. Having done this, he feels able to restrict the field of discussion to this germinal matter, and appears willing to admit the physical character of the functions of all other tissue, which he calls *dead*. That the formed matter is dead, has been questioned by many, including Dr. Tyson, in his work "On the cell doctrine." It is certainly an interesting proposition, and much may be said in its favor. In any case it is necessary with Dr. Beale to distinguish the nutrition which produces tissue and type of organism as, after thought, the most highly specialized of the vital phenomena. Every living being displays different grades of work, beginning with the simple, obviously physical production of heat, by oxidation. This requires a machine for its accomplishment, viz: the digestive and circulatory systems, which furnish the material. The force-conversion involved in functions of adult organs is in every respect comparable to that exhibited in combustion, which will last so long as combustible material is furnished.

When we support a fire by a supply of fuel, no one pretends to introduce a supernatural element to account for its burning; and

when it goes out for want of fuel, no one but the savage or fatalistic Turk ascribes the phenomenon to divine interposition. And who does not know that the support and extinction of life are as much dependent on the presence or absence of food, as is that of the fire on fuel. We have thousands of examples of force-conversions before us every day in the production of electricity, heat, light, etc., by chemical decomposition, the essential nature of which we cannot explain, and the supernatural is not invoked to account for them; and it will be time enough to deny the correlation of vital force with the physical, when the well-known equivalency between food and muscular contraction, nutrition and thought, is proven to be erroneous. And Dr. Beale admits this position to be one "not easily assailed," yet he afterwards writes:

"*Correlation* is the 'abracadabra' of mechanical biology. Of late years the term 'differentiation' which was formerly much employed in explanation of biological difficulties, and was once the talisman supposed to solve any constructive mystery, has been degraded to a very subordinate position. The phenomena formerly supposed to be due to 'differentiation' are now regarded as the result of correlation; and the former word, once representing cause and law, now stands only for consequence."

That we are, as yet, unacquainted with the causes of force-conversion and the essential conditions of matter which render it possible, is no ground for denying the fact of correlation. No theory has yet been devised which explains the nature of the instruments for the conversion of chemism into all the forces, yet the fact of conversion is patent. The case of the life-forces does not appear to present a logical difference. It is true that some of the physicists have made some too uncritical statements. Thus he quotes Dr. Odling's language: "We might apply the phrase *vital force* to the potential energy of so much fat or muscle, capable by oxidation of being manifested in the form of external heat or motion," in which *machine work*, and the building of the machines, is left out of view. Dr. Beale's reply is appropriate. He says:

"The word *vital*, thus used, is obviously useless, has no definite meaning attached, and might just as well be left out of the sentence altogether. If, therefore, the phrase *vital force* were thus applied, I think it would be most incorrectly; for is not the potential energy of a given weight of fat and muscle exactly the same in a dead body as in a living one? How, therefore, can

potential energy be the same as vital force? Vital force or power ceases to manifest itself when a living thing dies, but the potential energy of the matter of its body is constant in its amount."

This is correct, for the muscle is a machine *in which* force is converted as derived from decomposition of blood; while fat, if itself decomposed during life, will not be found after death in the same body! The force potential in functioning tissue is that which sustains the molecular condition necessary to such function, which I have called *bathmism* or growth-force, and is dissipated or reconverted at death.

Dr. Beale inveighs repeatedly against the use of "molecular" forces, conditions, machinery, and the like. He asserts repeatedly that "vital force" is not molecular force, citing in evidence the wonderful varieties or types of life presented by the chemically identical protoplasm. He also asserts that no force can appropriate matter distinct from that to which it is proper, as the plant appropriates mineral substances for the construction and supply of its life-substance. Dr. Beale does not, with the first objection, recall the three allotropic states of carbon and sulphur, which present vast differences which can only reside *within* that molecule which represents chemical identity. And the fact that animal and some vegetable life is *incapable* of converting *anything* but protoplasm into protoplasm, quite invalidates the use of the property of most vegetables as a definition of life.

I think that we shall see that these accumulated objections are those of the naturally conservative mind. Because much, very much, respecting the nature of life remains unknown, he declines to consider that which is so probable as to commend itself to the acceptance of a great number of logical minds, as a positive step forwards. Similar objections are interposed by "conservatism" in all departments of human progress. What evolutionist is not familiar with the question "how was the first species created?" which recalls the old creed of a certain political party, "what will you do with the negro?" Unless the end can be seen from the beginning, this type of mind will have nothing, and cannot be in sympathy with development; because the first principle of development, that is, taking the first step without seeing the second, is foreign to its nature.

If we again compare life to fire, we find a near parallel. Both

involve a retrograde metamorphosis of matter and exhibition of force. Both cease activity with lack of material supply or presence of unfavorable active conditions. There may be, therefore, dead protoplasm, as readily as unignited wood. Both require some active agency which shall maintain the conditions of existence.

Dr. Beale interrupts us here by declaring truly that a fire cannot furnish itself with fuel, while a living organism does. Very good; the machinery of digestion is the fire-tender, and is part of the organism. So the whole question falls back on the origin of animal machinery. The specialization of secretion, growth, thought, etc., is as Tyndall has expressed it, due to the increased complication of the machines. But Dr. Beale thus replies to Tyndall, whose language I first quote:

"Molecular forces determine the *form* which the solar energy will assume. In the one case this energy is so *conditioned by its atomic machinery,* as to result in the formation of a *cabbage;* in another case it is *so conditioned,* as to result in the formation of an *oak.* So also as regards the reunion of the carbon and the oxygen—the form of this reunion is determined by the molecular machinery, through which the combining force acts; in the one case the action may result in the formation of a *man,* while in the other it may result in the formation of a *grasshopper.* The form of the motion depends upon the character of the machinery. ('Heat considered as a Mode of Motion.' By Dr. Tyndall. Second edition.) Now every one who reads this carefully will, I think, agree with me in the opinion that absolutely nothing is to be learnt from it. Whole volumes might be written in such a style without conveying any information to the reader's mind. The reader of course wants to have interpreted to him what is meant by the 'molecular forces,' and the nature of the act of 'conditioning' and the character of the 'atomic' machinery."

Now this objection to, as well as the affirmation of, the correlation of bathmic and physical force, has little weight until the origin of the life machines is understood. This, I believe is approximately explained by the doctrines of the naturalists of the French and American schools. With the writings of these, our author appears to be totally unacquainted, though he clearly perceives the weakness of the Darwinian doctrine of natural selection, in its failure to explain the *origin* of variation, and criticises it accordingly. Without a rational explanation of the origin of these wonderful machines by which the more ordinary kinds of

force-conversion is effected, the physical theory of life utterly falls to the ground. And want of attention to this department on the part of the author, while engaged in profound microscopical investigations, accounts, in the critic's view, for the existence of a great part of his book. His prime objection may be met by the species evolutionist in pointing out first, that the process by which living machines are made, is identical, physically, with the phenomena of their *use*, which are avowedly physical. Second, that the evolution of species by descent proves that living beings make these machines *themselves*, under the directive restrictions of circumstances (natural selection), there being thus two factors involved. The obvious existence of design in all these machines, instead of indicating immediate supernatural intervention, to the evolutionist merely states the fact that a living machine, in order to continue to exist, must be able to supply itself with materials for use and growth. As to how it came into existence there are two distinct propositions, and evolutionists must accordingly fall eventually into two primary classes. Darwinianism, pure and simple, takes variation, *i. e.*, new construction, for granted, and believes in the "survival of the fittest." By itself this means that the new production of parts, or variation, is indefinite in its direction, and endless in its amount. It in fact denies design, excepting as the relation of the victors in the struggle for existence to their surroundings. This hypothesis demands an incredible waste of production, and the facts of palæontology and zoölogy not only do not embrace any such universal variability, but present us with definite lines of succession of forms, which have not been abortive efforts of creation, but have, in a majority of cases, not ceased to exist, until they had produced some descendant still better adapted for the life of the advancing ages, than themselves.

The other school of evolutionists, headed by Lamarck and supported by some of those of our own country, believes that origin of profitable variations has not been the result of chance, but has followed some pre-existent bias in favor of use, inherent in the animal itself. Dr. Beale has a word for this school, which exposes its first difficulty. While we have, as a first step in the argument, the well known fact that use augments the size and power of tissues, Dr. Beale says: "It can be clearly proved that a

necessary condition of such tissues working properly, is that they pass through, and in order and at a certain rate, several series of changes which must all have been completed long before action in any sense became a possibility." If now the gradual production of specialized tissues by descent from species to species is meant, the doctor is clearly correct; if he refers to ordinary growth, where laws of inheritance are in force, his objection is inapposite. In the former case, the theory of the "location of growth-force under effort," expresses and explains the facts better than any other, so far as I am able to judge. Thus Beale's criticism following is wide of the mark. He says: "The theory that refers action to inherent property or power, intuition, is surely more in accordance with reason than that which attributes it to experience," which is only true of a young animal which has just attained use of body and mind inherited from its parents. If animals possess sensibility, *i. e.* consciousness of pleasure and pain, of which there cannot be the least doubt, their habits are readily brought into unison with their surroundings, by education of experience, which is well known to be the case; and the amount of effort they exhibit will bear a direct relation to the degree of pressure or compulsion which external circumstances, especially changes in them, occasion. Thus *the origin of variation may be traced to the origin of mind,* and design accounted for, as the effect of intelligent effort on nutrition.

It results, then, that the first masses of living protoplasm had, like all other substances, peculiar chemical affinities (food); but that, unlike most substances, it was not satisfied with a gratified affinity, but presented a continual retrograde metamorphosis, which resulted in the exhibition of force. This force, unlike that seen in some unstable substances, consisted of *motion,* which brought the bodies into constant relation with new supplies of substances towards which their substance possessed affinity (food), which thus supported the continual metastasis. The advent of consciousness will account for the remaining phenomena, and is considered below. Thus we reach the closed doors of mystery, and it remains with the chemist to analyze these affinities of protoplasm, and the physicist to explain its instability.

Dr. Beale is not averse to the view that mind is a highly special-

ized form of "vital force," or "the vital power of a peculiar form of bioplasm." He explains his position further, "that mind is vital power, the active working of which is rendered evident to other minds through the changes effected in a highly complex mechanism, or apparatus gradually prepared for that very purpose." The evolutionist will not find this doctrine inconsistent with his own, but will—and that so long as the production of imagination and fear varies in amount in different animal brains, so long will their efforts vary in character. And if tissue grow with use, in the same proportion will brains differ in structure, and experience expand, and the reasoning machine continually develop. This will depend on pre-existent *consciousness*, which Dr. Beale declines to accept as a correlative of physical force; not regarding the facts, that unconsciousness in sleep is a period of repose for the organ of thought, and that drugs and shocks both destroy and produce it, as sufficient evidence for such a view. Nevertheless, there is every reason to believe that sensibility to pleasure and pain is a highly specialized form of molecular attraction and repulsion. Hence the writer believes that the lower forms of life are unconscious automata, and the higher conscious automata. The existence of intellect only increases the complexity of the automaton, while the original source of motives or actions remains, viz: the susceptibility to pleasure and pain. That this susceptibility ever develops, there is good reason to believe, and the birth of consciousness is not, therefore, the highest stage of transpeciation of force. There is reason to believe that consciousness can rise to a higher grade of perfection than that dependent on the senses, usually so called; and a consequent education in a new order of pleasures and pains. This, no doubt, involves a corresponding atomic change. Such a transpeciation is only possible, so far as we know, in the human species; and only then, under the permission or consent of the subject, or free-will. For although the automatic process, of action under inherited motive, originally has the preference in every human mind, it is equally certain that we have a freedom of *attention*, within certain limits. We can suppress the present idea, though it have the preëminent right of *possession*, and we can reject thoughts that rise, and can prevent the operation of the laws of association. We can attend to the products of reason, and the suggestions of our sentiments;

and if we do so, consciousness undergoes an education which awakens it to a new grade of experience, which belongs to that which is "within the veil." Thus the doctrine of evolution will probably bring us to a nearer view, and clearer hope of immortality than any other human instrumentality, showing it to be in close accord with the materialism that so many men, including Dr. Beale, are to-day fearing and suspecting. And I imagine that few men will be impeded in the effort to raise themselves in the scale of being, by the supposition, or the knowledge, that their future life will be dynamic, and their future form material.

EDWARD D. COPE.

NEW BOOKS.

LINCOLN AND SEWARD. Remarks upon the Memorial Address of Chas. Francis Adams, on the late Wm. H. Seward, with incidents and comments illustrative of the measures and policy of the administration of Abraham Lincoln, and views as to the relative positions of the late President and Secretary of State. By Gideon Welles, Ex-Secretary of the Navy. New York. Sheldon & Co. 1874. Pp. 215.

In addition to the encyclopædic title, the publishers also furnish the reviewers with a brief printed note, stating that "a portion of this volume was printed in the 'Galaxy,' and the whole of his answer to Mr. Adams is now issued in its complete form. It is an earnest effort to give the public a proper view of Mr. Lincoln's administration, and some idea of the fearful ordeal through which it was called upon to pass. Mr. Welles believes that Mr. Lincoln was himself the great central figure and controlling mind in his own administration, and that neither Mr. Seward, Mr. Chase, nor any other of his able counselors was the 'power behind the throne.' Mr. Welles gives a minute account of what took place at the council board during some of the darkest hours of our country's history. This book, probably more than any other yet written, will place Mr. Lincoln in his true position." A notice so conveniently supplied, quite takes away the necessity of any exercise of brains on the part of a reviewer, and indisposes even an honest reader to get up an opinion of his own, or at least to formulate it, when the publisher and the author have so kindly united to anticipate any independent judgment of the critic, by putting at his disposition such a comfortable summary of what the public will find in the book, as well as of what they ought to think about it.

There is, however, to our notion, a certain use in imitating Plutarch's fashion of comparative biography, which might very profitably have served Mr. Welles' purposes, if only he had not been so much bent on giving his readers an opportunity of comparing Mr. Welles, as well as Mr. Lincoln, to Mr. Seward, and quite as much to the advantage of the first, as of the second of the triad. That natural disposition to put himself on a tripod with the other greater lights of Lincoln's Cabinet once satisfied, Mr. Welles gives a picture, more truthful than interesting, and more unreserved than pleasant, of the way in which the Government was let to run itself during even the worst days of our almost mortal agony, with no real headship in civil affairs and with a dreadful liking on the part of mere civilians to interfere in military matters, to overrule the plans of tried and skillful soldiers, and to dispose of campaigns as if they were matters of routine, like the business of the Treasury or the Post Office. The stories of Mr. Lincoln, as coming from one of his own Cabinet officers, might have been less apochryphal; but the only tolerable one given is not very new, nor was it very apposite at the time of its being told—it was in reference to a dispute threatening with Spain and St. Domingo, that Mr. Lincoln is reported to have told the story of the negro preacher, who said to his hearer, "Dere are two roads before you, Jo, one leads straight to hell, de odder goes right to damnation,"—to which Jo replied, "Well, I'll go through the woods,"—which Mr. Lincoln interpreted to mean, according to Mr. Welles, an honest and strict neutrality. A much higher stroke of genius is Mr. Lincoln's invention of a telling epithet, when he said that McClellan had "the slows." Mr. Seward's description of his relations to Weed, the last of the Albany Regency, is almost epigrammatic,—"Seward is Weed, and Weed is Seward; what I do, Weed approves; what he says, I endorse." Mr. Welles strikes some pretty hard hits at Mr. Weed over Mr. Seward; and, indeed, his mention of the men of his time, is rarely kind or comfortable. The value of the book would be heightened if it had more chronological sequence and a better order of arrangements, and the absence of a table of contents or index serves to show that it is, after all, only a *piece de circonstance*, a fugitive paper that has grown under the author's hands, without receiving those finishing touches which alone could fit it for a permanent contribution to the history of our second Revolution.

THE PRINCIPLES OF EQUITY: A Treatise on the system of Jurisprudence administered in Courts of Chancery. By George Tucker Bispham. Philadelphia: Kay, 1874. Pp. 540.

Mr. Bispham has discharged that duty which every lawyer owes to his profession; he has contributed an excellent and useful

volume to the literature of Text Books, which serve to illustrate and lighten the sombre series of Reports as they grow beyond mortal ken. The fashion of disparaging general legal essays upon special branches of jurisprudence, has been transmitted to us from England, where the subdivisions of the Courts and of the Bar made it comparatively easy to master all the reported cases within the narrow limits of the special business affected by lawyers from the start. Here, however, all sorts of professional work are thrown upon both Judges and Counsel, and the gladsome light of jurisprudence is too often darkened and clouded by local legislation in contradiction to all sound rules, and by the judgments of multifarious courts of final appeal, with little or no common guidance. The commentators, from Kent down to Wharton, through a long line of men of varying gifts, Parsons, Story, Sharswood, Rawle, and Wilson, have done much to preserve the law as a science and to prevent its total surrender to local limits and temporary legislation. Judges, such as King and Gibson, Shaw and Allen, Taney and Grier ; lawyers such as Evarts and Meredith, Black and Hoar, and notably Horace Binney, *primus inter pares*, maintained the traditions of the best days of a profession that is now and but too rapidly losing its high estate, to become too often merely the vehicle for enforcing narrow laws or defeating wholesome reforms. The utter failure of a comparatively recent attempt to "revise" the statutes of Pennsylvania, looked as if the art of legal composition had been forever lost to the Commonwealth. Fortunately Bispham's Equity is well calculated to restore and maintain the respect of the profession for the purest part of the science of law, that of the Equity side of our Courts, and to show that principles can be well stated and strongly supported by the authority of decided cases, without at all being weighted down to the monotonous level of mere case law. The introductory chapters on the Rise and Progress of the High Court of Chancery, General Outline of Equitable Jurisdiction, Maxims in Equity, and the History of Trusts, might well be prescribed for law students, long before they ought to be fed with the strong meat of the other parts of the work. We are very sure that lawyers, both in this and other States, will gratefully receive and appreciate so timely a contribution to the literature of that part of the law, its Equity jurisprudence, which is growing quite beyond the limits of the special treatises, the works of Jarman and Daniel, of Hill and Adams, while their use is still necessary to complete the study of particular questions only generally mooted in Mr. Bispham's summary. Just now there is a strong effort set on foot in England to bring about a closer consolidation of the two branches of the law, and the perusal of Bispham's Equity will serve to show our transatlantic friends that a lawyer can master the principles and the cases in Equity, without at all neg-

lecting or failing to inform himself as to practice in Common Law Courts, and can unite both Equity principles and common law forms and proceedings.

The *Portfolio* is a handsome quarto, of which three monthly parts, those for January, February and March, have been issued by *The Philadelphia Sketch Club.* We are very glad to welcome heartily so promising an addition to our periodical literature. It is a series of photo-lithographic reproductions of sketches made by the working members of the club, and on its list of members are found the names of the artists who have for years been growing into popular notice both in and beyond Philadelphia. The club has more than once shared its productions with the public, and a quarto volume of photographs of sketches by an earlier generation of artists, was once a familiar book to all lovers of local art. The club has been active in securing several exhibitions of the works of its own members, and of other contributors; these were very pleasant gatherings, and it is to be hoped that in our new Palace of Art, the Academy of Fine Arts, there will be provision for just such exhibitions. The first number of *The Portfolio* was a pretty bold undertaking, for a monthly is a very serious business, as we have good reason to know. The club, however, felt its growth in strength, and useful and pleasant as are its Thursday evenings in its workroom, skywards at 524 Walnut street, it determined to come down to the every-day world. It opened its sketch book with a capital full page illustration by Bensell, an architectural design by T. P. Chandler, carved by Calder, sketches by Frost, Heaton and Lippincott, and a series of portraits of the contributors. The January number deserved its success, and it has been rapidly followed by numbers for February and March, which grow in strength and return fully the confidence of the public. We advise our readers to look for themselves at these examples of the actual, living, working art of Philadelphia, and to show their interest in its encouragement by subscribing the modest five dollars asked for the year's issue.

The February number had an ambitious piece of sunny landscape, by Lippincott, "High Noon;" a very good etching by Clark of a Forest Scene in Florida, the Philadelphia Warehouse Company's Office, by Furness and Hewitt; a font by Sims, and a pleasant reminiscence of Tom Hood in some of his sketches, along with those of his followers, Heaton, Bensell and Frost. The last number, the March issue, has a capital sketch by Milne Ramsey, decidedly our best fruit and flower painter, a very strong bit of sea and sky by Lippincott, a goodish architectural drawing of somebody's new home at Chestnut Hill, by Chandler, and a very grateful study of landscape on the Wissahickon, by Brunner. The caricature business has been, wisely we think,

dropped for the present, at least, for better and more serious work; and we venture to suggest to the editors that they cannot make too high a standard of excellence or keep too well up to it. The cheap illustrated magazines and newspapers are flooding the market with the work of the professionally funny men; and just as our literature has suffered from this painful sort of straining after jokes, so, too, our art has been invaded. It is time to stop and consider whether sketches cannot be made to teach a better and a higher lesson than that of merely exciting a forbearing smile. Indeed, one great merit of the *Portfolio* is that it aims to supply perfect reproductions of the first thoughts of painters, which may afterwards take shape in pictures; but the public will profit little by becoming more closely acquainted with our artists, if it is only to see them on the broad grin all the time. We enjoy the fun of Frost's clever caricature sketches as much as anybody, but we prefer to see something else transferred to the lithographic plate, and that something serious and earnest work, really typical of art at its best.

HALF-HOUR RECREATIONS IN NATURAL HISTORY. Division First. Half-hours with Insects. Twelve Parts. Insects of the Garden: Their Habits, etc., by A. S. Packard, Jr., Editor of the American Naturalist, Author of "Guide to the Study of Insects," "Our Common Insects," etc. Boston: Estes & Lauriat, 143 Washington street. Parts 1 and 2 each 25 cents; pp. 64.

The study of the habits and nature of animals and plants that are within our daily walks, is both instructive and interesting. Most of the manuals of the various branches of Natural History are too dry and minute for any but those who mean to devote themselves to the active pursuit of such inquiries. Fortunately the love of science is strong enough to overcome the barriers of want of books and want of opportunities, and especially here in Philadelphia, the Academy of Natural Sciences has fostered and encouraged the pursuit of special subjects, so that we have Professors of very great fame. Such men as Leidy and Cope are known far beyond our own limits, while there are industrious and successful students of particular branches of Natural History who are honorably esteemed both at home and abroad. We are very glad to find that Mr. A. S. Packard, one of the most useful American naturalists, has begun the publication of a monthly serial work on "The Insects of our Gardens." The first and second numbers, all that we have as yet seen, contain very fair plates, and a number of wood cuts, showing us the various transformations of the insects familiar to all who work in gardens; while the letter-press gives a text full of instructive lessons on their habits, on the means of guarding against their destiuctive increase, and on the economical entomology of the field and orchard. The

need of popular instruction on this particular branch of Natural History, is best enforced by an account of the enormous destruction done by such enemies of agriculture and horticulture as the boring worm in the cotton fields of the South, and the busy depredators on our orchards and vineyards, which, in spite of them, are fast growing to be matters of almost national importance. In several of the States, notably in New England and in the fruit growing regions of the West, there have been valuable official publications on the insects injurious to vegetation, and the facts accumulated by these inquiries form the basis of the comparatively modern school of economic entomology. In France, where the national government takes every form of industry under its protection, the results have been received with very great benefit by the agriculturists and by the fruit growers. Here in Philadelphia we have seen the almost complete v.ctory of the sparrows over that disgusting enemy of town trees, the measuring worm, and the lesson thus taught is one of almost universal application, that the birds are our best allies in the contest we are continually waging with nature. A recent newspaper statement by one of the pupils of the late Professor Agassiz, ought to commend his method of teaching to all who pursue Natural History, either for its own sake or as part of their daily business. That really great man urged his pupils to do everything for themselves, to learn all they could about each specimen of Ichthyology or Zoology, his special branches, and to do without text-books, except only so far as they might serve to confirm the results they had arrived at by their own independent inquiries. Agassiz believed that every school could teach the few leading and general principles of Natural History, the great divisions of the animal kingdom and the leading characteristics of the important types and orders, and that every pupil ought to go out into the fields with his eyes open and learn to master the mere details of species for himself. For such work a manual, such as Packard's book, is a capital guide ; and it might be a good preparation now for the outdoor study of the coming spring and summer, when all nature invites us forth from the city to the grateful freshness of the country.

Common Sense in Religion. A series of Essays by James Freeman Clarke. Pp. 443. Boston, Jas. R. Osgood & Co. Philadelphia, Claxton, Remsen & Haffelfinger. Price, $2.

Mr. Clarke is a man of very great ability and personal excellence, the pastor of the Unitarian church that meets in King's Chapel, Boston. In early life he found himself settled over an isolated Unitarian church in Kentucky, among blue Presbyterians and zealous Methodists, an object of suspicion to his clerical neighbors, and not without some contemptuous dislike for them,

as full of prejudice and devoid of all breadth of thought. A smaller man would have been very much injured by such a position, but Mr. Clarke made the best of it. He tried to put himself in their shoes, look at the world through their spectacles, and without giving up his own views to understand theirs. We believe that the attempt helped him to a larger growth in heart and mind. He thawed them out of the icy coating of prejudice in which they arrayed themselves against him; he found them human, and they found him a Christian. He did not go over to the orthodox side; but he wrote, as the result of his studies and experiences, his *Essential Truth and Formal Errors of Orthodoxy,* showing that a Unitarian could do justice to views that he did not share, and could learn the nature of the deep-lying convictions that give the orthodox creed its vitality.

His present book has not the same drift; he aims to set forth a method of study by which men can reach wise conclusions on religious subjects. His choice of method might at first sight be construed as putting him on the same ground as the old-fashioned Unitarians, who ruled Boston fifty years ago. The school of Andrews Norton was loud in praise of "Common Sense." Locke's *Essay on the Human Understanding* was in their view pretty nearly the last word in philosophy. Even Channing was a subject of suspicion as being, like his English master Price, a hankerer after Platonic mystifications. That was the school against which Theodore Parker rebelled; he found their common sense too narrow a garment and too short a couch. Emerson also went out from it, because he was not of it, declaring that Unitarianism, like many other isms, was a fair criticism upon established systems, but a very poor pretence in itself. Unitarianism, he thought, was eminently the religion of common sense, but when a Unitarian became either eloquent or enthusiastic, he rose above his creed and out of it.

Mr. Clarke is not inclined to give up the old slogan; he sticks to "Common Sense," but he would broaden its meaning and infuse a new spirit into its judgments. He knows that he must appeal to men in a different style from that which reached them fifty years ago. Common sense means something different now, partly through the success of those who rebelled against it. But now, as then, there is a certain average of knowledge, intelligence and moral sensibility, that the public teacher can make his appeal to. There may be more glory in cast ng scorn upon that average, and calling men to come up higher; but there may be a larger utility in taking men as they are, reasoning with them from the premises that they act on in daily life, the common-places that once were paradoxes.

This we infer from the tone of Mr. Clarke's book; not from

his explanations. He himself defines common sense as "the mode of judgment derived from experience of this world; that is, of God's methods in nature and in human life." He appeals to the Founder of Christianity, as one who continually used this method. In a certain sense this is true; the words of the Gospels take hold of human life and experience in a very remarkable way. But yet not in a "common sense" way. The words of Christ teem with paradoxes; he seems to have adopted that form of expression purposely, so as to prevent men from using as *rules* statements that were meant to enunciate principles; and also to drive men on from the first and shallowest construction of his words, to their deepest meaning.

Mr. Clarke's use of "experience" as the basis of common sense leads every hostile critic to ask: "Whose experience? That of Wesley? or of Swedenborg? or of Jacob Böhme? or of David Hume? or of the average Bostonian?" The experience of those who receive the transcendent message of Christianity in a transcendent way—who are moved by it to live and act in a larger life, is one thing. That of men who go on softly and quietly, getting all the good they can out of this world and leaving other concerns to the next and to Sunday, is rather different. It is perfectly fair to take hold of their avowed opinions and premises of action, and construct an *argumentum ad hominem* to them as a class. That is what Schleiermacher did in his *Discourses on Religion*. But Mr. Clarke does not seem to put before him any such single purpose; at one time he cries, like Schleiermacher: "Out of thine own mouth art thou condemned." At another he is taking up the old Unitarian tone, that accepts the common-places of public opinion as the only available standard of judgment.

Much in the book is most excellent—fervid in its earnestness, direct in its method, eloquent in its power. But as a rule we think it justifies too much the title-page. It appeals to the crust of opinions and hear-says, instead of breaking through to the perennial source of intuition and inspiration. Rubenstein well said that religion had ceased to fulfil its function when it ceased to bid men to do the impossible.

THE ESSENCE OF RELIGION. By Ludwig Feuerbach, Author of *The Essence of Christianity*, etc. Translated by Alexander Loos, A. M. [Pp. iv. 75.] New York, Asa K. Butts & Co.

Feuerbach is already known to the English-speaking public by Maria Evans' translation of his *Essence of Christianity*, and through various notices in works on the history of philosophy and theology. The present book has somewhat of the same purpose as that on *Christianity*, but is very much shorter, being in fact a mere sketch subsequently published of a larger work, with the same title. It

was delivered as a series of lectures before the students of the University of Heidelberg, and at their request, during the stormy times of 1848.

The author is generally ranked among the Hegelians—*links seite.* He was the son of Anselm Feuerbach, the great criminal lawyer and art critic. He studied for a time at Berlin under Hegel, but was not satisfied with the philosopher's Toryism. Rather by reversing a few Hegelian statements he devised for himself—as did Strauss, and Bruno Bauer, and the young Hegelians—a philosophy of quite another sort. To Hegel whatever is *real* is *rational.* The actual world, given us as a physical and historical fact, is in perfect conformity with the highest reason. Starting from the pure conception of being, and reasoning by pure logic, we reach the Christian and Teutonic Kingdoms of Western Europe by necessary steps—these being the highest steps in human development. The mental process and the historical process lead to one and the same end. Hegel held fast to the objective facts, while insisting on their absolute coincidence with the subjective processes. The left wing of his school resolved the objective facts into subjective processes. Christianity, and all religion in their eyes, were no revelations of a personal God, but the human spirit making itself the object, first of its own thought and then of its own worship. "God made man in His own image," said Moses. "Man made God in his own image," is the new reading.

We believe that Feuerbach and his like are doing God service, by enunciating this absolute contradiction of all Christian ideas. They are bring out into fuller and clearer light the true principle of Christian revelation, that all that is human has a divine ground underlying it—that the reason and nature of the human is to be sought in the divine, and not, as Feuerbach says, the reason and nature of the divine in the human. They are forcing Christians to have, what they have never yet shown—"the courage of their principles." Many popular and orthodox lines of thought lead us straight to the German's conclusion; it is well that that conclusion should be clearly and honestly enunciated. The theory set forth by Mansel in his *Limits of Religious Thought,* and hailed with delight by the whole orthodox press—that we can have no real apprehension of the divine nature, that all our attempts to conceive it are but the transference of human notions to the divine, and that the divine and human differ from each other in kind and not in degree only—needs but little working and transformation to conform it to the philosophy of Feuerbach. And indeed, any theory of Christianity that represents it as a system of notions and doctrines, and not as the living and life-giving apprehension of One Who has apprehended us, One Who is like

us and cognizable to us, because He made us in His own likeness, can end in no other way.

EPIDEMIC DELUSIONS: A Lecture by Frederic R. Marvin, M. D., of New York Free Medical College for Women. Pp. 28. Same Publishers.

Dr. Marvin illustrates, by his drift of reasoning, the tendency pointed out by Sir William Hamilton, as existing among those who devoted their lives to physical investigation—the tendency to ascribe excessive validity to the category of cause and effect, and resolve everything into the operation of natural law. "The thoughts we think, the emotions we feel, and the acts we perform, are links in a chain that no effort can break." "Of all the delusions......none are so thoroughly disintegrating as that of Moral Agency." Through these spectacles he views the history of what other people call moral epidemics, accounting for them by infection. One question he does not answer: How did they originate, and why have they died out? What would we think of a law of gravitation that was in operation for a century or so, but has now ceased to act?

THE SAFEST CREED, and Twelve other Recent Discourses of Reason. By Octavius B. Frothingham. Pp. 238. Same Publishers.

Mr. Frothingham is a "come outer" from among the Unitarians, a Rationalist who repudiates the spiritual authority of Christ, while making much of the historical importance of Christianity. He has gone beyond Theodore Parker in his opposition to current religious opinions, and though he still preaches to a congregation of like-minded persons in New York, he repudiates the very name of Christian and church.

His opening discourse, which gives name to this volume, is a reply to the calculating false logic by which the acceptance of the Christian faith is often advocated. Better believe (it is said) for there is a chance that this is true, and if it be, what then? If it is not true, you will have lost nothing. Mr. Frothingham regards orthodoxy and atheism as two extremes, each by necessary reaction producing the other, while the Rationalist holds the *via media* of safety. There is nothing new in this form of argument, but it is rather amusing to find it used in this new connection. The timid are hoisted with their own petard, and by the very same sort of statement that they make about the prevalent infidelity of Roman Catholic countries. The other discourses in the volume are very readable—powerful even. They are characterized by radical boldness in opinion, modified by conservativeness in sympathy. Opening the book at random, one might be led to regard its author as an unsparing destroyer of existing opinions, or a reverent *laudator acti temporis.*

ELEMENTS OF CHEMISTRY AND MINERALOGY. Demonstrated by the Student's own Experiments. By Gustavus Heinrichs, A. M.

This book is a good elementary treatise for those who are too familiar with the science to be thrown into confusion by the author's eccentric diagrams and definitions. So far as the facts are concerned, they are usually accurately stated; but the explanation of the phenomena and the methods adopted to formulate these explanations, though exhibiting signs of great talent, are generally involved in the deepest obscurity. Some of the symbols of the elements are altered by the author, such as Ka for K, Io for I, etc. The classification by the author into genera and species, (p. 60,) may be convenient for teaching, or may assist the book-maker to condense space, but it has few advantages beside to recommend it.

The advantage of Greek letters for these generic signs, instead of the equivalence marks alone, may be doubted, as also the substitution of π and ν for elements usually distinguished by + and —. In certain cases the author is guilty of great inaccuracy, which is emphasized by printing in double leaded type. Thus (p. 119) it is asserted: "The color of a mineral having metallic lustre is constant, *i. e.* characteristic; but the color of a mineral not having metallic lustre is variable, *i. e.* not characteristic." Supposing the first statement to be correct, the latter is grossly inaccurate, as may be observed in the minerals, Malachite, Azurite, Orpiment, Chalcanthite, etc.

The methods of instruction proposed at the end of this book are worthy of all praise.

ELEMENTS OF PHYSICS, &C. Id Davenport, 1870.

This is an admirable elementary treatise on physics, suited to a beginner in the physical laboratory. The experiments, the methods of their introduction and sequence, and the system of conducting the laboratory, are alike admirable.

THE PRINCIPLES OF CHEMISTRY AND MOLECULAR MECHANICS. Id. Davenport, 1874.

This little book contains, as the author's fly-leaf informs us, twenty original contributions to science. Whatever may be thought of the advisabilty of incorporating into a text book theses which are more generally submitted to the test of discussion in scientific bodies for many years before being finally accepted as science, the book contains much that is new and good. We cannot but think that some of the symbols of abbreviation introduced by Prof. Heinrichs, are not calculated to assist the student in his task; but many of them are both original and advantageous.

One defect common to all three of these books is the too crowded plate to be found on the last page of each. The dia-

grams in these plates are not particularly well done, but they are all far too much crowded together.

In justice to the very able author, it should be said that the method of instruction proposed is very well suited to our country, and with little alteration these books could be made admirable for use in the laboratory.

MATERIALISM. Its Ancient History. Its Recent Developments. Its Practical Beneficence. By Dr. Büchner, Author of *Force and Matter*. Translated from the Author's MS. by Prof. A. Loos. Same Publishers.

Dr. Büchner, author of *Kraft und Stoff*, is a popular expositor of the teachings of the new German school of scientific materialists, whose masters are Vogt and Moleschott. He recently visited this country, aad during his stay lectured in German; the present book being a translation of one of those lectures. He also wrote—for the *Gartenlaube* we think—a series of letters on what he saw in America, some of which are very amusing, and do not furnish very clear evidence of great powers of observation and scientific inference. Like Knox and Dixon, he seems to think that the type of the white man in America tends to approximate to that of the red man, whom he supplanted. He sees in the graceful dancing of American ladies a survival of the stealthy gliding of the Indian in pursuit of game or of his enemy.

His lecture on materialism is altogether devoid of scientific value, and abounds in rash statements. Thus Shakespeare is ranked among the materialists because Hamlet speaks of "Imperial Cæsar dead and turned to clay." Dr. Büchner should have cultivated the acquaintance of the American Adventists and learned the logic by which they prove that the Bible is a materialistic book.

Dr. Büchner is fairly enthusiastic in defence of his negative creed. It would be a panacea for all ills, if he could only get men to believe that they have no spiritual nature and no future life. Did he succeed, the next generation would care nothing for that or any other doctrine, and then in the third we would have a terrible reaction to superstition.

SEX IN EDUCATION; or a Fair Chance for the Girls. By Edward H. Clarke, M. D., member of the Mass. Medical Society, etc. [Pp. 181.] Boston, J. R. Osgood & Co. Philadelphia, Claxton, Remsen & Haffelfinger.

The right of women to the same education as their brothers receive, and the general propriety of the co-education of the sexes, has been repeatedly defended in this magazine. The only strong argument to the contrary that we have ever seen is contained in

this book of Dr. Clarke's. He bases it upon the recognised facts of physiology, and his own experience as a physician. As a rule a boy is at all times capable of the same amount of physical and mental exertion, year in and out, unless some accident interfere. But after the age when girlhood passes into womanhood, a girl is subject to periodical interruptions of power and energy, which the excitements and competitions of the school-room and the college lead her to ignore, and the natural reserve of her delicacy prevents her from pleading as an excuse for relaxation. How far this really forbids co-education is a question that only the physicians can decide. We believe that there is an immense difference in different cases, and the prohibition that would be wise in one case would be harsh in another.

The advocates of co-education are already in the field with replies to Dr. Clarke.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

Bulletin de L'Académie Royale des Sciences, des Lettres et des Beaux-Arts de Belgique, 43d année, 2d série, tome 37, No. 2.

Fifth Annual Report of the State Board of Health of Massachusetts, Jan. 1874. Boston: Wright & Potter, State Printers.

The Circuit Rider. A Tale of the Heroic Age. By Edward Eggleston Illustrated. New York: J. B. Ford & Co., 1874. 12 mo. cloth, pp. 352. [J B. Lippincott & Co.]

Pleasant talk about Fruit, Flowers and Farming. By Henry Ward Beecher. New Edition with additional matter from recent writings, published and unpublished. New York: J. B. Ford & Co., 1874. 12 mo. cloth, pp. 498. [J. B. Lippincott & Co.]

On the Homologies and Origin of the types of Molar Teeth of Mammalia Educabilia. By Edward D. Cope, A. M. Philadelphia, March, 1874. Printed for the author. 4 mo. paper, pp. 21. Illustrated.

Philadelphia Trade Directory. Philadelphia: Howard Challen, 1874.

Infant Salvation. By Charles P. Krauth, D. D., Vice-Provost of the University of Pennsylvania. Lutheran Book Store 117 N. 6th street.

Epidemic Delusions, By Dr. Frederic R. Marvin. New York: A. K. Butts & Co., 1874.

Bulletin de L'Academie Royale des Sciences, Lettres et des Beaux-Arts de. Belgique, 43d année, 2d serie, tome 37, No. 3. Bruxelles, 1874.

A Daughter of Bohemia. A novel. By Christian Reid. Illustrated. New York. D. Appleton & Co, 1874. 12 mo. paper, pp. 222. Price $1.00. [J. B. Lippincott & Co.]

Responsibility in Mental Disease. By Henry Maudsley, M. D., Fellow of the Royal College of Physicians, Professor of Medical Jurisprudence in Univ. College, London. International Scientific Series. New York: D. Appleton & Co , 1874. 12 mo. cloth, pp. 313. [Porter & Coates.]

Philosophers and Fools. A Study. By Julia Duhring. Philadelphia. J. B Lippincott & Co., 1874. 12 mo. cloth, pp. 357.

THE

PENN MONTHLY.

JUNE, 1874.

THE MONTH.

THE great question of the hour in England, the strike of the farm laborers, remains undecided. Neither party seems willing to yield, and delay only adds to the difficulty. In spite of the predictions of many journals and the threats of the Unions in various parts of the country, the farmers have thus far had rather the best of it. It is true that the Lord Bishop of Manchester has issued a manifesto in behalf of the strikers, prophesying the most dreadful results should the farmers persist in their resistance to a just demand; but, appalling as such documents are when signed by a father of the Established Church, they are not as effective under the present circumstances as one might suppose. For the fact is that the season has been exceptionally propitious; the days have been exactly the reverse of such as the Lord Bishop ought to have prayed for, and the obstinate farmers have taken advantage of them to get their work done with less trouble and expense than ever before. All this makes matters no better, and would seem to imply a misunderstanding between the Bishop and the clerk of the weather, which in the present condition of the Established Church may almost be called damaging. The Unions, which have already spent much money in supporting the strikers, are beginning to tire of

their undertaking; and so the case stands. The threatened emigration has not taken place to an extent which may be felt, and this strike promises—if one may venture a prediction—to end as disastrously as many another. It is not easy for us at this distance to form a fair, unbiased judgment of the controversy. We gather our knowledge of course entirely from the newspapers, most of which are prejudiced one way or the other, and if not unduly so, are at least edited by human beings, and there is no reason to believe that the English editorial or reportorial writer is any freer from the weaknesses of humanity than his American brother. Some of the journals are rather bitter in tone. The question of course is a very important one in England.

THE warfare between the laborers and the farmers, however, is at present almost forgotten in the excitement which the Czar's visit has aroused. Attended by the Grand Duke Alexis, he arrived at Dover late on the evening of the 12th, and is now at Windsor Castle. Many strange events have taken place since a Czar last trod the English soil. Thirty years ago the Emperor Nicholas paid a visit to the young queen of England. Louis Philippe was then King of the French, and the Russian visit was supposed to have been made expressly for the amiable purpose of annoying him. The present Emperor of Germany was plain Prince of Prussia, and the king of Italy hereditary prince of little Piedmont. The map of Europe has been wonderfully altered since then, and the changes in this country since the famous campaign of Clay and Polk seem hardly less wonderful. Of course the excuse for the Czar's visit is the desire to see his daughter the duchess of Edinburgh, whose position, by the way, is said to be by no means an agreeable one. The change from the magnificence of St. Petersburg, where she took rank after the Empress, to the dull life of Windsor Castle, where she is only the wife of the Queen's younger son, cannot be exhilarating now that the excitement of the past few months has worn off, and her scapegrace of a husband—for such the English journals lead us to believe him to be—may have begun to resume the habits of life for which he has too long been distinguished.

THE defeat of the Carlists and the relief of Bilbao has been the great event of the month in Spain. It was hardly to be expected

that the success of Serrano would come as speedily or be as complete, and there is no doubt that the blow is a severe one to the pretensions of Don Carlos. If it be true, as recently reported by the cable, that he has announced his amiable intention of shooting all persons who decline at once to acknowledge him as king, and also recalled from an imprisonment in France the bloodthirsty Curé of Santa Cruz, he must be in despair, and we hope he will remain so. The Curé, in whose scheme of life murder takes the place not of a fine art but of a religious duty, will of course be a useful minister in the execution of such a law, as well as of innumerable unhappy Spaniards; but the resort to him and his bloody measures is ominous. There is reason to hope, however, that neither story may be true. The fighting has been quite bloody enough as it is, to make many of the participants look back with a fond longing to the early days of the seige of Cartagena, where both parties banged away at long range to the infinite damage of the vineyards near the city, but of little else.

During the past three weeks the condition of Arkansas has been lamentable. A state of seige has been maintained at Little Rock, where there has been daily picket firing, skirmishing and street fighting, and a number of lives lost; though it is to be regretted that neither of the causers of all this exposed themselves to the danger. A writer in the *Nation* has given us a rather graphic account of the town and of the rivals for the governorship, from which one gets a fair idea of the scene. Baxter seems on the whole to be the more decent of the two, and he has held the office peaceably for more than a year. Brooks, on the other had, while apparently to blame, has had in his favor a decision of the circuit court and of the full bench of the Supreme Court, and was undoubtedly elected in 1872. The complications in the matter were many and curious; but, on the whole, the President seems to have cut the knot the shortest way by recognizing Baxter as the lawful Governor. The refusal of Brooks to submit the question, as the President advised, to the Legislature called together by his opponent, is on a par with Baxter's refusal to obey the Supreme Court influenced by Brooks; but it seems to have aroused much prejudice against him. The way in which certain persons look at matters of this kind is well shown by the remark of a contemporary

newspaper, that the President has done a wise and noble thing in recognizing Baxter, for it is not true as has been reported that he is "a renegade Republican," but on the contrary, a man of honesty and character, who voted for Grant in 1868, and was thoroughly loyal during the war. The proclamation of President Grant will no doubt settle the unhappy business, although the fact remains that it has been possible for the unsuccessful contestant for the governorship of a State, to seize upon the office and hold it by force of arms for more than a month, to the infinite sorrow and disgust of all patriotic and thoughtful men.

THE report of the Committee of Ways and Means would have been a little better had it ventured to lay the blame in that business where it properly belongs. It is all very well to say that there was culpable carelessness on the part of those in whom carelessness should be considered criminal, and then sugar-coat the pill by adding that there was nothing discovered impeaching the integrity of the party in question ; but it is not the way in which to correct the past or prevent evil in the future. It will hardly be held that the practice of a certain fond mother, not to punish her offending children until she had at hand some cake or candies with which to assuage the bitterness of pain and contrition, producing sweetmeat and slipper at the same moment, enforced very greatly the discipline of her household. The little dab of whitewash shines very inartistically on the black fence of that report on the Sanborn contract. The responsibility of such acts as led to this investigation rests of course with the Secretary of the Treasury, and whatever may be said in Congressional reports, the people will have little difficulty in deciding where the blame should lie. It may be added, too, that under any other government such an exhibition of weakness and incapacity on the part of a Cabinet Minister would have awakened a storm of indignation in the country; and such reflections as the committee are forced to indulge in at Mr. Richardson's expense, however mildly put, would have been followed by the offender's resignation within twenty-four hours. Here, however, the Secretary continues to devote himself to the duties of his place—as far as he is capable of understanding them—and to sign such papers as his clerks see fit to prepare for him, with a serene unconsciousness of the general sentiment of his

countrymen. The President, too, has no idea of displacing him, which is quite natural in a President who appointed him; and the personal character of our government, as understood and practiced by General Grant, is once more made manifest.

CONGRESS has been variously engaged since the veto came in. One day was set apart for the delivery of eulogies upon the late Senator Sumner. None of them were remarkable, save that of Mr. Lamar, of Mississippi, whose speech was noticeable rather for the circumstances which surrounded the speaker than for itself. It was strange even in the House, which has heard a negro Congressman from Calhoun's district of South Carolina reply to Alexander H. Stephens, to listen to a fire-eating politician and ex-Confederate officer while he eulogized Charles Sumner. But the changes are so rapid now-a-days that one must not be surprised at anything. The Eugene Wrayburn type of man is becoming very common.

THE general impression that behind the inflationists in Congress was a fair majority of the people, seems to be wearing away. A careful canvass of the newspapers in the Northwest, West and Southwest, has been made by a Chicago journal, by which it may be seen that a large majority support the President's veto That party discipline has little to do with this may be known by the fact that a majority of the organs of both parties support General Grant, while the proportion of the newspapers which oppose it to those who favor it is larger among Republicans than among the Democrats. This will be a disappointing statement to Mr. Morton and General Butler, who supported "the greenback theory,"as it was called, in 1867, in anticipation of its becoming the popular view, and backed out of it in '68, and now have taken to it again after a second unsuccessful attempt to feel the people's pulse. Indeed, what with unsoundness on the currency question, and his connection with Sanborn and Jayne, and the Credit Mobilier, and the Back Pay, and the confirmation of Simmons, General Butler seems to have lost caste with the party, and to be in danger of losing his seat in Congress. That he has held it so long is the astonishing part of the whole matter; but, as the *Tribune* wisely said after the Simmons business, the goring of the

sacred bull of Boston is a vastly different matter from the goring of some other person's ox. In the Senate the most noticeable measure which has recently passed is the Geneva Award Bill, in which a proposition of Mr. Thurman's to include the insurance companies among the claimants on the fund was voted down. It was not denied that that the claims of the companies were considered by the Arbitrators in fixing the amount of the award, nor by most Senators that those who had been recompensed for their losses by the companies were not entitled to be paid again by the fund; but no amount of argument was able to convince the Senate that the Government of the United States received and held the money simply as trustee. The general idea seemed to be that the Government should make as much out of the fund as possible, and that it was nobody's business what was said at Geneva to induce the Arbitrators to award the money. The fact is, after all, that the general sentiment of the country is, and under our present system of politics, must remain, purer and better than that of Congress. It is this which saves us, and has made a resort to the people, whenever it could be had, a safe and beneficial course. Congressmen, as a rule, represent only nominating conventions, made up of the intriguers and workers of both the parties. Half the time they are selected for their availability, not their fitness; and generally they act with a view only to themselves, their friends, their re-election and the like, and not as many better men who might be picked out of their district, and who may be found in every walk of life in this country but the public service, would be apt to do for the good of their constituents and the country at large. This is all very lamentable, but it is the natural result of the present system, and it will continue until we improve it. There are many measures on which Congress should take action now which will be postponed for fear of the Fall elections. A statesmanlike independence is hardly to be found to-day at Washington.

After a debate which might almost be called brilliant, the bill to appropriate to the Centennial Exposition the sum of $3,000,000 was defeated in the House. It is very unfortunate for this measure that it had to be considered at a time when the average Congressman was under the influence of the dread of the Fall elections to

which we have adverted, and when the most thoughtful and patriotic men are very anxious for the future. It is to be regretted, too, that the lukewarmness which seems to exist in the country generally about the celebration of our centennial anniversary had compelled the managers to ask for government aid. Much had been done by Pennsylvania. Philadelphia had appropriated large sums of money and aroused herself into a degree of enthusiasm very unusual in her. But no amount of urging could awaken in the Western, New England or New York bosom any warmth for a celebration which, though called national, was to take place neither at Chicago, Boston nor New York. The enthusiasm and energy which could have been aroused had Boston been chosen would not awake; the gold dollars which New York would have poured into the lap of the Commissioners had Central Park been designated, and the greenbacks which Chicago would have lavished on them by the tens of thousands had the Exposition buildings been about to rise on the banks of Lake Michigan, lay locked up in vaults, or stocks, or bonds, or lumber, or grain—at all events were not forthcoming to assist Philadelphia. It was shown to Congress that though five millions had been subscribed, as much more was needed; that it (Congress) had authorized the undertaking from the outset, and that the invitations to foreign nations had been in several instances accepted, and much more of the same sort. But it was useless. The talk of economy, the doubt about the currency, the Presidential veto, and above all the Fall elections, were too much to contend against, and the bill failed. One thing which seemed to horrify some excellent gentlemen, was the promise made by those who had in charge the bill creating the Board of Finance two years ago, to the effect that the government should not be asked for a dollar. This was a damaging thing, and properly so. It was a foolish and rash promise, made when the panic of last September was not dreamed of, and the feeling of locality which has been aroused against the Centennial as a Philadelphia scheme not properly appreciated, and all friends of the measure must regret that it was made. And now that it has done so much to arouse the virtuous indignation of certain Congressmen, it may, perhaps, be hoped that while they are in the mood, the ghost of a promise made twelve years ago, the words of which are to be seen on the face of every treasury note of the United States, and which has

been more than once repeated, may rise up to bid them try to do their duty. The defeat of the Centennial bill has been followed by the declaration of the Board of Finance and Centennial Commission, that the work will be at once begun and pushed without delay, and there is little doubt that money enough will be raised in Pennsylvania to make the celebration a success, though it will always remain to be regretted that the want of just the kind of sentiment which would have made it memorable should have been so general as we approach 1876. The reasons for this are various and not difficult to discover—the fact remains the same.

BANKING AND CURRENCY.

THE industry of men is so largely developed and subdivided, as to involve a constant exchange of commodities and services. The whole labor of society is apportioned among all its members in that way which the force of circumstances has dictated. One large class of society is composed of those who till the ground, work the mines and mills, build railroads, canals and cities An other large class of society is composed of the various agents engaged in the process of the interchange of the products of the first class. To this class belong bankers, merchants, transporters and brokers. But many other agencies, although not essential to the idea of an exchange, are prominent, such as wagons, roads, canals, boats, cars, railroads, steamships, shops, money and devices of the credit system. These are all agencies and facilities more or less desirable or indispensable, according to circumstances, but they are never essential to the idea of an exchange. When societary circulation is made more rapid by the use of any or all of these agencies, men should use them. We propose to discuss the agency of money and the devices of the credit system, as we believe the importance of the first is over-estimated and the last not appreciated.

The agency of money is very far from being an indispensable concomitant of an exchange of commodities. For while the advantages of a common, a universal medium of real value, for which

men can safely sell anything they have, and with it as readily purchase anything they require, cannot easily be over-stated, it must not be forgotten that money is not of the essence of an exchange. The exchange of commodities is just as effectual when made directly or through the agency of money of account as when actual money is used. The exchange of commodities being the object in view, every advantage, facility, security and economy should be resorted to in accomplishing that object. We must insist, however, upon keeping the object and the agencies of effecting it separate and distinct, as necessary to having a clear view of the whole subject.

Gold, whether in coin or in bars of known purity and weight, is the best material to be used for money, both because it has intrinsic value and because it is acceptable to all men as money. But as it is an expensive and troublesome instrument of exchange, and because it bears so small a proportion to the value of the annual product of the industry of man—the quantity in no country probably exceeding one-tenth of the value of the gross annual product of its industry—it has been found absolutely necessary to have and use various devices and substitutes for it. Since we must have various substitutes for money in order to hasten the societary circulation and to enable man to control matter, it is very important that we should have those substitutes in which we find the least danger.

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, when made legal tender, of course attains the first of these objects fully. Both taxes and government expenses being paid in these notes, they have a value independent of their being convertible into gold. Whether there is much specie or none at all these notes are always legal tender, so long as the faith of the State is kept. But such a currency does not insure the unchangeableness of the measure of value, for the amount

of the notes has no necessary connection with the monetary requirements of the people, and therefore, gives no security that the note shall possess the same value when the time of payment arrives that it did when the contract was made.

There is great liability to excess in the issues, thus producing a depreciation of the note and an advance in the price of commodities. The increase of the issue of the notes inflates prices, creditors losing and debtors gaining. The commercial disturbances that follow the contraction of the circulating medium depreciate the price of commodities, so that the whole debtor class of the community and the holders of merchandise are subjected to loss, often amounting to absolute ruin.

When State currency is irredeemable this liability to excess and scarcity creates great uncertaintity, 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. To men not deeply versed in the details of commerce there seems to be no insurmountable difficulty in deciding what amount of money is needed to make a country prosperous. But it is far worse than useless to attempt to enact laws on this subject. The actual quantity of money required to effect the exchange of commodities can never be ascertained, for the wants of the people at one time far exceed their wants at another.

It is obvious that at one time, when there is peace, quiet and mutual confidence, a much less quantity of money is required to transact the same amount of business than when there is war, distrust and financial panic. It needs no argument to prove that a law which fixes the amount of currency is as hurtful as one that gives the Treasury Department power to increase and diminish the amount of currency in circulation, at will. Another objection to State currency, legal-tenders, is that the government in issuing them makes a forced loan from the community without interest. There are times when it is eminently proper for nations to make the sacrifice, but when the cause for which legal-tender notes were issued no longer exists, the proper disposition is a conversion of them into some sort of security which shall be merely capital.

To be convinced that the currency issued by a single bank or by several banks restricted in number, is better than that issued by the State, it is only necessary to understand the present

national banking system of the United States. The Comptroller of the Currency, the official head of a bureau of the Treasury Department established for the purpose, was directed, under an act of Congress approved on the 25th of February, 1863, to issue to associations of individuals for the transaction of banking business $354,000,000 of national currency upon due proof of organization in accordance with the requirements of the act. The most important of these requirements are the following. Each stockholder is liable for losses for a sum equal to the amount of his stock. Upon payment of the capital stock, and a deposit of United States bonds with the Treasurer of the United States, the Comptroller is directed to issue an amount of the national currency, not exceeding ninety per cent. of the par value of the bonds deposited as aforesaid, as a means of circulation. The deposit of United States bonds is solely for the redemption of the above-named circulation. This National Bank currency assumes the form of promises of these institutions to pay money on demand, with a statement of the Treasurer of the United States that such promises are secured in the manner before named.

Banks organizing under this act in the cities of New York, Philadelphia, Boston, St. Louis, Chicago, Louisville, Detroit, Milwaukee, New Orleans, Cincinnati, Cleveland, Pittsburg, Baltimore, Albany, Washington, Leavenworth and San Francisco, are required to hold a sum of lawful money equal to twenty-five, and all other banks a sum equal to fifteen per cent. of the amount of their circulation and deposits, as a reserve for the payment and conversion of the same. Three-fifths of this reserve fund of banks outside of the cities above named may consist of balances due such banks from similar institutions in said cities. All banks in the cities above named must have an agency at some similar bank in the city of New York, for the redemption of their circulation at par; and all banks not located in the cities above named must have an agency with a similar bank in some one of these said cities for the purpose of such redemption.

There is a half-yearly tax in favor of the general government upon the circulation, upon the amount of deposits, and upon the amount of capital stock not invested in the bonds of the United States.

The most important of the advantages of this system are in the

peculiar species of capital, which serves as an ultimate fund for the redemption of the national currency, namely, United States bonds; and in the uniformity of the currency.

Both the first and second forms in which a paper currency can be established secure the validity of the note at all times, but there is nothing to insure the steadiness of the measure of value.

Let us now turn to the third form in which a paper currency can be established, namely, by banks established on the principle of freedom and competition.

Let it be enacted that the Comptroller of the currency, issue to associations of individuals for the transaction of banking business, national currency to any amount upon due proof of organization in accordance with law. That each stockholder shall be liable for losses ,for a sum equal to the amount of his stock. That national currency be issued to such institutions upon due proof that a deposit of United States bonds has been made with the Treasurer of the United States. That such issue shall not exceed ninety per cent. of the par value of the bonds deposited as aforesaid. That banks shall hold a reserve of twenty-five per cent. of the amount of their deposits. That said reserve shall never be kept with other banks. That banks shall not be required to hold a reserve for the redemption of their circulation—that being secured by the United States bonds deposited with the Treasurer of the United States, by the liability of the stockholders for losses, and by the capital of the banks not invested in United States bonds. That banks shall receive interest at the rate of three per cent. per annum on the bonds deposited as aforesaid. That banks shall be subject to no national tax. That banks shall pay no interest on deposits. That banks shall redeem their circulation, on presentation, in sums not less than fifty dollars, in gold or in United States bonds, at the option of the bank. That the Comptroller of the currency, or any sub-treasurer of the United States, shall issue in times of financial panic, national currency to the banks in amounts not less than fifty thousand dollars, upon due proof of the deposit of United States bonds. That banks receive no interest on the United States bonds deposited to secure the extraordinary issue of currency. That nothing in this act shall be construed to authorize any increase of the principal or interest of the public debt of the United States.

Such a currency would be valid and acceptable at all times, and the amount being unlimited the steadiness of the measure of value would be preserved; that is, the notes would have the same value at all times. Being redeemable, the currency in circulation could not be increased, while the monetary requirements of the people remained unchanged, and so the measure of value would not be depreciated; and as there would be nothing to prevent the increase of the currency in circulation when the monetary requirements of the people increased, the measure of value would not be enhanced. The amount of the currency and the requirements of the country would always be commensurate; that is, the currency would increase and diminish according to the natural law of supply and demand.

It should be remembered that men do not desire money, nor use money, nor any of the substitutes for it, except for the transaction of retail trade, the payment of wages, the payment of balances due from one community to another, and as a standard to be used in case of disagreement. The business men have for many years made their purchases upon their own credit, and they thus issue hundreds of millions of dollars of commercial paper every month. All that concerns the relations of debtor and creditor upon this paper is settled by the aid of the banks and the clearing houses. In all large transactions the people give and receive checks upon the banks.

Whatever be the utility and importance of the precious metals as a medium of exchange, or an equivalent, their utter insufficiency to accomplish the payments of the present day shows that, though they may never be wholly dispensed with in commerce, their efficacy, as means of payment, has been so far transcended by other modes of payment, that nothing can be more fallacious than to regard them as the only model. All past experience shows that in specie times, whenever an excessive demand has been made upon the banks to pay their deposits and to redeem their notes, they were obliged to suspend payment. Therefore it is necessary to provide a currency that at all times will be acceptable to the people. This can be accomplished in no way so well as by a national bank currency, secured by the indebtedness of the United States, which, in turn, is payable at maturity in gold. Banking established on the principle of freedom and

competition, would extend the advantages of the credit system into all parts of the country, and thus hasten societary circulation by fostering domestic exchange.

We believe that the third form in which a paper currency can be established is the only safe one, and the only one that will give unity and simplicity, where otherwise there would be diversity and severance.

THE MERITS OF CREMATION.

IT is in strict conformity with what we observe of the cyclical movement of ideas among men, that in the 19th century and after a lapse of two thousand years since the nations representing civilization indulged the practice, the advisability of cremation or burning the bodies of the dead should be earnestly discussed; and that its advocates should find in it a subject of great importance to the sanitary condition of all communities of persons. As in all similar propositions to institute a change in the customs of the majority of the civilized world, these advocates of cremation seek to show that the modes by which we avert the evil consequences of the corruption and decay of the dead can only afford a temporary relief, and that the time is sure to come, if not already at hand, when the overcrowded cemeteries will be no longer capable of concealing our dead from sight. And long before this time the ever-increasing population will have been forced into such proximity with the dead that the mortality will be much increased by poisonous exhalations, pervading the water and the air. Sir Henry Thompson, who is the foremost of those who urge the introduction of the practice in England, warns us that we are "laying up poison for our children's children," in the form of our immediate ancestors, and certainly the statistics of the "Select Committee of the House of Commons on the improvement of the health of towns," (1842,) and the accounts of Chadwick, Walker, and others, present a horrible picture of intra-mural sepulture; nor does the report lose all of its force when we are assured that the scenes of the practices it reveals are removed a few miles away from the centres of busy life. So far as the testimony may be regarded as of general application to cemeteries—(and we fear that this is to a very great ex-

tent)—it is a pertinent reply to those who harbor an objection to cremation, on the ground that it is a desecration of the bodies of the dead.

It is just that our view of a question should commence with an investigation of what our ancestors thought and did in reference to it; for we have abundant evidence always from history that both our first crude ideas on any subject of thought, and our after mature conviction, are but the same mental processes which have affected men countless ages ago. So true is this that we may generally feel satisfied that every method of avoiding a difficulty or accomplishing an object which our ingenuity can devise, exists somewhere on the pages of written history as the record of a fact.

The oldest traditions we possess concerning the disposition of the dead would seem to indicate that with the first approach to civilization our ancestors had adopted already the custom of burial, but we cannot suppose that the artistic and elaborate tombs of the Egyptians and Assyrians—the oldest records of history—were produced by the earliest representatives of our race on the planet.

The remains of primeval man, if ever yet discovered, must be looked for among the bones of the hyena and bear, in caverns like that of Liege. No very satisfactory conclusions can be drawn from these discoveries as to whether these places were used as convenient places of deposit of the dead bodies; whether they might not have been carried there by the beasts of prey; or whether they might not have been washed by a former flood into their present location, but Dr. Buckland accounts for them on the first supposition.

If we give credence to the testimony of Dr. Idlefonso, of Rio Janeiro, there are remains of man 20,000 years old. Pourtalis's human skeleton in the Florida reef is 10,000 years. Dr. Dowler estimates the skeleton from beneath the fourth cypress forest at New Orleans at 50,000; M. Rosière, the Egyptian relics from the borings of Limant Bay, at 30,000, while our own able geologist from whose work "Man's Origin and Destiny," the above statements are taken, tells us that he but reflects the growing sentiment of geologists, when he places man's age on the planet at hundreds of thousands of years. We have the same authority for the opinion that the lacustrine dwellers were not habitual cannibals, and that they either burned or buried their dead on shore.

Were we to venture to supply, by reasonable speculation, the records which must ever be wanting, the acceptation of the doctrine of the gradual development of man would cause us to suspect that his attention to the dead of his own species was only the result of a gradually widening experience, which taught him that his own self preservation demanded it. So long as there was plenty of room for him, and before the dawn of his social life, we must conclude that the first animals which could be called men, fed the beasts of prey after death, and lay exposed to the sun, rain and air till nothing remained but their bones. Indeed, according to Niebuhr, the Parsees near Bombay still expose their dead thus, as they did in the time of Herodotus. It is the most natural of all methods, and though unsuited to the requirements of a civilized community, and not so expeditious as cremation, it is no more abhorrent to the sensibilities than many of the modes of treatment pursued to-day.

Commencing with the era of tradition and of some ceremonial or other, we find the most diverse customs among different nations. The anthropophagi of whatever race or age have always been accredited with killing and eating their sick, aged, and infirm. Some Indian nations cast their dead into rivers and ponds; the Parsees expose them to the elements and birds of prey in an open temple; the Scythians buried them in snow, as no doubt the Esquimaux have done. According to Spondanus the Syrcanians abandoned their dead to dogs. The Ethiopians threw their dead into the water to be devoured by the aquatic animals. The inhabitants of Colchis and Phrygia hung them on trees. (Some of our plain Indians place their dead on platforms supported by poles.) The Egyptians embalmed them. The Greeks and Romans, and we do not know how many earlier races, destroyed the bodies by fire; but by far the most general habit among all nations has been to inhume the remains.

By inhuming is included every kind of covering up out of sight on land, from the costly burial temples of the Hindoos, the hewn-out mountains of the Persians, and the burial caves of the ancient Russians along the Boristhenes, to the artificial mountains of the Danes, the magnificent sarcophagi of the Chinese, and the tumuli of almost all peoples.

The earliest ceremonies of which we have any record were those

of the Egyptians. These included the mourning of friends for from forty to seventy days, during which the body was embalmed, the sitting of the solemn council, which decided whether the body could be placed in a tomb, and finally its consignment to the sepulchre.

Among the ancient Jews, inhumation without embalming seems to have been the general usage, though it is quite certain that the burning of bodies was also practiced among them, and some have thought that the reference in Isaiah xxx. 33 was to a large pyre kept alight to consume the bodies of the deceased. "For Tophet is ordained of old; yea, for the king it is prepared; he hath made it deep and large; the pile thereof is fire and much wood; the breath of the Lord like a stream of brimstone doth kindle it."

According to Walker, the public authorities of the Egyptians abolished the custom of embalming at a period not stated, and substituted burning, and this custom was adopted by persons who till then had simply buried their dead.

The Greeks are thought to have brought back the custom of cremation from the Trojan war, and then made it their national custom.

The method of burning adopted by the Greeks and Romans was to pile up four or five tiers of rough, unhewn logs, upon which the bier which held the corpse was placed. This was the "*pyra*" of the Romans, or *rogus*, when actually in flames. What method was employed to keep the ashes of the body separate from those of the pyre and bier is not quite clear, but the Egyptians performed cremation by enclosing the body in an amianthus receptacle, which, being unaltered itself, preserved the bones apart from the fuel.

Both the Jews and the Romans prohibited intra-mural burial, the former because they regarded corpses as unclean, and their presence as contaminating the dwellings in which they were placed. The Romans continued the practice of intra-mural sepulture long after cremation had become the more usual disposition of the dead. The law of the Twelve Tables expressly forbids the burning or burial of any body within the city, but it was for a time disregarded by a privileged few in the Custom House and Internal Revenue Bureau of that day, until the Emperor Adrian put a stop to it finally.[1]

[1]Walker, Gatherings from Grave-yards.

The urns in which these remains were preserved were placed outside of the gates of the city and along the highways, a custom common also among the Greeks and Romans, and which had the double advantage of beautifying their highways at the expense of individuals, and of transferring the field of battle when a hostile army appeared to some distance from the city, for the people would fight for nothing so willingly as for the ashes of their ancestors.

Tacitus notices ("De moribus Germanorum") the simplicity of funerals among the ancient Germans—a simplicity which has not descended to our day. Like the Romans, they burned their dead.

Among the practices which the early Christians retained from the Jews, was that of inhumation; nor is it surprising that a people, at least many of whom believed in the raising up from the grave of the actual body which had been once on earth, should have shrunk from so dissipating the matter of which that body was composed that a mere handful of ashes remained.

Not that any of them would have granted that burning rendered it *impossible* for God to reconstruct the body, but they preferred not to make it any more *difficult* than was necessary, and they were ignorant or forgetful of the fact that the dissipation of the matter of the body proceeds just as perfectly (if not as rapidly) in the grave as on the funeral pyre. However much their customs may have differed in other respects, the one purpose which they had in common was to make the dead harmless to the living; and we can make this purpose our starting point, for it is the question on which the issue depends.

Foncroy, the eminent contemporary of Lavoisier, had charge of the removal of the bodies from the Cimitiere des Innocens in 1787. He was unable, as he states, to examine into the nature of the poisonous gases which are always generated in burying grounds, owing to the fact that the most recent interment had taken place three years before the removal of bodies, but he was himself an accidental witness of the malignity of these gases when (according to Percy) he formed one of a commission appointed by the Dean of the Faculty of Medicine in Paris to examine a Dr. Chambon. The subject given for dissection was in an advanced state of decomposition, as Chambon informed them; but the Dean ordered him

to go on and demonstrate the liver and its appendages. Corion, one of the four candidates, fainted away on the first opening of the body and died in three days. Foncroy was attacked by a burning eruption, and the other two remained long feeble and one of them never recovered.[2]

Mr. Leigh, surgeon and lecturer of chemistry in Manchester, expresses the opinion that the gases arising from decomposition can easily penetrate eight or ten feet of sandy or gravelly soil.

Of the poisonous nature of these gases there can be no question, as the following examples show. Dr. Reid states that the ground is absolutely saturated with carbonic acid gas in some churchyards, so that a grave dug in them was rapidly filled with this gas, and many deaths have occurred from this cause. When the barometer is low, the surface of the ground slightly moist, the tide full and the temperature considerable, the most injurious effects are observed. In some places fresh meat is tainted in a single night.

Two of the crew of an American merchant ship went ashore near Canton, to dig a grave to bury a dead ship-mate. The spade struck and penetrated a coffin of a man buried a few months before, and the discharge of gas struck down both the sailors, who, though taken back to the ship, died within five days.[3]

Sensitive and nervous persons have been taken ill when walking by a cemetery.[4]

Mr. Sutton, pupil of Dr. Walker, entered the vault of a church with an attendant, to obtain specimens of gas from "bloated" coffin: body buried eight years. Both were made ill, and the former lay for seven days with fever.

A sexton and the son of a lady who died seven days before, went down into the vault. Both were affected with sickness and nausea; one was affected for some years; the son had ulceration of the throat for two years.

Another instance or two will serve to show how the dead are treated in crowded graveyards. In the testimony given before the select committee of the House of Commons on the improvement of the health of towns, Mr. Helsdon testifies that in the neighborhood of one graveyard in London, 200 feet square, the chief

[2]Chadwick, Practice of Interment in Towns.
[3]Tour through Germany, Rev. Dr. Render.
[4]Habberman.

deaths were from low intermittent fevers. In this ground were 60,000 to 70,000 bodies, and a peculiar black fly infested the place. Mr. John Irwin witnessed the cleaning out of the vaults of St. Sepulchre's, and saw arms, legs and flesh like russet leather borne in baskets to the sewer(?). The stench was unendurable. In describing a similar scene, another witness said that he could not repress a shudder as he thought that one of the skulls so roughly handled by the workmen might belong to some of the five or six relatives whom he had interred in the cemetery. Samuel Pitts described the chapel vault of Enon Chapel, Clement's Lane, 60 by 40 by 6 feet, immediately under the place where divine service was performed, and separated from it only by a board floor full of cracks. A drain ran through the vault, which was at first open, 10,000 to 12,000 bodies were heaped up in this vault, and as these filled it, some of the older coffins were flung into the drain when it was necessary to make room for another. Moses Solomons states that 20,000 bodies were inhumed in half an acre of ground (or about 148 feet square). George Darkin, surgeon, says the effluvium from human bodies is more hurtful than from lower animals. B. Lyons, grave digger, states that it is a common practice to strip lead from the coffins. William Miller, grave digger, testifies that if a body is met in an excavation it is cut through, and it is the common practice to chop bodies and coffin when they come in the way.

I pass from this uncanny subject, leaving an inexhaustible supply of facts untouched, and I would remark here that these practices are in no manner abolished because burials are not permitted in cities, but that we may safely conclude that they are being repeated every day in all their disgusting details, wherever the burial space has become limited.

Dr. Lyon Playfair states the number of cubic feet of putrid gases given off through the ground from burying grounds as enormous. The decay or putrefication communicated by these gases does not always assume one form, but varies with the organ affected. Thus, if communicated to the blood, it may produce fever; if to the viscera, diarrhœa; and he thinks it a question worthy of consideration whether consumption may not also result from these emanations. The number of instances authenticated, where all these effects have produced fatal results, is almost limitless. The three

reports from which the most important statistics have been obtained contain scores of them. But it may be urged, that the question of intra-mural burial is not under discussion, and that by placing the dead in surburban cemeteries a great part of the poisonous effluvium is got rid of. So far as this is communicated to the air, this is the case; but there is a more dangerous channel even than air, where our sense of smell can detect minute traces of offensive matter, and that is the water.

Every one knows that well water is not available for domestic purposes when the wells are of moderate depth, and sunk in the midst of a large population. If the surface water (from a large stream), or the water from an artesian well be taken, either of these will show less dangerous impurities than the water of wells and some springs; and the reason is obviously because this subsoil water is at the same time a solvent and a means of oxidizing the great bulk of the constantly accumulating effete organic matter of the earth's denizens.

This matter is constantly collecting on the thin shell of a few feet below the surface of the ground, and dissolves in the rains and swamps to feed the springs and wells. But poisonous matter of this kind can never be carried very far without becoming innocuous by oxidation.

The Chairman and Superintendent of Sewers, of Holborn and Finsbury Division, asserts that the putrid matter from churchyards over thirty feet distant, has penetrated the cement and brick of his drain; and Mr. Post stated that a well was rendered useless by the formation of a new burying ground above him.[5]

The processes of life are processes of strategy against burning. Burning by the air is constantly going on in the living body, and only by the power of assimilation is the burnt district repaired. The sensations of hunger and thirst are our district fire-alarms, and our dinner is the architect that rebuilds.

Replacement or rotation in office is the law of life, while after death the unrepaired machine gradually wastes away. In both

[5]In this connection it is curious to note, that persons have assured me that the pump water from the centre of Laurel Hill is as pure as ordinary pump water. This, if true, is a remarkable fact, even though the ground is such as to carry off the most offensive part of the subsoil water to the Schuylkill, and bands of gneiss isolate certain parts of the cemetery from adjoining parts.

cases products destructive to animal life are given off, and must be placed where they can work no injury to man; and it will be interesting to note how the products from the living are disposed of; both because, as we shall see, they form much the more important problem to society, and because no sentiment has hitherto interfered with experimentation having for its object to render them useful rather than baleful.

In the very interesting series of reports by Dr. Letheby on the sewage question[6] a full description is given of the sewage farms in England. Thus, at the Aldershot farm, consisting of 112 acres, the sewage amounts to 200,000 gallons per diem from a population of 10,000 soldiers. This was strained through perforated wooden filters and distributed over the land. The ground everywhere sodden and stinking, the rye grass dying out. The Banbury farm, 300,000 gallons from 11,000 people, and in the same state. Warwick farm, 600,000 gallons from 11,000 people, and in same condition. Rugby 230,000 gallons, from 9,000 people, condition the same. Worthing, 1,320,000 gallons from 7,500 people, condition but little better. Carlisle, 850,000 gallons from 31,000 people. Mixed with calcic carbolate. Not so offensive. Broydon, 5,000,000 gallons from 50,000 people. Very offensive. Typhoid fever was common in the houses about the farm. Craigentinny meadows, near Edinburgh. Most filthy and offensive plots of cultivated ground in Great Britain.

The conclusions arrived at by Dr. Letheby, after a very large number of analyses and a very patient investigation of the subject, is that the sewage as discharged from the large cities and small towns is either injurious to vegetable and human life, or if beneficial to the former in rare cases, but little more so than common water. That to prevent the evil influence on the health of communities, not only mechanical, but chemical processes must be resorted to, and that the great cause for this state of affairs is the foolish waste of water, to the average amount of 30 gallons per day for each individual, to dilute the waste products. Dry, absorbent earth seems to furnish the readiest means of preventing putrefaction and preserving these products for manure. Another point which his labors, and also those of others, established, is

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[6] London: Baillère, Tindall & Cox. 1872.

that to be thoroughly utilized these substances cannot be suffered to remain long unemployed.

Pettinkofer, the great German authority on the pollution of waters and the influence of the subsoil water on the health of Munich, reached the remarkable conclusion that the mortality from typhus was inversely as the height of the water in the ground; which shows that organic remains, not of human origin, exercise a most potent influence on the lives of communities of people.

What bearing these facts have upon the subject of these remarks is evident when we consider that the difference between excretion and dissolution is the difference between the consecutive escape and decomposition of parts of our structure, and the simultaneous disintegration and decay of the whole body. We are bound to provide for this in such a way as to avoid even the danger of injurious consequences, and this we may do either by keeping the products away from us, or setting them free under circumstances which will render them harmless.

By burial we do not immediately, and probably never in the most desirable way, restore to the earth the material we have taken from her, as was the opinion of Thales; or if we did, it is hardly to be denied that it is just as wise to restore these elements to the atmosphere whence they are taken by our intermediators with the earth—the plants. There are three ways of accomplishing the purpose of disposing of the dead with care to avoid injury to the living. One is burial under proper restrictions, one is decomposition by chemical agents,[7] and the last is by burning. The second of these may be dismissed as at once revolting and impracticable, and we are left to consider the advantages of burial and burning. If we rigidly adhere to the plan of choosing that method which first shall be safest, second shall prevent all horrible and ghastly scenes and the desecration of the dead, third which shall restore to nature most expeditiously the little store of her materials held in trust for a few years, we must unhesitatingly give the preference to burning. Here nothing is left to chance —not even resuscitation. There are no horrid exhumations and mangling of remains; no poisoning of wells; no generation of low fevers, and disgusting insects. The body, if not, the soul, flies heavenward and leaves a trifling residue of white bone earth be-

[7]The usage of the Fresendajians was to place the body in a vase of aquafortis.

hind. But it is objected to cremation that it offends the religious sense of the community. The remarks of the Bishop of Manchester on this point during a recent consecration of new ground taken for a cemetery in England, are the fittest reply to this objection for Christians.[8]

[*From the Evening Bulletin, April* 13, 1874.]

OPINION OF AN ENGLISH BISHOP.

"On March the 22d, the Bishop of Manchester consecrated the additional land which has been taken for a burial-ground in connection with the Church of St. Peter's, Halliwell, Bolton and in the course of his sermon he referred to the present practice of disposing of human bodies. The bishop said it had been proposed by an eminent London physician that, instead of burying our bodies in the ground—a practice which was said to entail sanitary mischief and a great loss of valuable land—we should burn dead bodies; and it was now a question of the cremation of bodies instead of their interment. He felt a sort of shudder at the idea of burning the dead, and yet the time might come when the idea would have become familiar to their minds, and in a hundred years or so it might, perhaps, become the custom for bodies to be burnt. People who had believed in immortality had in previous times burnt the bodies of their dead. The ancient Romans believed in immortality, and yet they believed in burning the bodies of their dead. Cremation was certainly quite as decent as the practice of interment, for anything he saw, and urns containing the ashes of the dead were more picturesque than coffins. He simply, however, referred to the subject because he wished his hearers to dissociate the resurrection from physical conditions. Could they suppose that it would be more impossible for God to raise up a body at the resurrection, if needs be, out of elementary particles which had been liberated by the burning; than it would be to raise up a body from dust, and from the elements of bodies which had passed into the structure of worms? The omnipotence of God is not limited, and He would raise the dead whether He had to raise our bodies out of church-yards, or whether He had to call our remains, like the remains of some ancient Romans, out of an urn in which they were deposited 2,000 years ago. In the course of his sermon the Bishop also alluded to the words used in the Church of England burial service, to the effect that the dead were committed to dust "in sure and certain hope of the resurrection to eternal life." He said some people thought from that, that the Church believed that with regard to every one committed to the ground they entertained a sure and certain hope of their resurrection to eternal life. That expression, however, merely meant that they performed that act in the full belief of the doctrine of the resurrection. Whether a man would rise again to the resurrection of salvation or damnation must depend on God's inexorable moral law."

The instinctive dread with which we regard the consignment

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[8]Some Jews of Berlin are seeking to adopt the practice.

to the flames of that which we have ever regarded with the tenderest affection, is the same as that we would feel if the surgeon's knife were about to lacerate the body of one we loved, in order to save him or her from worse suffering. Yet there are persons who have the moral fortitude under such circumstances to assist at such an operation. In the case of death, we long to keep even the empty casket in which the soul we once called by name was lodged, but alas! no means yet discovered, nay! not even the transformation of the body into marble, could supply this longing. The change of expression, the flash of the eye, the smile—all are gone. The master is gone. This is only the house in which he dwelt, now fallen to ruin. Better it were removed out of sight, than by its mere mockery of resemblance suggest to us all that is most unnatural and least consecrated by memories of the past.

And if removed out of sight, whence?

Do we say that the surrender of the mould which we cannot keep is best made by allowing it to rot little by little, to undergo changes which we can suffer to proceed only because most of us cannot imagine them?

Can even the mere trifling hints which I have been unable to prevent dropping this evening, as to what takes place in the coffin, fail to impress upon you a loathsome picture compared with which any active regret is pleasure?

What is the pain of parting once and forever from a possession which is irrecoverably slipping away, to the thought that in a few weeks it will become an indistinguishable mass of corruption, a poison and an object of horror?

Besides, it is a curious historical fact that not only did those particular nations who were most persuaded of the future existence, and who most religiously adored the remains of their ancestors, practice cremation, but they did so precisely on the sentimental ground which it is now asserted stands in the way of its adoption. They did so first, that they might retain near them the slight, unalterable residue of a form once loved; and second lest a future generation that knew it not, or some rude hand, might profane its last resting place.

Far better grounded are the economical and social objections to cremation. And first we are led to inquire how the burning shall be performed.

We may dismiss the old fashioned pyre as both too expensive and troublesome, besides mingling foreign matter with the ashes we wish to preserve. There would probably be as many different kinds of cremation as there are now of burial. Signor Brunetti has experimented in Italy, and the results of his experiments were exhibited at the Vienna Exhibition, while Sir Henry Thompson tell us that, with the aid of the Siemens furnace, a most complete and satisfactory incineration can be accomplished in thirty minutes.

Probably if the practice were to become general, reverberatory funeral altars would be erected in convenient places for the people, wherever the death-rate would justify the outlay; for if the poor are to enjoy the privilege of participating, the furnaces must be so liberally patronized that the fires may be kept constantly burning. One economical plan of procuring heat will be to associate a cremation furnace with the large iron furnaces, etc., and use their waste heat; but for the present fuel is cheap enough to keep the cremation furnaces apart, even should the whole population catch the infection and clamor to be burned.

In this connection it seems proper to invite notice to the fact that after all, on economical considerations alone, cremation is but a temporary expedient; for the very increase of population will render fuel more scarce, and the time must finally come—and that too simultaneously with the most pressing necessity for thus disposing of the dead—when this method of dealing with the problem must be substituted by another. It is true, that look to the future as we please, we always may prophesy such an ending to our plans, but lest any one should think that the amount of heat necessary to destroy one average human body is trifling, I will anticipate a more detailed statement by remarking that the amount of heat necessary to decompose and raise the constituents of the body of a delicate woman as gases to a temperature just high enough to dissipate them, would, if applied to mechanical work without loss, raise more than 6¾ tons of matter one mile high.

Brunetti's estimate of the time and fuel necessary to burn one body, is 150 lbs. of dry wood and 3½ hours of time, at an expense of 1 florin, 20kr. (56c. gold).

Sir H. Thompson thinks it can be done in half an hour, but does not specify the cost.

The items of a funeral which would be absent if this system were adopted, are the cost and taxes of a place of burial. All other things would remain, though the coffin would not be of such expensive materials.

Sir Henry estimated the average cost of a funeral, as at present conducted, at £10, and the annual number in London (whose population was 3,254,260 in 1871) at 80,430. "Here are £800,-000 annually paid without return," he adds, "besides the waste of 206,820 lbs. of ashes and valuable bone earth, and of other solid and gaseous matter, which would otherwise feed the plants, of 5,584,000 lbs. rendered unavailable for fifty or one hundred years." The weight of these statements is not quite clear, for though there would be no labor of grave-digging to pay for, and no tax to a beneficial society, nor interest on money invested in a lot to lose, Sir Henry must have included in his list of expenses of an average cremation, the ordinary costs of the funeral up to the moment when the coffin is about to be deposited in the earth; and it is highly probable that the erection of monuments would be quite as general with cremation as it is now. As to the loss of which he speaks, England is certainly old enough not to feel the need of the valuable products which are denied her for fifty or one hundred years, having her regularly maturing dividends of phosphates from the deposits of her last century of citizens coming in as rapidly as her income of fertilizers purchased from the Pacific Islands.

The Siemens furnace has been suggested as the vehicle of volatilization by Sir H. Thompson, for the reasons that inferior fuel may be employed to attain a high temperature; that the object to be heated is not brought in contact with anything but the inflamed gases; that the attainable temperature is higher, and that the gaseous products of the body can be thoroughly decomposed and burned before their escape from the chimney.

The principle of the furnace is that of a common grate-fire with the upper portion closed, so that the products of the combustion have to pass through a layer of incandescent fuel. From the gas generators the gases pass into an elbow or "cooling tube," whence they are led into a chamber, called the regenerator, filled with

fire bricks which have previously been heated to a high temperature by the escaped gases of previous combustion.

Without going into minute details, it will be sufficiently clear to every one that if a given weight of combustible gas and air before combustion can add a certain number of degrees to their temperature by the act of combustion, the hotter they are beforehand the hotter they will be afterwards. We all know too that an enormous amount of heat is wasted by escaping out of the chimney. In order to utilize this otherwise lost heat by causing it to raise the temperature of the gas and air, the products of combustion are led into one of two similar chambers in which fire bricks have been built so as to present a maximum surface to the gas, while allowing it to pass freely. When one of these chambers has been heated to its maximum by the escaping gases, the current is suddenly changed to the other, while the cold air and gas from the generator are directed at the same time through the heated chamber, but by different channels.

By this means a temperature of 3000° centigrade (= 5432 Fah.) is attainable.

A kilogram is equal to 2.2 lbs av.; 37.5 kilos (= 82.5 lbs.) coal, produce in one-half hour 221,016 calories.[9]

The human body is decomposed by heat into water, 90 per cent. more or less, 7 per cent. more or less of gaseous inflammable matter, and 3 per cent. of ash. Assuming 132 lbs. (60 kilos.) as the average weight of such a body, and assuming the temperature at which the gases leave the furnace to be 922° centigrade, (Krans.) we would require the following amount of kilo-calories for its decomposition. (A kilo-calory is the heat necessary to raise 1 kilo of water from 0° to 1°.)

Kilo. cals.

33,588 to evaporate the water 118.8 lbs. (= 54 kilos.)
1,216 to raise this steam to temp. of escaping products.
2,799 (?) to volatilize combustible gases and raise them and ash to above temperature.
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37,603 = Total kilo-cals. needed to effect decomposition.

The heat obtained by the combustion of 37.5 kilos. of coal in an average Siemens iron furnace, as stated by Krans, was

[9]Krans sur le Four à Gaz et à chaleur régénérée de M. Siemens.

Kilo-cals.		
	323,610	Total heat in kilo. cals.
	102,594	Absorbed in becoming gas.
	221,016	Remaining.
Of this	25,000	Lost by the chimney.
	27,750	Lost by walls of regulators by conduction.
	*34,200	Absorbed by the iron.
	134,066	Balancing conduction of walls of furnace.

Assuming as available for work the heat which was absorbed by the iron, this would fall short of the amount required by 3,403 kilo. cals. to obtain which it would be necessary to increase the total heat by 52,200 kilo. cals., which would give us the total heat 355,810 kilo. cals., and require 41 kilos. (=90.2 lbs.) coal. This would cost about 30 ¢ @ $7.50 ⅌ ton, and take a little over half an hour to burn.

The offensive gases could be entirely consumed by allowing rather more than enough air to burn the gas from the generator to enter the furnace, or allowing the combustion to take place in the second regenerator; but in either case the fuel would have to be increased perhaps 50 per cent., and with it the cost.

The method of performing the act would have to be modified to meet separate difficulties. The body could be placed on a movable wrought iron plate, with slightly upturned edges, and slid into its place in the middle of the hearth. The fire would be naturally moderated at first, until the first tumultuous disengagement of gas had taken place; the temperature would be then gradually and slowly allowed to rise, and the mixture of air and gas so regulated that the cone of flame would have its apex at the body. Where charred portions obstinately refused to oxidize, a fine stream of oxygen gas directed upon them would soon reduce them to whiteness. The iron or gold? or platinum? crucible could then be withdrawn, and another introduced for a second funeral.

The saving of expense by cremation is not as great as Sir H. Thompson seems to imply. Where expensive urns and monuments were required, the system would be nearly as expensive as at present, while without these there could hardly be a saving of 25 per cent. in a decently conducted funeral.

It would be unwise to base a calculation of the cost of an opertion on a theoretical consideration, or on one which has not been sufficiently tested by experience, so that it would be a justifiable

caution to assume the actual cost and time of burning each at twice the estimate given above. This would give 60 cents as the actual cost of fuel, and one hour as the duration of the incineration.

No doubt when we had acquired some experience in the matter we would do it much more rapidly; but at first, to obtain a good white ash, nearly an hour in the furnace would be a necessary allowance.

The average number of deaths in Philadelphia at this season is about 317 to 370 per week, and if all of these bodies were burned it would employ two to three furnaces like the above day and night in order to accomplish it. The expenditure of fuel per body would be 176 pounds, at 60 cents.

But even if all our citizens were willing to be burned, we could not hope that they would die with the necessary regularity to keep the furnace perpetually hot. New furnaces would be erected to provide for the periods when the deaths were most numerous, and a still greater increase would have to be made to meet the exigencies of a pestilence. All these things would add to the expense, which, nevertheless, in large communities, would be probably less than that of the present burial.

Estimating the yearly deaths in the United States at 810,000, and supposing all of the bodies to be burned in the most economical manner, the fuel would cost $1,018,935, and the number of furnaces would be 193, or little more than five for each State and Territory. But manifestly it would be impracticable to collect the subjects for dissociation with enough regularity to keep each of these 193 furnaces at work all day and night during the entire year, and of course the increased cost of transportation (in many cases several hundred miles to the State cremation furnace) would be impracticable. Five times this number of furnaces would be employed to consume half the number of citizens.

So that this scheme is now only adaptable to large cities, where it would, if generally accepted, abolish some of the barbarities attendant upon modern burials.

Another objection is one in the interests of the civil sort, viz: that crimes would be more likely to escape detection, more especially that of poisoning. For with the last gaseous exhalation from the body, the chance of detection would be forever gone.

Sir Henry Thompson answers this objection by the "tu quoque,"

inasmuch as he charges that there is too little attention now, on the part of the civil authorities, to the cause of death, and proposes a "medicin verificateur," whose duty it should be to examine into, and where necessary investigate thoroughly the circumstances attending the death. But this would do but little good in cases where no suspicious facts transpired until sometime after death. Here cremation, so far from interposing a barrier to protect the murderer, may be made the means of his certain detection, if he has used inorganic poisons; and by requiring the incandescent gaseous products of every cremated body to be examined by the government spectroscopist, science may have to boast a new application of this marvelous instrument.

But by far the most pertinent inquiry in reference to this matter is, how much of the dangerous pollution of streams and the deadly poison of putrefying matter is due to the dead?

Dr. Pettinkofer has found a very close relation between the height of the subsoil water and the increase of typhus fever in Münich. The curves of the two phenomena are so perfectly related to each other that the chances of one being the cause of the other, or both being the effects of the same cause, are as 350,000 to 1.

There are in Philadelphia over 700,000 inhabitants, weighing in the aggregate say 56,000,000 pounds. The lowest estimate which can be made of the daily waste of this weight of organic life is 1 per cent., which would give 560,000 pounds of material in an eminently fit condition to engender disease. This is swept into the Delaware by 2,800,000 gallons, or 22,400,000 pounds of water, the most of which is polluted to the extent of poisoning whole neighborhoods when exposed to it, more especially so in summer. The daily contribution of Philadelphia to the cemeteries is (on the basis of the deaths for the week ending Saturday, April 18) say 52 persons, or 6,864 pounds. The influence of the dead is to that of the sewage as 1 to 3100. The relative influence of sewage and cemeteries on the health of the community can thus be easily seen. And this difference is made still more apparent when we reflect that owing to the conditions of burial, first, the corpse is kept away from actual contact with the soil (except through gases) for a very long period, and second, it is removed from the proximity of men while still harmless; whereas

the sewage must of necessity be continually flowing all around us, and exposed to all the decomposing action of sun, warmth and animal germs.

On the other hand, it must be said, that whereas the sewage water can be made innocuous by a flow of a few miles with exposure to the air, the bodies in a burial ground increase in number much more rapidly than they can be carried away by decay, so that large quantities of this undigested food of Mother Earth collect in certain places which cannot be remote from towns, and are therefore always destined to be encroached upon by the improvements which continually are going on.

Where such towns can use catacombs in their vicinity, this may furnish relief for many ages, besides turning down a leaf for the palæontologist of the future; but the same difficulty must recur again and again, besides the possibility of poisoning the water supply of extensive districts.

To avoid these evils of burial, there are no practicable plans but those of decomposition on the surface and burning; and since we cannot give up our dead to dogs and vultures, nor strew our carcasses in the rivers, nor let them disappear under the beams of the sun, we had better burn them.

If the question arises, to what extent this sanitary measure will affect the health of the community, it must be confessed that its influence will be small if applied only to human bodies. To prevent the poisonous influence of decaying life, all animals, from locusts to elephants, should suffer cremation, for the human family forms but the minutest fraction of the animal kingdom.

A pool of water left stagnant for a few days teems with millions of creatures which, though unseen by the unaided eye, yet produce by their death and putrefaction the same results as the larger animals. Think of the fate of the horses, dogs and catss and rats, which share with us the city as a residence. No one would propose to cremate them, and yet they throw thousands, of pounds of mephitic vapors daily into the air,

Finally, do we not owe something to the ethnologists and palæontologists of the future ages? How can they trace the descent in the modification of races; study the highest fauna of the age of telegraphs; answer the grim objectors of that future day that ever pet question "where are the missing links to connect us with the

Indo-Germanic monkeys;" and how can they know in what the structure of a nineteenth century man differed from that of a bald ape, if we deliberately burn every book in their library?[10]

PERSIFOR FRAZER.

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[10]Some days after the above paper was read an article appeared in the "*Ledger*" signed "M." which though extremely courteous and tolerant in tone, is partially founded on a misconception of the idea it was my desire to convey. It commences by saying that "Professor Frazer included the Jews among the nations of antiquity who *adopted* cremation." A reference to the passage will convince the writer (whom from his allusion to this article in a subsequently published sermon I presume I may recognize as the Rev. S. Morais,) of his error in supposing this to be what I said, and with this I would willingly close a controversy in which the learned gentleman must be vastly more at home than I, were it not that Mr. Morais attributes my error to a false interpretation which *I* placed on certain passages of Scripture, mentioning "a very great burning," etc, which require traditional explanation. I would not presume to express an opinion on matters of this kind to a public audience, many of whom are better versed in the literature of the subject than I, and therefore simply say that my reason for asserting that the Jews sometimes burned the bodies of the dead, was that the authorities accessible to me asserted it.

I was not then aware that the interpretations of the passages from the Bible alluded to were so various, nor that the Jews, as a rule, denied that cremation was ever practiced among their ancient forefathers.

The arguments in support of the latter statement by Mr. Morais in the *Telegraph* of May 4, and by Rev. George Jacobs in the *Bulletin* of May 13, are virtually the same, and may be considered together. The passages suggested as being erroneously understood to refer to cremation are as follows: I Samuel xxxi. 12. "ALL THE VALIANT MEN AROSE, AND WENT ALL NIGHT, AND TOOK THE BODY OF SAUL AND THE BODIES OF HIS SONS FROM THE WALL OF BETH-SHAN, AND CAME TO JABESH AND BURNED THEM THERE."

13. AND THEY TOOK THEIR BONES AND BURIED THEM UNDER A TREE AT JABESH AND FASTED SEVEN DAYS." Dr. Kitto, ("Pictorial Bible: John Kitto, 1849.) says in a note to Jeremiah xxxiv. 5. * * * "The body of Saul was certainly burned, but there are circumstances in the case which might be said to except it from the support of a general conclusion if it stood alone, etc.

2. Chronicles xvi. 14. "AND THEY BURIED HIM IN HIS OWN SEPULCHRE WHICH HE HAD MADE FOR HIMSELF IN THE CITY OF DAVID, AND LAID HIM IN THE BED WHICH WAS FILLED WITH SWEET ODORS AND DIVERS KINDS OF SPICES PREPARED BY THE APOTHECARIES' ART AND THEY MADE A VERY GREAT BURNING FOR HIM."

Of this verse Dr. Kitto says; "It would seem that his body laid in a bed of state, was burned with vast quantities of aromatic substances, and his ashes collected with care were afterwards deposited in the sepulchre he had prepared for himself on Mt. Zion. The burning of the dead as a rite of sepulture had

originally been regarded with disfavor by the Hebrews. But a change of feeling in the matter had by this time taken place, for the practice is not on this occasion mentioned as a new thing, and had probably been sometime previously introduced. Afterwards burning was considered the most distinguished honor which could be rendered to the dead, and the omission of it in the case of royal personages a disgrace."

Again, Jeremiah xxxiv. 5. * * * "The question has been raised on the present and other texts of Scripture (as 2 Chron. xvi. 14; Amos vi. 10,) whether the body was burned or only the odors. The Talmudists are strongly for the latter alternative, apparently regarding the other as a heathen practice, which they were not willing to have supposed had ever prevailed in their nation. It, however, remains difficult to explain, Amos vi. 10, so as to mean anything but the burning of the body; and this as the most distinct text, may be taken to explain the others.

Amos vi. 10. "AND A MAN'S UNCLE SHALL TAKE HIM UP, AND HE THAT BURNETH HIM, TO BRING OUT THE BONES OUT OF THE HOUSE, AND SHALL SAY UNTO HIM THAT IS BY THE SIDES OF THE HOUSE, IS THERE YET ANY WITH THEE?" etc.

* * * "It will seem from these notes that we are disposed to contend that the custom of burning the dead was at one time in use among the Hebrews, though perhaps not commonly in use. We are willing to allow, however, that even at this time, when burning seems to have been regarded as an honorable mode of disposing of the bodies of kings, the practice was more generally resorted to when the deaths occurred in great numbers from plague, war, and other circumstances. And it appears, from the admission of the Rabbins, that fires were kept burning in the valley of Tophet to consume dead carcasses for fear of pestilence; that the *Hebrews were not ignorant that the* mephitic vapors arising from putrescent bodies were favorable to the rise and spread of pestilence," etc.

In a note from my friend, Dr. Krauth, (who is in no respect an advocate of cremation) I am told that Winer (Ueber Begraben,) Hitzig and others, think that it (Amos vi. 10) "means the burning of the corpse." So Kitto Bible Cyclopedia (Art by Cox) "the burning in such a case may have been adopted without being usual. These exceptional instances, however, show that the Jews had no superstitious reverence for the bodies of the dead, as had the Egyptians!" It is also held by Jerome, Clavius, Drusius, Polus, Grotius, Lowth, Adam Clarke, and, in fact, the best, expositors almost en masse."

I hope that in the shadow of such names the indulgent reader may find my justification for a remark which was never intended to provoke a discussion.

P. F., Jr.

CAN YOU ACCOUNT FOR IT?[1]

It was in the year 18—, when I was a much younger man than I am now, that something happened to me, which I have never been able to explain. I was a member of the Irish constabulary force on duty at Dublin, and was detailed with three others for a special piece of duty in a little place not far from that city. I was the youngest of the three, two of whom bore on their arms the stripes that marked the fact that by long experience and good service they had risen from the ranks to the position of officers in the force. The Irish constabulary, as perhaps you know, is a national, not a local organization. It is recruited from every county in the kingdom, and its members are never put on duty in the neighborhood that they come from. Their pay is pretty fair, not large; their drill is as severe as that of soldiers; but by a system of promotion as a reward for good service, the men are kept up well to the mark. They do their duty without fear or favor, and are not surpassed in efficiency by any like body in the world. Not that the field is a worse one than other countries; the Irish at home are singularly free from crimes of violence; the instances of what is called agrarian outrage excite a very great deal of attention but are not numerous. The party fights were the worst things that we had to manage, and I never knew a constable that was not both earnest and impartial in putting them down, to whichever party he himself belonged when off duty.

The two lieutenants in our party were one an Orangeman from the north, and the other—his junior—a Catholic from the south-west. Only the former knew what was the reason why we were directed to repair to a house on the outskirts of the village of —, and take and keep it in possession until farther orders. Not to make a long story of it, I will tell you what he knew, that you may understand what happened to us.

The house was on the grounds of a man of considerable property —was, in fact, so situated as to form a sort of gate-house to his

[1] The facts in this narrative, in no way more strange or improbable than those of many other fully substantiated stories, are simply true. The narrator is a person of the most unquestioned veracity, and a man whose mental character is such as to leave him open to no charge of romancing.

demesne. He bore an "unsonsy" reputation among his neighbors, who called him Wizard Wilson. (That was not his name, but it will do for it.) No servant could be got to stay on his place, beyond the term to which their contract bound them, and the queerest stories were told of sights and sounds that were witnessed under his roof, and even in the open air on his estate. Men hardly cared to speak of him; his very presence was shunned as one that had "the evil eye," and could blight man or beast, harvest or market, with his black scowl. The house we were to occupy was held in lease by a family of quite respectable people, whom any landlord might have liked for tenants; but Mr. Wilson had taken a notion to be rid of them. As they stood upon their rights, and refused to leave until the expiration of their lease, there was no ordinary way to be rid of them. Any other man would have let the matter rest, or tried to harass them by legal proceedings, if he could have found any pretence for it, and were rascally enough to adopt that way. But Mr. Wilson—according to their story—had other resources at his command, and had no scruple about using them. The whole family—the man, his wife, a servant woman and several children—were put out of that house by an unseen but irresistible agency, on a winter evening between supper and bed time. They saw nothing, they heard nothing, they felt nothing; but out they had to go, and out they went.

The father of the family went before the nearest magistrate, and stated the case to him. At first it was received with simple incredulity and good-humored ridicule; but as the story came out, bit by bit, the magistrate's curiosity was aroused. He put himself in communication with the police headquarters in Dublin, and obtained the detail of a number of police to proceed to the place and see what was to be seen. The oldest lieutenant of our party was chosen to command, and was put in possession of the facts. He was directed to choose three others to go with him; but to give them no specific information about the object of the expedition. His choice fell upon a younger lieutenant, and two of the rank and file, of whom I was one.

It was pretty dark when we reached the village of ——; our winter nights begin in Ireland between three and four o'clock. We had something to eat, but nothing to drink—that being against the rules for men on duty—and then we set out for the mysterious

house. As we had the keys, there was no difficulty about getting admission. None of the furniture of the former occupants being as yet removed, we made ourselves comfortable in the large kitchen. We got a turf fire going and lighted a tallow candle that we found in a tall candlestick—one of those that are used in the old country kitchens, an upright of wood four feet high, with an iron socket on top.

Of three of our number I can safely say that we sat expecting nothing, and giving ourselves up to the events and the surroundings of the moment, without a care for what was to come. I myself, indeed, was far away in the North. There was much about the build and the style of the kitchen—its shape, its stone hearth, its back stone and its wide old-fashioned chimney stretching out over the hearth—that reminded of one near Rathfriland that I well remembered; it needed no great stretch of imagination to fancy my father on one side the fire and my mother on the other, occupying the arm-chairs of straw—we call them *bosses*—that our lieutenants filled. In the inner sill of the deep window lay a Bible and a Psalm-book, that added to the vividness of my recollections, and my thoughts went wandering to my old home in Ulster, and the kitchen by whose hearthstone I had passed many happy hours.

To tell you the truth, I was a bit homesick. But I was not too much distracted by old memories to give some heed to the conversation of my comrades. Our lieutenants took of course the lion's share; and the elder of the two, the only one of us that knew why we were there, was especially talkative. He told a story well, and he had many to tell. Names of great ruffians and rapparees of the Redmond O'Hanlon style, that lingered in the Force as traditions of the past, were to him familiar. With some he himself had had dealings; he had known and looked up to the daring representatives of civil order that had captured others. He knew stories both sad and bitter of "the '98," and had been an actor in some of them. His tongue ran freely upon the past, and every now and then I was aroused to the keenest interest, as he narrated with professional pride the detective skill and the dauntless courage displayed by members of the Force in bringing malefactors to justice. It is but fair to say, in view of what followed, that the tone of these stories was in no sense depressing; very far from

it. Filled as we were with the *esprit de corps* of the constabulary, they sounded in our ears as do old songs about battle and victory in the ears of a young and zealous recruit.

About eight o'clock, or may be a little after it, there was a pause in the conversation, and all at once I became conscious of a curious feeling creeping over me. I may call it a sense of horror, and yet it was not that exactly. It arose from nothing that had been said, nothing that any of us had either seen or heard. The fire was burning brightly as usual, the second lieutenant had but turned the last lot of "roughheads" a few minutes before, and still held the iron tongs in his hands. There were several inches of candle in the candlestick. Yet I could not keep back the *eeriest* feeling that ever came over me in my life; I felt all my flesh in a creep, and I involuntarily glanced around me at my companions. The other junior's face was as white as a sheet, while the lieutenants looked annoyed and puzzled, rather than horrified. It was evident from their attitude that their attention, like my own, was drawn by nothing without them. The horror deepened upon me till it became unendurable; it seemed to overmaster each of us, and to make us conscious that we were all in common under its influence. In less time than it takes to tell it, we were by some invisible and utterly impalpable power taken possession of, and thrust out of that house as its previous tenants had been. The kitchen opened upon a little porch, through which we found ourselves driven into the open air, and we were for a few minutes under the stars before the horror—as I may call it—left us. Remember, we had not tasted liquor; we were wide awake and in our senses; two of us were experienced constables that had taken their lives in their hands again and again; one at least had the reputation of fearing neither man nor devil. We expected nothing and feared nothing; we heard no sound and saw no sight; and yet out of that house we were put as absolutely as if some one had taken us by the shoulders and by main force thrust us out.

When we had time to think about it, the ridiculous side of the case came home to the senior constables very forcibly. What would be said in the Force if it were known that lieutenants —— and —— were afraid of ghosts? They were in real distress about it, and the magistrate to whom they made deposition took pity on them; he carefully kept the story to himself and insisted that

the chief of police in Dublin must do the same. Whatever opinion the neighbors may have formed when it was known that we were no longer in possession, I have every reason to believe that nothing was known to any body outside the six persons I have named, unless it was Wizard Wilson himself. As the lieutenants are dead by this time, and the story will do no harm to any one, I have no objection to telling you. You may believe it or not, but it is as true as that I am here and alive to-day.

"I believe you most fully, Mr. Richards. I am aware that stranger things than that have been authenticated by testimony that only fools would call in question."

Well, sir, can you account for it?

"Perhaps not. One possible explanation is the physical one. Some kinds of soil give out mephitic exhalations that have the effect of producing horror in those who inhale them, and thus driving them away. Could you say from what you knew of the place that the house and Mr. Wilson's own house were not situated upon soil of that sort?"

I can only tell you how it was situated, sir. It stood a little aside from the high road, where the latter was going up a hill. The village lay farther down the hill, and extended to its foot, where a little stream had been dammed into a mill-race. The avenue that ran past the house we occupied, and led to Mr. Wilson's house, came out again to the road on the other side of his grounds, after running something less than half way round the hill. His house was situated below the road, and had a very decided fall to the rear. It would have been a very windy place for a house, were it not that the hill sheltered it on the east, and the other sides were shaded by very old and large oak trees. The whole place was most likely well drained, and at any rate it was about the last place that I would have expected to be troubled with malaria.

"Another possible explanation is the psychological one. Man's mind, like his body, may be called a cluster of powers that are meant to work in harmony and balance each other. But you know that in some a single part of the body is developed out of proportion to the rest. A tailor's legs are not good for much; a postman's arms are not much better. The muscles of the hand are capable of the same one-sided development. A news-boy will

fold five newspapers while a clerk will fold one, but it will take him months and years to learn to hold and use a pen as the book-keeper does. You see this best in professional acrobats, like those Japanese who were here a few years ago. Your wonder at their antics was chiefly excited by sympathy. You put yourself in their places, and realized how impossible those things were to you. They could do all that, but they could do nothing else. Set them at a game of base-ball, and my old school-fellow, Dick McBride, would soon bring them to grief. Dick's skill has been the fruit of years of training. Long before base-ball was invented, he justly prided himself in his amazing suppleness and readiness of the muscles employed in jumping, running and catching. They were as hard as a bunch of wires, and he minded no amount of pounding. But his writing, which depended on muscular agility of quite another sort, was fair, but not above par.

"Perhaps the best instance of what I mean is seen in the contrast between the right and the left hands. At the start they are exactly equal in capacity; up to a certain point it is a matter of choice which shall take the lead, and about one child in three has to be put under discipline to prevent their being left-handed. With every growth in the special power of the muscles of the right hand and arm, the choice between the two departs from us. The neglected member becomes utterly incapable of a thousand services that the other performs with ease. But the hand is not the only part thus specially developed at the expense of another that seems to have equal rights and capacities. The human body is commonly supposed to be symmetrical; but if it were to be exactly divided at the spinal marrow the right side would be found to be perceptibly weightier than the left. The right cheek is fuller than the left; the right arm and the right leg are longer and stronger; the right muscles are more complete in their development. Hence it is that persons who lose their way in the woods or by night, walk round in a course that approximates to a circle, in spite of their determination to go on in a straight line. The right side outwalks the left, and thus swerves the line of motion into a curve.

"Something like this phenomenon of special and partial development seems to be equally true of the mind. As in the case of the body, it is inconsistent with the most perfect health, which

is perfect harmony. Harmony of powers is even more necessary for the mind than for the body; any lack of it may be far more positively pronounced to be a disease—to be abnormal. Harmony is sanity; the minds in which it is lacking—that is to say, all but a very few, perhaps all but One, of the human race, are in that degree insane. The degree is generally so slight that it is not noticeable. The majority have set up a certain standard of sanity, and only those who fall below it are put in a straight waistcoat. But it is all a matter of degree.

"Where insanity exists, it therefore continually manifests itself in the abnormal development of some one faculty. If that faculty were still a noble or useful one, the patient would escape restraint, and be called a genius. If its excessive development have made it injurious or hurtful, society puts him under ward.

"In some of these unbalanced minds, the power of perception has attained an abnormal growth. The diseased person is not dependent upon the ordinary channels of knowledge. He can put himself directly *en rapport* with a mind that gives no utterance to its thoughts in signs or words. He is a *clairvoyant*, a spiritual medium, if you will. Not that there is anything more spiritual or supernatural about the gift than about the antics of the Japanese jugglers. He gives the most wonderful answers, describes dead friends, gives their names, reports their messages, and fools think he stands *en rapport* with the world of spirits. But the well ascertained facts of *clairvoyance* give us a satisfactory explanation of the whole matter.

"The medium knows nothing that was not in the mind of some person in her audience. She wrote a letter in Spanish, did she? though she knew not a word of Spanish. How did you know that it was Spanish and not gibberish? From———, who was present; he knows Spanish. Try her by this test: Ask her to tell you the first word on the hundredth page of a book, before you look at it yourself. The "spirits" ought to know; but the chances are that they can't tell. If you look at it before you ask, they will tell to a dead certainty. Exceptional perceptive power, is the key to the whole secret; and very many people possess it. A friend of mine thought he had some of it, and to test the matter, asked his business partner to select silently one of the nine digits and see if he could guess which. He succeeded in hitting

the right one repeatedly. He closed his eyes and passed all the nine before his mental vision, and if one seemed brighter than the rest or otherwise impressed him more, he chose that one. By a little cultivation he might have become a medium; but he had something better to do."

But is not even that a thing of mystery? "All knowledge is a thing of mystery: think for an instant how strange it is that by a selection of articulate sounds I can reproduce in your mind the thought that is passing through mine! Think of the miracle of the child's first understood word, in which it mastered the subtle and inexplicable relation of sound to sense. Well does Emerson say, that wise men are distinguished from fools by their wondering at what is usual rather than at what is unusual. The old scholastics used to say, *omnia exeunt in mysterium.*

"Others again have developed in unusual measure the will-power by which the mind makes itself felt in external nature. They, too, are independent of ordinary means. I can move a chair by putting my hand on it, raising from the ground, and passing it through the air. Mr. Home moves it without putting his hand on it at all. What does this show me?—that Mr. Home is an impostor, or else the special favorite and ministrant of the gods? Not at all; only this—that as in the former case I was mistaken as to the limits of the power of mental perception, so now am I mistaken as to the limits of direct volition. Ordinarily man can move an external object by means of his brain acting on his muscles, and his muscles acting on the object. But Mr. Home shows me that in an abnormal—and I believe a diseased—state of the will, its power has been so extended by a one-sided development, that it is no longer dependent upon the commonly recognized[2] means of the will's action—the muscles. When, therefore, Mrs. Mowatt tells us that in her presence in Florence, Mr. Home twined a wreath out of the leaves that lay upon a table, and caused it to float through the air and alight on the head of Mrs. E. B. Browning, there is no need to suppose that Mrs. Mowatt was duped, or made herself a party to a wilful fraud, or that Mr. Home was act-

[2] I say "commonly recognized," for it is certainly an open question whether, even in ordinary cases, our wills are limited to those means even as regards the material world. Our dogmatic conclusions to that effect are based on our ignorance.

ing under supernatural influence. And when Mr. Close tells us that the scientific investigation of Mr. Home's exploits disclosed the possession and exercise of a force not known to mechanics nor subject to their conditions, nobody need be amazed; every stroke of the pen that Mr. Close made in writing that report disclosed the action of just such a force.

"Planchette was only another instance, and like table-moving, not even a good instance. It was always open to suspicion as an unscientific test; the writing might be done by direct muscular action, and the unbelievers held that it was. If any of them had tried to write in ordinary fashion with Planchette—the only test I ever put it to—they might have changed their minds. Yet if it was not moved by the muscles, it was by the will of the operator; the little liar would give any answer you wanted. Where two had hold of it, it was sometimes bothered. It was asked, for instance, the name of some nuts on the side-board, and the answer on being analyzed was found to be an attempt to write 'hickories' and 'shellbarks' at the same time. When asked the initial of the name of a lady called Elizabeth, but known to her friends as Lizzie, the first letter was a mixture of E. with L.; the others were distinct and perfect. Experiment showed, naturally enough, that Planchette would do nothing under the hands of those who had not learned to write without her.

"The thing is 'mysterious,' but not a whit more mysterious than the action of the will by which I move my finger; only more unusual, which is a very different thing. The difficulty is a mechanical one in both cases; and as great, though not so visible, in the one case as in the other. Suppose I raise a five-pound weight by the action of my arm. That the muscle, should be sufficient for the act, is not inexplicable. But there is no spontaneous hidden force in the muscles; they are only means, and acted under the impulse of a sufficient force behind them. You may trace, scientific men do trace, that force back to the brain, a soft, spongy mass of a few ounces in weight, and possessed of rather less mechanical capacity than a large-sized sponge. Did it lift the weight? Or, to put the problem in other terms: on a purely mechanical theory of that lift, that weight is hung upon a chain whose lower links are quite sufficient to sustain it, but whose uppermost *visible* link is a hair. Yet the hair does not break. This state-

ment is but one way of putting an insoluble problem, that may be stated in a thousand ways—how does mind act on matter? It certainly does produce mechanical effects through agents that are mechanically insufficient, and so hint to us that a mightier actor stands behind them, perfecting its strength in their weakness."

But an apparently insufficient force may produce a sufficient effect in cases where no such mysterious agent can be inferred as the moving power. I cannot move the railroad train with the best will in the world; but a slight pressure of my hand on the throttle-valve starts it.

"Your analogy will pass, if you make such suppositions in regard to brain and muscle as will make the parallel a complete one. Your action at the throttle-valve is simply the removal of an obstruction to the action of a vast force which is itself ready to come into play, and which is sufficient to move the train. By an ingenious mechanical arrangement that obstruction cannot be removed by pressure in the only direction in which the force can act; but can be, by a very slight pressure in another direction. Are you prepared to suppose that a vast power lies dormant in the muscles, which only the brain can set free to act? If you are, the supposition has the merit of originality; but your new force is as much a mystery as the old one. Indeed, as Berkeley well says, the physicist is met at every step by difficulties as great as those of the theologian; 'force is as incomprehensible as grace.'

"But I pass to a third case, in which the abnormal and excessive development is again that of the will, though in a different direction. There are people—fewer I believe in modern times than formerly—who possess a power analogous to that exercised by the snake in fascinating birds till they flutter into its very jaws, unresisting victims of its ruthless will. In its most innocent form this is seen in the phenomena of mesmerism; where, after the production of a trance state, the subject is made passive to the thoughts and wishes of the operator. But even among mesmerizers there are very different degrees of power. One may say that as chemical substances are now arranged in one long list, in which every substance is electrically negative to all above it and electrically positive to all below it, so wills might be tabulated in the order of relatively stronger or weaker. In such a table every will would be able to magnetize all below it and none above it; hence the failures and successes of the ordinary operator.

"A friend of mine sometimes tries experiments with his competitors at an innocent game of cards, by willing with all his might that they shall play this card and not that. With some he succeeds every time; with others never. Who can tell how much of the rascally success of the professional gambler is explained by this innocent trick. A more amusing case occurred some years ago in Boston. A famous spiritual medium was speaking in a public hall as the mouth-piece of "the spirits;" a few young men who had no faith in spiritualism, and knew something of mesmerism, had secured seats very close to the platform. At a preconcerted signal, they unitedly willed to stop her. Whatever the spirit that was speaking by her, whether Burns was spouting doggerel, or Wordsworth vulgarity, or Bacon twaddle, or Tom Paine maudlin piety—that spirit stopped on the instant. A number of the most eminent believers at once gathered around the medium, and either unwittingly or of set purpose destroyed the hostile influence, and the spirit resumed its utterances.

"In such a table as I have suggested, most of us would be found below the middle of the column, neither very positive nor very negative. As years went on, we would be found either sinking or rising in the list, according as we broke or held to our resolves, fell away from or struggled up to our ideals. Some few mortals would be away at the top. Conceive for yourself what would be their type of character and the practical effects of their gifts. We can, indeed, conceive the utmost strength of will as associated with with the highest sanity—as, indeed, essential to it. But suppose that it exists to the exclusion or the undue subordination of other qualities of mind and heart, and that its author has been soured and disappointed by his intercourse with his fellow-men, his discovery that only by psychical violence can he bend them to his wishes, and you have a new type of madman. Put him at the head of a tribe of barbarians, and he will be a Djengis Khan; place him in a half-civilized, superstitious community, and it will be well if he escape the stake as a wizard; transfer him to a community in which persecution has ceased and superstition has not died out, and you have a Wizard Wilson.

"I have used the phrase *psychical violence*—that, it seems to me, was the sort of agency by which that farm kitchen was rid of its occupants on two occasions. That sort of violence is not any the

less an offence against the freedom of the will than are the sorts that the law of assault and battery takes cognizance of; rather, is is far more of an offence—far more an outrage upon man's moral freedom. Herein seems to me the great difference between the crude theories of grace that are found in some theologians, and the Bible statements on the same subjects. When God created the will of man, He circumscribed a sphere within His own universe, that He bound Himself not to enter directly and as constraining Master. Hence all His operations upon man's will are represented as closely associated with the recognition of man's moral freedom. They whom He leads are "a willing people in the day of His power." Even the divine inspiration is not a breath blown through a passive instrument, a word written by a human pen. It is a divine education that connects itself with the whole moral life of its recipient, and is "conditioned" and modified by all his strivings, aspirations and modes of thought. You cannot read intelligently the book of Jeremiah—the Tennyson of the prophets—without seeing this, that the prophet is not less, but more of a man, a freeman—more individual, yea more Jeremiah—because God is speaking to him. All his gifts and personal peculiarities are intensified and individualized, if they are also exalted and consecrated, by the prophetic vocation and training.

"The idea of inspiration was as familiar to the Greeks as to the Jews. It was even more fundamental to their religious faith. Their idea and experience of it is given us in many places, especially in the Platonic dialogue called *Ion.* The contrast is the greatest possible. The only parallel to Greek inspiration is in the demoniac possession of the New Testament. The inspired Greek was a maniac, if not a demoniac. He became the passive subject of a power outside himself, which suspended the exercise of his faculties, and made him the mere sounding-pipe of its own utterance. His personality, freedom and individuality were for the time swallowed up and destroyed. The difference here is not one of race either, for the inspired Arab is just as the inspired Greek was. The Dervish reproduces the Rhapsodist and the Orgist. And yet we cannot throw stones at either. Our popular forms of Christianity, after first getting rid of the old Hebrew education of inspiration, and declaring that to have ceased with the close of the Canon, reproduces in every period of religious excitement, and

prizes as manifestations of Divine power, the very phenomena of the Greek Rhapsodist, the Mohammedan Dervish and the New Testament Demoniac." JOHN DYER.

FORTY-NINTH ANNUAL EXHIBITION OF THE NATIONAL ACADEMY OF DESIGN.

IN view of the exceptional interest taken in this year's Academy by the public and press, it may amuse you likewise to hear a brief review of the most prominent pictures therein exposed. Seven notices have appeared in the *Tribune*, each of unusual length, and at least one indignant letter has assailed Mr. Clarence Cook, the *Tribune* critic, for his harsh treatment of worthy artists. The one referred to denounces his attack on Guy's picture of the Vanderbilt family, "Going to the Opera," (No. 207, East Room,) and applauds the painter in forcible if somewhat incoherent terms.

Against Mr. Cook a case might be made out; not, however, on the score of harshness, but because he does not praise when praise is due. His method is to say something really very clever, and biting, and then qualify. Generous recognition of good points is certainly what he chiefly lacks. Mr. Vanderbilt, with watch in hand, he has wittily likened to a man boiling eggs; this has set the writer's teeth on edge, and he falls upon him with more warmth than discretion. The truth is, that the painting is hack-work of the most wearisome variety, and unworthy of the clever fireworks set off in its honor.

But there is many a balm for the natural irritation caused by Mr. Guy and, let it be said, by Mr. Beard in his most objectionable monkey-picture, No. 316, "Old Time Club Life," South Room. Close alongside of Guy's Philistia, hangs "Sunday Morning," by Winslow Homer, a very human young girl, with sturdy feet, lying in a hammock. She is alone among the leaves, has no adornment on her calico dress, and is luxuriating in a novel! Girl, hammock, leaves—that is all, but it provides that enough, which the proverb has dubbed a feast. I notice that the many who examine its great neighbor of operatic aspirations look askance at this little painting. "Why does Mr. Homer paint such queer leaves," they seem to ask.

We might imagine Mr. Homer to answer something after this fashion: "Fix your eyes upon the person in a hammock; let the sun strike through the boughs like that, and what would you see of the leaves? A blur, wouldn't you! *Now, I don't want you to look at each leaf, but at the girl!*" The picture has a charming tone of New England practicality and New England sentiment-in-restraint.

Cross the room and look at C. C. Coleman's "Roman Street," No. 232. Here we have a man who has had European advantages, and indeed he does compel one to stop and admire—his handiwork. There is some suggestiveness in the upper line of city, but what be these figures posturing along the wall? Verily, these be well-known *models* in the Eternal City, who thoroughly appreciate their own talents and are posing in the most business-like manner. They say to you: "Yes, we are models—see how well we stand. When you come to Rome be sure you engage us." And yet the painting is admirable, and we should not grudge the lack of sentiment. Eugene Benson handles a skillful brush in "Strayed Revelers," a subject too ambitious for the power shown. Maskers have wandered to the door of a dissecting room and are variously moved by the spectacle, which in the rendering is rather ludicrous than ghastly.

No. 222, "White Heron," a panel by Fanny E. Gifford, is not only well painted, but shows the right feeling for nature. The salt-marsh behind the strange, slim bird is thoroughly good. R. Swain Gifford has satisfactory work as usual in No. 236, "Halt in Egypt."

Because of size, the South Room is given over to those giants in art who measure grandeur by the square yard. "Lost sheep in Snow-storm," by A. Schenck, has greater merit than other of the leviathans, but there seems no reason why it should not be one-quarter of its size, and gain by the shrinkage. Among the unworthy here are No. 287, "Landscape," by Bierstadt, and No. 298, "Venus," by E. Wood Perry. The latter is a full nude, lying on the surface of a —— what? A glassy sea? A lake of clear ice? If of ice, why does not her own weight flatten out her thighs a little? Or, if of water, and she be truly "foam-born," light as foam if you will, still she would sink a little into that sea which the small fish are powerless to make real. The baffled mind retires

with a general impression of having seen a woman of colored wood lying on a mirror. But the effort is the true one. The nude morally painted is what our artists should cultivate. Mr. Perry's is almost too moral.

In the way of animals, G. B. Butler (283), and A. H. Thayer (290), have dogs carefully rendered and well worth inspection. Julian Scott shows one of his vigorous but ungraceful cavalry charges of the late war (270) in which horses are given at their ugliest. Thayer has also a study of cows in the corridor.

Mr. Page exhibits one of his admirable portraits of Colonel Robert Shaw, of Fort Wagner memory, and a large picture of Shakspeare, which illustrates the artist's theory of the Darmstadt mask, scar and all. Boughton has in this room (No. 272) "The Confidants," perhaps the most thoroughly harmonious picture in he collection. Down a broad cart-track in a fallow grass-field come two most graceful and charming girl-figures, deep in talk. A farm-house and glimpse of water in distance; to the left a few slim silver birches, loveliest of trees; all radiant with the tenderest of healthy sentiment. It is fair to say that all eyes do not look the same upon this view. One critic has spoken of an impression of cold greyness, of chill. It is a repetition of the criticism applied to music; each one thinks as it happens to strike his mood. Another of Boughton's paintings in the north room, "Miles Standish and his Men," is certainly open to the charge. It is not highwater mark by a great space for one of Mr. Boughton's talent. All the faces are expressionless, and would be dull if they were not meditative—scholarly. The Indian guide is not an Indian. He is a lank Puritan in war-paint.

But to return to the South Room. Mr. Bridgeman has sent us a study from southern Germany: an ox-cart with driver and peasant woman relieved in a masterly manner against the thick dust of a road. The finer shadows are especially well felt. Mr. Church regales us with a glimpse from the Arabian Nights rendered in a very youthful style and entirely oblivious to such trifles as perspective. "El Khasné Petra" is so wonderful a place that astonishment swallows up criticism of the manifest inaccuracy of the handling. J. Beaufain Irving has a "Book-worm" quite destitute of humor and in his usual rounded, over-smooth style.

In the west room Mr. Louis C. Tiffany rejoices the eye with a

"Moorish Guard, Tangiers," standing before a mighty, closed portal. This is certainly one of the best of Mr. Tiffany's works; beside the good manual work we find a dash of mystery, allusiveness, a sure sign that a painter is freeing himself from the bonds of mere imitation. An industrious and ever-improving young artist must Mr. C. H. Miller be. No. 370, "Coming thro' the rye," has fine sentiment and poetic feeling. Mr. Porter, of Boston, should also have a word. Grace and freshness atones for any timidity shown in 382, Cupid with Butterflies.

The Corridor, which has been so often a limbo to which the monsters of the less known artists, the firstlings of beginners, were consigned, belies this year its reputation. In fact, the case is reversed. This year the monsters—and it must be said, there are very few—adorn the most favored spots in the large rooms, and, curiously enough, belong to names well known. The Corridor has some charming little water colors à la Japonaise by Miss Bridges, a bough of apple blossoms in very good taste by Miss Oakey, as also a girl's head remarkably well painted by the same hand. At the head of the stairs a flower study by Miss Helena de Kay shows a fine grasp of color. The flower piece directly below and an admirable union of power and sentiment is excellent in another way, and reveals none of the hesitancy noticeable in other work of its author, Mr. Porter, of Boston.

Homer is represented in the Corridor by two very characteristic works. It is hard to say, but there is an undeniable flatness about some of Mr. Homer's painting; sometimes it looks like recklessness. No. 358, "Dad's Coming," in the West Room, is another example of great individuality and cleverness marred by what must be carelessness. But when one finds individuality, what sins will it not cover? The girl standing in an orchard, the New England school-house, are all his own and impress one with a striving after truth, like the not infrequent New Englander who qualifies and qualifies, for fear of saying something not exactly true. In No 67 we find "The Song," by Van Schaick. Seven persons are ranged along a stone bench listening to a well developed youth, whose exertions seem to have compelled an entire casting-aside of his garments. On the right a calmly ecstatic young female of great propriety in dress beats time with uplifted finger. One is surprised to see this well regulated young person

in such questionable company. Perhaps they are all calmly mad, and a keeper may be expected shortly? No, this is a serious picture, and, well-painted as it is, nothing but a grotesquely commonplace reflection of the pseudo-classic pictures of More, beloved in London!

But what is this perched out of sight above a door—A "Portrait" by John Lafarge? An Academician and up there! A man whose work has been so much admired abroad as well as at home, and relegated to the worst place? Or no, perhaps the worst place is one in the South Room, occupied by what do you suppose? Why, by a specimen of James Whistler, formerly of Baltimore, now of London, whom every one is anxious to examine. Both Lafarge and Whistler have been snubbed, deservedly snubbed, for being the superiors of the Hanging Committee, whose paintings force themselves on the sight in every room. I am informed that two of Mr. Lafarge's pictures were refused! The one exhibited is hardly a fair specimen of the man, but across the hall its strength and bold truth are plain. The Whistler is hung so high that its effect is ruined. It should be low so that the eye can travel over the strange sands, and past the Norman peasant girl thrown against a rock, to rest on the long line of sea. Then one might come to some conclusion. As it is, nothing definite can be hazarded.

There is not wanting for a certain satire in two men like Whistler and Lafarge finding themselves aloof and "far from the madding crowd." Both have felt keenly the lack of popular appreciation. The shrinking away so natural to the poetic mind is identical in the true artist, sometimes even unto dilettantéism. And for this reason it is hard to find, when such shy birds come, that practical-minded Hanging Committees with an eye to other interests have frightened them away.

There are many paintings in this Exhibition which space alone forbids me praising; there are comparatively few below mediocrity. None are of a lofty flight, but the greater number are such that one wishes to come again. H. E.

New York, May 8, 1874.

PUBLIC BATHS FOR CITIES.

"Cleanliness is next to Godliness."

THE adage set at the head of this article expresses in a stiff, Puritanical way, the common desire for purification by water, which in countries possessing an advanced civilization—particularly those of warm climate—has for many ages found vent in arrangements, more or less complete, elaborate and luxurious, for bathing.

While men dwell apart, no doubt the running stream, the lake, or the sea, affords ample scope for the gratification of this universal appetite, (and that it is universal no one need wonder who holds with those development theorists that insist upon man's descent from a marine Ascidian), but when they crowd into cities and are hampered by fixed hours of occupation, by distance from the water side, by considerations of decency, and other limitations, what is to be done? At first, doubtless, bathing becomes impossible to the great majority, and only after many apparently more pressing wants are satisfied does its necessity so force itself upon public attention as to result in adequate measures for bringing it within the reach of the public.

But before civilization lapses into luxury the art of bathing becomes established, and therewith the needful means and appliances.

The judgments of different individuals would of course vary as to the exact relative values of the various institutions set up by a growing community, and the consequent order of time in which they should be provided. Not only would some men call first for jails and hangmen, while others would prefer schools and teachers; but here, in Philadelphia, some would demand a huge pile of granite and marble to break the continuity of our principal streets, and to give absurdly pompous office room to a swarm of half-idle tax gatherers and the like, while only a few would timidly ask whether something could not be done to afford to sweating citizens the sanative luxury of swimming baths.

For my part, remembering with what keen satisfaction I acquired in boyhood the new faculty of confident swimming in deep water,

and with what endless refreshment and gratification I have exercised this faculty in all practicable places from Lake Surperior to the Danube, and from March to December, I adhere to the above named timid minority. It would be more advantageous to the community to spend half a million in public baths, where thousands of young men could have recreation at once invigorating, cleansing and civilizing, inspiring content and order, and free from the trail of the serpent that defiles not only the grog shops, but also the low theatres and trashy novels, than to spend ten millions for a great house to be inhabited by a petty aristocracy of office holders and to be a standing monument of discontent and apprehension.

But though certain of our rulers, caring nought for baths, have ordained a huge Temple of Taxation, it is doubtless still practicable to set up bathing places, some perhaps free to the public, but others such as could be established by private effort, and suitable for persons of small means whose moderate payments would make those places self-sustaining.

The upper classes will take care of themselves; the vicious may be left for the present to that dreadful sentence, "He that is filthy, let him be filthy still;" the sound and well disposed mechanics and working people who are themselves, or by their children, to recruit the ranks of one or the other of those classes are those for whom baths are most needed, and whose wants can only be met either by absolutely free baths or by those of very moderate cost.

When in Europe for two months last summer I took every opportunity that rapid traveling and pressure of occupation permitted to visit the public baths of various cities and towns. These were necessarily but a small proportion of the baths in a few countries, yet as they may be presumed to afford a fair idea of all, and are at any rate capable of yielding instruction to the dwellers in American cities, it seems reasonable to call attention to them before the commencement of our torrid midsummer weather.

England must be passed by, for although I saw bathing arrangements at the sea side, and very queer arrangements they seemed, and had in London a Russian bath which carried sweating, kneading, scouring, dousing and lolling to a high degree of luxury, I did not happen to see in England any establishment for giving to

the decent middle and lower classes cheap out door bathing. Something of the sort exists, however, in London, and probably in other English cities.

Neither is it germane to my present purpose to treat of such bathing as one finds at Ischl, a lovely watering place in the Austrian Tyrol; at Leuk or Loéche, in the Swiss Canton of Valois, where patients soak by the hour in the warm water until their ailments leak out or are leached out; at Unna in Westphalia, where salt water baths are attached to the "salinen" or salt-works; or at Salzburg, where you wallow in warm mud like a hog.

All these, except the mud bath, I tried and enjoyed, but none of them are applicable to the wants of a city.

At Leipsig, Halle, Munich and Dresden I found baths in no way remarkable except for their general goodness, cleanliness and moderate prices. You can have either a private bath in a tub, or a swim in a large tank surrounded by dressing closets. All seemed to be well patronized, and to perform well their function of promoting the public health, but as their most desirable features are exhibited on a larger scale at Vienna, and at Paris, they need not be further described.

The Danube, upon which Vienna stands, is fed to a great extent by high mountains, many of them snow-topped, and its water is consequently cold; as it flows swiftly through the Donau Canal, which separates the old city from the newer quarter of Leopoldstadt, its appearance reminds one of an Alpine glacier stream, nor is this impression destroyed when you first douse into its waters.

The Diana Bad and the Sofien Bad at Vienna are situated a mile apart upon opposite sides of this Donau Canal, and each is fed from it by a sort of underground head-race, taking the water from a sufficient distance above to give height for filling the great tank readily to its brim, the outlet of each being a drain leading from the bottom of the tank to a point in the canal, far enough down stream to afford the necessary fall. This arrangement permits of a lavish flow of water through the tanks, as well as of their being swiftly and completely emptied every evening, and as easily and swiftly refilled the next morning.

Of the arrangements for private bathing, warm baths, etc., in these establishments I do not purpose to speak, nor of the external

appearance of the buildings. Each is a solid but unpretending stone structure, into which you enter through a rather gloomy passage, intercepted by a toll-house like that at a ferry, where you pay the entrance fee; this passage leads to the central hall, wherein is the great tank. As to this principal feature of each establishment the similarity is so great that one description may answer for both.

The tank is sunk in the floor, and is built of brick masonry, plastered smoothly and solidly on sides and bottom, with hydraulic cement. It is about 150 feet long by 50 feet wide, and in depth varies gradually from about 2 feet at the upper or inlet end to about 12 feet at the other extremity, near which, at the deepest point there is an iron grating in the bottom about 2 feet by 3 feet delivering into the drain, which, when the valve is opened, carries off the water, so as to leave the tank floor quite dry. Midway of the tank a distinct mark shows how far the Nichtschwimmer may safely go.

At the upper end of the tank are various douches, showers, etc., and at the lower end, which is next the entrance, is a broad stone pavement or platform provided with diving boards and benches, and here, standing guard over great piles of "hosen," dressing sheets or gowns, and towels, is the official charged with distributing those articles, and with allotting to each guest the "cell" he is to occupy. All around the tank is a similar but less broad platform of stone or cement, and back of the side platforms are the cells, also of masonry, which extend two stories high and three tiers deep, each cell a comfortable little room, about 6 feet by 8 feet, large enough for convenient dressing and provided with lock and key.

The hosen above named are breeches reduced to their rudiments, a sort of silhouette pantaloon fastened by a drawing string around the waist, and having a total length of 15 to 18 inches. Without at least this garment no one is permitted to appear. The thing I have called a dressing sheet is simply a couple of yards of broad linen gathered at the neck and having sleeves; this you draw around you after bathing so as to form a loose envelope from head to heels. Either the hosen or the dressing sheet is considered full dress, and dozens of bathers may at any moment be seen either wading, swimming, douching or lounging about the platforms, attired in their hosen, looking full of life and ready for athletic

sports, while other dozens wrapped in their sheets stalk or sit like discontented ghosts in winding sheets, awaiting the time when they may revisit the earth. Moving with perfect unconcern among these strange figures are the women who clean the floors and gather up the wet garments and towels from the various cells, while by the sides and at the corners of the tank are swimming teachers with poles, floats and other apparatus, endeavoring to instil some idea of motion in water into the intensely awkward and stupid beginners. In the half light and the moist reflections from the pavement the scene has a weird interest which seizes your attention, but this is exchanged for a much more vivid sensation when you dive, or climb down by steps into the chilling water. Yet it is not exactly chilling, though cold, for it attacks you so shrewdly as to arouse a defiant resistance in your blood that carries you triumphantly on your tour up and down the pool, and if not quelled by too long exposure, continues to glow through your frame for hours after.

Each of these two bathing establishments, Diana Bad and Sofien Bad, has I think cells for between two hundred and three hundred persons; and as they are open for about fourteen hours, say from 5 A. M. to 7 P. M., they can accommodate several thousand bathers daily. Though I always found them fairly well filled, not only did perfect decorum reign, but they were remarkably quiet, and everything indicated so satisfactory a performance of their functions that they seemed to me worthy of consideration as models for an urban bath.

The principal fault was that they were closed rather too early, for I found it very annoying to be turned away on reaching one of them before sunset because the tank was already empty.

Before leaving Vienna I should mention a remarkable bath of quite another order; that at Vöslau, a beautiful little town lying twenty miles north-west from Vienna at the commencement of the hilly country. There a noble spring, very slightly warm, supplies two pools separated from each other by fences and shrubbery, the larger having an area of an acre, and the two being appropriated alternately at different hours of the day to ladies and to gentlemen. The pellucid water flows up over the lip of a marble well, reminding one of the sealed fountain from which poor Undine escaped so unwillingly, and by a short brook into the clear

pond, whose gravel bottom shelves off from the grassy edges to parts indicated by poles as beyond the wading depth.

In groups a little removed from the sides are neat dressing houses, and the trees, shubbery and the bright grass, make the scene Arcadian. Here as everywhere, hosen are *de rigueur;* nothing like skylarking or anything approaching indecorum is dreamed of, but a polite and easy freedom prevails.

This spring naturally makes Vöslau a rather famous watering place. The hills surrounding Vöslau produce abundantly a very fair red wine, which by the name of Vöslauer is offered to you at all the hotels of Vienna. The money value of vineyards near Vienna may be judged by the fact that the railroad from Dresden makes a tunnel of considerable length through a hill so low that the roof appeared to be but twenty or thirty feet thick; the cheap open cut being rejected because of the heavy damages which would have to be paid for destroying the vines covering the hill.

In Switzerland bathing places are numerous, but I shall speak only of two in the Rhone at Geneva and of a few in some of the lakes.

One of these Rhone baths is in the city, a floating house moored to the quai, and in no way remarkable except for its accessibility and for the swiftness of the current which sweeps over its plank floor. The dressing rooms are small and mean; the whole establishment is extremely moderate, but the pure and living water atones for all. Admission, with linen, 50 centimes.

The most noteworthy of the Rhone baths is near the outskirt of the city where the river is about to leave it. This is a free public bath, open gratuitously to all who bring their linen; it is enclosed on the river side by a fence or palisade of strong piles driven into the bottom of the river so as to include a space of half an acre, and on the land side by a high board fence topped by a pent house roof, which fence includes a space about equal to the water area.

Dressing cabinets for the use of those who choose to pay for them, and benches for those who do not so choose, occupy the riverward side of the fence. No one can enter except by one narrow passage, which a sort of office commands, and no one is permitted to bathe without the garment called in German hosen and in French caleçon. The bather who comes without caleçon

must hire one for 20 centimes, but each is at liberty to pay 20 centimes for a cabinet or leave his clothing on a bench as he may prefer.

I visited this place as a spectator at the hour when workmen were going homeward and found it full of life and enjoyment. Every available spot for clothing was occupied, and shore and water were swarming with a motley crew of brawny laborers, pale shop keepers or in-door artisans, men and boys; even the craft of chimney sweeping was represented, and several of the youngsters were mulattoes. Republican principles evidently flourished, so that from the strong swimmers contending with the rapid current or clinging to the palisade for a moment's rest, to the amphibious little fellows who paddled along the margin in water or on land, nothing but good humor and harmony appeared.

One man governed this place and had entire charge of it. In answer to my inquiry he said that he had authority to put out any disorderly person and to refuse admittance afterwards to any such; but that he had no trouble except occasionally with some of the youngsters, who were always extremely penitent after being ejected, and hung about the gates of their Paradise with many promises for days until readmitted.

This seemed to me a most successful and useful establishment, and one that might have something like a counterpart at half a dozen places on the Schuylkill river between Fairmount dam and League Island.

Passing now to the lake baths of Switzerland, I note first the agreeable place on the south side of Lake Leman at Geneva half a mile above the Jardin Anglais, where a row of dressing cabinets is set between the street and the water's edge, having in front a broad plank platform with steps into the water. For a moderate distance from shore the shallow bottom affords safe paddling ground for beginners, but at various distances in the lake are moored buoys and rafts for swimmers to rest upon, and boats are also in attendance. Far enough from shore to make a reasonable pull for those who don't care to venture quite out into the broad lake is a large raft to dive from, and excepting possibly the wharves at divers towns along Lake Leman where the little rowdies of the various localities were taking headers al fresco as the steamer passed along, I saw no superior diving facilities in

Europe. It is not too much too say that this bathing place was perfectly satisfactory, yet the charge was but 50 centimes including caleçon and towels.

Zurich has an equally satisfactory lake bath, which combines the chief features of several of the sorts already described. It is situated on the opposite side of the lake from the city, but close to the outlet, so that you reach it by row-boat in ten minutes from the hotels; just enough to awaken a wholesome glow. This is a large floating bath house moored to the shore and resembling generally the floating bath at the Battery in New York; it has two interior swimming places, the one for men being surrounded by platforms backed by dressing cabinets except that on the side fronting to the lake there is merely a palisade and a platform to dive from. The bottom of the tank is of slats so that the water flows freely through, and it slopes in the usual way, from a deep end to a shallow end, where the douches are. There is no roof except over the cabinets, and the sunshine of course has free ingress. Swimmers who prefer the open lake may dive into it from the platform or pass out from the tank between the palisades.

As you enter this place and pay your fee of 50 centimes (10 cents) a police order meets your eye limiting your stay in the bath to a half hour, or in the lake to one hour.

When I visited this place a lot of young fellows, apparently students from the Polytechnicon, were having a good time diving in various fashions, daring each other to special feats which they performed with great rapidity and neatness. Among them was the most powerful young man I ever saw; he was not over 5 feet 8 or 9 inches in height, but would measure at least 42 inches around the chest, and his symmetrical body showed everywhere massive and compact muscles of perfect vigor and suppleness.

Any one who requires a finer bath than I enjoyed here, swimming up the lake facing the distant Bernese Alps, must be hard to please; yet the whole affair, including boat hire, cost but one franc.

At Neufchatel I found a very simple but efficient establishment; a few dressing rooms on the bank, a flight of steps down to the lake, a douche for which water is pumped into a barrel overhead—this is all. Here no one may enter who cannot swim, for the water goes off rapidly to a drowning depth; the attendant holds

himself ready to douse in at short notice to give any needful aid.

Of all my baths in Swiss lakes the palm must be borne by one in lake Lucerne, at the little village of Vitznau, whence the railroad runs to the top of Righi. I had passed the night at Righi Kulm, and after beholding an unclouded sunrise with the Bernese Oberland gleaming red in the distance, and glimpses of lake and valley showing dimly and distantly through the level mist wreaths floating below, I breakfasted and walked down to Vitznau to take steamer for Buochs; this rapid walk of one and three-quarter hours was simply charming.

The dusty sunbeams shot across the mountain tops, illuminating the upper air and glinting here and there upon dewy grasses or graceful evergreens, while leaving in velvety shadow great tracts of lower space out of which details of magnificent landscape were gradually developed in the growing light.

Looking at Righi from the lake in the glaring afternoon sunshine I had undervalued this huge mass of conglomerate, thinking it bare and featureless; but now its narrow footpaths through rock and forest, its balmy and electric morning air, its dusky precipices and its tumbling streams quite won my heart. The day was warm, however, and my swift stride brought me to the foot of the mountain drenched in perspiration. How eagerly I sought a bath-house, and with what thorough and penetrating animal delight I plunged into the limpid water, none can know but those who have enjoyed the like. That a swallow flitting lightly through the air has equal satisfaction I hardly believe, being well acquainted in dreams with the sensation of flying; neither can a darting fish experience it, since swimming to him is an every day, bread and butter sort of business. Only man I think can fully appreciate such a bath as this was at Vitznau; can bask and wallow in pure, buoyant water with such unalloyed gratification.

No doubt one may feel a fiercer joy when buffeting the strong Atlantic breakers in water a little too deep for safety, or in tossing upon the waves of the sea on a breezy day, far out beyond one's depth; but in those cases the moral sensation of conquering nature by one's own unaided powers is added to physical satisfaction. For mere contentment, a swim in a Swiss lake after a mountain excursion may safely be commended.

Brussels was distinguished by having its only available bath

closed on the hot Sunday afternoon of my arrival there, and the hotel could offer nothing better than two inches of water in a tin pan. Monuments, churches, pictures and gardens, this handsome little city possesses; yet is its civilization incomplete, and a black mark stands against it in my memory.

Dijon does better, and makes the most of its little river of twenty yards width. There one finds the shore occupied at intervals by floating wash-houses, where laundresses beat and rub the long suffering linen upon low scrubbing-boards slanting outwards into the water, by stands where row-boats are hired, and by floating baths. As I rowed a mile or two up the stream preparatory to a bath, passing under trees and bridges, by tall water grasses and by walled gardens, alongside of the busy laundries and of bathing places surrounded by canvas enclosures whence merry voices issued, I was diverted by the variety of costume in the row-boats. Some of these boats carried water parties of well dressed men and women, paddling leisurely across the breadths of sunshine and the poplar shadows, while others were occupied by men who meant to bathe as well as row, and some of whom had no other garment than a shirt or a sheet, and still others contained soldiers, brilliant with bits of red uniform, presumably from the barrack which formed the limit of my little tour.

The bath which I visited was about 125 feet by 25 feet; the floor of slats was so set as to make one end shallow and to give a depth of 7 feet to the other end. The sides were of board, and were divided into dressing-rooms or cabines. On Monday, Wednesday and Friday it is open for ladies from 8 to 11 A. M. You pay for admission 25 centimes, for cabines 15, for caleçon and towel 10; total, ½ franc, about 10 cents.

At Paris the baths in the Seine are so numerous as to make a conspicuous feature of every view along the quais. They are for men and for women, and are of several grades. As they are so well known, I will only describe briefly one which I visited near the Place de la Concorde, and which though quite a swell establishment charges but one franc admission, with cabine, calecon, towel and dressing-sheet.

The bathing tank is entirely open to sun and air, but may be covered by an awning; it is about 200 feet long, 60 feet wide,

and at the diving end 16 feet deep; a restaurant, a corn doctor and a jewel keeper are among the appurtenances of the place, and the whole affair is remarkably tasteful and handsome.

On a midsummer afternoon the scene is extremely animated and one sees a great variety of characters, among them many dandies, hard as it may seem to play the exquisite with nothing on but a caleçon. One fellow whom I remember took the attention of the company by taking his place upon the high diving stand ten feet above the water, and while holding himself rigid with his hands at his sides, allowing himself to fall forward like a log, without a leap or a sign of life. He struck the water head foremost, and cut cleanly into it, without a splash, making as neat a dive as possible.

This was all very well, but directly another chap took the stand, and falling backward instead of forward, cut just as cleanly into the water as the first had done.

In contrast with these was one of the miserable and *gauche* beginners, who so involuntarily afford amusement to their fellow-beings. He knew just as much about diving as a cow knows about Sunday; he was timorous, yet ambitious, and had engaged a teacher. Weak—shivering, he lingered on the brink and took no comfort from the instruction of his tutor, who, at last, after explaining the proper position for his arms and the mode of leaping so as to throw the head downward, offered to help him go off, and for that purpose grasped him by the neck and waist. He made a feeble spring, but instantly repented when he found his tutor thrusting his head downward, and with legs and arms all abroad, splashed heavily into the water, where he struggled, pale and gasping, amidst unbounded applause.

In closing this slight and rambling review of European baths, I repeat that in none of them was there the slightest indication of disorder or indecency—of rowdyism in a word—but everywhere a friendly and good-humored enjoyment of one of the good things of life prevailed.

One matter of collateral interest may be mentioned; that is, the general vigor and comeliness of the men one sees at the baths. There are exceptions, of course, but whether it is that an undue proportion of the good specimens congregate there, or that those who frequent the baths are thereby improved, I fancied the aver-

age to show better there than on the streets. As for comparison of countries, the Austrians were, perhaps, as a whole, the best proportioned, being mostly well-grown and well nourished, without obesity. The Swiss seemed tough and hardy, but were mostly too short. The French were better developed than I would have expected—that is, if the men in the Seine bath were French, which, of course, cannot be asserted. The North Germans were in no way remarkable, being usually able-bodied without much beauty of form.

Excepting the little giant at Zurich, I saw no men who could not have been matched without difficulty in America, and in America I have seen at least manly figures decidedly more beautiful than his, while also quite powerful enough.

Three weeks after bathing in the Seine I reached home in the month of August, and though personally well enough off, with a bathing pond at my country place and bath-room in the house, I could but contrast the arrangements I had seen in European cities with the lack of suitable bathing places in Philadelphia. There is indeed a snug little swimming bath on Broad street below Walnut, much frequented by children and very suitable for them; there is a pool for bathers on Smith's Island, and bath-tubs in private houses are of course numerous; but as for swimming, what else is there for our 700,000 inhabitants besides the two places just named.[1]

Yet Philadelphia lies between two great tidal rivers, and has a water frontage of many miles which bathers are prohibited, under considerable penalties, from using. How easy it would seem to establish bath houses at intervals of a mile or two along the water's edge, accessible to all under certain rules, and each in charge of a policeman.

It may be said that something of the sort was tried in 1871 and

[1] I observe with pleasure the annexed paragraph in a recent Philadelphia daily paper:

Gloucester City.—A gentleman from Philadelphia has in contemplation the erection of a number of bathing houses on the river shore at this point, for the purpose of affording to Philadelphians and others cheap and easily accessible means of securing cleanliness in the absence of such conveniences nearer home. Bathing robes will be furnished, and the river at the point proposed is free from obstructions or danger.

1872, but had to be abandoned because the privileges were abused. The difficulty may have arisen from defective construction or rather defective design of the houses, or from unwise or insufficient regulations, or more probably from negligent or insufficiently rigid administration; whatever the defects or difficulties were the experience gained would no doubt preserve a fresh attempt from a repetition of them, and the new essay would by so much be more sure of success.

At first only one or two public baths, that is free baths, should be started; but that one or two should be very carefully planned and built, and most inflexibly governed. A single good bath, costing at the utmost ten thousand dollars, and well conducted for a season, would demonstrate the utility of the system, and would open the way for others to be set up with any improvements that the experience of the first might suggest. If no appropriation could be obtained for the purpose from the City Councils, there are perhaps enough liberal persons in the city to establish a normal public bath as a sort of Mission; to do so would be as pure and meritorious a charity as to found a soup house, and would perhaps save as many lives, to say nothing of souls.

As for rowdyism and lack of decorum, while having strong faith in the capabilities of my countrymen in those respects under provocative circumstances, I have no less faith in their foundation of common sense. Let it be once and forever known that a valuable privilege may be enjoyed upon certain conditions, but absolutely not otherwise, and those conditions will be complied with; let the use of hosen or caleçon be imperative, and a small charge be made for hiring such a garment to those who come unprovided; let any disorder or vulgarity be punished not only by summary ejectment and forfeiture of right to enter thereafter, but also by fine or imprisonment, which should be exemplary in the first instances, and I firmly believe that public bath houses may serve the secondary purpose of improving the civility of our people.

But, besides such free baths, is it not certain that pay swimming baths would support themselves, and be reasonably profitable? The young men who are improving their physique by boating, base ball and other exercises, would promptly avail themselves of such baths as Paris possesses. During the Centennial Exhibition,

in the midst of our tropical summer, such baths would, doubtless, be more profitable than even bar-rooms for the dispensing of cobblers, cock-tails, and other mixed drinks, and I for one would be ashamed to see a swarm of perspiring foreigners to whom no such refuge could be offered.

With the abundant facilities of water supply and drainage about the Centennial grounds, there would be no difficulty in establishing one or more excellent bathing places close to the main buildings. An excellent place for a floating bath would be in the Schuylkill, between the zoological garden and the canal locks. For an intra-mural swimming bath, the skating rink, on Chestnut street, near the Schuylkill bridge, would be admirably adapted. A steam pump, to draw abundant water from the river; some private bath rooms, with hot and cold water; a large tank, occupying about half the floor, with dressing cabinets around it —this is all that is needed to make here a most excellent establishment, its winter use for skating remaining uninjured.

But the choicest place of all—one that could, at light expense, be made at least equal to any swimming bath in the world—is the forebay at Fairmount; and this, without the slightest detraction from its present purpose.

Imagine a slat floor, solidly built in the water of this forebay, sloping from a depth of two feet at the inlet to the full depth of the pool at the other extremity; a strong palisade parallel to the outlet embankment, and ten feet distant from it, reaching from the slat floor to a height of two feet above the water.

Then floor over that ten feet width, leaving five feet next the pool for platform, and dividing the other five feet into dressing rooms. Stretch over the whole a stout awning, and behold, you have a bath fit for kings. Of course the supply to the pumps would be taken with all due precaution above the bath, leaving to pass through it only the water flowing to the wheels and turbines.

If a few years ago it had been proposed to use the forebay for this purpose, probably no one would have entertained the idea for a moment. Since the advent of the Park Commission, so many of the old Philadelphia fetters and superstitions have been thrown off, that such a project may now perhaps claim attention. That the Commission would most cheerfully grant any proper facilities to

suitable persons for erecting bathing places within the Park, I have no doubt whatever; and that such places, within the limits and jurisdiction of the Park, would be well governed, may safely be presumed.

Something must be done, and that speedily. Mere general repression and prohibition of open air bathing has been carried to its limit, since not only is such bathing forbidden on the pretext of indecency by Ordinance of Councils along all the navigable water fronts of the city, but the Park Commission have also cut off the upper Schuylkill and all waters under their control, by the general penal rule No. 12: "No person shall go in to bathe within the Park;" and this without the slightest attempt to provide any substitute. When the affectation of politeness and decorum rises to such a height, human nature will not suffer it, and ought not to. There may be no bath riots akin to the historical bread riots; but boys are forced to sneaking and law breaking to gratify a healthy and proper desire.

If everywhere in Europe the necessity of bathing is acknowledged and provided for; if even in the heart of London the Serpentine in Hyde Park is free at stated times to bathers, shall Philadelphians be told that they ought not to think of such a vulgar thing, but ought to rest contented with walking soberly to and from their work, and seeking their recreation in theatres and grog shops? Can it be expected that they will tamely submit to be thus deprived of their God-given privileges, and with water flowing all around them, to be tormented after the manner of Tantalus?

The position is becoming intolerable, and the easy remedy must be adopted. JOSEPH WHARTON.

NEW BOOKS.

HALF-HOUR RECREATIONS IN POPULAR SCIENCE—Nos. 9, 10, 11, pp. 327 to 446. Boston: Estes & Lauriat.

We have had occasion once before to notice this excellent series of scientific tracts, whose wide circulation is one among many proofs of a remarkably wide-spread curiosity aroused upon the broadest and most important of subjects, among classes who, twenty years ago, read nothing but novels and newspapers.

Science made Easy is now the most profitable speculation of a bookseller. This is partly the cause and partly the effect of the labors of a few eminent physicists and biologists, who unite to great professional ability a faculty of clear and terse expression. The story which they have to tell is far more interesting than the most intense love story, and far more "sensational" than the most elaborate conundrum of Wilkie Collins; but it demands, with all possible art in the telling, a certain strain of mind in the grasp of unfamiliar ideas; and it is a hopeful sign that the readers of "Granville de Vigne" and "The Woman in White" will buy such books as these. We open upon a paper by Professor Hunt, of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, on "The Origin of Metalliferous Deposits." That is not a very taking title, and yet a more interesting chapter of Earth-history, as the Germans call it, we have rarely met with.

The question to be answered is this: "The superficial crust of the earth, from which all the rocks and minerals that we know have been generated, must have contained, diffused through it, from the earliest time, all the elements which we now meet with in our study of the earth, whether still diffused or accumulated in particular veins or beds. Now, how have these elements thus been brought together, and why is it that they are not all still widely and universally diffused? Why are the compounds of iron in beds by themselves, copper, silver and gold gathered together in veins, and iodine concentrated in a few ores and certain mineral waters?" Taking the compounds of iron as types of these accumulations, Professor Hunt's answer may be condensed as follows:

Iron is diffused through the earth in two forms, the *protoxide* and the *peroxide*. The former containing one atom of oxygen to one of the base, forms compounds either colorless or bluish or greenish; the peroxide contains two atoms of oxygen to one of the base, and is reddish brown in color. The substance known as iron-rust is the most common example. Now the protoxide of iron is readily soluble in water; and as water exists everywhere, and everywhere tends to flow together at the lowest level, it may easily be seen that the protoxides held in solution would, in the course of time, accumulate into beds. But this process actually takes place through the peroxide. All water contains organic matter, or passes over soil of which organic matter forms a part. The carbon in this organic matter has a strong affinity for the oxygen of iron, and rapidly strips the peroxide of its extra portion of oxygen, converting the insoluble peroxide into the soluble protoxide; becoming itself oxidized and converted into carbonic acid in the process. The protoxide thus held in solution then absorbs oxygen from the air, again becomes peroxide, separates as a film on the surface of the water, and finally sinks to the bot-

tom as a reddish ochre, or becomes aggregated as a massive iron ore. "We find in rock formations of very different ages, beds of sediment which have been deprived of iron by organic agencies, and near them will generally be found the accumulated iron. Go into any coal region, and you will see evidences that this process was at work when the coal beds were forming. The soil in which the coal plants grew has been deprived of its iron, and, when burned, turns white, as do most of the slaty beds from the coal rocks. It is the ancient soil which constitutes the so-called fire-clay, prized for making fire-bricks, which, from the absence of both iron and alkalis, are very infusible. Interstratified with these we often find, in the form of iron-stone, the separated metals, and thus from the same series of rocks may be obtained the fuel, the ore, and the fire-clay."

Not all of these papers are so satisfactory as Professor Hunt's address. There is a lecture on Atoms, by Professor Clifford, delivered at Manchester, presumably before a mixed audience, which is a perfect marvel in the way of still farther confusing a difficult subject The topics of his address are entirely removed from the world of sense, and are to be dealt with only by subtle reasoning and inference from observed facts. They can be made apprehensible to people in general only by apt illustrations and comparisons; and when Professor Clifford likens an atom to a set of metal bells, fastened to elastic stalks, and surrounded by a whalebone framework, and then remarks incidentally that no one must suppose that "there is anything in an atom which is in the shape of a bell, or anything analogous to an elastic stalk in it;" when we have to imagine, further on, screens of piano-strings, a series of fiddles, and various other complex arrangements; and when we remember Tyndall's lucid explanations of the same order of phenomena, we conclude that the Manchester lecturer, though doubtless eminent in his own department, should confine himself to a scientific audience.

Ivan de Biron, or the Russian Court in the Middle of Last Century. By Sir Arthur Helps, the Author of "Friends in Council." Pp. 473. Boston: Roberts & Bros.

Those who like to search into the motive of a literary work will not have far to go in this instance. That the private secretary of Queen Victoria should select a Russian subject for a novel at the time when the two royal houses are entering into very close alliance, is but natural. Just now Russia is no longer the *bête noire* of English public opinion, and England has ceased to be so to Russia since the war of 1870. Each country is inclined to think well of the other, and to put good constructions upon its past, its present and its future.

Sir Arthur Helps has taken for his real heroine the Empress Elizabeth. To depict the personal character and the public policy of the Empress, he tells us the story of two young persons attached to her court, the one the nephew and secretary of the statesman de Biron, the other a daughter of an aristocratic house. The Empress is the *dea ex machinâ* who interposes, not always successfully, at critical points of the story, and finally crowns the happiness of the lovers. The story vibrates between St. Petersburg and Siberia, in a fashion that was characteristic of high life in Russia during last century. There is no special pains taken to reproduce the details of Russian life and manners; the author is not a literary pre-Raphaelite. He aims at giving the broad lines of life and character, and making the reader feel that these Slavonic men and women were of like passions with ourselves.

His portrait of Elizabeth is a decided success. He hides nothing of her faults, while he does not feel called upon to load his pages with offensive details. He shows her as she was—a shrewd, good-humored, kind-hearted, but sensual woman, who loved pleasure and hated pain for both herself and others. To most English and American readers the picture will be as new as it is true to life. We hardly realize how great a gulf existed between her character and that of her successor, Catherine—a woman who had all her faults and few of her excellencies.

The subordinate characters, for as such we must regard the nominal hero and heroine, do not impress us so much. There is a lack of individuality about them, such as might be expected in the fictitious creations of a *doctrinaire* like our author. A confirmed habit of aphoristic thinking has probably weakened his feeling for personal peculiarities; by continually dwelling on what is common to all men, or to large classes of men, he has ceased to perceive with vividness or to create with force the indescribable something that differentiates one human being from another. But his fine taste keeps him from offending in a positive way against the probabilities, and his large general knowledge of human nature enables him to fill up the outline of his conceptions much better than is ordinarily done.

Our author has some peculiarities of manner that will not escape the most careless reader, such as his dividing the story into books, and printing the number of the book at the head of each chapter, and also the contents of the chapter itself. Those who know how careful he is will naturally infer that he has some reason for this; but the effect of this old-fashioned giving of "arguments" is rather disagreeable. It seems very stiff.

The book abounds in little bits of aphoristic wisdom that might have been printed in *Brevia*. Thus the Czarina tells the heroine: "My dear: In almost all things we are not only much better but much wiser than the men; but in one respect they are our superiors;

they are far more just than we are. You may manage your Ivan and have your own way completely (for my dear, you do love to have your own way), except in some matter where justice, or what he thinks to be justice, is concerned."

To sum up: this is a well told and interesting story, written in the purest English, out of a pure heart, and full of historical information about a very remarkable period and country.

THE CIRCUIT RIDER: A Tale of the Heroic Age. By Rev. Edward Eggleston, author of *The Hoosier Schoolmaster*, etc. Illustrated. Pp. 332. New York, J. B. Ford & Co.

Nothing in English and American literature is more needed than novels written by people who have a thorough knowledge of provincial peculiarities, and are able to reproduce them in a book. The progress of civilization is rapidly effacing everything distinctive of locality in both countries, but in the vast host of fictions—especially in American that are intended to set forth the glories and frivolities of city life, very few of merit are meant to put in record the ways and modes of the unfashionable world. Scott, Galt and Macdonald did that for Scotland; Charlotte Brontë, for Yorkshire; Mrs. Gaskell, for Lancashire; Dickens for the low-born Cockneys; but not a tithe of the wonderful variety of life and character that is slowly moulding into the American of the future, has received any attention. Mrs. Stowe has written some good New England novels. *Old Town Folks*, and *The Minister's Wooing*, for instance. But even she must hurry off to New York scenes, to draw laughable pictures of a life that she knows only by snatches, in *My Wife and I* and *Pink and White Tyranny*. Bayard Taylor has studied the Quaker ways of his native Pennsylvania, and Bret Harte depicts the other pole of American society in his sketches of California.

But all these are only a beginning. Who has described the Pennsylvanian Germans, or the Scotch-Irish of the Allegheny ridges, or the homes of the Great West?

Mr. Eggleston makes a beginning for the West. His *Hoosier Schoolmaster* at once gave him a name and a place in literature, and attracted attention even beyond the Atlantic. An abridgement of it was printed in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, in a translation, of course, and therefore, shorn of its strength. Every one saw that in that Wabash Valley region there was a rich mine of originality and character, and asked for more.

His new story gives us the Hoosier clergyman of the primitive Methodist type; in labors abundant, seeing life on a thousand sides; in perils oft; in tribulations oft; kept up to his work by a whole-souled devotion to his Master and "the salvation of souls." He aims to show us the heroic age of the church, when every-

thing was hostile to it, and when it grew at a rate unexampled in later religious history. But we have our doubts as to the entire success of the attempt. It is one thing to write of an actual and present state of society, and to reproduce its salient points. It is another thing, and a very different one, to write of the past, and attempt to reproduce it. Anachronism is the easiest of literary exploits, and very subtle anachronisms characterize the cleverest historical novels. *Old Mortality* is a huge mass of them. Even *Adam Bede* is not free from them. The author of the *Circuit Rider* has not succeeded where Sir Walter Scott and Mrs. Lewes have failed. Conceptions and notions borrowed from our own more hopeful and more tolerant age, abound in his pages. An ideal of Christian character that belongs to the age of Kingsley and Maurice, Beecher and Chapin, is transferred to the period when they were children at the breast. Not that facts are misstated and manners misrepresented, but the subtler traits of thought and expression are missed, as regards the better educated persons of the story. Just as the artist continually dresses Rev. Morton Goodwin in a coat of the latest clerical cut, of a fashion that came in thirty or forty years later with the Oxford Tractarian movement, so are the intellectual clothes of some of the characters out of, keeping with their time.

But the book is a good one; first-rate of its kind. There is as much plot as is proper in a clerical novel, or may be a little more. The personages are sharply defined and well individualized. The bits of old Methodist history that it gives are keenly interesting; the local flavor is very marked. No one who begins it will fail to read it through to the end, and wish that Mr. Eggleston may give us many more like it.

PLEASANT TALKS about Fruits, Flowers and Farming. By Henry Ward Beecher. New edition, with additional matter from recent writings published and unpublished. [Pp x. 498.] New York, J. B. Ford & Co.

This is another volume of the new uniform edition of Mr. Beecher's writings, being in fact the new edition of a book with the same title that was first published fifteen years ago. Much of it is twenty-seven years old, having been contributed to a Western agricultural periodical, when the author was pastor of a Presbyterian church in Indianapolis. Other parts are quite fresh and new, having been written in recent years. But it would puzzle even careful critics to distinguish the different strata of the book; save that the earlier are less effusive and more business-like. All of it is from the same brain—fresh, hopeful, genial and pleasant.

Mr. Beecher took to farming and horticulture as a relaxation from the strain of pastoral work, having fallen in with Loudon's works in the Indianapolis library. The beginning of the first

agricultural periodical of the West gave him an outlet for what wooden people would have thought his otherwise useless learning. It has been of use to him all his life long, giving him bonds and ties to the material world that have done their share to keep his mind and heart fresh and wholesome. Every road-side has its treasures for him, every field its meaning. He has had, what Carlyle so sorely laments the want of, an introduction to every plant and insect that grows or moves in his companionship on the breast of our common mother earth.

The contents of the work are of the most miscellaneous kind, varying from theology and political economy to housekeepers' receipts. It is of interest to all who have farms or gardens and all who would like to have them. The former will find it of use; to the latter it will be about the best substitute that literature supplies.

THE POEMS OF TWENTY YEARS. By Laura Winthrop Johnson. New York: DeWitt C. Lent & Co., 1874.

It is to be hoped that the title of this work does not evidence the continuous efforts of a score of years. As such, it would be a sad text on the misapplication of more than average abilities, on which subject many a sermon might be preached to a host of literary Mrs. Jellybies, who, in their anxiety for the mental welfare of a distant posterity, yield themselves prey to their own imaginations. Indeed, no more terrible delusions can befall a woman than to fancy her mission is to write poetry. It is terrible to herself, for she becomes a martyr to a restless cry like that of Mr Carlyle's, "Produce! produce, if it be but the infinitesimallest product of a fraction, produce it in God's name;" terrible to the world, because she does produce it, and as a product it is apt to be both infinitesimally and vulgarly fractional. But whatever imputation on the former score can be laid to the charge of the authoress of the present poems, she must be held free from any accusations on the latter. They are the harmless efforts of a lady, and of a lady who enjoys a wider mental horizon, and one more cheerful than that of many of her set, and who does not consider that her powers of versification were given her for the uprooting of all the evils of society. As the unpublished efforts of a thoughtful, sensitive mind, it is probable that they would have had an influence that they can hardly claim in the bold effrontery of a binding; and had a circulation among a few appreciative friends been sought for them, it would have been easier than it is now to recognize their merit. But tested by the standard with which their authoress has challenged comparison, we must deny that they possess any general interest, and express surprise at their publication. The verses are uninteresting, but Miss Johnson, at all

events, does not seem consumed with the gnawing flame of some burdensome story which she is desirous to tell. The excuse for the book is contained in the first verse of the preface :

> "I ask not if the Poet's gift be mine,
> Though in mine ear and heart sweet music ringing
> Makes life a thing half sad and half divine:
> I ever sing but for the love of singing."

But her singing lacks depth of sound and spirit, and her subjects are such old ones that it would be difficult to make them appear in a new light. Yet she has a quick ear for rhythm and her lines rarely halt. The following suggests her happiest style:

> "But ah, for youth, and strength, and love, and light!
> A shadow fell upon them all one day,
> For they were parted. White and cold she lay—
> And the day came when even that was gone,
> And there was nothing—nothing but a grave;—
> A little grass where the wild autumn rain
> Beat cold and dreary, and the last red leaves
> Lay for a moment and were whirled away."

"The Four Elements," "The Neckar," "Nightfall," and some of the poems on "The War," are among the best productions in the book, but we fear that there is very little in it to save it from a speedy return to oblivion.

"My Visit to the Sun; or Critical Essays on Physics, Metaphysics and Ethics. By Lawrence S. Benson. Vol. I., Physics." New York: James S. Burnton, 1874.

This little book of 157 pages is neatly printed on tinted paper, and is written in the form of an "allegory." In the introduction the author takes a bird's eye view of "thinkers" from a standpoint of one who certainly should not be confounded with this class; or, perhaps, it would be juster to say, of one not entirely recovered from the journey indicated in the title of the book. In this introduction he premises that when men look at things from the same standpoint they will agree; a remark the verity of which augurs well for the remainder of the book. After describing the class of thinkers who accept religion, he passes to the views of others who (if those views are correctly stated,) are impudent imbeciles. Intrenching these latter in a straw fortress, he valiantly knocks it about their ears, and proceeds to consider magnetism (in what connection is not quite clear). He asserts that "any discoveries which can show its influence on the manifold works in the *uranological and telluric departments* of the universe, should *be deeply valued by the student, and merit the approbation of the philosopher.*"

This point settled, the real work begins. A traveler has been to the Sun and has returned. Never mind how. This traveler had

been curiously unfortunate while a resident of the earth, never having seen fire or flame, lightning or any form of terrestial illumination, for he tells us that he has seen " from reflected light only." It is a pity, in view of the important results to science which an interview of an ordinarily experienced inhabitant of our globe and a citizen of the sun might produce, that some more fitting representative of our race was not this traveler, and this feeling is so far strengthened on reading his explanations to the sun-man of terrestial science, that one cannot refrain from believing that the latter may have imparted more to him than his notes contain, according to which this *Sol-on* seems to suggest the existence on his orb of thistles.

The celestial traveler saw from the sun, bodies moving to and fro, but not "*studded so thickly*, like they appear from the earth." The c. t. "cannot call them orbs, or even stars, for they are dark." Perhaps it is against solar law to speak of a dark orb or star, and our terrestial honesty in calling a spade a spade is not common there.

It would be interesting to know how dark these stars were: whether they were dark by comparison with places in the firmament where there were no stars and no light; and also, if they reflected the light by means of which they affected the c. t.'s optic nerve. In the latter case, the c. t. must except these bodies from the objects around him, which he says shone by a light of their own. The buzzing like a bee hive must have been delightful to hear from these bodies, "whose distances from each other are great and uniform." Here there is a "clearness" around him, a "*softness and brightness* so different from the *glaring* and *dazzling* light seen on earth." "The light emanates from him, penetrating the most opaque substances." It is to be regretted that this clearness did not penetrate the c. t.'s mind, which, it would seem, was one of these latter. "Perfume becomes *prolific* and *ubiquitous.*" Why not, also autogenetic and vibratory? "Nothing shows that the sun is not elementary"—certainly the solar education would seem to be. The c. t. walks "effortless," showing that the increase of muscle power must be greater there than that of vision.

The sun man appears, and with both truth and politeness (since it is never night), says "good-day." The rest of the book consists of a conversational disputation of the peripatetic order, unrelieved by a single pause for refreshment. The c. t. being reassured by the s. m.'s promise to listen "edifyingly" to what c. t. had to say, he proceeds: "Heat is evolved by friction, fermentation, combustion, chemical action, electricity and magnetism. We have latent heat and specific heat. Heat can be conducted, radiated, reflected, refracted and *undulated.*" The "three mile heat" was probably omitted from this category because that is *undulated.*

The c. t. opens the eyes of the s. m. (very naturally) by explaining how heat is conducted from the cool surface to the molten centre of the earth, thus explaining this milk in this cocoanut. After ten pages of this kind of philosophy the general reader will heartily endorse the s. m.'s exclamation, "Benighted man!" But really when we see (p. 45) s. m.'s hopelessly idiotic attempt to prove that the heat experienced on the earth does not proceed from the sun, our sympathy is immediately transferred to our own countryman. He says in this case, "Heat going from the sun * * the universe would have been inflamed * * to warm the air resting immediately on the surface of the earth, and not the air above the earth, would have to be neutralized in its properties in passing to the earth," etc. Again, "heat on earth is known to be possessed of the property of becoming more uncomfortable the nearer you approach it," etc., etc. "In order *for* the sun to be that hot body," etc., "there would necessarily be a graat *consumption of fuel* taking *place continually*," etc. "If the heat passed from the sun to the earth * * *how could there be cold air above?*" (the italics are the c. t.'s). "In order *for* the sun to trasmit heat * * with the same undiminished effects, there must necessarily be an inexhaustible fund of fuel in the sun."

It is clear that the s. m. was expressing himself in a language and on a subject he had but imperfectly mastered, though with a coolness one would expect from an inhabitant of so cold a star, he mournfully remarks: "What makes your ignorance so deplorable, you have without a knowledge of the nature of heat, given laws for its action amenable to your convenience."

One of the great charms of this book is that the sympathy of the reader always shifts to the person addressed. Thus, instead of returning the charge, our polite representative accuses the s. m. of "metaphysical finesse," a charge utterly without foundation. No wonder the s. m. replies, "it would have been better to have remained silent." We agree with him. C. t. then informs s. m. that a man's five senses will acquaint him with the physical knowledge, his *intellect* with all the *mental knowledge*, and his reason and instinct with all their moral knowledge." Judging from the title of this book, our representative was destitute of the five senses, and the sixth sense also. On p. 78 the s. m. blows c. t. out of water thus:

C. t.—"When I see an apple fall to the earth * * * I can say that attraction to the earth is the cause and the fallen apple the effect."

S. m.—"Most assuredly not," for (p. 80) "had there been no rain there would have been no apple to fall."

"An effect can not be a cause." (p. 81.)

The fear expressed (p. 82) by c. t., that s. m.'s remarks will "stir up the philosophers on earth," is groundless. (p. 87.) "Ob-

servations give facts, while hypotheses give principles, laws and causes."

S. m. indulges in a long lecture, occupying fifty pages, in the course of which he touches upon many sciences in his own solar fashion. We cannot notice all the beauties of this discourse, but cannot refrain from making this extract from his epitome of chemistry. "Man" * * "regards those bodies which cannot be resolved into more simple bodies, such as oxygen, simple combustibles, metals, earths, caloric and light. Among the latter he regards those bodies which are formed by two simple bodies; those formed by a simple and compound body, and those formed by two compound bodies," &c.

"The compound bodies formed of two simple bodies are known as water, *alcohol, oils, alkalies* and *acids*; those formed by two compound bodies are soaps, *a compound,*" (sic) "where oils enter without decomposition; neutral salts, a combination of acids with alkalies, earths or metallic oxides," &c., &c. "You cannot fail to see that his" (man's) "products are greatly circumscribed, being invariably characterized by a binary composition such as exists among inorganic substances; and he is absolutely unable, from the complexity of ingredients, to re-compose organic substances."

"Attraction implies contact only of the particles * * whereas chemical affinity is the saturation of one body with another body."

"In chemical language *solution* signifies *saturation.*"

"Evaporation being a *mechanical* process, the solution is no *chemical* union."

"The contact of one atom of a body with the atom of another body cannot produce *chemical* union, because the atoms having contact only still retain their peculiar properties and do not saturate each other; whilst in chemical union the atoms lose their distinctive features and become *blended in each other* by saturation, and thus remain until decomposed by other chemical unions, or precipitated with their original properties."

"Man having no guide * * except his senses, it is impossible for him to discover anything beyond their cognizances."

p. 132. "When I reveal to you the nature of light, you will readily understand what the philosophers of the earth denominate the attraction of gravitation, chemical affinity," etc., etc.

We would suppose that this is quite as likely at least as that his victim would understand the nature of *light.*

p. 140. "Matter is that inert *substance* which gives the fundamentals to odor, flavor, sound, tangibility and visibility." * *

"For instance, philosophers have called extension a property of matter. Is extension in flavor? * * Is divisibility in odor? * * Is form in sound?"

Not content with "striking deeply at the roots of man's electrical knowledge" (whatever that may be), and "causing a stir among the philosophers of earth" by his startling disclosures in chemistry, this ruthless solar Goth must needs tear down the structure of our knowledge of the earth (terrestrial knowledge, we suppose he would call it). Thus: "Now, the horizon is always *on a level* with the eye of the spectator," (p. 144,) "and two or more lines, at different distances from each other, *can be* perpendicular to the *same* plane of the sensible horizon, and *are* consequently parallel to each other." (p. 142.) "Now, the two or more plumb lines being parallel to each other, however far the lines may be extended toward" (sic) "the earth, they will never meet each other, and consequently they do not tend to the centre of the earth." (p. 145.)

One good result of the work is to make us quite content to inhabit the earth, where we can find only an occasional s. m. If generally credited, this visit to the Sun will cause in all the belief that the Ptolemaic system is the correct one, and that not only attraction, but intelligence, varies as the inverse square of the distance from her surface.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

Gerda; or The Children of Work. By Marie Sophie Schwartz. Translated from the Swedish. By Selma Borg and Maria A. Brown. Philadelphia: Porter & Coates. 12 mo. Cloth. Pp. 345. $1 50.

The Expanse of Heaven: A Series of Essays on the Wonders of the Firmament. By R. A. Proctor, B. A. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1874. 12 mo. Cloth. Pp. 305. [Porter & Coates.]

Second Report of the Committee on Restoration of Independence Hall. Paper. Pp. 8.

Religion and the State. Protection or Alliance? Taxation or Exemption? By Alvah Hovey, D D., President of Newton Theological Institution. Boston: Estes & Lauriat. 1874. 12 mo. Cloth. Pp. 175. $1.25. [Porter & Coates.]

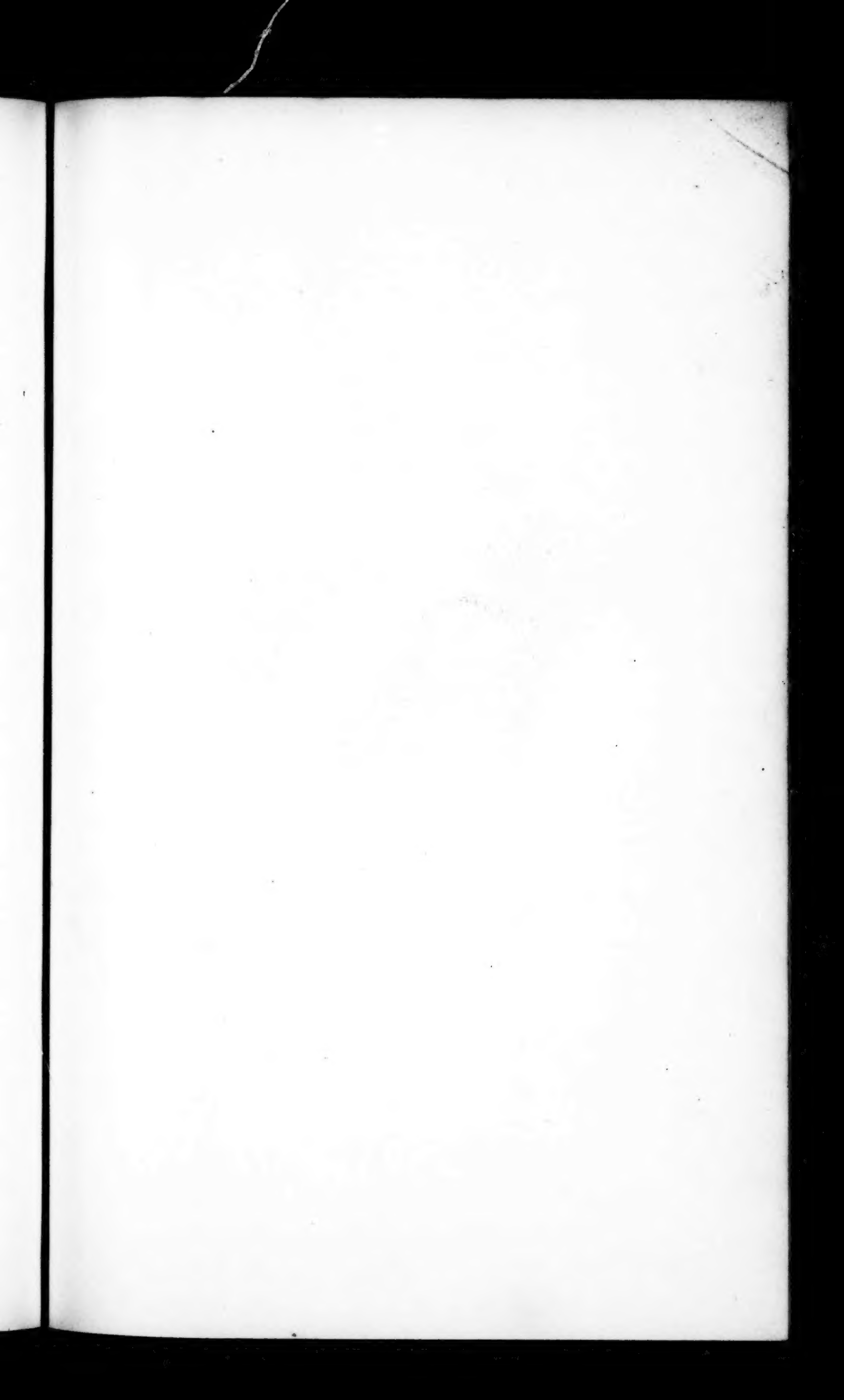
Elena. An Italian Tale. By L. N. Comyn, author of Atherstone Priory. Boston: Estes & Lauriat. 12 mo. Cloth. Pp 369. $1 50 [Porter & Coates.]

The Anæsthetic Revelation and the Gist of Philosophy. By Benjamin Paul Blood. Amsterdam, in New York. America. 1874. Cloth. Pp. 39. Oc.

My Visit to the Sun: or Critical Essays on Physics, Metaphysics and Ethics. By Lawrence S. Benson. Vol. 1. Physics. New York; James S. Burnton. 1874. Cloth. Oc. Pp. 164.

Strauss as a Philosophical Thinker. A Review of his book, "The Old Faith and the New Faith;" and a confutation of its materialistic views. By Hermann Ulrici. Translated, with an Introduction, by Charles P. Krauth, D. D., Vice-Provost of the University of Pennsylvania. Philadelphia: Smith, English & Co. 1874. 12 mo. Cloth. Pp. 167. $1.

First Lessons in the Principles of Cooking. In Three Parts; By Lady Barker. London: Macmillan & Co. 1874. 12 mo. Pp. 101. 50 cts.



J. Edgar Thomson

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JULY, 1874.

THE MONTH.

AFTER several days of anxiety during which Paris was in a condition of excitement highly dangerous, Marshal MacMahon has formed a Ministry to suit himself. The fall of DeBroglie had been anticipated; for when is not that of a French ministry? Yet no man expected the crash to come when it did, and no one consequently was ready to take advantage of it. To M. Goulard, first of all was given the opportunity to form a cabinet, but he soon gave up the task. The two Dukes, Decazes and d'Andriffet-Pasquier, declined to make the attempt, and the Marshal at last in a business-like, or rather soldier-like way, took the matter into his own hands. He has selected his ministers with an eye to the business of the state rather than to the demands of political parties. The well-known Bonapartist, M. Magne, becomes Minister of Finance, and General de Cissey, who is suspected of a leaning in that direction, Minister of War. The remaining members of the government are taken from the Right-Centre. Many of them are as unknown as most of the members of General Grant's cabinet, but the selection seems to be generally approved—especially the fact that none of the appointments, save perhaps M. Magne's, can be construed into having a political significance. An "incident," as such things are called in Versailles, occurred recently, which has created intense excitement and

threatens trouble. During the debate on June 9th, attention was called to a document which had been circulated through the Department of the Niévre, urging the appointment to office of late adherents of the Empire; and the new Ministers, Magne and Cissey, were accused by Gambetta of complicity in the matter. M. Rouher, by way of replying to this, reminded the Chamber of the irregularities alledged to have been committed by the Government of the 4th of September—no very logical answer, one might be tempted to think, however natural in a political discussion. Gambetta answered by calling the Bonapartists "wretches," upon which the noise became deafening and the Assembly adjourned in a tumult. The cable dispatches have been full ever since of accounts of rows and disturbances at the railway stations on going to and fro, during one of which a certain Comte Saint Croix struck Gambetta across the face with a cane. It is satisfactory to learn that this attempt to force a duel has been rewarded with a fine of 500 francs and six months imprisonment. The Bonapartists seem to make the most noise of all the factions, but that, however, is no evidence of growing strength. One of the small features of the crisis is the generous offer of M. Paul de Cassagnac and eleven enthusiastic disciples to fight Gambetta and as many radicals, but happy as this proposition is, there is no immediate prospect that the latter will avail themselves of so self-sacrificing a means of pacifying France, or of putting an end to the crisis and themselves together. At this writing a despatch reaches us announcing an event which may lead to greater stability in the government. After a stormy debate on the 15th, the Assembly by a fair majority directed its chief committee to bring in a measure definitely settling the power of Marshal MacMahon, and establishing on a more permanent basis the temporary Septennat. This significant action, which was resisted alike by the Bonapartists and by the partisans of Henry V., was finally made complete by the defeat, by a majority of 100 votes, of a resolution offered by the Duke de la Rochfoucauld, declaring that the true form of Government was a Monarchy, and that the crown rightfully belonged to the head of the House of France. MacMahon would seem to be thus more firmly seated than ever, but the animal he rides is both treacherous and restive, and the pathway which lies before him is full of dangerous holes.

It may be worthy to note—and it would not seem improper in this connection—the recent arrival and happily prompt departure from among us of M. Henri Rochefort. Accompanied by two or three friends he reached New York, having come overland from San Francisco, and remained there and in the neighborhood a few days. During this brief visit he managed, however, to occupy more than a page of the New York *Herald*, so that he can hardly be thought to have come and gone in vain. An announcement that he would lecture gathered but a few hundred persons into the Academy of Music to hear him, and the depressing effect of what was a decided failure may have hurried him off. What he said, if we can judge of it by the reports, was characteristic of the man. A few bold generalizations on a few doubtful facts, denunciations of everything and everybody, especially of Bonaparte, Thiers and MacMahon, an epigram or two, with here and there some personal reminiscences of his voyage and captivity (the whole being confused and almost without arrangement), made up the discourse. He sailed for Europe next day to put into operation some charitable plans for annoying the present Government of France, in which there are many things to encourage him. He will take up his residence, it is said, in Switzerland.

Spanish American character has hardly been exhibiting its gentlest traits during the past few weeks. In Mexico it has murdered some poor American Protestant missionaries with the most atrocious cruelty, and burned to death several persons accused of witchcraft with a zeal and zest worthy of old Cotton Mather or the good King James. In Central America it has amused itself with beating, until he nearly died, the Vice Consul of Her Majesty Queen Victoria, for which little indulgence the sum of $50,000 will, it is said, be paid; and more recently still it has been getting up a little revolution in Peru. A Colonel of the Army, seized with the natural desire to enrich himself at the public expense, doubtless ignorant of the opportunities which speedy naturalization and the destruction of the Civil Service Rules might safely be expected to offer to the active and deserving in a more northern clime, laid his plans to capture a large sum of gold, which his position enabled him to know would be despatched under guard in a certain railway train. Defeated in this, he laid

siege to the city of Cuzco, famous as the capital of the Incas, but was at last forced to withdraw in great disgust. A pleasant flavor to South American life must be given by the frequent recurrences of these little attempts. How differently would the gallant Colonel have gone to work, had "the best Government on earth" been his sovereign, and "the best currency the world ever saw" his temptation and reward. To make an attack on a bullion train is brutal and in shocking taste; we understand things much better in this favored latitude.

THE Democrats have carried Oregon as well as New Hampshire and Connecticut. In New Hampshire Mr. Weston has been chosen Governor, by the legislature no election having been made by the people. In Connecticut the choice of M. W. W. Eaton as United States Senator is an event which has occasioned comments. His determination in clinging to his opinions when it demanded courage, and his services to a party, his fidelity to which has never been questioned, make his election to the highest honor that party can bestow seem a natural result of its triumph at the polls. He is said to be a man of character and ability, but his usefulness in the Senate may be affected by a spirit of uncompromising partisanship which he has often shown in times past. The fact of his election, however, is a stubborn one for those who have been looking upon the Republican party as the tenant for a long life of all the powers and honors which the people have to give. To have predicted the election of a Democrat like Mr. Eaton, even a year ago, would have seemed madness and not prophecy; but how often has the one been taken for the other?

AFTER the display of a capacity to hold on to office that was simply extraordinary—renewing his grasp with a desperate effort every time it slipped or slackened, clinging still, long after it would have been alike physically and morally impossible for a larger man to have retained his hold, Mr. Secretary Richardson fell from the dizzy eminence to which a grateful chief had lifted him, down into the soft and congenial cushions of the Court of Claims. Everything had been so well arranged, and the mere act of falling was so natural to this Statesman, that no damage was done, at least to him. He came very near (it is true) meeting an ugly obstacle in

the shape of an adverse majority in the Senate, which would undoubtedly have been the end of him; but he reached the bottom in safety, and almost without noise. Now that he has really gone and another is sitting in the chair in which he has been so uneasily rattling about during the past winter, we may not only miss him but wonder why we ever had him there. The story is a strange one, and yet not altogether uncommon in these latter days. But if his coming was unlooked for and unfortunate, and his going long looked for and most happy, the manner of his departure was not exactly what a lover of good examples could have wished. That men may be selected for the highest places without having had experience or shown fidelity or ability, without even as has been more than once the case, having acquired the confidence of those with whom they have been constantly associated, may not be very well, but it may be necessary; but that an officer who has proved his incapacity in an hundred ways, and shown weakness that in his place may almost be criminal—whose acts have been made the subject of investigation by Congress and of a report reflecting upon his capacity and censuring his negligence—whose resignation is demanded by the newspapers of both parties and by the people generally—whose unfitness is after all the one point upon which all men seem just now ready to agree—should be retained by the President avowedly because he is subjected to criticism, and when unwillingly allowed to go, nominated to a high and honorable office, is about as demoralizing a fact as young America can have to contemplate. But after all the subserviency of the Senate in confirming the nomination is no better. Surely there never was a better chance, not even in the days of a vacant Chief Justiceship, for that body which was meant by the fathers to stand up as a check upon bad or unwise nominations to exercise its high prerogative. No one can read without regret, no matter what his views of Mr. Richardson's nomination might be, of Senators of the United States declining to vote at all, rather than by expressing their convictions offend the President. It reminds us that it was the people, not the Senate, who declined to accept Mr. Williams as Chief Justice, and it gives one no very secure feeling for the future. Mr. Bristow, the new Secretary, is said to be both upright and able. His ability, were it twice as great, no one can conscientously regret to see added to the present Cabinet, and he

has the rare good fortune to follow Mr. Richardson. Any one will perhaps shine by contrast with that unlucky functionary, and the appointment of the new Secretary has been hailed with delight everywhere even by those who know nothing better of him than that his appointment is at last a change.

ALL the gratitude that President Grant fairly earned by his veto of the currency bill he has put in peril by his "Message to Senator Jones," as some irate newspapers call it. To do him justice, the President means well enough. The ends he has in view are those of every honest and wise financier. But being a man without any practical experience of the operations of the money market, and of the effect of this or that measure upon them, he lacks all due sense of time and proportion. To borrow Lord Shaftesbury's famous comparison, he sees that we are in the third story, and ought to go to the side-walk; but he knows no difference between going down stairs and jumping out of the window. He thinks everything that is to be done can be done before our national centennial—that the legal tender law can be safely repealed a year before that time, and the whole mass of the United States currency withdrawn from circulation and replaced by interest bearing bonds, the redemption beginning July 1, 1876. Yet we next find him speaking of not re-issuing any United States notes of less denomination than ten dollars, which, like much else in his plan, suggests that he has no plan at all, but fragments of half a dozen plans mixed up in his head. If the United States is to re-issue no notes, why put a stop to the re-issue of small notes especially?

Anybody who gives the matter half a thought must see that these contractive proceedings would simply draw a tourniquet around every artery of the national industry. A vast body of the money of the country, the instrument of association and that by which its exchanges are effected, would be destroyed if the resumption succeeded; and nothing would take its place. The gold and silver, which some wise heads imagine to be valiantly lurking in some hole or corner, waiting for paper money to get out of the way, would be found to be nowhere. The terms of every contract made and not yet fulfilled would be altered ten per cent. in favor of the class that is best able to incur losses. The existing uncertainty, against which business men must insure themselves

in every transaction, would be greatly intensified. The fortunes of the country would hang on the question, Will the Treasury succeed in the battle of Armageddon that it has begun with the stockbrokers? In a word, the Government would first throw the whole business community into bankruptcy,and then follow them thither.

Passing to minor points, we are not surprised to find the President sharing in two very common financial superstitions—one native, one imported. He would like to "force redemption on the national banks." The banks of the country are organized upon the basis of certificates of the national debt. They can only resume after selling their United States bonds, which they were created to form a market for. When they unload this vast amount upon the market, what chance will there be that the Treasury will be able to sell bonds enough besides to redeem the entire greenback currency? So much for the native American superstition—the hatred and suspicion of the national banks. The foreign one is the English suspicion of small notes. It once nearly ruined Scotland. Had not Sir Walter Scott, then in the height of his popularity, interposed to keep England from cutting off the supply of Scotch small notes, that country would be far poorer in every respect. It is part of the notion that the credit system of the country is to be a first-class train of Palace Cars only, which has been the only justification of the prejudices that the working classes entertain against the whole system.

A wise resumption must be gradual and prudent. That the greenback dollar is not worth a hundred, but at most only ninety cents, is a misfortune. It was wrong in the Government ever to issue money that was not worth its face. But "two wrongs do not make one right," and a hasty resumption would only do great injury to a new class of sufferers, without restoring what the first had lost. A wise resumption will be effected partly by gradually and slowly reducing the volume of the currency, at the same time that the business needs of the community grow up toward that volume; partly by making the volume more elastic, and therefore more adaptable to the needs of the country. "Nature does nothing by jumps," and wise finance imitates her patience.

Bills have passed the House admitting as the thirty-eighth and thirty-ninth States of the Union Colorado and New Mexico. In

vain was it shown that in the latter territory at least five-sixths of the population can not read or write, and that the character of the people is turbulent and restless, and that neither can prove that it possesses 100,000 inhabitants. The House decided to admit both and the bills went to the Senate. There is little reason however to expect that that body will act on them before the adjournment, and the agony of the many who expect to be the first Senators from the new States is by no means over. The House has also passed this month the resolution instructing the President to perfect the invitation to foreign nations to attend and take part in the Centennial Exhibition. As the matter stands now, the celebration is to be International and under the auspices of the United States. Invitations are to be issued to all nations in the name of the Government, but all the parties to the entertainment are to pay their expenses except the United States. It is fortunate that such a rule is not enforced in private life. The hospitality which accompanied its invitations to dinner with express directions to each guest to bring knife, fork and spoon, beef, bread, butter and vegetables, and left him in great doubt whether he would have a chance to carry home his silver, would be an inconvenient sort of kindness to a great many of us. It remains to see how it will work in this public feast with which our venerable Mother proposes to celebrate her birthday. The matter now having taken a definite shape, and the burden falling wholly upon private subscriptions, there will be no further delay or doubt and the work is to be pushed vigorously. It is in good hands, and should receive the heartiest assistance and encouragement.

Two other notable events have taken place this month. When General Grant took office attempts were made to reform two of the worst features in our administrative system. A new policy was inaugurated with regard to the Indians and a Board of Indian Commissioners was appointed, and an attempt by means of a Commission was made to introduce a reform in the appointments to the civil service. Both reforms were of the same age and both seemed equally necessary. Both have had the same experience from friend and foe, and they have met their untimely fate together. Letters and protests from honest Indian Commissioners, complaining of the corrupt practices which they were

generally powerless to correct or punish, have appeared from time to time, followed ever and again by sorrowfully worded resignations; but the Board hung together until the 1st of June. They hoped against hope that Congress would do something, that the President would do something, that the Secretary of the Interior would somehow experience a change of heart. But the one remained obdurate and the other indifferent, and the Senate and House were too busy with Currency and Sanborn, and Moieties and Back Pay and the Franking Privilege, to give enough of their precious time to the wrongs of the Indian or the corruption in the Bureau. It is hard, said Mr. Disraeli on one occasion, in reply to a fiery speech on the wrongs of Ireland, to expect the House to redress in one session the evils of "seven hundred years of misrule," and one can not expect the wrongs of the Red man to be righted in one session of the American Congress. Nevertheless the Indian Commissioners hoped for something. Nothing being done, and their own positions becoming daily more and more disagreeable, they have resigned, and so ends one attempt at a very necessary reform. The civil service rules have from the outset been very damaging to the regular workers of both parties. They have interfered with the distribution of patronage and shocked the now traditional belief that to the victors belong the spoils, an idea established by a generation of scrambling for office. They have often had the effect of furnishing to the public service men more distinguished for intelligence and capacity than for devotion to party and partisan service, and more than once have been found to thwart the best laid plans of skillful politicians, burning with the noble desire of securing to their country such talents as those of the self sacrificing Sanborn, or the modest Jayne, or the exemplary Simmons. Naturally enough, to no one has this reform been more obnoxious than to General Butler; and emboldened perhaps by the victory he obtained over it in the matter of the Boston Custom House, he has succeeded in defeating an appropriation to continue it for another year. Thus, decrepit even in its infancy, dwarfed by cruel circumstances, and crippled from its birth, an unfortunate even in its friends, few of whom sincerly cared for it, this child of virtuous resolutions has passed away almost unlamented. Tears of course are vain; its resurrection is not to be looked for, and to avenge it were well

nigh impossible. It remains for those who believe that no danger to the future of their country is more threatening than the corruption which prevails in nearly all departments of the service, and is reflected everywhere, to hope and pray for the advent of a sturdier successor. This will perhaps be born in more propitious times and of more vigorous parentage, but it may be forced into existence in the midst of trouble, the offspring of necessity. To-morrow or the next day may be too late.

ADMIRERS of our system have sometimes feared that the growing cares and responsibilties of the Presidential office were likely, after a time, to break down the strongest man who might be called upon to bear them. Especially are they heavy and wearying as the sessions of Congress draw to a close, and in the hurry of business bill after bill is rushed through both Houses and carried to the patient President for his disapproval or his signature. The same sense of satisfaction with which the loyal subjects of Queen Victoria have from time to time seen her escape from London to the retirement of Balmoral, especially whenever the cares of state were pressing heavily or important matters required prompt attention, to return refreshed and invigorated when there was no longer any danger that her duties might encroach upon her pleasure or her health, has been sincerely felt by the public generally at seeing the President drive dull care away in a recent little journey to the sea-shore. It is fortunate for us all that our Chief Magistrate has been enabled to tear himself away from Washington for twenty-four hours, from the toil and tumult of the closing days of this exciting session, and drink in new strength for the holidays in the bracing air of Cape May and the mild enjoyments which are apt to attend the opening of a public house. The journey through the vast pine barrens of that romantic State, New Jersey, which has furnished so many statesmen to the common country, was unbroken by incident save at a beautiful spot called Millville. While the train stopped in order to take water, and allow a crowd of vast proportions to gaze for a brief time upon the retinue of able and wealthy gentlemen who crowded the triumphal car of the President, one of the most eminent statesmen of the party, feeling the enthusiasiasm of the moment and seeing the admiration which Gen. Grant has had the good for-

tune to inspire among the people, took advantage of it with characteristic adroitness to test his strength for a third term. Leaning gracefully over the platform he beckoned to him with a gesture of command a gentle youth of the immature age of three. "Little boy," said the eminent statesman; and the little boy answered and said, "Thir." "Will you vote for General Grant?" persisted the great man, in a soft, seductive voice. "Yeth, thir," lisped the little boy, his small frame quivering with patriotic fervor. The picture was a striking one; the train of Pullman cars—the engine pumping water—the large crowd—the group of the variously great—the aged statesman full of years and more than full of honors, his face beaming with patriarchal tenderness—the little boy, the representative of a race of voters yet to be, drawn up to his full stature, gazing with steadfast eyes into the other's face as with a voice firm beyond his years he confesses the noble purpose of his life—and all around the the illimitable sea of Jersey pines. The multitude is too much moved to speak—the eminent statesman pauses in his catechism, the little boy braces himself for another question, when suddenly the engine gives a final gasping gulp, and with a shriek the train moves slowly from the crowded platform and rushes away to the sea. Such an incident, revealing as it does at once the hold the President has upon the masses, and his determination to run for a third or even an indefinite number of terms, cannot fail to attract the notice of the politicians generally, and they may trim their sails accordingly. That it will reawaken from its apparent slumber that guardian of the future, the New York *Herald*, there can be no doubt; but perhaps after all it has no more significance than can be attached to the playful gambols of the great, when seeking in their sea-side loiterings to throw off the burden which a grateful people has imposed upon them. But it must be remembered that even the sports of the great are characteristic, and even in hours of relaxation noble minds reveal themselves; and as veracious chroniclers of the notable events of the times, we cannot suffer the circumstance to pass without remark.

JOHN EDGAR THOMSON.

JOHN EDGAR THOMSON was born Feb. 10th, 1808, at his father's farm in Delaware county, Pennsylvania, on the Baltimore Post-road, about ten miles from Philadelphia. His family was a Quaker one which settled in that neighborhood in the earliest colonial times,—two of his ancestors, Samuel Levis, a preacher among the Friends, and Bartholomew Coppock, both members of the Provincial Council, having come over with William Penn. Mr. Thomson bought back the old place and owned it at the time of his death. Not far from it is the house where his father's first cousin Benjamin West was born, which still stands within sight of the railroad going from Philadelphia to West Chester. As a boy Mr. Thomson received the sound but very simple rustic education of sixty years since, there being added to it the scientific training which his father, a civil engineer of excellent position, was fitted to give. Before he was grown up the burden of assisting in the maintenance of the family came upon him, and he met resolutely, but not without deep disappointment, the first great misfortune of his life, the renunciation of all hope of a college education. He had been intended for West Point, but when he reached the proper age his father's friends were no longer in power. At the age of nineteen he was attached to the Philadelphia and Columbia railroad, then an important line, and three years afterwards, in 1830, he was transferred to the Camden and Amboy railroad, which was of about the same rank as the other. In 1832 he went to Europe to gain a professional culture which could only be obtained there; and in 1836 he took charge of the Georgia Central railroad, the longest road then in this country. His life hitherto had been very hard work upon small pay, and he had not yet known more than the simplest of luxuries or comforts. As he himself said, he had never up to that time been given any place for which he had applied: his rewards came when not looked for. He had stepped, however, upon that which was by no means the lowest round of the ladder, and was now certain of a recognition of his abilities. He said with honorable pride that with those who knew him he was as much respected at twenty-four as he ever was at the height of his reputation.

In Georgia he laid the foundation of his future career by that system of work which in later days raised him to eminence—a far-sightedness and boldness in his original conception, joined with a scrupulous prudence in each step taken. In the course of his life he three times brought a great railroad through a general financial crisis—the Georgia Central through that of 1837, the Pennsylvania and the Pittsburgh, Fort Wayne and Chicago Railroads through that of 1857, and the Pennsylvania Railroad, with all its connecting lines, through that of 1873. He laid out the town of Atlanta, now the capital of Georgia, and is still remembered in that state, though it is now nearly thirty years ago, with the most thorough respect and regard. He left the Georgia Central Railroad in admirable order, when in 1847 he was called to be the chief engineer of the Pennsylvania Railroad, which had just been chartered; the transportation system of Pennsylvania then consisting of a railroad from Philadelphia to Columbia, another one from Lancaster to Harrisburg, a canal route from Columbia to Hollidaysburg at the foot of the Alleghanies, the Portage railroad over the Alleghanies, and on the other side a canal from Johnstown to Pittsburgh; the quickest time from Philadelphia to Pittsburgh being 91 hours. The great problem at that moment to be met was the passage of the Alleghanies: the Portage Railroad, as it was called, with ten inclined planes up the side of the mountain and stationary engines at different points, had been inadequate to compete with the New York and Baltimore lines which were, or were about to become continuous railroads without any such inclined planes—and the question before the engineering world was whether or not there was any better substitute. Mr. Thomson said unhesitatingly that by curves the ascent could be made, and with a short tunnel at the top the monstrous obstacle be conquered. The achievement of the Horse-Shoe beyond Altoona was the crown of Mr. Thomson's professional career; for from that time he ceased to be a practical engineer, and to railway administration and finance the rest of his life was devoted. In 1852, while at his work on the mountains, he was elected President of the Pennsylvania Railroad, and with some reluctance accepted the position, being of the opinion that greater reputation and wealth could have been reached by him in the line of his first occupation. It is an interesting piece of history which is perhaps in some danger of

being forgotten—that one of Mr. Thomson's election to the command of the Pennsylvania Railroad—and which has some light to throw upon a question of the hour. To begin a little way back, let us say that the rivalry between Philadelphia and New York and Baltimore for the trade of the West, was in 1846, and for some years previous, as eager as now; and in the contest the canals of Pennsylvania, (there being as yet no through railroads,) had this great advantage,—that owing to the difference of latitude, they could get in the Spring five or six weeks start of the Erie canal. The Canal Commissioners of Pennsylvania, with Mr. William B. Foster at their head, made a rule to charge during this period high rates of freight, which were lowered upon the opening of competing lines. This by the merchants of Philadelphia—the Grangers of their day—was stigmatized as an outrage, the tyranny of a monopoly, etc.; and when the Pennsylvania Railroad was started they, through their representatives in the Board of Directors, insisted that things should be changed, and that a tariff should be laid down, which on the honor of the managers should be adhered to during the season. Such was the prevailing policy when Mr. Thomson was called to be Chief Engineer and General Superintendent of the new line. His experience in Georgia had taught him what preposterous folly it was to set up arbitrary rules in the place of the natural laws of commerce, and the issue was at once distinctly raised. The result so fraught with consequence to the well-being of this Commonwealth, and indeed of this country, was the substitution of Mr. Thomson for the leader of the other party, Col. Patterson, who had just taken Mr. Merrick's place (the latter having been compelled, by pressure of his private affairs, to resign the Presidency of which he had been the first incumbent). So that the Pennsylvania Railroad stands to-day as a grand protest against the fallacy of "Cheap Transportation." Mr. Thomson's capacity in the new field was soon tried, for with the completion of the road to Pittsburgh the company began at once that system of connections beyond the State which at present stretch so far. The Pittsburgh, Fort Wayne and Chicago R. R., though an independent organization, was recognized from the first by the Pennsylvania Railroad, and was to a certain extent built under its auspices. Mr. Thomson saw that the Pennsylvania Railroad could not exist as a mere State line, and though the Directors were in

the beginning perplexed and even appalled by what seemed his huge schemes, they ended by acknowledging that he was right, and that without feeders their enterprise could never enjoy a moment of sound life. The panic of 1857 found the Pittsburgh, Fort Wayne and Chicago Railroad unfinished, and on an anything but satisfactory basis. Mr. Thomson took hold of it, and through that great crisis eighty-five miles were built upon his personal credit. Since then no road has stood better than this one. How under Mr. Thomson's rule the Pennsylvania Railroad has grown from a line as above described to what it is now, connecting New York with Chicago and with St. Louis, having its termini upon the Atlantic seaboard and upon the great lakes, and controlling as far as New Orleans and into Texas, will better be given by Mr. Cuyler, who at the request of the Board of Directors is to write the history of Mr. Thomson's public career. It will be for us to tell of his personal life; to show what he was in his home and to those who knew him well. He was a singularly silent man, the characteristic amounting to an idiosyncrasy, but he would at times speak so freely as to astound his listeners, perhaps the last persons to expect his confidence; and from the trusted companion of twenty years of his life there was probably little held back. His great reserve and a certain shyness made him appear, and perhaps sometimes be, brusque to those who knew him but slightly; for those whom he disliked or disapproved of he could never have been pleasant to meet. His methodical way of forming his opinions made him easily open to conviction at the outset, but almost impossible to move afterwards. He was always conservative in his feelings, especially in later life, but he never lost any of that breadth of comprehension with which he regarded railroad enterprises; he said of the two unfinished Pacific railroads, which since last autumn so few have had the courage to defend, that they were both good roads if not recklessly pushed. With his close Pennsylvania connections he was a tariff man, and in national finances he was disposed to approve of what was known as the "Boutwell" plan, though he recognized its artificial character; in the late discussions he was utterly opposed to the inflation schemes of the West, and the President's veto of the currency bill had his hearty support. In railroad policy he never hesitated to express his disapprobation of the great carrying companies

being anything else than carriers, and said that only when driven to it by the competition of rival roads would he permit or encourage his own or other railroads in entering into the business of traders upon even the smallest scale. The feeling of patriotism was with him deep and abiding, and though undemonstrative in that as in everything, the work which during the late civil war he did for his country, was as some few know most noble in its simple sacrifice; he gave, and was glad to see those about him give all that could be spared beyond ordinary expenses, to help the struggle in which his sympathies were so intense and clear-sighted. In 1869 he was urgently pressed to be a candidate for the place of United States Senator for Pennsylvania; but after some consideration he declined to do so, though his success in being elected was almost assured, and John Scott, of Huntingdon, whom he named instead of himself, now holds the seat.

He was a Democrat or Republican—using either word in a non-partisan sense—of an old-fashioned school; with him "a man was a man for a' that." His literary tastes were simple. Pope was his only poet, and in prose he was best pleased with translations from classic history, especially Herodotus and Tacitus. The *Spectator*, it should be said too, was one of his favorite books. Cleverness, whenever it came within the range of his habitual thought, he quickly appreciated; and nothing had more amusement or interest for him than, for example, the leaders and paragraph writing of the *Nation*. But when he was tired or harassed what answered best was a novel, and though he would generally assume not to be affected, the tears in his eyes more than once betrayed his interest in perhaps the most sentimental of love-stories. For he was, as those know who have gone to him for counsel, a man of thoroughly tender sympathies. Though his affections ran in a narrow channel, they made every spot which they touched glad with happiness and kindliest beneficence. The little writing which he did was clear and nervous. All the reports of the Board of Directors of the Pennsylvania Railroad since 1852 were written by him, and are admirable as well for their simple English as for being succinct and accurate statements of facts and figures. He was a good man—in his public and in his private life. He was faithful to his engagements, and all who came into contact with him trusted him most absolutely. Though holding a

high place in a time of political debauchery he never knew intrigue or bribery. In his later life he was far removed from such things, and when he was younger, and when to descend to unscrupulous means might have been a possible temptation, his hands, as he once told the writer, were always clean. His self-government was strong and calm; he never fretted, he seldom complained, he only endured. To any attack upon the good name of the Road, or what most rarely happened, a questioning of his own personal honor or capacity, he was sensitive to such a degree that it was long before the wound healed. His gentleness and patience in the pains of what were often agonizing illnesses, never broke down, and to have seen him suffer was a lesson in heroism.

To religion, a subject on which he seldom spoke, he gave, as one or two can testify who shared his confidence, much and grave thought. He spoke once of devoutly believing in a great and good God, the maker and ruler of all things; and when by one who had the right so to speak, he was asked whether he did not think that religious observances were a duty—whether a good man ought not to confess Christ before men, he answered that he had always intended to make his life do that. In his charities he was more than generous, and gave as scarcely another gives. His opportunities of wealth were very many, but he never pursued his own advantage with a single aim; his heart was so much in his work that money-getting was secondary to that higher end.

Towards the close of his life these few interests were cared for by his faithful secretary, and his whole attention was of late given to the business of his railroad. How terrible that burden has been for him the world does not seem to know; it shall here be said, therefore, that for the last two years, and above all for the last six months, the strain of the immense work fell upon him in a way he had never known before, and which the sick body and the wearied and anxious mind could bear no longer. Strong as he was in both, strong with a giant's strength, week after week of sleepless nights, week after week of days worn out with care and responsibility which could not be delegated, and from which even his dying hands would hardly loosen, brought the inevitable end; and on the twenty-seventh of May, in the year of Grace 1874, towards twelve o'clock at night, his long stewardship was closed, and he found the rest which could never have come this side the grave.

His body was buried on the first day of June, following, from St. Mark's Church, Locust street, Philadelphia, and was followed by a long procession of those like himself, the most honored in this community. A noble charity will rise to keep his memory green, and to perpetuate after his death the goodness of his life

THE FIRST ANTI-SLAVERY PROTEST.

TILL lately it never had been questioned that the small band of Germans who, at Germantown, in 1688, passed the well-known first protest against Slavery, belonged to the Society of Friends. The document itself which originated in "our meeting at Germantown," dated the 18th of 2d month, 1688, and addressed to the Monthly meeting, at Richard Morrell's, appears to bear evidence of the fact on its face. An attempt has nevertheless been made to correct what is called "an error that has crept into history." The Quakers are no longer to plume themselves with feathers that belong to entirely different birds. In a work recently published, "Memorial of Thomas Potts, Jr.," by Mrs. T. P. James, a book that does eminent credit to the patient and pains-taking industry of the authoress, issue is taken against the common notion that the protest was passed in a meeting of the Society of Friends.

How much or how little credit for anti-slavery sentiment, manifested at so early a date, should be awarded to the Quakers of Pennsylvania is a question we do not care to discuss. It must be admitted that the difficulties with which the abolition of slavery was even then entangled, were in the eyes of the ruling majority of Friends too great for taking action against the evil. The protest remained unheeded. But if it comes to a question of fact, whether Pastorius and his associates and friends were Quakers or not, at the time when they gave their solemn testimony against slave-holding, an unprejudiced inquirer will find the hitherto accepted view not invalidated but strengthened by a close scrutiny of all circumstances.

The Germantown anti-slavery protest is headed: "This is the Monthly Meeting held at Richard Morrell's," and its closing paragraph reads as follows: "This is from our meeting at Ger-

mantown held ye 18 of the 2d month, 1688, to be delivered to the Monthly Meeting at Richard Morrell's.

"Garret Henderich, Derick up de Graeff, Francis Daniel Pastorius, Abraham jr. Den graef."

(The latter name is evidently a misconception for Abraham up den Graeff.)

At the foot of the address is the minute of John Hart, the clerk of the Monthly meeting at Dublin, acknowledging that it was received on the 30 of the 2 month, 1688, considered and being deemed too weighty transmitted to the Quarterly Meeting. The Quarterly Meeting disposed of the document on the 4 of the 4 month in a similar manner, recommending it to the consideration of the Yearly Meeting. Here the matter was taken up in the same year, but the Meeting did not deem it expedient "to give a positive judgment in the case." (See, "The Friends of 1844," p. 125, 126. Mitchener Retrospect of Early Quakerism, p. 332; Bowden History of the Society of Friends in America, Vol. II, p. 143, etc.)

Thus we find that the paper took its regular course through the successive grades of Quaker Meetings. That the clause quoted above, which credits the protest to "our meeting in Germantown" has reference to a Quaker meeting is fully borne out and confirmed by the official action of the Monthly, Quarterly and Yearly Meetings, who would not have troubled themselves with an appeal coming from quarters entirely foreign to their organization.

To overcome this strong *primâ facie* evidence of Quaker paternity would require very positive proof in a contrary direction. If it could be established, for instance, that no Quaker meeting was organized in Germantown at that period, there would be some ground on which to argue: but unfortunately for Mrs. James' theory, there is documentary evidence, that such a meeting existed, at least one year before the adoption of the protest. The Records of the Abington Meeting expressly state that in 1687 Quaker Meetings were held in Germantown. The entry of the 31 of 1 mo. 1687 is this: "Resolved to hold monthly meetings at the house of Richard Morrell, jr.,"——

"That there shall be a general meeting moveable at the four several places, viz: at Germantown the last 4 day of the month, next ensuing, and the next to be at Byberry the last 4 day of the month, the next to be at Oxford on the last 3 day of the

month and the next shall be at the house of Richard Stoll the Elder on the last 5th day of the month." It would seem, therefore, to be a mere caprice to deny that the Germantown "meeting" to which Pastorius belonged, was a Quaker meeting. There is no particle of evidence for Mrs. James' assertion: "The Church of 1686 was built for the colony and was used for all public purposes."

Certainly town meetings could not be held in 1686 or 1688, because Germantown had no corporative existence till 1693, and no other Christians preceded the Quakers in organizing there a religious society.

The Mennonites built their first church in 1708, the Lutherans not until 1730. But German Quakers worshiped in the very year when the German settlement was formed, viz: 1683, in the house of Dennis Kunders (See Proud, History of Penn'a, I., p. 220.) That the place of worship built in 1686 belonged to the Quakers is confirmed by an entry in the minutes of the Abington Meeting, where under date 26 of 12th mo. 1704, we read as follows: "At this meeting Friends of Germantown having laid before us, that they intend to build a *new* meeting house next summer and Friends thought fit that each particular Meeting subscribe at their preparative meeting and bring the same to the next monthly Meeting and that the Overseers of each meeting have the care thereof."

A *new* meeting house presupposes the existence of a previous one. Mrs. James suggests that one might have been built on the 3 perches given by Jacob Schumacher, in 1693, for that purpose, but mention is made nowhere that such a house was really erected, while we know from Pastorius' own narrative, (Description of Pennsylvania, p. 34,) that a place of worship—though a very humble one—was built in 1686, a fact which should not have been questioned in the note on p. 15 of the Potts' Memorial.

An inquiry into the personal religious profession of the first settlers at Germantown, as far as it can be instituted, after this length of time, leads to facts entirely corroborative of the view here taken. Many of the permanent settlers were Quakers; at an early date several arrived as such in America. That Pastorius was a Friend is positively known. He conducted the Preparative Meeting at Germantown. (His MS. cash-book and the Record

of the Philadelphia Quarterly Meeting show this). He is repeatedly mentioned as a delegate from Germantown to Philadelphia. Meetings and commissions assigned to him are specified. His name and those of his children appear in the Abington[1] Meeting. At the famous Yearly Meeting, held at Burlington, he was a delegate, and his name appears in the list of those who signed the protest against the doctrines and practice of George Keith. (See Smith's History of Pennsylvania, in Hazard's Register of Penna., vol. VI., p. 300.) Two years after this he signed the Quaker Petition for the restoration of William Penn, (see Manuscript Documents of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.) In a letter to William Penn written 1701, (Logan papers in the Hist. Soc. of Pa.,) he uses the so-called plain language (thou and thee) of the Quakers.

Of many other settlers of Germantown, the documentary evidence as to their attachment to the Quaker society is as conclusive. The Burlington Protest of 1692 was signed by the following Germans from Germantown: F. D. Pastorius, Dirk op den Graeff, Peter Schumacher, Arnold Cassell, Paul Kästner, Henry A. Kramer, Paul Wulf.

The petition for the restoration of William Penn which proceeded from Friends, has beside Pastorius' signature, that of 29 other residents of Germantown.

The Abington Records furnish 18 Germantown names. Abraham and Herman op den Graeff signed papers in behalf or in defence of George Keith. with whom they appear to have sided, while Dirk, their brother, is on record against Keith. (See Appeal from the 28 judges to the Spirit of Truth, signed by Keith, Budd, etc., and also by Abraham op den Graeff; and the paper in favor of Keith printed in the appendix to the Potts' memorial, containing the name of Herman op den Graeff.)

As to the particular time when these Germans joined the Society of Friends, no precise data are ascertainable. But several of them had been made converts before they came to America. Speaking of the early immigrants to Pennsylvania, Robert Proud (Hist. of Pennsylvania, vol. I., p. 219,) says: "Among those from Germany were some Friends or Quakers from Krisheim or Cres-

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[1] The Germantown Meeting kept then no Records, but its concerns were noticed in those of the Abington Meeting, to which it was attached.

heim, a town not far from Worms in the Palatinate. They had been early convinced of the religious principles of the Quakers by William Ames, an Englishman."

Concurring with this testimony is that of Besse, who in the "Sufferings of the Quakers," vol. II., p. 450, mentions several Friends in Griesheim (Krisheim) that were fined and otherwise annoyed by the authorities in the years 1658 to 1666. William Penn, when journeying through Germany in 1677, stopped at this place, to give his religious brethren advice and comfort.[2] Some of these named by Besse, viz: Peter and George Schumacher, came with their families to Germantown, and several others of the first settlers, personal friends of Pastorius, hailed from the same place. (Manuscript Autobiography of Pastorius in the "Beehive.") Also Croese, in his "Historia Quakeriana," which appeared 1695, relates that several of the Germans, with whom William Penn consorted during his journey, afterwards emigrated to America. The 13 families who formed the settlement of Germantown in 1683, all but one, turn up as members of the Quaker Society in contemporary documents. Let it be stated here *en passant* that Mrs. James is mistaken in speaking of these families as fellow-passengers of Pastorius in the ship America, (p. 10.) Pastorius arrived in the "America," August 20, 1683, and with him a few persons, partly engaged as servants, among whom was Jacob Schumacher. (See the above quoted Autobiography.) The 13 families that formed the nucleus of the Germantown settlement arrived in the same year on the 6th of October, by the ship Concord. These families were: Dirk, Herman and Abraham op den Graeff, Lenert Arets, Tunes Kunders, Reinert Tisen, Wilhelm Strepers, Jan Lensen, Peter Keurlis, Jan Simens, Johann Bleickers, Abraham Tunes, Jan Lücken.

The three op den Graeffs we found in Quaker papers, committed either for or against George Keith; all the others except "Lensen" are proved as Quakers either by entry into the Abington Records or by the signature of their names to Quaker papers, such as the Burlington Protest, The Petition for Penn's Restoration, Subscription to the Quaker Meeting House at Germantown. Among them are three out of the four who signed the anti-slavery

[2]See William Penn's Journey through Holland and Germany.

address of 1688. The fourth, Garret Henderich, we have reason to think, was a native of Griesheim, and a Quaker before he left Germany. Besse mentions among those who suffered persecution at Griesheim in 1666, John Hendrichs and Peter Schumacher. In a list of arrivals (MS. Documents of Hist. Soc. of Penna.), we find Gerhard (Garret) Hendrich and Peter Schumacher as passengers in the same ship, the Francis and Dorothy, which landed in Philadelphia October 12, 1685. It is fair to presume, that Garret was one of the Hendrich family that had tasted the intolerance of the government.

Thus whatever slender information can be gathered from the scanty records, either in relation to the meetings or about the individuals that settled Germantown, it tends to the same conclusion, viz.: that primitive Germantown was hardly less imbued with Quakerism than primitive Philadelphia.

We have to turn now to the evidence that is brought forward to arraign and upset this consistent tissue of facts, with a view of proving "that an error has crept into history," and that the originators of the anti-slavery protest were far from being Quakers.

"A community," says the authoress of the Potts' Memorial, "that kept the 28th of December, as the records prove, because on this day Herod slew the Innocents, could not have been the followers of Fox." Now he who proves too much proves nothing at all. Were premises and conclusions correct, it would follow that in the year 1703 there were no Quakers of any account in Germantown, while the existence of a Quaker meeting at that time is as little questionable (and even admitted by Mrs. James) as it is at the present day. For the record alluded to in the Potts' Memorial is the record of the Germantown court; and the only time the Slaughter of the Innocents looms up is in the minutes of December 28th, 1703. Now, strange to say, the records do not prove what is asserted, but just the contrary; for the court was on that day in regular session, Quakers and other officers attending. Business was transacted as usually. How then about the Slaughter of the Innocents? A certain Matthew Smith had an action against Daniel Falkner, and "by reason of conscience, viz: that this was the day when Herod slew the Innocents, as also that his witnesses were and would for the above

reason not be here," desired a continuance of the case to the next day of record. This continuance was granted and other business taken up. How the scruples of Matthew Smith, who for aught we know, may have been a Roman Catholic, can be adduced as a proof that the Germantown community kept the day of the Slaughter of the Innocents, were no followers of Fox, and that consequently the anti-slavery protest of 1688 was not the work of Quakers, passes our comprehension. Were not the Quakers the Innocents that had to be slaughtered?

Again the authoress of the Potts' Memorial says: "There is no reason to suppose that Pastorius or his eleven families were Quakers when they arrived here. In his letters home he calls the Friends Tremulendos, and he disclaims for himself the name of Pietist."

It is of no consequence, whether Pastorious was a Quaker when he arrived in Philadelphia; we surely find him one by documentary evidence after he had been here several years. He does not call the Friends in his letters Tremulendos, but "Tremulanten" (p. 33) which in the German of the period is merely a latinizing equivalent for the word Quaker, implying no disrespect whatever.

Some stress seems to be laid in the Potts' Memorial on Pastorius' declaration that he meant to impart to the Indians a knowledge of Holy Trinity and Christian Faith. But if the ground be taken that a person's belief in Trinity disproves him a Quaker, George Fox himself runs the risk of having his Quakerdom questioned. (See what Fox in his address to the Grand Turk says about the three Heavenly witnesses; Gospel Truth, Philadelphia edition, vol. III., p. 381.) Where Pastorius in his book on Pennsylvania discusses religious principles, (p. 86—89,) he utters not a word that a Quaker could not subscribe to.

Before we close, a word remains to be said about the tone and wording of the anti-slavery protest, so far as it may throw some light on the religious profession of the originators. Mrs. James insists that the paper reproaches the Quakers for their practice of slave-holding, and could not have emanated from any Quaker Society. We are of a different opinion. Of course the Germantown people held no slaves and might therefore address those that did by "*you.*"

The use of "we" where it *does* occur, seems to agree, on the other hand, for a vinculum, connecting the writers and the receivers of the address; and as this was directed to a religious body, the vinculum must have been that of religious profession. Such terms as these, "*we* who profess that it is not lawful to steal must likewise avoid to purchase such things as are stolen," and "Europeans are desirous to know in what manner the Quakers do rule in their province, and most of them do look upon *us* with an envious eye," may perhaps not weigh much as arguments; but if any inference is to be drawn from the tenor of the instrument, we claim that it is in favor of and not against the conclusion that has been arrived at on other grounds.

O. SEIDENSTICKER.

ANCIENT GREEK MUSIC.

IN descending the Acropolis, at Athens, one finds amidst piles of crumbling stone and earth, some semi-circular rows of marble seats, built into the rock, with passage-ways between them. The lowest tier consists of marble chairs, which bear such inscriptions as "Priest of the Muses," "Priest of Demeter," "Priest of Dionysos," etc. The seats converge to a semi-circular enclosure paved with small blocks of marble. Within this orchestra, for such it is, and near where the Thymele once stood, the present custodian of the place has erected a rude hut. In front of the orchestra and elevated a few feet above its level is a narrow proscenium with right and left entrances; and beyond it are the ruins of outer walls. Such are the remains of the famous Dionysic theatre. Down the sides of the mountain there are growths of aloes and Indian fig. A few stunted olive trees line the roadway, and in the distant cemeteries, some sombre cypresses bend in the breeze. When one lingers here while sunset tinges to amethyst the opposite side of Mount Hymettus, and the sea mist blends with the blue Saronic gulf and the bluer isles of Salamis and Aegina in the distance, a magic breath of beauty seems to float over the scene, and one feels that he is indeed in the birthland of art.

Time and the barbarian have not wholly effaced the work of the

architect and the sculptor. It still lingers in the shattered columns of the Parthenon and the wilderness of broken marble which surrounds it. The painter's art may be traced back through the vases, frescoes and mosaic pavements of Pompeii to the old Greek masters; and the ruins of the Dionysic theatre and the more recent Odeon are monuments of the devotion of that people as well to the drama as to music.

In the writings of the philosophers, poets and historians of Greece, music is treated not merely as a source of pleasure, but as something necessary to the well-being of the State, and to be regulated by legislation. It was not only a fundamental part of their education, but it may with certainty be affirmed that the Greeks were the first people who possessed a scientific knowledge of music. Their writings upon the subject were numerous and elaborate; and although much has perished, enough remains to give us a tolerably clear idea of their musical theories.

What we call counterpoint was not taught to the Greeks. By harmony they meant melody; and although they made occasional use of polyphony or the combination of two or more notes, such as the fourth, the fifth or the octave, they carried their musical Puritanism so far as to exclude thirds and sixths from their list of consonances; and admitted only the unison and the octave in a combination of voices. Even at the present day in Greece, church music is not sung in parts, although in the Greek churches in Russia it has been harmonized.

With the ancient Greeks, music and poetry were wedded arts, and they were unwilling that the one should transcend the other. How changed their relations in modern times! With us any melodious jingle of words suffices for song poetry; and who would attempt to follow the plot of an Italian opera without a libretto?

That the ancient Greek poets were also musicians, and that their poetry was composed for music, we have abundant evidence. The structure of their verse proves it. Had their poetry been written for recitation without *melos*, its rythm would have depended upon the natural accent of the spoken syllables, as with us; but we find on the contrary, accent entirely neglected, and quantity alone regarded. The reason is palpable. When verse is intoned, the accents disappear, but the quantity of the syllables is all important. How grotesque is the effect when such a long syllable as

"couldst" or "wouldst" is sung to a semiquaver, or a short one, such as "the," or "it," is prolonged through a minim. In the musical notation of the Greeks the length of the notes was not indicated, because the measure of the verse regulated them. A long syllable required a long note, and a short syllable a short note. A thorough knowledge of poetic metres was therefore as indispensable to the ancient as a knowledge of time is to the modern musician; and thus the treatise of Aristides Quintilianus upon music commences with an elaborate explanation of the quantity of syllables and of the different metres then in use.

In reading classic poetry it is customary to disregard the accent of the words, and accent the syllables which are long either by nature or by position. Without discussing the correctness of this, it is to be observed that Longinus speaks of latent hexameters in the orations of Demosthenes, which would not be perceived in the ordinary utterance of speech. The inference is that they required intonation to make them perceptible. Thus Homer says: "*Sing*, O Goddess, the anger or Peleus' offspring Achilles;" and if his description of Demodokos, the bard (*aoidos*) with his phormingx, in the Eighth book of the Odyssey, is to be taken as a portraiture of himself, the meaning of the invocation is: Sing me the anger, etc., that I may be able to *sing* it to others. In Plato's time the poems of Homer werė still sung by rhapsodists; for in his Ion he makes Socrates say: "You rhapsodists and actors and those whose poems you sing (*adete*) are wise;" and again: "You, Ion, are inspired by Homer; for when any one sings something from another poet you go to sleep, but when any one declaims some melody (*melos*) of Homer you awake at once." Indeed the practice of singing epic poetry has not yet entirely passed away. Lord Byron tells us that the gondoliers of Venice in his day sang stanzas from Tasso's Jerusalem Delivered; and the writer of this article has heard a considerable portion of the first canto of Dante's Inferno chaunted by an unlettered Italian. That Anacreon sang his poems no one can doubt; and when he says that he had changed his string lately, and the whole lyre, a musician would understand him to mean that he had tuned it in a different mode, probably the Dorian.

If the Greek passion for music was strong, the national instrument was comparatively feeble. It is true that they possessed the

aulos or flute, which was played with a reed mouth-piece like the oboe, but its imperfectness was a subject of complaint by their musical writers. The single flute was an improvement upon the double one. It is hardly necessary to speak of the syringx or Pandean pipes, which are still in use in Sicily and Southern Italy. The national instrument and the one from which their musical theories were developed was the lyre. This was played either with a plektron or with the fingers. The strings were at first four in number, and the tetrachord or succession of four notes which figures so largely in their musical treatises, was derived from the four primitive strings of the lyre. This number is said to have been increased to seven by Terpander, who lived in the sixth or seventh century, B. C. At a later date they had instruments with eight, eleven, twelve and eighteen strings.

Besides the lyre proper we read of the Chelys or small lyre, the Kithara, the Perktis, the Barbiton, the Trigonon, the Sambuka, the Magadis, etc. These instruments varied in size, and some of them ranged as low as a violincello. We can imagine that a small lyre would produce sweet and pleasing sounds like those of a German Berg-zither. The larger ones may have produced musical effects similar to those of a harp. The instruments used to accompany dramatic representations were probably large and powerful. They had also the Monochord, an instrument with a neck, which needed only a bow to become an incipient violin. This discovery was reserved for the Arabs in later ages. The monochord appears to have been used only for experimental purposes, or the testing of musical theories.

The musical system of the Greeks was founded, as already stated, upon the Tetrachord, or series of four notes. Several successive Tetrachords formed a scale. What we call major and minor keys were unknown to the Greeks. Instead of these they had several modes or successions of notes, known as the Dorian, Hypodorian, Phrygian, Hypophrygian, Lydian, Hypolydian, Mixolydian, etc. Their scales in those modes were three in number, the diatonic, chromatic and enharmonic. This system of modes and scales is so intricate, and most of them differ so widely from anything known to our music, that it is somewhat difficult, within the limits of this article, to present a clear idea of what they were. If, however, the reader will play eight white keys upon the piano, from A to A,

he will have the first octave of the diatonic scale in the Hypodorian mode. This scale he will perceive is in neither a major nor a minor key, although it partakes of the character of the latter. If he will now ascend from the last mentioned note to B flat, C natural and D natural, then skip back to B natural, and ascend again upon the white keys to A, he will have the remainder of this singular scale. In like manner let him play the row of white keys from E to E, and he will have the first octave of the diatonic scale in the Dorian mode. A similar succession of white keys from D to D will give him the Phrygian; from G to G the Hypophrygian; from C to C the Lydian; and from F to F the Hypolydian diatonic scale. Strange as these may appear to ears tutored to the tonic, dominant and subdominant of our counterpoint, the so-called chromatic and enharmonic scales are stranger yet. The progression of the ascending chromatic scale in the Hypodorian mode, for example, was as follows: A, B, C, C sharp, E, F, F sharp, A, etc. The enharmonic scale contained quarter tones, and cannot be produced upon the piano. Its progression was as follows: A, B, B¼, C, E, E¼, F, A, A¼, B flat, etc. This scale can be produced upon the violin; and if in place of exact quarter tones it meant to represent the interval which every violinist is familiar with, between such notes as D flat and C sharp, it affords no mean evidence of the accuracy of the Grecian ear. It is difficult to understand how a melody in our sense of the word could be produced in a chromatic or enharmonic scale. They may, however, have been employed with effect in recitative or declamatory music. The same difficulty exists, to some degree, in regard to most of the diatonic scales. Two pieces have nevertheless been composed by modern musicians in the Hypolydian mode. These are Beethoven's "Canzonetta in modo Lydico," in the Quartette Op. 132, and Chopin's "Lydische Mazurka." Examples of the same mode may be found also in some of the old chaunts of the Catholic church.

The Greek system of musical notation was unnecessarily complicated, as different characters were used for the same note in different modes, and different characters for the same note in vocal and instrumental music. The characters were letters, inverted letters, parts of letters, arbitrary signs, etc. The names of the notes sound strangely to our ears. In the Hypodorian

mode for example, their progression was as follows: Proslambanomenos, Hypate Hypaton, Parypate Hypaton, Lichanos Hypaton, Hypate Meson, Parypate Meson, Lichanos Meson, Mese, etc., answering to our A, B, C, D, E, F, G, A. The Mese was as important as our key-note, being an octave above the Proslambanomenos, or lowest note of the mode.

Four only of the musical compositions of the Greeks have come down to us. Of these one is a hymn to Nemesis, another a hymn to Calliope, and the third a hymn to Apollo. These were probably composed in Roman times, and are of small intrinsic value. The fourth is a far more interesting relic. It consists of a portion of the first Pythian ode of Pindar (*Chrysea Phormingx*), with the musical characters over the words. It was discovered by Kircher in the Sicilian library of St. Saviour near Messina. The notation is in the characters which belong to the Lydian mode (answering to our key of C major), but the music bears no resemblance to modern melodies in that key. It is a simple melody in a quasi minor key, and may have been composed by Pindar himself. The first four verses have characters which indicate vocal music. The last four contain a different melody, and are preceded by the words "Chorus to the Cithara." The characters over them indicate instrumental music.

The question has been frequently discussed whether Greek tragedies were musical performances throughout, or whether the choruses alone were sung. Upon this subject the testimony of Lucian appears to be explicit. "Tragedy is a frightful thing," he says. "To see men lengthened out and buskined into monsters, with enormous masks, whose gaping mouths threaten to swallow the spectators, stuck upon their heads! Breast and stomach are stuffed up too, so as to make the breadth of the figure correspond with its gigantic height. Out of this larve a man drones iambics (*i. e.*, the dialogue, etc.), and what is worse, melodizes his mishaps." (*Periadon ta iambeia kai to de aischiston melodontas symphoras.*) "When it is an Andromache or a Hecuba, the song may pass; but when a Hercules, forgetful of his lion's hide and club, monodizes (*monóde*), every intelligent person must find the thing unseemly." How vivid the picture! Such a satirist would have been as merciless to Mozart's Don Giovanni, or Beethoven's Fidelio. Dramatic intonation was the

hedysmenos logos which Aristotle tells us possessed rythm and harmony and melos.

The space occupied by the orchestra was ample for freedom of movement by the chorus. Athenæus, who wrote some centuries after the golden age of Greece, says: "The kind of dancing which was at that time used in the choruses was decorous and magnificent, and in a manner imitated the motions of men under arms." Aristotle also speaks of dancers who by rythmatized gesture imitated manners, passions and actions. Such actors may still be seen in Italian tragic pantomime.

It would be unsafe to draw too close a parallel between a Greek tragedy and an Italian opera. If the choral ode of the one corresponds with the aria of the other, and the intoned iambics with operatic recitative, the difference is still immense; for instead of the crash of a full orchestra, the elaborate vocalization, play of features and captivating smile of a prima donna in the blaze of foot lights, the intonation of the divine productions of Æschylus and Sophocles by unchanging masks in broad daylight was simply sustained by the notes of lyres and perhaps flutes playing in unison to the measure of the poem. We are not, however, hastily to conclude that the musical part of the tragic representation was to be despised. Pathos and beauty may exist in the simplest ballad. A nation which possessed dancers who by rythmatized gesture could express passions, manners and actions, may well have produced singers whose voice, style and expression would place their performance upon a level with Grecian excellence in the other arts.

J. G. Brincklé.

MAURICE'S FRIENDSHIP OF BOOKS.[1]

ON Easter Monday of 1873 a great man of another generation than ours died in London, yet one who bore within him to the last a hopefulness and an energy that helped younger men to hope and work. Few men have experienced more of partizan

[1] The Friendship of Books and other Lectures. By the Rev. F. D. Maurice. Edited, with a preface, by Thomas Hughes. Second edition. [Pp. 392. xxxvi. Price $2.50.] London: Macmillan & Co. Philadelphia: For sale by J. B. Lippincott & Co.

hatred and obloquy; none bore in their breasts a more fervent charity to all men. He was ridiculed and censured nearly all his life for the indistinctness and mysticism of his style and his thought; yet men upon whose lips or pens their fellows wait as for wisdom and direction, confess that this man first led them to clear their minds of confusions and indistinctness, and to get away from shadows to reality. He was feared by "the religious world" as one who by vain philosophy was robbing men of their Christian faith, and leading them to dry and empty rationalism; yet those who knew the man and his works thoroughly, were inclined to depict him as the most intensely and positively Christian man and thinker of our century—the man who of all his contemporaries, in his teaching and his living, most largely realized and embodied the ideal of the Christian teacher.

The man was John Frederick Denison Maurice, the disciple of Coleridge, the brother-in-law of Sterling, the pupil, friend and brother-in-law of Hare, the friend of Thomas Arnold, of Thomas Carlyle, of John Stuart Mill, of Charles Kingsley, of Frederick W. Robertson, of Alfred Tennyson, and a great number of the last generation. But Mr. Maurice's reputation will rest on his connection with quite another set of men. Since 1848 there gathered round him a school of earnest men, upon whom he labored to impress the conviction that they could only become a party by renouncing their intellectual and spiritual liberty. They were associated with him in earnest, helpful service of their fellow-men, first of all in the Christian Socialist movement of 1848, which brought Coöperation into good company, gave it a new enthusiasm, and secured parliamentary legislation in its favor; then in Workingmen's College, in which Mr. Maurice (acting on the principle of doing what came next to his hand, be it great or small to the eye) strove to do his share in solving the labor question by training the better sort of workingmen not to leave their class, but to lead it. They were also associated with him in the relation of disciples, who had found in him a guide more earnest and helpful, more gifted with insight, more patient in mastering all the sides of every question, more certain to judge and test all solutions of it by the standard of the highest truth, than any other of our time. The group was an illustrious one in many senses; it contained names eminent in art, in political life, at the bar, in

the press. Through it Mr. Maurice's influence has been and is permeating a very large part of the English-speaking world. But it would be foolish to suppose that he has had no other disciples. All over the established and dissenting churches of England and Scotland may be found young ministers who prize his expository works as the best key to the Bible, and his memory as an inspiration to lofty living and thinking. And in America his influence has been felt in every one of our manifold denominations of Christians in a greater or less degree, especially in the Protestant Episcopal Church. Clubs formed of his clerical disciples exist in three of our leading cities, and a plan has been started to stereotype and publish the best adapted of his works for general circulation, especially those on the exposition of the Scriptures.

Mr. Maurice was a voluminous writer. In books and pamphlets and newspaper articles he touched on almost every subject that excited a deep interest in his own country, and gave him an opening to express his convictions to a good purpose. Were all these to be collected, they would form no mean intellectual and moral history of England in his day. For "he served God in his day and generation," as one appointed to be a teacher of his own times and the people he lived among. However far he might be ahead of his times, it was always his effort to speak to them, to labor for them, to call them to come up higher. Whatever posterity might think of him, he seemed to feel that the living, actual men and women of his own time were alone his concern. God would send other teachers for the generations to come. He would rather turn ten living men to the knowledge of the truth, to the purpose to live for it, than win a chief place for himself among the great company of thinkers, poets, scientists, artists, who will make the reign of Victoria more illustrious in the eyes of posterity than those of Elizabeth or Anne.

One of the group of Mr. Maurice's more immediate disciples, our old friend Tom Hughes, has gathered into this volume a few of the many lectures that his teacher (and his predecessor in the principalship of Workingmen's College) delivered during his later years. Though taken almost at random from a great mass of MSS., they are all pervaded by a common purpose and possess a decided unity of character. Their themes are mostly taken from the history of English literature, and all have for their

aim to set forth or to exemplify the methods by which that and all literature should be studied. We should aim, as the first lecture tells us, to attain to the friendship of books, not their acquaintance. We should study to find the man in the book, to exercise toward him all the affection of which he is worthy, and to treat his faults with the just and loving severity of a friend, while we also listen to hear what word of deserved rebuke he has to speak to us. Only this thoroughly human and humanizing method will prevent the reader and student from sinking into the pedant and the bookworm. But this method has much to fight against in our days, first and chiefly the practice of anonymous writing in periodicals. No one can feel a personal friendship for *we*. The writer who retreats behind that cover makes a virtual refusal to enter into friendship with us. The habit of reading such writers and of taking tone from them extends to other studies. But old English literature furnishes many books that counteract it—books that by their pathos, or their wit, or their pleasant and unselfish egotism, will not suffer you to forget the men who wrote them and have embalmed themselves in them. Mr. Maurice would have us study books as Lamb and Coleridge did, until every volume on the shelf should represent an ennobling and humanizing friendship between author and reader.

The second lecture is "On Words," and the different methods in which they have been studied. Dr. Johnson is taken as the type of the positive, lexicographical method; Horace Tooke of that which is etymological and *doctrinaire*. The one approaches the word from the side of actual use and collects all the varied significations with which it is employed in various quarters; the other starts from a derivation and shows us the first and primary sense, which he maintains is the true one. The former, with all his industry, never rises from the mass of particulars to the true unity of the word's signification; the latter, with all his learning, gives results that will not stand the test of fact. His unities are cheap and crude. Mr. Maurice shows how these methods reflect the character of the two men; how each of them has rendered good service to philosophy, but each is weak and one-sided, and falls short of his purpose, because he has no insight into the truth that is proper to the other. We should study words not as dead parts of speech, nor by make-shift definitions, but as living things; and

like all life, the life of words is a history; to reach and penetrate that history is the aim of the true philologian.

The third lecture is "On Books" and might be called "the interpretation of English history through its literature." But in every sketch, and the lecture contains many that are valuable, the man is searched for behind the book. It is sought to show how the circumstances and crises of the times called forth the strength of the man. Mr. Maurice is usually so accurate that we hesitate to impugn his correctness; but is he right in saying of Sir Thomas More's romance: "It was called the Eutopia, or 'the good place,' 'the good reign'"?

The fourth lecture "On the Use and Abuse of Newspapers" is an expansion of what is said of *we* in the first. The fifth, "On Christian Civilization" is in defence of the thesis that all true and lasting civilizacion must rest on a moral and spiritual basis. As it was delivered in 1850, Mr. Maurice not unnaturally looked across the ocean for warnings. As he was the steadfast friend of our national cause throughout the recent war, this is not one of the instances in which the censors of our faults became severer censors when we strove to get rid of them. He says:

"Some of the earnest men who were opposed to the Court of Charles became the founders of the New England colonies. These colonies, in truth, exhibited the feelings and belief of the middle class, at a time when their feelings and belief were particularly serious and deep. Their descendants in the eighteenth century believed less, but they inherited much of the firmness, solidity, thriftiness of their forefathers; they were fitted for the independence into which the madness of their mother country forced them. One boy, especially, a printer boy of Boston, prepared them for the moment when they should enter upon new and mighty functions. I do not know another such career in the world's history. Benjamin Franklin, trained in the school of hardship, rising by sheer and self-denying industry, with little personal ambition, stamps his own image upon a new world. "Poor Richard's Maxims, or the way to get Wealth," became a text-book, almost a Bible, to his contemporaries. They deserved much of their fame; they gave warnings that we all need to have; they denounced habits of extravagance and recommended habits of thrift, which are precious to all honest people. But was the civilization which is sketched out for us in "Poor Richard's Maxims," a civilization which would bear the test of a country's experience? The noblest Americans, the men who are doing most, suffering most for the sake of their country, are the foremost to give us the

answer. They will tell us that, so far as Americans only pursue the ends which this book sets before them, so far they cannot be what Franklin would have wished them to be—not to take any higher standard. Franklin was a man of science. But those who merely follow the way to get wealth—however much science may be needed to that end—will never delight to live laborious days merely to find truth. Franklin wished to get rid of the slave trade—ultimately, no doubt, of slavery. But those who think only of the way to get wealth must maintain that cursed institution. Those true-hearted Americans, of whom I spoke, cover over their faces and weep while they talk of commercial panics and repudiations as the consequence of the eagerness to get wealth. Are we to judge the Americans? God forbid!"

Since these words were first written, the American people have given evidence enough that other things are dearer to them than wealth. No man was more rejoiced thereat than Mr. Maurice; none watched our struggle with more vivid interest, as we know from his writings and from private letters that he wrote to friends on this side the ocean. But we are not past needing the admonition, even though we may dispute the emphasis laid on some of the facts. *Poor Richard's Maxims* were not the cause, but the outgrowth of the spirit of thrift, that the hard struggle of the early colonists for ease and competence produced. Many if not most of them are taken from old Thomas Tusser, and were common English maxims before New England was colonized. The book naturally attracted less attention in America than abroad, and on the Continent of Europe it circulates in translations in vast editions. We doubt if a copy of it could now be purchased anywhere in America, save as a curiosity. As to "commercial panics," they are certainly evidences of unsoundness and low morals; but it must be remembered that they are not monopolized by us. England has at least two for our one. They are actually accelerating in the rapidity with which they follow each other. Recent English Economists have come to regard them as necessary adjuncts of a highly developed commercial systems, just as thunderstorms are in the meteorological system of this planet.

The main point of Mr. Maurice's friendly censure is undoubtedly true. The sentiment that men exist to make money is more predominant in America in this century than in the last. The practical men of that day never confounded "practical" with

"profitable." Franklin's own record as founder and fosterer of our State University as a school of liberal learning, as well as scientific training, is proof of this; and when he and his associates gave it for a motto *leges sine moribus vanæ* they had a meaning for those words. They knew that the best regulations and institutions depended for their life upon the public spirit of the community for whose benefit they existed. Those who would turn all education into a preparation for money-making, may be carrying Poor Richard's maxims to their logical results, but they have abandoned Franklin's practice.

The sixth lecture "On Ancient History" is a careful comparison of the classic historians, especially Herodotus and Thucydides, with the Hebrew historians, not to the disadvantage of the former, but rather to vindicate them from loose censures and unfair comparisons. To Mr. Maurice the Hebrew history is "not an isolated one, but the key to the rest of ancient history, as that which explains to us why Ancient History is the history of distinct nations, and what was the source of their strength, and what was the cause of their downfall."

The next lecture on "English History" is a rapid review of the chief historians of England, from Shakespeare to Macaulay, with especial reference to the method they have pursued. Shakespeare's English historical plays are carefully but briefly analyzed, and it it is shown how his results coincide with those of the constitutional historians, and that they explain and confirm his estimate of the various reigns. Hume is treated with a just severity, not because he tried to see good in the royal enemies of English liberty, but because he refuses to see anything but evil in those who brought them to justice, and betrays "an utter want of belief in anything heroic, of reverence for any man."

The next four lectures are upon three great men who have enriched English literature, Spenser, Milton and Burke. Any one of them might be taken as a full and detailed illustration of Mr. Maurice's method of getting past the book to the man who wrote it. That on Spenser is a forcible plea against the neglect that that noble poet suffers from. People are repelled by the title of his chief work, and by the fact that it is an allegory; they expect to find a poem in the dry, stilted, allegorical style of the later Middle Ages. But however unhappy the name of *The Fairy Queen*, it is

full of life, movement, individuality, noble portraiture, and lofty teaching. It could not have been otherwise, being written in the Elizabethan age by a poet of the first order, *i. e.*, a poet who entered into what was best and greatest in his own age. It sums up that age for us in all its most characteristic defects and tendencies. Its author was a noble man, who suffered and learned how other men had suffered. He is the first of a long series of Englishmen who have pleaded for generosity to Ireland, and his paper on the subject is to this day reckoned among the ablest exposures of the half selfish, wholly stupid procedures of England in that island.

The Lectures on "Milton" and on "Milton as a Schoolmaster," are on a theme that was dear to their author. Milton is naturally the man that a profoundly patriotic and ethical Englishman would choose as an example, because he is most English in his greatness, and yet freest from the ordinary English limitations. He is a prophecy of what the Englishman may become, in his grand embodiment of characteristics that are seldom seen united in an English mind. He had the most intense love of all things beautiful—the most ardent devotion to popular liberty—combined with a moral and religious enthusiasm and a personal loftiness of character, that are rarely to be seen. Wordsworth, Coleridge and Ruskin come nearest to him in our own century. Mr. Maurice makes his books furnish a running commentary on the man, carefully distinguishing the various periods of his life in connection with them. In pleading for a more general study of his chief poem, he says:

"Dr. Johnson said, and many have said after him, that the reading of 'Paradise Lost' is a task which people once perform and are glad never to resume. I do not wonder that this should be so. To have a book put into one's hands, which one is told is very sublime, or devout, or sacred, or one of the great epics of the world, is to have a demand made on one's admiration, to which we submit at first dutifully, and against which, in a little while, we feel an almost inevitable rebellion. I do not think for myself that I could ever care for 'Paradise Lost' while it came to me under the seal of those grand titles. The reality of it seemed to disappear. It was very fine, no doubt. One was bound to pay it a respectful homage, but it belonged to another sphere from ours; one longed for more earthly and homely things. It is quite otherwise, I believe, when we receive it as the deepest, most complete utterance of a human spirit; when it comes forth as the final expression of the thoughts of a man who has been fighting a hard battle; who appears to have been worsted in the

battle; who thinks that he has fallen on evil days and evil tongues; whose eyes

> ——— roll'd in vain
> To find the piercing ray, and found no dawn;

who was cut off from all the joys of nature at the very time when he was deserted and persecuted by his fellow-men. Hear in 'Paradise Lost' the song of such a man, gathering up all the memories and experiences of the years through which he has passed, of the men with whom he has conversed, and of the books he has loved. Read it as the expression of an unchanged and imperishable faith in the will of a righteous Being, which disobedience can set at nought, against whom all evil powers may strive, but cannot prevail; read it as the assurance that that will is the source of all the beautiful things which he can look upon no longer, of all the music which is in him, and which sounds through creation; read it thus, and you will need no critics to tell you of its sublimity, or to classify it with books to which it has probably very little resemblance. It will come to you with its own evidence and power, as the voice of a man, but a voice which can make the deepest mind of a grand age of English history intelligible to our age—a voice which can tell us how all ages are united in Him who is, and was, and is to come. That seems to me the way of reading 'Paradise Lost;' and therefore it is that I said, that the passages which exhibit to us the poet's personal sorrows and consolations are no 'episodes' in it, but give us the clue to its inmost meaning."

The eleventh lecture is on Edmund Burke, and therefore interesting to all thoughtful Americans. For though Burke's political philosophy is just the opposite of the theorizing, *doctrinaire* mode of thought that Jefferson made popular in America, yet his writings have always occupied a place in American esteem that no native writer on the same subjects has ever rivaled. Burke's course in regard to our Revolutionary struggle is not reason enough to account for this; for we have given little heed to the writings of other men who fought our battles quite as strenuously. That a few of his works discuss American themes is not reason enough. We have paid no such regard to the wonderfully acute treatise of De Tocqueville, which is far more flattering to national vanity. The truth we think is, that those Americans who are not content with newspaper discussions and modes of thought are also precisely those who are also discontented with the theorizing, Declaration-of-Independence style of thought. They crave for something exactly the opposite of that, and find it in the pages of this

Norman Irishman. When Henry Ward Beecher laid out his first ten dollars in buying a copy of Burke's works, he did about as American a thing as ever in his whole life.

To Mr. Maurice, Burke's "Address to the Electors of Bristol" is the crowning achievement of his life. Burke had been on another occasion the apologist for the existence of party government; he had argued as if there were something unutterably sacred in the names Whig and Tory, and in what they represented. To be a thorough party man is to sell one's soul, not for pelf but for filth. Burke was indeed to vindicate his own freedom and independence by twice effacing the party lines for which he had pleaded. But it was better still that he should tell his constituents that he was not their errand-boy to Westminster; that he could not bind himself to vote according to their will and pleasure, unless his own conscience and reason approved of it. No man ever struck the partizan spirit a more deadly blow, or asserted more strongly and clearly the rightful predominance of the legislator's own judgment and his sense of duty to his country at large.

Mr. Maurice thinks—as the Federalists of our country thought —that Burke was quite consistent in defending the American insurgents and yet denouncing the French Revolution. "Any one who observes that characteristic of his speeches respecting America which I have dwelt upon,—I mean his assertion that there are actual relations existing between nations and between all the orders in a particular nation, and that the whole happiness of society depends upon the acknowledgment of those relations and upon the fulfilment of the mutual duties which they involve,—will not wonder or think him inconsistent if he complained of a Revolution which seemed to set aside all relations, to reduce society into its original elements, and to rebuild it upon the assertion of individual rights, not of obligations. It seems to me that in protesting against the voluntary adoption of such a system he was doing a great service to every country, most of all to the toiling and suffering people of every country. He was asserting a principle which they can the least afford to part with; since every wrong that has been done them has arisen from the forgetfulness of it." Yet, Mr. Maurice thinks, the horrors of the French Revolution "must not tempt us, as I think

they did very naturally tempt Burke, to overlook the enormous corruptions and the frightful heartlessness which could have no other catastrophe than this, and which, if they had been allowed to fester undisturbed, would have been immeasurably more fatal than any catastrophe."

The twelfth lecture on "Acquisition and Illumination" like the second on Milton, is taken up with the problem of education. Milton's treatise, our author thinks, leads us to study the poet's actual life as a school teacher; he wrote upon the science when he was practising the art. On many points of detail, he is no doubt wrong; on others probably so. But in regard to the great end and purpose of education, he asserts principles that are now thought inconsistent with each other,—parts of which are claimed as the several property of hostile camps of theorists. He "aspired to make the grammar school a real school," not by banishing the study of words, but by using that study as a means to bring the pupil into contact with the actualities of life. The other lecture is a brief survey of the studies pursued in Workingmen's College, with hints to the students as to the two spirits (and by consequence the two methods) in which they may pursue them. The spirit of "acquisition" is that in which a man is puffed up by his knowledge, as if in gaining it he had added something to the personal possessions that distinguish him from other men. The spirit of illumination is that in which a man recognizes every new extension of his range of view as a fuller entering upon the common heritage of his race. In the one case "knowledge puffeth up;" in the other the wider horizon discloses to the man more and more the vastness of the unknown that lies beyond it. In the one case the growth of learning turns men into pedants, "asses laden with books;" in the other makes them and keeps them human and fresh.

The last lecture "On Critics" may be said to be an examination of the method of studying books, which is the opposite of that which this book recommends and exemplifies. The modern critic is not concerned to make friends with the author, to enter into right and natural relations to him. "The friendship of books" is the last thing that he wants of them. He sits as their judge above them, and yet not as a judge only, for he gives the law as well as interprets it. Many types of this creature there are, as

many as there are parties, and a worse type upon the top of all—"the impartial critic," who makes out both sides to be a mass of weak virtues and strong faults. They have not done harm to literature alone; they have obscured and travestied the history of every period, through their initial mistake of forgetting that it was the record of the sayings and doings of actual men, whose nature and constitution it were worth studying, but who after all can only be understood by one who puts himself in their place and becomes thereby their friend. Is this the only style of criticism? We have a very different one in Rev. F. W. Robertson's magnificent and keenly profound lecture on Wordsworth. If we set that lecture and the shallow review that occasioned it side by side, we will see what is good and what is bad in criticism.

Such is a meagre analysis of the topics of this posthumous volume. We pass by Mr. Hughes' excellent introduction, in the confidence that his name will be sufficient to attract attention. It is the earnest expression of what he and others owe to Mr. Maurice, with some comments on the way in which his friend had been mentioned in two very notable books that have appeared since his death—Matthew Arnold's *Culture and Dogma*, and John Stuart Mill's *Autobiography*.

Mr. Hughes expresses the hope that this volume will serve as a sort of introduction to Mr. Maurice's other works, and lead to their being more extensively studied. We heartily join in that hope. Certainly those who have become familiar with his works have learnt what "the friendship of books" means by a practical experience. It is impossible to read and master one of them without conceiving a warm and earnest regard for their author, or without receiving some of those faithful rebukes, which give to friendship so much of its value. The man comes forth in every line and every page; his style is the expression of what he is. One who has read his works for years, and yet has never seen his face or any picture of it, is not surprised when at last he does see one. The intensely English cast of the features, the wonderful combination of strength and tenderness, the delicate nostrils, the massive chin, the finely-cut mouth, the deep, far-seeing eye, the lofty forehead, all are there. And all are in his works too, all in that marvelous book, *The Prophets and Kings of the Old Testament*, in those wonderful studies of Saul, David, Isaiah, Jere-

miah, and Ezekiel, that make the old record glow forever with a new light. One of his English friends quotes words that are not inapplicable to him: "There was a man sent from God, whose name was John[2]; the same came to bear witness of the Light."

RELIGION AND THE STATE[1].

DR. HOVEY is a distinguished clergyman of the Baptist body, as may be inferred from his position at the head of their leading theological seminary. It is, therefore, in no way surprising to find that he holds the extreme views as to the separation of Church and State, which that body has generally advocated. More than any other large body of Christians, except the Quakers, the Baptist Church has suffered from the unwise intolerance of established Churches, while it has never been itself a National Church in any corner of the earth. It has therefore vied with the Quakers in the modern crusade against religious establishments, and in championship of that voluntary system, which in Baptist history and polemics is called soul-liberty.

Dr. Hovey begins his book by an analysis of what the New Testament has to say on the subject. Of course the words of Christ before Pilate, "My kingdom is not of this world," are alleged in proof of the position that the Church and the State are to have as little as possible to do with each other. We incline to doubt whether our author has fathomed a single one of the terms of that brief statement. He has certainly not taken much pains to put himself historically into the place of those who lived in New Testament times, and see this question with their eyes, else he would never speak of Pilate as convinced that the authority of Jesus "pertained to Religion and not to State." A Roman drew no such fine lines; in his view, religion was a branch of the State and its ministers were members of the Civil Service. Nor were

[2]For some reason Mr. Maurice generally dropped this first name. We have seen an autograph in which it was used.

[1]Religion and the State. Protection or Alliance? Taxation or Exemption? By Alvah Hovey, D. D., President of Newton Theological Institution. [Pp. 175, 16mo. Price, $1.25.] Boston, Estes and Laureat. Philadelphia, Porter and Coates.

the views of other ancient people essentially different. The Jewish annals, which Dr. Hovey accepts and quotes as a divine record, depict Church and State as bound together in the closest unity. Jewish kings are held up to especial admiration, as being reformers of the Church, and restorers of its order. At the very same time a clearly marked difference of function is recognized in those annals. The King may not interfere with the priest's duties, while he insists on the discharge of those duties by the proper officers. The Jews of New Testament times, inside and outside the Church, did not possess any other conception of the relation and duty of the two bodies; the Founder of Christianity takes very little pains to correct their notions. He indeed declines to be made a National King, avowedly because he entertained a large ambition, which could only be achieved by his ignominious rejection and death.

The Apostolic Epistles furnish as little proof for Dr. Hovey as the Gospels. Paul and Peter join in commanding obedience to the powers that be, as these are ordained of God and the ministers of God. But they are not aiming to give us any whole view of the matter; only to decide questions that arose in the early Church. They indeed teach and act on the principle that Christians owe obedience to a higher law than that of Emperor or propraetor. But so would every advocate of church establishments, while none of them, outside of China or Japan, claim for the State "the right to shape the religious belief of the people, or prescribe their worship of God." Dr. Hovey has manifestly not taken care to master the case of his antagonists.

A great part of the argument of the book rests on the oft-repeated antithesis between "spiritual" or "religious," and "secular" or "temporal." Nowhere are any of these important terms defined or analyzed, or their history traced. The current notions that cling to them are assumed as correct, and are always appealed to as decisive of the matter. We think a little care would have led Dr. Hovey to see that he was really drawing upon the Roman Catholic canonists when he thought he was dealing out "the pure milk of the Word." That what is ecclesiastical or clerical is "spiritual," and what is not so is unspiritual, is certainly not true in the New Testament sense of the word. This use of terms is one fragment of the vast detritus of notions that

the stream of time has washed down to us from the middle ages. But if "spiritual" mean "concerned with men's spirits, with the part of man that is not animal and selfish, that has a *right* to rule the whole man," then all righteous government is a spiritual function, and all public education is the same. Or, if "spiritual" mean "according to that divine order by which the spirit was made the ruler of the flesh and of the fleshly instincts of men," then the government of a good king or magistrate, which appeals to and calls forth that higher nature, is more spiritual than that of the great majority of churchly organizations that have existed in the world. In putting this sense upon the word, we are following the meaning of the New Testament, as we understand it, and as the Protestant Reformers understood it. Latimer, preaching before the English Convocation, takes especial pains to notify them that the ecclesiastical or clerical order are not spiritual persons, save as their life and conversation show that they "walk not after the flesh, but after the spirit." Those who hold with Latimer can see no more sacrilege than Latimer did, or the old Hebrew prophets did, in a king busying himself in bringing the affairs of the Church into order, although he and they would have resisted intrusion into the priestly office. They do not hold, as Dr. Hovey and his friends do, that the Church is too sacred for the State to have anything to do with her, is an Ark of the Covenant that no Uzzah's hand may touch. Nor do they hold with Dr. Hovey's allies among the philosophers, that the Church is too poor and paltry an affair for the State to give any heed to her.

In another point Dr. Hovey "darkens counsel by words without knowledge." Every one familiar with political economy knows that the Free Traders have a favorite abstraction known as "the consumer." He is a phantom being; nobody ever saw or met with him; nobody is willing to take the name to himself, and thereby confess himself one of the *consumere fruges nati*. Everybody wants to take rank among the producers and to proclaim production to be his chief business and interest. So Dr. Hovey has a phantom called "the State" in his service—a something not the people, not controlled by them, but always stepping in to impose upon the people a will and purpose that is clearly not their own. "The State" may not impose a church upon the people; may not teach its school children to read the Bible; may not

require the cessation of all ordinary work on Sunday. What is this State if not the nation itself, the ultimate possessor of the national domain and of the lives and fortunes of the people? If the great mass of the nation hold the same creed, what is there in natural justice to forbid its endowing that creed out of its substance, and by national acts of various sorts confessing the simple fact that it does believe thus and so, and not otherwise? If any dissent, well and good; the nation should respect and tolerate the dissent. But dissent gives no exemption from taxation. If the State says that one-tenth of my crop shall not be mine, but belong to a citizen of a certain profession, then that tenth is no longer mine, and I am withholding his just rights if I resist his possession of it.

Upon exactly these principles every country acts, in establishing a system of public education. In doing so it is very manifestly claiming a right to spiritual activity, for the purpose of education is manifestly to call forth the non-animal, the spiritual faculties of man. To do this the State calls into existence and organizes a clerisy of teachers and superintendents. Why may it have and pay one clerisy and not another? Clearly the doctrine that the State is not a spiritual organization rules it out from the sphere of education as well as of religion. Many English dissenters see this, and demand "free trade in education." Herbert Spencer represents this party on that side the ocean; Gerritt Smith on this.

Dr. Hovey admits that the New Testament asserts the divine origin of the State. If that be its origin, then it must be a spiritual organization; for God being a spirit, acts on men through their spirits. The divine has its activity in the highest sphere of humanity, not the lowest. A nation is "a people with a will to be one," in the fine definition that Mazzini gives. God then gave them that will, or rather, called it forth in them. No part of man is more clearly spiritual than the will. The foundation on which the nation's unity rests is therefore a spiritual foundation. Is the nation forbidden to confess that fact, and to give thanks to God, the author of it? In this view the State is no longer the unholy, secular, worldly organization, that can only desecrate the Church by its touch.

Everywhere through Dr. Hovey's book runs the false antithesis between God's Church and man's State. This is the pith of his

whole argument. For instance "the questions of civil government are limited in the New Testament to the interests of time by recognizing the fact that the soul can only be judged and punished by God." We pass by the assumption that the punishments inflicted by the State are directed only to the bodies of men, or are based on the supposition that the body is the guilty part. But what then of the judgments and punishments of the Church? For the Church, even Baptist churches, do punish by censure or by exclusion from membership. Do those punishments concern only "the interests of time?" Manifestly not; they are for the salvation of those whom they affect. Men sit in judgment on the souls of their fellows in every church court that admits a person to membership. Dr. Hovey may answer, as some voluntaries have answered, that in such cases the Holy Ghost judges through the mouth of the congregation, inspiring them with wise decisions if they seek His aid. And the Old Testament declares that secular rulers may share in that very inspiration, and be led to wise conclusions through sharing in a wisdom that is not their own. So even the heathen believed. Before the popular notions of equity had crystallized into laws, the people looked to the tribal King for a decision of every case that arose, and called the θεμιστες that he uttered the voice of the God.

The motive of the book is to be found in the three chapters on the Bible in the school, on Sunday legislation, and on the exemption of church property from taxation. While we find fault with the imperfect analysis to which Dr. Hovey has subjected his fundamental positions, we honor the manly courage that has been shown in these specific discussions. For here Dr. Hovey takes ground from which "the religious world" dissents very decidedly. Our author has "the courage of his principles" here. But we think that in the first two topics, we might hold to Dr. Hovey's principles and not come to his conclusions. Even if it is not the business of the state to teach religion, yet it is not certain that the Bible should be excluded, for it is not by any means certain that the Bible is a religious book. Certainly the Old Testament is not one, in the current sense of that word. Religionists have to turn much of it into allegory to make it such. It is the story of the way in which a family grew into a tribe, and then a cluster of tribes, and how these were wedded into a nation, and of how

that nation prospered according to the earnestness with which it lived up to its ethical standard, or declined as it fell away from it. Juridical antiquarians like Maine vouch for the accuracy of the earlier part of the story; they have verified it by comparison with what we know of other communities. Historians like Niebuhr assure us that the later part of the history is trustworthy to an extent that puts it out of comparison with the classic historians. Independent critics like Huxley say that its general moral influence and its wonderful adaptation to the young are such as to make it an indispensable instrument of education. The educated Hindoos and Moslems of India declare that the English literature is very largely unintelligible without it; and experience shows that the government schools of that country, in which the Bible is not read, cannot compete in popularity with the missionary schools where it is. Where two such schools come into competition, the former is invariably killed. As for the New Testament, especially, its ideas and phrases are part of the warp and woof of our intellectual life. Not to know its contents is to be laughed at (or worse) in almost any social circle. What book more fit for the schools of any civilized community? Only the factious opposition of a few dissenters from the general faith prevents a general assent to its use; when that dies away people will wonder that persons of *any* opinions ever opposed it.

As to Sunday legislation, Dr. Hovey is unanswerable, if we regard the day of rest as a religious institution, and not as a national one. The truth is, the religious use of the day has eclipsed its primary use in the minds of most people, and especially in those that make the most fuss about its due observance. The commandment given to the Jewish nation ordered men to *rest* simply; not to go to the temple, for that was accessible only to a few; not to the synagogue, for there was no such institution until after the captivity; but simply to rest, as that was necessary to their human nature, its health and vigor. And so the reason given is that God both works and rests; man therefore, being made in the image of God and sharing in His activity, should share His rest also. But human interests and activities are so interwoven that a day of rest is only possible when it is the will of the whole community to stop from work, and the whole community expresses its will in a

law. Now see how both letter and spirit of the law are broken by the modern religionist. The ideal church member begins with prayer in the closet, prayers, reading and singing in the family, spends an hour over a Sunday-school lesson, hurries off to church and takes an hour or an hour and a half in the exhausting work of keeping the attention of a dozen boys or girls fixed on a subject for which, as a rule, they care nothing; then comes morning service—an hour and a half or two hours of close attention to the various parts of worship; then home to dinner; then back to Sunday-school again; then afternoon service if it be an old fashioned church, or perhaps street preaching; then either to church or prayer-meeting, most commonly to both, in the evening again. Family worship again at night finds him utterly fagged out, and the blessed day of rest leaves him as tired as if he had been on the treadmill. To all this the public opinion of the church drives him, unless he have the strength of mind and will to resist. To do less than this, is to come short of the ideal of "an active Christian." The modern churches are institutions for the promotion of religious Sabbath-breaking. The religious construction of the meaning of the day is at war with the plain letter of the law that enacted its observance. Dr. Hovey is right if that construction is the right one; it is absurd for the state to enact laws for such purposes. But the plain sense of the Bible law lies clearly within the province of the State. In no age and in no part of the world were such laws more needed than now and among us, to preserve the health and sanity of the community.

As to the exemption of church property from taxation, nothing. we think, can break the force of the logic against it. If Church and State are to continue as separate institutions, if the latter may not enter into alliance with the former, if the creation of ecclesiastical endowments is contrary to the idea of the nation, then church property should fully share in all the burdens imposed upon real estate in general. For to exempt one class is to increase the tax upon other classes. It is, therefore, indirectly to impose a tax upon all real estate owners for the benefit of the churches. In other words, it is to endow the churches out of the wealth of the community. If we accept this last proceeding as perfectly right and proper, we may defend exemption; not otherwise. It is true, indeed, that the churches render more than equivalent services to

the community at large. Dr. Bushnell once got a subscription for building a church out of a miserly infidel, by asking him what he thought real estate was worth in Sodom. But what is given them should be given them openly and squarely, and with full avowal of the principle that underlies the gift. Exemption is not honest and square: it is neither avowed endowment nor consistent voluntaryism. It is "neither fish, flesh, fowl, nor good salt herring." It is like indirect taxation, an insidious way of taking money out of the pockets of the community without letting people know.

Dr. Hovey argues that churches which accept such exemption have in so far abjured the principle of the absolute separation of Church and State. It does not seem to occur to him that they abjure that principle in owning property at all. If they are to be purely spiritual corporations, they should confine themselves to the purely spiritual sphere. To the State the tangible, visible, unspiritual things called church-buildings and parsonages manifestly belong. The religious corporation that owns one of them confesses that for certain purposes the State is paramount over it. For those purposes the sphere of Church and State are manifestly not distinct, but identical. Its members in exercise of their right as citizens become trustees of a property whose erection and existence have their motive in the spiritual welfare of their fellow-citizens and their own. If a question as to the rightful ownership of that property arises, the case must be carried to the State courts. Either then the State is judge of spiritual things, or the Church has interests which are not spiritual. The two spheres manifestly overlap in spite of all the efforts to keep them separate. The question between the friends and the foes of establishment is really one of degree, not of principle; one therefore of expediency purely.

Even if the church did not own property, she could not be a purely spiritual body. For no church was ever content to be mistress of the spirits of men; she always went on to demand of them overt acts in accordance with those principles. In other words, men are not mere spirits; they have an animal nature as well. Now all overt acts come under the cognizance of the State, either as commanded, or as allowed and protected, or as forbidden. Therefore the whole practical and active life of the members of the Church

falls within the sphere of the State. If you could organize a church of ghosts, whose only activities should be silent aspiration and unuttered emotion, you would have the purely spiritual corporation which is the conception of the Church as separate from the State. J. D.

RECIPROCITY WITH CANADA.

MEASURES that first come to light during the closing hours of a Congressional session, are proverbially worthy of suspicion. The bill by which the salaries of members of Congress were unduly increased, and back pay for services not rendered was voted into their pockets, was the great achievement of the close of last session. This time the Executive takes the initiative in proposing eleventh-hour legislation, in transmitting to the Senate the text of a Treaty for Reciprocity with Canada. It is, we hope, true that that body will not consider it at the present session, and that no special session will be held until next winter. But for this measure of protection from hasty legislation we are indebted chiefly to the fatigue induced by the unusual prolongation of the legislative season.

As to the principles of the proposed treaty, we think it a thoroughly vicious one. We are conscious of no unkind feelings toward the young Dominion that borders our national domain on the north ; quite the contrary. If it has in itself the capacity to become a great and powerful nation, it can render no higher service to the United States than by exercising that capacity to the utmost. A vigorous, compact, self-sufficient nation would be a most valuable neighbor, and in the course of time a most excellent friend. Therefore we hope for no annexation of the Dominion ; we believe that it would be almost worth while to pay Canada to remain independent. It would be cheaper than to extend the blessings of our enlightened but highly expensive Federal system to the half-frozen plains of the North, which form the greater part of her territory.

Canada is useful to us even now as an example for good and for evil. She has solved some questions that we are disposed to regard as insoluble. Since the British flag went up on her soil, she

has had no Indian wars, the red man has multiplied on her soil, but any collision between him and his white brother is a thing unknown. The savages have not been proscribed; neither have they been treated as independent nations. Their wigwam villages have been spared, but they have not been allowed to hold as hunting ground a large area of valuable land against the advance of civilization. We have a lesson to learn there.

On the other hand Canada—we include the cluster of British provinces—is a standing illustration of the industrial status to which a country dooms itself, when it keeps its farms on its own soil, and its workshops on another continent. For the whole period of her history she has followed the advice of the free trader—to buy in the cheapest market and sell in the dearest—without seeing that in the long run the creation of home markets is the policy that pays "cent per cent." She has made no sacrifices to achieve industrial independence. She has not shut up her people to the home market by laws to protect the salt of any native Cayuga, or the iron of any Canadian Pennsylvania. She has done the things that were easiest to do; raised flour and corn to export across the ocean. Verily, she has had her reward: she has bought English hardware and dry goods cheaper than we can buy them, and has left a large share of her labor unemployed. She has had to pay less money for everything that she needed, and has found that she had far less to pay with. The wealth of her soil has gone over the ocean year after year; the profits of her labor to the Colonial and British middlemen, who own the ships, the banks, the foreign factories. The country is poor, yet the bankers of Montreal command so much capital, that their raids upon the New York stock market are a serious cause of embarrassment and disturbance.

No wonder that her people pour over the border—the Canadian proper to New York—the Nova Scotian and New Brunswickian to New England.[1] Ask the Blue Nose what brings him hither from a soil rich in mineral and agricultural wealth, from a good and cheap government, from a climate moderated by the nearness of the Gulf Stream and healthy beyond comparison,

[1]Some indication of the extent of this immigration is given by the recent growth of the Presbyterian church on New England soil. The people of the lower Provinces are very largely of that denomination.

from markets so wonderfully cheap and low. For he comes to a bare and stony soil, a raw climate, a heavily-taxed community, and a land where he has not the much boasted "choice of two markets, the home and the foreign." He says it is because he comes to a country where men get on as they do not at home; where the profits of work go to the worker and not to the middleman, where the farmer has the factory at hand to buy his produce instead of paying to send it over the seas. Is he a fool? Mr. Greeley asked Mr. Mill what he thought of these facts. The answer was that Canada also had a tariff! Yes, and such a tariff as Mr. Mill's disciples want to see adopted in the United States.

Now reciprocity means let us give the Canadian farmer all the advantages of being on our side of the border, with none of the drawbacks. Our system has been the wise sacrifice of temporary interests for the sake of ultimate advantage. His has been the thriftless, hand-to-mouth method of the "penny wise and pound foolish." Let us relieve him of the necessity of making sacrifices to create a home market on his own soil, and throw open to him that which we have created for him at his very doors. So far as the new treaty provides for the free interchange of agricultural products, it means that the New England and New York farmer who pays a higher price for many sorts of manufactured goods in order to acclimatize their production, shall compete with the man who gets English wares free of duty and can afford to work for less money wages. But taxation for protection is the very slightest burden that the American farmer carries. He lives under a system of government the most thorough and expensive in the world; he pays his share to the support of a school system by which every child is taught, at the expense of the State, the things needful to make him a good and intelligent citizen. He lives at a time when our government has been saved from destruction at an outlay of blood and treasure that has in a measure crippled every industrial interest, and made the nation poorer for two or three generations to come. In that struggle no sympathy, no moral support from beyond the border cheered our people to the conflict for national unity and existence. Throw down the barriers then, and set the two runners to compete with each other,—the one heavily weighted, the other with not an ounce of the runner's ballast. The result

would be twofold: (1) The tide of emigration would turn across the border, because Canada would be the more desirable place to live in. Our country would lose in population and in wealth. (2) A general outcry would be raised against the protective system, on the part of the farmers of the East, as well as of the West. They would say: "Why should we be compelled to pay duties and make sacrifices, that our competitors do not: give us a fair start." The cry would not be unjust, and its justice would be used as a strong argument, not for repealing reciprocity, but for abolishing protection. Hence the eagerness of Free Traders to have reciprocity restored.

The free interchange of manufactured goods would not do so much harm directly. In a few coarse articles, the cheaper, worse paid labor of Canada would probably injure our home industry. In a much greater number the unnatural advantage would probably be on our side; and the scanty industries of Canada would receive a check. But an other industry would be fostered to the utmost. The Dominion has long been to the United States what Portugal once was to Spain,—the landing place where British goods were collected preparatory to smuggling them over the border. Reciprocity always gave great advantages for this; since its repeal the practice has been very greatly checked; its revival would be a god-send, or rather devil-send, to the not very honest traders who know so little geography that they will swear that Manchester, Birmingham and Sheffield are in Canada. There would be a great increase of general traffic which would serve to cover their operations. A great reduction of the custom house force on our northern frontier would of course follow reciprocity; a great relaxation of vigilance would follow. False invoices and false oaths would be needful for a time, but in a little while they would be a "superfluity of naughtiness." We should have all the "advantages" of free trade, under the forms of protection. Canada would soon be another "Free Zone," for the benefit of those who hold, as the Political Economy Professor at Oxford does, that free trade is an inalienable natural right, that men cannot even give up their right to set tariffs and custom houses at defiance.

What are the advantages to be gained by reciprocity? The direct benefit of the trade to the United States goes for nothing with

the authors of the treaty. They were too shrewd to suppose that that was any consideration. So they threw two tubs to the whale—the Niagara Canal and the Fisheries. The latter are to be thrown open to American sailors, without the reference of the matter to arbitration as provided in the Washington treaty. The former is to be deepened, and widened, and opened to American shipping so as to facilitate the transfer of our western grain to the sea-shore.

The provision about the fisheries is clever enough; it interests New England to some extent in the success of the treaty. The fisheries always were a chief leverage to effect reciprocity; it was surprising that so much was conceded in regard to them in the Washington Treaty; not surprising that an effort is now made to retrieve that blunder. But the Washington Treaty is quite broad enough for Uncle Sam; it presents the only permanent solution of the question. The fishing interest will be foolish indeed if they prefer a provisional and conditional settlement of the matter by this treaty to a final and absolute one by arbitration.

The Canal clauses are a sop to the West. The prairie farmer, engaged in the business of raising wheat with labor worth $3.50 a day in harvest time, and sending it over land and sea to Liverpool and London, to sell it at $1.12 a bushel put down on the wharf, is naturally on the outlook for cheap transportation. He has a sort of feeling that the nation should do something for him; run a big ship canal through the Alleghanies or something of the sort. The nation has done a good deal for him; it has endowed the railroads that took him to his land and that give him a market; it gave him, or as good as gave him, the farm itself out of the national domain. It can do better things for him than make and keep him dependent upon Mark Lane. It can bring the artizan to his door to consume his crop; it can create for him the home market that makes him independent of the foreigner. It is doing so. Between 1860 and 1870 the growth of the manufactures of the United States was 126 per cent.; that of those in the six wheat-growing states was 400 per cent. Are these things to be sacrificed for the sake of a shorter route to the sea and greater dependence upon the most uncertain of all markets, the English market for wheat? Better buy out the canal and deepen it at our own expense, or dig another round Niagara on the American side.

We wish well to Canada; so well that we do not wish to make her industrially dependent on the United States. But neither do we wish her to help to make us industrially dependent upon England. R. E. T.

NEW BOOKS.

BACKLOG STUDIES, by Charles Dudley Warner. Boston: James R. Osgood & Co., 1873.

BADDECK AND THAT SORT OF THING, by the same Author. Boston: James R. Osgood & Co., 1874. For sale by Lippincott & Co., Phila.

When Mr. Warner speaks of the "Poet of the Breakfast-table, who appears to have an uncontrollable *penchant* for saying the things you would like to have said yourself," one is almost inclined to think him guilty of a sly allusion to his own particular characteristic; for if ever a book was provoking in its destructiveness of one's potential originality it is this same volume of "Backlog Studies." Yet after all, that is only another way of saying that the faculty of dressing nature to advantage and expressing happily what oft was thought, is the envy of all men and the gift of few.

We Americans like to think ourselves a witty people, and indeed, if quantity be a test, we certainly are so. The morning and the evening journal has its column of jokes, periodicals pour out monthly streams of fun, and even the sober ephemeris exchanges its *memento mori-s* for a margin embellished with choice quips. We also laugh a great deal, and lead the world at perpetrating small practical jokes. But it is to be feared that the facility which makes every man his own wit speaks less for an universal humor than for the very mediocre order of results, and one is led to doubt whether the peculiar American wit should be distinguished from the other blossoms of national civilization in that it is not machine-made. An exaggeration whose impertinence slaps you in the face, and a 'certain villainous trick' of slang expression, are the marks by which its true children should be known.

As the first example that suggests itself, take the letters of the Danbury News man, which have gone the length of the land, and are now seeking a more solid reputation by means of an attractive binding and cuts. All of us have grinned or laughed over the boy who lives next door, and the woes of mother-in-law-dom.

In small and rare doses they are comic enough. But what greater misery than to be compelled to an hour's reading of them—unless, indeed, it were to perform the same operation upon the "Innocents Abroad." The startling flow of fun, that takes one so upon the first page, becomes upon the second a knack of expression, and a grim mechanism upon the tenth. WIth these aids who could not, *stans uno in pede*, write the rest?

But amidst this somewhat dreary waste and litter, it is refreshing to come upon a book like Backlog Studies, and to find flourishing in a new land that flower of English literature, which, since the great age of drama, is the fairest there; the divine inspiration of Humour, whose coarse and earthly reflection wit is, and which no simony can purchase; loftier in some men's hands than poetry, because it is more kindly and more human. As Sterne and Fielding and Goldsmith lived again in Thackeray, so here the spirit of Irving's happiest vein pervades the pungent pages of the Autocrat, and now tinges these charming studies of Mr. Warner. It is difficult to criticise such a book. One cannot help feeling a friendly interest in the Fire Tender and the other members of the group, (who, by the way, must be portraits), and to read it is like joining a select circle of friends around the hearth and listening to their cosy tattle. Delightful tattle it is too, sprightly as the sparks emitted by the burning log itself, that wins over the most truculent critic, and smilingly gets behind his guard. Deep, original thought is there, almost in aphorisms, and the fire gleams out through it from time to time, now relieving a conversation that might be tedious, and now tracing delicate imagery for its loving artist. "I should as soon have an Englishman without side-whiskers as a fire without a big back-log; and I would rather have no fire at all, than one that required no tending—one of dead woods that could not sing again the imprisoned songs of the forest, or give out in brilliant scintillations the sunshine it absorbed in its growth." Then with a protest worthy of John Ruskin: "This age, which imitates everything, even to the virtues of our ancestors, has invented a fire-place with artificial iron or composition logs in it, hacked and painted, in which gas is burned, so that it has the appearance of a wood-fire. This seems to me blasphemy. Do you think a cat would lie down before it? Can you poke it? If you can't poke it, it is a fraud. To poke a fire is more solid enjoyment than almost anything else in the world. The crowning human virtue in a man is to let his wife poke the fire."

It is not safe, however, to begin quoting where one recalls his favorite passages by opening at the first page, and might continue from cover to cover, with indiscriminate and too lavish praise. Fortunately, or unfortunately, as the case may be, "Baddeck and That Sort of Thing" is a set-off in some measure. To say that it

is less ambitious than the other book might excuse some of its failings, but does injustice to the latter's simplicity. To say that it is often strained and laboured is true, but scarcely fair to its own unostentatious attempt. A sketch of a summer excursion in search of the cis-Atlantic Thule, its faults are as much due to lack of matter as to inferior treatment. The bleak New England coast-line and the chilly white farm-houses of the Provinces do not furnish apt material for romance, however much individuality they might have had before iron rails and wires had tied them up into bundles of common-place. Even in Acadia itself it is difficult to find any glamor when, as the author says, you expect to see posted up on every crossing

"**Look Out for Evangeline When the Bell Rings.**"

There are occasional touches that show the keen hand of the Fire Tender, but they are witty rather than humourous; speaking of a young Jesuit priest, "Slender is too corpulent a word to describe his leanness, and his stature was primeval." It is in the effort to squeeze sentiment out of the barren details that the writer labours, and tires one, not so much by what he does, as by what he fails to do. If we complain of Mr. Warner it is his own fault, because he has given us a right to expect better things from him.

NINETY-THREE By Victor Hugo. Translated by Frank Lee Benedict. New York. Harper & Brothers. 1874.

The "inexplicable Vendée" of which this book treats well repays a little study. A net-work of small hills, one rarely commanding a view of the other, thickly wooded forests, underbrush and river-beds, enabled a very irregular force to resist an invading army. The defenders could attack and vanish safe in the recesses of the woods, never exposing a front to the enemy. We read in the Memoires of Madame Delaroche Jaquelin, of an army of twenty thousand men, of whom fourteen thousand were armed with scythes, blades of knives, sickles and clubs; of armies broken up even at critical times, the peasants insisting upon returning to their homes every few days, disappearing in a moment in the woods and marshes, but re-assembled as rapidly by requisitions sent to each parish, calling for men "in the Holy Name of God, and by the King." As far as possible they brought their own provisions, and for some time they fought without pay. They stoutly refused patrol and sentinel duties, obliging the officers to take those posts upon themselves.

The Vendean revolt began in the resistance to the oath imposed on the priests by the National Convention, and to the conscription for foreign service in the revolutionary armies. We find in a report to the Convention how much importance was attached to the resistance an army of such extraordinary "materiel" was to

make. "The Vendée is the political flame which devours the heart of the body politic. It is there you must strike." The author tells us with how much effect in a sentence in the first chapter: "No mercy—no quarter. At the end of May, of the twelve thousand who left Paris eight thousand were dead." With such an opening in the record of the volunteers of Santerre we are prepared for the dark days in which as Coleridge says: "The sun was rising, though he hid his light."

One of the most striking points in the book is the description of the mad dance of a carronade which, through the carelessness of the chief gunner of the corvette Claymore, breaks loose from its moorings, while the vessel is under full sail. The gun lives with a life that is destruction to corvette and crew. We have before us the dread power of the inanimate thing, and the courage of the man who, to atone for his negligence, is ready to be faithful unto death. In great peril the gunner stands strong, till, at length, by the timely help of the mysterious passenger, the gun is secured. In the stern code of this future commander of La Vendée, "no fault is reparable," and when from him the gunner receives the Cross of St. Louis and the sentence of death, we feel that in the name of justice a terrible injustice is done.

The chief characters of the book are the Marquis de Lantenac, his grand-nephew Gauvain, and the Republican priest, Cimourdain. Lantenac is the commander of the Royalist party in La Vendée. Gauvain leads the Republican forces against him. The two men are well contrasted. In each the same strong faith, the same heroism, the same devotion to principle, but always in Gauvain a generous spirit of humanity, of which we find no trace in Lantenac, who sees in himself the instrument of God to avenge Church and King.

Lantenac orders the destruction of a hamlet, and among the wounded is a peasant woman whose children had been adopted by the battalion of the Bonnet Rouge. The children are carried off as hostages, and upon their fate turns that of Lantenac, Gauvain and Cimourdain.

Cimourdain is "a man full of virtues and verities—who believed himself infallible—the terrible offspring of justice." In his heart burned one great love for the boy Gauvain, his pupil, into whom he had instilled his own soul. He saves Gauvain's life at Dol, where they meet after many years in the midst of a combat between the whites and the blues. The joy of this meeting at Dol is suddenly troubled, as Cimourdain hears Gauvain pardon the man from whose shot he himself had saved him. He is commissioned by the Committee of Public Safety to watch this young general, whose clemency they resent, to answer for his fidelity, and to deliver him to death, should he set at liberty a royalist commander. He foresees the possible tragedy of the

future; in truth Gauvain is one of the merciful. Cimourdain is bound by his oath, and in his eyes pity may be treason. The evil day comes at last. Lantenac, whose barbarities have made him execrated, while his strength of will and purpose has made him the life of the royalist forces, is besieged in his own castle at La Tourgue. There the children are confined, and while, after an heroic defence, Lantenac and his few followers escape, the children-hostages are left in the burning castle. Their mother, after long wandering in search of them, at the moment when his safety is secured, stands before Lantenac; behind them, in full view, are the children whom he alone can save. In this moment we forgive him much. He re-enters by the secret passage, unlocks the iron door which would not yield to force, and saving the children, delivers himself into the hands of the enemy.

The Republic is pitiless—"No mercy, no quarter." Cimourdain strives to save Gauvain from this trial; to convince him that the enemy captured concerns him no longer; that he himself will fulfill the decree of the convention. At last the young man rebels. He sees that in condemning to death the man who faced that death for the three little ones, he would dishonor himself and his cause. He sets Lantenac free, and Cimourdain can but summon him before his tribunal, where three votes decide his fate. The first officer thinks of Manlius and condemns him; the second, the faithful Radoub, whose battalion had adopted the children, breaking out into an honest and fiery indignation, votes acquittal. The inflexible Cimourdain, triumphing over love, votes death. With the morning dawn appears the guillotine placed before the tower of La Tourgue. Upon the tower sits Cimourdain; below him, on the platform, stand the four thousand soldiers in order of battle. With the sound of muffled drums Gauvain comes to the foot of the scaffold. He ascends, and from the whole army rises a cry for mercy. From the tower Cimourdain answers—"Fulfill the law." In a moment all is over. But as Gauvain's head falls, Cimourdain dies by his own hand. Finis.

In the dungeon the night before the execution, Cimourdain visits Gauvain and drinks great draughts of water "in serenity." They converse on politics and social economy, taxation and women's rights, the possible and the impossible. After much of this, the ominous hammer strokes are heard. Cimourdain grows pale. Gauvain hears nothing. He has been long in a waking dream of a Utopian society. Cimourdain asks of what he is thinking. "Of the future"—and Cimourdain leaves him sunk in meditation. This we are given as the parting scene between two souls knit together.

STRAUSS AS A PHILOSOPHICAL THINKER.—A review of his book "The Old Faith and the New Faith," and a confutation of its Materialistic Views. By Hermann Ulrici. Translated with an Introduction by Charles P. Krauth, D.D., Vice Provost of the University of Pennsylvania. [Pp. 167. Price $1.] Philadelphia. Smith, English & Co., 1874.

"Beginning in the spirit, completed in the flesh," might be taken as a description of Dr. Strauss's career. In 1834 he startled the religious world by his *Leben Jesu*, in which the Gospel history was for the most part resolved into myths, and the residuum explained according to the categories of Hegel's idealism. In 1873, standing with one foot in the grave, he took a calm survey of the drift of modern thinking, and pronounced that materialism is the only tenable solution of the questions that perplex men. From extreme to extreme has been his course, and that of a great number of Hegel's former disciples. Every extreme involves an equal reaction; only the higher synthesis, that unites and does justice to what is true and positive in both, is safe from the eternal see-saw of opinion.

Dr. Ulrici, of Halle, one of the very ablest of the later philosophers of Germany, reviewed Strauss's last work in the *Philosophical Journal*, of which he and the younger Fichte are the editors, and with such ability that the review at once excited attention among the multitude of articles and publications that *The New and the Old Faith* had given occasion to. Nor was it anything but what might have been expected from the man. Ulrici is a philosopher and critic, not a theologian; but it is the side of philosophy that verges on theology that has especially occupied his great powers. His *Gott und Natur* is as great in its sphere as his *Shakspeare* in the department of dramatic criticism, and each book made a beginning of a new epoch in their respective departments. Ulrici, we say, is not a theologian; he concerns himself with Strauss as a philosophical thinker simply; and this gives his censure of Strauss the greater practical value, while it adds nothing to the intrinsic worth of the book. In the face of the fact that the boldest and most fearless discussions in theology have always been inaugurated and carried on by theologians, there is a vulgar prejudice which impugns the whole body as recklessly conservative, and therefore unfair reasoners. Men like Oliver Wendell Holmes, for instance, who would fight to the death against innovators in their own department, and denounce them as quacks, are ready to patronize and pet all the irregular cavalry that make incursions into the theological field.

Ulrici takes up the philosophy of *The New and the Old Faith*, and finds the work to be "a declaration of philosophical bankruptcy." For instance, the origin of religious faith is a subject

of legitimate philosophical inquiry. Strauss would trace it, as Hume does, to the desire of sensual gratification which led men to pray and sacrifice to the unseen powers, in the fear of their wrath preventing men from self-indulgence. But then he is met by the fact—which he must confess—that one of the chief functions of religious faith is to deter men from self-indulgence, and to bring their sensual passions under control. The gods that man created or devised as the givers of pleasure, are invested with the power to debar him from it!

Again, Strauss admitting that each single part of the universe has its ground in some other antecedent part, denies that this can be postulated of the whole. For the necessity that carries us out of the visible universe to the cause, carries us from that cause back again to its antecedent cause, and so on forever. The result reached by this logic is a universe resting on itself, not a personal cause of the universe, having His ground in Himself. Ulrici wittily compares such a universe to Munchausen holding himself in midair by his own pig-tail. He denies that the mental law of causality forces us to assume a cause for that which exists simply (*das sein*); it applies only to that which is effected or comes into being (*das werden.*) But the universe even as Strauss describes it belongs to the latter category, and the mental law of causality carries us outside it to a cause that is pure existence and activity.

Strauss assails the theological as well as the cosmological proof, appealing in this case to Darwin, as one who has shown "that it is an erroneous assumption that nothing but conscious intelligence can produce that which shows adaptation to an end." The appeal, as Ulrici shows, is a very unhappy one. For Strauss farther on undertakes to show that the atheist may have an ethical standard, may even hold fast to the moral law that forms the kernel of the Mosaic legislation. But the ultimate fact in this morality is not "the will of God," but "the generic idea of the race." But says Ulrici, "Darwinism knows nothing of either race or species; it expressly denies the existence of definite *genera* distinguished by permanent types, involving essential determinations." It even gives the first place to the differences that produce endless variation, exalting that above similarities and permanences. With equal acuteness Ulrici tracks Strauss through all his various attempts to establish an atheistic ethic, subjecting them each and all to a merciless analysis, and showing that the only valid elements in them are of theistic origin, borrowed feathers.

Other chapters are more purely scientific, such as the two on the origin of life, and on the origin of species. In the former he arrays the weightiest names of the scientific world against the theory that life has been naturally and spontaneously evolved out of the lower natural forces, and is merely a highly specialized

form of the force into which they are all to be resolved. He lays great stress upon the actual experience of the world, which gives us no instance of spontaneous generation and of the transmutation of species. He shows that scientific men of our own day, unlike Lyell and the older geologists, deny that the special conditions of earlier ages materially affect the problem, and they have substantiated their assertion by proofs. Any one that feels an interest in the controversies about evolution will find here a careful and searching analysis of the whole matter. Next to Mivart and Huber, Ulrici stands out among the able opponents of the Darwinian theory.

Brief as the book is, it contains very much more than this, and all is put with a terseness, a clearness, an acuteness and a force that must command attention even from those who most dissent from him. There is an impression abroad in certain quarters that the scientific men have disproved everything; that there is nothing left to believe in, neither the sanctities of the household, nor the faith of religion, nor human responsibility, nor the absolute distinctions of ethics, having escaped destructive analysis. All who desire the undisturbed progress of scientific investigation, and believe that its results will be constructive and not destructive, that it will lead men to say *yes* with a new emphasis, instead of substituting a *no* for the *yes* of their fathers, must regret this loose thinking. It forebodes evil, a blind reaction on the part of the weaker, less courageous (and therefore less tolerant and merciful) elements of society against science itself. Such books as this of Ulrici have therefore great value as showing how ill-founded those vague impressions are, and how little of a negative sort has really resulted from modern investigation, so far as the great social, ethical and religious convictions of mankind are concerned. It brings clearly before men the fact that Darwin and Huxley, Moleschott and Voigt do not sum up the list of investigators, and that the results that these men have reached, and that are hastily trumpeted to all the world by inconsiderate admirers as the assured conclusions of modern science, are in truth still *sub lite*, hypotheses not yet verified.

Dr. Krauth has added very much to the value of the book by a careful and learned introduction, in which the philosophical and scientific importance of materialism, the significance of Strauss' work, and the various answers made to it in Germany, are discussed at some length. Many of his quotations from the last are of very great interest, and add much to the value of the book. They are not confined so strictly to the philosophical side of the controversy as is Ulrici's review.

INFANT SALVATION IN THE CALVINISTIC SYSTEM. A Review of Dr. Hodge's "Systematic Theology." By C. P. Krauth, D. D. [Pp. 82. 8vo.] Philadelphia. Lutheran Book Store, 117 N. Sixth street.

St. Augustine, the *durus Pater infantum,* has had many disciples, and not a few among the Protestant divines of the earlier generations. How far the Calvinistic divines taught the doctrine of infant damnation, has long been a matter of dispute in this country and elsewhere. It was one phase of the duel between Orthodox and Unitarian congregationalism in the first part of the present century, and many were the affidavits produced that this or that veteran church member had heard Dr. This or Parson That, of the standing order, declare in the pulpit of some New England church, "that there were infants in hell a span long." Even the leaders took up the cudgels on the question. Dr. Lyman Beecher in *The Spirit of the Pilgrims* repelled the charge, and Dr. J. F. Ware in *The Christian Examiner* strove to fasten it on Calvinism as a permanent blot, because a logical inference from other stern doctrines. The latter quoted an especially strong proof from the early literature of New England—a passage from the *The Day of Doom,* by Rev. Michael Wigglesworth of Malden, Mass., in which the infants set among the goats at the Judgment Day, expostulate with the Judge, and are answered in a long argument whose like might be gathered in many a Calvinistic system of theology, but are promised the mildest place in hell.

It is unquestionable that the doctrine of infant damnation has utterly fallen out of the actual creed of the Calvinistic Churches. They have even forgotten that it ever was held, and stoutly repel it as a slander. The heart has been too strong for the head in this matter. There are only a few traces of it left, and those among the smaller and stricter bodies. Thus a most estimable clergyman of this city, when a candidate for a Professorship in the Theological Seminary of his Church, was opposed privately by a few dry and crooked sticks, because of his too great liberality on this head. And we have seen in a Nova Scotian paper a series of articles by an Old Covenanter pastor, in which the laxity of Princeton doctrine in regard to the reprobation of non-elect infants was sharply censured.

Dr. Hodge, of Princeton, in his recently published *Systematic Theology,* denies that when the Westminster Confession of Faith speaks of the salvation of "elect infants," it implies the damnation of non-elect infants. He implies in his denial that this latter was not the opinion of Calvinistic theologians of any period, however it may have been held by a few, and says: "We never saw a Calvinistic theologian who held that doctrine." This, he says in rebuttal of a charge made in Dr. C. P. Krauth's *Conserva-*

tive Reformation, that it was an integral part of the Calvinistic system, and taught as such in the Westminster Confession.

In the pamphlet before us Dr. Krauth takes up the statement made by Dr. Hodge to substantiate his charge. He undertakes to prove (1) that the earlier Calvinistic theologians and even down to quite a recent period, teach the existence and the damnation of non-elect infants to the pains of hell; (2) that they could not logically have done otherwise, as that was a necessary inference from the Calvinistic system as they understood it; (3) that the Westminster Confession, if interpreted as its own authors would have explained it, does the same, and that if we bring sundry of its statements in regard to election, the means of grace, etc., into close juxtaposition, no other inference can be drawn from it. In regard to all these points the method adopted is anything but rhetorical or passionate. Dr. Krauth is evidently actuated by the simple desire to ascertain and establish the historical fact—not to furnish the enemies of Calvinism in general with new weapons to throw at it. He honors the hard-headed old divines for their honest consistency; he does not seek to trace their conclusions to any malignity or lack of Christian charity. He knows that they were Christian men, who desired that the largest purposes of mercy, consistent with God's established justice, should be accomplished in the Universe. They saw no escape from their conclusion as to the existence and damnation of non-elect infants. They accepted the conclusion as a hard necessity, reconcilable in some way with God's merciful goodness, but not, however, to us explainable.

Dr. Krauth brings forward a vast amount of Calvinistic authorities; he displays such an acquaintance with the Reformed literature as few of the Reformed divines can boast of. A comparison of this brief pamphlet with the four stout volumes of Dr. Hodge's *Systematic Theology*, leaves no doubt as to the superiority of the former in this respect. We think that every fair-minded reader will see that that this erudition is no cumbersome "Saul's armor," but weapons which their owner uses to the most effective purpose. Dr. Krauth has made out his case, certainly on the first and second points,—we think on the third point also. R. E. T

THE MARTYRDOM OF MAN. By Winwood Reade. [Pp. 543.] New York. Asa K. Butts.

Mr. Reade is already widely known by his travels in Africa. In the present volume he gives us a rapid resume of the history of the world from Africa as a stand-point. He traces first the great civilizations and the warlike empires that lived and grew upon the shores of the Mediterranean. Then he passes in review the great religions that arose on the same shores. Then the modern struggle for the personal liberty of man as man, fought over the

person of the manacled African, is graphically sketched for us. Lastly, there is an outline of the general growth and rise of civilization out of the savage state of the prehistoric ages, with a projection of the same line of ascent into the future.

The motive of the book is to vindicate the modern skeptical anthropologists in their destructive analysis of the supposed sanctities of social, political, religious and family life. That that analysis does and must inflict great mental suffering upon a large part of the race, Mr. Reade admits. That it will rend away from men the hopes of a future life, that have been counted on to make this life endurable, unless it be itself erroneous and futile, is past all doubt. But our author would show, by survey of the past, that every generation has undergone some kind of suffering, some species of martyrdom, for the sake of those who were to come after them. In the past that suffering was of a material sort—wars and tyrannies being the chief causes. It has become a mental conflict in our days. Men suffer inwardly on the surrender of a pleasing falsehood, that generations to come may possess the heritage of the truth.

Supposing those negative results to be the truth, Mr. Reade is no doubt right. To know and possess the truth is, beyond all question, the highest blessedness and freedom for man. The supremest folly must be to prefer any pleasant or edifying fiction to the truth. The deepest damnation possible to any moral being must be the state in which it makes and loves a lie. To count all loss as net gain, if it be incurred in honestly seeking the truth, is the wisest policy. Whatever suffering our generation has to undergo in the surrender of cherished notions and opinions, if it faces the pain boldly and nobly, then it is entering into spiritual communion and fellowship with the heroic souls of the past, who suffered and died that those that came after them might live larger, freer and nobler lives.

But while we have no doubt that the results of modern investigation do call for such surrender of false notions, and that ordinarily the process must be a painful one, we cannot see our way to accepting Mr. Reade's opinions as to what must be given up and what will be left. He takes away all belief in and knowledge of God, all convinction of the absolute distinctions of morality, all hope of a future life. Upon what premises does he rest these destructive inferences? So far as we can see (1), upon a one-sided and uncritical survey of the leading facts of European history; and (2) upon the results reached by anthropological antiquarians. Mr. Reade's survey of history is a brilliant piece of writing; but we think a very unsatisfactory one. All history is a selection of facts, of representative facts. Philosophical history, the only kind that can claim any validity as a proof of anything, begins with a careful analysis of the ultimate facts. Mr. Reade has attempted nothing

of the sort. He confounds antiquarianism with philosophy. He makes no distinction between *occasion* and *cause*. For instance, marriage arose out of a state of things in which the men of one tribe carried off the women of another. Granted that this was the occasion, was it the cause of marriage? Had the latter no deep root in the perpetual instincts of human nature? For that is not a cause, which being removed, the supposed effect continues without it. My conception of a triangle, for instance, is not caused by the first triangle that I saw, nor is it caused by any subsequent triangle, or any series of them. It lay innate in my mind until the first triangle that I saw, or the first that I intelligently studied, brought it into clear consciousness. In the same way social methods or institutions that first make their appearance in a certain set of circumstances are clearly not the results of those circumstances, if they are able to perpetuate themselves after the circumstances have passed away. They have a deeper ground somewhere. It is the work of the philosopher to discover it—that of the antiquarian to trace the circumstances that played the obstetric, not the parental roll at their genesis. To take another instance, it is easy to trace the antiquarian origin of the state in the fusion of a number of tribes, and to trace these again to the families in which they had their origin. But the political philosopher cares but little for the results reached. He sees beneath these family and tribal movements a great political impulse at work, to which only the full development of the state gives scope. What is the nature of this impulse? what its origin? what its end? These are the questions that he cares to have answered. The antiquarian has no answer for any of them.

All Mr. Reade's philosophy of history is of this superficial sort, now so popular in England among those who would reduce history to one of the exact sciences. Fortunately, we have books that treat the question after quite another fashion. One chapter of Mulford's *The Nation* goes farther and deeper than all the writings of the antiquarian and anthropological school.

Mr. Reade's book has very great merit, considered simply as a work of art, if we consider the beauty, clearness and vigor of the individual pictures. He has a style that reminds us of Macaulay, without being overloaded with antithesis and ornament, as was that of the great essayist. People who revere Cato the Elder will be somewhat taken aback at the realistic picture drawn at page 149. The sketch of early Egyptian history in the first chapter is a master-piece of historical writing, and not the only one in the volume.

But if we regard the book in the light of its main purpose, it ranks much lower as a work of art. Its best things stand in no visible relation to that purpose. Its graphic, lively bits of history are most commonly no illustrations of the main thesis, that the

history of mankind is a martyrology. Indeed, long passages seem to be written much more to prove the necessity of sacrificing current opinions than to show that such a sacrifice will be of one kind with those that have been made by those of the heroes of the past. Indeed, more than once we have been reminded of the method of sundry theological treatises whose authors set before them a very clearly defined purpose, but seem to think that every fine thing that they can bring in during the argument, however inapposite in itself, must contribute something to the strength of the reasoning.

GERDA; OR THE CHILDREN OF WORK. By Marie Sophie Schwartz. Translated from the Swedish by Selma Borg and Marie A. Brown. Philadelphia. Porter and Coates, 1874.

It is a fair presumption that a book not expressly labeled "juvenile," is intended at least in some degree for adults. Yet the adult's lines must have fallen in very hard places who would feel repaid by a perusal of this one, and if the drag net of advertisement encloses any such, they will probably feel as much imposed on as trout caught out of season. Had the reviewer felt that his high functions could not be conscientiously performed without finishing the book, he would not have escaped the painful experience. Such names as Gerda, Schwartz, Borg, give promise of Swedish life and manners reproduced in pleasant fiction. But the creative faculty which makes great characters, and the reproductive which makes the reader identify himself with the time, place and persons of the tale, are not to be found within these covers. The novel is Swedish, but the scenes are like certain actions at law, not local but transitory—they might have happened anywhere. The old properties are put on the stage in the old way. We have—but this is a fresh effect—a morbidly honest man instantly changed into the accomplice of a thief by the sight of lunch. Lest the statement appear incredible, we throw in that the honest man was very hungry and much out at the elbow, and that the thief treated. But even then the American reader will be chagrined to find that the Vikings excel us at our own weapons. Was a free lunch ever used with such terrible effect? We begin to put confidence in the statement in the Greek grammar that "the maid turned into a leather bottle."

There is a beautiful woman who so far forgets her sphere as to hold her brother-in-law, nephew, and other men in great control. A cobbler is transformed into a sculptor, and when we closed the book the sky threatened a deluge of impossible matches and a rainbow of even-handed justice at the end. We fear a sort of mean phonetic suspicion leads us to attribute to Miss Selma Borg, one of the translators, many idioms which are probably much better Swedish than they are English. The first few pages are per-

fectly peppered with them, but they grew rarer either as Miss Borg got her hand in or got it out in favor of her coadjutor, Miss Brown.

There is a sad reflection about all such stories which a practical public like ours will not think too Quixotic to mention. They represent a plant of labor upon the part of the author, of capital on the part of the publisher, and of time on that of the reading public, which swells not a little the debtor side of our national prosperity. Mis-directed energy is the climax of extravagance.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

Principles of Mental Physiology, with their applications to the training and discipline of the mind, and the study of its morbid conditions. By Wm. B. Carpenter, M D., LL.D., F. R. S., F. L. S., F. G. S., Registrar of the University of London, etc. Cloth. Oc., pp. 737. New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1874. [Lippincott & Co.]

The Friendship of Books, and other Lectures. By the Rev. F. D. Maurice. Edited, with a preface, by Thomas Hughes. Second Edition. 12mo, Cloth. Pp. 392. $2.50. London: Macmillan & Co., 1874. [Lippincott & Co.]

Baddeck, and that sort of thing By Charles Dudley Warner. 12mo. Cloth. Pp. 191. $1.50. Boston: Jas. R. Osgood & Co., 1874. [Lippincott & Co.]

A Princess of Thule. A Novel. By William Black. Paper. Oc., pp. 272. 75cts. New York: Harper & Bros., 1874. [Lippincott & Co.]

Publicans and Sinners; or Lucius Davoren. A novel. By Miss M. E. Braddon. Paper. Oc., pp. 190. 75cts. New York: Harper & Bros., 1874. [Lippincott & Co.]

Lady Anna. A Novel. By Anthony Trollope. Paper. Oc., pp. 125. 50cts. New York: Harper & Bros., 1874. [Lippincott & Co.]

Ninety-Three. By Victor Hugo. Translated by Frank Lee Benedict. Cloth. Oc., pp. 356. New York: Harper & Bros., 1874. [Lippincott & Co.]

The Great Conversers, and other Essays. By William Matthews, LL.D. 12mo., Cloth. Pp., 310. $1.75. Chicago: S. C. Griggs & Co., 1874. [Claxton, Remsen & Haffelfinger.]

The World on Wheels, and other Sketches. By Benjamin F. Taylor. 12mo., Cloth. Pp., 258. $1.50. Chicago: S. C. Griggs & Co., 1874. [Claxton, Remsen & Haffelfinger.]

The Self-Culture, Intellectual, Physical and Moral. A Vade Mecum for young men and students. By John Stuart Blackie, Professor of Greek in the University of Edinburgh. Cloth, 12mo. Pp.116. New York: Scribner, Armstrong & Co., 1874.

Bric-a-brac Series. Personal Reminiscences by Chorley, Planche and Young. Edited by Richard Henry Stoddard. Cloth, 12mo. Pp. 297. New York: Scribner, Armstrong & Co.

The Brigand; or The Demon of the North. (Hans d'Islande.) By Victor Hugo. 8vo., paper. 201 pp. 75 cts. Philadelphia: T. B. Peterson & Bro.

The Autobiography of Edward Wortley Montagu. With a preface by R. Shelton Mackenzie, LL.D. Philadelphia: T. B. Peterson & Bros. Cloth, 12mo. Pp 540. $1.75.

The Education of American Girls, considered in a Series of Essays. Edited by Anna C. Brackett. N.Y.: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1874. Cloth, 12mo. Pp. 401. $1. 75.

England: Political and Social. By Auguste Laugel, Private Secretary to the Duc d'Aumale. Author of "The United States during the War of 1861–65," etc. Translated by Prof. James Morgan Hart. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1874. Cloth, 12mo. Pp. 325. $1.50.

Handbook of Statistics of the United States. Compiled by M. C. Spaulding. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1874. Cloth 12mo. Pp. 216. $1.

THE

PENN MONTHLY.

AUGUST, 1874.

THE MONTH.

THE French situation still continues to be exciting. After the reference to the Committee of Thirty of the proposition to establish more firmly the powers of Marshal MacMahon, a manifesto was suddenly issued by that singularly mal-adroit person, the Count de Chambord. Repeating again his unselfish readiness to serve France by accepting the Crown, the Legitimist leader expresses his determination only to do so as a King by right, who may obey the will of the legislature should it jump with his own inclination, but who will do as he pleases in any case, and calls upon the faithful to exalt again among them "the venerable monarchy." The "*Union,*" (Legitimist newspaper,) which published the Count's address, was at once suspended, and that fact given as the reason by the ministry when challenged on the subject by the Assembly. A stormy scene followed, ending in the defeat of what in England would be called a vote of confidence in the Ministry. The new Cabinet, called into existence by MacMahon within the month, at once presented its resignations and the Marshal as promptly refused to accept them. This decisive action on his part was followed immediately by a message to the Assembly in which the noisy Deputies were told in unmistakable language that the Marshal held the opinion that the powers they had conferred upon him for seven years were irrevocable by them

and that he intended to act up to that belief: that the country needed nothing so much as stability and repose, which could not be enjoyed were the Government to be constantly overturned by the vote of a fickle Assembly, and that the representatives had better turn their attention to some necessary matters of governmental business and leave attacks upon the Ministry alone. The form in which this was couched was, of course, more graceful, but the meaning and intent of the message were not to be mistaken. The "*Figaro*," at once exploded with rage and was next day suspended for two weeks. The Assembly demanded to know why, and the extreme left accused the Government of partiality, but the latter was sustained by a close vote, and so the matter stands. Gambetta has once more assured his fellow-deputies that the Body of which they are members has lost its vitality and is ready for the grave; and a significant evidence of the tendency of things is found in a letter of the old Comte de Montalivet, lately royalist and once Minister, commending Casimir Perier for his wise and patriotic course. Convinced by the follies of Chambord and the selfish attitude of the Orleans family that the establishment of the royalty is impossible, however desirable it may have been, the old man counsels his old friend's son to stand steadfast in his efforts to establish the permanent Republic, the only government, he thinks, now possible for France.

DEATH has been busy among the distinguished in the old world during the past three weeks. In each case his victim was of advanced age. Marshal Concha was over eighty, though at the moment of his death he was engaged in leading a charge in battle. His fall checked the march of his army and put a stop at once to the operations with which, with some prospects of success, he was attempting to overwhelm the Carlists. Strange rumors, not infrequent when a great Spaniard dies a sudden and bloody death, have arisen, charging Serrano with compassing the Marshal's destruction; but they are everywhere discredited, quite as much (if we can judge from Continental journals) from the fact that it is not easy to see how Concha's death would benefit Serrano, as from any belief in the purity of the Dictator's character. The aged soldier was buried with great pomp and the Minister of War appointed to succeed him.

M. Goulard's death seems to have been little noticed, although, one month ago, he was for the time the foremost man in the Assembly. But he failed to form a Ministry, and the duty was undertaken by MacMahon himself; and Goulard, instead of becoming the first Minister of France, fell sick and died, and by this time is buried. He was a man of parts and of considerable energy of character, and has been for some time a Vice President of the Chamber. Jules Janin's name will be much longer remembered, although he had and deserved no very high place in letters. As a feuilletonist he was not brilliant nor as a critic deep, but he had rare "luck" in literature as a creator of sensations. Even when he married he made an excitement by the publication of a a prose epithalamium in which he took the world into his confidence in a painfully cool way; and, in his death, he has had the happiness—for such he would have esteemed it—of a brilliant and distinguished funeral. He lived at Passy in an exquisite chalet covered with ivy and roses, and full of choice bits of modern and antique art. The famous Baron Triqueti, noted among the eminent artists of France and more recently as the decorator by the Queen's order of the memorial chapel of Prince Albert at Windsor, had reached the age of seventy. His skill and taste were remarkable and he has won for himself a permanent place in the art of this century. Extended notices of M. Van de Weyer have been published in the English papers, though we have encountered none in American. He was known to many of our countrymen in London as the son-in-law of an American, Joshua Bates, of the firm of the Barings. M. Von de Weyer was eminent as a diplomatist and statesman, having begun his career as a brilliant young advocate and journalist before the Belgian revolution. He did much to secure the acceptance by Prince Leopold of the new crown, and still more to establish securely the foundation of a strong, liberal, constitutional monarchy. He had reached the age of seventy-three.

The cable brings us the news of the death of Howard Staunton, of London, the well-known chess-player and Shakespearian editor and commentator, in the sixty-fourth year of his age. He was born in 1810, and was educated at Oxford. He devoted himself early in life to literature. He soon found in chess an absorbing study, and published *The Chess-Player's Companion*,

The Chess-Player's Hand-Book, The Chess-Player's Text-Book, Chess Tournament, Chess Praxis, and others less known. In 1843 he challenged M. St. Amand, the then champion chess-player of Europe, and defeated him. From this time he acquired great celebrity as a chess-player, and as an authority on the game.

In his latter years Mr. Staunton devoted himself more particularly to literature, and especially to Shakespearian letters. He was selected by the Messrs. Routledge as the editor of their *Illustrated Shakespeare,* which was published during the years 1858, 1859 and 1860, in parts. The whole forms three volumes, royal 8vo. The work was the result of much study and research, and has taken rank among the best editions of Shakespeare that we have. It was afterwards republished in four volumes, 8vo., without the illustrations. A reprint of this latter edition has just been issued in London.

Like a great many editors of Shakespeare, Mr. Staunton displayed in his later years a fondness for emendation, which was much to be deplored. He published lately, in the columns of the London *Athenæum,* from week to week, a series of articles on "Unsuspected Corruptions in the Text of Shakespeare," which did not increase his fame as a critic; and at the time of his death he was engaged upon a new edition of Shakespeare, in which he proposed to incorporate many hundreds of emendations, which, in the opinion of many competent judges, are wholly unnecessary. He left this latter work unfinished, and it is presumed that it will never be published.

The writer enjoyed the pleasure of a frequent correspondence with Mr. Staunton of late, and received a letter from him dated May 26, 1874, in which he speaks of various Shakespearian projects, full of hope.

He was a warm friend and a bitter enemy—a man of naturally good parts and great culture.

All Philadelphians have good reason to be proud of the honor of having among them two such Shakespearian scholars as Mr. and Mrs. Horace Howard Furness. The former's name is now familiar to all students as the editor of the wonderful *New Variorum Edition of Shakespeare,* about which we need not add a line of praise to the universal recognition it has received; but some of our readers

are, perhaps, not aware that the latter has just published a *Concordance to Shakespeare's Poems.* It is of this that we desire to speak. Shakespeare's Poems, although of surpassing beauty, have been hitherto almost entirely neglected. We think that it was Steevens who said that an Act of Parliament would be necessary to make persons read them, and in many of the earlier editions of Shakespeare's works they were entirely omitted. The reason of this is very evident—the dramas from the same immortal pen so far eclipsed the poems that the latter seemed poor by comparison. But we assert that a careful study of them will make it evident that there is much hidden merit concealed in them, which is not apparent to the hasty reader. We have had numberless works written about the *Sonnets*, but, for the first time in the history of literature, we are now presented with a concordance to the poems. That it will do much to draw attention to their beauties cannot be doubted, and we look for many good results therefrom. What shall we say of the patient and intelligent toil, the boundless love for the poet which inspired it, and the energy which has brought this undertaking to a successful close? It is deserving of all praise, and we can but utter our imperfect thanks, and leave the task to abler pens than ours. As a concordance this is probably the most accurate and complete one that has ever been published. It includes every particle in the poems, and here will be found every *a*, *the*, *and*, etc. To many this will appear a waste of time and labor, but to the philologist its true value will alone be apparent. Had Mrs. Clarke been able to do likewise in her Concordance to the Plays, its value would have been increased threefold. Mrs. Furness' concordance is a beautiful example of correct typography, and ranges in appearance and size with her husband's *New Variorum Shakespeare.* Mrs. Furness should have the hearty thanks of every student of Shakespeare.

ANOTHER Shakespearian publication of great merit has lately appeared—we refer to the *Shakespeare Lexicon* of Dr. Alexander Schmidt, of which we have seen the first volume. It is, as its name implies, a dictionary of Shakespeare, in which the meaning of every word in the poet's works is given, together with a reference to the act, scene and line of the *Globe Edition*, in which will

be found a passage containing an example of the use of the word in that sense. The whole is a marvel of patient industry, and shows great familiarity with the poet's works. The author, Dr. Schmidt, is a German, and this increases our admiration for the book, while it explains the few errors in the work that we have discovered. The first volume only is published.

THE resignations of several prominent officials have taken place this month. Mr. Bancroft, after representing us at Berlin for more than six years, has turned his steps homeward. A learned and accomplished man, with an extended continental reputation, he has done us great credit and his return is a subject of regret. His successor, Mr. Bancroft-Davis, is reported to be a man of industry, and has been Assistant Secretary of State for a number of years. He is unfavorably known as the author (at least he is responsible for them) of the "Indirect Claims," or "Consequential Damages," that improperly raised rock on which we came so near going to pieces in the Arbitration of '72; but the appointment seemed generally to be approved, where it has awakened comment at all. Mr. Creswell's course, during his six years of administration of the Post-office Department, seems to have been that of an efficient officer. He cannot be said to have been neglectful of the peculiarly political duties which are supposed to be especially attached to that place (it wields more power of patronage than all the other cabinet offices put together), but he has escaped severe censure, which is something in these days. Mr. Hale, a friend of Mr. Blaine's, at once received the vacant portfolio, to the astonishment of the quidnuncs, who were "sure that it would be offered to a Pennsylvanian." He, however, declined it on account of ill-health, and the President astonished the newsmongers still more by appointing ex-Gov. Jewell of Connecticut. As the latter is now Minister to Russia, and has no very great prominence in his own party or power in his State, his selection may be set down as due, like many another's, to the President's peculiar characteristics. For although the Governor is a jolly, pleasant man, with an abundance of money, there would seem to be other men in the Republican party more deserving of such eminence. This appointment leaves vacant the Russian Mission, and speculation is once more excited.

As this is the highest office to which Pennsylvanians seem able to aspire at the present time, the name of more than one citizen of that State has been taken up, but thus far in vain. One worthy gentleman was mentioned, the other day, as the fortunate man; but rumor seems to have gone wrong in his case, and she now names as the new Minister, the Honorable James W. Nye. Exactly what qualifications this honorable person has for the office it would be vain to ask, but it is darkly hinted that Jones, his honorable successor in the Senate, supports him vigorously. The President's ways in matters of this kind have long been inscrutable and past finding out.

General Howard has been acquitted by the Court Martial which has been trying him, and the finding of the majority of the Court approved by the President. General Holt, however, a member of the Court, prepared and presented a minority report, in which, while acquitting Howard of criminal intent, he urges the impropriety of his conduct in disregarding known laws and acting in important matters without reference to them or his commanding officers. No action was taken upon this by the President, who has appointed General Howard to command the Department of the Columbia, a practical and emphatic vindication of his conduct.

It is rather late now and perhaps unnecessary to comment here upon General Grant's re-appointment of Gov. Shephard. The Senate, which had long suffered Williams, and been of great goodness to Richardson, could not endure this last, and rejected the nomination by a vote of 26 to 6. The people everywhere and the newspapers of both parties have united in condemning this act of General Grant—(even so generally flattering a pencil as the caricaturist Nast's having rebuked him)—and the country has settled down into the quiet which follows the adjournment of Congress and precedes the Fall campaign. But one is naturally reminded of the matter by the behavior of Mayor Havemeyer in New York. While the President's appointments have apparently been made without regard to precedent and rule, the Mayor has adhered strictly to bad rules and dangerous precedents. One after another

he has appointed the worst characters to high places in his gift, until the whole city government seemed to be possessed by evil. Oliver Charlick and Hugh Gardner, his typical Commissioners of Police, having been found guilty of misdemeanor in office, were at once removed by Gov. Dix, just as Mr. Shephard was legislated out of office by the adjourning Congress. Following *pari passu* the Chief Magistrate, in his disregard of public opinion, the Mayor at once reappointed these new commissioners, each one to the other's place. The popular indignation knew no bounds and the two appointees, taking the alarm, resigned. Havemeyer at once appointed one of them, Gardner, an Excise Commissioner without reference to the Board of Aldermen, who have the power of confirmation. This illegal action has resulted in petitions to the Governor for the offender's removal, and General Dix is now considering the matter and making up his mind. As a result of the awakening and enthusiasm of 1871, this is a deplorable state of things; but as has been well pointed out by *The Nation*, it might have been expected from the lack of true reform sentiments in the movement. That Mr. Havemeyer has disappointed all good men and thrown away a glorious opportunity there can be no doubt; whether he will be removed by the Governor or impeached remains to be seen. Meantime the excitement continues and there is much ill-feeling in New York against the Chief Magistrate.

THE municipal campaign has perhaps technically begun in Philadelphia, as one party has made its nominations. Comment, however, is yet premature, and may better be deferred until the other side has entered the lists and comparison can properly be made between the candidates. The election is an important one, in which four new judges and a district attorney are to be chosen by the people, but the probabilities are that it will be simply a repetition of the elections of previous years. The American who sees the influence of politics on the judiciary, and has not yet forgotten the feeling of reverence—so fast fading into a superstition—with which men formerly regarded the judicial office, cannot fail to be struck with the recent remark of an editorial writer in the London *Times*, and experience a sharp regret that it is not

equally applicable to Philadelphia or New York. "There is not a man," says the English journal, "in London or in Dublin who would now venture to say that judgeships should be used as the reward of party votes, and it is killing the slain to propose a resolution that they should not be so prostituted."

THE TEUTONIC MARK.[1]

THE origin of the state, and of civil government in general, has been in modern times the subject of dispute out of all due proportion to the importance of the matter. One political party sought to vindicate despotic government as right and natural, by showing that government itself originated in the patriarchate depicted in the book of Genesis, and that all the subjects of the King are in law his children, and are, therefore, subject to a *patria potestas* as unlimited as that possessed by the *pater-familias* over the members of his own household. Another party strove to establish the right of the people to liberty, by setting up the theory that men originally existed in a state of savage independence, out of which they passed into the social state by a sort of general agreement called "the social contract." The terms of this contract were very naturally construed as being such as the circumstances would call for. These freemen of the woods and plains could not be supposed likely to transfer their entire rights and liberties to the government which they thus created; they would give only so much as was necessary for the common safety, and that measure of their grant necessarily implied the right to retrench its amount, in case the public safety called for less. Those who held this theory apparently had on their side many great authorities of pagan antiquity to balance the authority of Moses. They were quite safe in fixing the terms of the contract at anything they pleased; if they were challenged as to details, nothing was more difficult than for their antagonists to maintain the challenge, for certainly the document of the contract was not forthcoming. They were fighting a good fight with weapons that

[1]This article is in great measure supplementary of the series on "The Communnisms of the Old World."

derived their power only from a false assumption common to them and their antagonists. This assumption was that we can ascertain the norm or idea of an institution, and consequently the rightful method and limits of its operation, by discovering under what set of circumstances it took its rise. They confounded antiquarian research with philosophical investigation. No such pilgrimage to the primitive seats of power is necessary to us. We reach the idea of the state, as the institution of rights, without it, and are able on the one hand to maintain against Filmer and his school, that the *patria potestas* which belongs to the family (or the institution of the affections) can not rightfully be extended to it; and on the other hand, against the *Laissez faire* school, we can show that the state is not a necessary evil, which best serves the ends of its existence by interfering as little as possible with the activity of the individual.

When the subject is thus divested of its polemical interest, the patriarchal theory, maintained with some exaggerations by Sir Robert Filmer, is seen to be more natural and reasonable than that of Locke and of Rousseau. During the close of the seventeeth and the whole of last century, the records, to which the patriarchal school made their appeal, were suffering from a not unnatural dislike,—a prejudice against their testimony. They had unfortunately been in a sense monopolized by a class of expositors, who claimed to be their especial stewards, and who had most generally drawn from them conclusions in regard to politics, that alienated the lay mind from the record itself. It was becoming a point of honor not to appeal to them in these matters; either to entirely ignore them as false or to circumscribe their sphere of authority to matters that concerned the church and religion. It was not a dislike of authority in itself that led to this. Men who scoffed at Moses, bowed down before Livy and Cicero, Plutarch and Lycurgus.

More impartial investigations have re-instated Moses and the patriarchal theory. Thirty, or even twenty years ago, it was a standing jest among writers of all parties. Macaulay glances at it with cool disdain, as being something as dead as the phlogistic theory of combustion. Faith in the opposite doctrine of a social contract had died out except among lawyers, without in any way reviving faith in the Filmerian theory. The "religious world," which would fight to the death for the truth of the Mosaic chro-

nology and the arithmetic of the book of Numbers, had no good word for it. It was ready to maintain that the Hebrew state originated in the exact way that the Old Testament said it did, but not to maintain any inference therefrom as to the historical origin of other states. "For was not the Hebrew nation a special and miraculous exception in the world's history,—something that differed from all other ancient nations as light from darkness,—the exclusive field of the divine beneficence, while all others lay in wickedness? Was not the history of that nation the miraculous result of divine interpositions that were common to no other people? How absurd to suppose that its annals could cast any light upon the records or the unrecorded experience of the rest of the world." Only the independent scholarship of juristic antiquarians has rehabilitated the old story. "The whirligig of time brings round its revenges."

The patriarchal theory is that the state is in its origin an extension of the family. The children of the patriarch remaining united in community of interest and of possession after his death, some elder son takes the father's place, and by a legal fiction is construed to possess the *patria potestas* over his brethren, their wives and their children. The office which thus grows out of the purpose to find strength in unity, is in substance that of the chieftain of a tribe or clan. But the membership is not necessarily confined to the actual descendants of the original patriarch, whose name is still borne by the tribe at large; by adoption, another legal fiction, individual men, or even whole tribes or families, are received into the clan, and assume its name. In the case where the family connection had possession of some site that afforded special advantages, such as a well-placed hill-fort in a district where the soil was dry and easily cultivated, such adoptions would be very natural; the clan would soon outgrow its old dimensions, and obtain a preponderance over others. If it made use of this for purposes of aggrandizement, it might bring less powerful clans into subjection, and distribute their lands and movables among its own people, without removing them from their houses or farms. In a word, the old clan would take the position of a land-holding aristocracy, in a sort of feudal system, with the other clans paying it a customary rent or tribute.

But such an aristocracy might very well grow up, without being

based upon the conquest of other tribes. For the clan system is one of communism, or common ownership of the lands, in which the individual habitually sacrifices his own will to the will of the majority. Such a life is nothing but a long training for submission to a master. Some one member of the clan, or more likely some group of them, comes to be looked up to by the rest as the especial champions of the whole body. As the arts of peace develop, the warlike disposition that made every clansman a soldier, declines; the more peaceable members are quite willing that the burden of warfare should fall on the few who keep their liking for it, and are none the less ready to give this warlike class a share in the produce of the soil, without requiring them to share in the tillage. Bit by bit the soldiers of the clan become its lords; and their lordship is marked by the disproportionate share of the soil that they possess, and by the services that other clansmen are bound to render in its cultivation.

By a process equally natural and necessary, the clan became a middle term between two other social units. On the one hand the single families that composed it were now naturally under the *patria potestas* of their own *pater-familias;* they formed internal divisions of the clan itself. When from the system of absolute communism in all possessions, the clan insensibly passed to a system of distinctions, in which land was held in "champion" or common, but cattle in several, it was to the family within the clan, not the individual, that this first form of wealth belonged. (Hence *pecunia* from *pecus; feodum* from *vieh*, anciently *fihu; chattel* from *cattle.*) And when the land itself was divided up into parcels, each of which was held in severalty so far as actual use was concerned, but the whole vested in the entire clan and cultivated according to its fixed and immemorial customs, it was to the families that these parcels were assigned. In this case, as in all others, the family instinct makes its appearance, as the chief antagonist of communism.

On the other hand, a larger unit than the clan was formed by the aggregation of smaller or greater numbers of them occupying a contiguous territory, and drawing together on some occasion that called for united resistance to a common danger. Thus were formed first the hundred, then the shire, and last of all the kingdom, by the continual accretion of these smaller units in ever larger

assemblages. The kingdom grew out of the clans, and remained as a permanent institution when the occasion that called it into existence had passed away. For it had a deeper root than the occasion—a root in the very nature of man, the "political animal" of Aristotle. But "in every Teutonic land which still keeps any footsteps of its ancient institutions, the local divisions are not simply administrative districts traced out for convenience on the map. In fact, they are not divisions at all; they are not divisions of the Kingdom, but the earlier elements out of whose union the Kingdom grew. Yorkshire, by that name, is younger than England; but Yorkshire by its older name of Deira, is older than England, and Yorkshire or Deira itself is younger than the smaller districts of which it is made up, Craven, Cleveland, Holderness, and others."[2]

In the Teutonic countries of Western Europe this primitive type of social organization—the clan united by real or supposed ties of blood—is disclosed to us in the accounts given by classic historians, in the old laws that are still preserved, and in customs and usages that are still found in force in a great number of districts. But when we subject the jural antiquities of other branches of the Indo-Germanic stem, and even of peoples outside of it, to examination, it is seen that the Teutonic race is no exception. The villlage system of India, in both the Sanscrit and the Dravidian districts, the *mir* in Russia and other Slavonic countries, the institutions depicted in the old Brehon laws of the Irish Celts, and even the land tenure of the Mexican Aztecs, are plainly of the same type. Even among the classic peoples this form of organization prevailed in the earliest times, and the chief purpose of the codi-

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[2]Freeman: *The Growth of the English Constitution:* Pp. 9–10.

See also: Sir Henry Sumner Maine: *Village Communities in the East and West:* London, 1871.

Ejusdem: *Ancient Law: Its connection with the Early History of Society, and its Relation to Modern Ideas:* (London, 1861.) New York, 1864.

Systems of Land Tenure in various Countries: a Series of Essays publishea under the Sanction of the Cobden Club: London, 1870.

Edward A. Freeman: *The Growth of the English Constitution:* London, 1873.

Ejusdem: *Comparative Politics:* London, 1874.

Wm. Stubbs: *The Constitutional History of England, its Origin and Development:* (Vol. 1.) London, 1874.

fication of the laws, and the chief motive to the struggle between the aristocracies and the commons in all the ancient cities, seem to have been connected with its abolition. The nature of the Roman agrarian laws, at which Heyne and Niebuhr made such happy guesses, is substantially cleared up when we compare the land tenures of Rome with those of Anglo-Saxon England and Sanscrit India; and the same method makes clear to us the meaning and purpose of the much-disputed legislation of Lycurgus.

The area occupied by the Teutonic clan was separated from that of its neighbors, by an area or strip of unreclaimed forest or pasture land called the *mark* or *march* (boundary[3]); from this fact the whole area is sometimes called the *mark*. The people of the mark are called the *gemeinde* or *mark-genossenschaft* in Old Saxon, words which point to the nature of their tenure of land, and to the blood relationship, (*sibship*,) supposed or real, that subsisted between their membership.

The area occupied by one of these tribes was of course much larger than they would bring under cultivation. At first the Germanic tribes were a pastoral and hunting people; they probably had little or no part of their land under agriculture,—at most a bit of ground at their doors. When they passed to the agricultural stage the transition was very gradual; at first a small area was cut off from the pasture lands, was cultivated by the joint labor of the whole clan, and the crops distributed accordingly. Their taste for a migratory life, and the wasteful and exhaustive nature of their shallow tillage, combined to induce them continually to change the area thus cultivated. They cut off a different

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[3]It seems to have been the point of honor to keep this debatable land an extensive border, by driving off all strangers who squatted on it, and even by dispossessing and exterminating unfriendly neighbors.

The word *march* is still used in Ulster and Scotland to designate a boundary, and even the verb has this sense: "Our farm *marched* with his." Were this a use proper to parishes, it might be supposed to derive from the old custom of perambulating the boundaries once in a number of years, which the first settlers of New England brought from the mother country, to some extent. Emerson speaks of it as having been done "this very year" in Concord. No doubt the usage is one of the survivals of the old times, when the marksmen went round sword in hand.

portion of the mark each year.[4] At the same time the subsistence of the family within the clan made itself felt in the matter of the usufruct, but not of the tenure of the land; portions were assigned to these families to be held for the year in severalty, and cultivated with their own resources. Yet this cultivation was not conducted independently of the rest of the marksmen, as the nature of the assignment itself indicated. The custom of the mark fixed the nature of the tillage to be bestowed, as well as the amount of the share; and the Mark-mote or village council met chiefly or simply to decide what those customs were.

The development of peaceful habits and the progress of agricultural method, in spite of the restrictive influence of custom, seems to have made it worth while to confine agriculture to a fixed district and area of the mark, and to give up the migratory fashion of transferring the arable mark from place to place. At the same time a method of rotation of crops, called "the three field system," was adopted as a partial substitute for the benefits reaped from the older and ruder system. The arable mark was divided into three parts--sometimes long, narrow strips of land running alongside each other, and divided by a sort of earth-work fence, or bank. In other instances the different fields seem to have lain on different sides of the thorp or village, which was thus surrounded by two concentric rings, the outer or common mark left for pasturage, and called folk-land, because it was the property of the whole people in use as well as tenure; the inner or arable mark being the farm-land, and held in severalty by the single families as to the usufruct, but confessing by its conformity to fixed custom the superior ownership of the *gemeninde* or clan. Custom prescribed that one of the three fields should lie fallow every year, and thus form part of the pasture land grazed on in

[4]A Report made to the House of Commons in 1870, shows that Louder common, an area of 1700 acres owned by the burgh of Louder in Scotland, is still held under the old custom of changing the arable mark from one part of the mark to another. The change is made once in every five or seven years, and the various subdivisions are assigned to the burgesses by lot. But each of these burgesses owns in several a plot of ground called a "burgess acre," in another part of the burgh. If he sells this he ceases to be a burgess and to have any claim to a share of the common. This indicates an earlier division of part of the commonable lands between the burgesses.

common. Every family's share, therefore, lay in all three of the fields, and this they sowed and reaped as their neighbors did. On a fixed day in autumn all the artificial obstructions—stone heaps and the like—by which cattle had been kept out of the two fields under tillage, were completely removed, and the whole mark became what it had been in remote antiquity, common pasture land for the cattle of the clan. In some cases, where the mark included good meadow land, this also was divided up among the families to furnish hay for the winter's use of their cattle.[5]

The inmost kernel of the mark—always such socially, sometimes locally and literally such--was the *thorp* or *dorf*, in which the homes of the various families were built on both sides of a single street These stood a little apart from each other. To Roman eyes it seemed as if they disliked to have too close neighbors, or were afraid of fires (*Taciti Germania*, cap. 16). But around every house, room must be found for cattle-byres, swine-pens, rick-yards, and barns; and the presence of these made the danger of a conflagration doubly great.

In the thorp there was no common ownership. In the outer or common mark, we have pure *community;* in the thorp itself, pure *immunity;* in the arable mark, a compromise between the two. In the thorp every free man's house was his own castle, and all—children, wives, slaves, etc.—who were within his gates, were subject to his *patria potestas* without any legal reservation. Outside it he was everywhere subject to his peers, and submitted to the will of the majority—a will that had crystallized into minute and rigid customs, that even the majority dared not call in question. Within his *hof*, or court, or manor, everything living and dead was at his absolute disposal; "within his pale (*septum*) neither public nor communal officer could enter otherwise than with his sanction." "These two distinct aspects of the early Teutonic freeman as a *lord* and as a *commoner* united in the same person. . . . should not be lost sight of. In them are united the

[5]Prof. Nasse, of Bonn, who has studied the history of the English mark with the same care and thoroughness that Von Maurer has expended upon that of Germany, is of the opinion that this three-field system was an exotic in England, and was brought thither from a part of the Continent, where the rainfall is less heavy. In the centuries when agriculture was rude and undeveloped grass farming must have been far more remunerative.

two salient characteristics of the Teutonic race, its spirit of individuality, and its spirit of association."[6]

It is in this inmost circle of the social life of the clan—in the thorp itself—that the family instinct has made most headway against communistic methods and usages. Here he gathered the cattle which he grazed in the common pastures ; here he garnered the wheat that was reaped from the allotment of arable land that belonged to the family whose head he was. Here he stored away such provision for his cattle's winter fodder as he was able to secure, but commonly he was forced to kill and salt down a very considerable number of them—more than he liked to get rid of —for want of sufficient hay. The houses of the thorp in the migratory period must have been wretched temporary affairs, built of whatever came to hand. No doubt their improvement in cost and comfort helped to confine the arable mark to a fixed location, and to break down the innate preference for a vagabond life.

We have hitherto spoken as if perfect democratic equality existed between the various families and freemen within the Teutonic mark, such as still exists in some of the rural cantons of Switzerland, and has long survived the early communism, with which it was once associated. But at an early date the distribution of shares in the arable mark ceased to be an equal one. Even Tacitus speaks of the allotments being made in Germany "according to dignity." The *customary* method of social procedure is one that constantly tends to the aggrandizement of some few at the expense of the rest. If a family have been for one or two generations distinguished by some special gift or aptitude—as sacred singers, or wise rulers, or valiant soldiers—the exercise of those gifts becomes a sort of prescriptive right secured to them by public opinion. The class or profession is transformed more or less thoroughly into a caste, to which birth alone gives entrance. In the mark every freeman or *ceorl* was at first eligible to the generalship, the magistracy, the priesthood, or any other office ; in theory he long continued to be so. But in practice the range of choice was gradually narrowed to a few families, and then fell to the *pater-familias* of one, who became the military, or civil, or spiritual head of the mark. Even when the form of election was

[6] *Cobden Club Essays on Systems of Land Tenure.* (R. B. Monier on "Prussian Agrarian Legislation," p. 281.)

preserved, as it still is in the case of the English Kings, the election of the hereditary claimant became a thing of course.

This transition from equality to inequality most probably preceded the transition from the isolation to the union of the marks. In the simplest form of the clan, its hand is against all the world, and the world's hand against it. It keeps its boundary clear of neighbors by fire and sword. Every freeman within its limits is as good as every other; the most absolute democracy exists in the management of its affairs, and all questions are settled in the free assembly of the whole people in the *markgemot.* A Ruler for peace and a Ruler for war are chosen, but are obeyed in so far as they inspire the confidence of the marksmen. As these marks gather by aggregation into still larger unities, they transfer the methods of the mark to the hundred, the shire, the Kingdom. The shire-moot and the witena-gemot are in theory the assemblage of all the freemen of the shire and kingdom respectively. But such assemblages have only become possible, because the old equality of all churls or freemen has become a thing of theory merely,—because there have arisen in those little groups men of such social weight and influence, that their decision will carry with it the suffrages of their neighbors. The common man cannot attend distant meetings; when he gets there he finds himself a nobody in the great assemblage. The *ealdormen,* (*elders,* afterwards contracted into *earls*) take the place of the representatives of their ceorls or churls. In this way the shire-moot grew out of the markmotes and eclipsed them, taking their place as political units; then the witenagemot grew out of and eclipsed the shire-moots, and became the sole political assembly. In theory it embraced the whole people, not by accredited representatives, but in their own persons. Its successor to this day styles itself "the Commons of England in Parliament assembled." In the preamble of laws, and in the chronicles, the action of the witenagemot is described as if every freeman in the kingdom had assisted at its sessions.[7]

The only traces of the shire-moot in our days outside of Switzerland, is in the show of hands on an English election day, to be followed by a poll, if the minority are not satisfied. The markmote,—which was probably once the ruling power in every Scan-

[7]Freeman's *Norman Conquest.* I. 590–3.

dinavian and Teutonic country—has left no trace of itself, unless it be, as Mr. Freeman thinks, in the English parish vestry. But if the mark ceased to play its part as a political unit, its industrial importance was in no sense diminished. Its customary method of agriculture still prevailed; its system of land tenure was that universally recognized. Under the Saxon Kings, indeed, allodial tenures were created for individual courtiers, and pieces of the common lands to be thus held were cut off by royal grants, ap proved by the witenagemot. In theory this last had succeeded to all the rights of the several mark-motes, and could therefore dispose of their holdings; but good care was taken to confine the exercise of this right to grants of waste lands, which the marksmen held by the loosest tenure, and could give up with the slightest sense of loss. During this period society was putting on a more thoroughly feudal shape. The earls were coming more and more into recognition as the natural heads of society; the ceorls were taking their places as their adherents and followers. The land, though practically in the hands of the whole clan, was in some sense looked upon as the estate or manor of the earl, and his house, the manor house *par excellence*, predominated all others in the thorp. They were his men, some were his "loaf eaters" as he was their loaf-giver, (*hlaford*, lord.) Others were free churls in a position of feudal inferiority. Every man must be a lord or have a lord. Service became a point of honor; the style of the inferior was gradually changed from comrade to servant (*thegn*, thane). Then the same ideas extended to the whole kingdom; the king's immediate servants were ennobled by their position, with no claim of blood; they began to push out and supplant the old aristocracy, who had grown up from local eminence.

The Norman conquest completed the feudalization of England, and the subjection of her agricultural class to the gentry and nobility. Whatever had remained of the old Democratic independence, was at least thrust out of sight of the new masters. A majority of the people were reduced to the status of villeins—a villenage very little above slavery; and the rest of the farming population were but tenants. The lord of the manor was now doubly the lord, but he took no steps to break up the existing system of cultivation. The lands of the mark still lay in the three districts—the common pasturage or folkland, the ploughed land

or bookland, and the homesteads of the thorp. The three fields of the second lay fallow and were tilled in the old routine. The domestic lands of the lord occupied a very considerable share of the arable mark, and were cultivated by the villeins, whose service was required in the form of so many days' work of a man, or of a horse and a man. On these terms they obtained the right to cultivate other portions of the arable mark for themselves, it being cheaper for the lords to let them feed themselves than to supply them out of the manor granaries. In the course of time the lord was quite willing to accept a money or grain payment in commutation of their personal services. This would arise, perhaps from his having more villeins on his lands than their culture needed, while they could find work elsewhere. Experience soon showed that the worth of a man's work when done for himself, is considerably more than when he works under constraint; it paid to let their time to the villeins, and when they were able to buy their freedom, to take them as tenants. There were numerous transitional stages in the progress of freedom; the same man would be part villein rendering service, part villein buying his time, and part tenant paying a fixed rent for land beyond the paltry area that the lord allowed his villeins. The general drift was away from bondage to independence and competence. The Anglo-Saxon race, that had seemed doomed to die of laziness and hoggishness under its native kings, displayed a wonderful amount of grit and pluck under the Norman. Freedom stimulated industry; agricultural methods were improved; labor rose in money price, and the lords of the manor wished to revoke the exchange they had made of labor services for money. But the arrangement was already a matter of custom, and Wat Tyler's rebellion was the effectual answer to the Norman's demand.[8] They would doubtless have liked to raise the rate of money payment and the rents, but the roll or copy preserved in the manor court showed what the customary rate was, and behind that the landlord dared not go. The custom by which the poor man's rent was fixed was as valid as the

[8]Prof. Thorold Rogers: *A History of Agriculture and Prices in England*, (1259—1793): Oxford, 1866. "I cannot account for the outbreak on any other ground, than that of an attempt on the part of the tenants to vindicate their right to pecuniary compensation against a threatened invasion of the custom." Vol. I., p. 81.

custom by which the rich man's land was held.[*] The copy-holder could not be imposed upon; he had in truth a freehold of his land, with a fixed rent-charge upon it. The rent he paid was counted high enough when his lease was given; if it was too low now, that was his gain. He went on saving in consequence, and when his lord was needy and wanted ready money, some old stocking-foot contained the price of acres, out of which hard work had won it. Villeins were growing into copyholders, and copyholders into freeholders, all over England.

But the communism of the mark was not to last forever. It was a maxim of the Roman law that obtained universal currency in Western Europe, *Nemo in communime potest invitus detineri.* The English aristocracy were far-sighted enough to discern the advantages that would come with freer scope to individual effort in farming. The three-field system was clearly behind the knowledge that the times possessed. Besides, the mark was clearly gaining on the manor; every change was taking the land out of the rich man's hands, and putting it into those of his poorer partners. Unless he was to be quietly and steadily rooted out of the land, he must break those steady ranks, who fought under the banner of custom, and won every fight.

The first step toward breaking up the existing marks was the famous statute of Merton, passed in the twentieth year of Henry III., the first of the English "Inclosure Bills." It gave the lords of the manor the right to inclose any part of the commonable land that was not needed to afford pasture to the freeholders of the manor. It was at once acted on, and roused popular opposition; in some places the people tore down the hedges and ditches by night, in others they brought suit before the judges of assize for insufficiency of pasture, as the statute provided. But the law in that age was all on the side of the rich and the strong. One righteous modification was introduced into the statute; the judges were authorized to protect existing rights to the use of common

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[*]Even in Sir Edward Coke's time it was still possible to say, as he does, of this class: "Now copyholders stand upon sure ground; now they weigh not their lord's displeasure; they shake not at every blast of wind; only having an especial care of the main chance, namely, to perform exactly what services their tenure doth exact—then let lord frown, the copyholder cares not, knowing himself safe."

lands, even when those who possessed them were not freeholders in the manor.

Then came, in the sixteenth century, the inclosure of the demesne lands from the rest of the arable mark, and the final breaking up of the old system of joint husbandry in all but a few localities. This change must have come at some time, and only the nicest adjustment of existing interests could have prevented its being the occasion of gross injustice. As it is, the thing was done in the interest of a single class and by their agents, while the civil authorities were on their side throughout. The tenants were forced to throw up their holdings, because their mixed system of stock and grain farming was no longer possible. The small freeholders were thrust out of their fields after they had been robbed of their commons. They were "got rid of by force or fraud, or tired out by repeated injuries into parting with their property" (Sir Thomas More).

"In the most favorable cases the withdrawal of one-half or one-third from the commonable arable land of a township—such half or third portion consisting in many cases of small parcels intermixed with those of the commoners—must have rendered further common cultivation impossible, and thereby compelled the freeholders and copyholders to part with their land and their common rights on any terms. That in less favorable cases the lords of the manor did not look very closely into the rights of their tenants, and that instead of an equitable repartition of land between the two classes, the result was a general consolidation of tenants' land with domestic land, and the creation of large inclosed farms, with the consequent wholesale destruction of agricultural communities or townships, is well known to every reader of history. That the result of the newly acquired liberty of agricultural operations was to increase sheep-farming, is equally well known; but the two facts are brought into immediate connection with each other, without reference to the primary fact which governs the two, viz: not the enclosure of arable land as such, but of commonable arable land. The immediate increase in stock, apparently without any diminution in the amount of corn grown,......was the result of the natural improvement in agriculture, caused by the change from 'champion' to 'several,' which enabled more produce to be got out of the land with less labor."[10]

All England rang with the cries of the yoeman class, who had proved and were yet to prove themselves the strength of the

[10]Morier *ubi supra*, pp. 321–2.

nation. The Protector Somerset was forced to appoint a Royal Commission to inquire into these complaints and suggest remedies. The Commission found the facts even worse than the report of them; but they could suggest no effectual remedy. The poor tillers of the soil were driven from the land which they and their fathers had reclaimed, to fill the meaner streets and lanes of the towns and cities. "Sturdy beggars" multiplied beyond precedent in spite of the efforts to force them to take to some honest work. The pauperized and dangerous classes made their first appearance in English history under the Tudors. The most perplexing problem of English statesmanship thus dates from this wholesale spoliation of the poor and confiscation of their patrimony. It has been said that the suppression of the monasteries, where the poor once found relief and comfort, was the cause of this; but there is no evidence that the mediæval monasteries made a practice of dispensing alms or material assistance of any kind; rather very much evidence to the contrary. The monks rather competed with the poor for such alms as were to be had, and the yearly dole of an ordinary castle probably surpassed that of the richest abbey in England. The abolition of the ecclesiastical endowments at the Reformation had only an indirect effect. "A pamphlet of 1546 complains that the new owners of church property generally declared the ancient rights of the copyholders forfeited. They were compelled either to relinquish their holding, or accept leases for a short period."[11] But the church lands were only an extreme instance of what was going on everywhere. The old Norman aristocracy, upon whom long years of possession had stamped a sense of a relation and a consequent duty to the people and the land, had passed away. The upstart nobility created by the Tudors to fill their places, had, like all *parvenu* landlords, no sense of anything but ownership and rights. They earned the hatred of the people, as landlords of their kind always did, and do to this day. As even Mr. Mill admitted, the sale of Irish land to new owners in the Encumbered Estates Court, showed that there was a worse sort of landlords than the debt-burdened, non-improving class—to wit, grasping landlords.

[11]Prof. Nasse, quoted by Cliffe Leslie in *Land Systems of Ireland, England and the Continent*, p. 213.

The process of inclosure has been going on in England ever since; since the beginning of last century one-seventh of the land south of the Scottish border has been taken in, without compensation to those whose rights, though something less than ownership, yet reach back to time immemorial. In many cases the work has been carried on with the nation's money, loaned to the landlords at low rates of interest. The common people have been gradually and steadily stripped of all hold on the land, and it has gathered century by century into the hands of an ever smaller number of owners. "Every grade of the rural population has sunk; the landed yoemanry are almost gone; the tenant-farmers have lost their ancient independence and interest in the soil; the laborers have lost their separate cottages and plots of ground, and their share in a common fund of land; and whereas all these grades were once rising, the prospect of the landed yeomanry is now one of total extinction; that of the tenant-farmers, increasing insecurity (Laird's *English Agriculture*, p. 505); that of the agricultural laborer, to find the distance between his own grade and the one above him wider and more impassable than ever, while the condition of his own grade is scarcely above that of the brutes. Once, from the meanest peasant to the greatest noble, all had land, and he who had least might hope for more; now there is being taken away from him who has little, even that which he has—his cottage, nay, his separate room. Once there was an ascending movement from the lowest grade to the highest; now there is a descending movement in every grade below the highest. Once the agricultural class had a political representation, and a voice in legislation which they dared to raise against the landed gentry and nobility; now the latter have the supreme command at once of the soil and of the suffrages of its cultivators."[12]

But this wholesale confiscation by inclosure has not been able to wipe all traces of the mark off the face of England. Usages and customs still perpetuate it in every quarter. It is as hard to destroy the traces of an extinct institution as for the murderer to hide the remains of what was a man. And just as we never realize what a bulky, weighty object a man—living or dead—is, till we make that experiment, so it is only the attempted destruction of

[12]Cliffe Leslie, *ubi supra*, p, 184.

an institution that enables us to see how deeply rooted it was in the life of the people.

Mr. W. Marshall, who wrote very largely on English agriculture between 1770 and 1820, traces the remains of the mark system as actually existing in many districts. He tells us that in almost all parts of the country, in the midland and eastern counties particularly, but also in the west, in Wiltshire for example—in the south, as in Surrey—in the north, as in Yorkshire—there were in his day extensive open and commonable fields. Out of 316 parishes in Northamptonshire, 89 were in this condition; more than 100 in Oxfordshire; about 50,000 acres in Warwickshire; in Berkshire, half the county; more than half of Wiltshire; in Huntingdonshire, out of a total area of 240,000 acres, 130,000 were commonable meadows, commons and common fields. The old banks that divided the three fields are still visible; though not more than three yards wide, they sometimes contain as much as eighty acres of the soil. One such mark lies on the line of the railroad that runs from Oxford to Cambridge, and its banks are visible just after you leave the former city. The growth of London on the Surrey side was long impeded by the obstacles that these old mark tenures presented to the transfer of land.

Mr. Marshall was what Carlyle calls a credible person with eyes; he saw more in the land than its chemical adaptation to this or that crop. He had an insight into the agricultural importance of the character of the tie that binds the cultivator to the soil. With nothing but the survivals of old English usage to work from, he reconstructed with surprising accuracy the picture of the past of English farming, anticipating the labors of the German scholars, Von Maurer and Nasse, who have painfully gathered up from charters, rolls, chronicles and laws, the nature of the mark. He saw the clue to matters that puzzled the lawyers of his day; for it was not till 182- that John Allen, in his "*Origin and Growth of the Royal Prerogative*," got the first clue to the matter, and explained the true meaning of *folkland*, which had furnished much matter for not very accurate speculation. Mr. Marshall says:

"A few centuries ago nearly the whole of the lands of England lay in an open and more or less commonable state. Each parish or township—at least in the more central and northern districts—comprised different descriptions of land; having been sub-

jected, during successive ages, to specified modes of occupancy, under ancient and strict regulations, which time had converted into law......Each parish or township was considered as one common farm, though the tenantry were numerous. Round the villages in which the tenants resided lay a few small enclosures, or grass yards, for rearing calves, and a baiting and nursery ground for other farm stock. This was the common farmstead or homestall, which was generally placed as near the center of the more cultivated lands of the parish or township as water and shelter would permit. Round the homestall lay a suite of arable fields (including the deepest and soundest of the lower grounds, situated out of water's way) for raising corn and pulse, as well as to produce fodder and litter for cattle and horses in the winter season. And in the lowest situation, as in the water-formed base of a varied valley, or in swampy dips shooting up among the arable lands, lay an extent of meadow grounds, or 'ings,' to afford a supply of hay for cows and working-stock, in the winter and spring months. On the outskirts of the arable lands, where the soil is adapted to the pasturage of cattle, or in the springy slopes of hills less adapted to cultivation, or in the fenny bases of valleys, which were too wet, or gravelly water-formed lands, which were too dry to produce an annual supply of hay with sufficient certainty—one or more stinted pastures or 'hams' were laid out for milking cows, working cattle or other stock which required superior pasturage in summer; while the bleakest, worst-soiled and most distant lands of the township were left in their native wild state, for timber and fuel, and for a common pasture or suite of pastures for the more ordinary stock of the townships......without any other stint or restriction than what the arable and meadow lands indirectly gave every joint-tenant or occupier of the townships, having the nominal privilege of keeping as much live stock on these lands in summer, as the appropriated lands he occupied would maintain in winter.

"The appropriated lands of each township were laid out with equal good sense and propriety, that each occupier might have his proportionate share of lands of different quarters, and lying in different situations; the arable lands more particularly were divided into numerous parcels, of sizes doubtless according to the size of the given township and the number and rank of the occupiers. And that the whole might be subjected to one plan of management, and be conducted as one common farm, the arable lands were moreover divided into compartments or 'fields' of nearly equal size, and generally three in number, to receive in constant rotation the triennial succession of fallow, wheat or rye, and spring crops, as barley, oats, beans and peas; thus adopting and promoting a system of husbandry which, however improper it is become in these enlightened days, was well adapted to the

state of ignorance and vassalage of feudal times, when each parish and township had its sole proprietor, the occupiers being at once his tenants and his soldiers, or meaner vassals. The lands were in course liable to be more or less deserted by their occupiers, and left to the feebleness of the young, the aged and the weaker sex. But the whole township being in this manner thrown into one system, the care and management of the live stock, at least, would be easier and better than they would have been under any other arrangement."

Sir Walter Scott, visiting the Orkney and Shetland islands, in company with the Commissioners of Light-houses, found very strongly defined traces of the mark system, and used this knowledge in *The Pirate:* "Districts of ground are in many instances understood to belong to townships or communities, possessing what may be arable by patches, and what is moor as a commonty *pro indiviso.*" But the original settlers were not Germans, but Scandinavians, and the fact thus indicated, that this northern branch of the race once practiced this form of limited communism, has been substantiated by Scandinavian antiquarians.

It is not surprising to find that the first settlers of New England transferred the mark system of land tenure to the New World. They came very largely from those Midland shires, in which Marshall found the old customs especially prevalent. The New England townships were formed each by a company of freemen, who obtained in their corporate capacity a grant of land from the General Court. Of the tract thus secured, a large part remained as pasture and woodland, common to all the proprietors. The rest was divided into allotments, each family receiving a house and lot of fifteen or twenty acres, a meadow lot, and, if bog iron ore were found, a mining lot. In this modification of the mark, the thorp and the book-land are united, and the usufruct in several is extended so far as to give up all tillage in common and all commonable fields. The proprietors had the right to grant or refuse commonage in timber to new settlers according to their pleasure. This transformed them into a sort of aristocracy, with seignorial rights, as in Europe. The power of inclosing the common lands came, of course, comparatively early, and seems to have been a rapid one. Yet Mr. Emerson, in his address before the Massachusetts Agricultural Association (1858), says: "Concord is now one of the oldest towns in the country—far on now in its third

century. The select-men have once in five years perambulated its bounds, and yet in this year a very large quantity of land has been discovered and added to the agricultural land, and without a murmur or complaint from any neighbor."

These facts are not of merely antiquarian interest. They have a bearing on many of the most important controversies in regard to the methods and the tendencies of social movement. To take but three of these:

(1) They present communism in its true light, as the adjunct of a low and imperfect civilization. The stern experience of the past refutes the fanciful pictures that modern theorists have given us of a state of society in which the interests of the individual and of the community should be identified. The abolition of such a state, the setting into motion of a set of motives that it leaves dormant, the removal of the useless restrictions that it imposes, were found absolutely necessary to the progress of the race. If men were to use their powers to the best purpose, if the human mind was to be effectively exercised in making work effective, if the earth was to bring forth according to the full capacity of the soil, then communism must cease. To restore it now, would be to carry back the race by a thousand years of its dear-bought past, not to carry it forward to any golden age.

At the same time, in this case as in every like case, we find that it is the instinct of the family, and not the selfishness of the individual, that broke up communism. It was not the base tendency of mankind to fly off from each other into isolation, but the nobler tendency to gather men closely into those unions which are directly founded in the constitution of human nature and are part of the permanent, divinely established order of human life. So long as the mark was largest social unit, *i. e.*, so long as it was the form that the State bore, it held its own against the household. But when the nation took the broader and more fitting form of the kingdom, the vitality of the mark at once declined. It was no longer the institution of rights (the state); it had long ceased to be the institution of the affections (the family); it was at most an empty shell from which the life had departed. It fell because it had no longer the firm foundation of human relationship to rest on—because no man felt the inspiration of duty and the enthusiasm of self-sacrifice in contending for it. Patriotism

had taken a larger range, and the merely material interests of mankind furnish no foundation for a lasting union among men.

(2) We learn from this history that the process by which the American nation grew into a united and homogeneous whole, is exactly that by which the growth and unity of other nations was achieved. Settlements and townships aggregated into colonies; colonies grew up into states; states united to form the nation. Each of these political units in its turn formed the State, in the true sense of that word; each in turn was the institution of rights. And with the growth of each larger unity, the lesser ones have lost in power and vitality. They have ceased to be any more than municipalities, where they once were political bodies. The attempts made by the U. S. Constitution to preserve the latter character to the states has been a failure. It was against the nature of the great historical drifts, that the past discloses to us as having the silent, irresistible force of laws.

Sentiment may bewail the fact, but the souvenirs of a colonial past cannot hold their own against the national present. The popular instinct of appeal to the national conscience and wisdom is too strong to be resisted. All signs point one way, and it may be that the child is born who will see our state legislatures go the road that the shire-moots of our forefathers went. The political movement which was led by Jefferson, and which held its own against all enemies for sixty years, was, with all its show of democracy and liberality, a re-action against the real tendency of American history. It was an effort to perpetuate a dead past, not a movement towards a better future. Its alliance with the slave-holders, its antagonism to popular education, its eighteenth century *doctrinaire* prosing, were all in keeping with its true nature. It will never again, or never for any long period, sit in the seat of power in this country. The nationalist spirit has been aroused in the people, and to all other teaching they are deaf.

(3) The theory of the origin of rent, which that clever old Jewish stock-broker David Ricardo elaborated, is seen to be utterly without historical foundation. Ricardo assumed that from the first there had been a market for land, and that land had been bought and sold, leased and rented in the market, like any other commodity, and its price fixed by the competition for its possession. We now know that until a comparatively recent date there

was no such market, and the rate of rent was fixed by custom, not by competition; that the tenant was construed even in law, as having a claim to live by the land, and the landlord as having no right to advance the rate of rent, whether paid in labor, in kind or in money.

Transactions of this kind took place, in theory at least, only between members of the same sibship or kindred. To take from a fellow marksman the highest price that could be exacted, was a proceeding contrary to all notions of equity. The old notion of the clan as a family, as the institution of the affections, clung to the mark and the manor as a practical, half-conscious rule of action, long after it had been forgotten as a conscious theory.

Only in the rare cases where the transaction took place between the outcast member of one group and the entire body or some single member of another, was it allowable to drive a hard bargain for the rent of land, such a bargain as was allowable when movable articles were sold on the patch of neutral ground, when members of different marks met at stated times for merchandize. Such a rent might be called rack rent, because it was the uttermost that the man could pay; but it lacked an essential feature of modern rack rents; it was not fixed by competition in open market; not until the comparatively recent period when customary tenure gave way, and competition for land actually arose, was there what we would call rent. Even now a very considerable part of England is held at customary tenure, and the manor leet courts still sit to ascertain whether the due feudal services have been rendered by the tenant. English scholars are not slow to confess this fact and its bearings on political economy. Prof. Thorold Rogers repudiates Ricardo, as does the *Economist;* while Mr. Mill, Prof. Cairnes and the *Nation* still uphold his thrice-exploded theory as the corner-stone of economic science.

ROBT. ELLIS THOMPSON.

WHY HANNIBAL DID NOT MARCH ON ROME.

WE are indebted for many of our mistaken ideas in regard to Greek and Roman history, to the practice of the later Roman schoolmasters of giving out certain episodes or certain heroes as subjects for rhetorical essays on the part of the students. Naturally, rhetorical effectiveness, and not historical accuracy, was the object sought; but the mischief which has resulted in our misapprehension of the bearing of events, even where the events themselves have been left untouched, is much greater than is often appreciated. We are gradually, it is to be hoped, getting juster views of ancient history. Grote and Mommsen, not to mention others, are a great advance upon Mitford and Rollin, and we are learning that the advice to Sulla, to enjoy good rest of nights, so freely tendered in school-boy compositions,[1] is perhaps not the advice he would have done best to follow.

The omission of Hannibal to march on Rome, after the battle of Thrasymene, or of Cannae, has felt the effect of this influence, though it, perhaps, can hardly be said to be one of those points of history, in which our failure fully to comprehend springs from our too credulous attendance upon Roman schoolmasters. Those who believe that Hannibal committed a blunder in apparently neglecting to reap the fruit of his wonderful victories, have the support of almost all the historians, and even, it is said, of one of the ablest officers of Hannibal himself. And yet, if Maharbal ever did say after Cannae, that Hannibal knew how to win victories, but not how to use them—and it may be doubted—I think it can be shown that the remark merely proves—apart from a taste for epigram—that that brilliant cavalry officer lacked the far-seeing and comprehensive vision which distinguishes the great military genius from the good general; an estimate that is supported by the fact that we do not find him entrusted, like Hasdrubal, with any important independent command in Italy. It is a long step from a good *corps* commander to a great leader and director of armies.

In order clearly to understand Hannibal's aims, and the means by which he proposed attaining them, it is necessary to consider

[1]See Juvenal, Sat. I., 15.

the circumstances in which he was placed in relation to the home government, and the states in Europe from which he might expect aid in his struggle with Rome.

Carthage assuredly merits the distinction of more completely squandering and abusing the goods the gods had given her than any state in history. Distinguished ability in the field or the council was the unfailing signal for wretched intrigues and jealousies; the governing body was always ready to sacrifice the plainest and most profound interests of the state for the gratification of petty personal spite. The government was in the hands of an oligarchy, bound together by the ties of family relationship, and resented any effort to correct its abuses, or any renown gained by an attempt to evade its stupidity by independent action. Hamilcar, Hannibal's father, had sustained himself in Sicily with little or no assistance from home, and that he proposed carrying on his warfare against Rome as independently of the Carthaginian government as possible, is shown by his beginning his arrangements, so ably continued by his son-in law Hasdrubal and by Hannibal, in a remote country, where he could afford to disobey at his leisure the commands of the oligarchy that misruled Carthage; an oligarchy that expected its officers to perform impossible feats of arms, without men, money or materials from home, it would seem, and then crucified them if they failed.

It was in Spain, then, that all the preparations were made. Hannibal only ventured to hope the government would support him when he should have won a series of victories, and proved that it was possible for him, if seconded energetically, to vanquish Rome. He did not expect or ask for aid of any sort before Thrasymene and Cannae, and he certainly did not hope, with 80,000 men, to conquer a power that had lately put a quarter of a million of men into the field.

The second and perhaps the main point in Hannibal's scheme, was the hope of a general rising against Rome on the part of the Italian communities, as soon as he had shown that it was safe for them to revolt. It was with this object that, while the Roman prisoners whom he took were sold into slavery, the citizens of the Italian cities were invariably sent home without ransom. But Hannibal was born too soon, or too late; the object was only partially attained, and this was perhaps the bitterest disappoint-

ment he endured. It is true, that after Cannæ the confederation began to break up. Capua, and some other less important cities, together with most of the lower Italian cities, sided with Hannibal, and yet all the Greek cities, moved, doubtless, by long-standing and traditional hatred of the Phoenicians, and, as was natural, the Roman colonies, refused to be seduced. This refusal was, of course, made use of in Carthage by the peace party—many members of it in direct sympathy with Rome—and was successfully employed as an argument against sending him an adequate supply of material and the sorely needed reinforcements. What yet another Cannae might have done towards shaking the confederacy is perhaps idle to conjecture. The last supreme effort, which decides history, and is a test of worthy nationality, it was not in Carthage to make.

How far Hannibal allowed himself to be deceived in relying on an uprising of the Italian cities, it is almost impossible to determine. In nearly every city there were two parties—as indeed there were in Carthage—the Roman and the anti-Roman, and each was loud in its protestations. It was exceedingly difficult for Hannibal to determine, except by actual experiment, how strong the opposition was. He found, to his cost, that the Roman party was stronger at Carthage than his own following. It was not strange, then, that it should be stronger also in Italy.

The third point in the scheme was the hoped for co-operation on the part of Philip V., of Macedonia. Had Philip been either an abler or a less able man than he was, Hannibal might have succeeded in bringing about a general Hellenic war against Rome. But he was too able to suffer himself easily to be controlled by a greater man, and he was not keen-sighted enough to strike until the blow was useless. He was listless when he should have been active, and restless when he should have waited. Capable of remarkable and persistent energy, when one reflects on his position and education, he showed neither energy nor persistence, until the one became useless and the other folly.

Philip indeed did make some faint efforts to join Hannibal. He entered into a treaty with him and began the construction of a fleet to convey his troops to Italy. But he was seized with a sudden fear of the Roman fleet; the arrival of a division of the Roman army in Epirus furnished him with the excuse for inac-

tivity which he was perhaps seeking, and Hannibal soon discovered how useless it was to look to Macedonia for aid. Philip did not or would not understand that the headship of Greece, which was the object of his own personal ambition, was to be fought for and gained in Latium, or, at the most, in Italy. The Greeks of that time, and not of that time only, it may be said, were much more apt for internal quarrels and wars than for united national effort. And the Romans were not slow in taking advantage of this tendency, nor did their agent find any difficulty in stirring up a war against Philip, headed by the Ætolians, which kept him occupied at home. And so this hope also failed Hannibal.

The objects which Hannibal hoped to gain by his success in Italy were, then, these three; the silencing of the peace party in Carthage, and consequent energetic and effective support from home; the rising against Rome of the Greek and Italian communities in Italy, and a general national Hellenic war against Rome, headed by Philip. His army was but a means to the securing of these ends, without which he could hardly have expected to conquer Rome. Dr. Arnold[2],indeed, says that Hannibal was supported by the zealous exertions of Carthage, and that he "had been making his preparations for his intended expedition in a manner which showed not only that he was sure of the support of his own government, but that he was able to dispose at his pleasure of all the military resources of Carthage." He was nominally commander of all the Carthaginian forces, it is true. But he was elected to that position by the officers in Spain, and the manner of his preparation for his expedition, it seems to me, shows precisely the reverse of what Dr. Arnold says. He knew from his father's experience, if not from his lips, how self-sustaining the expedition must be, and the army was levied in the first instance, equipped and maintained, without making a single appeal to the home government for money or support, entirely from the resources at hand in Spain. How zealous was the support he received from his government is shown in its answer to his request for reinforcements after Cannae, "that he needed no help, inasmuch as he was really victor."

How Hannibal's objects failed, I have shown. It only remains

[2]History of Rome, vol. iii.; ch. xliii.

to consider how far his army was in a position to accomplish, unaided, the destruction of Rome. The principles of ancient warfare were vastly different from those of to-day, and in one re-respect, perhaps, more than in others. The art of besieging cities was very imperfectly understood, and many a victory on the field was brought to nought by the obstinate defence of a walled city. The art of defence was much more fully developed than that of attack. Hannibal himself, with a fresh army, had spent eight months before Saguntum, previous to leaving Spain for the Alps. Rome would hardly have made a less obstinate resistance, and meanwhile Hannibal would have had all Latium at his back. Men whom he could beat easily in the field, might safely have bid him defiance from behind the city walls. Even in Tarentum, though the town was surrendered to Hannibal, the citadel baffled him until he lost the city, as he had gained it, by treachery. There was always a force of some sort at Rome, or within easy call, and although on the memorable occasion when he appeared "at the gates" he was not prevented, as Dr. Arnold states, from attacking it by the adventitious presence in the city of 10,000 raw recruits—for he had not meant to attack it; his object was, by a diversion, to relieve Capua—these same raw recruits might have seriously annoyed him had he made the effort. The siege of Rome would have been an affair of months, more probably of years—as witness Syracuse and Rhodes when attacked by Demetrius Poliorketês—even with the aid of the home government, of all Italy and of Philip, and with the use of the engines which served for artillery at that time. And if such victories as Thrasymene and Cannae could not move Carthage, Italy or Greece to action, it can hardly be supposed that a long and tedious siege, unrelieved by the brilliant episodes of open campaigns, would have accomplished the object.

But suppose he could have gained Rome, either by strategy or by a *coup de force*—what then would have been his position? He took Capua, though not by a siege, and while the "winter in Capua" has been wrested from its significance by these same school-masters of whom I have spoken, the moral effect of the capture was the chief advantage he derived from it. He took care not to allow himself to be shut up in it; for it must steadily be borne in mind that Hannibal had to maintain his army

from the resources at hand as well as to manœuvre it. If he had taken Rome he would have been forced to adopt one of two alternatives; to evacuate on the approach of a Roman army—the moral effect of which is easy to see—or to stand a siege, with a hostile population to be watched and suppressed, and with no opportunities of securing provisions after the supply in the city was exhausted, except such precarious ones as chance sorties might have afforded. He would have had to relinquish the idea of an Italian revolt, and to have left the friendly cities in the south of Italy to their own resources; and he would have set free a part, at least, of the Roman armies. It would have been impossible for him to direct as fully as he did, either the military operations in Sicily and Spain, or the negotiations with Greece.

I have not here undertaken to portray the noble character of Hannibal; to set forth the wonderful ability and breadth of conception which he displayed throughout his career, and which raised him so vastly above all his contemporaries. That was not a part of our subject, although in speaking of the man at all, it is difficult to refrain from it.

But I venture to hope I have shown that, if Hannibal did commit blunders in Italy—they were unimportant ones if there were any—among them is not to be reckoned the failure to attack the city when the way seemed open. In declining to do so, he merely gave another proof of the rare insight and steadiness of purpose which characterized him, and which were not to be impaired or destroyed either by the intoxication of victory or the taunts and clamors of impatient and excitable counsellors.

F. G. IRELAND.

THE PERILS OF MODERN QUAKERISM.

NO one who seeks a convenient or temporally profitable form of religion, can choose, or ever could have chosen, to be a Quaker; for convenient it never has been, and of deriving temporal profit from his religion no Quaker ever dreamed. No age escapes the stern discipline it imposes. It cannot be other than a harsh spiritual training for a child, to be compelled to wear a dress that renders him conspicuous among his fellows; and

although with the greater independence of manhood may have come indifference as to what others thought of their apparel, it certainly cannot have been *convenient* for Friends of the "most strictest sect" to feel called upon to substitute linen for cotton as the material for their clothing, or to pay an extra price for their sugar, lest they should encourage slavery by assisting in the consumption of its products. And although a profession of Quakerism may confer whatever profit may accrue from good social position and the general confidence of mankind, it still necessitates a being unpopular in many respects, and the "fathering" of three-fourths of the rudest anecdotes that find their way into the facetiæ of the newspapers. Yet these are but the annoyances of their happiest days, which no one notices who has turned any record of the sterner ordeals through which they passed during the rule of the Charleses and in Colonial times. For, like most other denominations, they suffered their share of persecution in Europe, and more than their share in America. Not until the close of the late war, however, were these greater trials of their faith wholly ended. One chapter in the history of that war is especially their own. It narrates the consummation of their hopes, but at much cost to certain of themselves. The keen sword-blade, indeed, and the flying bullet, told upon no denomination less severely; but when the negro went free, the southern Quaker also escaped from a self-imposed bondage. So rapid and various have been the changes of the years just passed that Friends had failed keep pace with them; and it is but a little while since the last prominent vestige of the old regime has disappeared. On the 9th of November 1869, the various Meetings in the south replied, for the last time, to the following "Query," contained in their old Book of Discipline: "Are Friends clear of purchasing, disposing of, or holding mankind as slaves, so as to prevent them from receiving the benefit of their labor? And do they use those well who are set free and under their care, through non-age or otherwise, endeavoring to encourage them in a virtuous life?" No Southern Quaker had hitherto, since 1776, escaped this interrogation. Month after month it was repeated, and whoever failed to respond in the affirmative lost his birthright. But the answer which proved him a friend to his Society made the Southern Quaker an enemy to everybody else. The esoteric and the exoteric had for him a

more than Pythagorean distinctness; and while his Northern brother only paid more for his sugar for conscience' sake, he subjected himself to social and economic disadvantages that were intorerable except by sturdy spirits, and which drove by far the larger part of them to seek another home in the western States.

Once the Moravians and the Methodists sided with them; but they had gradually succumbed to the popular views on slavery, and upon the separation of the latter from the Northern Conference, in 1844, none remained to share the hostility the position of Quakers had centred upon them. But although they were in a minority, the latter would not be silent. They had begun to petition the General Assembly of North Carolina upon the subject so early as 1787; and in 1834 that body tabled an address containing these words: "Your memorialists are emboldened, under a weighty sense of religious duty, to petition the present General Assembly to repeal all those laws, enacted by preceding legislatures of this State against the literary instruction of slaves, whereby it is made a finable offence for any to be found teaching their slaves to read. And they also respectfully request your consideration of the laws recently enacted, prohibiting all colored persons in the State—bond and free—under a penalty of corporal punishment, from preaching and exhorting publicly in their respective religious congregations. We consider these laws unrighteous—contrary to the spirit of Christianity—offensive to God. And your memorialists believe that if not repealed, they will increase the difficulties and danger they are intended to prevent." To us who look back upon it from the present time (crowded with realizations that were deemed impossibilities in those days) there seems to be something noble in this continual protest by such a minority. When it was politic to be silent they insisted upon speaking—but always in tones which indicated no ill-will toward those who did not share in their convictions. We cannot discover that they were aggressive, for in all other respects they appear to have been the most submissive of citizens. Nor, reviewing the even tenor and circumspectness of their course, do we believe that their conduct could ever have seemed, even to those who were directly opposed to them, to border upon the fanatical. Theirs was another "voice crying in the wilderness," but more inaudibly than the original; and instead of calling others from

the error of their ways, they but succeeded in invoking their vengeance upon themselves. For them the final Reign of Terror extended from 1861 to 1865. While the Northern Quaker was regarded as hostile to the general sentiment of the community in favor of war, the Southern Friend had incurred the double enmity arising from his opposition to a war he was charged with having been instrumental in bringing on. He was looked upon as an enemy in the camp of those who were contending for slavery, and his lot was very naturally a hard one. It would have been a miracle had it been otherwise; for, despite the hopes of moralists, the disposition to compel others to conform to our sentiments has not become extinct. Power is still coupled with abuse; that which is easy for ourselves continues to be regarded as easy for all men. Hence the ill treatment of inoffensive persons, whose stories we shall relate, neither magnifying nor extenuating them, but recording them as the inevitable result of the peculiar relation in which the parties stood one to another.

Whoever has access to the records of the Convention which, in 1861, passed the ordinance of secession for the State of North Carolina, will discover that in December of that year a peculiar project was claiming the consideration of that body. It was entitled an "Ordinance Concerning Test Oaths and Sedition," and was in effect to require every free male in the State over sixteen years of age to publicly renounce his allegiance to the Government of the United States, and promise his entire support to its newly-fledged rival. Whoever should for thirty days refuse submission, was to be banished from the State. As in most legislative assemblies, the short-sighted were clamorous for its adoption, while the more sensible were awed into silence, and there seemed little doubt that it would become a law. The Quakers did not fail to discover the harsh purpose of the Act as regarded themselves. Not a member of that Society favoring secession, it would have necessitated the withdrawal of the entire body from the State. They therefore protested against its adoption; maintaining that an Act of Assembly, recognizing their peculiar position with regard to war, which had been passed in 1777, ought still to protect them; and so ably were these views advocated by ex-Gov. Graham that, although it had been so eagerly supported at first, the proposed Act failed to become a law. But the Qua-

kers could not hope to wholly escape participation in that which was passing around them. Ere six months were gone the Conscription Act of the Confederate Congress—requiring all men between the ages of eighteen and thirty-five to enter the army—had been passed at Richmond. Half a year later, this was made to include those who had reached forty-five years of age, and subsequently, all between seventeen and fifty. Again Quakers petitioned for relief, and successfully—the State passing an Act of Exemption which permitted the receipt of one hundred dollars from each Quaker in lieu of military service, and the Confederate Congress, in like manner, releasing them in consideration of five hundred dollars each. This was one of those instances of generous consideration for views in which those who manifested it could not participate, which reflect such honor upon the last hundred years. It gave rise, however, to some cases of casuistry of which we are hardly prepared to attempt an ethical solution. While most of the Friends who were conscripted cheerfully accepted the privileges of the Exemption Act, there were some who would neither pay the commutation money nor suffer their friends to do so for them. As a body, Friends fully appreciated the concessions that had been made in their favor. In the report of the Yearly Meeting held in November, 1862, are the following words: "We have had the subject under serious consideration, and while, in accordance with the advice issued by our last Yearly Meeting, we do pay all taxes imposed on us as citizens and property-holders, in common with other citizens, remembering the injunction, 'tribute to whom tribute is due, custom to whom custom,' yet we cannot conscientiously pay the specified tax, it being imposed upon us on account of our principles, being the price exacted of us for religious liberty. Yet we do appreciate the good intentions of those members of Congress who had it in their hearts to do something for our relief; and we recommend that those parents, moved by sympathy, or young men themselves, dreading the evils of a military camp, who have availed themselves of this law, be treated in a tender manner." There were some who, at much expense of personal comfort, conformed to this sentiment. The price of release from trial being, in the depreciated Confederate currency, about equal to the cost of a silk hat, conviction alone, whether mistaken or in the right, could have induced them to endure the suffering which resulted from a refusal to pay t.

Looking on one of these stubborn soldiers, we could not believe that he had ever been stubborn in aught beside. A presence of five feet five was surmounted by a face through which pugnacious spirit had never lurked. We should suppose that he had been somewhat of a scape-goat in his schooldays; or, if not, then because he was loved, rather than feared. His hair hung carelessly about his ears, and the corners of his mouth drooped loosely. His nose was long and passive, and his eyes of the tearful kind that seem to be ever looking to the sky for sympathy; forehead low, the hair creeping downward in the middle; cheeks shirking inward among their bones. In all respects he seemed one who would quietly look at you, waiting to be addressed, rather than thrust his company upon you. And when he told his story it was in the monotonous tone of a martyr, but without apparent desire of approval. But though he vaunted not the conqueror, neither assumed the elliptical utterance which is meant to perpetually remind one that the magnitude of the achievement is thought to illy befit the humility of the audience, one discovered, as he proceeded, that he had been quite a victor—had, in his way, conquered the whole Southern army. Having been drafted, and refusing to pay the commutation money, he had been arrested and carried to the front, where he was placed under officers from whom pity was thought to have long since departed. They hope, by stringent measures, to subdue him immediately. He tells them more or less of his conviction of the unlawfulness of war—a conviction that he secretly believed to be imposed by higher than colonels' authority. "Little, brief authority" cannot brook a suggestion that he has failed to see the right of this matter—at any rate, must keep that authority full-orbed and radiant, and therefore says that stubborn soldier shall be shot, and bids him choose between that night and early the next morning. Saddest of satires on all government, that a man must be shot because he will not, at the bidding of his neighbors, take to shooting others! The stubborn soldier, thinking of One to whom he believes that even colonels are subordinate, replies, that if his Father wills that he shall die, it were better to do so than disobey one of that Father's commands; otherwise, it would be impossible to take his life. He adds some reference to the three men in the "burning, fiery furnace," and to Daniel in the den of lions—all of whom God had

succeeded in delivering from worse than colonels, and declares himself unwilling to choose between the evening and the morning death. Colonel needs time to think over this. Authority has ceased to be full-orbed and radiant, but then he shines by reflected light, and here is a more perfect reflector. Wherefore, stubborn soldier is sent away for the night. The colonel, had he been alone in the world, would, doubtless, have permitted the matter to rest just here; but the morning discloses those ranks of eyes in which he believes falsely that his image is growing less. Hoping to expand it to its former authoritative significance, he reopens the contest soon after daylight by ordering the stubborn soldier to make one of a foraging party. Mildly and quietly the Friend explains to him why he must feel even greater reluctance to do this, since besides being war it is also robbery. But the officer, not suffering him to finish his refusal, comes excitedly forward, has him thrown rudely to the ground, and a gun fastened to his shoulders. When this is completed, he is ordered to rise, and upon his refusal to do so, the colonel, becoming still more enraged, orders a number of men to pierce him with their bayonets; but they, having no image of authority to maintain fully expanded, have not yet forgotten their hearts, and so only press their weapons through his clothes, yet doubtless with the appearance of greater pressure, as becomes men who have rented their manhood to another. By this time the thoughts of justice, which had come to him in the night, have grown dim to the colonel, and he has a squad of men drawn up prepared to send the stubborn soldier out of the world. As the order to fire is about to be given, the Friend raises his hands and says, "Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do." Such words bring that other world very near to this. For the moment all are irresolute; no one fires; some say openly that they "cannot shoot such a man." The officer strikes violently at his head, but misses him, purposely or not purposely, he still lying on the ground; then spurs his horse repeatedly toward him; but even the horse will not injure him, but spares him by springing over. The colonel then left with the remark that he was not yet done with him, but henceforth had other work or none at all, since he was himself killed on the following day in the battle of Gettysburg. But although the spirit of the stubborn soldier still held out, his body

had surrendered; and so evidently was sickness upon him that no further effort was made to compel him to take part in any of the Pennsylvania battles. Passively he marched with the army, a strange combination of rebellion and submission, faring as well as any. But with the more rapid movements of the retreat he could not keep pace, and sought admission to a farm house, into which he was kindly received after some conversation, and proper care bestowed upon him. Here, at length, an end of marching and of suffering has been found. So it seemed momentarily; but soon Union cavalry had arrested and forwarded him to Fort Delaware as a prisoner of war. Weeks pass, during which other Quakers have heard that he is there, and have petitioned at Washington for his release. A telegram reaches Fort Delaware, ordering him to affirm allegiance to the United States, and then go free. But in that form of affirmation is the word *defend*, and stubborn soldier will be a prisoner much longer rather than promise to defend any government, if that require him to take up arms. Other Friends appear to explain the nature of his objections. It becomes evident that if he will not bear arms *for*, neither will he *against* the United States. The form of the affirmation is altered. Stubborn soldier accedes to it, and has ended his solderings forever.

Four others were released from Fort Delaware and from a very peculiar military life by the same order which bade the stubborn soldier go free. They, too, had been stubborn soldiers, nine months in the service, when the price of a barrel of flour would have released them. Yet they had been treated as well as men can hope to be under similar circumstances. We discover, indeed, that unusual consideration for their views was displayed by the officers of the 52d N. C. Regiment, to which they had been assigned. Though assured that their money would be devoted to civil uses should they consent to pay the commutation tax, they continued to profess an unwillingness in any way to purchase liberty of conscience. Occasionally harsh measures were resorted to. A lieutenant once ordered some men to press steadily upon them with their bayonets until they consented to take part in preparing the ground for a camp; but before much injury had been thus inflicted, the captain countermanded the order and bade the lieutenant desist from further effort to make them succumb. We

cannot too highly commend the forbearance that was generally displayed by those officers. Without any instrumentality of their own, men had been assigned to their care who refused to obey their orders, and who even declined to attend the sick in the hospitals, or to prepare food for the army. But though their kindness returned to them empty, they rarely sought satisfaction in abuse. Once, indeed, on refusing to aid in collecting fodder, the four stubborn soldiers were tied together, fastened to a cart, and dragged over the six or eight miles they had declined to travel willingly. "If they will not help load when you get there," said the officer, "pitch them into the river." But wagon-masters sympathized more and more, and ere the river was reached were wishing to let them ride. Daily the four invincibles became a greater perplexity. They were desired to run away, but would not. Furloughs were given them for no other reason than because "they were of no manner of use in the army." Like the other stubborn soldier, they were captured by the Federal army at Gettysburg, and with him carried to Fort Delaware.

But of all the martyrdoms endured in support of Quakerism, that suffered by Hymelius and Jesse, brothers of the stubborn soldier, whose story is narrated above, was probably the most interesting. In person and deportment they do not much differ from the stubborn soldier. Quiet, benign men they are, of whom one would willingly ask a favor—thoroughly Quaker from head to heel. Having been drafted as early as 1862, they were arrested and taken to Raleigh. Refusing to drill, they were told that continued opposition to authority would result in their being shot; but a month's confinement in the guard-house ended in their dismissal with permission to return to their homes. So ended their first campaign; yet they had lived but to "fight another day." Within a year they had been conscripted, and the attempt to make good artillerymen of them had been begun at Kinston, N. C.; vainly, of course, but with enough of suffering to them. For before this could be brought about, the natural determination to enforce obedience began to make way for the pity which was just as natural; and again it seemed necessary to find some one in whom the tender affection was soundly sleeping. The General to whom they were eventually assigned, had no sooner acquired possession of them than he boastfully began the work of subduing them. He

had them placed together in a small room in the second story of the building they occupied, and so guarded that neither food nor drink could be conveyed to them. Day after day passed, but without extorting from them even a hint of submission; their bodies alone telling the story of their suffering. Sometimes strangers were permitted to converse with them and to learn from their own lips their peculiar views with regard to war. On the third night their suffering from thirst being already very intense, they were awakened by the rain falling on their roof. It poured over the side of the house so rapidly that by extending the hands from the window of their room, a large quantity could have been collected. Yet neither of them attempted to do so; and it appeared from a comparison of their thoughts, on the following morning, that while the first impulse of each had been to secure some of the coveted refreshment, they had subsequently deemed it improper to do so. We shall not pause to remark upon this conduct; in the end it resulted in their deliverance.

That morning they were closely examined by officers despatched for the purpose. It was deemed impossible that they could have held out so long without having secretly obtained food. The brothers denied this, and mentioned their unwillingness even to collect the rain. Again their quiet endurance of the punishment imposed, won such respect as resulted in food being again furnished them, after a continuous fast of five days. It then occurred to some one that they might be more easily subdued if separated; and Jesse was transferred to another command. If he refused to carry arms, said the General upon receiving him, he would still be of use as a rampart in the front of the battle. Presently other persecution arose. Jesse had refused to perform a soldier's work upon the streets. This was certainly a case of moral malingering —so thought the officers—which should be speedily done away with. A log was therefore tied to his shoulders, and he was marched around with it until his strength was gone, and then placed in the guard-house. Thence he was transferred to a more revolting place of confinement. Meanwhile the Captain had invented a new method of punishment. About the prisoner's neck he placed a forked pole, suspending from the prongs, as they projected behind him, a heavy block of wood. This—repeating, doubtless, some of the prisoner's words—the officer called the cross of Christ. With

the completed work, however, he seemed dissatisfied; and soon the log had been replaced upon his shoulders, and the Quaker again exhausted by long marching. Indignities of this kind continued to be imposed upon him until the payment of the price of exemption, by one of his friends, resulted in his release.

The final ordeal that terminated his brother's career as a soldier, had, meanwhile, exceeded his own in rigor. The suspension of a man by the thumbs seems rather Inquisitorial; yet Hymelius was kept for six hours, in all, in this torturing position, having been three times suspended for two hours, his toes barely touching the ground. Many other punishments resulted from his determined course—the most severe being frequent piercings with the bayonet—from all which he was freed in the same manner as his brother.

Such was the price paid by two families (the pairs of brothers being first cousins), for the privilege of being Quakers. Their penalties were probably as severe as were inflicted upon any who were Quakers by birth and had lived near to their profession. Those who had not always been connected with the Society were treated with greater rigor. Yet in one respect at least they seem to have been thoroughly Quakers; two of them who had escaped beyond the lines at the breaking out of the war, having returned as the result of spiritual intimations that they had erred in their attempt to shun the suffering that their convictions might bring upon them. That was much. They were stationed on guard by being tied to posts and guns attached to them; long periods of forced wakefulness were followed by suspension by the thumbs. Occasionally insanity resulted; but upon its disappearance the attempts at coercion were renewed. A punishment in which the wrists firmly bound together were brought in front of the knees and a pole inserted between the knees and the elbows, was in great favor with the Chivalry. Several died in hospitals as a result of their protracted mental and physical anguish. We state facts without moralizing upon them. The where and when and wherefore of their occurrence make them very significant, and will hardly permit of their being falsely interpreted.

These we have recorded were official acts of the officers of the Southern army. Sometimes lawless bands undertook similar enforcements of opinion; and with the story of one of these we shall

conclude. In 1865 forty men appeared at the residence of a Quaker living in Chatham Co., N. C. They professed to be in search of conscripts, and had already hung an employé three times to force him to disclose the retreat of his sons, before the Friend was attracted to the spot. They instantly put the same question to him; and upon his professing like ignorance, they sieze him and drag him to his barn. He is placed upon a box, a rope is coiled about his neck, and the end thrown over a support. They soon commence to tighten the rope, and, charging the Quakers with having caused the defeat of the South, they urge him to employ the remaining five minutes he has to live in prayer. He answered little, only declaring his innocence, and praying that they might be forgiven their crime. This had the usual effect—they leaving him, professedly to search for other Quakers to hang together with him. S. C. COLLINS.

HONORÉ DE BALZAC.

IN every branch of literature there are certain qualities whose possession constitutes greatness. Poets must have a tempered imagination; historians research, impartiality, and breadth of view; and novelists must have, above all things, verisimilitude. There is a family likeness in the great works that go down to posterity. Cervantes, Fielding, Thackeray and Balzac have a subtle resemblance; and when we consider the resemblance, it is Realism, the faithful presentment of the facts of life. The characters of a great novelist are flesh and blood; his framework of incident is always possible, and almost always plausible. His humour and his pathos are rooted in human nature; are simple, transient and intermingled. Observation and imagination combine to create a world in which we move and have our being with a keen sense of reality; in which the men and women wake and sleep, eat and drink, love and marry as our friends do around us. Nor does our interest cease with the wedding bells. In this world, the unnatural restrictions of the lesser story teller go for nothing. The cares of married life, the ambitions of manhood, the pleasures and troubles of old age, are as real and as pungent there, as the short-lived passions of youth. Don Quixote, Colonel Newcome and

Pére Goriot, are men in whom the heyday of the blood is tame; but their heroism, their constancy, their avarice, their greatness and their littleness, move us with a passion of sympathy beyond the power of boyish love.

But if all great novelists are real, Balzac is the prince of novelists. Not only the great facts of life, not only the supreme moments which test a man's character, but the daily incidents and changes of feeling which we call trivial, are the themes of his observation. He calls nothing common or unclean. To him character reveals itself in the routine of petty circumstance. He accompanies his personages everywhere, and with a marvelous minuteness notes their sayings and doings. For a week, perhaps, he tells us their every thought and action, and by the Saturday we feel that we know, not only how they spend their days, but what they are, how they would act in a hundred fancied positions, the very body and complexion of their lives. And this Balzac achieves by touches whose effect is only visible in the finished picture. He works like a careful painter, stroke after stroke. He carries this determination to make the most of his subject into his description of inanimate objects. There is a bouquet of roses somewhere in his books—we forget where—over which he spends ten pages; and a bouquet was never made so much of before. We touch it, smell it, know the separate sweetness of every flower. In *La Peau de Chagrin,* the hero, about to drown himself, spends the last hours of his life (as he supposes) in a large curiosity shop, an immense magazine of bric-a-brac, into which he has casually wandered. Upon his sharpened senses and strained nerves every object strikes with a peculiar power, recalling by association all the scenes of which he once had formed a part. The author's wonderful suggestion and imagination light up every detail. The dusty rooms of the magazine broaden into a vast theatre, over whose stage all times and countries pass in panorama. We quote a passage, for it is a striking specimen alike of Balzac's mode of workmanship, and of the difficulty in translating his rugged French:

"A multitude of forms, sad, gracious and terrible, obscure and clear, appeared in masses, by myriads, by generations. Egypt, strong and mysterious, arose from her sands, represented by a mummy encased in black bandages; then it was the Pharaohs, burying nations to make themselves a tomb; and Moses, and the

Hebrews, and the desert; he was in a world ancient and solemn. A statue of marble, fresh and gracious, set upon a twisted column, and radiant in whiteness, spoke to him of the voluptuous myths of Greece and of Ionia. Who would not have smiled like him to see, upon a red background, in the fine clay of an Etruscan vase, the brown maiden dancing before the god Priapus, and saluting him joyfully? Close by a Roman queen lovingly caressed her last fancy. There breathed all the caprices of Imperial Rome, revealing the bath, the couch, the toilet of an indolent and dreaming Julia awaiting her Tibullus. The head of Cicero, armed with the power of an Arab talisman, evoked memories of free Rome, and unrolled for him the pages of Livy. The young man beheld *Senatus populusque Romanus;* the consuls, the lictors, the togas bordered with purple, the contests of the Forum, the incensed people defiled slowly before him like the vaporous figures of a dream. Then Christian Rome became ascendant; a painting struck his eye; there he saw the Virgin Mary in a gold cloud, eclipsing the splendor of the sun, listening to the plaints of the unhappy, on whom this regenerate Eve smiled graciously. He touched a mosaic made of the lavas of Etna and Vesuvius, and his mind sprang to warm and tawny Italy; he shared the orgies of the Borgia, and he ran in the Abruzzi; he sighed for Italian loves, for the pale faces with great dark eyes. Perceiving a dagger of the middle ages whose point was like lace-work, and the rust on which was like spots of blood, he shuddered at nocturnal dénouements, interrupted by the cold steel of a husband. India and its religions lived again in an idol covered with a lozenge-shaped hat, decorated with little bells, and dressed in gold and silk. Near the monster, a mat, pretty as the bayadere who once rolled herself in it, still exhaled the odors of sandalwood. A Chinese monster, with squinting eyes, wry mouth and distorted limbs, stirred his wonder at the invention of a people, who, tired of the regularity of beauty, find ineffable pleasure in the variety of ugliness. A salt-stand from the workshop of Benvenuto Cellini carried him back to the midst of the Renaissance, to the time when art and license flourished, when sovereigns diverted themselves with executions, when Councils of the Church, lapped in sinful pleasure, made ordinances of chastity for the priesthood. He saw on a cameo the conquests of Alexander, on a match-lock

the massacres of Pizarro, and at the bottom of a casque the wars of religion, dishevelled, fiery and cruel. The laughing images of chivalry rose from Milan armor wonderfully inlaid, brightly polished, and under the visor of which shone still the eyes of a Paladin. This ocean of furniture, of inventions, of fashions, of works, of ruins, was to him a poem without end."

But Balzac's novels are best introduced by a sketch of Balzac's life. His father was a man of some ability and distinction, but of an eccentric character which was reproduced and intensified in the son. The revolution stripped him of his official income, and he became a quartermaster in the army. Honoré was the eldest child. He was born at Tours, May 16, 1799. His early years were not those of an ordinary precocious child; but his originality and strength of will appeared from the first. At school he was insatiable, in a desultory way, but took no rank as a student; and about the age of fourteen his brain became affected with a malady for which the doctors could find neither name nor remedy. He himself used afterwards to call it a congestion of ideas. In consequence of this attack he was taken from school for several years; but ultimately finished his preliminary education and began to study law. In the same office with him were Jules Janin and Eugene Sue. Three years were spent, much against his will, in this uncongenial employment; and then a notary, an old friend of his father, offered him the succession of his business. To the astonishment of his family young Balzac refused the tempting proffer; assigning as a reason that he had determined to become a great author. His resolution was met with anger and derision. A few months before, his father had been superannuated and his income greatly reduced. The family was compelled to leave Paris for a small house in the country, and the alternative was put before Honoré of accepting a competency burdened with distasteful labor, or of fighting his own way in Paris, upon an allowance of a hundred and twenty-five francs a month. He chose the latter, and took up his abode in an attic, like Béranger, to work out his great purpose. But his garret was not comforted with song, nor cheered by the presence of Lisette; he shut himself up with his pen. Several months were spent in a desultory fashion over sketches in every manner of literature, novels, comedies and tragedies. At last he finished a tragedy called

Cromwell. It was, like most plays written by young authors, a grievous failure. Fortunately, it never reached the boards; the unanimous verdict of his friends convinced Balzac of its worthlessness, and he turned to his proper work. In the meantime, fifteen months had been passed by this boy of twenty-three without recreation or change of employment, and under the ceaseless strain of composition. He fell sick and went out to his father's house to be nursed through a tedious illness and a long convalescence; and so soon as he could walk, went back to his Paris garret. From 1822 to 1829 he published several stories which show the dawn of his genius; but he had no name, and was compelled to sell them for a trifle. They were published in cheap editions, and may still be met with on the Paris book stalls; but none of them bears the name of Balzac. He had learned to distrust his immature genius. He waited until he could feel that he had written a great book.

In the meantime he was accumulating the materials for his wonderful novels. He had in the greatest perfection two cardinal qualities, observation and memory; and he bestirred himself to use them to the utmost. Every day, after his hours of work, he would wander out into the streets. One can see more in Paris in a day than elsewhere in a week; every variety of life is open to the keen eye and the ready intellect. There are great libraries for the savant; brilliant and cultivated society for the man of letters; the theatres and operas, the Bois and the promenades for the man of pleasure; and beneath them all goes on, in thousands of homes and workshops, that quiet, toilsome, domestic life without which the great city could not live a day. With every aspect of this varied existence Balzac made himself familiar. His face was known in many households; but his chief resorts were the streets, the cafés and the theatres; he loved the open air life which in Paris is the real life of the people. From M. Werdet's book[1] and a sketch founded on it we take some particulars:

"When he had once made up his mind to produce a new book, Balzac's first proceeding was to think it out thoroughly before he put pen to paper. He was not satisfied with possessing himself of the main idea only; he followed it mentally into its minutest

[1]Portrait Intime de Balzac: Sa Vie, son Humeur et son Caractére. Par Edmond Werdet, son ancien Litraire-Editeur, Paris, 1856.

ramifications, devouting to the process just that amount of patient hard labor and self-sacrifice which no inferior writer ever has the common sense or the courage to bestow on his work. With his note book ready in his hand, Balzac studied his scenes and characters straight from life. General knowledge of what he wanted to describe was not enough for this determined realist. If he found himself in the least at fault, he would not hesitate to take a long journey merely to ensure truth to nature in describing the street of a country town, or in painting some minor peculiarity of rustic character. In Paris he was perpetually about the streets, perpetually penetrating into all classes of society, to study the human nature about him in its minutest varieties. Day by day, and week by week, his note book and his brains were hard at work together, before he thought of sitting down to his desk to begin. When he had finally amassed his materials in this laborious manner, he at last retired to his study; and from that time till his book had gone to press, society saw him no more."

We reserve the conclusion of the passage till we come to speak of Balzac's habits of composition, and pass to the year 1829. In that year his hard literary apprenticeship came to an end, and the world recognized him as a master-workman. The results of his long preparation appeared in *La Physiologie du Mariage.* For the first time he put his own name upon the title page of his book; and a month after publication, it was a name known and admired through Paris.

Of this marvelous book it is difficult to speak one's whole mind. The first thing that strikes us in it is knowledge of human nature, on its most familiar and intimate side. Those personal and social feelings which most writers consider beyond the range of art, or too subtle for analysis, are laid bare by a skillful and merciless hand. He warns all womankind off the threshold. "The woman who, from the title of this book, shall be tempted to open it, may save herself the trouble; she has read it already without knowing it. A man, however malicious he may be, never says of women half the good nor half the evil which they think of themselves." Then he goes on to explain the necessity for his book. There are thrice as many eligible bachelors in France as women fit for them to marry. Hence the *célibataires* will be to the married men as two to one; and hence, by an amusing assumption in

which we recognize the author's nationality, every husband must guard his wife against at least two lovers. Then he draws in gloomy colors the disadvantages under which the defence is carried on; the love of change and novelty in women; the difficulty of appearing always amiable and lovely in the eyes of a wife through days and weeks spent in the routine of intercourse, in comparison with the easy task of a lover, who sees his mistress rarely and who has the strongest motives to please her. In fact, a French husband, after reading the first chapters of the *Physiologie*, must feel like the captain of a beleaguered garrison, whose utmost skill and gallantry will hardly beat back the onset of the besiegers. Balzac proposes to come to his help. The man who reads the *Physiologie* and follows its directions will doubtless triumph over the enemies to his peace. But when we find what he has to do we almost think that the game is not worth the candle. The modern husband must give up his whole time and thoughts to his wife. His married life must be a perpetual courtship. By a constant renewal of the little attentions which women prize, he must make himself more amiable in her eyes than any of the host of *cèlibataires*. Moreover, he must guard her carefully from their importunity. A man whose business compels him to be absent from home a fixed portion of each day is one of the *predestines*; and it need not be said that Balzac uses the term in a sense somewhat different from St. Augustine's. A husband must not use tobacco, must have no disagreeable personal habits, must not be fidgety or tyrannical; above all things, he must offer his wife the variety and excitement which she naturally longs for, and which otherwise she will seek elsewhere. Then the hygiene of marriage is discussed, and the tokens of waning love. We have not space to follow the author into the details of his subject, when perhaps he is somewhat too outspoken for American taste; but in every page he shows that wonderful knowledge of the human heart which observation and a natural gift must combine to bestow. Never was it so well shown *comment on peut empecher une femme de tromper son mari.*

Of course there is one drawback to this for English and American readers. Some one has said that there are two kinds of nature, human nature and French nature; and without going so far as this, we may confess that Parisian literature is unique in Chri -

tiandom. The assumption which underlies the *Physiologie,* is that women are governed entirely by the tastes and the feelings of their sex; that principle and duty have for them no meaning; that their sole motive for their fidelity to the marriage tie is love for their husbands. In this country, men of business, of science or of learning, too devoted to their occupations to give themselves up to their wives' society, have fortunately no such consequences to fear as Balzac warns against. Nor, perhaps we should add, have the French husbands. We have treated the *Physiologie* as a serious picture of manners, but in truth it is the exaggeration of a few peculiarities of the Paris sidewalks, which would produce upon a man acquainted with French home life, the effect of a caricature. There is almost as much conjugal devotion in France as in England, and much more paternal and filial affection. The difference is that French readers tolerate, and even demand, a literature which does not truly represent them, but which ministers to their love of excitement, of variety, and of strong situations. Sensationalism takes this turn in Paris; in England it revels in vulgar horrors, in murders, railway accidents, abductions. The better taste remains with the French; the better morals, probably, with us, for there is a looseness of tongue, an ignoring of any restraint upon the passions, among the French authors, to which we have no parallel; but when we deal with realities, not with fiction, the actual amount of intrigue and unfaithfulness among French wives is no greater, so far as can be judged, than in colder climates. For reasons which it would lead us too far afield to seek, French novels do not represent French manners. We must take the *Physiologie* not as a picture of what is, but as a powerful sketch of what might be, if men and women were ruled by a few strong earthy feelings, instead of the infinite complexity of motives which regulate human conduct. Balzac was a Bohemian, a man who lived in an exceptional world. He saw with wonderful acuteness, he portrayed with wonderful realism what he saw; but there remains this limitation to his genius, that the home life of his nation, the life of husband and wife, of parent and child, was a life which he approached from the outside.

However it may please our countrymen, his book certainly hit the taste of Paris. The first edition was sold in a few days, and every one was asking the history of the man who could read so eas-

ily and tell so clearly the secrets of a woman's heart. The critics said that a long lifetime of delicate observation and literary habits was necessary for the production of a work so full of matter and so finished in style. The choice phrases, the epigrams, the maxims into which Balzac condenses his chapters, were quoted in the streets, in the *salons*, in the newspapers. When it transpired that the author was a man of thirty, the surprise and admiration were doubled. Balzac did not take advantage of his popularity as most writers would have done, to reprint his anonymous first fruits, and make money at the expense of his reputation. He devoted himself more than ever to his great object. Some months after the publication of *La Physiologie*, he tried his hand at printing and bookselling on his own account, failed disastrously, and thereafter remained faithful to his proper business. The public bought his books as fast as they were issued. Three editions of one of them were published in a week. *Le Lys dans la Vallée* was bought up in a few hours. *Eugénie Grandet* and *La Peau de Chagrin* were welcomed with the same enthusiasm. In fact, the series of works which appeared from his fertile pen between 1830 and 1840—a period which embraced the zenith of his powers—met with instant and universal recognition.

During the era of his adversity there is a certain consistency about Balzac. A simple, severe, laborious life, governed by a great ambition, where study of books alternated with study of men, gives color and tone to the whole picture. But with prosperity came a new development of character. Balzac the artist remained as he was before, faithful, laborious and wonderful; but Balzac the man revelled in the money and fame for which he had waited so long. Hard work and reckless enjoyment divided his life. His love of luxury, long restrained by the narrowness of his means, burst all bonds; and his delight in the celebrity he had acquired showed itself in a hundred egotistic freaks. His extravagance was the talk of Paris. The copyrights of his books were for those days very lucrative, but his habits of expense kept him constantly in debt. Many of his eccentric feats are recorded by M. Werdet. Indeed, upon this portion of his life no fuller authority can be found. M. Werdet was his publisher; a man who had started in life with the smallest of capitals, and had become inspired with the idea of making his fortune through Balzac. By negotiation with

his brethren of the trade, he bought up, mainly on credit, their copyrights of the great author; and by negotiation with Balzac himself, he purchased the right of issuing his future works. For some of the copyrights held by his fellow-publishers he was obliged to offer heavy sums; and the success of his speculation depended entirely upon the novels that lay hid in Balzac's fertile brain. Under such circumstances, his moods and changes of temper became to M. Werdet matters of the greatest importance. The publisher studied the author's character with much the same anxiety as that of the showman whose bread depends upon the antics of his trained elephant, and (we may add) who doubts whether the mighty beast will not turn upon his master. For Balzac was the most unreliable of mortals. His labors were intense, and he usually finished a novel at a bout; but if by any mischance the current of composition was interrupted, he gave himself up to the enjoyments and dissipations of Paris, and could hardly be induced to return to his unfinished manuscript. Mr. Wilkie Collins, in his paper entitled, "Portrait of an Author," has given a moss amusing account of the publication of *Sèraphita*. The novel was publishing in the *Rèvue de Paris*, when Balzac quarrelled with the editor of the *Rèvue*, and refused to add the concluding chapters. M. Werdet stepped in, paid Balzac's forfeit money, bought the right of publishing the novel, nnd received the author's promise to finish it at once. But nothing could induce Balzac to take up his pen; and when, after months of delay spent in idleness and pleasure, he had disappeared into his house and denied himself to every one, when in consequence the publisher's mind was feeling somewhat relieved, Balzac suddenly appeared one morning with the news that he could make no progress, that his genius had deserted him, and that to restore him to himself he must visit a friend at Vienna. M. Werdet's remonstrances were useless, and he was compelled to postpone the publication of *Sèraphita*, and to furnish the necessary funds. Three weeks afterwards he received a note from Balzac at Vienna, describing the beauties of the place, announcing that *Sèraphita* was completed, and another book in preparation by which M. Werdet would assuredly make his fortune, and adding in a postscript that under the circumstances he had drawn a bill of fifteen hundred francs on his esteemed friend. The bill was paid in the silence of despair; and when

Balzac returned a week afterwards it turned out that he had not written a line since leaving Paris. The publisher's reproaches roused him at last to some shame at his neglect. He finished *Séraphita* in twenty-four hours, dictating incessantly to the printers; and its ready sale saved M. Werdet from bankruptcy.

This is but one of the many stories told in Paris of Balzac's reckless extravagance and fitfulness. The abstemious student who had never spent a sou in self-indulgence, had passed under the expansion of prosperity into a spendthrift of astounding improvidence. It may be said in extenuation that the great object of his life had been attained, that he saw his literary reputation established on a basis which nothing could shake, that no misconduct could efface the fact that he was the foremost novelist of his time, and that he had won his eminence by hard, honest work. To his literary standard he remained faithful to the last. In the hey-day of prosperity he bestowed the same patient, unremitting labor upon his books as in his garret life of obscurity. He visited every place which he meant to describe; he spent weeks in studying local peculiarities of language, manners and costume, and reproduced them with inimitable fidelity. When once he had set to work he threw behind him the life of dissipation and gayety. We quote once more from Mr. Collins:

"The house-door was now closed to everybody, except the publisher and the printer; and his costume was changed to a loose white robe, of the sort which is worn by the Dominican monks. This singular writing dress was fastened round the waist by a chain of Venetian gold, to which hung little pliers and scissors of the same precious metal. White Turkish trousers, and red morocco slippers, embroidered with gold, covered his legs and feet. On the day when he sat down to his desk, the light of heaven was shut out, and he worked by the light of candles in superb silver sconces. Even letters were not allowed to reach him. They were all thrown, as they came, into a japan vase, and not opened, no matter how important they might be, till his work was all over. He arose to begin writing at two in the morning, continued, with extraordinary rapidity, till six; then took his warm bath, and stopped in it, thinking, for an hour or more. At eight o'clock his servant brought him up a cup of coffee. Before nine his publisher was admitted, to carry away what he had done. From nine till noon he

wrote on again, always at the top of his speed. At noon he breakfasted on eggs, with a glass of water and a second cup of coffee. From one o'clock to six he returned to work. At six he dined lightly, only allowing himself one glass of wine. From seven to eight he received his publisher again: and at eight o'clock he went to bed. This life he led while he was writing his books, for two months together, without intermission. Its effect on his health was such that, when he appeared once more among his friends, he looked, in the popular phrase, like his own ghost. Chance acquaintances would hardly have known him again."

"I toil sixteen hours out of the twenty-four," said he, "over the elaboration of my unhappy style; and I am never satisfied myself when all is done." He covered the proofs of his manuscripts, and the revises of his proofs, with corrections and alterations, amounting sometimes to one-third of the original matter. He was the terror of printers.

His business connection with M. Werdet was finally severed, and the sale of his copyright for sixty thousand francs barely paid the publisher's debts, and left him as poor as when he first came to Balzac. We cannot acquit the latter, in his dealings with M. Werdet, who seems to have been devoted to him, and to harbor no ill-will for his disastrous vagaries, of gross selfishness and dishonesty. Our wonder that the publisher was so easily persuaded is diminished when we find that a like credulity was universal. Balzac could charm the guineas out of a man's breeches-pocket. Men who did not want to lend him money kept out of his sight. His imagination was as wonderful as his persuasive powers. On certain mornings, his fertile brain seemed especially active; he poured forth a monologue on all imaginable subjects, full of the maddest freaks of fancy, yet so full also of observation and *vraisemblance* that his hearers knew not whether they were in a real or an ideal world. He set their brains in a whirl.

With such a power of personal attraction it is needless to add that he was a favorite with women. All through his career they besieged him with admiration and worship. His extravagance and shiftless dishonesty, which offended so many men, were not qualities to shock them; and on all that side of his character which he turned towards women, Balzac was thoroughly attractive. His respectful flattery was doubly powerful from the lips of

a famous man. The ladies of Paris enjoyed keenly the attentions of an author whose name was known from Madrid to St. Petersburg. His most agreeable conversations were always *en tete-a-tete.* His early life of seclusion had prevented him from acquiring the ease and polish of society. In mixed company he was never quite at his ease, and was very apt to commit some *gaucherie;* but when he felt sure of himself, seated by a woman he desired to please, all the qualities that made him great showed themselves—fertility of invention, wit, a keen observation of little things. He never missed a detail of dress or manner; in fact, he used them afterward in his books; but he always showed his appreciation of the delicate perfections which men are apt to pass by. Nor was his feeling for women forced and artificial. He always assigns them a prominent and attractive place in his stories. He has given French literature its most charming types of feminine character. To the end of his life, he loved the society of the sex; and they repaid him with a devotion which saved him often from the consequences of his extravagance. More than once, during the later years of his life, after the dissolution of his contract with M. Werdet, Balzac was taken from a sponging-house by women who paid his debts from their own purse; and once at least his friend in need was a lady bound to him by no tie but her admiration for his genius. We have never seen a biography of Balzac which told with any fullness the history of his relations with women. When that history appears, it will be the most piquant and interesting memoir of French society; and it will in some measure account for Balzac's wonderful knowledge of the feminine heart.

The last act of his life showed that he retained his fascination to the end. He had lived for eighteen years the life we have tried to describe, of mingled hard work and dissipation; and his debts exceeded his income. He left Paris to escape his creditors. At Vienna he found the friend to whom he had fled from the importunities of M. Werdet. She was the wife of a Russian nobleman; her husband had died a few months before, and she hastened to offer herself and her fortune to Balzac. He returned to Paris in 1849, the husband of a woman of rank and the possessor of a large income. His creditors were satisfied; the public welcomed him with enthusiasm; a brilliant social career was before

him. But he had tried his constitution too hard. He died, three months after his marriage, of disease of the heart, in the arms of his proud old mother. His funeral was a procession to be remembered. All the great men of Paris followed him to the grave. Never since then has the great capital seen so illustrious an assemblage, until five years ago when Sainte-Beuve was carried to his tomb.

We need not dilate on Balzac's writings; the number of our countrymen who read French is now so large that his name is well known, and his books can be bought in any great American city. But there are very many to whom a foreign language is an irksome disguise, but who would enjoy his novels intensely in a good translation. The reason why such a translation has not yet been made is obvious. Balzac's French is not the exquisite polished language which yields itself with treacherous ease to the translator; it is a harsh, crabbed dialect, full indeed of epigrams and memorable phrases, and rising sometimes into passages of exquisite beauty, but rugged and idiomatic, and requiring for rendition into English the same labor and patience which it cost the author. The conscientious translator will not be satisfied with securing the exact shade of meaning, nor with converting his original into nervous and elegant English; he must also preserve the style of the author, that delicate but very real quality like the flavor of a fruit, without which the most careful rendering is insipid. The few translations of Balzac resemble the original like a bad photograph; they give the outline of the man, but his expression and power are gone. *Eugenie Grandet* has been translated; so has *La Peau de Chagrin*, *La Recherche de L'Absolu*, and *Cesar Birotteau*: and, mutilated as they are, we see here and there the master hand. But the real knowledge and enjoyment of Balzac is yet limited to our French scholars. It is one of the anomalies of literature that it should be so. Translation is a kind of work so poorly paid that a man who earned his bread by his pen might fairly decline the task; but there is now among us a class, growing larger every day, of men whose affairs are easy, whose tastes are elegant and studious, and who are willing to serve the public by literary labor. To this class we owe our great histories and many of our best translations. They have introduced Victor Hugo, George Sand and Dumas to the public. Why will they not earn the gratitude of their countrymen by acquainting them with Balzac?

We cannot doubt that the experiment would be successful. The popularity of Trollope's novels shows that the excessive detail and elaboration of the French writer would be rather enjoyed than disliked. The Prœ-Raphaelites have invaded literature, and even good novelists do not hesitate to fill their pages with remarkable upholstery and commonplace characters. It can hardly be that this one quality of realism shall save so languid a story as the *Vicar of Bullhampton,* and that same realism used in depicting the most intimate and poignant feelings of remarkable personages shall fail to attract us in *Le Père Goriot* and *La Recherche de L'Absolu.* For Balzac has a higher flight than Trollope. He mates with Fielding and Thackeray. Trollope tells one what people say and do; Balzac what people feel and think. There is comparatively little incident in his novels; the plot is always subordinate. They are novels of manners and of character; and no English works resemble them so much as Thackeray's. It would be interesting to compare the two and observe the difference in their methods. With Thackeray, the period counts for much; he must tell his readers something of English history; he brings a host of figures upon his canvas. It is a panorama of the age. In the introduction to *Vanity Fair,* he compares himself to a showman managing a number of puppets, with dresses and manners to suit. Sometimes one can hardly say who the principal character is. *Vanity Fair* is "a novel without a hero." In *The Virginians,* the interest shifts from George Warrington to Harry, and back again to George. They are brought up on an American plantation; and we hear of our colonial life before the Revolution. General Washington is introduced; an Indian campaign is described. Then Harry goes to England to visit his relations, and plunges into the gayety and dissipation of the Court. The great authors and statesmen of the day are described; the King and his German mistresses. This gay, bright, varied life is wonderfully pleasant to the reader. We should find Harry Warrington dull enough if we met him in the street; Thackeray says he was stupid; but Harry Warrington jumping for a wager with my Lord March, or playing whist with the Baroness Bernstein, with Richardson at his elbow and Dr. Johnson around the corner, is a very interesting person.

With Balzac, on the contrary, the hero counts for everything.

The time and the neighborhood are indeed carefully observed and depicted; but it is for their influence upon his character Eugénie Grandet is a village girl who gives her heart to an unworthy lover, and whose life is saddened by the slow discovery of his baseness. Her village life is perfect in its *vraisemblance* and simplicity; but the whole interest centres in herself. When we close the book, her sweet, noble, suffering face is the one thing present with us, and the rest fades into oblivion. In a word, in Thackeray's novels, the characters, though finely and powerfully drawn, are subordinate to the manners; in Balzac's, the manners, though truly and wonderfully observed, are subordinate to the characters. We have instituted the comparison, because we could describe in no better way Balzac's peculiar power; a power which to many readers is so attractive, that they assign him the first place among novelists. His wonderful insight into the human heart, which observation might assist and supplement, but could never create, is the source of all his especial excellences. Women, for instance, have comparatively little action or incident in their lives; but they have an inward history of feeling and emotion, which in fullness and variety surpasses that of men. Hence Balzac's women are his greatest creations. They always occupy a prominent place in his stories; and his power is never so absolute as when he compels into view all the mysteries of their hearts. Here, where even Thackeray fails, where the herd of lesser writers vainly attempt to dilate, the Frenchman reigns supreme.

We have given but a single specimen of Balzac's manner, for no quotation does him justice. His power is not in single passages, but in the total effect of a story. If, however, the reader desires wit, epigram, condensed force of statement, brilliant episodes, clever stories, he will find them all in *La Physiologie du Mariage*. The subject renders them unfit for the pages of a periodical; but we point to the *Catéchisme Conjugal* (vol. xvii., page 292, of his collected works), as three pages, whose delicate observation and *esprit* place him high among the masters of the French style. A brief description from *La Peau de Chagrin*, of the hero's life of study and probation, in which Balzac drew largely from the experience of his own youth, may prove interesting. Raphael de Valentin, upon his father's death, is left with a slender purse and a stout heart, to make his way in Paris:

"My eleven hundred frances must suffice for my living for three years: and I gave myself this time to write a book which should draw the public attention to me, and give me a fortune and a name. I lived upon this sum for nearly three years. Three sous' worth of bread, two sous' worth of milk, three sous' worth of butcher's meat, prevented me from dying of hunger, and kept my mind in a state of singular clearness. I have observed the marvelous effects produced by diet on the imagination. My lodging cost me three sous a day. I burnt three sous worth of oil a night. I did my chamber-work myself. I wore flannel shirts, so as to spend but two sous a day on my washing. I warmed myself with pit-coal, whose price was on an average two sous a day. I had coats, linen and shoes for three years. I needed to dress myself only to go to certain free lectures and to the libraries. The total of these expenses was eighteen sous a day; there remained two sous for emergencies. I do not remember, during this long period of work, having passed the Bridge of Arts, or having ever bought water. I went to get it in the morning at the fountain at the Place St. Michel. Oh, I carried my poverty bravely!

"A man who follows hard after a glorious future walks, in his life of misery, like a martyr to the scaffold: he has no shame. I did not care to foresee sickness. I faced the hospital without fear. I doubted not a moment of my good health. Besides, the poor man should lie down only to die. * * * Study lends a sort of magic to all that surrounds us. The miserable desk on which I wrote, and the brown leather which covered it, my piano, my bed, my arm-chair, the curious pattern of my wall-paper, my furniture, all these things had life, and became my humble friends, the silent accessories of my future. How many times have I not poured out my heart to them! * * * From the dawn of my reasoning power until the day when I finished my *Theorie*, I observed, learned, wrote, read without relaxation, and my life was like a long lesson. Enamored of Eastern idleness, in love with my dreams, sensual, I worked always, denying to myself the enjoyments of Parisian life. A gourmand, I was temperate; loving travel by land and sea, desiring to visit many countries, finding the pleasure of a child in skipping pebbles on the water, I remained constantly seated, a pen in my hand; a talker, I went to listen in silence to the public lectures at the Library and

the Museum. I slept on my lonely pallet like a Benedictine monk."

With these few sentences, which recall at once the severity of his probation and the brilliancy of his reward, we may say good-bye to Balzac. Few men have lived so romantic a life, have passed through such extremes of adversity and prosperity, or have so used them for the delight and instruction of the world. His faults were glaring, but we could pardon more to the heroic endurance of his youth and to the splendor of his genius. The memory of his errors has already passed away; but thousands of readers owe him a debt of gratitude which will accumulate with time. The pleasure afforded by great novelists is one of the keenest and most enduring of modern civilization. They are at once our benefactors and our friends: and while we respect the men of science, of learning and of religion, we feel a personal sympathy and affection for the great story-tellers—for Fielding, for Thackeray, and for Balzac.

RICHARD S. HUNTER.

PARTON'S LIFE OF JEFFERSON.[1]

"EVERY human being, my dear," writes Jefferson to his daughter, in 1791, "must be viewed according to what it is good for; for none of us, no, not one, is perfect." In the face of this sentiment Mr. Parton seems to have taken as his models of historical writing the life of Napoleon, as written by John S. C. Abbot, or those of the Maccabees, as found in the Apocrypha. (See particularly the 14th chapter of the 1st Book of the Maccabees.) Doubtless the first Napoleon, Judas and Simon Maccabees and Thomas Jefferson, were great men and wise in their day and generation; but that they were the only great and wise, or even the greatest and wisest men of their times, few besides their biographers will be found willing to believe.

We cannot but regard it as unfortunate for the memory of Jefferson that his latest biographer should have imagined that in order to give him his full stature, it was necessary to degrade

[1]Life of Jefferson, by James Parton. Osgood & Co. Boston.

that of his contemporaries, who equally with himself labored honestly and powerfully for the founding and building up of our republic. The character of Jefferson was exalted enough to have stood upon its own merits. It did not need the doubtful support of a pedestal composed of other men's fallen reputations. This, however, is the pedestal upon which Mr. Parton has wished his hero to stand. "Paris is France," fondly proclaims the *gamin*. "Jefferson is America," asserts Mr. Parton.

The book before us is one that must be widely read, and on some accounts admired; but it is therefore—especially to that large body of readers with whom mere assertion passes for proof—the more dangerous. For dangerous it is to accept as historical truth that which is, at best, but half truth. The action of the Present is influenced and directed by what it knows of that of the Past. From the lamp of the true historian should proceed the steady beams which shall touch the Future, to avoid old snares set in new places; not fitful gleams, flickering and confusing until it is difficult to discern between the pitfalls and the smooth paths.

Whatever other points are touched upon in this volume, the centre round which all revolve is the disagreement between Jefferson and Hamilton. A disagreement whose foundation was the opposing constitutional bias of the two men, and whose superstructure was built by the widely differing circumstances of their lives. A disagreement which even Washington's impartial, paternal hand could do nothing to destroy.

"Hamilton," says Marshall, "had served his country in the field; and just before the termination of the war had passed from the camp into Congress, where he remained for some time after peace had been established. In the former station the danger to which the independence of his country was exposed from the imbecility of the government was perpetually before his eyes; and in the latter his attention was forcibly directed towards the loss of its reputation, and the sacrifice of its best interests, which were to be ascribed chiefly to the same cause. * * * Having long felt and witnessed the mischiefs produced by the absolute sovereignty of the individual states, and by the control which they were enabled separately to exercise over every measure of general concern, he was particularly apprehensive of danger from that quarter; which he probably believed was to be the most dreaded, because

the habits and feelings of the American people were calculated to inspire state rather than national prejudices.

"Mr. Jefferson had retired from Congress before the depreciation of the currency had produced an entire dependence of the general on the local governments, after which he filled the highest offices of the state of which he was a citizen. About the close of the war he was re-elected to Congress; but, being soon afterwards employed on a diplomatic mission, he remained at the court of Versailles while the people of France were taking the primary steps of that immense revolution, which has astonished and agitated two quarters of the world. In common with all his countrymen, he took a strong interest in favor of the reformers; and it is not unreasonable to suppose that while residing at that court, and associating with those who meditated some of the great events which have since taken place, his mind might be warmed with the abuses of the monarchy which were perpetually in his view, and he might be led to the opinion that liberty could sustain no danger but from the executive power. Mr. Jefferson therefore seems seems to have entertained no apprehensions from the debility of the government; no jealousy of the state sovereignties, and no suspicion of their encroachments. His fears took a different direction, and all his precautions were used to check and limit the exercise of the authorities claimed by the government of the United States. Neither could he perceive danger to liberty except from the constituted authorities, and especially from the executive."

This explanation of the disagreement between Hamilton and Jefferson is altogether too simple to please Mr. Parton. The voice of the people, he says, is always right, yet he scouts at that popular voice which declares that, "It takes two to make a quarrel." The quarrel between Jefferson and Hamilton was made by one man, and that man was not Jefferson. Jefferson was always right. Hamilton, whom Mr. Parton concedes to have been honest, though he thinks the statesman so highly esteemed in his own day to have been "narrow," "bigoted," "prejudiced," "precipitate," of "mediocre capacity," a "third-rate man in a first-rate place," was always wrong. And this, notwithstanding that many of the measures which Hamilton advocated and Jefferson opposed, have been finally and heartily endorsed by that *vox populi* which Mr. Parton is so certain is always *vox Dei.*

The first violent and notorious discrepancy between the views of the "two fighting cocks of Washington's Cabinet" was on the occasion of the first embassy from the French republic. It became a matter of serious discussion in the Cabinet whether or not Genet should be received. "Does the decapitation of Louis," said Washington, "absolve the United States from obligations contracted nominally with him? In other words, are the treaties still valid? Was it with France or with Louis that we made them? Here is M. Ternant, the resident French plenipotentiary, whose commission bears the king's signature, and somewhere on the ocean is Citizen Genet coming to supersede him, whose commission has been signed neither by Louis nor by his heir." (Mr. Parton is responsible for the above confusion of pronouns.) "Hamilton's opinion was that before Citizen Genet was admitted to an audience with the President, the government should 'qualify' that reception by declaring that the question of the validity of the treaties was 'reserved.'" Jefferson supported the opinion that the "treaties were not made between Louis Capet and the United States, but between the two nations of America and France."

Hamilton's hesitation to acknowledge the rule of a revolutionary tribunal as that of the French people is sufficient in Mr. Parton's eyes to prove that the former was still at heart a monarchist and a Briton. Yet five years later, when Gerry, Pinckney and Marshall for months danced fruitless attendance upon the Directory, which was certainly as much a government by choice of the French people as was that which accredited Citizen Genet, Mr. Parton declares that the insults of the Directory should not have been resented by the United States, as they did not emanate from the French people, but only from "a half dozen corrupt men, whirled aloft in the storm of the revolution."

But it is Mr. Parton's delight to fix the odious epithets of "Tory" and "Aristocrat" upon every Federalist from Hamilton, Governor Morris and John Jay to the ministers of New England, while he does not apply either to such men as Chancellor Livingstone, whose opinions of themselves and of their position as aristocrats, were, to say the least of them, not small. Had any Federalist publicly declared, as did Chancellor Livingstone, that his daughters should not marry out of the family name under the

penalty of disinheritance, we can imagine what a delicious evidence Mr. Parton would have found it of a desire to establish an hereditary aristocracy.

In discussing the "Jay treaty" with England (of 1794 to '96) Mr. Parton, finding it impossible to prove that Washington and Hamilton were wrong in favoring the treaty, and not being able to support the idea that Jefferson could have been blinded by prejudice into making a mistake, adopts the singular expedient of declaring that two diametrically opposite courses of action are equally right; that Washington and (by inference) Hamilton were right in agreeing to the Jay treaty, because it was the only thing practicable under the circumstances; and that Jefferson was right in opposing it, "because he was Jefferson."

Upon the success of this treaty, as even Mr. Parton admits, depended the preservation of the infant life of the nation. The English still held the Lake forts, and with these the power of inciting the Indians to rapine and murder along the whole exposed frontier. British impressment of our sailors, and the right of search claimed and exercised by British vessels were grievous wrongs, insults hard to be borne; but the possession of the forts was more than a matter of pride or feeling; it was one of national life or death. Washington could not hesitate. "Give us the forts and peace," he insisted. Let us risk all that we have gained by our years of war; let us shed torrents more of blood, and spend millions more of money; no bread is better than half a loaf; clamored the Jeffersonians. It was a close contest, a narrow escape. The ratification of the Jay treaty was only carried in Congress by a vote of 51 to 48.

In his apology for Jefferson's course at this time Mr. Parton brings a serious accusation against his hero, that of sectionalism. "Not being a military man, having indeed no military instincts, the recovery of the forts did not strike his mind as a compensation for the defects of the treaty; and inhabiting a part of the country which shared the perils of the situation but not its prosperity, which bore the shame of a violated flag without deriving profit from the commerce that escaped interruption, he ardently desired the rejection of the treaty." Washington inhabited the same section.

An observation of Mr. Parton's at this point seems to support

the old Federalist notion of Jefferson's lack of candor. Notwithstanding the intensity of his dislike to the treaty, "silence became a candidate for the presidency; and though he lent the aid of his experience and counsels to Madison" (who manipulated the Anti-Federalist party) "in private conferences, he uttered not a word designed for the public eye or ear."

Notwithstanding this cautious reticence, John Adams was elected to the Presidency, and, it is sorrowful to see thus early in our history, by an almost purely sectional vote. "For Adams the North; for Jefferson the South; except that Jefferson received every Pennsylvania vote but one, and Adams 7 from Maryland, 1 from Virginia and 1 from North Carolina."

Some of the most interesting and at the same time most untrustworthy chapters in this work are those relating to the Presidential election of 1800. The bitterest party feeling of that day could have framed no sentence more unjust than this: "Whether the people of the United States should govern or be governed; or, in other words, whether America should remain America, or become merely a greater Britain, that was the issue of the infuriate Presidential election of 1800."

Finding it impossible to justify or explain away (though he does his best both to justify and explain) Jefferson's famous Mazzei letter, Mr. Parton, like a skillful tactitian in partisan warfare, seeks to make a diversion by rehearsing a loathsome episode in Hamilton's private life. But how the latter's private sins can in any way excuse or palliate Jefferson's public ones, we fail to see.

To notice the discrepancies between the actual facts and the specious statements of supposed facts contained in these chapters alone would require a four column review, but we can only quote a passage or two. "Peace now fell upon the minds of men. A *vast contrast* spread itself *everywhere* as the news of Jefferson's election was slowly borne in creaking vehicles over the wide, weltering mud of February and March." This is good, considering the horror and exasperation which filled almost the entire North, as witness tradition and the newspapers, printed speeches and sermons of the time. A little farther on Mr. Parton writes, "Happy indeed was the change which that day came over the aspect of American politics. * * * The element which resisted the Stamp Act and declared independence was uppermost again."

This, too, is rich, in view of the fact that fully three-fourths of that element, at least in the Northern States, was at this time opposed to Mr. Jefferson on nearly all points of national policy.

The review given of the chief public measures of Jefferson's administration is necessarily rapid and imperfect. Deserved prominence is given to the Barbary war and to the Louisiana purchase. A feature of Jefferson's policy which is of concern in our day is but lightly touched. It is to him that we owe the system of pushing back the Indians from civilization and all its influences. It was in his opinion an impossibility for Indians and white men, or negroes and white men, to live peaceably together unless the inferior race be kept in a state of slavery. So, as he was sincerely opposed to the institution of slavery on account of its demoralizing effect upon the dominant race, he advised the removal of Indians to, and their restriction within distant reservations. This policy may have been wise; in Mr. Parton's view it must have been, since it was Jefferson's; but we do not find that the hatchet has always remained buried since the Red man was banished to the far West; nor have we seen the horrors of San Domingo repeated in our Southern States since the emancipation of the slaves.

The best parts of this book are those relating to Jefferson's private life, but we have left ourselves no space to notice them, or indeed to add anything but one passage containing an example so worthy of all imitation that it has been almost forgotten.

"Being asked by a neighbor to write something that should help him into Congress, Jefferson said, 'from a very early moment of my life I determined never to intermeddle with elections by the people, and have invariably adhered to this determination.' Much as he loved his old friend and secretary, William Short, he would not assist him to sell the little public stock which he possessed, saying, 'I would do anything my duty would permit; but were I to advise your agent (who is himself a stock-dealer) to sell out yours at this or that moment, it would be used as a signal to guide speculation.' Invited to share in a promising speculation, he declined, on the ground that '*a public man should preserve his mind free from all possible bias of interest.*'"

ETHEL GALE. C.

NEW BOOKS.

PUBLICANS AND SINNERS. By Miss E. B. Braddon. New York: Harper & Brothers.

The villain of this book, Ferdinand Livewright, is a prince among villains, with eyes of darkest hue, with a "light like that which radiates from a fine cat's eye." He first appears in the Rocky Mountains, where he joins Lucius Davoren and Geoffrey Hossack, a hunting and exploring party. Though they are on their last rations, they do not refuse him hospitality, in return for which he plays liar, murderer and cannibal, in return for which he is shot by Lucius Davoren. This might seem to exhaust the catalogue of possible villanies and the book, but far from it. He re-appears in England, steals, and tries to poison his rich and unforgiving father, having obtained secret access to the house by working on the affection and pity of the heroine, Lucille Livewright, who supposes herself his daughter. The poison fails through the watchful care of Lucius Davoren, the lover of Lucille. Ferdinand is driven to more desperate means, and enters his father's sick-room; but as the knife is drawn, the satellitic Lucius Davoren enters. Ferdinand escapes by the inevitable panel. The old house shakes, and he lies buried under the ruins of the chimney. But Miss Braddon stops at no obstacle, and the irrepressible comes to life again, full of repentance, to restore Lucille to her right position as Miss Glenlyne, to do justice to the sister of Davoren, whom he had enticed into a secret marriage, and to die *bonâ fide*.

Geoffrey Hossack, the most constant of lovers, marries the widow, and Lucius marries Lucille. With Absalom Schauck, the plump little Dutchman, we part unwillingly. After many trials and vexations the book closes with the assurance that "all were content," and that in their future life there shall be roses rather than thorns, which they certainly richly deserve.

Novels of this class have been so steadily written down that it seems hardly possible to say anything new in condemnation of them. Miss Braddon has power which might be as strikingly and more profitably displayed than in the portrayal of such moral deformities as are served up in this book. At least, we regret the halcyon days when the easier morality of the calling, as Gerald Griffin reports, allowed reviews of three-volume novels, by special request of the publisher, "without cutting the leaves."

A TOUR THROUGH THE PYRENEES. By Henri Taine. Translated by J. Safford Fiske. New York: Henry Holt & Co.

Mr. Taine, so far in his books, has given us theories of art, nature and human life. In this one he gives us a *work* of art, and one of a new type.

We seem to have within the covers of this attractive volume a portfolio full of rich and varied scenes; delicate word-etchings, in which we see every line and point of a lovely, peaceful picture; pencil sketches, which, with a few bold, strong touches, show some barbaric action of the feudal days; colored drawings, giving us royal costumes and coquetries of the sixteenth century; then, on a larger canvass, a wild tempest-scene of the mountain country. We also have peasant by-play, with notes of modern life, as it comes into these out-of-the-way places:

"On Sunday a procession of fine toilets goes up toward the church."

"Fair, white-robed promenaders pass by in the twilight with ruffles of lace, and floating muslins that rise and flutter like the wings of a bird;" "a band of young priests in black hats, black gloves, black cassocks tucked up, black stockings, very apparent novices in horsemanship, who bound at every step like the Gave;" "three ladies of sufficiently ripe age, very slender, very lean, very stiff, who, for dignity's sake, set their beasts on a trot."

To give a few of these pictures:

"The chain of the mountains undulates to the left, bluish, and like a long stratum of clouds. The rich valley resembles a great basin, full to overflowing of fruit-trees and maize. White clouds hover slowly in the depths of heaven, like a flock of tranquil swans. The eye rests on the down of their sides, and turns with pleasure upon the roundness of their noble forms. They sail in a troop, carried on by the south wind, with an even flight, like a family of blissful gods, and from up above they seem to look with tenderness upon the beautiful earth which they protect and are going to nourish.

"Anomalous beeches sustain the slopes here; no description can give an idea of these stunted colossi; eight feet high, and round which three men could not reach. Beaten back by the wind that desolates the declivity, their sap has been accumulating for centuries in huge, stunted, twisted and interlaced branches; all embossed with knots, misshapen and blackened, they stretch and coil themselves fantastically, like limbs swollen by disease and distended by a supreme effort. Through the split bark may be seen the vegetable muscles enrolling themselves about the trunk, and crushing each other like the limbs of wrestlers. These squat torsos, half overthrown, almost horizontal, lean toward the plain; but their feet bury themselves among the rocks with such ties, that sooner than break that forest of roots, one might tear out a side of the mountain. Now and then a trunk, rotted by water, breaks open, hideously eventerated; the edges of the wound spread farther apart with every year; they wear no longer the shape of trees, and yet they live, and cannot be conquered by winter, by their slope, nor by time, but boldly put forth into their native

air their whitish shoots. If, under the shades of evening, you pass by the tortured tops and yawning trunks of these old inhabitants of the mountains, you seem to hear a hollow plaint, extorted by a century's toil; these strange forms recall the fantastic creatures of the old Scandinavian mythology. You think on the giants imprisoned by fate, between walls that contracted day by day, and bent them down and lessened them, and then returned them to the light, after a thousand years of torture, furious, misshappen and dwarfed.

"The wind complained with a long-drawn piercing moan, and beneath its mournful sound, the hoarse rumbling of the Gave was heard as it dashed madly against the rocks it could not subdue, and moaned sadly like a stricken soul that rebels against the torments it is powerless to escape.

"The rain came and covered all objects with its blinding veil. An hour later, the drained clouds were creeping along half way up the height; the dripping rocks shone through a dark varnish, like blocks of polished mahogany. Turbid water went boiling down the swollen cascades; the depths of the gorge were still darkened by the storm; but a tender light played over the wet summits, like a smile bathed in tears. The gorge opened up; the arches of the marble bridges sprang lightly into the limpid air, and, sheeted in light, Luz was seen seated among sparkling meadows and fields of millet in bloom.

"There are mountains that weep, amidst their gloomy bogs, and their tears trickle down their aged cheeks with a hollow sob, betwixt pines that rustle and whisper sorrowfully, as if pitying that eternal mourning. Others, seated in a ring, bathe their feet in lakes the color of steel, and which no wind ever ruffles; they are happy in such calm, and gaze into the virgin wave at their silver helmet. How mysterious are they at night, and what evil thoughts do they turn over in winter, when wrapped in the shroud of snow! But in the broad day, and in summer, with what buoyancy and how glorified rises their forehead to the sublimest heights of air, into pure and radiant realms, into light, to their own native country. All scarred and monstrous though they be, they are still the gods of the earth, and they have aspired to be gods of heaven!"

"The church is cool and solitary; it once belonged to the Templars. Those monk-soldiers obtained a foothold in the most out-of-the-way corners of Europe. The tower is square as a fortress; the enclosing wall has battlements like a fortified city. The dark old doorway would be easily defended. Upon its arch, which is very low, may be distinguished a half obliterated Christ, and two fantastic, rudely colored birds. As you enter, a small uncovered tomb serves as font, and you are shown a low door through which passed the accursed race of the bigots. Its first aspect is singular, but has nothing unpleasant about it. A good woman in a red

capulet, knitting in hand, was praying near a confessional of badly planed boards, under an old brown gallery of turned wood. Poverty and antiquity are never ugly, and this expression of religious care seemed to suit well with the ruins and souvenirs of the middle ages scattered about us.

"But deeply rooted in this people is a certain indefinable love of the ridiculous and absurd, which succeeds in spoiling everything; in this poor church, tracery, from which the gilding is worn away, crosses a vault of scoured azure with tarnished stars, flames, roses, and little cherubs with wings for cravats. A brownish pink angel suspended by one foot, flies forward, bearing in its hand a golden crown. In the opposite aisle may be seen the face of the sun, with puffy cheeks, semi-circular eyebrows, and looking as sapient as an almanac. The altar is loaded with a profusion of tarnished gilding, sallow angels, with simple and piteous faces like those of children who have eaten too much dinner. All this shows that their huts are very dreary, naked and dull. A people that has just emerged from the dirt is apt to love gilding. The most insipid sweetmeat is delicious to one who had long eaten nothing but roots and dry bread."

"Upon a hill, at the end of a road; are the remains of the abbey of Saint-Savin. The old church was, they say, built by Charlemagne; the stones, eaten and burned, are crumbling; the disjointed flags are incrusted with moss; from the garden the eye takes in the valley, brown in the evening light; the winding Gave already lifts into the air its trail of pale smoke.

"It was sweet here to be a monk. It is in such places that the *Imitation* should be read; in such places was it written. For a sensitive and noble nature a convent was the sole refuge. All around wounded and repelled it.

"Around what a horrible world! Brigand lords, who plunder travelers and butcher each other; artizans and soldiers, who stuff themselves with meat and yoke themselves together like brutes; peasants, whose huts they burn, whose wives they violate, who, out of despair and hunger, slip away to tumult. No remembrance of good, nor hope of better. How sweet it is to renounce action, company, speech, and hide one's self, forget outside things, and to listen, in security and solitude, to the divine voices that, like collected springs, murmur peacefully in the depths of the heart!"

Our selections do not show all the variety that we intended, but the resources to be drawn from are too rich. Suffice it to say that we visit the Pyrenees with a guide, who shows us the landscape under varying lights, and even (introducing a dramatic effect, as it is apprehended by different *persons*) illustrating it by legends of the past, and by historic and personal anecdote; and not only this, he makes us read backwards its mythological and geological meanings.

The book is not one of cold description, but glows with poetic and human sympathy. We have a merry laugh with the little weaknesses of men as they are to-day, We grow grave as we see the slightness of *man* when compared with the vast expressions of nature—and all this, while we do not lose sight of a single plant, flower or animal, as we pass on our way. Even the clean hog of the mountains has honorable mention. They are rosy or black, well washed, and live upon the dry gravel, alongside the running waters. A. M.

THE GREAT CONVERSERS AND OTHER ESSAYS. By William Matthews, LL. D., Professor of Rhetoric and English Literature in the the University of Chicago. S. C. Griggs & Co., Chicago.

Whoever contributes a volume of readable essays on any respectable subjects to the reading public puts it under an obligation that ought to be acknowledged. There is no more attractive form in which useful information can be conveyed, nor one which more impresses the memory. An author does not labor in an essay. It is, like a short poem, the result of his best and most spontaneous inspiration. Yet because it is easily accomplished and because it is so frequently biographical or anecdotical or quotative, it is not a high order of literary merit. Now when an American, especially a Professor of Rhetoric in a Western University, gets hold of this trenchant effective weapon, he becomes if possible too much its master. He dances and dazzles and snaps his whip to such a degree that quiet passengers in the boot suspect it to be a little bit of an effort to keep his spirits up. This volume is full of unusually well selected anecdotes and epigrams, and is written in excellent style ; and if the author had resisted the temptation of occasionally firing off his own pop-gun we should not have been obliged to say that it is a pop-gun, and he a bad shot at that. For instance, poor Boswell is dragged neck and shoulders into a paragraph on Robert Hall, with the regret that there was no one in Hall's case to make "Bozziness" his business. Somewhat better is the remark that an Englishman cannot "write about his neighbors across the channel without dipping his pen in gall." In the essay on Noses he says that the Romans "had snuff-taking organs not to be sneezed at." So somewhere else Paley's watch—referring to his famous argument —"was obtained on tick from a learned Dutchman." The philosophy of Napoleon's saying "give me a man with a large allowance of nose" is explained by the Professor of Rhetoric and English literature in the University of Chicago to be "that a man thus favored is usually endowed with large energy and intelligence—seeming to say (as his fingers with a thumb for a pivot, describe a spiral at the tip of his facial bowsprit) to all who

would outwit or over reach him, "not as you knows on." Without pretending to criticise this rhetorically magnificent vista of words through which the mind is slowly led up to the climacteric nose, we would suggest to the Professor that the phrase with which the masters of this piece of legerdemain would accompany it would be "not as *I* knows on."

When a writer having through many lines prepared the alley and set up the pins suddenly pulls out the ball which we all along saw in his pocket and makes a ten-stroke with a warning shriek, we miss the finer element of spontaneity in the wit. So we are struck rather by the gross than the witty incongruity of such expressions as Socrates's ugly frontispiece and Hood's phiz; and there is a lack of refinement in writing that when a man "gets upon his legs, his ideas, like a sailor's money on shore, like a twenty-dollar note in New York, or like thieves at sight of a detective, make to themselves wings and fly away." We say in writing, because many things which pass as racy in conversation do little credit to a man's taste when confided by his deliberate judgment to pica.

But this reviewing is a mean business, as the author has abundantly let us know in an essay on originality in literature intended to demonstrate that true genius consists in improving upon other men's patents, and we drop it to confess that the book as a whole is entertaining and well worth reading. Indeed, what ordinary mortal could lay down an essay on faces? Is his face De Quinceyan or Cromwellian? Or on noses? Gracious Heavens, is the reader's nose not merely Greek, Roman or pug, but cogitative, sensitive, miserly, courageous or sensual? These questions are vital, they are personal; they have more interest to the book-buying public than have deep sea soundings, or nebular hypotheses, or social science. So what minister would turn from "Pulpit Oratory," what diner-out from the "Great Conversers," what punster from "Epigrams," what sneaking reviewer could close his eye to "a peep into literary workshops," or see unmoved his nefarious calling demolished by the essay on originality in literature?

Finally, though we may endorse the modest statement in the preface that the scholar will find nothing new in them, we are sure the author will not be disappointed in his hope that the general reader will find enough in them to cheat not a few but many hours of their *ennui*.

HIPPEAU'S BOOKS ON EDUCATION. L'Instruction Publique aux Etats-Unis, 1 vol., pp. 467. Id. en Allemagne, 1 vol., pp. 407. Id. en Angleterre, 1 vol., pp. 426. Par C. Hippeau. Paris: Didier.

Among the numerous recent publications on systems of popu-

lar education, few are more admirably worth studying than those of M. C. Hippeau, one of the best types of the good working Frenchman of letters. In view of the renewed effort to introduce into France a thorough system of public school education, M. Hippeau made a thorough study of the subject in the three countries where it was best established, and he has published the results of his inquiries in three volumes, treating respectively of education in Germany, in England and in the United States. Of course much that is said and written about education in Germany, is intended to show that the success of that country in its war with France was largely due to its superior education, and even so temperate a man as M. Hippeau, cannot refuse himself the cheap pleasure of a few flings at the harsh tyranny of brutal, but educated Germany. Still the fact remains that this clever scholar has set to work in real earnest to persuade his countrymen that the fate of France rests in their own keeping, and that it depends mainly on the education of its rising generations. He points to the cruel experience which has revealed the enormous proportions due to insufficient and ill-directed systems of education in the pretended national education in France. He asserts in the broadest way that the question of education determines the ability of a nation to govern itself and to maintain its freedom, and that in France the few who were really well educated have maintained the control of the masses.

He points to America as a country in which republican institutions and universal education have united to exercise a reciprocal influence and to establish a Republic in substance as well as in name. The question of education in the United States never can be made to depend on the administration, on the good or ill will of a majority in Congress, on the skill of a particular chief, on the zeal and capacity of a corporation which has the monopoly of instruction, and yet these are the hard conditions under which France has labored. While in America the matter of public schools has been one of the first to be settled by each locality, according to its own needs and requirements, in France nothing could be done until some central authority first determined all the matters of detail, such as the establishment of schools, the method of instruction, the choice of books, the limits of age for each class, the hygienic conditions of the school rooms; and each advance or improvement was postponed until it could be weighed and decided on for the whole empire. The result of this difference is, that in the United States the citizens devote a hundred millions of dollars to public schools, five times more than is expended by any nation in Europe, and that the care of this vast fund is provided not by a great central bureau, but by six hundred thousand voluntary directors and for seven millions of children,

so subdivided that there is a constant struggle to secure the very best methods and material in every locality.

Of course, too, M. Hippeau looks with wonder at the splendid public benefactions, the great scientific schools, the colleges and universities, established or endowed and enriched by private munificence, and he points too with just praise to the working results of such individual gifts as those of Peabody, Cornell, Pardee, Packer, Vassar, Sheffield, and the others, who have given vast sums to help on the development of higher education. Still he admits frankly that France cannot easily, if ever, surrender its system of minute administration, and accept in its stead the American fashion of letting every experiment have its test. The best he hopes for is that the double system of a clerical and a lay education will yet be converted into one in which, as in the United States, all sects, and all professions, and all politics, will unite in furthering the common end of the most perfect education for the largest number. He urges a steady pursuit of the decentralization of education in France, the establishment of local universities, which can rally about them local pride, local resources, and local support; all this can be secured, along with a rigid and thorough system of inspection, and such uniformity as shall yet admit of local elasticity and general improvement. The fault, as he says, in France is not in want of schemes, but in want of perseverance in testing them and in holding on to that which is found good; more time is wasted in discussion than has served in the United States to get good results out of imperfect material.

Such is, in brief, a summary of M. Hippeau's book on Public Instruction in the United States; but the tone of his preface or introduction to the volume on that of Germany, is in strong contrast. The old war trumpet is sounded again even in the very Temple of Peace—the school-house—and the Professor declares that the result would have been very different if only his counsels had been heeded, and public education had been supported for the last half century. Nothing but the triumph of Germany taught France that the conqueror had become strong in long years of self-education, and the conquered had paved the way for its defeat in long years of disputes that had led to nothing. Now it has become a question of government, and the national assembly would do well to devote its attention to the details of a good system and wholesale reforms in popular education, instead of barren disputes for a power that is at best only temporary, and waits only for some new master to rally to his support the universal ignorance of the masses of Frenchmen. But prophet as he is of evils yet to come from national uneducation, M. Hippeau is still too good a patriot to admit unqualifiedly the superior merit of the German system of education. He finds the great fault to be the overwhelming importance attributed to the principle of perfect

submission to the will of the sovereign, and he points to a long list of illustrious Germans who find that the all-embracing Prussian doctrine may make good soldiers but it makes bad citizens; and the question of how to reconcile these two important and contending elements is still an open one.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

Workingmen's Homes. Essays and Stories. By Edward E. Hale and others. On the Homes of men who work in large towns. Paper. 12mo. Pp. 182. 50 cents. Boston: James R. Osgood & Co. 1874. [Lippincott & Co.]

Nineteenth Annual Report of the Insurance Commissioner of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. January 1, 1874. Part I., Fire and Marine Insurance. Paper. 8vo. Pp. 507. Boston: Wright & Potter. 1874.

A History of New Sweden; or, The Settlements on the River Delaware. By Israel Acrelius, Provost of the Swedish Churches in America and Rector of the Old Swedes' Church, Wilmington, Delaware. Translated from the Swedish, with an introduction and notes. By Wm. M. Reynolds, D. D., member of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. Published under the joint auspices of the Historical Societies of Pennsylvania and Delaware. Cloth. Oc. Pp. 468. Philadelphia: Publication Fund of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. 1874.

Our First Hundred Years. Part One. July, 1874. By C. Edwards Lester. To be completed in one year, in twelve monthly parts. New York: United States Publishing Company. 1874.

An Essay Contributing to a Philosophy of Literature. By B. A. M. Cloth. 12mo. Pp. 182. Philadelphia: Claxton, Remson & Haffelfinger. 1874.

The Rhine; A Tour from Paris to Mayence, by way of Aix-la-Chapelle, with an account of its legends, antiquities and important historical works. By Victor Hugo. Translated by D. M. Avid. Cloth. 12mo. Pp. 275. $1.75. Boston: Estes & Lauriat. [Lippincott & Co.]

Bulletin de l' Académie Royale des Sciences, des Lettres et des Beaux—Arts de Belgiques 43ᵉ. année. 2ᵉ série. Tome 37. No. 5. Pp. 315. Bruxelles: 1874.

Bulletin of the United States Geological and Geographical Survey of the Territories. No. 2. Department of the Interior. Pp. 77. Washington: Government Printing Office. 1874.

Circulars of Information of the Bureau of Education. No. 1. 1874. Proceedings of the Department of Superintendence of the National Educational Association. Pp. 77. Washington: Government Printing Office. 1874.

The Second Annual Report of the Board of Managers of the Zoölogical Society of Philadelphia. Pp. 32. King & Baird. 1874.

Sunshine and Shadow. A Novel. By Mrs. C. J. Newby. Paper. Oc. Pp. 167. 50 cents. Philadelphia: T. B. Peterson & Bros.

THE

PENN MONTHLY.

SEPTEMBER, 1874.

THE MONTH.

THE Parliament of Great Britain has been prorogued in ample time for the annual Grouse Shooting on the 12th of August. The closing hours were marked by a rather long and animated debate on the six resolutions introduced by Mr. Gladstone, by another on the Home Rule project of Mr. Isaac Butt, and by the grant to Prince Leopold of the sum of £15,000 per annum. The resolutions aroused considerable interest and even feeling in the House, but were withdrawn by their mover without a vote upon them. Sufficient, however, was said to show that on the questions which they touched upon, the late Prime Minister was not entirely in accord with the majority of his own party. Little new or noticeable was brought out by the debate upon Home Rule, the most marked feature of the discussion, perhaps, being the division of opinion of the Irish members, a majority of whom voted against the measure. The strength of the party, of which Mr. Butt is the chief, was generally supposed to be much greater, and the direct, and to Irishmen most important result of this vote, will no doubt be to put a temporary quietus on the agitation. It is rather too much to hope that anything will effectually subdue the chronic disturbances in Irish politics. No division was had upon the motion to give Prince Leopold the usual allowance, although in private there was both comment and grumbling. The necessity of paying handsomely for the monarchy is evident to

all thinking Englishmen, but there are not a few who criticise with freedom, the fact that of the immense sums paid to the Queen, hardly a shilling goes to its proper purpose, the support of the State of Royalty. Her Majesty, since Prince Albert's death, has discharged none of her public duties, and the Prince of Wales, to whom they have been committed, is said to be immensely in debt in consequence. Under these circumstances, the constant recurrence of these requests for more money for the Queen's family are heavily taxing the people's patience, but there is no reason to believe that that Christian virtue is less developed in the mild breasts of the down-trodden subjects of Victoria than we know it to be in the generous hearts of the great American people.

In one respect at least they are less patient and we might learn a refreshing lesson from them. In view of the damaging revelations which have come up to Washington, in the wake of more than one new Senator during the past few years; with the remembrance still fresh of the disappearance of Patterson, the vanishing of Caldwell, the utter extinction of Pomeroy, one may read with strange sensations the tale of Mr. Albert Grant's disgrace. Mr. Grant is a person of untold wealth and a lover of his fellow-man. Like several distinguished Senators, he is a successful miner, for it was chiefly to him that the Emma Mine, known to the annals of diplomacy, became familiar to the British people, and it was his magic touch that changed its glittering ore into English sovereigns without the slow, laborious process of the mint. He has redeemed, at his own expense, the wastes of Leicester Square, and like a lamented person, lately celebrated in history and now embalmed in song, it is not his habit "to go back on the poor." Elected to Parliament from Kidderminster in 1865, Mr. Grant was generally reported by an unfeeling Press to have spent some 10,000 or 20,000 pounds in the indulgence of this charitable propensity. Little, however, was said about the matter at the time, for the Emma Mine then slumbered in the Western wilds and Leicester Square lay desolate; but at the election of last February, the story was revived. Hardly had this philanthropist taken his seat after his re-election, before an investigation was made into his conduct during the recent canvass, and we have learned within the past fortnight that he has lost his seat. He did not give many thousands to retain

politicians for their services after "the Caldwell manner," nor yet intrust to others a large sum for the purpose of establishing a bank at Kidderminster according to the "Systeme Pomeroy"—he promised no railway his countenance and votes—no mine his help—no postmaster his influence: he went into no caucus bearing gifts, nor lent his time and talents to the task of altering returns—his ways were not half as dark (although his tricks proved far more vain than theirs) as those of many a Christian statesman in other enlightened lands—he simply promised those electors who would vote for him a handsome banquet and a few medals and rosettes, which "he thought it might be pleasant to them to wear;" and in order to prove his sincerity in the banquet business, "put up" in sporting language a thousand pounds. The money was not expended, it is true, but the Justice (Mellor) held that the intent was fraudulent, and the seat thereby forfeited, and Mr. Albert Grant, no longer M.P., passes out into the darkness of unofficial life. Such are some of the trials of modern statesmanship!

It is pleasant enough in these quarrelsome days to read of such an incident as took place last month in the Surrey side of London, when that well-known clergyman, the Rev. Newman Hall, solemnly laid the corner-stone of the Lincoln Tower of his Surrey chapel. It occurred to him some time ago that his chapel needed a tower, and that it would be a beautiful idea to illustrate the love of Americans for England and of Englishmen for America by getting both nations to subscribe for it. The project once formed was immediately carried into execution. Mr. Hall made a pilgrimage to this country, and returned laden with greenbacks and good will to express the one and expend the other in the foundations of his tower. General Schenck had fortunately returned to his post in time to assist at the ceremonies and awaken much enthusiasm by a touching allusion to the fact that England and America read Shakspeare and the Bible in the same language, and the affair was a brilliant and remarkable success. The plans for the tower seem to have been described at length, and it was announced among other things that the lofty top was to be adorned with a colossal American eagle in loving proximity to an enormous British lion. We may venture to hope that this

is not true. It is very well and proper that the architectural design should express the meaning of the structure, and one can readily imagine how appropriately the tower might be topped by a gigantic lion lying down with a prodigious lamb; but the eagle will perhaps appear insignificant beside the king of beasts, and have a zoological-garden-kind of look, and the combination seems hardly one which even the uncultivated and somewhat grotesque imagination of the unfortunate Mr. Lincoln, who so helplessly contributes a name to the tower, would have contemplated with delight.

AFTER a debate, in which only four speakers took part, the French Assembly agreed to accept M. Casimir-Perier's proposition to proclaim the Republic by a majority of 41. A motion to dissolve was then negatived by a vote of 369 to 340, and the Assembly adjourned until November 30th. Meantime a committee recently elected, in whose inharmonious ranks all factions but the Bonapartists are represented, is to watch the Marshal and his ministers, and the establishment of a definite form of government is postponed for a little while. The Duke Decazes has been obliged to come out in a detailed explanation of the conduct of the Ministry towards the Carlists, in which he denies the charge that they have been winking at evasions of the neutrality, and the wife of Don Carlos has suddenly quitted Pau. If explanation of these two things were wanted, it could be found in the generally received report that Germany has remonstrated with France, and given her to understand that her apparent leniency to the Carlists was not agreeable to the cabinet of Berlin. Indeed, it is now asserted that the shooting by the Carlists of the correspondent Schmidt has roused the German government to the point of acknowledging the present Spanish Republic. Two ironclads have already been dispatched from Kiel to watch the Spanish coast, and symptoms of an active interference are to be seen. Nothing could naturally be less agreeable to Prince Bismarck than the establishment in Spain of an ultramontane-Bourbon monarchy, and it would be no strange thing were he perhaps to yield to the temptation, which circumstances seem to offer, to reopen a Hohenzollern candidature. France would not be in a position certainly to resent the idea as she did four years ago; Serrano is back again in

Madrid; the Republic of the theorists has been ostensibly tried and proven a failure, and this German intervention may be but a step towards the establishment in Spain of a German monarchy. Many other things have been unsuccessfully tried during the past five years in that unhappy country.

It is hardly to be wondered at that the feelings of Prince Bismarck towards the Jesuits, whom Don Carlos represents, should not be of the friendliest. The recent attempt upon his life was well planned, and frustrated only by a miracle. The would-be assassin is simply an ignorant tool—as fanatical as any of those who have sought to change or have changed the world's history by the same means. The world has in some things progressed but little, for the forces are the same, and the contest is still the same as it was three hundred years ago, and the hand which used Kullman is the same as that which guided the dagger of Ravaillac or held the pistol of Gérard. If a life can be counted essential to any cause or any country, Bismarck's would seem to be to Germany to-day; yet the attempt to destroy it would no doubt have effected its object far less than it did those other crimes which it suggests—neither one of which, after all (as is almost always the case), wrought completely the end it had in view. It is in this, perhaps, that the world has grown stronger—one life is of less moment than of old. Strange enough must have seemed to the Prince the fact and lesson of this attempt. For the second time his life was sought by an assassin; and yet how different the causes and circumstances! In 1866, he was attacked by young Blind, a son of the Radical Karl Blind, who wished to kill him, because he was then the champion of the king's party as against the Liberals, and the German idea, as it was then faintly understood. His life was saved. He carried out the plans he had long before that formed, and became the very personification of that German idea, and to-day he is the obstacle in the path of the Jesuits and a target for ultramontane bullets. Had Blind been alive on the 13th of last June at Kissingen, Kullman would hardly have found in him an accomplice in his crime.

It is much to be regretted that the inter-collegiate race at Saratoga should have been marked by a dispute between Yale and Harvard.

On the crews of the two oldest and most famous universities the interest perhaps centred, and the success of Columbia was looked for by no one. But her crew seem to have won their glory fairly, and there was a sort of pathetic halo thrown about her triumph by the spectacle of her captain leading his crew to the goal and then fainting in the moment of victory. The trouble between the Harvard and Yale men seems to have been the fault of both, but the latter are generally reported to have conducted themselves with less propriety. To have the rudder of your boat bent, your bow-oar broken, and your bow compartment filled with water by the carelessness or wrongful act of a rival would be trying to the temper of any of the twelve, were they still upon the earth and indulging in aquatic pastimes, as of old; but the duty of keeping that temper and refraining from wild and furious talk is just the same. It is precisely at such times that it is right to govern one's self. Any one can be mild and gentle when all goes smoothly with him.

OBSERVANT philosophers have often lamented the tendency to remain single of the youth of the present day. They have explained it, in many ways, drawn all sorts of terrible deductions from it and suggested more than one remedy for the evil. One can hardly blame the youth of either sex, whose home is in the Southern or Western part of this Union, for looking upon the paths that lead to marriage with distrust and dread, if the stories which come to us from those distant regions be but half true. That the course of true love should run smooth is not to be expected by any one who has had the ordinary experiences of life, but the act of wooing seems in some parts of our beloved country to be attended with a degree of personal danger unknown to it in these colder regions. For instance, in Mississippi a young gentleman having had the audacity to ask a young lady for her hand has been filled quite full of leaden bullets by her unsympathetic brother: the addresses of an importunate lover in Tennessee had been repelled with buckshot delivered at short range from the very window of his beloved. In South Carolina a German, rejoicing in the name of Gairizun, finding that a rival for his lady's affections persists, with very bad taste, in making a third party to a long evening visit, expresses his dissatisfaction by slaughtering—not the rival, but the

unfortunate young woman; and in Alabama a youth named Long, having been unsuccessful in his attentions to the daughter of a Congressman named Slóss, and having indulged his spleen and anger by loud and slanderous talk, is suddenly unpleasantly rebuked by the offended statesman, who, perhaps, having read a little French history in the Congressional Library during his leisure hours, posts himself, blunderbuss in hand, at a second-story window, and shoots the offender on the run as he passes down the street. Few of these incidents terminate so happily as that in California—where a young lady having failed to have convicted of an attempt to kill her the young man who has once sought her hand and twice her life, illustrates the forgiving nature of her sex in the most striking manner by accepting him for a husband—and if they continue and increase, the time may come when our Southern and Southwestern States will be full of raging bachelors, thirsting for female blood, or red-handed maidens fresh from the shooting gallery and the boarding-school, burning with the desire to exterminate all single men. A war of races would be nothing to a war of sexes, and the attention of committees of Investigation, Peace Commissioners, and other philanthropists should be early directed to the matter.

Six weeks have elapsed, and there is yet no clew to the kidnapping of the little boy, Charley Ross. The newspapers, both in Philadelphia and New York, have contained all sorts of theories and invented innumerable stories, but all in vain. The matter, for some unaccountable reason, was kept so quiet for nearly a fortnight that the parties had every opportunity to escape to a long distance if they chose. The task of tracing two ordinary-looking men in a common buggy, drawn by a brown horse, is not an easy one, and grows harder with every day. The detectives employed in the case have discovered nothing; the newspapers have discovered nothing; the police have discovered nothing; the immense rewards proclaimed and promised after long delay have not yet tempted or spurred any one into making a revelation or discovery. The case is painful, and one which appeals to every man. Any one's child might be taken almost any day,

and the cause of this boy and his parents is the cause of us all. It seems hard to think or say, yet not one penny should be paid as ransom for the little fellow. Such a precedent will breed no end of miseries, and open the door to unnumbered crimes. While millions should be raised for the apprehension and punishment of the kidnappers, not one cent should go for tribute. But one theory seems possible, and that is, that the child was stolen for a ransom. Once make the attempt successful, and no family is safe. It seems unkind to criticise severely the course of the police in this matter, and that, as might be expected, no Philadelphia paper has done. It may be thought that the circulation of the description of the boy and his kidnappers might have been conceived rather earlier in the day, and the idea of searching the houses, of examining them all and not a part, and at the same time, and not in turn, by blocking the city, and with special constables—as was done once in London—have occurred to some one within the first month; but this were, perhaps, to consider much too curiously. And when one remembers how really efficient this police force is, how much better than any police force ever was before, and how much and how sacred were the interests that depended upon its reputation and efficiency last winter—say in February, for instance—it quite makes one tremble to think what might have been the consequences had Mr. Stokley been counted out of office and his police force followed him. If two little boys in broad daylight can be picked up and carried away by two men who had been seen loitering in the neighborhood for days, one of the children taken miles from home, and the other God knows where, and all in the teeth of this police force, what might not have been done in the face of another! Kidnapping little boys would probably have been considered child's play, and venerable citizens—*patres familiarum*—been made the victims of bold and desperate conspiracies. If such things can come to pass, and six long weeks elapse, and this police force, unselfishly supported by a free and independent press, avail not, what might have been the fate of Philadelphia?—*horresco referiens!*

PROF. CAIRNES ON POLITICAL ECONOMY.[1]

PROF. CAIRNES is the gentleman who, when in charge of the chair of Political Economy in Queen's College, Galway, gave us perhaps the ablest contribution to the political literature of our Civil War. His *Slave Power* was a masterly analysis of the nature of "the peculiar institution," and its effects in retarding the economic and industrial development of the South. It was trenchant in logic and vigorous in rhetoric; it left the advocate of slavery as a paying institution no leg to stand on And while there was a judicial fairness of tone in all its reasoning, there was also an outspoken sympathy for the good cause, that won its author a warm place in the Northern heart. Nothing that comes from his pen will fail to command a respectful hearing from the reading public of America.

During the last few years his health has broken down, and he has been obliged to withdraw from the active work of teaching. But his pen has had the more leisure to bring his thoughts before a more extended circle. First he gave the world a volume of "Essays on Subjects connected with Political Economy," and now he undertakes a new exposition of some leading principles of the science.

Prof. Cairnes gives a new exposition of the science, because he is not satisfied with the old ones. He is, as is every able writer of the English school for the last twenty years, a pretty severe critic of his predecessors. J. S. Mill, Cliffe Leslie, Thornton, Macleod, Maine, R. H. Patterson, Grant, Bonamy Price, Thorold Rodgers, Lucas Sargent,—none of them have spared their masters, or even each other.[2] Fawcett, among the authors, comes about the

[1] SOME LEADING PRINCIPLES OF POLITICAL ECONOMY EXPOUNDED. By J. E. Cairnes, M. A., Emeritus Professor of Political Economy in University College, Oxford. Macmillan & Co., London, 1874.

[2] The American disciples of the English school ought to tremble every time that an able book on the subject appears in England, lest it should leak out in this country in what an uncertain state "the science" is at present. For instance, Prof. Cairnes says of the doctrine of the cost of production, formulated by their favorite authority, Stuart Mill, that it is "radically unsound, confounding things in their own nature distinct and even antithetical, setting in an essentially false light the incidents of production and exchange, and leading to practical errors

nearest to old fashioned orthodoxy, while Gladstone and Robert Lowe hold fast to every letter of the old shibboleths, except when it comes to legislation about Ireland. The laws of economy which govern the rest of the world are not in force on the western shore of St. George's Channel.[3]

Now while economical heresy has been the fashion in England for some years, there are a great many kinds and degrees of heresy, some of them not much better than the old fashioned orthodoxy of J. Mill. To take up the implied parallel with the theological world, some of the heretics have got to the very root of bitterness; they have found the fundamental wrong assumption that

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of a serious kind, not merely with regard to value, but also with regard to some other important doctrines of the science."

And even the published literature of the subject, if we may trust Cliffe Leslie, does not express the amount of this mutual criticism. "The English market for economic publications is extremely limited; the works on the subject are necessarily few, but it is notorious that various doctrines to be met with in the English text books have often been questioned in lectures, articles, discussions and private conversation; and that the general concurrence even of English economists—of whom alone English economists are apt to take account—ought not to be assumed from the agreement of these books."

Do not the difficulties of the situation explain the singularly barren character of the books produced by the school in America? While in England all is dissent and controversy, with them all is tame orthodoxy and uniformity. Durng one of the parades of the 69th New York regiment a gallant corporal was heard to exclaim: "Walk straight, ye divils, the Yankees is lookin' at yes!"

[3] "If English landlords, millionaires and economists have an interest, it is the right of eviction without reason. If they have a prejudice, it is in favor of the absolute ownership of the soil. If they have an economical conviction, it is in favor of free contract. Yet a House led by the greatest of living economists . . . . has abandoned all these."—*Spectator*.

"Mr. Lowe for example, when taunted with his old economical arguments, acknowledged that the Bill was not intended to increase wealth, which is the object of Political Economy, but to save society."—*Ibidem*.

"Free contract implies free contractors, and the main contention of Government is that, partly from historical circumstances, but *chiefly from the absence of alternative employments, the poorer tenants of Ireland are not free*,—that at least one half a million of peasants, half the adult population, are compelled by the coercion of hunger to agree to any terms which will secure them the use of the soil. It is because they are not free that a penalty is affixed to capricious evictions, that a court is to settle the terms on which leases must be granted, that even on the expiring of a lease, good will is to revive like a plant out of the ground."—*Ibidem*.

underlies all the false conclusions. Others are merely at war with the conclusions themselves; they would fain hold fast to the old creed with one hand, and stretch out the other to those who reject and repudiate it. They would like to be *so* liberal and yet *so* orthodox, without having really achieved for themselves any higher standing ground, on which what is true on both sides is united in a higher synthesis. In a word they are eclectic heretics.

And an eclectic heretic is our friend Prof. Cairnes. He has not kept his eyes shut during all these years that have gone over his head; he has learnt much from the new thought, the new insight into history, that later literature evinces. But he tries to "stretch the old formula to cover the new fact," as Carlyle says; he will not admit that "the science" needs to be overturned to its very foundations; he thinks that its truths are essential, its errors only formal. He holds that "oversights have been made and disturbing forces neglected; and that by making a fuller statement the valuable truths already discovered may be preserved, and theory be made to accommodate itself more accurately to facts." We are persuaded that he is much farther from the truth than a writer whom he has severely criticised in days gone by; we mean Mr. Henry Dunning Macleod, who maintains that English Political Economy is vicious in its very method; that it has been applying the deductive method of the mathematical, when it should have been using the inductive method of the physical science: "Je suis ici," said M. Thiers in 1851, "un ordre inverse à celui qu'a suivi M. Sainte-Beuve. Il a commencé par la théorie et terminé par les faits. Moi, je vais commencer par les faits, et je finera par la théorie." But Mr. Caird's very first treatise was a plea for the method which begins with a theory and ends with the facts. In his *Character and Logical Method of Political Economy* (1857) he put forward the plea that this science (like mechanics, optics, etc.) had reached the deductive stage. That is, the earlier investigators, Adam Smith, Ricardo and Malthus, having carried it through the inductive stage by the wide observation of economic facts, and the careful derivation of principles, it was now its work to start from those ascertained principles and reason downward to the facts of any given situation. He admitted, indeed, that some of the observed facts did not coincide with Ricardo's theory of the origin of rent, but then, as he naively remarked, there were others that did, so that this was no reason for rejecting the theory.

So far from the inductive stage of Political Economy being passed, it is hardly yet begun. Adam Smith was, indeed, an inductive student, and did lay the foundations of a true science. His "great *Inquiry* is crowded with observations from life" (Sargent). But in the very next generation the method was inverted; "during half a century the subject was in the hands of men who constituted what may be called the metaphysical school—in the hands of Ricardo and his followers, who in the driest of styles explained the driest of propositions—in the hands of writers who, having found in the human mind a tendency toward a particular course, assumed that such tendency would be carried into action, and who therefore failed to verify their theories by an appeal to facts, their method being the reverse of that of Adam Smith" (*Ibid*). The younger Mill and W. T. Thornton first broke the dismal succession of these writers, in a timid, half-hearted way: but it would still be absurd to predicate of Political Economy as studied and taught in England, that it is even well into the inductive stage, much less through it. Even Macleod will not do much for it; he—like R. H. Patterson—has mastered many of the nicer features of the credit system, the very crown and apex of the modern industrial world. But he has not even sought to go down to the foundations. He thinks of himself as a vehement, upturning radical, but his pages abound in the unverified, traditional assumptions of the English school.

Adam Smith, like most men who break new ground in scientific investigations, gave himself credit for a deeper insight than he really possessed; he fell into cheap and crude generalizations, that will not stand the test of investigation. He thought he discerned the tap-root of all industrial life and movement in the principle of competition; in the conflict of separate and individual interests, spurring men on the utmost exertion and leading them to serve the best interest of society by serving themselves. This view fell in with the ethical theories of the age of Bolingbroke and Paley, and found wide currency. Smith saw no economic duties incumbent upon government save the removal of all restrictions upon competition, and the establishment of absolute freedom of trade. He would have men buy in the cheapest market and sell in the dearest they could find, feeling assured that this would be for the benefit of the whole world. The law of supply

and demand would then remove all inequalities; labor would seek the market where it was best paid; capital would seek that which assured it the highest profits. Each nation would be able to develop its own natural capacities to the utmost, and to avail itself of the advantages possessed by others in like degree. The governments would do their best in doing as little as possible.

Mr. Malthus followed in Smith's footsteps with what may be called "An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Poverty of Nations"—his *Treatise on Population.* The same industrial tap-root was discerned here also; the same omnipotent law of demand and supply. There was a tendency in the human race to outgrow food. But *laissez faire;* you can't stop the excessive increase by any legislation; you will only promote it by legislation that looks to the alleviation of the condition of the poor. You are only stepping in between the trangressors of a natural law and the consequences of their act. You are only putting a premium upon their imprudence. Leave them to the struggle that their imprudence has occasioned. It is a sharp competition for existence, indeed, but withal a beneficent one. In it alone men can learn the lessons of dear-bought experience that are necessary to keep the race from a virtual suicide.

Mr. Ricardo's theory of rent was an attempt to show the validity of the law of competition, of demand and supply, in that sphere also. It certainly looked as if some other causes had been at work. The results seemed too various in character to be traced to any one law of distribution. How had this vast inequality of condition come about? The Jewish stock-broker began "an Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of the Few and the Poverty of the Many;" it led him to conclusions which, he was sure, would account for it. The supply of good land was limited, and was early made the property of individuals. The growth of society pushed men back to the poorer lands, and made them willing to pay rent for the possession of the better lands. Rents rose as still poorer soils came under cultivation, and every advance of society in years and in numbers inured to the advantage of the class who were lucky enough to be descended in line of inheritance from those who had the first choice. Competition—for the best soils, that is—was the tap-root of rent, as well as of poverty and of wealth.

The doctrine of wages that the school set forth, was equally pleasant. There was of course a certainty of their equality in amount within any given area. If one business was better paid than another, men would take themselves to it. The market rate was therefore a fair rate; the employer did no injustice in offering it. Each party to the contract was free, and with freedom of contract none might rightly interfere. Nor was it even desirable that the market-rate should be a high one; for high wages stimulated the growth of population, and that growth by over-stocking the labor-market pulled the rate down again, leaving the workman physically no better off, and mentally far less contented with his lot in life. The natural rate of wages, that by which the least encouragement would be given to unwise multiplication of the species, was the amount necessary to supply the unmarried workman with the real necessaries of life, and with what his class regarded as such. Above that rate it was not even desirable that wages should rise, and they would not long keep above it. The attempts to raise wages, on the part of organizations of workingmen, were in this view futile, or worse. The whole amount of money payable in wages constituted a wage-fund that no combination of workingmen would increase the amount of. Let them rather diminish the number of those among whom it was to be distributed and thus increase the share of each. This could be effected by voluntary celibacy and by emigration to newer countries.

This a very brief and imperfect outline, we are aware, of the structure of economic teaching raised upon the corner-stone of competition. But it gives enough to enable one to judge of the whole fashion of the edifice, and to discern how the one principle of industrial life and movement which Adam Smith thought he had discovered, underlies and gives shape to it all. Wonderful were the *Paeans* sung over its glories. For a while men heard of nothing else than "those ultimate evangels, unlimited competition, fair start, and perfervid race by all the world (towards '*Cheap-and-Nasty*,' as the likeliest winning-post for all the world) which have been vouchsafed us" (Carlyle). It was the one song "from all organs, coach-horns, jews-harps, and scrannel pipes, *pro* and *contra* on the same sublime subject: 'God is great and Plugson of Undershot is his Prophet. Thus saith the Lord: Buy

in the cheapest market and sell in the dearest!'" (*Ibid.*) Even our Free Trade friends of the *Spectator* seem tired of that Evangel. In reviewing a recent English publication they say:

"This pamphlet offers a curious specimen of a habit of mind which is fortunately a good deal less prevalent than it once was,—that of 'pure and simple' competition-worship. We have all heard the old liturgical formulas of that worship,—'the heaven ordained laws of supply and demand,' 'the divinely regulated mechanism of antagonistic interests,' etc. All combination between human beings is deemed 'essentially evil;' the very principle is 'pestilent;'—'the substitution of an artificial mechanism for the natural organism which Providence has provided for the harmonious regulation of industrial interests.' Such a Providence is not a Providence for men, but for machines."

Why has this change come over English writers? Partly through the wider currency of Political Economy in recent years. In the first part of the century it was in the hands of a few dry and heartless theorists, like Joseph Hume; who abjured all moral considerations as sentiment. But since it became the national creed, it has necessarily occupied the attention of quite a different class—men who have hearts in their bodies as well as heads on them, and who are able to conceive of higher interests than "the maximum of production." The present writer during the last few months has been under the necessity of making some researches in one of the largest libraries of works on Political Economy in the world, and found these new men anything but dismal acquaintances. Indeed, it is impossible to read their books without feeling the liveliest regard for the authors, and forming a kind of friendship with them. But it is equally impossible to escape the feeling that they mostly walk as men that wear shackles on their legs, and are debarred from free movement. Since Malthus, all English Political Economy has been a treatise not on the wealth but the poverty of nations, and the tradition that the world naturally drifts into increased misery and wretchedness seems to be a nightmare that few of them can shake off.

Another cause of the change of sentiment has been the careful though incidental and partial study of the facts of industrial development by English authors. We say *English* authors, for what has been done in this sort in other countries, is (with one notable exception) entirely ignored in England.

Mr. Thornton, for instance, struck a notable blow at English theories when he showed (1) that the workman and the employers do not contract on equal terms, when the former stands alone. (2) That the combination of workmen in trades unions had effected a very marked rise in English wages, even when the diminished purchasing power of money was taken into account. (3) That as this had not been effected by any diminution of the number of the workingmen, the theory of a wage-fund was not tenable.

Mr. Cliffe Leslie followed up these blows by showing that the supposed equality and adjustability of the rate of wages was a pure fiction; that the average rate is a phrase without practical meaning; that competition does not equalize wages; that the actual rate of wages does not depend solely on competition or on any one general cause; that no funds are certainly appropriated as a wage-fund by employers either collectively or individually; and that the number of the workingmen might be very seriously reduced by immigration, as in the South and West of Ireland, without at all improving the condition of those who remained. He urther showed that trade lines themselves furnished barriers to competition; that in many cases it was impossible to say why one trade was paid so well and another so ill; and that there is rarely competition for labor on the part of employers within a trade in a particular place, unless there be competition for it from without. The wages of farm labor in purely agricultural districts of the British Islands is far lower than in those where the farmer and the manufacturer are competing for workmen. But in these latter cases the assumption of the economists that a high money rate renders labor essentially dear, is a mistake; for "good wages and good food make the laborer efficient, and his efficiency helps the farmer to pay a high price for labor." Equally strong evidence was offered that it was high wages that inspired the workingman with foresight and discretion, while inferior wages made him reckless and improvident. By comparing the cultivation of England with the *petite culture* of the continent, he disproved the doctrine, universally accepted by English capitalists and superficially probable, that the farmer consults his interest in keeping down his pay-roll, on the ground that "additional labor when

employed in agriculture is less efficient in proportion" (Senior following Ricardo.)[4]

Then came the investigations of Van Maurer, Nasse and Sir Henry Maine in regard to the history of Land Tenure, which furnished the historical refutation of the Ricardoan theory of the origin of rent. These showed that in the earliest times no market for land and by consequence no market rate of rent had ever existed; that even in later periods the amount of rent was fixed by custom, not by competition; that only within a century past, and partly through the influence of the teachings of Political Economists, was it held by public opinion or in law that the landlord owned the land in such a sense that his tenants had no vested rights in it, and he might do what he would with it,—might insist on the highest rent that the competition of the market would bring him. Theories of the class to which Ricardo's belongs, when widely accepted and generally believed, have a tendency to make themselves true. The doctrine of universal competition as the tap-root of industry has been one of the greatest means to separate the people of England from the soil, to concentrate it in the hands of a few persons, and to reduce the common people, from a yeoman class with recognized rights, to the rank of a landless, impoverished peasantry.

The political theory with which English political economy has especially associated itself, has been slowly falling into disrepute. It is no longer held as axiomatic that "he governs best, who governs least." The middle class, who ruled England and France after 1830, held fast to that principle. They were the strong, vigorous, prosperous part of the community, and therefore chiefly anxious that Government should stand out of the way and give them free play. All the changes since 1848 have tended to transfer power from this class to the one below it, a class not strong, vigorous and prosperous, a class anxious very often for the helping hand of the State, and likely to give a large scope to the sphere and duties of government. Mr. Mill's *Treatise on Liberty* was the highest statement of the *bourgeois* theory of government. The counter treatise, *Liberty, Equality and Fraternity*, by Mr. Leslie Stephen, marks the new drift of political thought in Europe.

[4] The machinery doctrine of "most produce by least labor" is also repudiated by Mr. Wren Hoskyns, M. P., in his *Land in England.*

All tides of influence have turned against the *Laissez faire* politics. The revival of the sentiment of nationality, the influence of the socialists, that of the positivists, of Carlyle and his school, and in fact of every body of teachers that seeks to take the initiative, has worked in the same direction. The removal of economic questions from the sphere of the State may be an ideal for the future to realize, but it is one of those ideals which have been hindered and postponed by premature attempts to realize it.

The revolt against the utilitarian and selfish ethics of Paley has helped in the same direction. The assumption that men are and ought to be governed only by an enlightened self interest, and that this contributes to the well-being of society, has lost ground very decidedly since Coleridge began the attack upon it. There is a growing faith in the principle that

> Because right is right, to follow right
> Were wisdom, in the scorn of consequence.

There is much less belief in the solubility of the problem, out of an aggregate of individual selfishnesses to evolve the degree of public spirit and self-sacrifice necessary to the well-being of society; consequently the divine right of competition is not the assured belief that it once was. There is a growing belief that industrial life *need not be* a merciless scramble for whatever one can get hold of,—that the high motives that inspire the soldier to die for his country, may yet be found not out of place in the man whose vocation it is to clothe or to feed his countrymen. And, therefore, the best men of the English school assure us that their teaching is not an ethic; that they give no practical advice at all, but only say that under such and such circumstances a given course of action will lead to given economic results. None the less, these fine lines never have been or will be kept in view, and the new phase that popular ethics have taken, has justly thrown discredit upon political economy.

For all these reasons, the doctrine of supply and demand and of competition, as the ultimate facts and fundamental economic law of industry, is in rather bad repute. It is discerned to be not quite the divine *fiat* that Malthus, Whately and Chalmers thought it. The science which assumed it to be that, does need a restatement and a revision, far more radical than any that Prof. Cairnes has given it. For it is not the outworks that are assailed now,

but the very citadel. We need, not restatements of its conclusions, but re-investigations of its first principles. And it is the former, not the latter, that Prof. Cairnes attempts.

The chief fault of his method has been anticipated by Mr. Mill in his discussion of the doctrine of Ricardo. If that doctrine be true, then the condition of closely settled countries should be one of steadily increasing poverty and misery. But it must be admitted that since the doctrine was enunciated there has been an immense improvement in the condition of the masses in every country in Europe. What then becomes of Ricardo's law, which you, Mr. Mill, accept as the very corner-stone of your science, declaring as you do, that if this law were different all the economic phenomena of the world would be different also? "Oh! the law is all right,—valid as ever. But its operations have been checked in the period and in the countries that you name by the operation of certain *exceptional* facts. When these are out of the way, you will see that things will go on as Ricardo says they must." What are these exceptional facts, Mr. Mill? "Well, there are a good many of them, but we may sum them all up under the term 'the progress of material civilization.' Mr. Ricardo's statement was not wrong, but inadequate. The tendencies which it assumed did exist; but they were masked or counteracted by contrary forces. By taking account of these exceptional facts, we arrive indeed at formulæ more complex than those that were given by previous writers; but they form a nearer approximation to an accurate account of various social changes." And just that is the line upon which the "restatement" of English Political Economy is attempted. The ugly contrary facts are to be admitted into subordinate clauses of the new formulæ, which ought to read somewhat like the old axiom: "When the sky falls, we shall catch larks." Would it not have been more modest, and therefore more like the man he was, had Mr. Mill admitted the likelihood that Mr. Ricardo was mistaken, and that after all the world was not "drifting headlong to eternal smash" on lines of movement created by its Maker, if indeed it had One? Would it not even be more in accordance with the moral sense of mankind, if men have a moral sense, to assume that progress—material or otherwise—is the constant fact and misery the exception? But Prof. Cairnes goes beyond Mr. Mill in the energy with which he patches up the

old formulas. The latter fairly succumbed to the onslaught that Mr. Thornton made upon the Wage Fund theory, and in the *Fortnightly Review* threw some stones of his own at that fanciful fabric. Prof. Jevons, also, has repudiated it, and it has little or no currency among the economists of the Continent. But Mr. Cairnes takes "the orthodox side" as he calls it, on this question, and goes through the old "does any one suppose?" and "must we not assume?" line of argument, as if the facts to the contrary—gathered in England, Ireland and Belgium—had never been put on record. For instance, the rise of wages in some parts of England during the recent strike of the farm laborers should —if there be a fixed Wage Fund—have put wages down elsewhere. Is any one surprised to find that it had exactly the opposite effect? As Cliffe Leslie puts it, the wages of the individual workman no more depends upon the sum total of the wages paid in the kingdom, than the income of the individual citizen depends upon the sum total of all the incomes of the kingdom.

Prof. Cairnes divides his book into three parts: The first, and most abstract, is a discussion of *value;* the second takes up the subject of *labor* and *capital,* and contains the defence of the Wage Fund, to which we have just referred; the third is on the subject of *international values,* and is of course meant to embody those "conclusions for use" and "conclusions for doctrine" (to use the old Puritan phrase) for the sake of which economical works are still published in England.

The first part contains a very severe—yet of course very kind and respectful—criticism of the teachings of Mill and Ricardo as to the nature of value. In their view the measure of value was the "cost of production," and this conception was connected with the notion of the universality of competition and its efficiency in all directions. Mr. Cairnes does not reject the statement, but he calls attention to the fact that competition works within very strictly drawn lines. They assume the existence of unrestricted freedom of competition, whereas he finds groups of laborers between whom there is no competition whatever. But when he comes to analyze the cost of production into its elements, his dissent is much more emphatic. Mill counts wages among the elements of cost. This—Prof. Cairnes thinks—is to look at things purely from the capitalist's point of view, not from the

standpoint of the broader interests of society. Wages in his view is to be ranked alongside the profits of the capitalist, and the true elements of cost are the labor of the workman and the abstinence of the capitalist required for production, and the risks undergone by both the laborer and the capitalist. He regards the two as engaged in a sort of partnership, in which the rate of profits that falls to either is an index of the gains of the other. If therefore there is a high rate of wages in the United States, it is because there is a high rate of profit also, and so far from this being a reason for protecting the American manufacturer, it is in fact a proof that he needs no protection, for a high rate of wages involves a low cost of production! The American demand for protection means "a demand for special legislative aid in consideration of the possession of special industrial facilities; a complaint, in short, against the exceptional bounty of nature." "Capitalists and laborers receive large remuneration in America, because their labor produces largely." The return which nature yields to a given sacrifice of labor and abstinence is more liberal in America than in England, and therefore wages and profits are higher; both being continually limited by the value of the products jointly produced by capital and labor. The assertion that they cannot compete with English cotton spinners and cutlery makers means that they cannot do so "consistently with obtaining that rate of remuneration which is current in the United States. . . . . It is as if a skilled artizan should complain that he could not compete with the hedger and ditcher. Let him only be content with the hedger and ditcher's rate of pay, and there will be nothing to prevent him from entering the lists even against his rival."

There is something grotesque in the applause with which this profound piece of reasoning has been received in England. *The Saturday Review* "would fain hope that some of the Protectionists of that country [*i. e.* the United States] would read and digest Mr. Cairnes' criticism; but we much fear that they require to be educated before they can appreciate his arguments, and to be rendered less selfish before they would admit that the arguments, however sound in themselves, should lead them to prefer national welfare to personal profit." Cliffe Leslie, while severely criticising every other part of the book, admires its "valuable criti-

cisms" of "Mr. Brassey's proposition that dear labor is the great obstacle to British trade, and of the argument of American Protectionists, that the States with their high-priced labor cannot compete with the cheap labor of Europe." *The Athenæum* is full of "satisfaction" because Mr. Cairnes "entirely recasts the theory of the cost of production, and thereby clears away, to a great extent, the [London?] mists and fogs by which the doctrines of international trade and international values are surrounded. If a return could be made of the number of students who have tried and failed to get over this double *pons asinorum* of political economy, an approximate estimate might be formed of the amount of gratitude due to Prof. Cairnes for his latest contribution to the science."

Prof. Cairnes assumes, without taking the least trouble to verify the assumption, a fixed ratio between the profits of labor and those of capital, equal for all countries and all states of society. But that ratio varies with the different conditions of different countries. In old and aristocratic countries, where the prestige of ownership and the social superiority of wealth is great, the tendency is to give a much larger share of the joint products of labor and capital to the latter. In a new and democratic country, where "one man is as good as another, and a heap better, too," where the prestige of social and political weight is with numbers rather than with wealth, the tendency is exactly the opposite. The recent history of England shows the relation of democracy to high wages. Since Mr. Disraeli's Reform Bill became a law, and established household suffrage, the workingmen of England have secured such an increase in their wages as would, if effected as suddenly in the same ratio on our side the ocean, put a period to half the industries of America. In view of that change, well known to every observer of industrial life in England as effected without any corresponding increase in profits, how can Prof. Cairnes and all his critics unite in the assumption that there is a fixed ratio between profits and wages, and that high wages of necessity imply a low cost of production?

A Wolverhampton iron-master, for instance, says that his "hands" get "little less than two and a half times as much per hour or per measurement as they did three years ago." A comparative table of the wages paid to Welsh colliers "demonstrates

that during the interval of 1871 to 1874 wages have increased to an amount averaging not less than 100 per cent." Now if high rates of wages are invariably the index of a low cost of production, it must follow that a rise in the rate implies a fall in the cost of production. The iron-men and colliery-owners of England should rejoice that Prof. Cairnes has proved this, but we doubt if the proof will put money into their pockets. They groaned at the state of their balance sheets last year, even though they showed dividends above the American average. But now at last they should be comforted.

On the other hand, what have been the profits of manufacturing in America? During the fifty-one years that ended in 1870, the dividends declared by the cotton and woolen manufactories of New England did not equal nine per cent. a year,—and this, be it noted, leaves out of account the many companies who failed and lost both capital and interest. Only those who come to land hang up votive tablets. During the protectionist period, 1824-32, it was over 6½ per cent.; 1842-6 over 10½ per cent.; 1860-70 over 11½ per cent. Now Mr. Cairnes himself estimates American wages at twice English; does he mean to tell us that the annual profits of the loom-lords of England during these periods, were one-half the ascertained profits of our New England manufacturers? As to the other great competing industry, the iron trade, on Prof. Cairnes's theory the advantage is all on the side of England; for the wages paid to iron workers in Birmingham and Sheffield are much higher than those paid in Pittsburg and Johnstown. Yet the iron region of England is full of loose talk about the enormous profits of the iron manufacturers "in the States," and the high rate of wages in England is groaned over as one of the reasons why their American competitors are going ahead of them. They point to English companies trying to get their men to accept more moderate terms, and offering such as these: £1 a day for sheet rollers; 15s. for shearers; 13s. for furnace men. And even these are rejected. When these rates were reported in America they obtained no credence; it was said "there is a mistake somewhere." But there is no mistake. The English workman is at last insisting on a full share of the profits of his labor, and is succeeding. He is getting higher rates than his American competitors, because the profits of his employers have been far beyond those of the American manufacturer.

Let us look a little closer at the bit of advice that Prof. Cairnes is here offering us. We understand him to mean that in other fields of investment than the manufactures that need protection, the American capitalist can obtain a high return for his money. But when he betakes himself to manufacturing, he finds the rate of wages fixed by what men get in those other spheres, and at the same time his own expectation is to obtain as high profits as he would get in farming, or planting, or manufactures that need no protection, or transportation, or commerce in general. He has three choices then: (1) to keep out of manufacturing the articles that need to be protected; (2) to go into their manufacture, pay the high wages, and be content with English rates of profit; (3) or to ask the government to enable him to make as much in this field as he would elsewhere, by imposing duties upon his foreign competitor. On the principles of Political Economy, as Prof. Cairnes expounds them, the second is out of the question. He looks to see capital betake itself to the field where it met with the highest returns, and would think the capitalist a fool for staying where he got less. On the same principles the third choice should be ruled out, and government should turn a deaf ear to all such appeals, for they simply ask the people to tax themselves for the benefit of a class. Therefore Prof. Cairnes is shut up to the advice that Americans should manufacture only those articles that need no protection. *In fine*, the whole argument amounts to no more than the old plea that every nation should keep to the occupation in which it is now able to compete with others in the cheapness of its products. "The ambition of the Americans," says *The Saturday Review*, in expounding the new argument, "is in fact to compete not merely in those commodities in the products of which they have a great advantage, but in all commodities; and this pretension could only reach its legitimate end by destroying all international trade whatever." All the new elements of the argument, such as the inference that American manufacturers make large profits because they pay large wages, are gratuitous assumptions with no basis in fact. And that plea means that the industries of the world may be best concentrated at a few great centres of wealth and population; that the nations less advanced will be best served when they keep their farms on one continent and their workshops on another;

that they will get goods cheapest when the foreign producer is under no check from home competition; that they will best economize their labor by having no employments but open-air work for robust men, and by employing a vast amount of that in transportation; and that the industrial example of Turkey, Canada, and Portugal is more admirable and profitable than that of France, Belgium, Denmark, Sweden, Prussia, Russia, and Australia.

We do not suppose that Prof. Cairnes has taken any pains to ascertain what would be the effect of the adoption of his advice upon the industry of America. His science, as Mr. Senior assured the French, is not *avide des faits*. Thanks to our double septennat of Tariff legislation, the result would be far less disastrous than it would have been fifty years ago. And the day will come, if we have the wisdom to persist, when we will be as independent of Tariffs to protect the great staples of manufacture, as the tides are of Parliamentary or Congressional legislation. The "sickly manufactures" that germinated and bore fruit in "the hot-house of Protection," are already competing for the world's markets with those of Europe. Many of them would have nothing now to fear from any fair and honest competition with foreign wares; but until the capital of our country has grown to such power and can afford to make such sacrifices as that of England, it will not be either wise or fair to expose it to the unfair competition, the wholesale underselling, which are among the best known weapons of industrial warfare practiced in modern Christendom. It will be well to follow the example of England in this respect, but for different reasons; after practising Protection for half a millenium, and developing her industrial power to a point that defied competition, she kept her Tariff laws in force for thirty years after her manufactures had ceased to have any direct need of them.

We cannot pass by two assumptions, in the quotations we have made, without notice. *The Saturday Review*, "the newspaper of the period," wastes some moral pity (more than flavored with contempt) upon the selfishness of the American Protectionist. It conceives of him as being always a manufacturer, with a direct personal interest in high tariffs, making money by "taxes on consumption" paid by the nation at large. This notion of him is indeed the common one in England, because people will not take

the trouble to give half a thought to the matter. It is so much easier and pleasanter to make up your own notion of an opponent, and to affix to him such moral characteristics as will justify your contempt, than to find out what manner of man he really is. If only the persons who are directly interested in manufactures were to uphold the American tariff, it could not hold its own for a single year. If it had not been demanded by the great body of the nation, which is on the whole far more engaged in agriculture and commerce than in manufactures, it could never have been enacted. The most fervent advocates of protection in America are those who had and have no direct interest in the matter—who profit by it only in so far as the whole nation is benefited. Such were Alex. Hamilton, Clay, Webster, Colwell, Greeley, Dan. Raymond, Willard Phillips (an importer), John Rae, and a host of the past; such are Henry C. Carey, Wm. B. Kelley, Horace Bushnell, and a great multitude of importers, farmers and tradesmen of all sorts in the present. The nationalist views which led to the enactment of the present tariff "are not supported" says Sir Charles Dilke, "by a selfish clique, but rest on the generosity and self-sacrifice of a majority of the population."

Prof. Cairnes assumes that *the* argument for protection is the difference between English and American wages. It is remarkable that even so much of Protectionist logic has reached the ears of an English economist: we must surely set it down to the fact that Prof. Cairnes has been busied about an American topic, that he has heard this much of what his Protectionist friends—for we are his friends—have to say. But if he had taken the trouble to read the recognized authorities on our side, he would have found a good many other things worthy of his notice—arguments that the question of larger or smaller profits do not touch at all. For the science of National Economy, as pursued in America, does not confine itself to questions of money-making. It addresses itself to the larger problem of the full development of the national life on its industrial side. It begins by asking what is the industrial characteristic of an advanced and advancing society, and finds that it is a varied industry. It asks how this can be created, and finds a chief obstacle to its growth in the unfair competition with nations more advanced in capital and industry and more densely

peopled. It is met by the objection that if it decline this competition, the people will be deprived of their right to buy as cheaply and sell as dearly as they can. It gives two answers: (1) That even if this were the case, yet the higgling of the market place, the unrestricted freedom of competition, is no divine ordinance to which everything else must give way. It always has given way, whenever human relationships have interfered with it. Such a relationship is the national brotherhood, divinely constituted in the existence of this nation. Every nation may therefore—as every family does—constitute itself one of those "non-competing groups," whose existence English economists have been fairly forced to admit. (2) The creation of a diversified industry is a measure of temporary sacrifice—it may be—for the ulterior advantage of the whole and of all its parts. It is exactly in the line of the expenditure made for public education and public works. Every community is competent to make such sacrifices; the right is involved in the very conception of a nation. Protection, when adopted for this purpose by young countries, whose resources are not yet fully developed, has the sanction of all the chief Free Trade authorities—Adam Smith, John Stuart Mill, Michel Chevalier, P. Rossi, etc. (3) The fact of even a temporary sacrifice is more than doubtful (*a*) because varied industry affords, what uniformity of occupation does not, work for the whole mass of the people; and the problem of setting all to work is the most difficult in the sphere of national economy. A field sown with several kinds of grass grows more than if only one sort were used. (*b*) Because the foreign producer never does sell at the lowest price that will repay him, unless he meets with native competition; and if native competition attempts to supplant him without protection, he throws large quantities of goods on the market at a loss, in order to destroy it and thus restore his monopoly. Protection is the enemy, not the friend of monopoly; it alone creates really Free Trade. The effect of imposing duties upon articles of foreign manufacture is to lower their prices—sometimes at once; always in the long run, at least. (*c*) Because the proximity of the market makes the price of raw materials and manufactured goods approximate; its distance makes them diverge. It is therefore in the interest of every producer of the former, notably the interest of the farmer, to bring the manufacturer into neighborhood

with him. (*d*) Because experience shows, in the cases of Ireland, Canada, India, Portugal and Turkey, that when a weaker and less developed country engages in unrestricted competition with one possessed of a denser population, finer skill, and larger accumulations of capital, the former steadily declines in all the elements of industrial strength. English economists may find a great many reasons why this should not be the result. American economists think themselves better employed in ascertaining why it is.

We will stop here, though we have given only a sample of the arguments which we would like to see the English economists answer. They never make the attempt. "The difficulty," says Mr. Greeley, "of bringing this tariff controversy to a conclusion grows out of the fact that one party pays no attention whatever to the arguments of the other. We, who stand for protection, read the writings of our opponents, and discuss the question with direct reference to their arguments; but our adversaries coolly assume at the outset that all we have to say is nonsense and absurdity, dictated by selfishness or bigotry, and never take the trouble of listening to us for the first minute. Thus, after we have patiently met their arguments, point after point, and, as we think, refuted them, they simply repeat their previous assertions, paying no attention to our replies, and deeming themselves unanswered, because they have not looked at the answer." "It would seem," says Sir Charles Dilke, "as though we Free Traders had become nearly as bigoted in favor of Free Trade as our former opponents" —the English landlords, to wit—"were in favor of Protection. Just as they used to say, 'We are right; why argue the question?' so now, in face of the support of Protection by all the greatest minds of America, all the first statesmen of the Australians, we tell the New England and the Australian politicians that 'we will not discuss Protection with them, because there can be no two minds about it among men of intelligence and education. We will hear no defence of national lunacy,' we say." As a consequence, the arguments for Protection do not seem to be known to the English advocates of Free Trade. When the present writer, about ten years ago, first found his confidence in the English doctrines, in which he had been brought up, rather shaken by the facts and arguments that Mr. Carey offers, he had recourse to the English books to have his faith confirmed. Although he had access to a

pretty large collection, some by English authors, some by their American disciples, he could find no answers to the Protectionist arguments in any of them. He had to make what was then a sad confession, that Mr. Carey might concede all that they undertook to prove, without in the least vitiating the force of his own reasoning. The American was dealing with the actual facts of actual life, the societies and fellowships of men that Providence has brought into being on this earth. The others lived and reasoned in a world of things, in which pounds and dollars were the only realities. The men of whom his pages spoke were actual human beings, living in human relationships, especially citizens of a common country. Those that they spoke of were dim and unreal shadows, money-making machines, divested of all qualities save avarice and the desire of progress. He had room for moral estimates, for indignation and admiration; their world was one in which no Ten Commandments were ever uttered, and no moral sense throbbed in the breasts of the creatures who inhabited it.

"Yes," Mr. Mill would say, "Political Economy does not allow the ethical element to intrude into its sphere. But it recognizes the fact that it is not a thing by itself, but a fragment of a greater whole, a branch of social philosophy, so interlinked with all the other branches, that its conclusions, even in its peculiar province, are only true conditionally, subject to interference and counteraction from causes not directly within its scope. To the character of a practical guide it has no pretensions, apart from other classes of considerations. Political Economy, in truth, has never pretended to give advice to mankind, with no lights but its own, though people who knew nothing but Political Economy, and therefore knew that ill, have taken upon themselves to advise, and could only do so by such lights as they had." "The conclusions reached by the Political Economist," says Mr. Senior, "whatever be their generality and truth, do not authorize him in adding a single syllable of advice. That privilege belongs to the writer or the statesman, who has considered *all* the causes which may promote or impede the general welfare of those whom he addresses; not to the theorist, who has considered *only one*, though among the most important of those causes." But have all the expounders of this "science" been so modest? Have we not just seen Prof. Cairnes using an inference drawn from the relation

of wages to profits, as a reason why the United States should withdraw protection from home industry? Give no advice, indeed! What class of writers under heaven have ever so abounded in advice and counsel—have ever so persistently shut their eyes to all considerations that lay outside their own little sphere? Take from economists their advisory function, and you would deprive them of their very *raison d'etre*.

ROBT. ELLIS THOMPSON.

AN ENGLISHMAN'S THOUGHTS ON ARISTOCRACY AFTER FOUR YEARS IN AMERICA.

WHEN I arrived in the United States my political opinions were those known in England as liberal-conservative. I then held, as I do now, that while reform was desirable and inevitable, our government was going forward with it rather too fast than too slow. At the same time I freely admit that the nation would suffer if either of the two great parties—Liberal and Conservative—were not alternately to assume the reins of power at reasonable intervals.

I found Americans universally inclined to discuss politics, and unanimous almost to a man in opposing my monarchical views. On all sides, then as now, the cry was: "Ours is the government which, in a perfected form, is destined to supersede all others. Your country is growing more and more republican every day. Victoria is the last sovereign or the last but one who will ever reign in England, and your House of Lords is doomed." My four years' stay amongst them has only served considerably to strengthen the opinions with which I landed.

I am a monarchist, and a supporter of a titled aristocracy, and my chief, though not my only reason for being so, is that the laws of primogeniture and entail are incompatible with a republican form of government.

Unfortunately the arguments against these four institutions are wonderfully fair-sounding, easy to understand, and eminently calculated to satisfy those who take only a superficial view of politics. Here are some of them:

"Why should a man be a better ruler for being called King or Emperor than if he were styled President or Dictator; and why should a Lord make a better Senator than a plain Mr.?

"Granting that an individual king or lord be a fit person for his office, why should his son not turn out a vicious booby; and why, even if deserving, should he start in life with power and prestige before he has done anything to merit either? Is it not palpably unjust that an eldest son should inherit everything and his brothers nothing at all?

"Surely a supreme ruler, or a legislator of the Upper House, is more likely to prove a valuable public servant, if chosen for such a post because he has won by his own efforts the confidence of his electors, than a man whose only claim is that his father held like office before him."

Now I frankly admit that such arguments have great apparent show of justice; and that there is a fatally *ad captandum* ring about them; but experience, that greatest of all teachers, in politics as in everything else, shows them to be only plausible sophisms after all.

Though a decided monarchist, I may at the same time be called a republican in two senses of the word. Firstly, in admitting it to be the only possible government for a young independent country; secondly, in holding that the most perfect form of government for an old country is a virtual republic under the mask of a monarchy; so far as this may be understood to mean that the will of the people should be the only real law-maker.

What is wholesome for adults and strong persons may be very unnecessary and even injurious for infants and invalids. Thus the complete liberty of the press, which constitutes the chief blessing of England and America, could be productive of nothing but harm in France or Spain, either as they are to-day or for many long years to come. In like manner a titled aristocracy, created to-morrow in the United States or in Australia, would soon be smothered by the well-deserved ridicule it could not fail to draw down upon its own head. Even in monarchical Brazil the experiment has proved a very doubtful success.

In an old country, either convulsed by revolution or long devastated by civil war, a virtual despotism (whether also nominal or not matters little) seems to be the only rule under which quiet and prosperity can be restored. Witness France at the advent of

Napoleons I. and III., and Spain as it is now. In such severe cases the well-being of a country, of a nation, depends on its luck in getting a wise and courageous military dictator at the head of affairs. But in a country like England the monarch, so far as ruling is concerned, must be a mere cypher. "The king can do no wrong," is the key-note of the British constitution; and, without this fundamental law, a limited monarchy could not in an age of universal education endure—the "wrong," it is almost superfluous to remark meaning official wrong, as in his capacity of ruler the ministry alone are responsible to the country for his acts.

Now on entering upon the complicated subject of aristocracy, as it exists with us, let me be allowed to remind the reader that science is every day affording fresh proofs that not only are likeness, insanity and the larger number of diseases hereditary, but that in a great degree talent, honor, steadfastness and every moral quality are so likewise. Indeed, moral and physical qualities are so dependent on each other as to be mainly inseparable. An honest face may, it is true, be the mere mask of the deepest villany; or a worthy sire may beget a rascally son; but these are only the exceptions which prove the rule. We see it exemplified even on the race course. A certain strain of blood produces animals which, with every qualification for speed and endurance, are what is technically known as "cowards" or "shirkers." They wont "try," as it is called. Another breed will produce horses of such determined gameness, "such well plucked ones," that with a build and fleetness inferior to the former, they will constantly beat them in running. Judging by analogy there can be little doubt that if analytical or comparative anatomy were brought to a higher degree of perfection; or, shall I say, if phrenology could be applied to horses, certain subtle physical differences might be demonstrated in the organization of two such breeds, which would enable a dissector to pronounce with almost absolute certainty whether any individual animal had been vicious or tractable, impetuous or sluggish, of good courage or the reverse.

Now an aristocracy is always composed of men and women who for the most part have wealth and position, more than an average amount of education, and who enjoy the best of raiment, food and housing; all which advantages, however abused by individual members, tend on the whole to produce a race superior

both in mind and person to the rest of the community; unless these advantages be counteracted by other causes, such as too much intermarrying, wide-spread habits of indolence, and so forth. It is of course quite possible for an aristocracy to run to seed and become degenerate and corrupt; but not in England, as society is there constituted in the present day. What I meant by the illustration of the horses was, that moral qualities being hereditary as well as physical ones, if I can show a man of high position more likely to be honorable and clever than those beneath him, I thereby prove that his son is in the abstract more likely to turn out honorable and clever than would be, say the son of a butcher; both children being sent to a foundling hospital soon after they were born.

Our aristocracy is notoriously the finest in the world in beauty, ability and honor; and this is attributable in great measure to the constant intermarriages that are going on more and more every day between that class and those below it. Besides the new blood and brains that are perpetually accruing to its ranks in the persons of the law lords, who generally spring from the middle class, and other new peers created for their achievements in arms, statesmanship or letters, the law of primogeniture drives numbers of patrician younger sons into lucrative though unfashionable professions, where being thrown into the society of women of lower rank than their own, they frequently marry beneath them, and the issue of such unions often succeed to the family estates on the failure of the elder line; while it is not uncommon for even an eldest son, whose patrimony either from the extravagance of predecessors or other causes is unequal to his position, to recruit his fallen fortunes by wedding the daughter of some self-made merchant or banker: chiefly though, let us hope, not solely for the sake of her gold. Thus the blue blood, as it is called, is preserved from stagnation by a large influx of the plebeian blood—that of the strongest and cleverest—while the middle classes are refined and elevated by offshoots of the old houses seeking wives among them. Another frequent instance of this mixture occurs when a rich parvenu seeks position by marrying the daughter of an aristocrat.

As in every country and under every form of government there must always be an upper class, the question is how to render that

class most serviceable to the community at large. This end is surely best to be accomplished by making it as humane, enlightened and honorable as possible; in other words, by developing to the highest degree the proper pride of its members. Pride has done more in every age towards counteracting the inferior passions than all that has been achieved by preaching and legislation put together. When proper pride is not the strongest feeling in an individual, we may safely say he has an ill-balanced nature. What so potent to stay the cup half raised to the intemperately inclined lips, or to arrest the libertine on the eve of his criminal indulgence? It has made misers charitable, and the ignorant studious; and even when of the wrong sort, pride, "that glorious fault of angels and of men," is the grand "snubber" of all other vices. How then is a proper pride best to be fostered in the higher class? Why, by making as many of its members conspicuous as possible; and this is only to be accomplished by giving to the head of each family "a local habitation and a name." Mr. So-and-so, of So-and-so, is surely a more dignified, conspicuous and responsible person than would be Lord So-and-so, of nowhere. Primogeniture and entail being practically inseparable, if the former were done away with there would be an end of identifying persons with places, which is tantamount to their not being identified in the public mind at all. Only self-distinguished individuals would then be known beyond their own private circles; and the rest of the ladies and gentlemen of the land would be free to behave as badly as they pleased without nearly the penalty at the hands of public opinion which they would incur if more widely known. That great coercer and restrainer of human weakness, the *noblesse oblige* principle, is powerful in proportion as the eyes of the world are upon us; and the less confusion there is in the catalogue of the great, the better known will the list be. Hence one of the evident reasons why various titles, such as Duke, Earl, Baron, &c., are expedient. The way to make a nation honorable is to render the individuals so; and where there is little public honor that virtue will not be very fashionable in private: witness the United States. Here sharpness is the most admired quality; while our English motto is "honesty is the best policy." With us there is no getting on without at least the name of being honest; whereas in America no one will pretend this reputation is of so

much importance to success. It is an undeniable though perhaps troublesome fact that in order to be thought anything *long*, it is necessary to be it; so that in a country where honor is the fashion people soon become really honest. I do not think that where wealth is almost the only reward for exertion, honor will ever be duly esteemed. With us after a man has amassed riches he has yet to acquire station, either by the brillance of his parts or by becoming a considerable landed proprietor; but in either case a certain amount of personal respect is indispensable to his "getting on," as it is termed; while in America the mere possession of great wealth is enough to make a leader of fashion, no matter how black the record of his crimes, if it do but stop short of absolute felony. I am aware of the great exclusiveness of Boston and Baltimore society, and of the New York Knickerbocker set, but these are mere cliques after all. Things are nearly as bad in Australia and in some other British colonies; which to me at least is a proof that the absence of an aristocracy, to which such a condition of affairs is attributable, is a mark of what can only be a transition state of society; and that the ultimate and more perfect state towards which the whole world is surely verging, must be one where hereditary titles shall become a necessity. Time will show; for there can be no reasonable doubt but that the truth will triumph everywhere sooner or later, and the question for us is how best to save time in arriving at it.

Pure republicans hold that England is only still encumbered with a monarch, aristocracy, primogeniture and entail, as remnants of a barbarism from which it will infallibly free itself very shortly; apparently forgetting that we gave republicanism a trial not so very long ago, under the ablest president who ever lived, Cromwell, and yet it was found wanting. My own conviction is that they will have kings and nobles in the States ere we again try the experiment at home. If for no other reason, they will do it because a desire will seize Americans some fine day to show the world that *they* can make as good marquises and viscounts as other nations; and I dare say they will be quite right. Then all the weight will not be on the dollar; whereas at present that and personal ambition are the only incentives to exertion—a very sad state of things, for a country will progress in proportion to the magnitude of the prizes offered to individual exertion. They lay great stress

here on the fact that any American citizen may become president, while no Englishman out of the royal family can hope to be king. True; but barring the supreme power, which is only one post, and that not hereditary, there can be no comparison as to the inducement to effort offered by the respective systems. No right feeling man is so selfish as to deem his own aggrandizement an equal prize to that of achieving distinction for those whom he begets and loves. Any Englishman may become Lord Chancellor, and surely that dignity, with the accompaniment of an hereditary peerage, is more than equivalent to being president for four, or even eight years. Most of our law lords rise from the people, and in these days of competitive examination it is difficult to say what posts are beyond the ultimate reach of a clever beggar-boy. A venerable peer still living was the son of a common barber; yet in his youth free education was comparatively unknown.

I contend that not only is the eldest son of a landowner benefited by the law of primogeniture, but also every member of his family. The country however is the greatest gainer. It is even unfortunate that a father's savings or a mother's fortune should usually serve as provision for the younger sons. Such money ought properly to go exclusively to the daughters. Every man not succeeding to an estate or to money sufficient to buy one, should be forced by his poverty to work, and thus, as I said before, carry his blood, superior education and refinement into one of the various paying professions or businesses, which he would elevate and adorn in return as it were for the profit he drew from it. The old notion that there were only four professions fit for a gentleman is, thank heaven, pretty well exploded. The present Duke of Argyle is one of the many instances I could name of noblemen putting their younger sons into business. The canker that most undermines a State is the existence of drones who, springing from the upper class, bring it into contempt by their idleness if not by their profligacy. Since primogeniture was abolished in France in 1788, the country swarms with what are called *petits rentiers*, men of small independent means, who are just so much dead weight upon the common hive. Man is by nature a lazy animal, and these Frenchmen may be counted by hundreds in Paris alone, lounging their days away without satisfaction to themselves or benefit to

anybody. Their occupation is to rise late, dawdle for two hours over breakfast and the papers, stroll on the boulevards, follow some pretty woman, go home to read a novel (if a garret *au cinquieme* can be called home), again to the restaurant to dine, visit a theatre, and so to bed; having smoked innumerable cigarettes, and consumed a proportionate amount of absinthe. A Frenchman generally limits his ideas as to fortune in a wife by the amount of grist he himself can bring to the mill; and the genus I am describing are mostly too poor to maintain their half of even a shabby-genteel connubial establishment; while these who being a little better off do enter wedlock, leave behind them sons so much poorer than their sires that matrimony in their case becomes an impossibility. So that division of property not only deprives the country of individual labor and exertion, but also saps its vitality by retarding the increase of population. Now every man with a business or a trade has a right to marry, and in nine cases out of ten he yields to his natural inclination and does marry; whereupon the necessity of providing for his wife and family incites him to increased exertion; and the country gains both by his greater labor, and by his contribution towards the population. It is a grand mistake to imagine our eldest sons are idle men, either before or after coming into their properties. The majority are hard workers either as members of parliament, magistrates, promoters of public improvements and charities, as useful writers, as farmers of their own estates (often on what are called the model or experimental systems, the very failures in which are of great advantage to the art) and in countless other ways; while the possession of the family country house and their ample revenues enable them to give their younger sons such advantages as fit them in an eminent degree to push their way successfully in after life. Is it a slight boon, pray, to be cradled in a noble mansion whose very grandeur imparts elevation to the mind and feelings; to have all that public schools of the highest class and private masters can confer of education and accomplishment? To have felt from their earliest breath that the respect and consideration with which they are treated by high and low compels them to respect both themselves and others, and makes them grow up to deserve by their own conduct what was originally accorded to their birth and position? Nor do the advantages of the paternal roof end here.

Both during their father's life and when the elder brother has succeeded, they usually continue welcome guests whenever time allows them to revisit the home where they were reared and spent their boyish holidays; while the preservation of the place they love and have so much pride in, continues to shed lustre upon them wherever they may roam; and the fact that being in the succession, they or their line may one day become its master, is an additional motive for distinguishing themselves, and maintaining unsullied the name they bear.

It seems to be hardly enough known in America that our primogeniture only applies to land; and that no one is obliged to entail. The owner of an unentailed estate can leave it to whom he pleases; and a father and son together—after the latter is of age—can cut any entail, and either sell or re-settle the estate as they please. But the proof how dear the institution is to Englishmen will be found in the fact that the first ambition of a man who has made a fortune is to become a landed proprietor; and that no sooner has he bought his estate than he entails it. Hence the enormous price of land, for my countrymen are willing to put their all into an investment which brings in but three per cent., and often much less, for the sake of gaining this, their darling end.

I have heard Americans say, "If I could be one of your lords I daresay it would be jolly enough; and I might be so selfish as to oppose the abolition of my friend, the Sovereign, and of the dukes and lords, my boon companions; but how can an institution be desirable that only secures the happiness of a few, and leaves the masses discontented and wretched, compelled to slave and to be heavily taxed in order to support a monarch, who you admit is only a cipher, and a set of nobles whom they detest?"

Those who utter such words have either never crossed the Atlantic, or else they kept both eyes and ears tightly shut during their visit. The greatest obstacle to a republic in England is that, except poor Sir Charles Dilke, there are scarcely any republicans in the country. A few communists exist everywhere, I suppose, at the present day; but, with the exception of a set of roughs, who are always ready, under any government, to kick up a row in the hope of getting something in the general scramble, and those men who make a living out of the "republican movement," as

they call it—getting up clubs, and so forth—together with their dupes, who understand very little of the real question at issue, there are, I affirm, so very few republicans in the United Kingdom that they may be considered as non-existent.

On the contrary, he who will take the trouble patiently and personally to investigate the state of English society, will find that the lower he descends in the social scale the more aristocratic at heart the people will prove. Call it snobbishness, toadyism, or what you will, the worship for rank is one of the strongest features of the British people. In Ireland, Scotland or Wales, it is all the same. An humble boot cleaner is consoled for his drudgery, if you give him the opportunity of telling you it is my lord's boot he is rubbing away at; and just as you will hear his betters boast that their cousin married Lord So-and-so's sister, so in lower life they will tell you with pride, "My father kep th' gate at that ther place well onter thirty year; and mony's th' time th' auld Earl—God bless un!—patted this head when I wur a youngster." Or if you visit a coachmaker's, he will be sure to tell you what people of rank have lately been supplied with just such a carriage as he is trying to sell you; and he evidently thinks such an argument as that will decide you if anything can. Servants, tradespeople, farmers, doctors, lawyers, in short pretty near the whole population, are wrapped up in the aristocracy. Do away with it, and the newspaper would lose for them half its attractions, the holiday promenade its chief excitement, and their very lives would lack the accustomed spice and become insipid. People would soon lose pleasure in asking who was who, if they got an unvarying reply of Mr. or Mrs. or Miss Such-a-one; nor would a variation of Judge or General—though these dignities were sown as liberally as in the United States—be of much relief to them. Nor is this so silly as it may at first sight appear. There will always be more titled people among the noteworthy than it is easy to classify in the memory, particularly if the designation be plain Mr. Thingamy of 999, 99th street, instead of Mr. Dash of Dashem Court, Z——shire. This last, or still more, a Sir Hercules or Lord Ajax, is a peg on which other minds than those of the "profane vulgar" find it vastly more easy to hang a multitude of facts—necessary, interesting, amusing, or why not say scandalous—for there are scandals sometimes even among the great, and when

they arise it is as well to put the saddle on the right horse—than where no such aids to memory exist.

In a free country like ours the motives for right doing are for the aristocracy, and *a fortiori* for the king, far stronger than the temptation to do wrong; and such, for the future, must ever be the case. In Louis XV.'s time the people in France did not know their power; there was no public press, so to speak, and comparatively few could have read newspapers had they possessed them; and moreover, criminal prosecutions lacked publicity. It is not to the credit of human nature, and no more true of nobles than of humbler mortals; but where men find they can be selfish and corrupt with impunity, they generally take the liberty of being so. "The sins of the fathers are visited upon their children," is a truth which the most inveterate rejector of the Bible must bow to. When those in high places behave ill, they sin less against the people than against their own descendants, for the people can, and infallibly will, take their revenge. The remnant of French nobility which escaped the guillotine, and indeed the whole nation, are still suffering from mutual distrust between high and low, from the absence of primogeniture and entail, and from other curses, because their great-grandfathers committed that fault which seems to include the whole category of human ill-doing—they preferred their own short present to their descendants' long future.

What a contrast is this to the far-seeing policy which prompted the modern reforms in Russia; and which grasped the grand, though homely truth, that prevention is better than cure!

Considering the members of the House of Lords only in their capacity of hereditary Senators, we find them, like the Sovereign, very powerful for good—almost powerless for harm. The Upper House can only *retard* the measures of the House of Commons. It can say, "The Lower House is not on this point representing the people;" or, "The people on such a measure do not know their own mind." It is a drag on the coach going down hill, an extra horse going up. It is so much brains, honesty, labor, erudition, at the country's service without the drawbacks of secret bribes, wholesale jobbing, "salary grabbers" and "back pay." If those who cavil at the idea of hereditary legislators, will search Hansard conscientiously, they will have to recognize the pregnant fact, that at least from the time the parliamentary debates have

been taken down, there has been no great question brought before the country on which the hereditary house has not shown more wisdom, more learning, and more eloquence than the Commons, whose members are supposed to be chosen from personal fitness for their office. To justify still further the hereditary principle, I will venture to assert that very few men have ever obtained a peerage without deserving it. It may be objected that many of the oldest nobility of all countries sprung originally from robbers, pirates and the like; while others, more modern, owe their eminence to wealth acquired by unscrupulous cunning. Still all had at least the merit of success. They were often no worse in any respect than their neighbors; and, at any rate, beat them in courage, sharpness or perseverance—all good enough qualities in their way, worth perpetuating, and calculated to crop up again in the descendants, blended with virtues in place of those opposite vices which warped the characters of the founders of each line. In looking back to barbarous times, justice must be done to barbarous virtues, since no others existed; and I am convinced, for my own part, that if the exact circumstances relating to the creation of every old peerage, or the acquirement of every large fortune, could be distinctly set forth, very few of the noble or wealthy could be found whose ancestors did not deserve the riches or distinction they won, at least to a degree to satisfy an ordinarily fair and able judge.

I trust no one will accuse me of want of loyalty because, not being a "divine right" man, and looking upon a king simply as the principal public servant, I have kept majesty waiting till its rulers—the people—were served. The English Constitution not allowing the sovereign any real power, it may be asked what other use, as he is not a ruler, we put him to? After much reflection, I have come to the conclusion that one of the greatest uses of a king is that he renders a President unnecessary. But his value by no means ends there. The true province of royalty is to *enliven life*, to direct public taste, manners, and morals; to encourage art and science, and to be the first lady or gentleman in England, without justifying the rest of the epigram made upon George IV. Every art, fashion, or even pastime, in order to be prosperous, must have its centre, metropolis, or fountain-head. Thus what Rome is to art, Cowes to yachting, Lord's ground to cricket, and Paris to ladies' dress, that the court of a king is to

manners; just like a stone flung into a vast sheet of water, which, in shaping a circle immediately round where it falls, gives form and impetus to countless outer circles reaching to the remotest distance.

Fortunately for the human race, while a modern sovereign is all powerful for good, he can, even by example, do but very little harm. The days when a monarch's dissoluteness could corrupt society to the extent of a Louis XV. or a Charles II. are gone forever; and who can say to what degree the sins of Louis and the Merry Monarch were not responsible for the revolutions which followed their reigns in both kingdoms?—in one changing the dynasty and in the other abolishing royalty to such effectual purpose, that whenever it has crept back to the French throne, he who sat there may be said to have always kept underneath it a portmanteau ready packed for flight.

If a king have vices which he has not the decency to conceal, he gives rise to such a universal storm of virtuous indignation that even the least moral of his subjects join in the general chorus, and grow virtuous in spite of themselves. There clatters up such talk of what the sovereign might do, and what he ought to do, and what he should not do, and what he does do, that the individual and not monarchy comes in for all the odium and all the ridicule; indeed, the law of natural compensation makes itself felt here with singular force.

That ancient outrage on "woman's rights," the Salic law, has never obtained in England, and this would seem to show that the above view of the real province of a monarch is quite in accordance with the spirit of the British Constitution. That great monument of the wisdom of ages hereby indicates not only the vital importance of direct succession, but also that grace, charm, and an example of the gentler virtues, are what its architects have held to be the most important attributes of a sovereign. However much the Plantagenets and Tudors may have defied the then imperfectly defined constitution, and with whatever impunity they wielded an undue power; when in later times the infatuated Charles attempted to follow in their steps, he paid upon the block the penalty of his rashness.

But the pure and well-beloved Lady who now adorns the English throne is, by the beauty of her life, a living argument stronger against the Salic law than any my humble pen can put forth.

As to the cry about the cost of royalty, it is the merest bugbear to delude the masses. Even if it cost a million a year, which it does not (for besides falling even nominally short of that sum, the nation got the vast crown lands in exchange for a large portion of it), that is only about one seventy-fifth part of the revenue, nearly every shilling of which goes back sooner or later into the tax-payers' pockets. I wonder what is spent here every time a President is either elected or re-elected !

How any foreigner can doubt but that our royalty and aristocracy would both be abolished to-morrow if the bulk of the nation were weary of them, is to me simply inexplicable—looking at our new free representative system, our absurdly small regular army, and our immense volunteer force. No ; were the cause unpopular it would have long since plunged the country once more into civil war ; and should such a calamity still supervene, there can be no reasonable doubt, as things are at present, that the winning side would be that cheered on by the *vox populi.*

I cannot do better in conclusion than quote the telling words which Lord Lytton puts into the mouth of one of his latest heroes, Kenelm Chillingly. After remarking that "a rich man has little chance of justice as against a poor man, when submitted to an English jury, he goes on to say, "No two men can be equals. One must beat the other in something, and when one man beats another, democracy ceases and aristocracy begins—the ascendancy of the better man. In a rude state the better man is the stronger. In a corrupt state perhaps the more roguish, and the lawyers get the power. In well ordered states alone aristocracy appears at its genuine worth ; the better man in birth, because respect for ancestry secures a higher standard of honor ; the better man in wealth, because of the immense uses to enterprise, energy, and the fine arts, which rich men must be if they follow their natural inclinations ; the better man in character ; the better man in ability, for reasons too obvious to define ; and these last two will beat the others in the government of the State, if the State be flourishing and free. These four classes of better men constitute the aristocracy ; and when a better government than a true aristocracy shall be devised by the wit of man, we shall not be far off from the milennium and the reign of saints."

CHARLES ALLERTON.

SOME THOUGHTS UPON DEFICIENCIES IN THE MODERN EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM.

EDUCATION has become in our modern era one of the most important features in public life. It has always been one of the greatest matters of concern, and will ever remain the most important affair; inasmuch as it is the conscious motive for ennobling and training of the human race, the effective means for the attainment of its destiny.

Education, however, only gains the shape of a leading question by dint of the practical necessity which makes it a systematic task in public life, since religion, politics, science, and art make their various claims felt. Moreover the different religious bodies, the philosophical schools and the social classes of all kinds, seek to secure themselves influence by the aid of this question, as the medium of forming the future. That such is done in our days in a progressive manner, results from the general change wrought in public life, from the increased interest of a steadily growing public in the common affairs of society. Since the large masses of the people have begun to steadily attain power, the fate of society becomes more and more dependent on the manner and degree of education which they receive. Education will become the most important factor, and the reform of education the only true key to all other questions and reforms.

In consequence of this, our reform movement gains more and more headway in the conviction, that by a greatly improved national education the true foundation can be laid to thoroughly heal the many imperfections in the life of the state, as well as in social and family life, and thus secure to our posterity a better future. We could even go still further in this, by asserting that the fate of a nation,—its rise and fall,—depends finally on the education which its young generation receives. From this we are enabled to deduce with just as indisputable certainty the further axiom, that the nation, possessing even down to the lowest station of society, the most perfect and diverse education, will be the most powerful and happiest among empires, unconquerable for its descendants, envied by its contemporaries, and an example worthy

of emulation by them. These are incontrovertible facts! Another equally important and well-founded, although hitherto not generally acknowledged truth, is also the assertion that every reform in education can only have a chance of success, when accompanied by a reform of ideas of life and in the existence of humanity. How could this be otherwise? It is the task of education to lead the *microcosm* of the individual to the same end to which the *macrocosm* of mankind speeds along. According to the degree of culture that mankind has reached, it will possess a higher and broader idea of its existence, its goal, its relation to God and the world; it will attain a different view of life, and will work in various ways for its further development, by the education of its individual units. Only that which man himself represents and possesses can he give to others; what he thinks, feels and desires, he seeks to realize outside; more especially, though, in the coming generation. The more human beings acquire a new aspect of the world (education), the more will feel the innate desire for the use of new mediums of education. For the truth of the assertion above made (that no reform in education is conceivable without a reform in the ideas of life), there is still another proof in the circumstance that the popular will has pronounced this reform without being conscious thereof, and especially by the fact that the creators of great political formations in ancient times, were always praised as the creators of new educational methods; for instance, Moses, Lycurgus, and Solon.

Such a new and grand aspect of ideas we meet in Pestalozzi, and more recently in Frœbel. The latter built them upon the great law of nature, "Interposition of antithesis;" and upon this he founded his educational law.

Thus he became the founder of a new system of education. Never, before him, had any philosopher entered so deeply into the mysterious workings of the human spirit and disclosed its true existence; first, to prove the faculty of perception with regard to the regular course of the intellectual development of the human being, from the beginning of his career; furnished the means for this purpose, and thus raised, by the establishment of a specific educational law, education to a science. With this new and vigorous educational idea, he has produced for all times to come, a most important *canon* of life that only the knowledge of the law of

the human nature and the thereby determined degrees of its development, can give to education the norm of its procedure. Frœbel—the greatest pedagogue living—by further demonstrations of the identical law of the process of development of the individual with the human race, reveals a vast perspective in the collective intellectual life, and points for the first time to its inner connection. Therein rests his immortal merit, thereby has he become the creator of a new school of ideas, and the founder of a new educational system. His principles must henceforth be the groundwork of every reformed and States-system of education.

However valuable many improvements, especially with regard to method, means and disposition may be, a real, thorough and lasting improvement of practical life, and the establishment of a prosperous condition of the human race, can only be expected by a radically new formation and improvement of the entire educational system. Merely outward mechanical influence, bureaucratic apparatus from the offices of educational departments in the State, avail nothing, because they are useless and also unprogressive. How much our modern system of education is in need of such a fundamental renovation appears more lucid by submitting the deficiencies and imperfections of the education of our children to a closer criticism. In the first place our education of the young does not embrace the full compass of its task.

Our schools generally foster but one part of their work, *i. e.*, Instruction; the real education and training receives but little or no consideration. And yet the true problem for the school to solve is not to be one-sided by cultivating the intellectual faculties alone, but moreover to train the moral and physical qualities of youth. Self-consciousness, the mind, the real formation of character, find there no scope for education and practice. But yet, is not the real task of education to train the whole man, so that complete harmony may pervade his entire being?

The perversion of our present mode of educating youth, presents itself in an especially glaring light, when we draw a parallel between the physical wants of man and those of the intellectual.

Although the intellectual organs of man can digest much; yet to bear all which in some cases is expected of youth, needs something stronger even than the stomach of an ostrich.

The old adage, "Too many cooks spoil the broth," finds its

application here. Every teacher now-a-days has his certain branch. In this he seeks to educate his pupil to the standard of a virtuoso. Deeming this his highest duty, he pays no attention to the other branches, in a manner as if the pupil only existed for the purpose of becoming an adept in one branch.

A good brain may stand this well enough, by cramming his head full to repletion, at the expense of neglecting the training of the heart and character. Such a pupil will become vain and arrogant of his inflated knowledge, and in general impractical for the calling of common life. The superficial scholar will be made all the more stupid by this false system of overcramming the brain. This mode of education may be compared to the vulgar process of fattening geese. They become fat and larger, but do not increase their sound, solid flesh by an *iota*. So, in the case of overcramming the brain, no intellectual growth can be expected.

Hence the principal features in the character of our present youth are a certain latent self-contentedness, pertly deciding everything that comes within their range. All deeper susceptibility and freshness, such as is requisite to an efficacious pursuit of acquiring a university education, will be lost. Such youthful minds seem like buds which have been boiled in hot water, wanting the germ and growing power which has been lost in the bubbling cauldron of witchcraft of our modern art of education.

How many complaints with regard to this have been already made on the part of parents and experts; but thus far nothing has been done to reform this unfortunate state of things.

The equilibrium which ought to exist between productiveness and receptivity is now entirely broken; that must be re-established. This can be done best by the following method:

To instruct children from early infancy by teaching them to produce and acquire experience; thus making ACTION, from the beginning of instruction, the source and companion of all knowledge. This will cause the child to act according to the rules of morals without even knowing those rules, but not as is done now, to know the rules without heeding them.

Morality and thorough formation of character are only attainable by action.

How often do we now hear the complaint raised, that although

among our present officials in State and municipal affairs, there are many able and diligent workers, but few of them possess such an imposing fitness as is absolutely necessary for conducting the different spheres of business efficaciously.

JULIUS FRANKEL.

PRUSSIA AND PRINCE BISMARCK.

ATTEMPTED assassination has thrown a new halo around Prince Bismarck. Murdered, he would have been a martyr; as it is he remains a hero, a position no doubt quite as much to his taste.

If there is anything which will arouse dormant enthusiasm, or create new, it is an escape from martyrization in a popular cause, which, in Germany, the quarrel of the Imperial Government with the Pope certainly is.

The world at large is much interested in Prince Bismarck; since the Austro-Prussian war of 1866 his name has been much in men's mouths; during the late Franco-German war the newspapers were filled with all sorts of details about him, from the color of his dressing gown to the character of his religion, and there is at least one life of him. Everything that industry, aided by imagination, could collect has been told. So assuming that we know what he is, we may inquire how great he is.

At the outset there is a difficulty. The best judges of how great a man is, or if he is great at all, are not those of his own time, but of later ones.

The passions and prejudices of the day, the thousand errors which, though transient, for a time conceal the truth, all these must pass away before an impartial judgment can be formed.

We look at Prince Bismarck with eyes dazzled by the brilliancy of the Prussian successes of the last eight years, with which he is identified—successes, the extent and magnitude of which are hardly yet comprehended, and which, if due in the main to his statesmanship, would entitle him to be called a great statesman.

Of these successes, and the sudden and astonishing development of Prussian power, we shall have more to say hereafter, and

when their sources are examined and estimated, we think it will be found that the statesmanship of Prussia's Prime Minister is by no means the most potent of the forces which have so disturbed the balance of power in Europe, but that they are attributable in a far greater degree to what Mr. Buckle denominated great and general causes, and to which he assigns effects vastly more important than result from the actions and influence of any man or set of men. Without such examination it would be impossible to determine how much is due to Prince Bismarck, and if the result is what has been indicated, then these great events do not justify the popular estimate of him as a statesman, and the question what rank he shall hold, is still an open one.

It would be idle to deny that the Prussian Minister is a remarkable man.

Endowed by nature with a subtle and powerful mind, an inflexible will, a courage that shrinks at nothing, a foresight that overlooks nothing, a determination that is never turned aside from its intended course of action, these qualifications of a great statesman he has indeed. Whether he has also the enlightened wisdom, the lofty aims, the broad views, and especially that appreciation of the spirit of the age without which he will hardly avoid the error of hurrying in advance of his time, or the still worse one of falling behind it, remains to be seen. Without these latter endowments he cannot be a great statesman.

There are in truth good reasons for the opinion of him commonly entertained. His supremacy in his art at this day is unquestioned. Abroad he has not a rival, at home he is most truly "the power behind the throne." It is his words that are quoted, his measures discussed, his intentions surmised.

In Prussia he has long wielded, with the assent of his sovereign, the whole power of the throne, nor is his influence less potent in the wide field which the German Empire offers for its exercise.

So far as success is a measure of a statesman's ability, the Chancellor of the German Empire will stand high. No important measure of his has been successfully resisted, either in the Empire or in Prussia.

Confident of his power to overcome all opposition, he has conceived and matured those great designs which thus far he has carried to completion without a check. The profoundest secrecy

has enveloped these projects till discovery could no longer be hurtful. Scarcely had their scope and daring become apparent when Europe saw them accomplished.

Year after year, in defiance of the Prussian Parliament and Constitution, he spent large sums on the army; the war of 1866 found the military organization of the country in the highest state of efficiency, and the expenditure was explained and justified.

In the arts by which a state grows great at the expense of its neighbors, the Prussian statesman has few superiors. No scruples as to the rights of other nations disturb his clear perceptions of what will be for the advantage of his own, and how that advantage is to be obtained. His definition of a right would have saved Grotius and Vattel much labor, had they adopted it: it is short and simple, given in three words, "might makes right." Let us see how he has applied this principle. When the decree of Federal execution went forth against unfortunate little Denmark, and Prussia, in conjunction with Austria, volunteered to carry it into effect, the cause of this willingness to assume so much of the burden of a war not her own, was thought to be her desire to establish herself as the champion of German liberty and unity. That this was not her sole motive was made apparent only when, the prize having been secured, she turned on her ally, and driving her out, coolly annexed the rescued provinces to her own dominions. Whether Schleswig and Holstein have much cause to rejoice over the realization of their wish to become German, may be doubted; it is certain that the rest of the world would have been as well off had they remained Danish.

We haxe spoken of the annexation of Schleswig-Holstein. What pretext, if any, was advanced to justify it we do not know; but there was even less cause, if possible, for the seizure of Hanover, Hesse, Nassau and the city of Frankfort, in the war of 1866. They had in no way injured Prussia. They had, it is true, when called on by her to espouse her cause or Austria's, refused to join her, referring to the Federal compact which provided for the settlement of disputes between the members of the confederation.

In the existing state of things this served as a "casus belli," so at twenty-four hours notice Hanover, totally unprepared for hostilities, was seized in the grasp of her powerful enemy, and in a few weeks her army was captured, her nationality blotted out,

and her rightful sovereign driven forth, despoiled of his ancestral domains, which became a Prussian province. A like fate befel the other states mentioned a little after.

The seven weeks war of 1866 ended; and Prussia, triumphant, had attained results which might well compare with those of the terrible seven years war which she went through under Frederick the Great. She had acquired over 2400 square miles of territory and more than 4,000,000 of subjects. The hostile states not annexed were compelled to pay heavy indemnities and to assent to offensive and defensive treaties with their conqueror.

Austria, beside an enormous indemnity, was forced to resign all claims to the territory she had aided to wrest from Denmark, to surrender her Italian possessions to Prussia's ally, Italy, and to leave the Germanic Confederation.

These results were due not only to the valor of the Prussian arms, but to the skill of the Prussian diplomacy. Generalship and complete organization triumphed over the Austrian armies; statecraft divided those armies by raising up a foe at Austria's back whom, alone, she could afford to despise, but who sufficed to turn the scale against her when leagued with one Austria's equal.

So also statecraft kept France a spectator of the strife. It is now matter of history how Napoleon III. was outwitted; but we must regard the astuteness which could imply so much and promise so little as rather more ingenious than honest.

The same skillful policy required as a condition of peace that Austria should sever her connection with the Germanic Confederation, where Prussia now found herself without a rival. But the restraints of the federal union, such as they were, and violated with impunity though they had been when obnoxious, were found hindrances in the career which the policy of Prussia's prime minister had marked out for her, and which she had thus far followed with such good fortune. So the Germanic Confederation was dissolved, and from its "disjecta membra" were formed the North and South German Confederations, in the former of which Prussia was all powerful and the states leagued with her little better than her vassals.

Great as were these strides to power, the same ambition that had guided Prussia thus far looked forward to further acquisitions.

In the interval of quiet which followed the war of 1866, there was no relaxation in the warlike preparations which had been going on for so many years, and the military system of the North German Confederation was kept up to the standard of that of Prussia, notwithstanding the dissatisfaction at the heavy burden thereby entailed.

Only an opportunity for the employment of this tremendous military power was wanted: this the folly of the French or of their ruler supplied, and all Germany, forgetting domestic quarrels, went forth as one man against the common enemy.

This war is ended; but Prussia is no longer sole victor, for midst the smoke of its battlefields arose a colossal power which bids fair, if it endure, to be second to none.

Germany, united, recalled the glories of that Holy Roman Empire, whose sceptre was handed down from Charlemagne through a long line of German heroes and warriors. Was it strange that both army and people should hail with joy the phantom of the past converted into the reality of the present, and place with acclamations the crown of the German empire on the head of William of Prussia?

Of all these great events Prince Bismarck has been the guiding spirit. Under his leadership Prussia has attained a degree of power and pre-eminence before unthought of, save in the ambitious dreams of her statesman, and around his designs and their fruition he has thrown the thin cloak of German unification, covering, but not concealing, Prussian aggrandizement.

And now that we have seen what he has done, let us consider and weigh what are the forces with which, or against which, and the conditions under which he has labored. Let us see how far the national characteristics of the Prussian people, the spirit of their history and institutions, and the nature of the policy of the house of Hohenzollern, have hindered or helped him. So only, as we have said, shall we be able to affix a just estimate on the statesmanship of the man who now controls the policy of Germany as he has hitherto done that of Prussia.

The foundations of the Prussian State were laid in war. With the sword in one hand and the cross in the other, the Teutonic knights went forth to disseminate the gospel among the heathen dwellers in Preussen, now the North Eastern Province of the kingdom of Prussia.

By war Prussia has prospered and increased. War, just or unjust, has added many a stone to that mighty superstructure which now overshadows so much of Europe.

Peaceful acquisitions there have been by marriage, descent, and purchase; but the gains in territory and population thus obtained bear but a small proportion to those won by force of arms, or wrested from possessors too feeble to resist, such as Poland.

Thus the national sentiment of the Prussian people has become habituated to conquest as the lawful means of national aggrandizement; and it has been brought to think the maxim, "to the victors belong the spoils," eminently just, no matter what the cause of war.

Surrounded from her infancy by powerful and often hostile states, Prussia has constantly been compelled to struggle for existence, and no inconsiderable portion of her national life has been passed in warfare. Martial glory and military success fill so many brilliant pages in her history, and have been so often of such momentous importance to her, that they have come at last to be identified with her well being in the minds of her king and people, and to be regarded as the first object of a nation's desire and effort. Therefore it has resulted, partly from choice, partly from necessity, that Prussia has been always disciplined and ready for conflict. As a nation she has been kept in the same condition as a prize-fighter ready for a contest of the ring; but her training is never intermitted; it is handed down from generation to generation.

How keenly alive to all this are the rulers of Prussia is shown in the speech of King William at the opening of the Prussian Diet in April, 1847:

"It has pleased God to make Prussia strong by the sword of war from without, and by the sword of intelligence from within; not simply by the negative spirit of the age, but by the spirit of moderation and order."

Of similar illustrations the Prussian annals of to-day are full; but let us now turn back to a period of her history, which is indeed an epitome of the whole; namely, that embraced by the reign of the great Frederick.

The story of the greatest king, soldier, and statesman that the house of Hohenzollern has yet produced, is a theme well worthy

the attention of the historian, for in this period was raised and decided the question, whether the scattered agglomeration of dukedoms, electorates and principalities, which the care of successive Hohenzollerns had brought together beneath their sway, should rise to the rank of an important power in Europe, or, crushed and broken, sink into insignificance among the lesser German states.

On this chapter of his country's history the Prussian may well look back with pride, for its record is that of a struggle carried on against the most overwhelming disparity of force; a struggle not brief, but protracted, in which Prussia oftentimes seemed to exist only in her armies, and which terminated leaving her in full possession of all her conquests, and with a long list of victories, some of which will rank with the most splendid military triumphs that history has recorded.

One thing only is wanting to command the unqualified admiration of the world, namely, a just cause.

When Frederick the Great ascended the throne he found himself the possessor of a full treasury and a highly disciplined and well organized army. Young and ardent, conscious of his own great powers, he saw himself in a position to yield to the promptings of the ambition which he avows that he felt—an ambition which was to cost his country and himself dear indeed ere it was satiated. He had also, he tells us in his memoirs, another motive for trying the chances of war. He had been disappointed in regard to the succession to the duchies of Juliers and Berg, to which his house had a claim, but which claim he had been unable to make good, and he desired some recompense for their loss.

For this loss he would be fully compensated by the acquisition of the Austrian province of Silesia, which would be of special value to him from its configuration and geographical situation with regard to his domains. It was moreover wealthy and fertile. Its conquest, owing to the distracted condition of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy, consequent on the recent and disputed succession of Maria Theresa, and the disorder of the finances, as well as the approaching election to the imperial throne, which threatened to produce very serious complications, seemed feasible, despite the immense preponderance of force on the side of Austria.

To Silesia the house of Hohenzollern had undeniably just claims, which had been disregarded at different periods by two Emperors of the house of Hapsburg, Ferdinand II. and Leopold, who had by virtue of the strong hand taken possession, the one of the duchy of Jagerndorff, the other of the Liegnitz duchies, which together composed Silesia.

To Prussia's title there was but one objection ; it was stale, its most recent portion being nearly three quarters of a century old ; and it may reasonably be denied that it afforded any justification of Frederick's aggression on Austria.

Rights are not eternal to their possessors ; among nations, as among men, they must be asserted, else the lapse of time will transfer them to others. There is not, there cannot be, an international statute of limitations, fixing a period beyond which they shall not be vindicated ; but the principle is tacitly recognized by civilized nations in their dealings with one another. Even at the present day, when nations look more than ever to justice as the principle of international morality, a proposition to redress the national wrongs of the last century, supposing it possible such a proposition could be made, would be scouted with derision.

Without the formality of a declaration of war, Frederick attacked Austria. His preparations had been kept so secret that they did not excite suspicion till too late. The surprise was complete. In a few months the conquest of Silesia was achieved, and Maria Theresa, beset on every side by enemies, was forced to purchase peace with the most dangerous of them by yielding up to him that portion of her domains.

Thus was Silesia won, but its possession was yet to be maintained ; a task, as it proved, much more difficult.

Less sagacity than Frederick's would have perceived that the high spirited "empress queen" would not remain quiet under so humiliating a loss ; nor did he allow himself to be lulled into a false security, by a peace which he well knew that dire necessity alone had forced upon his adversary. He was ready for the second Silesian war, a brief and comparatively unimportant struggle, which broke out two or three years after the conclusion of the first, and ended, leaving the belligerents *in statu quo*, and he passed the ten years interval of peace which followed in diligent preparation for the grand contest.

No doubtful symptoms heralded the coming storm. Frederick, ever on the alert, as he had done at the outset of the first Silesian war, fell on his foes without warning. The Elector of Saxony was preparing for hostilities. Frederick did not wait for him, but pouncing suddenly on Saxony, overwhelmed her before her allies could come to her aid.

So opened the third Silesian or seven years war ; of it we shall not pretend to give even an outline. It was a succession of brilliant triumphs, chequered by not a few terrible reverses. In its course there were leagued against Prussia at one time, France, Austria, Russia and a number of smaller states ; her sole ally then was Great Britain. The population of Prussia was two and a half millions, that of the states contending with her nearly one hundred millions.

The conclusion of peace left the Prussian monarch in possession of his hard-won prize, the magnificent province of Silesia, with a population of a million and a quarter, half that of his original domains, his territories exhausted and wasted, but free from debt and prompt to recuperate, and himself and his people feared and respected by all Europe, for unconquerable fortitude and military courage and skill.

Looking on this brilliant record we are tempted to forget its dark side.

Frederick, more than any one else, sowed the seeds of that thirst for conquest and unscrupulous aggrandizement, which has since borne such direful fruit for Prussia and her neighbors.

Comparing his policy with that of Bismarck, the conviction is unavoidable that the latter was modeled on the former ; but the comparison as to the respective policies does not hold good as to the men by whom they were carried out.

Place side by side the works of King Frederick and Bismarck, compare their resources, the obstacles they overcame, the enemies they contended with, and the achievements the world is now admiring sink into insignificance, beside those over which the dimness of the past has already gathered.

Such was the history handed down to Count Bismarck, and which he was to continue. It was no new story to him. Born of an ancient and noble family in Brandenburg, the heart and nucleus of Prussia, he had grown up in the traditions, and was im-

bued with the spirit of the great Frederick. His ancestors had for generations fought and held command under the respective sovereigns of Prussia; one member of his house had been a favorite soldier of her great king.

Prussian to the core, an aristocrat by birth and education, regarding his sovereign with the feudal devotion of the middle ages, dreading and detesting the new order of things which 1848 inaugurated, and foremost in the ranks of the conservatives during that eventful period, chosen by his king as prime minister after long years of faithful service at foreign courts and at home, he seemed the man above all others who would carry out the traditional policy of Prussia. This he has done. He has followed closely in the footsteps of the great king of whom Prussia is justly proud, and here, we believe, is the grand secret of his success.

Among Bismarck's merits is not that of originality; he has struck out no new line of policy; that which he has pursued, as we have endeavored to show, is consonant with the martial spirit of the Prussian nation, it flatters the national pride and ministers to, while it results from, that "earth hunger," that craving after increase of territory and power, rightfully or wrongfully obtained, which pervades Prussian history. It accords well with the nature of the government of Prussia, a "despotism," not "tempered by assassination." To absolute rulers a career of foreign conquest is always acceptable. Home subjugation is in some degree forgotten when their subjects become the instruments, as well as the victims of tyranny. A policy more suited to the government and the people by whom and for whom it was carried out, could scarcely have been conceived; and it has been crowned with a success which would go far to justify any course of statecraft.

From the moment that Bismarck launched forth his country on the career of conquest, he has had the enthusiastic support of the whole nation; he has always enjoyed the full confidence of his royal master, and while he has been at the head of affairs he has wielded the whole power of one of the most absolute governments in Europe.

Whenever physical force was needed in the accomplishment of his designs he has had an army without its equal in discipline, organization and equipment, kept in full vigor by a military system

which, based on the principle that every citizen shall be also a soldier, is administered to perfection, and on a plan which military writers never tire of praising. The creation of this army, and the system of which it is a part, is not Bismarck's work, though he deserves the credit of having done everything to maintain and increase their efficiency. They are the result of the politic foresight of successive generations of Prussian rulers and statesmen dating from the time of the great elector, in the seventeenth century.

To control and manage this tremendous power Bismarck has had the first soldier of the age, and in this single man he has found assuredly not the least of the forces by means of which he has achieved such great results. Nor have the sinews of war been lacking. Prussia is not a rich country, but the skill and economy with which its revenues are collected and administered raise it to a par with those far wealthier.

Neither is the government hampered by parliamentary fetters in its methods of raising supplies, or their amount. It can and has, as in 1866, issued loans on its own responsibility, when the diet refuses to aid in so doing. No financial embarrassments have crippled the plans or absorbed the energies of the Prussian minister, unlike Frederick the Great, whose scanty revenues were only by the sternest parsimony made to sustain the war, which at one time indeed he could only do by the aid of English subsidies.

But the career we have been passing in review is by no means brought to a close; on the contrary, a phase of it seems now at hand not less momentous than any that has gone before. A new set of problems is to be solved; different, but not less important contests are to be waged.

Looking first among the great events which have just occurred, or seem now impending, at the establishment of the German Empire, we are irresistibly led to the question,—Will it be permanent?

It is the product of war, in whose furnace its constituent parts, so long mutually repellent, were fused into one. Will it resist the disintegrating forces to which peace will give free scope?

It is easy to discern these forces. They are found in the very composition and constitution of the Empire; in the animosities and jealousies of its constituent parts. Its government is a hetero-

geneous mixture of divine right, the elective principle, imperialism, and the powers and privileges of the various sovereigns in their separate states, vague and undefined, it would seem, with some leaven of liberalism, which some two years ago displayed itself in a surprising manner in Prussia. Prussian influence is all powerful in the Empire. Will the rest of Germany submit as quietly to it henceforth as it has hitherto? Has hatred of the Prussians died out in Hanover, and the rest of her conquests of 1866? Has the war against France changed into amity the dislike of the South Germans for the arrogant and overbearing Prussians, which the war of 1866 only intensified?

Mention has been made of the liberal element which exists in Germany. During Prince Bismarck's whole life he has been a conservative. In Prussia the conservative, or Junker party as it is there called, is the aristocratic party, consisting of the nobility and its adherents, who look on liberalism and all that savors of it with loathing, and cling to whatever of the feudal system, and that is not a little, still exists in Prussia.

For some time past they have been dissatisfied with Prince Bismarck, who has given indications of falling away from his political faith, and who has at last, by the reform which, with the assent of the king, he has recently forced through the House of Peers, arrayed against himself in bitter hostility the entire aristocracy of Prussia, one of the most powerful existing.

The power of the crown, however, backed by popular sentiment, is superior, as is shown by the ease with which it overcame the stubborn opposition of the nobles.

Whether the Prussian minister is a reformer "malgré lui," or is actuated by a sincere and lofty conviction of what his country needs, it is not now possible to determine. In either event, he is on the brink of what may be a revolution. The measure of which he is the author is in itself almost a revolution.

It effects a total and radical change in the system of local government in Prussia, abolishing the feudal and hereditary tenures of a large number of offices, and substituting in place thereof the principle of popular election.

Changes such as these in the established order of things affect the whole fabric of society.

They indicate, on the part of the nation which carries them into effect, an urgent and deep-seated desire to do away with institutions hitherto held inviolable.

When such a desire exists among a people reform must come, and once begun it will not be stayed at the first step, however long, in the career of progress. He who can guide a nation to the peaceable acquisition of rights long withheld, and preserve them from the social convulsion which too frequently accompanies it, is, in the highest sense of the word, a statesman.

A contest of a different nature, but not less serious, has also been inaugurated.

The *entente cordiale* which subsisted for some time between Rome and Berlin was, as both of the parties may have thought, too good to last.

It is now effectually done away with, and if on the one hand the expulsion of the Jesuits, the proceedings against the bishop of Ermeland and the measures in Posen indicate that the German Government is determined to carry out their policy to the bitter end, the Vatican, on the other, does not evince the slightest symptoms of giving way.

The Roman church may well cry "save me from my friends." The full history of Kullman's atrocious attempt is not yet made public, but enough is known to make it plain that he believed himself to be fighting the battle of the church.

The failure of such projects is hardly worse than their success; in either event they draw down upon their authors the detestation of all who do not share in their ferocious fanaticism. In the Roman hierarchy there is no lack of sagacious men: whatever they may think of the crime, they will execrate the blunder, "worse than a crime," committed in their cause.

An additional complication in the critical state of affairs is found in the "Old Catholic" movement. Towards this manifestation, one of the most remarkable of modern times, the Imperial Government seems thus far to have preserved a neutrality.

It is impossible that it should be unfriendly, for the "Old Catholics," if as numerous and powerful as is asserted, will be most valuable allies in the struggle with Rome.

Bismarck's biographer should wait. His life thus far truly is well worthy of note, but that portion of it yet to come may be

full as important to the world and himself, and, which is of more consequence to the determination of the question we have discussed, decisive of his rank as a statesman. C.

WITHIN AND WITHOUT.

I cannot feel the music,
  I cannot find the song,
I cannot see the picture—
  These walls are over-strong:
Yet here in many pages
  Of many books, lie dead
The songs of other ages,
  The best that men have said.

But out there in the forest,
  Beside a little stream,
I find the living fancies
  Of many a cloistered dream;
Ah me! if after reaping
  Through all God's woods and fields,
I only press for keeping
  The flowers that Nature yields.

SAMUEL W. DUFFIELD.

LEWES'S PROBLEMS OF LIFE AND MIND.

GEORGE HENRY LEWES is widely known as a brilliant writer in general literature, in physiology, and philosophy. His "Biographical History of Philosophy" is the most popular work of its kind in English, and has done its fair share of mischief in making Sciolists imagine they understand the great thinkers because they understand Lewes. Until the appearance of "Problems of Life and Mind," Lewes has been regarded as a very determined foe of Metaphysics. He believed much in Physiology and very little in

[1] Problems of Life and Mind. By George Henry Lewes. First Series. The Foundation of a Creed. Vol. I. Boston: James R. Osgood & Co., 1874. 12mo. pp. xvi. 434. [Porter & Coates.]

Psychology. One of the plans of his "ambitious youth" had been to *transmute* the doctrines of Reid, Stewart and Brown into *Physiology.* He has long ago abandoned his Scotch idols. He would not transmute them if he could. Nor in fact is any existent system of mental philosophy worth in his eyes such a transmutation. "Psychology is still without the fundamental data necessary to its *constitution* as a science." Lewes proposes in the Problems to give us "a firm groundwork for future labors." As the work has "grown up heterogeneously, its structure is heterogenous." The position it takes is in some sense eclectic: "The general consideration that every philosophical opinion must have some truth sustaining it is here adopted." "While cordially agreeing with those philosophers who reject both Spiritualism and Materialism, I do not agree with them in their conclusion that we know nothing whatever of Mind or Matter. I hold......that we know a great deal of both. I cannot agree that Philosophy gains any refuge from difficulties by invoking the Unknowable... The *Foundation of a Creed* can only rest upon the Known and Knowable."

It is evident very soon, however, despite the seeming Eclecticism, that Lewes has but substituted another dream for the dream of his ambitious youth, the dream which proposed the transmutation of Psychology into Physiology. The dream of his riper ambition shifts, by an easy transition, into a plan for the transmutation of Physics and Physiology into Metaphysics—the reduction of the principles and laws of mind to the closest parallelism with the principles and laws of matter. That is the meaning of his book. It is very elaborately put, in a style ranging from the dreariest abstraction, and the most bewildering extravagances of technical language, to the most graceful forms of that rhetoric of which Lewes is a master—but it comes to this, as we read it.

In his introduction Lewes discusses the method of science and its application to Metaphysics, and presents the rules of philosophizing, with a statement of the Psychological principles. The first problem, the only one discussed in his volume, is the limitation of knowledge. In sixteen chapters we have, the principles of relativity, the sensational and a priori hypotheses, the laws of nature, the search after causes, necessary truths, mathematics as an empirical science, the place of sentiment in philosophy, and other cognate topics.

That the whole discussion is to be metaphysical to a degree which is to startle us as coming from Lewes, is already involved in the mottoes he quotes. Stuart Mill is cited in his declaration that "England's thinkers are again beginning to see what they had only temporarily forgotten, that the difficulties of Metaphysics lie at the root of all science; that these difficulties can only be quieted by being resolved, and that until they are resolved, positively whenever possible, but at any rate negatively, we are never assured that any knowledge, even physical, stands on solid foundations."

Such a sentiment from such a thinker is well calculated to startle Lewes in his old position, which, whatever may be his present construction of it, meant that Metaphysics only makes difficulties, never solves them, and that to secure the proper advances in the physical sciences, the more completely we drop Metaphysics the better. No less startling however is the assertion of Kant, who was wont to measure his words, and who yet says: "I venture to assert, that there need be no metaphysical problem, which is not solved here, or to the solution of which there is not at least a key furnished"—and this Lewes evidently means to assert for his own book. How he has come to make watchwords of sentiments like these may furnish a question of interest. He says: "No one meditating on the present condition of the intellectual world can fail to be arrested by the evidences of its deep-seated unrest. Ours is no longer the age described by Carlyle, 'destitute of faith, yet terrified at skepticism.' It is an age *clamorous for faith*, and only dissatisfied with skepticism, when skepticism is a resting place instead of a starting-point, a result instead of a preliminary caution. The purely negative attitude of unbelief, once regarded as philosophical, is now generally understood to be only laudable in the face of the demonstrably incredible.

"The great desire of this age is for a doctrine which may serve to condense our knowledge, guide our researches, and shape our lives, so that conduct may really be the consequence of belief. There is a conspicuous effort to reconcile the aims and claims of religion and science—the two mightiest antagonists . . . The internecine warfare, which has so long disturbed religion and obstructed science, will give place to a doctrine which will respect the claims of both, and satisfy the needs of both . . . Science itself

is also in travail. We see Metaphysics strangely agitated, and showing symptoms of a re-awakened life. After a long period of neglect and contempt, its problems are once more re-asserting their claims. And whatever we may think of these claims, we have only to reflect on the important part played by Metaphysics in sustaining and developing religious conception, no less than in thwarting and misdirecting scientific conceptions, to feel assured that before religion and science can be reconciled by the reduction of their principles to a common method, it will be necessary to *transform* Metaphysics, or to stamp it out of existence." When Metaphysics was in disgrace, Lewes united in the hue and cry against it. When Metaphysics is rising again to honor, Lewes begins to reconsider. Metaphysics can do so much good and so much mischief, that it must be either dragged at the wheels of Mr. Lewes's favorite notions, or thrown under the wheels and crushed. The attempt to "stamp it out of existence" has been a failure. Nobody tried harder than Lewes to do it. Perhaps he almost imagined it had been done. And lo, here is the ghostly thing, revisiting the glimpses of the moon, making night hideous! Murdered, it yet lives, and buried, it rises again. What remains? It cannot be stamped out. It must be "transformed." That is the intent of Lewes's book. He cannot kill Metaphysics; he will reduce it from the place of Queen in the intellectual world to that of hand-maiden. It is England's old way of treating philosophy—putting her into the kitchen. Death or servitude is the choice which Lewes proposes. "There is but this alternative: At present Metaphysics is *an obstacle in our path.*" "Our path," is the path of Positivism—the path of the school of Comte. "METAPHYSICS" (not Metempirics) "Metaphysics," says Lewes in his History, "is condemned, by the very nature of its method, to wander forever in one tortuous labyrinth, within whose circuitous and winding space the weary seekers are continually finding themselves in the trodden tracks of their predecessors, who could find no exit." And in keeping with this low estimate, the key of the whole History is pitched. It is in fact not a history, but an argument. The past is made a heap of rubbish to give a base for the monument of Comte. The argument of Positivism, logically pressed, involves that ultimate principles are not things to be reached—that the knot cannot be

untied, and is not worth cutting. The truth is that Lewes has all along represented a system of empiricism, which, apart from the elevation given to it by the development of the human mind by the metaphysical tendencies which that empiricism despises, would correspond with the most infant, feeble animal life of the race. Positivism is a beggar's bastard baby, wrapped in the purple stolen from the palace of the true Queen. Take from Comte what was made possible only by the Metaphysical education of the ages, and nothing is left.

Lewes, as he stands at the opening of the new movement, is evidently not wholly at ease in his mind, as to what may be the result of the introduction of the true Porphyrogenita into the home where her name has hitherto been in reproach. Will it be better to kill, if we can kill, or to enslave if we can enslave? "It must be crushed into dust, *or* its forces of resistance must be converted into motive powers, and what is an obstacle become an impulse." He determines on the second. "It is toward the transformation of Metaphysics by the reduction to the *method* of science that these pages tend." It is an Organon, then, as preliminary to a system which Lewes has in his eye. He proposes to show that "the *method* which has hitherto achieved such splendid success in science needs only to be properly interpreted and applied, and by *it* the inductions and deductions from *experience* will furnish solutions to every metaphysical problem that can be *rationally* stated." This is no new dream. It is the dream of Spinoza, the dream of the Lebnitzians of the Eighteenth Century, the dream of many. It simply involves, as Lewes proposes to use it,the assumption that the Metaphysical is the Physical, and treat it accordingly—to unmetaphysicate Metaphysics. When anything arises which shows that it cannot be treated in this theory, call it "Metempirics," and let it go to the dogs! We, of course, had our little start at the mottoes, but now that we see what is the assumption on which Mr. Lewes is getting ready to argue, we are not so much startled, as he expects "one class of readers to be, at the announcement" that he proposes to "show that metaphysical problems have *rationally* no other difficulties than those which beset all problems; and when *scientifically* treated are capable of solution, not less satisfactory and certain than those of physics." We are not startled; for if we urge upon

Mr. Lewes a difficulty in Metaphysical problems, which does not seem to be quite like the difficulties connected with other problems, he has but to claim that this problem, or the proposer of it, is *irrational,* and his claim to the discovery of the Universal Solvent still holds good. And as by *Science* he quietly assumes that physical science alone can be meant, the difficulties of Metaphysics must be stated as difficulties of Physics, and as such, can be answered scientifically, that is, on physical grounds, or failing to be reduced in that way, rule themselves out as irrational. Lewes's own way of stating it is, that "*exact* knowledge ought to be attainable by the one procedure of *eliminating the transcendental elements*, and operating *solely* on the *empirical.* Hence the conclusion: The *scientific* canon of *excluding from calculation* all *incalculable* data places Metaphysics on the same level with Physics." More briefly, you are to avoid the difficulties of Metaphysics by leaving them out of consideration. You are to show yourself able to answer all questions put to you, by declining to allow any question to be put to you which you cannot answer. It is in the line of a popular sentence, though not quite as sweeping: "Ask me *no* questions and I'll tell you no lies." While Lewes has produced a volume well worth study for its richness of illustration of points maintained, he has added nothing to the elucidation of the real problems of Life and Mind. He may do more in the volumes yet to come.

Lewes claims that though his book may look like a retreat, it is nothing of the sort; it is "but a change of front." It is of course for military tacticians to decide what is the proper name for the movement. It seems characteristic of all warfare that movements which look mysteriously like flight shall be expressed in official phraseology which seems to imply that the pretended victors were really beaten, or violated all sound principles, in not being beaten. There are as many Euphemisms for defeat as for drunkenness. Mr. Lewes speaks of the defect in Comte's scheme, "which has often been pointed out by its opponents," but not, we think, before this time, by Mr. Lewes, "namely, that it displays no effort to apply the positive method to one great branch of speculation—that of Metaphysics. He peremptorily excluded," and until the entrance of the new light, Mr. Lewes united with him, heart and soul, in so doing, "he peremptorily

excluded *all research* whatever in this direction, declaring metaphysical problems to be *essentially insoluble, consequently idle and mischievous.*" This *was* precisely Mr. Lewes's position. His present one differs from the old in this, that he now claims that Positivism furnishes the method of a true Metaphysics, can show it how to solve its problems, and can render it active and beneficient. Positivism flung itself against Metaphysics. It was against Metaphysics, because it knew Metaphysics to be against Positivism. But despite the feeble condition in which, from temporary reaction, Metaphysics was at the time, Positivism came out of the encounter, if not with a broken head, yet at least with a desponding heart.

"Speculative minds," says Lewes, "*cannot resist* the fascination of Metaphysics. Contempt, ridicule, argument," (when *did* Mr. Lewes try that?) "are all vain against tendencies toward metaphysical speculation." Then comes some of Mr. Lewes's finest writing, which, reduced to plain prose, means that he has had his eyes opened to the fact that if Positivism ignore Metaphysics, all deep thinkers will ignore Positivism. Perhaps he has almost felt that if Positivism will not give him a little Metaphysical swing, he will have to abandon it himself. But he will try to save the ship before he deserts it. "The continuance of Metaphysical inquiry is for the present inevitable." Lewes accepts the inevitable. Holding fast to his Positivism, he proposes to apply its method to the solution of the problems of Metaphysics. Lewes is bolder than Comte, but he is perhaps more bold because he is less wise. How far he imagines the Positivist method to be applicable, in the new direction, may be shown in a single sentence, which is as extravagant as anything which could be invented to burlesque his sanguine anticipation: "At this present moment," he says, "I have a conviction that the differential calculus *could* be applied to psychology, and will be in some future time." It is hard to believe that a man who writes thus has any distinct conception of the differential calculus or of psychology. We will not attempt to controvert the position, but we think, copying the suggestion of Napoleon to St. Pierre, that if Mr. Lewes will carefully study the two things with reference to his own suggestion, he can controvert it himself. Mr. Lewes's book has grown out of the practical necessities of Positivism, of which he has been so distin-

guished a defender. He admits that Positivism had excluded many of the very "problems of life and mind" to whose consideration he devotes his book. "Why does it exclude these? Simply on the ground of their being insoluble, metempirical. But this rejection seems to me *somewhat arbitrary* and *injudicious*, when we find that it not only *irritates those who might be convinced*, but irritates them by a misconception. And all who put their trust in the Positive Philosophy must regret that it should *alienate* instead of *alluring* speculative thinkers, *capable of extending its reach*, and it alienates them by the *supercilious* assertion that they are and have been wandering on the wrong path; which may be true, *is* true, but which would be better enforced by pointing out their point of divergence from the right path, so that their steps might be retraced." "It will surely be a gain," he says, "if the *problems* are admitted and shown to be soluble on the positive method."

Mr. Lewes's book, then involves a change of policy, not of principle, and is graciously thrown out as a tub for the whales, who insist upon being amused with a tub, and who are in no other way to be brought within the range of that salutary harpoon of Positivism which will be the forerunner of their shedding illumination beyond all calculation, of "extending *its* reach" as Mr. Lewes expresses it, the reach of Positivism. Admitting that Positivism blundered in attempting to decline the greatest problems of speculation, he proposes to retrieve the blunder by taking up the problems. This he will do, however, only so far as Positivism can settle them—for if *it* cannot settle them, nothing can. His book, then, is not a retreat, but a new plan of campaign resulting from the failure of the old one. It is really at last no more than a strategic "change of front," which Mr. Lewes, like a very candid, but perhaps hardly skillful géneral, carefully explains to the foe. Mr. Lewes has been so consummately cunning that he could not resist boasting of his trap before it has fallen. Mr. Lewes might have learned from a very old authority of great weight in times of old, and not without weight still with some, under what circumstances a net is spread for bird sin vain.

We do not think that Mr. Lewes's Problems will help Positivism much. It makes no genuine concessions to the loftier Metaphys-

ics. It humbles the older thinkers and systems with a good deal of freedom, but hardly with much force. After all of Mr. Lewes's exposure of Des Cartes, Kant, Hegel and other heroes of the past, we are not shaken in our conviction that they were far greater Metaphysicians than any men of the school of Mr. Lewes can possibly be. They were not the blunderers in method, which he insists they were. The world would not have gained had they been Positivists; in fact, would perhaps hardly at this hour know that they had existed. Mr. Lewes, it is true, does not propose to leave us in our bereavement without compensation, but it is a compensation which the real Metaphysicians have pretty unanimously long ago declined. The system of Metaphysics he commends to his readers is, indeed, clothed upon with new garments —sackcloth of technical abstraction, with purple patches of fine writing—but the bony organism under the sackcloth and purple is not a new one. It is the old skeleton of empirical Sensualism—for Metaphysical Positivism is that, and no more—which Mr. Lewes sets down at the banquet of Philosophy. C. P. K.

NEW BOOKS.

THE PRINCESS OF THULE. By William Black. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1874.

The Princess of Thule is a novel full of romance and pathos. We recall few heroines of modern fiction more charming or more lovable than Sheila Mackenzie. She is a woman perfect in her nobleness, humble-minded, but full of Highland pride, full of sympathy for the poor and suffering, and womanly enough to show her sympathy in the most natural ways, despite her snobbish surroundings during her married life in London. This entire absence of affectation and snobbishness constitutes her chief charm. She is the central feature of the book, and the story tells of her sweet and gentle efforts to make a man of Mr. Lavender, who, when she marries him, is an attractive and talented snob, but whom she succeeds in the end in making a true man.

We are thoroughly accustomed to the sort of "American lady" described in "At her Mercy," the last work by the author of "Lost Sir Massingberd," namely, the American lady "with her voice too high up, and her gown too low down, but her heart in the right place."

It is a relief, however, to encounter in an English novel, two

American women who are not represented as utterly vulgar and unrefined; but Mr. Black has had the hardihood to attempt, and, stranger yet, to succeed in the unusual task. Both Mrs. Kavanagh and her daughter, Mrs. Lorraine, are ladies of the most refined English type, and the latter displays a delicacy of feeling and a tact which is often singularly wanting even in the most charming English women. Several of the characters are drawn with more than ordinary force and cleverness.

Mr. Mackenzie, with his dignity, his deep sense of the importance of his position, and his unfailing confidence in his skill in managing men and in concealing his manner of doing it, is a wonderful old man.

Ingram, too, with his unchangeable opinions on every subject, and his didactic and positive way of laying down the law, his warm and generous heart, and his unfaltering friendship for Sheila and Lavender, is admirably drawn.

Even to the end, we hold the opinion which Lavender expresses on his first visit to Borva, that the English spoken there, particularly that spoken by the gentle voiced Sheila, is the most charming in the world.

"And are you ferry well?" seems the most natural and correct of salutations.

"But Miss Shila is ferry well, whatever, Mr. Ingram," says Mr. Mackenzie on the occasion of Ingram and Lavender's visit to Borva, "and it is a great day, this day, for her, tat you will be coming to the Lewis; and it wass tis morning she wass up at ta break o' day, and up ta hills to get some bits o' green things for ta rooms you will hef, Mr. Ingram."

Mr. Black's style is admirable for its force and its purity. His wonderful descriptive powers have been already displayed in his earlier works, more especially in "The Strange Adventures of a Phæton." He seems, in his last book, to delight in describing the ever-changing sea and richly-colored sky of Borva, and the primitive manners and the honest and simple lives of the fisher peasants over whom Sheila's father ruled by Highland hereditary right.

THE WESTWARD MARCH OF EMIGRATION IN THE U. S., CONSIDERED IN ITS BEARING UPON THE NEAR FUTURE OF COLORADO AND NEW MEXICO. March, 1874.

A pamphlet bearing this title has recently been placed in our hand. It is written undoubtedly in the interest of a railway company seeking to find a market for its bonds; yet it forms a chapter in the written history of the causes of the rapid growth of railways in our country and an important paper in the study of our sociology.

Surging against a population of forty-two millions of inhabitants already settled in the United States comes the annual immigration of four hundred thousand, one-fourth of which are farmers. They meet the young American. The latter "*has seen and learned by tradition* of the growth of comfort, wealth and refinement, of the increased value of land, and the rapid rise of cities and acquisition of territory around him in his more easterly home;" and so, pushed forward by this annual influx from Europe, "he starts out full of courage and hope, with no other capital than these qualities and his strong arm, to acquire the cheap land, and build himself a home in the West. He leaves behind friends and kindred, resolved to achieve fortune and consequence, and then to return East to marry and carry his wife to the new land. He is enterprising and full of faith. He knows that his adopted State or territory will soon become populous, and contain large cities and all the comforts and luxuries he has left in the East. He hastens to seize the rich soil, the forest of timber, the coal field, the iron, copper or lead mine, the fine water-power, or the promising town-site, which have remained since creation untouched in that country of hope.

As he acquires fortune, and his boys grow up, they too become filled with the inevitable longing. The land around them has become in its turn valuable; the social and business chances are diminished by competition; they know the story of their father's career, and the most enterprising imitate it and start out to advance still farther the line of the western frontier. This leader carries with him foreigners, as he goes, who unite their efforts with his to build homes and towns for their friends, who are waiting for the word to follow.

We find the figures showing how much railroads have directed the westward march, and to what an extent the originators of many of the lines depended upon this truism of emigration for their estimated profits. Under this head he speaks of the Illinois roads as follows:

"The State of Illinois has now nearly three millions of people. It is one of the richest States of the Union. It contains 7,000 miles of railways, and it is a common remark that the resources of eight miles of country on each side of a line in that State will warrant the construction of a new railway. But in 1856–7, when the writer first visited Illinois, and the more active construction of these lines had begun, one might ride by rail across the unbroken prairie for an hundred miles without seeing a house or fence. The lines were built *in advance* of population—not to supply existing wants, but to *settle* the country by making it accessible and enabling its future products to reach a market. How well they have succeeded in making this state the "granary" of America is too well known to require expression. The lines themselves

—the machines which have absolutely *created* this prosperity—have abundantly shared in it; and, with few exceptions, have paid a high interest upon their cost."

This great movement is traced until as it stands at this present day. The old Western States thickly populated—emigration still coming in—the leaders of a more westwardly march gaining a foothold on the slopes of the Rocky Mountains, in the Territories of Colorado and New Mexico. Between these leaders and the band that is to follow stretch the great plains, four hundred miles wide; beyond them a new country, new wealth, and adventure; behind them a sameness that bores, and the ever recurrence of daily toil. The great plain is tersely but accurately described. The mountain slopes beyond! no one has yet given us a word painting of them. This is our author's impression:

"It is as though one had crossed the sea and reached the shores of a new country full of novel attractions and advantages, some even unknown in the one from which he had set sail—water, timber, coal, shelter; picturesque scenery, natural parks, resembling the finished grounds of a gentleman's country seat; home-like dells, coves and valleys; a most uniform and healthy climate, genial alike in winter and summer; numerous mineral springs, hot and cold; productive soil—everything apparently to invite rapid and permanent settlement.

"Numerous streams of water pouring down upon the plains (fed by the melting of snow from the higher mountain peaks), admit of being distributed over the adjoining slopes, converting them into a fertile agricultural district, capable of raising food for a large population.

But more than this—everywhere in the mountain ranges, which one after another in parallel order, from North to South, ride this magnificent plateau that crowns the American continent, are found rich veins and deposits of silver, gold, lead, copper, iron, salt, and nearly every other known mineral, the value of each being greatly enhanced by the remarkable abundance and diffusion of the best *coal.*"

It is the repetition of a description given "in the Reign of Her Most Glorious Majesty Queen Elizabeth," by adventurers of sterner stuff, to the listening ears of the young Amyas Leigh, when "Westward Ho!" was not as familiar a sound as now.

His last chapter (VIII.) is given to the consideration of the question, "What future is in store for Colorado and New Mexico?"

Without attempting to criticise his estimates we give them entire. It is the first effort ever made, that we know of, to estimate in detail the probable increase of any one section of the world, and is therefore a study in itself.

The population of Colorado and New Mexico in ten years will be 2,400,000; their annual productions will be $600,000,000;

their railway mileage will be 4,000; the net earnings of railways per mile will be $5000. He concludes as follows:

"In conclusion, there is one point connected with the westward movement of population in the United States, which although not yet mentioned, is of great importance. The wonderful growth which we have herein recorded of the States of the 'Old West' has been based upon and had the momentum of a population slightly exceeding twenty millions.

"But for the *coming* twenty years, the domestic movement will be that which will result from the same causes operating upon over forty millions of people as a basis.

"The annual emigration from abroad will probably likewise continue to increase. Without doubt, therefore, of the 100 millions of inhabitants which the United States are expected to contain in the year 1900, no small share will be found in the western half of the continent, of which we are disposed to consider Colorado and New Mexico the choicest sections."

BOOKS RECEIVED.

The Middle States: A Handbook for Travelers. A guide to the chief cities and popular resorts of the Middle States, and to their scenery and historical attractions; with the northern frontier, from Niagara Falls to Montreal, also Baltimore, Washington and Northern Virginia. With seven maps and fifteen plans. Pp. 469. 12mo., cloth, $2.00. Boston: James R. Osgood & Co., 1874. For sale by Claxton, Remsen & Haffelfinger, Philadelphia.

Half-hour Recreations in Natural History. First Division, Half-hours with Insects, in twelve parts, part 4, paper, pp. 32, 25 cents. Boston: Estes & Lauriat. For sale by Claxton, Remsen & Haffelfinger, Philadelphia.

The Masculine Cross. $1.00. By Sha Rocco. Asa K. Butts & Co., 36 Dey Street, New York.

Treatment of Mediomania. $1.00. By Frederic R. Martin, M. D. Asa K. Butts & Co., 36 Dey Street, New York.

Atherstone Priory. $1.25. By L. N. Comyn. Estes & Lauriat, 143 Washington Street, Boston. Claxton, Remsen & Haffelfinger, Philadelphia.

The Indian Question. By Francis A. Walker. I vol., 16mo. Pp. 268. Cloth, $1.50. James R. Osgood & Co., Boston. For sale by Claxton, Remsen & Haffelfinger, Philadelphia.

THE

PENN MONTHLY.

OCTOBER, 1874.

THE MONTH.

THAT interesting and edifying form of literature, the political platform, has been the chief intellectual pabulum that we have had served up during the past month. The general character of the documents is not so rhetorical as in days gone by; even the politicians are discovering that some things excite laughter instead of awe. The Democrats of course deal out wholesale denunciations of the sins of the Administration, and promise better things,—"if we had but the chance, gentlemen!" The Republicans hold up the party and its records, glory in its rebukes of its own sins and sinners, and promise more of the same sort in the future. Meanwhile, thoughtful people ask why parties that represent no living issue of American politics should continue to divide between them the suffrages of the great mass of the American people. Take the currency question, for instance, *the* vital issue of the present campaign. We have Hard-money Democrats, and Greenback Democrats,—Contractionist Republicans, Inflationist Republicans, and Do-nothing Republicans,—a happy family in each camp.

The best promise for the future comes from Missouri, where a People's Party, encountering the wrath of the professional politicians on both sides, but enjoying the support of the mass of the Republicans, has begun a campaign—chiefly upon State issues—

to rescue the State from the Bourbon Democracy. The ticket is a curious medley of the friends and enemies of the Confederacy—one of the candidates took another prisoner during the war. The currency plank simply opposes contraction, but the party has the active support of Senator Schurz, whose reëlection depends upon its success.

It was hardly a happy thought of the contractionists to ask the Hon. Hugh McCulloch to favor his fellow-citizens with his views on the financial situation and policy of the country. His very name carries with it associations that should convince any thoughtful man that the way to resumption of specie payments is not through the rapid reduction of the volume of the national currency. Every business interest united in the cry that the policy pursued by this gentleman, when Secretary of the Treasury, was crushing the very life out of our industries and producing an utter stagnation of business. If all who cursed Hugh McCulloch in 1867, were to step out of the Immediate Resumption ranks in 1874, there would be but a beggarly show of supporters for the "Hard Money" policy.

Mr. McCulloch embodies his views in a letter addressed to certain Cincinnati merchants, beginning with the statement that they have in no sense been changed since he was in office (1865–9). He would like to see the amount of the legal tenders reduced at the rate of $50,000,000 a year, the money for the purpose being obtained by increasing and economizing the national revenue, and in the last resort by the sale of bonds. Then at some early date, say Dec. 1st, 1876, he would have a return to specie payments on the part of the government, and free banking as soon thereafter as might be. Thus far the old Secretary McCulloch; but he has learnt something since 1867. He would not absolutely contract the volume of the currency; at least if the country needs the greenbacks thus withdrawn, he would replace them by allowing the National Banks to issue an equal amount of notes in their place.

On Mr. McCulloch's own supposition, and before any troublesome questions are asked, the net result would be that there would be no depreciated government or national bank-paper in circulation; the volume of the currency would not necessarily be contracted; a part of the national debt that now pays no interest,

say $100,000,000, would then bear interest; but this addition to the country's burdens would be more than compensated by the abolition of the premium on gold (which means the depreciation of greenbacks), and by the strengthened confidence that the nation will finally meet all its obligations. All of which are undoubtedly most excellent things, when we can get them without paying too dear for them.

But the fault of this solution, as of most solutions of the problem, is that it leaves out a good many elements of the problem, and assumes others to be invariable in quantity, while they are anything but that. Look at the question first with reference to the National Banks; would they stand by idle while the Treasury carried out this programme? They would be straining every nerve to get ready for the day of reckoning that Mr. McCulloch's plan promises them. Their circulation is at present based upon and secured by government bonds. That he would change that basis, he does not say; but it is easy to infer it. His object is to get rid of irredeemable paper; every national bank note would be payable in gold after the date fixed. To expect them to keep the bonds as security and pay in gold also, would be rather exacting. They could not, if they would. They would have to "unload" their "governments" upon the market to get gold or the equivalent greenbacks, just at the time when the Secretary of the Treasury stepped down to offer new bonds for sale there. At what prices these latter would sell is a not very difficult sum in compound proportion. At the same time, these very national banks are expected to step into the breach, and supply with their notes the deficit in the circulation produced by contraction at the Treasury. That is, at a time when their existing responsibilities would be growing intolerably great, they would be expected to undertake new risks and responsibilities for the benefit of the community. The real effect of the plan would be a wholesale and disastrous contraction, like that carried out by the Bank of England, in 1815-9—like that by which a certain Secretary of the Treasury nearly throttled every American industry in 1866-7—like that with which the Bank of France is now plunging that unhappy country in miseries and disasters worse than those that were inflicted by the war.

How would the general interests of the nation be affected? We should have half of the miseries of inflation and all those of con-

traction at the same time. The amount of both the principal and the interest of the national debt would be increased—just what Mr. McCulloch's friends have been denouncing as a breach of faith with our creditors. At the same time the amount of the currency would be rapidly and violently diminished, a thing never effected in any country without bringing wholesale ruin in its train. A heavier burden of taxation would be imposed upon the people, although they now pay—in Pennsylvania, at least—about twice as much on the dollar as the people of Great Britain do. And last of all—for Mr. McCulloch goes so far—we should have a Revenue Tariff (instead of Protection to native industry), dealing out disaster and misery in every district of the country, and putting back the advance of the nation in wealth and independence by half a century. Mr. McCulloch sounds better than in his purely contractionist *role* of 1866–7; but the improvement is only in the sound.

THE centennial anniversary of the meeting of the first Continental Congress was celebrated on Saturday at the Carpenters' Hall, on Chestnut street, below Fourth, in the room where that meeting took place a hundred years ago. The affair seems to have been successful. The feature of the day was Mr. Brown's speech, which consisted of reminiscences given in a way which must interest all who care for our history, and which ended with an appeal to his hearers to remember that their future is much more to them than their past, and moreover was in their power to make for good or evil. An exhortation which has only too much relevancy at the present time.

OUR two new judges for the Supreme Court of the State have been chosen for us. The freeman, if not quite content, has, at least, the comfort of knowing that he need not subject himself to the inconvenience of attending the polls. There is no hypocrisy either about this election, which, to be conducted under the restricted system introduced by the new constitution; no honester farce ever was. Come, put in your ballots, fellow-citizens, say the party managers ingenuously, but do not for a moment suppose that it will make the slightest difference how you vote, for as only one name can be on your paper, both the nominees *we* have selected must be elected. You may regard the Republican candidate as a

political hack, or resolutely have determined to bar the entrance of our higher courts to any one of the Democratic faith; but so helpless are you now that you have not even the choice of evils. You cannot vote *against* either man. The nominations for the judiciary in this State were the only ones in contest, the rest of the "slate" (to adopt the expressive symbolism of our rulers) was made up without trouble.

In the Republican convention Judge Butler, of West Chester, and Judge Paxson, of Philadelphia, divided the struggle between them, and it took the whole weight of the City Ring to defeat the former, whose merits every intelligent man was willing to recognize. Mr. Mann found the eloquence of his presence indispensable, and his active and faithful assistants left no effort untried. As to either his character or his capacity, the less said about the nominee the better. The District Attorney might have had the audacity to give us a worse man, perhaps, but we can hardly congratulate the honest Republican voters upon the alternative of on the one hand abandoning their party, or on the other raising to the highest judicial position in the Commonwealth the late stipendiary of a quack doctor. Judge Warren J. Woodward, who has been nominated by the Democrats, is, we are glad to say, a man of entire respectability, and is a capable and experienced Judge. We are assured moreover that he did not work for the nomination.

SARMATIA has fallen unwept, and if without a crime, certainly not without a great many good reasons for falling. If pushing foolish bills to persecute an exasperating press which finds in Congressional action themes for criticism wholesome but bitter: if whitewashing rascally politicians in the committee room; if a general lowness of tone, and readiness to give good-natured help on every occasion to the avowedly dishonest, are reasons for not electing to the Senate a candidate of whom this may be predicated, Vermont, the most faithful of the long-suffering constituencies of the party in power, has done well to turn; a little recalcitration would do no harm elsewhere, and Judge Poland in private life can, as an example, make up in part for his public career.

No other ecclesiastical prosecution in the history of America surpasses or even equals in its dramatic interest the unhappy in-

vestigation which has been brought to a close by the committee whom Mr. Beecher invited to investigate the charges made against his character by his former friend and parishioner, Theodore Tilton. We say "brought to a close," for although the newspapers, who have found the scandal highly profitable, keep trying to warm it up again, with all the zeal that they showed in making it as bad as possible while it went on, yet every one must feel that the Committee have elicited all the data attainable for the judgment of the case, and that the law trial will add little, save matters of detail, to what we know. The report of the committee, unanimously and most enthusiastically adopted by Plymouth church, carries with it, we think, the assent of the best classes of the American people. It is, every one says, not judicial in its tone, but we have read many judicial charges and decisions in which the air of studied impartiality was as little preserved. The justest and most impartial judges have not always thought themselves debarred from fiery indignation against the rascality of a malicious and perjured prosecutor; the Highest Judge, when last heard from, had not reached this point of impartiality. The point in the report that carries most weight with it is that the accusation against Mr. Beecher, while now alleged to have been from the first *crim. con.* with Mrs. Elizabeth Tilton, was, up to a given point in the proceedings, always alleged to have been improper advances—a change in the accuser's case that looks almost conclusive evidence of a conspiracy.

The net results of the whole matter are (1) that Mr. Beecher, and most of the members of Lyman Beecher's very noteworthy family, stand to-day very much lower in the eyes of the American public. The disclosures that have been made of the letters that passed between them, of the friends they have chosen as their associates, and of the whole moral atmosphere of the cliques to which they belong, are very unpleasantly displayed before the public. In this respect Henry Ward Beecher stands, in fact, rather better than the rest, but at the expense of his reputation for tact, pluck, common sense and insight into character. (2) that he has been guilty of the crime charged, nobody believes, except the few who wish to. He has given himself into the hands of the Philistines, especially of his "mutual friends," when a smaller but better balanced man would have knocked them right and left with an ex-

plosion of moral indignation at the very first word of accusation. As to the other party to the alleged criminality, Mrs. Tilton seems to be of the stuff of which mesmeric mediums are made—a being incapable of an act of independent and vigorous volition, when in the presence of a nature more positive than her own. Such creatures are becoming common in our highly artificial and nervous civilization, and in this age of spirit-rapping, planchette-moving, and kindred humbug-abominations. They are passive tools in the hands of any unscrupulous knave that chooses to use them. That her precious husband's charges against Mr. Beecher were the conception of an instant—of the instant in which Mr. H. C. Bowen announced that, on Mr. Beecher's representations of Mr. Tilton's character, he was to lose his place as editor of *The Brooklyn Union* and contributor to *The Independent,* and that they were made there and then with the knowledge that a confession of this, or of anything else, could be extorted from Mrs. Tilton, seems to us among the possibilities of this strange story.

We are not of the number of those who mourn over "the demoralizing spectacle" this case presents, while we believe it to be a very unpleasant and painful one. We think that the general tone of the public mind on the subject has been most excellent; that the popular respect for the sanctities of the family life, the sheet anchor of our social morality, has suffered no injury, but has rather been strengthened; and that the notion that the multitude of men gloat over the fall of one who stood high in men's regards, has received for once a refutation stronger than logic.

Spain, at the instigation of Bismarck, has been recognized universally, with the exception of Russia, whose monarchical instinct is stronger than any friendship for Germany or dislike of France. Whether the recognition will bring peace to that distracted country, is matter for conjecture. The Carlists seem now to be really winning, and the rally they made after Concha's death was probably a fitful movement. Accusations of inhumanity and robbery are bandied to and fro between them and the Republicans, until one is disposed to settle the controversy by believing the accusations of both sides. Don Carlos, as interviewed by an American reporter, professes most admirable liber-

alism; but qualifies what he says with the assertion that always, especially, however, in this materialistic age, is religion absolutely essential to the prosperity of a State. How far this means clerical rule, no one knows; but the power of the Church has been overthrown too recently and suddenly not to try a fresh struggle, and there are few who would not resolve the doubt one way.

MARSHAL BAZAINE, that pursy martyr, has escaped from his confinement melodramatically, according to his own account, by a rope down the face of a sea-cliff, at the foot of which his wife waited for him in a small boat. The latest news, however, is that an official investigation has shown that his keepers betrayed their trust. Evidently some more people are to be sacrificed to logically prove that, but for Bazaine, the French would have conquered the Germans. Bazaine out of his prison is, if possible, more insignificant than Bazaine the victim of the enemies of the empire, and certainly the last man in France for whom he can have any terrors must be MacMahon, except when on the same side.

THE British Association for the Advancement of Science met this year in Belfast, and, apparently out of compliment to the Irish people, elected Prof. Tyndall to the presidency. We fear that the people of that thriving and orthodox city would gladly have foregone the compliment, to be spared the address with which their countryman opened the session. Instead of reviewing the progress of science during the year, he took up its relation to the theological and metaphysical schools of thought, and carried the polemic against them to an extreme that surpasses anything yet said by either himself or any other of his school. While candidly admitting that beyond a certain step in the reasoning all was inference from analogy, he asserted that the whole drift and tendency of scientific thinking is to materialism, to recognize matter as containing in itself the potency and possibility of all ascertained phenomena—as well those that are called vital, intellectual and spiritual, as those that are simply natural. He especially ruled out every conception of a creative act—a beginning of what was not—as being at bottom as unscientific as the old

theological theory of a mechanical creation of each species in succession out of nothing. Turning, indeed, from the scientific to the psychological aspect of the question, he warned his hearers that all these terms and conceptions were merely provisional—that in the last analysis *omnia exeunt in mysterium*, and that the forces at work in the vast processes of transformation which we call nature are inexplicable and undefinable—the Unknown and the Unknowable of Herbert Spencer. In fine, Prof. Tyndall is a materialist of the nobler kind; he does not use the materialistic hypothesis to degrade the problems he would solve by it, as La Mettrie did; he would rather elevate our conception of matter until it is seen to furnish a worthy solution of those problems. But in this he makes a great break from the theistic orthodoxy of his earlier teaching. It was not long ago that he assured a London audience that the pertinence of the question Napoleon put to his atheistic officers—"After all, gentlemen, who made all this?"—was not and could not be diminished by any discoveries or hypotheses of science; and still later we find him describing the spheres of thought and of matter as being so distinct that a transition from one to the other is "simply unthinkable." Under whatever influence, Prof. Tyndall has taken a "new departure."

We think his philosophical and theological opponents have every reason to be glad of his change of attitude. Nothing can be more likely to bring the question to its true issue: Is physical science, of and by itself, competent to form an adequate theory of the universe, or must its votaries confess the existence of departments of thought where its one category—the unvarying sequence of natural law—has no validity? At present it is playing the part that every progressive science has played in the day of its greatest discoveries—it is assuming that it can do everything, answer all questions, solve all problems. Just the same part was played—as a recent article in *The Spectator* points out—by the science of mechanics, at the beginning of last century. The disciples of Newton were flushed with the triumph of discoveries as great as those of our own age. Everything was to be explained on mechanical principles, not excepting the affinities of chemistry. And so Boerhaave had a hard time of it, in asserting that chemical affinity was not a mechanical force, but a higher and more special

force that operated often in defiance of the mechanical force of attraction; and not until the heyday of scientific exultation was passed, was there room for the development of chemistry. "In both cases there has been a wonderful expansion of a principle supposed to have a certain limited application; in both cases there has resulted a tendency to assume that what has explained so much will explain everything. Just as the men of the seventeenth century were tempted to think that mathematical science was the whole of science, so the men of the nineteenth century are tempted to think that scientific thought is the whole of thought."

Of the papers read at the meeting of the Association, that by Lord O'Hagan, a Belfast man, on the working of Gladstone's Irish Land Law, has the greatest interest for the student of social science. While believing that the general effect of the law had been a good one, he was surprised and disappointed that so little had come of the "purchase clauses" through whose operation the Irish tenant farmers were to be converted into a body of freeholders. The number of holdings purchased is extremely trifling, and the amount of these purchases is diminishing instead of increasing. Had the Bill provided for the establishment of something like the Land Banks of Prussia, the purchase of holdings would have been made much easier, and perhaps somewhat more general. But it must be remembered that everything in Gladstone's law tends to make the position of the tenant an easy and comfortable one, and that of the land-owner, be his holding great or small, comparatively undesirable. It takes away many of the chief motives to purchase, without giving any real help to those who would like to pass from the position of a tenant to that of a freeholder. The wisest legislation would have been to have opened and held open the door to ownership by purchase, given a helping hand to all who would go through it, and left those who would not under all the old disabilities. Then in twenty years the land would have been in the hands of its actual cultivators. A parallel to Gladstone's Land Bill would have been a law to abolish slavery by making the condition of the slave an easy one, but providing that he should have the right to earn his freedom.

THE ECONOMIC WRONGS OF IRELAND.

THE Home Rulers have had a hearing. Something over half the Irish representation in the Imperial Parliament, led by Counsellor Butt, made the demand that the Irish nation be restored to the *status quo ante Unionem.* Mr. Disraeli fixed a day for the hearing, gave them a full audience, and then with others —notably Dr. Ball—replied to the arguments by speeches and votes, and the matter went over till another session. So far John Bull's sense of fair play has taken him. John is fond of fair play when there is nothing to frighten him—still more fond of advertising his love of it. And the Home Rule movement being on the whole an innocent and peaceful safety-valve for disaffection that might find worse vents, John is very far from afraid of it. Home Rule is an appeal to his own tribunal, and a peaceable one. It does not disturb his nerves.

The arguments of the English newspapers, following up those of the speakers in the House of Commons, are of the same calm and peaceful sort. They are glad that Mr. Butt and his friends have had a hearing, and sure that the hearing has greatly hurt the cause they represent. It has shown, what was all along anticipated, that they were acting from sentiment rather than on any definite plan; that they had no such plan in their minds at the outset, and have digested none since; that they have never seriously faced the difficulties of the problem, and endeavored to find such a solution of them as England would accept as feasible. In this respect Mr. Butt and his friends have certainly not shown any marked practical talent. The debate offered them full opportunity for the removal of superficial objections, but they made little or no use of it. The *peaceable* restoration of the partial independence that Ireland enjoyed during the last eighteen years of the eighteenth century can only be effected by such appeals to the conscience and common sense of England as will lead her to regard the measure as right and desirable. Whether there are any grounds upon which such appeals might be based is a matter for their investigation. That they did not present these in the debate that has taken place is beyond all dispute. If they are not to be found, then the agitation of Home Rule at present is a mere

waste of strength. There are only two ways left—to wait till a general war puts England at the mercy of the Irish people, as in 1779, or at once fall in with the Fenian movement, and fight for total and violent separation. The latter has been tried so often, that to renew the attempt would be criminal. The former is not within the present range of possibilities.

One very forcible objection to the movement is this—the Irish people do not really desire Home Rule. A very large minority, if not the majority, do undoubtedly prefer the present connection with England. It would be a mistake to judge of Irish opinion from that of our Irish immigrants. It is the most dissatisfied class of these that find their way to the United States. The great mass of those who have emigrated to the British colonies are thoroughly loyal, and even of our Irish citizens or aliens, a great part learn the intensely patriotic opinions, which they love to display, after landing on our shores and associating for a while with compatriots who preceded them, and learning a few lessons in the art of brag from American politicians. Terence M'Coul at home was a quiet sort of body, that meddled little with affairs of State, having the true Celtic instinct that such matters belonged to "his betters." But a few years of American life have made a change in him: he holds his head much higher now. He has a delightful consciousness that he is one of the sovereign American people, and at the same time a son of down-trodden Ireland, the land of Saints, the victim of English rapacity. Wrongs and outrages that he had no notion of when he was on the green sod, have become as clear as daylight to him. He is not quite sure but that he has some claim to the land of the plundered Irish nobles, that the English stripped of their estates. He can hardly help thinking of his old landlord—a man, perhaps, of far purer Celtic blood than himself,—as a hateful plunderer of the poor; he always tipped his hat to the aforesaid landlord at home, and thought him made of a finer sort of clay. Above all, the story of Irish struggles for independence is now brought home to him as never before. An Irish-American literature, full of passionate hatred of the Saxon, and of Celtic intensity, has become accessible to him; it tells him the story of the defeated cause, dwelling on the sins of the victor and glossing over the crimes of the van-

quished. Popular orators, taught in the school of O'Connell to regard bombastic virulence as eloquence, have stirred his blood. He has learnt on a foreign soil to resent the wrongs of his native country. At home he heard now and then by dim tradition of the struggles of that past; but he heard of them as he heard of the legends of the Saints—things somehow true and yet unreal. His chief teacher was the parish priest, and the voice from the altar spoke of peace on earth, good will to men. If he disliked and distrusted the government, it was not so much because it was the rule of the stranger, as just because it was "the government," and therefore the natural enemy of all and sundry.

With Terence's class at home, "the government" has become more of a friend and helper under the new land law. It has vindicated to them the right to their bit of holding at a reasonable rent, and forbidden their eviction save after the expiration of their leases and the purchase of their tenant-right. It has even secured to each of them, if he be now in possession of a holding, the right, dear to the Celtic peasant's heart, of becoming a landlord or middleman himself, by subletting fragments of his land to others as poor as himself. He has come to look upon the Assistant Barrister (as the chief judge at the Quarter Sessions is modestly called) as a sort of guardian angel. Just because the agricultural peasant of Ireland knows but little of the injuries, real and fancied, that England has inflicted upon his country, he is not altogether disaffected to the existing rule nor anxious for a change. Rather he is disposed to accept what the present system has done for him as so much net gain, and to acquiesce in its permanence.

It is in the Irish towns that the mischiefs of English rule are felt with least of alleviation, and resented with most bitterness. Not one of the many alterations and reforms that have been effected during the present century has tended to improve the condition of the townsmen, while all the burdens and miseries of Ireland are intensified among them. The tithes and the Church were never much of a grievance to the townsman. John Bull has not propitiated him by the sacrifice of rectors and deans. The Church Bill will only diminish the number, and the income, of those who had money to spend upon the shopkeepers. The Encumbered Estate's Court Act and the Land Bill are nothing to him. The Irish National School System is rather a grievance

than a benefit, for it does not give him the sort of education for his children that he at heart desires. It is within the small towns that Fenianism has its strength, there being there enough of intellectual movement to make the study of grievances easy and general. And here the economic grievances of Ireland are most fully displayed in the decay and ruin of what were once fine streets, neat and pleasant houses, now peopled by pauperized, hopeless masses—all concentrated within a brief area. "As soon as ever I arrived in Ireland," says Dr. Keane, Bishop of Cloyne, "the first thing struck me was that I witnessed more wretchedness and misery in one small town, with a population of less than four thousand, than I had seen throughout the length and breadth of England, France and Belgium together. There is not a town in the dioceses of Cloyne and Ross, where almost every day throughout the year, except for about three weeks during harvest time, and occasionally for a short time during spring time, you will not see men with families looking about for a day's work, and not being able to find it."

But the Home Rulers cannot claim this town population as heartily favorable to the limited independence that they ask; if they are anything, they are Fenians. They may act for a time under the Home Rule flag, and vote for the Home Rule candidate in the absence of one more to their tastes, but they will never stop at that. Hatred of the English rule is so burnt into them by all the experiences of the past, that there is no hope in their hearts for any prosperity or peace for Ireland until "the hoof of the Saxon" is no longer on her neck. There was truth in the taunt flung by the English Tories at Counsellor Butt and his friends, that they owed their election to the votes of those with whom Home Rule was but a pretence to cover aims of quite another sort.

The Repeal of the Union and the reëstablishment of such Home Rule as Ireland had between 1783 and 1801 would undoubtedly be a very dangerous experiment. Ireland has lived through many eventful days since the Volunteers met at Dungannon and overawed England into an acknowledgment of the legislative independence of their country. Her experiences since that eventful day have unhappily been of a sort to divide rather than unite her people. The great English and Scotch colony, who really

wrested that concession from England, were at that time the only part of the nation who had spirit enough to take the initiative. The Catholic majority had no representatives either in Parliament or among the volunteers, had no suffrage in the election of members of the Parliament till 1793, and no seats in the Imperial Parliament till 1829. First in the Rebellion of 1798, and then in the agitation for Repeal of the Union, led by O'Connell, did the Catholic majority begin to show its own strength and act for itself. But the minority who took the Patriotic side in 1783, under the leadership of Grattan and Charlemont, have been driven over almost in a body to the support of the Union. They were for the most part hostile to the Union at its inception. The measure was carried by a system of wholesale bribery and corruption without a parallel even in English politics. But they fought the Repeal party of 1843 with all the energy of desperation. There are exceptions among them, like the late Smith O'Brien and Mr. Butt himself; but as a body the Protestants of Ireland are opposed to any separate Irish government in which the Catholics have a share proportional to their numbers. Home Rule would not restore the *status quo* of 1783–1801; it would create such a government as Ireland has not seen since the battle of the Boyne. Those who are best acquainted with the temper of both parties, believe that complete Irish independence would precipitate the two sections of the Irish people in deadly conflict with each other. On the one side would be the force of numbers and the memory of long years of wrong and oppression; on the other the power of superior intelligence, discipline and wealth; on both the ferocity of passions inconsistent with the Christian name. The establishment of a modified independence, with England to keep the peace between the factions, would not lead to results so full of disaster. But Dublin would be a scene of ceaseless clamor, contention and recrimination; and the public opinion of the world would uphold England in putting a stop to it.

What Ireland really needs to escape from her present impoverished and hopeless condition, does not involve any political separation from England, either partial or total. Her deepest and most abiding wrongs are economic, not political. She is not today, like Scotland and Wales, a contented portion of the United Kingdom, because she was for centuries treated as industrially an

alien, while held in political subjection. She was systematically debarred from participating in the industrial growth and progress of the rest of the British islands, and to-day the results of that growth are used to depress and burden her in new ways; the purse of the capitalist is continuing the work that the sword and the law-book began.

Ireland has great natural resources. Her soil is admitted to be superior to that of England, taken acre for acre, and if her excessive rain-fall makes the raising of grain-crops a precarious business, it gives her unequaled advantages for dairy-farming, flax-growing and green crops. She has but little coal, and that little of an inferior kind, unless the new mines in County Tyrone fulfil the expectations they have excited.[1] But her coast is so indented by the sea, and her territory so intersected by navigable rivers, that every part of the island is easily accessible, and Newcastle coal can be put down at Belfast and Londonderry as cheap as in London—cheaper than in Rouen. She has mines of all the useful and some of the precious metals; she has an abundant supply of that cheap labor, which English Economists have till recently classed among the foremost requisites of successful production. A better school system than any that England has ever enjoyed, has for many years been imparting instruction to her children. The "pressure of her population on subsistence" has been vastly relieved by the wholesale expatriation of millions of her people. The United States alone contained at the last census nearly two million persons of Irish birth. "And yet she is not happy." The country does not prosper; her resources lie undeveloped; every now and then we have rose-colored accounts of the great advances made by Irish agriculture; but more careful and patient observers say that except in the three or four North-eastern counties, there is little or no improvement in the condition of the working classes; and those classes contain so large a share of the whole people, that the rest are not worth counting.

The story of Ireland's economic wrongs carries us back to the

[1]Ireland seems to have been stripped of her chief coal measures by a vast geological convulsion, which swept into the Atlantic the secondary strata which once were superimposed upon the vast central district of mixed limestone and peat. This great plain contains some twelve thousand square miles, one-fifth flat bogs and the rest arable lands.

sixteenth century, as an act passed by the English Parliament in 1543 (*temp.* Henry VIII.), forbids the importation of Irish wool into England, and speaks of the manufacture of linen and woolen yarns as a chief branch of Irish industry. Another, in 1571 (13th Elizabeth), says the Irish had been exporting these goods for over a hundred years. By an act passed in the twentieth year of the reign of Elizabeth, the importation of Irish cattle was prohibited. Wentworth—who, with Charles I. and Archbisop Laud, thought to reconstruct the British Islands after their own liking—ruled Ireland in 1632–9, and labored to make it both prosperous and dependent upon England. Through the abundance and excellence of Irish wool, her manufacturers had begun to compete with the English manufacturers in the English market, and Wentworth set himself to discourage this as being prejudicial to English interests. He prohibited the export of wool, but he also did his utmost to promote that of linen, importing flax-seed and workmen from the continent, and investing £30,000 of his own money in the enterprise.

After the Restoration the old policy of restriction was resumed. English rents had fallen, largely through the expulsion of great numbers of the Puritans to the continent and America, partly through the interruption of trade by continental wars. An outcry was raised against the importation of Irish cattle as the real cause, and in 1663 it was prohibited a second time. "Forbidden," says Lord Dufferin, "to send our beasts alive across the channel, we killed them at home, and began to supply the sister country with cured provisions. A second act of Parliament (in 1665) imposed prohibitory duties on salted meat. The hides of the animals still remained, but the same influence soon put a stop to the importation of leather. Our cattle trade abolished, we tried sheep-farming. The sheep breeders of England immediately took alarm, and Irish wool was declared contraband" a second time. So far was this English jealousy carried that when the Lord Lieutenant, by an appeal in behalf of the sufferers by the great fire of London, secured a large contribution of Irish beeves from a people who had nothing else to give, an outcry was raised against the gift as a "political contrivance to defeat the prohibition of Irish cattle."

But, as Ireland is now learning, the freest exportation of food

and raw materials would not have made the country rich: what was she doing to develop a native industry? The Duke of Ormond was a wise and politic ruler, who did his utmost for the country. He secured from the King in 1667 authority to remove all prohibitions upon Irish trade except with the Colonies, the East Indies and the Levant—the latter being the monopoly of the East India and the Turkey companies. The exceptions thus specified had already been enacted by laws of the English Parliament,—the first by the Navigation Laws of 1660 and 1662; and by the act "to make this Kingdom a staple, not only for the commodities of those plantations, but also for the commodities of other countries and places for the supplying of them." At the same time, the manufacture of glass, for which Ireland possesses unusual facilities, having begun, an English act was passed to forbid its export from Ireland. In spite of all this, Ireland attained a large measure of prosperity under Ormond's rule. From 1667 the trade of the greater part of Europe was open to her wool-growers and weavers. Skilled workmen came over from England. Irish laws encouraged and promoted the linen manufacture; five hundred families of Flemings came over to engage in it; the manufactures of Scotland were excluded from the Irish market by protective laws. Nothing that "the good Duke" could do in the way of zealous encouragement and munificent patronage, was left undone, and the years 1677–1688 may be reckoned as one of the three periods in which Ireland enjoyed real prosperity. "Lands were everywhere improved; rents were doubled; the Kingdom abounded with money; trade flourished to the envy of our neighbors: cities increased exceedingly; many places of the Kingdom equaled the improvements of England; the King's revenue increased proportionably to the advance of the Kingdom, which was every day growing, and was 'well established in plenty and wealth;' manufactures were all on foot in divers parts; the meanest inhabitants were at once enriched and civilized; and this Kingdom is then represented to be the most improved and improving place in Europe."[2]

At the close of the civil war, which in Ireland followed the

[2] *The Commercial Restrictions of Ireland Considered:* Dublin, 1779. "I repeat," says the anonymous author, "the words of persons of rank, who could not be deceived themselves, and were incapable of deceiving others."

Revolution of 1688, the country began to recuperate her strength with all the elasticity and vivacity of a vigorous and progressive nation. Exports increased rapidly; the years 1697, 1698, 1699, showed a growing balance of trade in favor of the country, and the influx of money poured new life's blood through all the veins of industry. But the jealousy of the English traders and land owners was thoroughly aroused. In 1698 the English House of Lords addressed King William with the complaint "that the growing manufacture of cloth in Ireland, both by the cheapness of all sorts of necessaries of life, and goodness of material for making all manner of cloth, doth invite your subjects of England, with their families and servants, to leave their habitations and settle there, to the increase of the woolen manufacture in Ireland," and it may prove to the "prejudice" of "the said manufacture here." Would your Majesty be pleased "to declare to all your subjects of Ireland that the growth and increase of the woolen manufacture there hath long been, and ever will be looked upon with great jealousy by all your subjects of this Kingdom; and if not timely remedied, may occasion very strict laws, totally to prohibit and suppress the same, and, on the other hand, if they turn their industry and skill to the settling and improving the linen manufacture,...... they shall receive all countenance, favor and protection." To this and a similar address from the House of Commons, the King responded, promising to do "all that in me lies to discourage the woolen manufacture in Ireland, and to encourage the linen manufacture there, and to promote the trade of England." The complaisant Irish parliament, representing only the English colony of Protestants, passed a Government bill laying a prohibitory duty on the export of any woolen or mixed fabric except frieze; and to make assurance doubly sure, the English Parliament absolutely prohibited such export to any country except England and Wales. It seems to have been the theory that the relations of the Irish nation to other countries were especially and directly under English confrol.

The operation of the new law was most sudden and disastrous. "The Irish," says Arthur Young, "had a flourishing woolen manufacture; they made many slight fabrics not made in England; but all were crippled and put down by the prohibition of exportation." It was no secondary or minor interest that was

assailed. Irish statutes of the reign of Charles II., resolutions of the Parliament of 1695, and even the preamble of the English Act for their suppression, all combine to show that the manufacture and export of woolens were leading Irish industries. Twenty thousand manufacturers left the island. "At the passage of this fatal act," says Dean Swift, "the condition of our trade was glorious and flourishing, though in no way interfering with the English. We made no broadcloths above six shillings per yard. Coarse druggets, bays and shalloons, worsted damasks, strong draught works, slight half-works and gaudy stuffs were the only product of our looms. These were partly consumed by the meanest of our people, and partly sent to the Northern nations, from which we had in exchange timber, iron, hemp, pitch, tar and hard dollars. At the time the current money of Ireland was foreign silver, a man would hardly receive a hundred pounds without finding the coin of all the Northern Powers, and every Prince of the [German] Empire among it. This money was returned into England for fine cloths, silks, etc., for our own wear, for rent, for coals, for hardware and all other English manufactures, and in a great measure supplied the London merchants with foreign silver for exportation.........Three parts in four of that district of the town [Dublin] where I dwell were English manufacturers,......... employed in working up our coarse wool, while the finest was sent to England. Several of these had taken the children of the native Irish apprentices to them, who, being humbled by the forfeiture of over three millions by the Revolution, were obliged to stoop to a mechanic industry. Upon the passage of this bill we were obliged to dismiss thousands of these people from our service." Some "returned home and overstocked England with workmen;" others "went to France, Spain and the Netherlands, where they met with good encouragement, whereby the natives, having got a firm footing in the trade, being acute fellows, soon became good workmen as any we have, and supply the foreign market with constant recruit of artizans." So that England did not gain by Ireland's loss; the trade that was cut off from Ireland fell to France and the Low Countries, and the most valuable element of the Irish population were driven from their homes by a crime equal in folly, but less respectable in motive, than the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes four years before this.

No other Irish Parliament met till 1703, and by that time the Irish had evidence enough of the folly of their former representatives. The House of Commons transmitted to Queen Anne a representation "of our deplorable condition." "They set forth the vast decay and loss of their country's trade, its being almost exhausted of coin; that they are hindered of earning their own livelihood and from maintaining their own manufactures; that their poor are thereby become very numerous; that great numbers of Protestant families have been constrained to remove out of the kingdom, as well into Scotland as into the dominions of foreign states; and that their foreign trade and its returns are under such restrictions and discouragements as to be in a manner impracticable; and they apply for liberty to export their linen manufactures to the plantations."[3] At this session and down to the accession of the House of Hanover, the poverty of the country continued to be so great that it was difficult to raise the supplies to put the island in a proper state of defense. Even under the earlier Georges the depression of every Irish interest was extreme; a national debt of less than a hundred thousand pounds dismayed their statesmen, and the utmost economy was forced upon every branch of the government. Well might Swift, with savage sarcasm, refuse to unite in the toast "to Ireland's Prosperity," on the ground that "he never drank to memories."

Not that any stone was left unturned to retrieve Irish prosperity. "The easiness of the Irish labor market," says Lord Dufferin, "and the cheapness of provisions still giving us an advantage, even though we had to import our materials, we next made a dash at the silk business; but the silk manufacturers proved as pitiless as the wool staplers. The cotton manufacturer, the sugar refiner, the soap and candle maker (who especially dreaded the abundance of our kelp), and any other trade or interest that thought it worth while to petition, was received by Parliament with the same cordiality, until the most searching scrutiny failed to detect a single vent through which the industry could respire." "We are apt," says Swift, "to charge the Irish with laziness, because we seldom find them employed; but then we don't consider that they have nothing to do."

Two industries flourished, both of them demoralizing. The

[3]*Commercial Restraints of Ireland.* Pp. 24–6.

Irish wool was in great demand upon the continent to mix with the inferior French wool; as its exportation was forbidden, smuggling became a profitable profession. The French government, alarmed at large sums thus paid to the free traders, forbade the export of great amounts of specie; the wool had to be paid for in French silks, wines and brandies. The trade was openly connived at, for public opinion heartily condemned the laws that forbade it. Any over-zealous gauger got no thanks for his pains to suppress it, even from the high officials in Dublin Castle. At the same time it did vast injury to the people by flooding the country with spirituous liquors, and attaching a certain *prestige* to lawlessness.

Another trade was the pirating of English books. As Ireland had no international copyright law, an Irish publisher might lawfully reprint any English book without paying its author a farthing. Had the circulation of these Dublin editions been confined to Ireland, the harm done to the English writer and publisher would have been but slight. But the whole or the greater part of these surreptitious editions was commonly smuggled across the channel to undersell the genuine edition in the English market. From the time of Pope down to the Union, English literature and literary history is full of complaints of these Dublin pirates.

What was the condition of the mass of the Irish people in this unnatural and preposterous state of industrial subordination? "Debarred from every other trade and industry, the entire nation flung itself back upon *the land*, with as fatal an impulse as when a river, whose current is suddenly impeded, rolls back and drowns the valley it once fertilized" (Lord Dufferin). It is from this era that the system of rack-renting dates. The Irish peasant, driven to compete with his fellow for a field or a potato patch, offered a rent out of all proportion to his means, because he must have the land at any price. Swift says, that "upon the determination of all leases made before the year 1690, a gentleman thinks he has but indifferently improved his estate if he has only doubled his rent-roll. Farms are screwed up to a rack-rent—leases granted but for a small term of years—tenants trod down by hard times and discouraged from cultivating the land they occupy by the certainty they have of the rent being raised on the expiration of their lease, proportionably to the improvements they have made. Thus

is honest industry restrained; the farmer is a slave to his landlord." Nor was the landlord so much to blame for this state of things, at least from the English point of view; he simply "bought in the cheapest market, and sold in the dearest," and did "what he pleased with his own." He found around him a set of clamorous bidders, ready to take the land at any price and on any or no lease, and he took them at their offer. He soon discovered, however, that Ireland was not the cheapest market in which to buy the pleasant satisfaction that arises from feeling that you are well off yourself, and those who surround you and depend upon you are comfortable. The Irishman in rags, gaunt with hunger, hopeless and thriftless, was a blot on the beauty and brightness of every Irish landscape. Hosts of beggars dogged the steps of every one who had aught to give, and told with a pathetic eloquence the story of a nation's starving children. Clearly England or the Continent would be a pleasanter place to live in, and thither the Irish landlord betook himself. As English economists could be pleaded in justification of his proceedings thus far, so now Mr. McCulloch and Archbishop Whately had a good word for him in his new capacity of absentee. They dared not admit that in seeking his own interest, he could do otherwise than what was best for the interests of the entire community.

The absentee system brought the middlemen into existence. There were not land agents or factors in the ordinary sense; they were persons who obtained leases of estates or parts of estates from their absentee owners, in order to sublet them to the actual farmers. But there was no end to this process of subletting; the farmer in his turn had as many tenants as he had fields, or more, and these minor holdings were again sublet in fragments of almost microscopic dimensions. The middlemen were piled three or four deep upon the land, each making his profit out of the transaction, and all paid out of the earnings of the actual cultivator at the bottom of the pile. "Whether even the middleman is deserving of all the abuse which is heaped upon him, may be a question. To drive a hard bargain is a failing not confined to that class of persons; and it has always seemed to me that the moral responsibility of accepting a competition rent is pretty much the same as that of profiting by the market rate of wages. If the first is frequently exorbitant, the latter is as often inadequate, and inadequate wages

are as fatal to efficiency as a rack-rent is to production ; though each be the result of voluntary adjustment, it is the same abject misery and absence of an alternative which rules the rate of both." But "in fact the middlemen of Ireland were rather the exponents than the cause of the people's misery, and though piled ten deep one above the other, they no more occasioned rack-rents than the degrees on a barometer occasion the atmospheric pressure they record. Derivative tenancies, cottier allotments, potato cultivation, low wages, emigration, have been the rude alleviations—not the cause—of the country's destitution; just as half rations are the alternative for short provisions—or any wages are preferable to starvation—a patch of ground, at a rack-rent, to serfdom and three-pence a day—or a free farm in America to digging another man's potato garden in Connemara."

"The original course of the disease is everywhere the same. The disproportion of the opportunities of employment to population has resulted in universal pressure and universal competition—competition in the labor market, already modified by emigration; competition in the land market—only to be relieved by the application to more profitable occupations of so much of the productive energies of the nation, as may be in excess of the requirements of a perfect agriculture."[4]

The national prostration that began with the destruction of the woolen manufacture in 1699, continued without any interruption for over half a century. The linen manufacture furnished some alleviation, indeed, and by 1735 the export to England was over six and a half million yards. But the manufacture was a local industry, confined very largely to the Scotch colony in Ulster, where the streams abound in natural chlorides, and the atmosphere seems especially favorable to bleaching.

A brief interval of apparent prosperity occurred about the middle of the century, culminating in 1754. It did more harm

[4]Lord Dufferin's *Irish Emigration and the Tenure of Land in Ireland.* While we agree with the main line of statement here, and in the whole of his lordship's book, we cannot assent to the positions: (1) That the difficulties of the Irish laborer can be solved by emigration; (2) That the proper tillage of Ireland would not furnish profitable employment to a larger number of people than the island ever contained. But such a tillage implies the neighborhood of a large population not employed in farming.

than good. The treasury was full; the national debt paid off; but the old habits of strict economy were abandoned by both the government and the people. The tide had turned at last, and this sanguine people were to enjoy prosperity now and forever. Then came a crash in business circles, an empty treasury, and still deeper wretchedness and hopelessness; and royal alms for the suffering people. But still greater mischief was done in the notion the English conceived and clung to, that Ireland contained vast resources and inexhaustible wealth, which a wise home management might develop, without the creation of a varied industry.

Irish poverty reached its height, or rather its depth, during our Revolutionary war. Even the linen industry seemed utterly prostrated. Rivals of the manufacture sprang up on the continent, in England and in Scotland; the export fell off immensely. Its prosperity had always been a very variable quantity, and every bad season had witnessed a large emigration of Irish Presbyterians; after 1770 that emigration became wholesale. Ulster lost twenty thousand of these industrious settlers in two years.

"The spirit of emigrating in Ireland," says Arthur Young, "appears to be confined to two circumstances—the Presbyterian religion[5] and the linen manufacture. I heard of very few emigrants, except among manufacturers of that persuasion. The Catholics never went. They seemed not only tied to the country, but almost to the parish in which their ancestors lived."

"England's extremity was Ireland's opportunity." At war with France and America, and fearing an invasion by the former, the English colony in Ireland organized a volunteer army of 40,000 men, and obtained arms from the government. Realizing their

[5]The allusion is probably to the highly intolerant treatment of the Presbyterians by the Episcopal courts, and their exclusion from office of every kind by the Test Act. The bishops—beginning with Jeremy Taylor—ignored the generous precedent set by Archbishop Usher, Bishops Bedell and Knox, and refused to acknowledge the ministerial character of the Presbyterian clergy, and summoned those who had been married by them to answer in their Proctors' courts, for living in concubinage! This alone seems to have produced general emigration, and Archbishop Bolton speaks of a thousand having started for America in 1728. Bolton, though not of a very spiritual type of churchman, was very useful in carrying out the tolerant policy of the British government toward the Irish Presbyterians, as far as the Irish laws allowed.

strength, they first demanded the removal of all restrictions upon Irish trade and exportation, and it was promptly granted. They then demanded the acknowledgment of the legislative independence of Ireland, but the Irish Parliament, filled with place-men and nominees of the Government, rejected the demand in 1780. Two years later came the great Convention of Volunteers at Dungannon, a meeting of Irish notables, representing 80,000 armed Protestants and three million unarmed Catholics. At last the nominal Parliament was overawed, and gave way to the real Parliament of the nation. It was unanimously voted in the Address to the King, on the motion of Henry Grattan, "that there is no body of men competent to make laws to bind this nation except the king, lords and commons of Ireland." The English Parliament at once gave up their claim to legislative supremacy laid down in Poyning's Law of 1495, and reaffirmed in the sixth year of the reign of George I.

One of the uses made of the new independence was to establish a Protective Tariff for the promotion of Irish industry. For eighty years the people of Ireland, through their Parliament, the press, and every form of popular meetings, had been demanding Free Trade; but they did not understand by that term the securing a monopoly to industries already established as against those that are yet in inception. They believed with their great spokesman, Dean Swift, that "in the infancy of a manufacture it may be justifiable, upon principles of expediency, to suppress all competition as much as possible." The English laws which they denounced were not measures to keep to the English tradesman his own home market, but were meant to shut the Irish weaver out of the market which was foreign to both. England had taken nearly a century's start of Ireland. Her skill and capital had been steadily developing, while the sister island was kept in enforced idleness and poverty. It was no even race, were the two to try their strength now, without any advantage on either side. The policy of Protection was, therefore, adopted and steadily persevered in. Pitt tried to secure free trade with Ireland, but the Irish Parliament refused the bait.

What was the effect of "the insane policy of jealousy and exclusiveness" which Ireland persisted in for so many years? Why, pretty much the same as in every other case where it has

had a fair trial. "In the sixteen years that followed, 1782 to 1798, the progress of the nation, as described by cotemporaries, was something wonderful. She rapidly rose in wealth, trade, manufactures, agriculture, every branch of industry. 'There is not a nation on the habitable globe,' wrote Lord Clare in 1798, 'which has advanced in cultivation and commerce, in agriculture and manufactures, with the same rapidity, in the same period.' All classes of the community, we are told, Protestant and Catholic, peer and peasant, rich and poor, were united by one bond of sympathy, one common sentiment of triumph."[6] Be it noted that no change was made in the Irish land tenure during this period. Not a landlord nor a middleman was interfered with, nor a lease forcibly canceled, nor a tenant-right confirmed by law. The people continued to be just the same Celtic and Roman Catholic majority, with the same Saxon and Protestant minority in the places of power; the same "alien church" monopolizing the funds appropriated by the nation or by zealous individuals for the support of religion; in a word, every Irish grievance was in full feather. And on the top of all there was a government of the minority, managed by an aristocratic ring, and as corrupt and profligate as any that the world has ever seen.

Neither was "the pressure of population upon subsistence" relieved by any general emigration; on the contrary, this is the period when the increase of population was the greatest. There was no official census of the people, but if we may believe estimates based on the house tax, the population of Ireland was doubled during the last quarter of the century, while its increase during the next forty years of poverty and misery was far less than that of England. And yet the country prospered; and but for the unhappy civil dissensions and conflicts of "the '98," which have permanently alienated the two great sections of the nation, that prosperity might have lasted till our own days.

[6] J. N. Murphy's *Ireland—Industrial, Political and Social:* London, 1870. Mr. Murphy, being a Free Trader, knows nothing about the Protectionist policy of this period; never refers to the duties imposed upon other goods, except in summarizing the Act of Union; knows, therefore, no reason for the industrial prostration of the country after that event. For this reason he fixes the limit at 1798, a year whose unhappy civil contests did very largely interfere with Irish prosperity. But from the far greater disasters and desolations of 1688–92, Ireland recovered with astonishing rapidity.

The insidious plan of Union, consummated in 1801, found no united and hopeful people to resist it. It was achieved, however, by all the arts of chicane and corruption, and the prosperity of Ireland became once more a "memory." For among its infamous provisions, one of the most disastrous provided for the gradual and total extinction of the then existing protection to Irish manufacturers against English ones. There was a duty on almost every sort of fabric—woolen, linen, silk; duties on every sort of yarn and twist used in their manufacture. Carpets, blankets, flannels, calicos, stockings—silks, poplins and broad-cloths—Ireland was making all of them for herself. Some of the duties were continued in force till 1821; others were gradually lowered, ceasing then or in 1816: others were taken off at once. As they were removed the Irish factories were closed, the workmen set adrift, the capital invested partly destroyed, partly turned to agriculture or driven out of the country. A mere fraction of the number of people employed in the woolen, silk, and cotton manufactures in 1800, still found work in them by 1830 or 1840. Centres of home industry like Cork, Balbriggan, parts of Dublin and the little towns of Wicklow, Kilkenny and Mayo, were brought to beggary and forced back upon idleness. The figures are still preserved that record the number of employers and workmen that the Union found in them, and the record shows also how thousands became hundreds, and hundreds became tens, before the new blight of English competition. The purse of the capitalist took up the work that the unjust laws of the past had begun.[7]

Nothing was left to the Irish peasant but fratricidal competition with his fellow-peasant for the possession of a bit of land. He had no choice, and he was again at the mercy of the land-owner or the middlemen, as to the rent he was to pay for it. As Glad-

[7]See Judge Byles's *Sophisms of Free Trade;* Pp. 139–53, Amer. Edition. R. M. Martin, in his *Ireland Before and After the Union*, tries to explain away these facts by referring the decline of the Woolen Trade to the bad effects of Trades' Unionism. That the falling off in profits did lead to conflicts between masters and workmen, we might have known even if we had not been told. But was the character of the Irish workingman changed by the Union? Why did both masters and men flourish and get on together in 1783–1801? Clearly this is another attempt to put the effect for the cause.

stone and his friends truly said, "in the absence of alternative occupations he was not free," but in good sooth a bond-slave without any scope for free will and free contract. The potato was his sheet anchor; the wet climate of his country made its cultivation less hazardous than that of grain, and the yield to the acre was so much greater, that he had found it the best crop for his narrow patch of land. If he grew wheat it was not for his own consumption, but for export. Up to the very year of the famine, large quantities of wheat, pork, butter and eggs, were sent across the channel to procure money enough to buy clothing, and to pay rent, taxes and tithes, while the great mass of the people—outside Ulster and the Dublin Pale—lived on potatoes. But Paddy had of necessity put all his eggs into one basket, and in 1845 the basket fell with a crash. The potato crop failed, and left the people face to face with death by starvation. The blow fell upon "the poorest country in Europe,"—one in which one-fourth of the population had for years past stood in continual need of charitable assistance, because they could not find work, though seven in eight were too proud to seek it at the workhouse, which first opened its doors in 1838. The world rushed with open hands to the relief of a dying people, but help came too late to save a vast number. England, the Continent, America, and especially our Irish citizens vied in generosity, but the vastest and freest sacrifices were made at home. For a time all animosities were forgotten in the presence of human suffering; those who had anything to give, gave with both hands while it lasted. Men of wealth and social position impoverished themselves, or brought their estates under burdens that crippled them for years. Freeholders and well-to-do tenant-farmers were broken in fortune, and had to join the tide of emigration that now began to flow in large volume across the Atlantic, because they sacrificed their capital in that fatal winter in the effort to save their fellow-countrymen from a dreadful death.

The famine, Mr. Disraeli tells us, has done more for Ireland than whole generations of statesmen were able to do. The remark enables us to measure its author's calibre as an economist. But he is—as is natural to him—too modest; he should rather have claimed the famine itself, with all its wealth of benefit and blessing, as one of the things that British statesmanship has achieved

for Ireland—one fruit of the wise policy with which the country has been treated. It is that policy that has stripped Ireland of millions of her people, and enriched other lands at her expense. It has left whole districts as desolate and bare of human life as the Sahara desert. It has given back large areas of cultivated land to the wilderness. It has banished from a country that they loved to distraction, a people willing and able to work, as their record in every land of their adoption abundantly shows. It has sent to the backwoods, the railroads, the prairies and the docks of our own country and the British colonies, the muscular arms that might have been employed in making Ireland the rich and prosperous country that her Maker meant her to be—that she was on the highway to becoming in the brief period when she had control of her own destinies. It has sent vast numbers of a naturally loyal people to the school where they have learnt to hate everything that bears the English name—to the country with whom, above all others, it is England's interest to live in peace, a country which adopts every Irish immigrant as a citizen and gives him a voice in the management of its affairs and the control of its foreign policy.

Above all, it has furnished to the world in general, and to Europe in particular, a full example of the results of applying the English doctrines of national economy. England would fain be the world's instructor in all matters of economic science. She knows how a people become rich, else how could she have become so wealthy herself? Will not Europe sit at her feet, then, and listen to her gospel of industry? "Ah! but how did Ireland become so poor?" "Some human agency must be accountable for the perennial desolation of a lovely and fertile island, watered by the fairest streams, caressed by a clement atmosphere, held in the embraces of a sea whose affluence fills the noblest harbors of the world, and inhabited by a race—valiant, tender, generous—gifted beyond measure with the power of physical endurance, and graced with the liveliest intelligence."[8]

"Ireland," says bigotry, "is a priest-ridden, Catholic country. Popery bears the same fruit there as elsewhere. Look at Italy and Spain, and you will find the explanation of the contrast be-

[8] Lord Dufferin, *ubi supra*, p. 128.

tween Ulster and the other three provinces." Ireland disputes with Belgium for the honor of being the most Catholic country in Europe. But Belgium is precisely the most industrious, and in many respects the most successfully industrious of European nations. The peasantry of France are equally devoted to the church—priest-ridden, if you will. But their creed does not keep them from growing steadily in wealth and comfort. Is Irish Catholicism of another type? Has it grown worse since the union of the two kingdoms?

"The Irish," say shallow ethnologists, "are Celts, and therefore naturally dreamy and lazy. The Celt settles on the peat-bog, the Saxon on the coal-seam. The Celt grows potatoes and the Saxon wheat." The French are Celts as well as Catholics, but they are not an idle people. Their manufactures show the Celtic intellect in the display of a light and graceful fancy and a finer taste[9] than the morose and melancholy Teuton naturally possesses.

Nor is it quite true to speak of the Irish as a Celtic people. Connaught is the most intensely Irish of the four provinces, and suffers most from the industrial desolation of the country; but it is a matter of dispute among ethnologists as to whether the people of Connaught are fully one-half or only one-third Norman. At any rate, the country was just as Celtic in 1783–1801 as it is now, and the Irishman does not change his race by crossing the ocean. On our side of it he works as if he liked it, when he is well paid.

"The curse of Ireland," say the Temperance reformers, "is strong drink. It outranks all other lands in wretchedness and poverty, because it surpasses all others in its enslavement to the demon alcohol." Here again we are brought face to face with a statement which has been repeated so frequently that its contradiction will excite incredulity. Ireland is not a drunken country. The consumption of liquor per head of the population is not half so great as in Scotland, nor nearly so great as in England or

[9] This nicety of Celtic taste seems to have led to the general employment of Welshwomen as ladies' maids or tire-women during the Middle Ages by the English aristocracy, just as the *Parisiennes* are now preferred for the same function. The not very long list of Welsh words that occur in the English language contains none but such as would be likely to come in through this channel.

America. There are more deceptive indications of intemperate habits to meet the traveler's eye in Ireland than elsewhere. The Irishman has a fervid and excitable temperament. When he "takes anything" it "goes to his head" at once—all the more so because he is "not used to it," as he is too poor to afford to buy it regularly. His "sober" Scotch brother drinks twice as much, but far more regularly. He soaks morning, noon and night, but he is long-headed, and "can stand a good deal."

"Ireland," say the Gadgrinds, "needs capital, sir, capital. That's what she wants. If she were a quiet and peaceful country, if it were not for her agrarian outrages and the disturbed state of things generally, English capital would flow over there, and put a new face on everything;" which is only a new version of the old text: "The destruction of the poor is their poverty." At best, this talk must run on forever in a vicious circle. Ireland is discontented and disturbed because she is poverty-stricken; but there is no cure for the latter till the former is mended—no cure for the cause until it shall have ceased to produce its natural and necessary effect. The disease, then, is incurable—or the doctor incompetent?

If all Ireland were to adopt the principles and manners of the Society of Friends, and become as peaceful as a monthly meeting, English capital would not flow thither. What is there to induce it? There was capital enough in the country at the Union to carry on very considerable manufactures, but it vanished into thin air before the competition of English industry. The vast accumulations of wealth, the elaborate division of labor, and the slowly developed skill and experience of the wealthier country, were more than a match for it. The Irish manufacturer did not give up without a struggle; he held his head above water manfully for a while. But he was undersold and outbidden at his very door. Those temporary sacrifices, which are the best-known weapons of industrial warfare, and which only the richest manufacturer can afford, gave England the monopoly of the Irish market as of many another. The curse that the Psalmist invoked has come upon Ireland since then—her right hand has forgotten its cunning. The English capitalist would be obliged to employ persons who are ignorant of the very first elements of industrial method and organization, who need a slow and careful training before their natu-

rally clever and capable brains "get into the way of it," and become master of their hands. As it is, "their fingers are all thumbs" at such work, as they say themselves. But to undertake that training in the face of English competition would be like undertaking a battle with troops that needed to be taught their exercise under the fire of the enemy. However cheap Irish labor may seem to be, it is in reality dear, because unskilled labor.

But who ever heard of any country becoming rich by means of capital that it obtained from another? A country has the command of capital just in so far as the societary movement within its own boundaries is easy and rapid, and is devoid of it when that movement is slow naturally, or through some artificial hindrance. To say that Ireland has no capital, is to say that the industrial energies of the country are paralyzed. She has saved, indeed, as all poor and destitute countries do save, but there are no opportunities to utilize her savings. The recuperative forces everywhere at work, in the material and the social world alike, must be hindered in some way by human stupidity, when any such hopeless dilemma is presented to us.

As it is, if savings be capital, then Ireland has more capital than she can find employment for. The returns made by the Irish banks to the government show that millions of pounds are deposited with them, chiefly by the farmers, for the sake of the paltry interest (less than two per cent.) which they offer; and these sums are invested by the banks in the London money market at from four to ten per cent. interest. During the ten years, 1858 to 1868, the average amount of these deposits was over sixteen million pounds. Besides this, large sums are deposited directly in the English joint-stock banks by their Irish owners, for the sake of the high rate of interest that they pay. Why is it that a country so full of undeveloped resources can find no remunerative investment for its own scanty savings?

"Ireland," says the Political Economist of the old school, "is over-populated. The pressure of numbers upon subsistence, through the enormously rapid increase of the population, precipitated the country into the famine of 1845. The reduction of the population by extensive emigration is the beginning of better days for Ireland."

There are so many of "false facts current" upon this topic, as

Cullen says, that it is worth while to go into particulars. There is no census of Ireland older than that of 1821. Between 1777 and 1801 the number of houses in Ireland doubled, and a consequent doubling of the population is commonly assumed. As this period was one in which the Irish people made great advances in wealth and prosperity, it is probable that the number of houses was greatly increased, through many families who had occupied but a part of a house, attaining to sufficient wealth to be able to afford the comfort of a house of their own. We may, therefore, safely assume that the estimate of the population in 1777 is far too small; that for 1801 about right. The estimates most generally accepted are:—in 1777, 2,690,556; in 1801, 5,216,331; in 1814, 5,397,856; in 1821 the population was 6,801,827; by 1831 it had increased 14 per cent., and was 7,767,401. By 1841 the increase was 5 per cent., and the total was 8,175,124. By 1851 it had decreased 20 per cent., and was 6,551,970. By 1861 there was a further decrease of 11¾ per cent., and the total was 5,798,967. In 1871 the total was 5,412,377, a decrease of between 6 and 7 per cent.[10] Between the Union and the last census before the famine, the increase was 57 per cent. in forty years; the increase in England in the same period was close on sixty per cent. Or taking decade by decade, in 1821–31 the increase per cent. was 16 for England and 14 for Ireland; in 1831–41, 14 for England and 5 (or at the utmost, after allowing for emigration, 12) for Ireland. Then for the twenty years between the Union and the first Irish census, 1801–21, the rate of increase for England and Wales was 35 per cent.; for Ireland 34 per cent. Where then does the rapid and abnormal increase of the Irish people come in? At no time within our century has the increase been as rapid as in England; at no time has it been such as to fairly deserve to be called excessive, apart from all comparisons.

We are the more particular to give prominence to these facts, because the most absurd statements on this subject, are to be found in the works of European Economists. Thus Mr. Mill has republished from Quetelet a table of the annual rate of increase

[10] Since 1871 there has been a further decrease of 110,931, leaving 5,301,336 making a net increase of exactly 85,005 in the seventy-three years since the Union.

in various European countries, in which Ireland is put at the head of the list, and her rate is represented as far exceeding that of England. Where the great Belgian statist got these data, we do not know; certainly not from the results of the censuses taken in Great Britain or Ireland. Very similar in character are the elaborate indictments brought by some English writers against the Roman Catholic clergy of Ireland. The misery of Ireland is traced to their greediness; they draw, it is said, a large part of their income from marriages and christening fees, and therefore exert their whole influence in favor of those early and imprudent marriages, which retard the prosperity of the country. In the light of the official returns of the Irish census, these accusations are seen to be simply slanderous. And if they were true, there are other equally authentic returns that tell a story that might well compensate for the comparative poverty thus brought upon the people. No country in the world, Catholic or Protestant, Christian or Pagan, is so free from offences against purity; no women of the world rank so high in the honor of chastity as the Catholic women of Ireland.

But it may be supposed that even if the rate of increase is not excessive, still the country may be over-populated—may have been so at the very beginning of the period we are considering (1801–41), and have continued so throughout that period. Let us see. Ireland contains, by government survey, 20⅓ million acres of land, of which 15½ million acres are arable land. England and Wales contain 37⅓ million acres, of which 25½ are arable land. One-fourth of Ireland and one-third of England are not counted fit for tillage. In 1841, the worst year for our case, the populations of the two countries were 8,175,124 and 15,914,148, being one to every 1.9 acres, and one to every 1.6 acres respectively;[11] so that at no time has the Irish population been as dense as that of England. In fact, although the agriculture of Ireland was very backward and defective, as must be the case in a country that is only agricultural, she was at that time a large exporter of food to England, having almost nothing else

[11]By the census of 1871, the proportion is one to 2.87 acres of arable land in Ireland, and one to 1.17 acres in England. But even now England produces far more food than her people could consume, were it not that such large quantities of it are consumed in making spirituous and malt liquors.

to export, to raise the sums of which she is drained every year by English manufacturers, as well as absentee landlords. But it may be said that "England is over-populated also; she cannot raise food enough for her people." England has devoted her attention so exclusively to the development of her manufactures, has allowed her agriculture to remain so backward and undeveloped in comparison, that she is obliged to import large quantities of breadstuffs and other food. But if the Flemish provinces of Belgium can support the population that they do, to say nothing of their export of food, then England, if cultivated in the same way, would be able to feed forty-six million people south of the border; and at the same rate Ireland could furnish food for twenty-eight millions. And naturally, as M. de Laveleye shows, England is more fertile than Flanders; so also is Ireland than England. "Natural fertility, acre for acre," says Arthur Young, "is certainly in favor of Ireland."

In fine, Ireland can only be said to be over-populated in the sense that Mr. W. T. Thornton seeks to affix to the term, when he says: "Over-population may be defined to be a deficiency of employment for those who live by labor." As we have seen Lord Dufferin aver, Ireland suffers from a "disproportion of the means of employment to population," but that is only to say that the natural economy of Irish labor has been a very bad one.

"Ireland," say the new school of Political Economists, led by W. T. Thornton,[12] "suffers from a bad system of land tenure. Her tenant farmers are rack-rented; they hold on short leases or none; they have no security that the improvements they make upon the land will not inure simply to the benefit of the landlord, by causing the rent to be raised when the lease expires. Multitudes of them are mere tenants at will, and liable to eviction at the pleasure of their landlords. With such farmers the only problem is how to

[12] As belonging to this school we may specify W. T. Thornton (*A Plea for Peasant Proprietors*, 1848; new edition, 1874), John Stuart Mill (*Chapters and Speeches on the Irish Land Question*, 1870), T. E. Cliffe Leslie (*Land Systems of England, Ireland and the Continent*, 1870), J. N. Murphy (*Ireland, Industrial, Political and Social*, 1870), J. G. MacCarthy (*Irish Land Questions Plainly Stated and Answered*, 1870), Gerald Fitzgibbon (*The Land Difficulty of Ireland*, 1869), and Herbert Spencer (*Social Statistics*). Messrs. Gladstone and Bright advocated the same views in the House of Commons. Lord Dufferin's book, already referred to, is the best that we have seen on the other side.

get the quickest return from the land, with the least outlay of capital. The industrial capabilities of the country will never be developed, until by State interference the Irish tenant is given some degree of fixity of tenure, some security that another shall not reap what he sows."

These reasonings would have struck horror into an economist of the McCulloch school. They would have pleaded—as Robert Lowe plead—"There is a firm oasis in the desert upon which we may rest, and that is afforded by the principles of political economy. I entertain a prejudice adopted by Adam Smith, that a man is at liberty to do what he likes with his own, and that, having land, it is not unreasonable that he should be free to let his land to a person on any terms upon which they shall mutually agree. That I believe to be true Political Economy." They would have argued, as he did, that it was the very corner-stone of the science, that the best security that the public can obtain for the good management of land is the personal interest of its private holders; that the desire of wealth must impel the possessors of land, like the owners of capital in trade, to make the best commercial and productive use they can of their possessions. All these arguments were once the common-places of English economists, but the new school have cast them aside as regards the State regulation of land tenure. Here and here only, they hold that individual interest is not a sufficient guarantee for the general well-being of society.

"For," they plead, "is not land quite different from all other forms of property, especially in the limitation of its quantity, combined with its prime necessity to the community? Its possession, as Mr. Ricardo showed, is a monopoly of the natural and indestructible power of the soil—a monopoly such as no other form of property ever is or can be. For that very reason, it is especially subject to the control of the State. The community can never recognize an absolute ownership of it. It must always regard and treat the land-owner as a public official, who is liable to be called to account as to the discharge of his stewardship.[13]

[13] "It cannot be denied," says *The Quarterly Review*, "that according to the most modern and received doctrines of political and economic science, all property, landed property especially, is held subject to the *lex suprema* of the public welfare, and can be taken or dealt with by the State for the nation's necessity or good." This is too sweeping. Mr. Mill, to judge by the candid confessions of his *Autobiography*, would probably not stop short of this; but Gladstone and his friends make a wide difference between landed and other property.

For suppose the other theory of land-ownership were to be adopted, then the land-owning part of the community would have the legal right to exclude the rest from their native country, and the collective body of land-owners on this planet would have the right to shut the rest of the human race out of the world itself. Therefore this species of property is liable to such regulation as the public policy calls for, and in a way that no other form of property is liable. And as it is especially the interest of the State to secure to industrious citizens the reward of their industry, wherever the system of land tenure is found to deprive them of this, it is the clear right and duty of the State to interfere for their protection."

This sort of argument would be much more respectable, if those who use it were to candidly avow how great their departure is from the line of reasoning pursued by those older Economists, whose successors they claim to be. Mr. Mill is the most candid in this respect; he speaks of the Economists who preceded him as treating the laws of the distribution of wealth as being of the same necessary and inviolable sort as those of its production, while for his part he regarded them as coming especially within the sphere of social arrangement and adjustment. So much he had learned from the St. Simonians.

What would have especially repelled and shocked the older Economists in this treatment of the subject, is not the morally questionable character of its attack upon vested rights, but the assumption that a piece of State interference of this sort might be economically expedient. It was a fundamental position with them that the duty of the State in all such matters is to keep its hands off and let things alone. The conflict of individual interests will achieve whatever is best for the community at large; the best possible guarantee for society is to be found in the concession of absolute freedom of action to its members. But it is precisely the economists that in this instance have led the State on to this interference with existing rights, and set aside as false the maxim —once thought axiomatic—that "he governs best who governs least."

It is not necessary to follow up the argument in all its details. It will be sufficient (1) as to the nature of property in land to point out the fundamental fallacy of the argument, which is that

of Ricardo's theory of rent. We are told that property in land differs essentially from other forms of property, and is a monopoly of the indestructible powers of the soil. This is pure assumption. Land, like every other form of property, if it have any value at all, has acquired that value through the expenditure of labor, either upon itself or upon other lands adjacent to it. The source of all value is the labor that has been expended upon the object, and the measure of value is the amount of labor that is now necessary to expend in reproducing it. The soil of Ireland had no value of any sort in the days when the first Celtic, or, if you will, the first Ugrian settlers crossed the channel from the continent. Its present value is due solely to the long expenditure of human toil in bringing the soil under culture and fitting it for human use. But an acre of Irish land will not now sell for anything like the market value of the labor that has been expended upon it. Take even a stronger case than the actual one. Suppose that for all the centuries of Irish history a superhuman measure of wisdom had been employed upon that acre, and that in each successive year it had been cultivated by the most economic means and in the most economic mode that was then accessible, still the market-price of the land would not repay the present owner for the outlay thus wisely and economically made. For take another acre that lies adjacent to this one, and has never yet been occupied by human tillage, or has relapsed into the savage state. A new settler can now take possession of this untilled acre, and bring it up to the point of tillage and fertility that the other possesses, by the present outlay of a mere fraction of the sum that was necessary to bring the former to the same point. Or, to put the case in a broader shape; if Ireland or England were to-day put up for sale in the market, the price they would bring would be a mere fraction of the sum that once was necessary to bring them up from the savage state to their present state of cultivation. The work of each generation makes the work of the next easier and more effective. With every generation, therefore, the power of present labor over the accumulations of past labor, *i. e.* over capital, increases. With every advance in the mastery of nature, the resistance that she offers is diminished. All the labor expended upon the land already, in cultivationof the occupied land, has facilitated the occupation and cultivation of that which lies waste. Because

of that labor, the unoccupied land itself has now come to have a value, and is an object of desire. But suppose that no such labor had ever been expended in the reclamation and mastery of the soil, then the price of either acre would be the same—*nil.* So far from land being an exception to the economic principle that labor is the source of value, it is the very clearest and strongest illustration of it.[14]

Starting from Ricardo's false assumption that rent is a payment to a class of monopolists for the use of the original and indestructible powers of the soil, and not deterred by the respect for vested rights which was all-powerful in England two generations ago, these economists have reached conclusions which might well make Ricardo and McCullcch turn over in their graves. The socialist and agrarian views of these later economists are such as would have led to their exclusion from English society, had these been published half a century earlier. But the true economic doctrine, rejecting at once Ricardo's premises and Mill's conclusions, confirms the protest of the human conscience against all attempts to reform the anomalies of society by forcibly interfering with the existing distribution of property. It proclaims them "without excuse."

(2) The peculiar character of the land as related to national necessities, is alleged as the ground of interference by some, who would repudiate the argument from the assumption that landed property is especially a monopoly. Thus we read, in a letter by Prof. J. E. Thorold Rogers, of Oxford, to Sir John Gray:

[14] Lord Dufferin, who certainly comes nearer than any other English or Irish writer, except Judge Byles, to the true solution of the Irish difficulty, has an inkling of the real source of the value of land—a principle first enunciated by Mr. Carey, and afterwards adopted by Bastiat, Schulze-Delitzsch, and a number of Continental economists. After comparing the proposed legislation on the subject of Land Tenure to laws defining the voyage of a ship, the time of her stoppage at various ports, and the rates of freight she might charge, he goes on: "It is hardly reasonable to deny the analogy on the ground that the ship is a manufactured article, but the earth is the gift of God. The land I have bought is probably itself as much a manufactured article as the ship; and the iron or wood of which the ship is built is as much the gift of God as the land; the labor or enterprise by which the land has been rendered valuable is as clearly represented by the money I gave for it, as the industry and ingenuity exercised on its construction is represented by the price the owner has paid for the ship."

"Does anybody doubt that if 8,500 persons possessed all the food in Ireland, and, resolving to act in concert, were willing to sell this food only at famine prices, that the people would not constrain such proprietors of food to dispense it at some customary price? But put land in the place of food, and you have the relations of the Irish landlords and the Irish farmers, with the difference that all the value that the land possesses is directly or indirectly of the tenant's making."

From the last clause it will be seen that Prof. Rogers does not hold with Ricardo. But we are concerned here only with the first part of his reasoning. Note especially how misleading the parallel that he draws. Eighty-five thousand persons own the bulk of the Irish land, we are told. When did they enter into any contract to keep its price up? What compact did they make? What starvation prices did they fix? They have simply leased the land in open market, at such prices as it would bring, precisely as the dealers in food have been doing. If food rises to starvation prices without any combination on the part of the dealers in grain and potatoes, a popular clamor does often rise against them as the causes of this calamity. But who ever heard an enlightened Professor of Political Economy, who has all the arguments for unrestricted commerce at his fingers' ends, giving shape to just such a clamor, even though it were against Irish landlords? And the outcry is the more unjust, because Irish rents are not excessive, as compared with those of more prosperous countries—rather very much lower.[15] No Irish estate yields such returns to its owner as do lands in Belgium and in many parts of England. Irish rents are excessive only in view of the tenant's income and his consequent capacity to pay them. It is for English Economists to say why he is less able to pay high rent than his not more willing or intelligent neighbor, the peasant of Northern Belgium.

And so far are the Irish landlords from being birds of prey, fattening at the expense of the tenant-farmer, that as a class they —like the freeholders—have shared to the full in the misfortunes

[15] "The rents of Ireland," says Lord Dufferin, "are comparatively low. ...... This, I believe, is generally admitted, though there are flagrant exceptions; even a rent that is absolutely low, may be beyond the means of an indigent or unskillful tenant."

of their country. About a third of their number were utterly ruined by the calamitous period that culminated in 1845; the committees of relief found in the Connaught poor-houses men of large estate, who had served as high sheriffs of their counties. Although much of the land that was sold in the Encumbered Estates' Court was bought up for a trifle, yet the sales in the first ten years, 1849–59, aggregated £25,190,839, and the ten years that followed about half as much. Even before the famine, the nominal owners of a large part of Ireland were impoverished pensioners upon their own estates, and in many districts their rents were totally absorbed by the poor-rate and other taxes.

We do not say that they were all suffering martyrs of angelic innocence; but like any other class, the Irish landlords were human beings of an average measure of humanity, and not much above the average selfishness. Many of the acts for which individual landlords have received and deserved censure, were the doings of men in a state of desperation—"at their wits' end"—not knowing which way to turn. Others were simply the acts of men who saw themselves ruined by the existing state of affairs, and were determined to be rid of an impoverished tenantry and substitute larger farms or cattle-farming for their petty holders.[16] They saw that they themselves would be ruined, without any one else being saved from ruin, by the existing state of things. Cases of cruelty were few; of hardship many. Unhappily the sentiment of home and hearth were of necessity outraged, and the wrong has never been forgiven. It has eclipsed all other wrongs in the minds of the people, and has concentrated their hatred upon a class whose

[16] "As for the landlord, his position was every whit as bad" as the tenant's. "It was not a question of rent, but of existence. His lands lay around him, a poisonous waste of vegetable decay, while twenty-five shillings in the pound of poor-rate was daily eating up the fee-simple of his estate. Self interest, duty, common sense, all dictated the same course—the enlargement of boundaries, the redistribution of farms, and the introduction of a scientific agriculture at whatever cost of sentiment, or of individual suffering. Even so, the struggle too frequently proved unsuccessful, and the subsequent obliteration of nearly an entire third of the landlords of Ireland ...... associates them so conspicuously with the misfortunes of their tenants. ...... As a general rule, the inevitable changes were effected in a humane manner. .... One landlord alone spent £13,000 in assisting those who had flocked to the poor-house to emigrate."—(Lord Dufferin.)

circumstances were as difficult as their own. But if we are to seek for the first and most responsible authors of these wrongs, we will find them among those who destroyed the industry of Ireland by the force of law and purse, and remanded her people to the single occupation of agriculture. Many of those who are now loudest in their denunciation of landlords and middlemen, tenancies at will and evictions, are not guiltless in this regard.

All lines of just argument on this topic lead us back to the same point—Ireland is poor for lack of the varied industry which she was creating for herself in 1783–1801, and to which the Union put an end. A long and bitter experience shows that she cannot create that industry in the face of English competition. For lack of it her people are driven from their country, or driven into disloyalty by the maddening pressure of hopeless poverty; her agriculture is feeble, wasteful and backward; her commerce, no interchange of services among her own people, but an interchange of raw produce—the most expensive and wasteful of exports—for the pittance that pays her rent and buys a few necessaries from English manufacturers. "It is well known," says J. N. Murphy, "that almost all the manufactured articles used in Ireland, save linens, are British or foreign products. There are British and French millinery and silks; British, French, Danish and Hungarian gloves; English cloths, cottons, muslins and ribbons; English soap, candles, ironmongery and glass; in fact almost everything in daily use by rich and poor—all imported and paid for by Irish raw agricultural produce. Some well-meant but vain attempts have, from time to time, been made to promote manufactures in the country, in the form of what is called an Irish manufacture movement; that is, an agitation to induce a general undertaking, or resolution to use only articles of Irish manufacture, rather than English or foreign, without reference to their relative quality or cheapness."[17] But "the public will always buy and sell in the best market; and it is not by such

[17]The case is exactly that in which Mr. Mill would have the government interfere by legislation, being one in which "the interference of law is required, not to overrule the judgment of individuals respecting their own interests, but to give effect to that judgment; they being unable to give effect to it, except by concert; which concert again cannot be effectual unless it receives validity and sanction from the law." (*Political Economy*, II., 585.)

futile devices, but by producing an article which it will be the interest of the people to buy, that the manufactures of a country can be promoted." So a free trader naturally reasons; but it is possible that the popular instinct has brought the Irish nation to juster conclusions as to what their interest is, than the logic of the Economists would furnish them. Has the Irishman no "*interest*" save the spending to the best advantage the pittance now in his purse?[18] Does not that problem lose all its importance for him in view of the larger question—how his purse shall be filled and kept full? Does he best understand his "*interest*," when he takes count only of to-day, and has no thought for the year, and for the years that are to follow it? May it not be more to his interest to create a new market, than to go about seeking which of those that exist is cheapest to buy in, and dearest to sell in? That the Irish people are thriftless and improvident is a common charge. In no way could they have better repudiated the slander than by their willingness to make temporary sacrifices in the matter of "quality and cheapness," in order to bring the artizan and the farmer into neighborhood, and create a varied industry at home.

What evidence is there that they are at all alive to their true interests in the matter? Did not the Irish vote, led by Daniel O'Connell, help to establish Free Trade, or what was called that, in 1842–6? Do not intelligent and patriotic Irishmen, like J. N. Murphy, repudiate the method of Protection as not likely to achieve any lasting benefit to the country?[19] But on the other hand, it is especially noteworthy that all or nearly all the recent writers on the condition of Ireland have been brought to the confession that Ireland will not prosper or become wealthy while she remains a purely agricultural country; that her farming is miserably paid and backward, because of the want of a market for farm

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[18] And what is the "*interest*" of the multitude whose purses are empty, and stay so for the best part of the year? "Paddy, if in Ireland you could buy as much as you say for a shilling, why didn't you stay there?" "Och! bedad, I couldn't get the shillin'."

[19] "Manufacturing industry," says Mr. Murphy, "is a plant of gradual growth, taking many years to attain maturity. *Crescit occulto velut arbor ævo.* It is a plant which will bear no forcing process, nor can it be meddled with or trained by state interference." *Laissez faire*, with a vengeance!

produce in the farmer's own neighborhood, and the consequent necessity of exporting raw agricultural produce to Great Britain. The English market, with the new facilities for rapid transportation, was to do wonders for Ireland ; it has had a fair trial, and the wonders are not forthcoming. Moderate rents are still found to be oppressively high ; the wages of Irish labor are still wretchedly low.[20] Even the Gladstone ministry defended their bill to restrict the competition for land on the ground that "partly from historical circumstances, but chiefly from the absence of alternative employments, the poorer tenants of Ireland are not free," but "are compelled by the coercion of hunger to agree to any terms that will secure them the use of the soil." May we not fairly hope that, with the example of every progressive and advancing nation in the world before them, the statesmen of Great Britain will make the discovery that there is among their resources a method for the creation of those "alternative employments," whose existence would have made their interference with the vested rights of Irish land-owners needless?

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[20] "So long," says Lord Dufferin, "as the population of Ireland is solely dependent on agriculture, the prosperity of the country will continue to be the sport of a fickle and precarious climate; and the development of the manufacturing industry of the country is necessary to sustain and corroborate its agricultural system." "How powerfully the development of manufactures in the north of Ireland has contributed to the relief of the agricultural classes of Ulster, by giving the tenant farmer an opportunity of apprenticing some of his sons to business, instead of dividing up among them his diminutive holding, by enabling the cottier tenant to supplement his agricultural earnings with handloom weaving, and by a general alleviation of the pressure upon the land, I need not describe. ...... Had Ireland only been allowed to develop the other innumerable resources at her command, as she has developed the single industry in which she was permitted to embark, the equilibrium between the land and the population dependent upon the land would never have been disturbed, nor would the relations between landlord and tenant have become a subject of anxiety." He puts the annual value of Irish linens at "nearly half the rental of the island."

"The agriculture of Ireland," says Mr. J. N. Murphy, "suffered and still suffers, save in Ulster, from the absence of those benefits which accrue to agriculture from a certain proportion or admixture of manufactures in a country. This is seen in the manufacturing counties of England and Scotland, and in parts of Ulster, where the rate of wages is higher, and the condition of the people better than in the purely agricultural districts; and where, in the great centres of manufacturing industry, there is a market for his produce close beside

The most trusted leaders of the Irish people, the Catholic clergy, who have seen something of the industrial state of neighboring countries on the Continent, and who remember how the Abbe Defoer and the Clerical party laid the foundation of Belgian prosperity by securing the *Enquete* of 1842, and by carrying the Protective Tariff of 1844 through Parliament, are wide awake to the industrial interests of Ireland. "What sort of legislation,"

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the farmer's door." He says that in 1868 there were in Ireland 198 spinning and weaving factories of all kinds, giving employment to 72,963 people. But 143 of these were the linen factories of Ulster, which employed 57,050 people, leaving to other industries 55 factories and 15,913 workmen, in a population of over five and a half millions. And yet of these lifeless and stunted manufacturing trades, Ireland has only half as many as Scotland, only one-third as many as England, according to the last census.

"Draw a line," says Cliffe Leslie, "from Dublin to the nearest point of Lough Swilly in the North, and another to Bantry Bay in the South, and the angle contained by those lines, between the capital and the Atlantic—covering about three-fourths of an island that ought to be studded with cities, fine country towns, and smiling villages—does not include one large or flourishing city, and includes hardly a town or village whose trade and population have not decreased in the last twenty years"—1850–70. "It includes, indeed, but few which are not in a state of complete decay, in spite of all the auxiliaries to town industry, mechanical, chemical and intellectual, which those twenty years have created." "Instead of causing a rise of wages, emigration has been in many cases the consequence of a fall—in most cases of their continuing wretchedly low, because of obstacles to the combination of the three instruments of production, labor, capital and natural agents." .... "In the North-east of Ireland the country towns are rapidly increasing in population and wealth, because country and town react upon each other, and the rural wealth—created by town consumption of food and town markets for flax—finds its way back to the factory and the shop." .... "In that vast system of manufactures, which now stretches over several counties, it is around towns in which population has doubled in half a generation, that agricultural wages are highest." The reason of this he states elsewhere: "Instead of competition for labor being the universal regulator of wages, there is rarely competition for labor on the part of employers *within* a trade in a particular place, unless there be competition for it from without." Yet he would trace all Irish miseries to the land tenure; manufactures cannot take root in Ireland, because it is impossible to procure sites for factories—a statement which he substantiates by alleging some half dozen cases of hardship—and because the farming class is so rack-rented and impoverished, that they can offer no encouragement to the manufacturer. These things were no better in the period before the Union, but they did not stand in the way then.

says Cliffe Leslie, "would follow the establishment of a separate Irish Parliament,......might easily be anticipated, had it not been distinctly foreshadowed in a tentative declaration of some Catholic clergymen, drawn with great abitity for its purpose, and assuredly not put forward without the private sanction of higher authority than it claims. It is enough to say it is declared political economy will not do for Ireland, that the Irish manufacturer cannot compete with the English, and that the natural energies of the Irish people must be developed, that is to say, properly speaking, repressed by protection and prohibition." That the Home Rule party share in the opinions thus contemptuously described, we have every reason to believe. The blight of Irish industry by English competition long ago attracted the attention of their leader, Counselor Butt; the figures which exhibit it, and to which we have already referred, were furnished by him to Judge Byles.[21] Enough of their programme was disclosed during the recent debate, to lead the Englsh newspapers to speak in the certainty that a Protective Tariff would be one of the earliest measures that would be brought before the new Irish Parliament, if ever that body were to meet at Dublin.

England will not grant either national or federal independence to Ireland; perhaps she is right; at any rate the refusal is excusable. But not so excusable is the refusal to give Ireland the opportunity to make up for the long period of constrained idleness and retrogression, in which the sister island took vigorous strides forward in accumulating the elements of industrial strength; not so excusable is the fixed purpose to keep Ireland in the position of industrial dependence by means of the domineering and tyrannical power of capital.[22] England will go far for the sake of peace with Ireland; farther than we could have thought possible. She will pander to Irish prejudices even, and restrain freedom of contract in land, and set aside the landlord's right to "do as he pleases with his own." But not the trader's. The chaffering of the market—except it be the land market—is sacred; none may

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[21] "I am obliged for these specimens of the ruin of Irish industry to Mr. Butt, Q. C. at the Irish Bar, who informs me that they might be very much extended."

[22] "The powers of capital are irresistible in trade. It domineers, it rules, it even tyrannizes, in the market. It entices the strong, and controls the weak."—(Burke.)

lay hands upon it. The sacred laws of free competition—except for Irish land—none may violate with impunity. England has set her heart on Free Trade with the world; and every great and growing country has shut her out by Protective Tariffs. Even Portugal, the sucked orange, has had enough of Free Trade, and is spinning and weaving for herself, after enjoying the sacred liberty of unrestricted commerce for a hundred and fifty years. And so England is bound by the necessities of her industrial position to keep Ireland poor. She can only give her the opportunity to make herself rich, by falsifying all her own teachings in the face of Europe and the civilized world.

But Ireland in poverty is as great a hindrance to her Free Trade gospel as Ireland under protection would be. For she cannot be hidden from the eyes of the world; there she stands "to point the moral and adorn the tale," whenever the wisdom of English economy and the blessings of unrestricted commerce are in question. ROBT. ELLIS THOMPSON.

OUR PUBLIC SCHOOLS.

ANY one who has given attention to the subject of Popular Education has probably realized the difficulty of obtaining any information bearing upon the subject as applicable to the masses in this country. The common school system of the United States may be said to be the result of experience and observation, based upon the necessities of the case, rather than a systematic or well-matured plan, based upon philosophic inquiry or scientific investigation; hence the difficulty of obtaining other than merely statistical information upon the subject. While we have page after page of carefully-worded legislative enactments, and legal decisions, for the government of common-school authorities, and volume after volume of carefully-compiled statistical records of what has been accomplished, and what amount has been expended in its accomplishment; it is nevertheless a fact, that with the exception of an occasional suggestion, thrown out by some State superintendent, who by chance happens to be the right man in the right place, which is rarely the case; or, perhaps, in an annual

address of the president of a State or local board, and it generally of a spread-eagle character; we have little or nothing emanating from school authorities calculated to advance the cause or promote the interests of education in our midst.

There can be no doubt that this is, to a greater or less extent, due to the fact that the system of management adopted is based upon the general and popular idea, so flattering to us as a people, that we are fully competent and entirely capable of managing our own affairs; which, however true it may be in other matters, presents a somewhat novel claim in its application to education, for it supposes such a degree of intelligence on the part of the masses as to render them capable of determining not only what direction shall be given, and to what degree it shall extend, but the ways and means of its successful accomplishment—problems among the most difficult which have engaged the attention of eminent men.

Would it not be well, however, to give the matter a careful consideration with a view of effecting, or, at least, pointing out where such modifications of our present system and methods might result in effecting some beneficial changes? And that we may be better able to comprehend the subject, let us endeavor to find what is defective before attempting modification, or else we may mistake complication for improvement, or novelty for worth. First then, and perhaps the most difficult to accomplish, is to create a greater interest in the subject of Popular Education on the part of the masses. We are as a people deeply sensible of the importance of education; but, unfortunately, more ready to laud it than to labor for it; and it is one of the discouraging views of society that hardly any one seems to appreciate either the subject or the importance of securing the services of able and competent persons in the capacity of teachers. It has been wisely said that "education is the chief defense of nations," and if this be a truism in its application to nations, it is or should be eminently so in its application to our form of government, and it behooves us as a people to examine the subject carefully; not exactly upon the principle—"in time of peace, prepare for war," but upon the more noble principle—in time of peace prepare not only to avoid war, but ignorance, vice, superstition and corruption—evils of society which history and experience prove to be more destructive to the liberties, peace and prosperity of a people than war itself;

and as public education must be recognized as the great instrumentality by which the masses can be elevated to that position by which alone they are or can be qualified to discharge the responsible duties devolving upon them as American citizens, let us inquire what is being done, and to what extent we, as a people, can advance the cause in our midst.

Here, in Philadelphia, we have, according to the report of 1873, 396 public schools, 1,630 teachers, and the amount of money expended reached during the year past the enormous sum of $1,381,461.54. We have a Board of Public Education composed of one member from each ward, who, by virtue of his office, is a member of the sectional board in his ward, appointed by the courts; besides which we have in each ward a sectional board, composed of twelve or more representatives elected by the people, making a total of 437 managers or directors of public schools. The Board of Education, or central body, is authorized by law to provide school houses, furniture, books, fuel, etc., pay teachers' salaries and other expenses, while the sectional boards provide teachers, manage and regulate their duties, and exercise a general supervision over the several schools of their sections, subject to such rules and regulations as the Board of Education may prescribe.

Now it might appear to those who have not investigated the matter, that this would seem not only a perfect system of management, but well calculated to provide such checks and safeguards as would tend to secure an honest and faithful discharge of the duties and responsibilities of school managers; more especially as these several positions are considered positions of honor rather than profit, there being no legitimate pay. Any one who will take the trouble to inquire diligently will find that our sectional boards have been seized upon as the natural prey of political parties, and used as training schools, where novices in the mystic art of politics are initiated and trained for the higher degrees, and used as a means of paying off political debts to those who, having no merit to recommend them, seek this as a means of being known to those whom they desire to serve in the capacity of public servants, and have by this means, to a great extent, become the mere stepping-stones to more profitable political positions, until our sectional boards are, with comparatively few exceptions, under the control of a class of men to whom we would not voluntarily

intrust our property for safe keeping, our children for moral guidance, our business for good management, or our lives for protection; and yet they are entrusted with a cause second in importance to no other which can engage the attention of a free people. To such an extent was this true, and to such an extent was this fact recognized some time back, that our legislature was compelled to deprive the sectional boards of the right or privilege of electing a representative to the central board, and vested the power of appointment in the courts, which to a great extent cured or rather palliated former evils; but, as is too frequently the case with palliative measures, it relieved the diseased part only to create functional derangement, for as the matter now stands it is like a house divided against itself. There is no question but that, as a rule, we have a better class of men; but the result has been to create an independent body so nearly identified in purpose and management with the sectional boards as to render both ineffective, by reason of an antagonism which can never cease, even though their separate lines of duty be more clearly defined, but especially while, as at present, it is impossible to tell where the authority of one ends and the other begins; and with a view of harmonizing these antagonistic elements, so as to produce, as far as possible, satisfactory results, arbitrary rules are of necessity compelled to take the place of and compensate, as far as possible, for that good judgment which should and does always characterize a proper system of educational development—the result of which is too frequently the worst species of mismanagement, in the form of too much management. For instance, the Board of Public Education prescribes and regulates the qualifications of teachers, and for this purpose has established a system of teachers' examinations, awarding to all successful competitors certificates of such grade as their examination may indicate them worthy to possess, and such certificates take precedence according to grade; the effect of which is to create a favored class of teachers, based upon the ground of technical knowledge rather than that accomplishment so rarely met with, knowledge inseparably connected with a faculty of imparting it—a necessary prerequisite of the successful teacher, which no amount of studious application can develop, and no examination can demonstrate, and the determination of which is necessarily a matter of judgment and experience.

The true teacher must adapt himself to the pupil, in order that things abstract may be clear to him in the concrete; must illustrate in a manner suited to his capacity; and in these ever varying relations the tact of the teacher must prove ingenious in varying the method. The true teacher is in fact free from a belief in any one uniform specific treatment, and this is the case only when he has arrived at a degree of ability which renders him capable of using all means, from the loftiness of solemn seriousness to the play of jest, and even to irony and humor.

But while method is the great characteristic of teaching, it is also where charlatanism can most readily intrude—where every trifling change or silly modification is heralded as an improved formula or new method, and where superficial changes find at once imitators who frequently conceal their incompetency by advocating them, and with laughable conceit hail themselves as inventors of new methods. And when we consider that the only qualification required is that of familiarity with subjects to be taught, and that even among those who hold the evidence of this in the form of a certificate of qualification, it too frequently happens that a question of mere personal or political popularity decides between rival candidates, how can we expect to secure the services of such persons as are naturally and intellectually qualified for such important and responsible duties, and what incentive or encouragement is thus held out to those, eminently well qualified (and there are many such), who, more by good luck than by good management, happen to be placed in a proper sphere of usefulness, who from day to day add to their store of knowledge the knowledge of how to render it available, acquired by actual experience —that school which develops Teachers, but affords merely employment for others—what encouragement is it for them to see novices, crammed perchance by a three-year course at normal school, outranking them by being at once made eligible to higher positions?

Another feature of our Public School system, one which comes home in very many cases to those who manifest sufficient interest in the education of their children to give the subject any consideration whatever, is that of promoting from grade to grade. One of the strongest objections which can be urged against public schools is the fact that the necessities of the case compel a classification into grades and divisions, and preclude, except to a

very limited extent, individualization; for while an effort is made to divide and arrange pupils according to their degree and capability of advancement, it is at best but an arbitrary rule which assumes that from forty to forty-five children are so nearly equal intellectually as to start even, or of sufficiently equal capacity for uniform advancement. This is clearly evident to any teacher who takes leave of an old, or charge of a new class promoted; and the system of promotion from grade to grade, instead of being made, as far as possible, to counteract or relieve this by promoting whenever and wherever a pupil shall have attained such a degree of proficiency as to justify it, only tends to aggravate the trouble by promoting at fixed and regular periods, and, as a consequence, compels the promotion of one class, however ill-prepared some of it may be, in order to make the necessary room for lower classes—either dragging down those of the greater capacity to the less, or promoting pupils to a higher grade before they are qualified to undertake the more laborious and responsible duties; thus not only tending to retard rather than advance education, but actually productive of a waste of public school facilities, and is only another instance in which rules of an arbitrary character are made to take the place of a wise and honest judgment.

It is useless, however, to point out defects of management or faults in system with a view of improvement, even if a disposition were manifest to adopt what might seem to add to the efficiency of the system or management, for the reason that there is and can be no specific mode of treatment, the adoption of which will, under all circumstances, insure success; and it is folly to expect successful management by a series of rules, of that which requires good judgment, experience and intellectual skill.

The solution of the important question, What can be done to render our system of public education more effective? is to be found in a greater degree of interest in the subject, on the part of those directly interested; a higher appreciation of the importance and responsibilities of a teacher's vocation; a more full and perfect realization of the fact that the influence exerted upon the mind and character of the child is of vastly more importance than its food and clothing, and the importance of selecting managers who, if not highly educated, have at least a knowledge of what will be best calculated to promote the interests of education, and

whose moral character and standing in society will at least be some guarantee that the responsibilities imposed upon them will be properly appreciated and earnestly, if not successfully, carried out.

I do not wish to be understood, however, as denying that there are some among those who are now entrusted with the management of our schools, who are and have been earnestly and honestly endeavoring to effect such reforms as are needed to elevate them to that character and position which should characterize the schools of a free and intelligent people; nor do I wish to be understood as underrating the value and importance of our schools, which compare favorably with those of any other locality; but I do say, and without fear of successful contradiction, that the earnest minds in the cause of education are in a lamentable minority, and that whatever is effected in our public schools is due more to the indefatigable exertions of those who serve in the capacity of teachers, than to any system of management on the part of those whose special province it is to provide the ways and means.

WM. L. TURNER.

ROMANCE OF ARTIST-LIFE.

THE old saying that "Truth is stranger than fiction" receives ample verification in the lives of the artists. A partial reason for this is found in the asserted fact that artists generally are unlike other men. Their imaginations wing to higher and broader flights, their minds meditate upon sublimer themes, and their thoughts wander off into other fields, and out of the constantly beaten track. A greater portion of their lives is spent in an ideal world—far above the lower world of human progress and reality. If, as has been so often stated, the artist falls into the ranks of the advancing crowd, his movements are too excursive, his speech and bearing too unlike those of the multitude around him, not to occasion the introduction of incidents in his career, calculated to diversify the otherwise uneventful realities of the journey by an admixture of romance.

In illustration of the foregoing remarks, we shall venture to unfold certain details relative to the lives and careers of a few artists, great in their day, but whose very names even have now

almost faded from sight. For true it is that those, whose romantic adventures and experiences ought forever to be kept in memory, because of their pleasing and striking character, are the first to be forgotten. Whereas, on the contrary, quiet, graceful and industrious lives never lose their freshness, even with the lapse of centuries. Perhaps, careful comparison and consideration might justify the assertion that—Romance kills Genius!

Not long ago, we came across the following bit of a story, in which there are just enough ingredients to serve as the foundation of an interesting romance: Some of the readers have probably heard of, or read of, Francesco Vieira, an old-time artist of Lisbon, who once enjoyed a certain amount of celebrity. In youth, he found himself in Rome, attached to the suite of the Portuguese ambassador; and, while looking around him and beholding the numberless objects of art and of antiquity, his mind was fired with the desire of becoming an artist. No obstacle being in the way, he at once applied himself to a seven years' course of study preparatory to the practice of his profession. At the end of this time, he returned to Lisbon. Now, it so happened that in mere childhood, he had formed an attachment for a young, beautiful and nobly-born maiden, the Doña Iquez Elena de Lima, which, with each passing year, had grown stronger and more ardent.

Upon his return to his native country, he lost little time in repairing to the villa on the Tagus, the home of his lady-love; and there he assured her of the continuance of his love and passion. For a season, the affair prospered, and the "nearer beat the heart and the dearer grew the twain." At length, the lord of the villa, who had, hitherto, treated Francesco as his guest merely, but most cordially, began to suspect that he was not only an artist, but an artful suitor. He knew Francesco, root and branch, and all about his ancestry, his family, his kin; he could not cherish the thought that his own daughter, Iquez, might become wedded to one who had no high recommendation of wealth and lineage to offer in return. Ah, no! it would not do to mingle *pur sangre* with plebeian blood. And so, with this conclusion, Doña Iquez was hurried away to the convent of Santa Anna, where, shortly afterwards, she was forced to assume the veil.

Francesco became desperate, but he did not despair. He hastened to lay his case before the King; but the King seemed little disposed to favor the matter. Not yet daunted, he repaired to Rome, consulted with the Pope, and from him obtained a commission ordering the Patriarch of Lisbon to investigate the affair without delay. This investigation proved favorable to the artist; and the Pope immediately annulled the religious vows of the nun, and sanctioned her union with Francesco. But, unfortunately, Francesco, before obtaining the issue of the papal bull, had neglected to ask the permission of the civil authorities of Portugal, and for this neglect was subjected to the loss of his property. The matter had now occasioned a great deal of excitement, and the painter, anxious to rid himself of any danger or risk apparent, returned to Rome for the third time: here, for six long years, he remained in an uninterrupted practice of his art.

One day the old love returned to him. He thought of Doña Iquez pining away in her convent cell, and he remembered how much he had suffered, and how fruitless had been his attempts to gain her for his own. The more he reflected on the past, the more desperate grew his determinations for the future. Once more, he returned to Portugal—for better or for worse. Behold him, in disguise of a brick-layer, entering the convent: his sight darts right and left, and unbeknown, he at length discovers the situation of his long-betrothed. Shrewd and crafty, he succeeds in attracting her attention: she understands—she accepts the plans which he offers,—secretly prepares herself for flight, and, in proper time, the two steal out into the open air. A horse has been brought up: and quick as a flash, Francesco, with the loved one in his arms, mounts the saddle,—and away! Mrs. Browning almost pictures the scene, when she says—

> "And the bridegroom led the flight, on his red roan steed of night,
> And the bride lay on his arm, still as if she feared no harm,
> Smiling out into the night."

Swift is the flight, and hot is the pursuit. But, finally, the latter proves vain and is given up. In a neighboring bishopric, the daring couple are united, and the seal of the marriage is set. For five-and-forty years, says the old chronicler, did their union endure; and when at the end of that time, Doña Iquez was wafted

from earth, the artist forever laid aside his brush; and devoted the remaining ten years of his life to acts of charity, devotion and peaceful meditation. He died, aged eighty-four; and his only epitaph was "good men's praises."

A strange contrast to the foregoing incidents is furnished by the story which follows. Jean Kupetzki was the hero; a sad, poverty-stricken youth; a struggling, successful, but now almost forgotten artist; a Hungarian by birth, an Austrian by adoption—the reader may fill up the outline as he chooses.

Kupetzki early discovered a natural taste and capacity for art pursuits; and a certain count, noticing the precocity of the boy, befriended him and sent him, first to Vienna, and then to Venice, to advance his education. Gradually he began to have a reputation; and this fact, or rather the knowledge of it, hurried him to Rome. One of the admirers and most frequent purchasers of our artist's pictures was Prince Stanislaus Sobieski. By chance, the two personages met, became acquainted, and Kupetzki found himself overloaded with commissions, and the recipient of many pleasing and generous bounties.

Kupetzki removed to Vienna, and, shortly after his arrival, he received an invitation from the Prince de Lichtenstein to take up his residence in that nobleman's palace, where, surrounded by many objects of art and beauty, he might pursue his labors without annoyance, and might, in gloomy moments, derive inspiration therefrom. Now, Kupetzki was the son of a weaver, and himself possessed a weaver's independence of spirit. For reasons known only to himself, he declined the offer of the Prince and settled down in a retired portion of the city.

One day tidings reached him of the death of his first master, Claus, who, in dying, left behind him an only daughter of beautiful and attractive graces. Kupetzki loved the girl, and won her. A marriage fraught with more serious troubles and vexations was never sealed. The pair was most unhappily matched. She was a rigid Catholic, and he a firm, unflinching Lutheran. She was beautiful and was conscious of it—hence proud; he recognized her beauty, and became exceedingly jealous. She was prodigal of money, and fond of show; he was economical, averse to fashion, and cherished morality above all rich blessings.

In the early portion of his married life Kupetzki was summoned

to Carlsbad by the autocrat of Russia. Business and professional relations retained him several months, and then forced him to make a journey to Leipzig. Upon his return to Vienna, his mind was filled with horror, for his wife had given birth to a son ! The secret of the intrigue was laid bare, and the conduct of a resident envoy was openly held up for ridicule. Now came the moment of a separation, the seriousness of which both tears and avowed repentance served to enhance. The wife confessed her error, renounced her religious faith, promised to lead a life of purity and well-doing, and was forgiven by her husband. Confidence and affection were restored, and poor Kupetzki began to hope that his sorrows were over, and that a brighter future was in store for him.

Indeed, the future did shine auspicious. One day it was told to him that he had been appointed "Premier Painter to the King," How did Kupetzki receive such a gracious announcement ? Certainly as became his natural disposition. "Tell His Majesty that I humbly thank him for the honor he has done me, but that I crave permission to decline it. I have firmly resolved to be dependent on no man, and the only favor I require at the hands of the Emperor is permission and protection for my wife and family in the worship of God according to the dictates of our own consciences." The reply of the Emperor was : "Kupetzki is a very clever artist—but a fool !"

But peaceful quiet and contentedness do not always bring surety of safety. Kupetzki and his wife were now startled by the information that a design was forming against them of bringing the family under the ban of the Inquisition. Frightened by these tidings, the painter fled to Nuremberg, where, after a season, he was the recipient of many favors, and received and declined invitations from the King of England and the Queen of Denmark to visit their respective courts. A few months later, his son, to whose future he had looked forward with so many hopes and expectations, was removed by death. The father's grief amounted to little less than distraction. It was, indeed, so inconsolable that Kupetzki would not assent to the burial of the corpse, and continued to watch over it day and night, refusing food and nourishing, and showing, as it were, a kind of mental insanity.

At length, the body was secretly removed without the poor man's knowledge. But his sorrows grew more intense. He

dreamed hideous dreams, and imagined that he saw visions, and so vividly was one of the latter impressed upon his memory that he would not rest content until he had transferred the vision upon canvas. Luckless Kupetzki ended his own life in 1740. Even the narrow grave in which he was interred is known only to a few —and the name of the weaver boy, who, from the miseries of poverty, became the painter of royal portraits, upon whose shoulder the jeweled hand of the Emperor had often rested—his name —who ever reads of it now, or who ever mentions it at all?

In the old Hotel de Ville, at Nuremberg, hangs a picture surrounded by an old-fashioned carved frame. The picture represents a vision—a scene in heaven—a throne, and upon that throne sits a young man crowned with an aureole. It strikes your attention strangely—it is a mystery unsolved. People look at the catalogue and read, in German, "The vision of Kupetzki." They ask, who was he?

GEORGE LOWELL AUSTIN.

DÜHRING'S NATIONAL ECONOMY.[1]

ALREADY as early as 1860, or soon thereafter, Eugene Dühring, lecturer ("Docent") on Philosophy and Political Economy at the Berlin University, wrote concerning H. C. Carey's "Principles of Social Science," as follows: "I was immediately captivated by the grand style of his reasoning, and soon became convinced that I had here to deal with a literary phenomenon pre-eminently destined to mark a new era. At first I felt inclined to hesitate. ....I saw that such a book as that before me could not be lightly disposed of by giving a final judgment regarding its merits after reading merely its introductory pages. I felt more and more attracted towards its author, both by his moral and humane character, and his far-seeing intellect. I gradually began to realize

[1] From the "*Christlich-sociale Blätter*," a monthly published at Aix-la-Chapelle, No. 5. May 23d, 1874.

"CURSUS DER NATIONAL UND SOCIAL ŒCONOMIE," by Dühring. (COURSE OF POLITICAL AND SOCIAL ECONOMY.) Berlin: Grieben. 1873. 3 Thaler. 560 pp.

what I possessed in the book of this man, whom I had thus far only known as the representative of apparently strange views regarding (ground) rent, and in fact really only by name. Yet I considered it advisable not to oppose these views before first fully familiarizing myself with them. The question at issue really involved nothing less than the exchange of the almost Ptolemaic stand-point of (political) science for a Copernican one...............Now to-day I feel justified in declaring with a good conscience, and without any apprehension of being obliged to revoke my judgment, that Carey ....was not only the annihilator of a great part of the economical superstition hitherto prevailing, but also the founder of a positive, harmonious, and in all directions fertile, system of social science. The reform in the political economy of the past, for which he not only paves the way, but which he has accomplished, is so grand, that I almost hesitate to designate it merely as reform. What we here have to deal with is really in great degree of a new, entirely original creation. Carey's work appears to me like an oasis in the desert of every-day routine......... ....The fulcrum of a thorough study of political economy, which hitherto was always to be sought in the reading of Adam Smith's 'Wealth of Nations,' has now changed its place, and we possess in Carey's grand work, the first reasonable attempt, worthy of our century, at formulating, in a grand style, political economy and social science."

The work in which these assertions were made was the first and eminently meritorious production of E. Dühring, in the department of political economy. It was entitled: Carey's Revolution of Political Economy and Social Science. Twelve letters by E. Dühring. Munich, 1865.

What Dühring then anticipated has since come to pass. In the preface to the above-named book he said: "To judge from present indications, the older schools of political economy, and especially the followers of the new British system, are not particularly inclined to contribute toward giving publicity to the recent great productions of this American, or even to favor any propaganda for it. He who is acquainted with the the fate of (literary) phenomena that inaugurate a new era, will not be surprised at this fact. The more original and important such a phenomenon is, the more decisively it necessarily interferes with the traditions of

the various schools and sects, and the more obstinate resistance it necessarily meets with; for a kind of natural instinct prevents the representatives of the old doctrine from paying homage to genius. To secrete and to kill by ignoring, or, as it were, to stealthily intercept an important new production, is something we very often meet with in the history of science—nay, such temporary interceptions almost form the rule."

This is indeed true. While that which is really important occupies the background, the noisy literary market resounds with the laudatory conversations of colleagues concerning the most insignificant productions. The brilliant leaves of literary history are, to use Schopenhauer's expression, almost always also the tragic ones; they show to us, in almost all departments of art and science, how true merit generally has had to stand back until the fools had done with their folly, until the feast was over and all had re. tired; then, rising like a phantom from the night of darkness that had hidden it, to step after all into the honorable place so long denied to it, at least as a shadow. This is also Carey's fate. The guild of science either cannot or will not recognize his importance or acknowledge his merit. While such mediocrities as J. Stuart Mill are worshiped as authorities, and Roscher's collection of extracts from other authors is praised as a classical work which inaugurates a new era, the leading spokesmen, at the desk as well as in the press, do not even name such men as Fred. List, Henry C. Carey, or E. Dühring. At most they are in passing mentioned in a note, with transparent intimations as to how little such people are entitled to any attention whatsoever. It is true that in Germany two small pamphlets have been published against Carey, but they only excel in the unrestrained coarseness of their polemics, without deserving even the slightest mention.[2]

If these tactics of ignoring, and by silence killing, an important but inconvenient production, have not been employed against such a man as Karl Marx, there are special reasons for it. But of an impartial appreciation of Marx's work on the part of German "science" and its patent representatives, thus far no trace is to be found. They either lack entirely the intellectual power

[2]A. Held. Carey's Social Science. Wurzburg, 1866.

F. A. Lange. J. St. Mill's views regarding the social problem, and the alleged revolution of Social Science, by Carey. Duisburg, 1866.

of comprehending him, or they are unwilling to speak out what they think of him.

Since that time when Dühring for the first time called attention to the great North American, he has come forward in quick succession with many voluminous and significant works on political economy and social science, some of which have even opened new paths in science. We mention here only "Capital and Labor," Berlin, 1865; "Critical Foundation of Political Economy," Berlin, 1866; "Critical History of Political Economy and Socialism," Berlin, Th. Grieben, 1871. "Course of Political and Social Economy, inclusively of the principal points of financial policy," Berlin, Th. Grieben, 1873.

Moreover, Mr. Dühring has so signally distinguished himself in various other departments of knowledge, especially by his "History of Philosophy from its beginning to the present time,"[3] and by the "History of the general principles of mechanical science," to which the philosophical faculty at the University of Göttingen awarded the first Beneke prize, that Carey in his latest work (The Unity of Law, Philadelphia, 1872), in his dedication to our author, could justly say that "it is rare to find such varied knowledge combined with such extraordinary industry as has been exhibited by Prof. Dühring throughout the last decade." Nevertheless, Dr. Dühring still remains a private lecturer, although at Bonn, Berlin and other universities, men are promoted to regular professorships of political science who have but just completed their academical triennium.

In the forementioned most recent publication, the "Course of Political and Social Economy," the traditional, purely theoretical, doctrine of political economy is exposed as an antiquated error, which the author endeavors to replace by a properly so-called political economy, resting upon general necessities and principles. The question, whether, and how far, this attempt has proved successful, we do not hesitate to answer by the emphatic assurance, that Dühring's "Course" is the only serviceable compendium of political economy which completely antiquates and supersedes all other works of its kind hitherto in use. The author has not only

[3] A specimen of this work, containing a criticism of Herbert Spencer, was published in the PENN MONTHLY of November, 1873.

distanced his predecessors on this field of literature by several lengths, but has left them behind several miles.

Since, however, it is absolutely impossible to understand the present time, and to form a correct judgment as to the social problem, without being familiar with the fundamental principles of political economy, no one interested in social and political affairs can afford to forego the study of Dühring's work.

W. Hohoff.

ALICE AND PHŒBE CARY.

A MEMORIAL of Alice and Phœbe Cary, with some of their later poems. By Mary Clemmer Ames. New York: Hurd & Houghton. 1874

Alice and Phœbe Cary, who loved to trace their pedigree, we fear with a missing link or so, to a famous knight in the reign of Henry V., were at all events of our American aristocracy, as being descended from early settlers of this Continent. The virtue and integrity, though not the wealth, if it ever had any, of this good old stock, descended upon their father, Robert Cary, who was a farmer near Cincinnati, Ohio. Here, in an old brown homestead, whose latch was being constantly lifted in their poems to the very last, Alice and Phœbe Cary grew quietly into womanhood. Their parents were of vigorous rather than of instructed minds, and they owed their own development less to them, or to their books and small school advantages, than to their complete and detailed comprehension of the natural.

Many of their verses had traveled from the corners of Western newspapers eastward, until the sweet singers were well known in larger and more discerning audiences. Encouraged by this, they turned their backs upon the trees, and flowers, and birds, that had been the source of their inspiration, to earn their living in the crowded thoroughfares and unfamiliar sights of New York. A literary struggle of more than twenty years, under these unfavorable circumstances, g ave them a competency, but exhausted their strength. Perhaps the discipline which they went through did not favor the growth and fair proportion of their poetic faculties, but it made their lives more worthy of memorial than mere verses

could. Poor, when publishers were not as liberal as they are now, and almost friendless, still their little house soon became, and till their death remained, the centre of the most genuine literary society that ever met in this country. Horace Greeley, Oliver Johnson, Whittier, Bayard Taylor, Richard and Elizabeth Stoddard, Prof. Raymond, Robert Dale Owen, Justin M'Carthy, Hon. Henry Wilson, T. B. Aldrich, George Ripley, Robert Bonner, Dr. Chapin, Dr. Deems, Mary L. Booth, Mrs. Croly, Ole Bull, P. T. Barnum, Mrs. Stanton, Whitelaw Reid, and many others remarkable for their individuality, were constant frequenters of the modest house in Twentieth street.

Alice Cary had a mind delicate, mystical and refined; while Phœbe's was vigorous, instantaneous, witty and passionate. It is a pity that such nature-loving souls wrote cooped up in a city, and under the whip. Verses and daily bread—what ought never to be—were in their case too nearly connected. What their poetry might have been under more favorable conditions we can only imagine, but the selections Mrs. Ames gives us are in point of versification and refinement unexceptionable. These qualities it never lacks, because they came from what was never absent from the authoresses, a musical ear and an ingrained fineness of mind. Mrs. Ames says that Edgar Allan Poe, and there never lived a better authority on versification, pronounced Alice Cary's poem, beginning

> "Of all the beautiful pictures
> That hang on memory's wall,
> Is one of a dim old forest,
> That seemeth best of all,"

one of the most perfect lyrics in the English language. There certainly is too prevailing a tinge of sadness over their poems, especially over Alice's; but all women are inclined to this, and considering the struggles these went through, and the way one after another of their loved ones was taken, and the weary prostration to which they finally succumbed themselves, we have to wonder at what they repressed rather than at what escaped them.

It is pathetic to see constantly recalled in the verses of these city-caged women the harvest-time and the ploughing, to hear them dwelling again and again on the nutting, and calling the wild flowers and birds all by their common names.

"All with the dusty city's throng
Walled round, I mused to-day
Of flowery sheets lying white along
The pleasant grass of the way.

"Under the hedge by the brawling brook,
I heard the woodpecker's tap,
And the drunken trills of the blackbirds shook
The sassafras leaves in my lap.

"I thought of the rainy morning air
Dropping down through the pine,
Of furrows fresh from the shining share,
And smelling sweeter than wine.

"Of the soft thick moss, and how it grew
With silver beads impearled,
In the well that we used to think ran through
To the other side of the world."

The milk-pail, the well-sweep, the roof-tree, the wood-pecker and the whip-poor-will do not live in Bryant with half the reality with which they come back to their yearnings. The reader will pass unwearied from leaf to leaf as he sees anew the depth of common words and the sublimity of common things. We dread to quote any, lest we leave the best:

"Ah! never had sleeper a sleep so fair;
And the waiting-women that weep around
Have taken the combs from her golden hair,
And it slideth over her face to the ground.
They have hidden the light from her lovely eyes;
And down from the eaves, where the mosses grow,
The rain is dripping so slow, so slow,
And the night wind cries, and cries, and cries."

Were death and beauty ever better joined in a verse? These are Alice's. Here is a delicate compliment to Whittier from Phœbe:

"And therefore men in coming years
Shall chant thy praises loud and long;
And women name thee through their tears
A poet greater than his song."

Alice Cary is the author of the ballad, "Dearest, dear little heart;" and, indeed, so many and so charming are the love-songs of both these single women, that we are forced to suppose much love-making of a high type that the memorial solemnly hints at.

All these things may be criticised, and criticised variously, but before the beauty of their characters the reviewer stands dumb. Alice was filled with the royal gift of charity, in St. Paul's sense. And it is true of both, that having accomplished so much, and having attained a place among women so unique, yet in their diaries and correspondence hardly a word is to be found about themselves. Nor in their lives does there seem to be a record or a line of envy, slander, impertinent curiosity—qualities too common among women—or of a desire for publicity. Alice, indeed, was the first president of Sorosis, and Phœbe was an editor of the *Revolution;* but they were driven into these positions with the greatest reluctance, and resigned them within a few months; not because they were without sympathy in the movement the institutions represented, but because they were too home-like and shy for public careers.

Such a book is a soothing and instructive contribution, when so many thinking people are by the ears on the subject of woman's rights. It is a relief to fly out from the clangor of unreason and theory, whatever one's opinion, into the story of these quiet, resolute, womanly lives. Either party in the fight will find much to extol in them, and, if they cared for such a thing, much common ground. For there is a common ground, and we shall get to it, either by such honest use of the national judgment, as has enabled arbitration to arrive at conclusions heretofore reached by buncombe and war—or else the radical wing of society on the one side and the conservative on the other, will rend and tear, until the main body is shaken on to an anchorage that will hold both, but satisfy neither. It would be better, if possible, to seek out this point than to be dragged to it. Though it is pretty clear that we have not got down to the bottom fact of the universe, it may be well doubted whether everything that is, is wrong. The general opinion may not be prepared for Mrs. Woodhull's liberal classification into monogamic, polygamic, cairogamic and chronogamic souls (we present this felicitous terminology to the school), nor, on the other, is it likely long to rest content that women should be simply marriageable. Something is to come out of this Pandora's box of woman's rights; and though it may not come up to the gamic philosophy, it will certainly vex the righteous souls of them and their fathers who

have not encouraged women to speak at table. And this latter extreme, or things like it, have been as common as the former.

This memoir of the Carys we think will let us into much that other women may and will be capable of in the changed state of things. The reader can see even from our very incomplete review something of what their lives were. It ought to be considered—particularly in Philadelphia, where there is no pretence of literary organization—an achievement for such young and little-known women to gather in their unpretending receptions the acting and thinking souls they did. And these people came not so much to meet each other as to enjoy the society of the hostesses, who were in every sense the centre of the circle. They were not voters, lecturers, fighters, or free-lovers, yet they were masculine in senses in which we wish more of the sisterhood resembled them. Negatively, they were masculine in that they did not reach middle life through a maze of Germans, theatre parties, fine dresses and flirtations. They were positively masculine in that they earned their bread, that they delighted in the society of men and women who lived and thought, and in that they lived and thought themselves. If they had advanced theories on the subject of woman's rights, Mrs. Ames does not tell us what they were; but it is certain that Alice and Phœbe Cary were not at all satisfied that their sisters either had risen or been given the opportunity to rise to their real place. And it is hardly possible that women who had accomplished what the Carys had, and who had enjoyed the elixir of noble living as they did, could have thought so.

What such lives teach—and we think it a part of the common ground referred to in the beginning, and it is the first part, because it may be done in the nursery and the schools—is the necessity of more thoroughly educating women. We ought to begin to consider the propriety of permitting our daughters, who are to be the first and most potent educators of the rising generation, to be educated themselves. In the particular instance, two poetesses were produced; we mean brought out, educated in the original sense, by such unfavorable circumstances as poverty, a step-mother, and want of society. If they had been a little more fortunate, their records would have been those of well-to-do farmers' daughters or farmers' wives. These assertions

do not derogate from, or at least do not abrogate the written law, *poeta nascitur, non fit.* For we are not contending that poets are made, but only that poets, especially among women, are often lost for want of opportunity or inducement to sing. But the Carys prove not only the possibilities for women in poetry, but in every branch of literary work. Surely such ambitions are nobler to plant in girls than the absolute necessity of heel and toe nimbleness, and of captivating a support. How the women we are writing of would have trodden such an existence in the dirt!

NEW BOOKS.

An Essay Contributing to a Philosophy of Literature. By B. A., M. Pp. 182. Philadelphia: Claxton, Remsen & Haffelfinger.

The author of this thoughtful little work is a Catholic of the gentle school of Schlegel, Ozanam and Wiseman, as opposed to the violent party of Veuillot and Goerres.

They are strenuous in faith, and no less strenuous in courtesy. They are sure that the church is right, and that her view of the world's history will be found to be the only tenable one; equally sure that nothing is to be gained by sweeping denunciations, by wilful ignorings of historical facts, and by rhetoric of the O'Connel sort. Consequently they seek more for points of contact than those of repugnance, in dealing with the relation of church doctrines, and scientific and heretical thought. At the same time they do not attempt to gloss over the great and abiding differences. To the church the temporal life is but the forecourt of a supernatural world; to science it is the only theatre of action and inspiration. In the church's view history begins with a great moral break between a state of innocence and a succeeding one of guilt; science looks upon all theories of a golden age in the past as the illusions of the world's childhood.

Our unknown author gives us in this little work a sort of philosophy of history, under the form of a philosophy of the world's literature; for in literature he finds a faithful and sufficient exponent of the history. He does not assume that everything outside the one flock of the faithful has been a weltering chaos of falsehood and confusion. With the primitive theologians of Alexandria, he discerns in the past—even in the time of pagan darkness—the operation of the divine Logos, educating men to look for the fuller light of the gospel. Even as regards the Reformation, he sees an excuse for what he regards as its mistakes; the church was

corrupt at the Renaissance period; hopelessly corrupt to any eye but that of faith. But separation was a mistake; a reformation within the church, such as the Council of Trent effected, was what the case really demanded.

The Reformation has borne its evil fruit in the increasingly subjective tendency of modern literature. It has turned men away from the objective facts that lead men ever upward from the real to the divine ideal, to God himself, and set them to contemplating the endless and fruitless phantasmagoria of inward emotions and feelings. The grand old pagan literatures were better than that; they had a thousand points of sympathy with the mediæval literature that culminated in Dante. Like it, they had a healthy and objective character, and something like that paganism are the new and utterly secular revolts against Protestant subjectivity led by Goethe, Hegel and Comte. These have much in common with Catholicism; they show the blind striving of human nature toward its true goal. But they all come short in seeking the fruition of all their striving in the natural sphere, and shutting out of sight the spiritual world. They go back to old paganism, passing by the Catholic faith that overcame and destroyed that paganism. But to Catholicism the present life is but the forecourt to a better and grander life—the supernatural. And even in the present world they are practical failures. They furnish no sufficient basis for the conception of right and duty. They have no really ethical message to mankind.

This, we think, is the leading thought of the book. Its author has read widely and has thought for himself. He writes with an evident purpose to be fair and candid. Even opponents of his theory must confess so much. But we cannot concede that he is always as fair as he wants to be. He has taken many things and many people—notably Luther—at second hand, and has not always reached the best and strongest statement of his opponent's views—the only statement worth his while to refute. Not that our author might not find sanction in some hostile book for every statement he has made; but no system of faith or body of doctrine can afford to be judged by the wooden statements of shallow advocates.

ENGLAND, POLITICAL AND SOCIAL. By Auguste Langel, Private Secretary to the Duc d'Aumale. Translated by Prof. James Morgan Hart. Pp. 325. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons.

A French Orleanist is just the sort of judge at whose hands England might expect to fare best. The two revolutions of 1830, the peaceful one in England and the more violent one in France, effected a transfer of political power in both countries, from the aristocracy to the *bourgeoisie* or middle class. The Orleans family were the representatives of that new element; so long as the shop-keepers could rule France, the shop-keeper King

held the throne. With his fall in 1848, the workingman came to the surface, and the bourgeois royalty went its way. Its attempts to transplant the outer forms and shapes of English institutions to the Continent, were brought to nought. Its shallow, half-hearted affection for freedom ended in smoke. France, it was seen, was not England—would not put up with an unideal, make-shift sort of government—needed a ruler, be he charlatan or hero, who could inspire her people with some measure of enthusiasm. The house of Orleans and their adherents have had leisure for some time past to reflect on the difference between England and France.

M. Langel has given his countrymen a very brilliant and readable book on the subject. We know of none in the English language that equals it except Emerson's *English Traits*, of which it often reminds us. There is the same abundance of terse and epigrammatic sentences, full often of deep insight and suggestion, but also often only brilliant.

M. Langel is more complete and systematic in his treatment of the subject. He begins with the discussion of English character in his first chapter, and traces it first of all to the fusion of many and various race-elements in one nation. He seems to have the false notion that these have been blended into one type by miscegenation; whereas, in fact, each of them—Celt, Saxon, Dane and Norman—has preserved itself intact and continually reappears in all its purity of type. M. Langel finds in the Englishman a certain brutal virility mixed with a tendency to melancholy fancies. Furthermore, her insular position has preserved to England political elements lost elsewhere, and these have tended to perpetuate the primitive Teutonic character. Freedom and inequality in their vigorous co-existence are the inheritance of an uninterrupted descent from the past—not the devised scheme of doctrinaire philosophers. But deepest of all lies the English love of right, which is sovereign when it gets the upper hand of prejudice. Almost as deep is English conservatism, the clinging to the ascertained fact in preference to groping after an uncertain ideal. But the race loves approval and applause; feels the stronger for having men's admiration. It is one feature of her generic hypochondria, as her religiousness is another. The latter intrudes everywhere and is never out of sight; it has modified all English history, and shaped the whole destiny of the people.

And so in his second chapter M. Langel takes up English Protestantism as his theme. The Reformation was the outgrowth of all the earlier history of England; all the later is the outgrowth of the Reformation. Up to that event, the country had no true individuality or distinct character in Europe. Since then that character has made itself visible in a multitude of forms, each farther than another from the modes and sympathies of the

Continent. The Puritanism of Cromwell for instance, how unlike any form of religious enthusiasm and political action known to the rest of Europe. The reaction of 1660, the most intelligible event in English history to a Frenchman, was but temporary, and the Revolution of 1688, motived more by religion than by politics, obliterated it. The rise of Methodism and of Anglicanism, the two most notable events in the subsequent spiritual history of the people, have the same markedly insular character.

The chapter that follows is devoted to the English aristocracy, an institution which might be supposed to be a point of contact and sympathy with most of the continental nations. But the continental aristocracies—classical and modern—are of one type; the English of quite another. Its possession of a prestige that can dispense with privilege; its relation to the land and to the *bourgeoisie*, which is in the aggregate, now, the wealthier class of the two; its unbroken tradition as a legislative body; the strict limitation of its numbers by primogeniture, cadets of the noble houses having no aristocratic status; its continual recruiting, not from these cadet branches, but from the middle class;—all these are points of contrast which do much to modify the inmost character of the institution. As things stand, the aristocracy furnishes a sort of national ideal, to which the other classes continually aspire. And the ideal has many points of courtesy—fine courtesy, a nice sense of honor, and the like. The House of Lords is a check upon the popular will not without its uses; when it becomes unendurable, it will cease to be endured. But unless the middle class is prepared to guillotine the Peers as soon as it deprives them of political power, it would do well to accept the existing situation. The House of Lords would be "returned" almost *en masse* to the House of Commons.

The most English of English institutions is parliamentary government—so much so that the authors of our own Constitution made no attempt to transplant it to America; and the attempts made by the Orleanists and other *bourgeois* parties on the Continent, have been but moderately successful. Yet all peoples have learned something from it, and are adopting something of its method. Our author discerns its vast antiquity, but fails in his attempt to trace it back to the Teutonic mark-motes which already existed in the days of Tacitus. But he does trace with great clearness the transition by which this *virtually* representative body has become *formally* such; has from a royal convention of notables become a true miniature of the English Commons. The theory of "opposition" and its growth since the English Revolution, seem to him especially notable; that of the independence of representatives, as representing national interests, and not as delegates under instruction, especially praiseworthy and imitable. He discerns

the deep significance of the revolution effected by the Reform Bill of 1867; and, as might be expected of an Orleanist, thinks the transfer of power from the middle to the lower classes then effected was a very unnecessary one. He believes that it has not yet wrought out its complete results, having little changed the *personnel* of Parliament.

In the fifth chapter he takes a deeper plunge in the philosophy of political life, and discusses the formation of political habits. Elsewhere in Europe the abolition of feudalism has inflicted mischiefs unknown to England, and outcries against centralization and bureaucracy are heard; why are these wanting in England? What is the relation of her people to the political system under which they live, that keeps it from becoming a huge, rattling, lifeless machine, bound by no ties to the national life? How has she managed to avoid deepening the chasm between the nation and its Government, as every step towards liberal institutions taken elsewhere seems to have done? No question more thoroughly tests the acumen of continental observers of England. M. Langel discerns the fact that England has had no forcible breaks with the past, no sudden interruptions of historic continuity. Her institutions were not devised for her by committees and conventions sitting on the morrow of Revolutions. They are the outgrowth of the people's mind and life, and the life of the nation has flowed in them as freely and naturally as the river in the channel that ages have worn for it.

Two chapters on "The People on Social Questions," and on "The Colonial Policy," close the book.

HALF-HOUR RECREATIONS IN NATURAL HISTORY. Division First. Half-hours with Insects. Part 4, by A. S. Packard, Jr. Estes & Lauriat, Boston. 16 mo., 32 pp. 25 cents.

A pleasant half-hour can be occupied in reading the 32 pages which form this pamphlet. It is divided into Insects of the Plant House and Edible Insects.

Insects of the plant house, though comparatively few in number, have many very interesting peculiarities, some of which are partly described in this part. Mr. Packard shows us a multiplication table of one single Aphis, which at the tenth generation, and in one season, would produce the enormous number of one quintillion living creatures. We have every cause to be thankful that this surprising self-producing creature is not allowed to propagate undisturbed to such a degree. Small and insignificant as the Aphis is, Prof. Huxley says of it: "I will assume that an Aphis weighs one-thousandth of a grain, which is under the mark; a quintillion will on this estimate weigh a quadrillion grains. He is a very stout man who weighs two million grains; consequently the tenth brood alone, if all its members survive the

perils to which they are exposed, contains more substance than five hundred million stout men—to say the least, more than the whole population of China." "That the individual with this potential ability to produce such a mass of young only succeeds in leaving, perhaps, two eggs to represent its species at the beginning of winter, all its offspring dying off, is a significant fact, illustrating forcibly the terrible struggle for existence going on in the animal world." As Mr. Carey has pointed out, the capacity of the individual existence to perpetuate itself, is in inverse ratio to its power to propagate itself. What nature produces with ease, she takes but little care of; while she jealously guards what she with difficulty produces. Insects of the plant house are not always, nor are they all, the pests one is apt to imagine them. Many are useful, and some indespensable. For instance we have the wax-producing insect, not the busy bee who manufactures the wax into cells and storehouses, in which their winter supply of honey is gathered, but an insect peculiar to China, where it is cultivated to an extent second only to that of the silkworm. We have also the cochineal, an insect of little use by itself, but when compounded with chemicals furnishing the beautiful carmine, one grain of which it is said, "will dye a single silk fibre upwards of three thousand yards in length."

Edible insects are more numerous than is usually credited: it is an old saying, "that one person's food is poison to another;" certain it is that luxuries to our palate, such as lobsters, crabs, shrimps, and the delicious oysters, are loathed by a race who revel and enjoy a feast on locusts and grasshoppers. Those of our foreign travelers who have had recourse to eating a preparation of dried *locusts*, compounded into a soup, speak of it as not being palatable, yet exceedingly nutritious, as the people thrive well on that diet. Our Western farmers might have turned their late plagues into a blessing, had they known or learned the utility of grasshoppers and locusts as food. Of beetles, the grubs of the gigantic palm weevil are roasted and eaten by natives in the tropics. Roasted spiders are eaten by the natives of New Caledonia: they will scarcely be enjoyed by the epicures whom the French government has sent there, to the same extent that their frogs and snails are relished at home. Chloroform is the product of an ant.

Insects "are our companions by day, and, alas, also by night. Finally, a thorough comprehension of their original structure and habits forms a part of that grand science—biology, which great intellects have through the centuries, since the time of Aristotle, gradually, and with much pains, built up, and the end and aim of which is to seek the answer to the question: What is life? thus bringing the mind of the inquirer into closer relations with the source of all Life."

THE BRIC-A-BRAC SERIES: *Personal Reminiscences of Chorley, Planche and Young.* Pp. 297. *Anecdote Biographies of Thackeray and Dickens.* Pp. 299.

We cannot begin a review of these two volumes without expressing admiration both of their appearance and design. The white cover is not common among booksellers, and originality in binding is rare enough to call for special praise. The plan is exceedingly good. The Bric-a-Brac is to be an anecdote biography of the great literary men of this century. The editor, Mr. Stoddard, adds in the second volume: "If we could analyze carefully the various elements contained in a good biography, and decide which interested us most in the reading, and which we remembered longest after the reading, I think we should discover that it was the element of anecdote. The chief facts in a biography—the general drift of the life of its subject—may impress themselves upon the memory for a time, but that which remains permanently is something different from these—some incident or incidents in the life in question—a smart saying, a humorous jest, a rapier thrust of wit—it may be anything that is salient." This is true enough in its way; but to make it complete, Mr. Stoddard should have added that this is a result of that careless habit of reading, fostered by three-volume novels, whose languid attention can be aroused only by something striking and dramatic; a general view of a man's life is far more important than those casual glimpses of anecdote, which serve, unless corrected by broader knowledge, only to mislead and distort. Who would suppose from the good things of Sydney Smith, that for many years he was a hard-working country clergyman? or from Cowper's pastoral tastes and easy humor, that he was a religious hypochondriac? These things we learn from biographies, not from anecdotes. But Mr. Stoddard may well be pardoned for dwelling on the other side of the case. Given a stupid or partial biographer, who cannot or will not give us the man's real character: and some quick, incisive speech or incident, handed down by oral tradition, will correct and supplement our knowledge to a wonderful degree. A collection of anecdotes, therefore, should be strictly impartial; should give every salient feature of the man which survives in the reminiscences of his associates. On this head we have a quarrel with Mr. Stoddard. He omits Mr. Fields' "lively sketch, which I cannot accept as a faithful sketch of Mr. Thackeray, although it may perhaps reflect one side of his character with tolerable accuracy." Then, if it reflects one side of Thackeray's nature, why not put it in? No single sketch is expected to show more of its subject than can be seen by one person in a more or less familiar intercourse; and it is only by collecting a number of such sketches in a book like this that we can form some estimate of the man. Our remembrance of Mr.

Fields' paper is a very pleasant one. It showed Thackeray among his friends, the most genial and jolly of boon companions; making merry over his whisky toddy, or, when good news from the *Cornhill* reached him in America, giving loose to the high spirits of a boy; and with all this were mingled so many tender and noble traits that only the most dyspeptic piety could refuse a sympathizing smile. The great, hearty, generous nature of the man came out in Mr. Fields' pages as it has seldom been permitted to appear elsewhere: and when we remember the close intimacy between the subject of that sketch and its author, we must feel that no collection of *Thackerayana* is complete without it.

But this after all is a minor matter. The "Anecdote Biographies" are full of interest. They have added to our conception of the two great authors several distinct features; and in the case of Thackeray (of whom, if his wishes and the wishes of his daughters are respected, there will be no biography), the second volume of this series will be the most adequate memorial extant. Our space does not permit us to quote at length from its pages. Here is "a cluster of little anecdotes" from the preface:

"Thackeray now and then said a good thing in a quiet way. He was pestered on one occasion, while in this country, by a young gentleman of an inquiring turn of mind, as to what was thought of this person and that person in England. 'Mr. Thackeray,' he asked, 'what do they think of Tupper?' 'They don't think of Tupper,' was the reply. Another man of letters was mentioned, and it transpired that he was addicted to beer-drinking. 'Yes,' said Thackeray, 'take him for half and half, he was a man.' (We have heard, by the way, a better version of this story). His connection with Fraser's Magazine was the subject of conversation, and the right of an editor to change the 'copy' of his contributors was discussed. Thackeray maintained that no such right existed, except as regarded errors of grammar, and declared that, as a rule, editorial changes were blunders. 'I told an editor so once, and he did not like it: "I have no objections to your putting your hoofs on my paragraphs," I remarked, "but I decidedly object to your sticking your ears through them."' Thackeray and Jerrold used to sit near each other at the *Punch* dinners, and Jerrold was inclined to wrangle with everything that was not to his liking, but Thackeray *would* keep the peace. 'There is no use in our quarreling,' he said, 'for we *must* meet again next week.'"

We are glad to see Mr. Cruikshank's letter to the London *Times* introduced into this preface, not only because it clears our townsman Dr. Mackenzie from the charges of Mr. Forster, but as an amusing revelation of the old draughtsman's peculiarities. Dr. Mackenzie stated in his life of Dickens, that the principal characters in *Oliver Twist* were suggested by Cruikshank. Mr. Forster

indignantly denied the fact, with much strong language: whereupon Cruikshank wrote to the *Times*, confirming in substance Dr. Mackenzie's statement, and giving a most interesting account of the writing of *Oliver Twist*. The letter is too long to insert, but it certainly seems to show that many scenes and characters were proposed by the illustrator. That they derived their whole vitality from Dickens is abundantly evident on Cruikshank's own showing. He would have made the book a sort of Sunday-school temperance tract, and was much disappointed that Dickens refused to carry out his idea. "I wanted the boy to have a very different name, such as Frank Foundling or Frank Steadfast." "My idea was to raise a boy from the most humble position up to a high and respectable one—in fact, to illustrate one of those cases of common occurrence, where men of humble origin by natural ability, industry, honest and honorable conduct, raise themselves to first-class positions in society." Nevertheless, Mr. Cruikshank says, "I am the originator of Oliver Twist, and all the principal characters are mine;" which may be true in a sense, and yet reminds us strongly of Constable, when Scott changed the name of a character at his suggestion, saying pompously to a friend, "By Gad, sir, I am all but the author of the Waverly Novels." Dickens was saved from much Philistinism by his humor; but here is a Philistine like Goliath of Gath.

There is a very amusing paper in this volume reprinted from the "Englishwoman's Journal," in which a young lady, who was for some time a member of Dickens' family, gives her impressions of him. She betrays her sex very early in the article, by informing us that Mrs. Dickens was "a pretty little woman, with the heavy-lidded large blue eyes, so much admired by men." The paper, as may be imagined from this sentence, is not in the best style of literature, and its writer evidently assumes the right to tell the public all she learned from being in the house of an intimate friend of Dickens. She has certainly produced an interesting article, though made up of particulars which one feels half ashamed to know. We feel as if we had listened to the servants retailing gossip about an old friend. Some of Dickens' ready puns, given in this contribution, are very good.

We have left ourselves no space for the Memorials contained in the first volume; but either book is a volume which one may open anywhere, sure of amusement and interest.

R. S. H.

"The American Historical Record and Repertory of Notes and Queries," for September, 1874.

We always have a cordial greeting to extend to this valuable publication, especially *now* that regularity is observed in its issue by its enterprising new publishers—John E. Potter & Co. The

present number, however, we regret to say, does not contain the usual complement of good things. The opening article, entitled "Doctor Kearsley and the State House," contains a well-executed picture, said to be John Kearsley; but no clew is afforded to its original. We cannot tell whether it is not copied from "The American Biographical Panorama," except from our confidence in the generally accurate editor; still we would like to know, in all cases of rare portraits, whence they are taken. A sad error is made in the article in lauding this gentleman as the architect of the State House, and in impressing the importance of commemorating him as such in the Centennial celebration. In point of fact, he was NOT the architect of the State House at all, and Dr. Lossing, in following Mr. Watson in this misstatement, has (unwittingly, of course) done great injustice to the memory of *Andrew Hamilton*, who not only *designed* the State House, but actually *superintended its erection*. Dr. K. was a member of the committee, and did submit a plan, which was *rejected*, an act which caused him so much offence that he, rather discreditably, interposed every obstacle to the erection of the building. We regret to see such an error as this again disseminated, or such a story as the "Mechlenberg Declaration of Independence," which years since received its death-blow, reproduced in a standard magazine.

Valuable articles are contributed on "Church Organs and Sacred Music," by Samuel A. Green; on St. Paul's Church, Narragansett, by Jacob Frank Howe; and on "the Ohio Company," by M. M. Jones. The last-named subject is one of great importance in the colonial history of our country, and the information furnished, though valuable, is entirely too meagre. We have often desired to have explained to us "the grand Ohio Company;" and this writer, while telling us of the *merger* of the Ohio Company therein, deigns no account of the cormorant itself. An article on St. Tammany puzzles us by the general and rather indiscriminate references to the Indian, the Saint, Col. Geo. Morgan, Mr. Heckewelder and Tammany Hall in Philadelphia. We are unable to trace the ratio-rationalis, and rather opine the author has in view the old story of "ici le chemin des ânes." The autograph letters published are not well selected in this number. No such letters should be included, unless intrinsically interesting or historical, and no fac-similes given, unless of acknowledged rarity. Guided by an earnest desire for the success of this magazine, we desire to point out to our friends therein the occasional errors which strike us.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

Bulletin de L'Académe Royale des Sciences, des Lettres, et des Beaux-Arts de Belgique, 43e année, 2e série, tome 37. No. 6. Bruxelles: F. Hayes, Imprimeur de L'Académie Royal, 1874.

A Memorial of Alice and Phœbe Cary, with some of their later poems. By Mary Clemmer Ames. Illustrated by two portraits on steel. 16 mo. 352 pp. Hurd & Houghton, New York. Messrs. J. B. Lippincott & Co., Philadelphia.

Some Leading Principles of Political Economy, newly expounded. By J. E. Cairnes, M. A., Emeritus Professor of Political Economy in University College, London. Crown 8vo. 422 pp. $2.50. Harper & Bro., New York. J. B. Lippincott & Co., Philadelphia.

The Insurance Almanac for 1874. The Spectator Company, New York and Chicago.

The Garden—a weekly illustrated journal of gardening in all its branches. Vol. VI. No. 140 to 144. Published 37 Southampton Street, Covent Garden, London, England. Price 4 pence per copy, or 19 shillings and 6 pence per annum.

Bric-a-Brac Series. Anecdote Biographies of Thackeray and Dickens. Also, *second copy* of First Series. Personal Reminiscences of Chorley, Planche & Young. Edited by Richard Henry Stoddard. New York: Scribner, Armstrong & Co. Philadelphia: Claxton, Remsen & Haffelfinger. Pp. 299. Cloth. 12mo. $1.50.

The Langham Hotel Guide to London, prepared for the use of visitors to that establishment. Langham Hotel, Portland Place, London.

Our First Hundred Years. Part II. Aug., 1874. To be completed in twelve monthly parts. United States Publishing Co., 13 University Place, New York.

A Grammar of the English Language, with an Analysis of the Sentence. 220 pages. Price, 80 cents. Also, Language Lessons for beginners—a simple, practical, and rational introduction to the study of Grammar. 80 pages. Price, 30 cents. By John S. Hart, LL. D. Philadelphia: Eldredge & Bro. 17 N. 7th street.

Half-Hour Recreations in Popular Science. Dana Estes, Editor. No. 12. The Circulation of the Waters of the Surface of the Earth. By W. H. Dove. $2.50 per annum. 25 cents a number. Estes & Lauriat, Boston. Claxton, Remsen & Haffelfinger, Phila.

Minority, or Proportional Representation. Its nature, aims, history, processes and practical operation. By Salem Dutcher. United States Publishing Co., 411 Broom street, New York.

THE

PENN MONTHLY.

NOVEMBER, 1874.

THE MONTH.

THE past month has brought us no very exciting news from England. The chief topics of discussion in the journals seem to have been the Prince of Wales' debts and the political contest in the town of Northampton. Whether the heir to the crown of England is or is not heavily in debt—whether or not, if he be, his embarrassment has been caused by the attempt to discharge the duties pushed on to him by the Queen, and whether or not that exalted personage has acted the part of the benevolent fairy and paid his debts, are questions about which society and the newspapers seem pretty equally divided. Looking at the matter with the pitying but not unfriendly eye of the sound Republican, one cannot but think it unfortunate that the Prince should make such a sorry figure before the people whom he is one day to govern. The truth would seem, however, to be—(and it should be spoken, even of the cruel despots of the old world)—that he is not much to blame after all. The Queen has resolutely declined to discharge her social duties since the death of Prince Albert, now a number of years ago. Neither the lapse of time, the entreaties of her family, the complaints of her people, the comments of the press or the growl of the tradesmen who are dependent upon the court for so much of their prosperity, have sufficed to draw her out of her retirement, and she seems to have been as unconscious

that certain duties are attached to the honor and emoluments of her high station as if she were—well, shall we say—a Turkish Sultan or an American President. Balmoral and Osborne have had always far more attraction for her than Buckingham Palace or Windsor Castle, and her unhappy ministers have grown accustomed to see her start off for one or the other in the midst of the busiest moments of a session of Parliament, or while the Czar of Russia was himself a guest on English soil. The chief value and the only power of the English monarchy is the fact that the King or Queen is the head of the social life and the fountain of honor. The personal or political authority of either is nothing when compared with that of a President of the United States. There are no postmasters, collectors, marshals or district attorneys appointed by the Queen of England, or kept in office by her personal favor in spite of the complaints of the people and the protests of the party in power. The English Ministry is not her personal staff. She cannot choose a member of the cabinet, nor would she dream for a moment of attempting to retain in office a Chancellor of the Exchequer who had been censured by the Commons, or an Attorney General who had been forced to relinquish all claims to the woolsack by the indignant protests of the press, the people and the bar. But she has great authority and should be of great service in the social world. The court and society are pure or corrupt as she may make them, and it is a question whether twice what the English monarchy costs the British people would not be a small price to pay for the stability which the existence of an unchanging head gives to English social and political institutions. It was all very well for Queen Victoria to withdraw utterly from the public view during the first years of her widowhood. Her exalted station made her trial the more bitter and her loneliness more terrible, and her subjects were full of reverent sympathy. But after a while they began to feel that she was a Queen as well as a widow, and sought to draw her from seclusion as the necessity for her presence in the world became the greater. After a time that necessity forced most of her duties upon the Prince of Wales, who enjoys none of the income provided by the state for their discharge, and it is natural to suppose that the burden has been hard to bear alone. Six hundred thousand pounds is a large sum of money, but that is the figure which is named. Mr. Disraeli

will have a hard task, should it be his, to ask the House next winter to pay this debt, but he can do it ingeniously if any man can. That such a circumstance as this—so soft and black a speck upon the body monarchical—should escape the eagle eye of so enthusiastic and uncompromising a Republican as Mr. Charles Bradlaugh, the Radical candidate for Northampton, is not to be expected. And yet apparently it will avail him little. The fates are rather hard on Mr. Bradlaugh. Some years ago they visited upon him a serious disappointment in his political hopes. Last winter another "horrid sister," in the Jesuitical guise of the Right Hon. Mr. Gladstone, dissolved Parliament while Mr. Bradlaugh was away for the express purpose, thinks that gentleman, of preventing his election; and now the American public is about to cut him off like another Atropos, for he has made engagements to lecture to it which cannot be broken, at the very time at which Mr. Charles Gilpin has had the bad taste to die. So the canvass at Northampton must proceed without Mr. Bradlaugh's personal presence, and between his stool and that of Mr. Jacob Bright the votes of the electors are likely to fall upon conservative ground.

BARRING one or two elections, which were not especially valuable as tests of the public opinion, because the Legitimists and Orleanists abstained from voting or threw their votes away, the most notable event in France is M. Guizot's death. Since 1848, when he saved his life by running off to England, he has taken no active part in politics, and yet his intellect was so bright, his character so high and his spirit so strong, that he made himself felt perceptibly up to the moment of his death. As a statesman he was not successful, as a diplomatist he seems rather to have failed, but as a historian and man of letters he will hold a very high and honorable place. His History of Civilization is perhaps his masterpiece, and shows as much as any of his works or all together the characteristics of his mind. In his power of generalization, skill in the arrangement of his subject, and the smooth strength of his style, he was a Frenchman. In most else he did not resemble his countrymen. He was a cold, austere, perhaps bigoted Calvinist, feared rather than loved outside of his family. At home his seems to have been a beloved, happy and vigorous old age. To the last moment he was a power in the Academy, and

many will remember his exhibition of will last winter in his contest with M. Ollivier. In appearance and temperament he was as un-French as Mr. Gladstone is un-English, and the faults of his character—want of sympathy, want of tact and quickness of temper—which interfered constantly with his success in politics, were not unlike those of the great Englishman. In most things Guizot was the antipodes of Thiers. He had reached his eighty-second year.

THE fall campaign has begun. Rarely has it opened in such disorder. The aged veteran, mindful of the old stand-up fights on a fair field, where the banners bore distinctive principles, the ranks were unbroken and hardly a straggler could be seen, must behold with a tearful eye the spectacle presented to him to-day. In no two States does either party seem to stand on the same ground or face in the same direction. In Wisconsin the whole question of the campaign is whether or not Mr. Matt. Carpenter shall return to the United States Senate. In Missouri the contest is one of local reform, where the Bourbon Democrats are the ins and a People's Party the aggressive outs, the regular Republicans deeming it advisable to make no nominations. In Indiana the great guns have fired first. Mr. Morton in some speeches, marked as all his speeches are by strength and clearness of statement, has earnestly endeavored to disabuse the minds of his fellow-citizens of the ideas, first, that the troubles in Louisiana were due to anything but the haughty and unbroken spirit of rebellion refusing to enjoy the innumerable blessings which so much of the best government the world ever saw as Mr. Kellogg has been enabled to establish, was generously offering it; and, secondly, that there was any disagreement in reality between him and the President on the currency question ; finally striving with all his power to point out the extraordinary points of difference between the tweedledum of the Republican and the tweedledee of the Democratic platform. To this Mr. Voorhees has logically replied that although Mr. Morton happens to be right on the money question he is really not sincere in his cry for more greenbacks, but has been led to it by accident or from necessity, or in spite of himself, in any of which cases he deserves no credit and should have none. In two States at least the necessity of the case has

forced the managers of both parties to put in nomination unexceptionable candidates. Mr. Halsey the Republican, and Judge Bedle the Democratic nominee for Governor of New Jersey, are both worthy of the office, if the respectful manner in which they are spoken of by their opponents is any guide. The choice of a good governor having thus been secured in any event, the importance of the campaign turns mainly upon the choice of Mr. Stockton's successor, but the blood of the ordinary Jerseyman will doubtless continue to flow calmly should Mr. Robeson adorn the Senate rather than the Cabinet, or the horns of Mr. Cattell be again exalted. In New York the campaign promises to be interesting. Both parties have expressed their opposition to the inflation views of Ohio and Indiana, in really sensible and comprehensible platforms. The renomination of Gen. Dix, undesirable as it was considered by that portion of the great party which sits in the seat of Customs, was really demanded by the people. He has made a governor the like of which is not often seen now-a-days. He has been able, firm and independent, and, as has been said, by seeking to please no party in particular he has pleased all parties. It is a satisfaction to find the general public sentiment forcing the regular managers of a party into making such a nomination as that of General Dix, and the year is almost made memorable in New York politics by the fact that the same force, similarly brought to bear, has had the same result in the Democratic party. In spite of much threatened opposition, Mr. Tilden was easily nominated. He is a man of ability and character, and in the election of either candidate the State will have a governor worthy of its best days. There, is, however, every prospect of the selection of General Dix.

The decision of the governor of the question raised by the charges against Mayor Havemeyer, seems properly to have given satisfaction to all hands save that blundering functionary. And now he, if report be true, finds consolation in it. A person of sensitive or high spirit would (one might think) have been overwhelmed by the calm, almost contemptuous tone of the Governor's paper, but the Mayor, happily for himself, is not such a man. There is a sentence or two in the decision which might be commended to the attention of other potentates, though it might not have effect where stronger things failed :

"The power of appointment," says General Dix, "is one of the most important and delicate trusts that can be confided to an executive magistrate. Offices are public property; they should be filled with a single regard to the interest of the people; and this object can only be secured by intrusting them to those who are best qualified to perform the duties incident to them, and whose unimpeachable integrity commands the confidence of the community. It is a gross abuse of executive power to dispose of them for the mere purpose of rewarding partisan services, irrespective of superior qualifications, or of gratifying and providing for personal friends."

GENERAL BUTLER has announced himself a candidate for reëlection to Congress, but under less favorable circumstances than usual. The opposition to him, which seems to have grown very strong during the past winter, has not yet united upon a candidate; but there is prospect at this writing that the General's opponent will be General Cogswell, who is spoken of as a man of ability and character. The general gloom which has been pervading the Butler camp was fitfully illumined the other day by a firebrand thrown into it by a traitor's hand, in the shape of a letter signed with the startling name of Simmons. The writer was not the collector, however, but a brother who has long been a sort of *enfant terrible*. Exactly why he has "gone back on" and "blown on" the general, in the language of modern statesmanship, or sought to "give him away" (to draw again upon that well of English defiled with which a well-known class is wont to express what it is pleased to term its ideas) has not been stated yet. Simmons may be only the typical rat hastening to desert the sinking ship, or he may be the patriotic and repentant person he would have it appear—in either case his letter merits comment. It says some severe things of the Essex statesman, and describes "Butlerism" as a very unattractive thing. From his own account Simmons ought to know exactly what it means—and one can only hope that the majority of the voters may accept his definition of the term. Butler has yet vouchsafed no reply.

A GREAT lawyer passed away when Benjamin R. Curtis died. He possessed the legal mind of the highest order. As an advocate he was not distinguished, for he lacked warmth, and grace, and imagination, and that power over the feelings which is born of a sympathetic nature. It was in his arguments to the Bench

that he excelled. His learning was great, his clearness of statement and skill in presenting the strong points of his case and the weak ones of his adversary's something remarkable, and he early won and had up to his death a first place at the American bar. He held no office save that of Associate Justice of the Supreme Court, though last winter he was the Democratic candidate for Senator in Mr. Sumner's place. He was a lawyer *pur et simple*—one of the very few who, without stepping out of the ranks of the profession, have succeeded in winning and maintaining a national fame.

THE political condition of South Carolina is more promising from several points of view. After a convention which, for disorder, seems to have out-Heroded Herod, the regular Republicans nominated Daniel Henry Chamberlain as the successor of Governor Moses. Mr. Chamberlain was graduated at Yale in 1862, and settled in South Carolina soon after the war. He is, therefore, a carpet-bagger, but not in the invidious sense. He has made the State his home, and has all along shown the ability which he strikingly displayed in college. During six years he was Attorney-General of the State, and it is now claimed by many who oppose his election that he was mainly responsible for the infamous practices of Governor Scott's administration. His position, they say, must have enabled him to know every act by which the State and the people were defrauded of several millions, and the chief agent in the frauds was his college class-mate. A correspondent of the *Tribune*, who claims to know the facts, declares him to have been the author and drafter of the acts by which the fraud was made possible, and the appointer of the unhappy wretch who superintended the whole matter. On the other hand, it is denied that Chamberlain knew of or connived at the practices of the agent, or had any share in the wickedness or in its spoils, and he is heartily praised as the one man who has ability and character sufficient to save both the party and the State. This is the view which those who knew Mr. Chamberlain in earlier days, and have seen in the prominence which he has gained in South Carolina only the fulfillment of his promise of years ago, would, of course, prefer to take; and it is not difficult to believe that he is only passing through one of the trials which

sooner or later must test the endurance and character of any public man. The opponents of his nomination are, however, sincerely in earnest, and have nominated, with some show of enthusiasm, Judge Green, a native Carolinian, and a Union man during the war. The Taxpayers, it is thought, are likely to support him, in which case Mr. Chamberlain will have trouble in securing his election. There are at present three parties—the Regular Republicans, the Taxpayers and the Republican Bolters. Mr. Green's name may draw the last two into one, but in any event there will have to be a vigorous, as there no doubt will be a bitter, canvass. The exemplary career of Moses has come completely to an end. There is at least a prospect for the State of a better condition of affairs.

THE lesson taught by the past events in Louisiana history, injurious to American fame and to republican government as they have been, must in the end be salutary. The fault lies in a measure with both sides, and all parties have in turn been condemned. Some critics blame the President for upholding Kellogg, yet the President warned Congress that he intended to do so unless that body decided otherwise, and Congress in two sessions did nothing. Others blame the latter, yet the members of both houses were early informed that General Grant was determined to support Governor Kellogg as he had begun to do before the matter was submitted to them, and the majority at least had no desire to open a quarrel with him. A third party throw all the fault upon the Republicans and carpet-baggers, while the truth would seem to be that the frauds of the McEnery party were hardly inferior to those of the Kellogg faction, and the carpet-bag element has been unnecessarily crystallized and strengthened by the foolish ostracism attempted by the native whites; and finally, the whole matter has been laid at the door of the spirit of slavery and rebellion, but this only by those who continue to look at all southern affairs through the distorting spectacles of party spirit and passion, which have been long ago discarded by every man who has eyes capable of looking into the true relations of things, and seeing them as they really are and not as selfishness would have them. Of course the narrow spirit of both parties is reprehensible. All distinctions based

upon prejudice can only do harm, and no good can be accomplished by White Leagues or Kukluxes on the one hand any more than by intolerance and rascality on the other. Until the Southern people learn this, there may be often trouble; and it is strange that they have taken so long to learn so plain a lesson. The whole story after all is simply this: it is sad enough to need no embellishment or commentary. Both parties committed gross frauds in 1872—one party playing on the ignorant fears of the negro, the other on the equally ignorant prejudice against him. The probability is that McEnery had a majority of votes. Before the count could be made the Kellogg party, armed with the powers of a prostituted United States court, seized upon the offices, drove out its opponents and wrapped itself around the struggling State. The whole force of the general government was brought to bear in its behalf; the court, the custom-house and the post-office made a triangle of forts from which Kellogg issued his decrees. Before the matter could be fully investigated, the President commenced to lend his great authority to the usurper—Congress, too busy with Credit Mobilier and the salary bill to interfere, did nothing—the complaints of the Louisianians were made to deaf ears—their letters were unanswered, their petitions unnoticed, the deputations of their citizens turned coolly out of doors. Meantime bonds were issued to a large amount, taxes were heavily increased, expenditures more than kept pace with them, and the debt grew steadily at a frightful rate. Secure at last in his seat, Kellogg began to fill the offices with the worst type of his adherents, surrounding himself, after a great example, with personal friends. There seemed no hope to the people even in the election which is to take place next November; for the Legislature, chosen by the Kelloggites, has been passing registry laws and other measures—with which we are more or less familiar in Pennsylvania—so as to place their success at the polls beyond peradventure. At last, having as they thought exhausted all peaceful means, the citizens took up arms—a street fight was the result—the Kellogg government crumbled in a night—the Governor took refuge in the Custom House, having only had time in his flight to send a telegram to the President screaming for help. What was the President to do? Manifestly but one course was left for him. The logic of his own acts compelled him to continue to support

Kellogg, and the manner in which the latter was driven out left in any case no alternative but to put him back by force. An armed rebellion pulling down one administration and setting up another would be an unsafe precedent in American politics, and there was nothing for General Grant to do but what he did. He acted firmly and at once. Fortunately, he was at Washington, whither a social event had dragged him, and several of his Cabinet, more powerful than the exigencies of the situation, induced him to remain. In five days the insurrection was at an end, and Governor Kellogg had "crept out again to feel the sun." The McEnery party has certainly had good advisers since that time. With a respectful protest, it submitted at once to the authority of the President. Having demonstrated its own power and its opponents' weakness, having accomplished an almost bloodless revolution in a moment, it withdrew at once rather than come in conflict with the national authority, thus robbing General Grant of the glory which he would have gained by crushing a revolt—depriving the Republican party of the strength which a new Southern Rebellion would have given it, and throwing upon it and him the unpleasant onus of holding up over the people of Louisiana a government which, founded on fraud and usurpation, is shown to be unable to stand up alone, and for the crimes and blunders of which both President and party are chiefly responsible. General Grant comes out of the affair weaker, politically, in all points of view. His relations with the Kellogg party have been made more apparent, his personal responsibility in drawing the Republicans at large into the dilemma is made more clear, and his sympathy for the Southern people generally is placed in such a light as hardly to strengthen him with them for a third-term nomination. Of course, there can be no justification of a resort to arms, and no countenance to a government built on the shoulders of a mob; but there is, after all, a point beyond which, even with Americans, patience ceases to be a virtue; and perhaps in view of all that has taken place in Louisiana before, during and since these troubles, one may raise the question (though he must be aware that the suggestion may give rise in some minds to a doubt of the "loyalty" of him who asks it) whether there has not been shown by the people of that unhappy State quite as much of "seventy-six" as of "sixty-one."

COMMUNISM AND SERFDOM IN RUSSIA.[1]

WE have learned since the French Revolution to regard civilization as a vast world-wide process of human evolution, shared in by every people that have not sunk below the level of humanity by a counter-process of degradation. The steps in this process we now perceive to have been consecutive and necessary; no highest place on the scale but what has been gained by passing through all the stages below. But every round of that ladder of man's ascent, is occupied by one or other of the peoples or races, whose progress has been retarded, and in some cases apparently terminated at that point, while only a few of the most advanced nations occupy the highest places yet reached, and are struggling upward to others never attained. A survey of the peoples who occupy our earth is, when wisely conducted, a study of the earth's history. Every upward step, from the intellectual bondage of infantile China to the free subjectivity of modern Christendom, is represented in some land and by some people. We have thus in our hands the means of compiling a far more philosophic and thorough history of humanity than the mere written historical records of the past furnish us, and at the same time we have the means of confirming, explaining and even correcting those records, far more valuable and practical than is even the divination of modern scholarship.[2]

That society in all the Aryan and many of the Anaryan peoples

[1] *Baltische und Russische Culturstudien aus zwei Jahrhunderten*, von Julius Eckardt. Leipzig, 1869.

The Russian Agrarian Legislation of 1861; by Jules Faucher of Berlin, member of the House of Deputies of the Prussian *Landtag*. (In *Systems of Land Tenure in Various Countries*. A Series of Essays published under the sanction of the Cobden Club. London, 1870.)

Resultats de l'Emancipation des Serfs in Russie: par M. G. de Molinari. (Copied from the *Journal des Debats* into the *Journal des Economistes* for June, 1874.)

[2] A notable illustration of this may be seen in the hints that Niebuhr gathered from the political institutions of the Dittmarshers for the interpretation of early Roman history, and the quarrels over the *Ager Publicus*. Very similar is the new light that Freeman found to be cast on early English history by the Allmends of Switzerland.

began with a stage of agrarian communism, is known to us by scholarly researches into German, Roman and English records. But we could never have formed such a clear and vivid conception of their manner of life in that stage, were it not that in India and Russia its institutions are still in full vigor, and enable us to fill up the outline furnished by ancient records and by the lingering remnants of social methods that once were universal.

If in India we have a people whose historical development was checked at an early stage by theocratic ideas, in Russia we have the chief nationality of the youngest Aryan race of Europe, and the one most remote from the great *foci* of Western civilization. The original kernel of Russian nationality, the government of Little Russia, with its ancient capital Kiev, lying as it does more in contact with the rest of Europe, has been in a large measure a progressive country. In its territory communism has given way to individual property. But in the great plains that lie on the vast rivers to the North and East, that is, in Great Russia, the older type of society still prevails in the innumerable village colonies, whose descent from those of Little Russia is a matter of certainty. From this compact region the Slavs went out, to find a broader area for action in the vast plains to the North and East. They threaded their way along the innumerable lines of the rivers, finding building materials in every forest, and alluvial soil on the edge of every stream, until their settlements have spread from the Neva to the Ob and the Volga. But in every movement the village was the moving body. The mother village decided when her number had outgrown her resources, to send off a daughter village to find a home elsewhere. The new lands were occupied and cultivated in common by the whole community; every five years they were redistributed among the families in shares proportioned to the number of persons in each; the trades with which they supplemented their agriculture were carried on in common by the whole population; the orders obtained by individual villagers, when traveling or on a pilgrimage, were for the benefit of his neighbors as well as himself; the commerce that was carried on in the few towns that sprang up around the great monasteries or the seats of princely government, especially in the great fairs, was a commerce carried on by these villages with each other and with the foreign traders. As the colonization

was carried on in the presenceof the Finnish tribes, who were the aboriginal settlers, and as these Ugrians were generally far from friendly to the Slavonic intruders, every village was a fortification. Its single street was a double row of block-houses, with every preparation for defense; and to diminish the lines exposed to attack, it was closed at each end by a wooden fortress for the common defense. The enclosed area formed the public workshop of the village. It was largely owing to these military necessities, that the strictly communistic features of the system were preserved unimpaired, at a time when Little Russia was getting rid of them and becoming conformed to the general civilization of Europe. Along the Neva and its connected lakes, the Finns were too strong for the Slavs, and the tide of immigration was turned back.

The domination of the Tartars made no change in the social methods of the Slavonic villages, and when Ivan the terrible drove them out of Russia, and reduced Novgorod, Kazan and other principalities, which had been striving after a sort of feudal independence in the meanwhile, Russia was much in the condition that the invaders found when they overran the country two hundred and fifty years before. But the Tartar period had been one of vast growth, though not of progress in the true sense of the word; there had been no growing of "differentiation of function" going on. Every village was like every other, or differed only in the nature of the leading occupation, which furnished the articles which they exchanged; and every villager was the same Jack-of-all-trades as before. And in many senses the nation was but a reproduction of the village on a large scale; an enclosed self-sufficient community, growing up by numerical expansion, without real social progress, and so quietly as to attract no notice from the rest of the world. But the villages had increased and multiplied over all the region of old Russia, and many parts, such as that kernel region on the upper Volga, were and are settled as closely as the nature of the case permitted.

The conquest of Kazan and of Astrachan opened new regions for the surplus population, and a general emigration movement seems to have begun, when the Czar Boris Godsmov interposed by the famous law of St. George's day, 1592, declared the peasantry to be *ascripti glebæ,* and ordered that any of them found wandering away from their villages should be sent back in irons. What was the

motive of the law, which the peasantry of Russia, in its popular songs, have for centuries bewailed as the destruction of their class and its liberties? Some theorists say that the nomad habits had always been so strong in the Russians, that only by this severe method could they be forced to adopt civilized ways and approximate to civilized life, such as the new intercourse with Western Europe disclosed to their rulers. But we find no excessive tendency to the nomadic life prevalent among them. If they left their villages it was either in organized bodies to form new villages in regions as yet unoccupied, or it was on religious pilgrimages to some popular shrine, most commonly that of the mother village, which, however distant, was never forgotten by her children. These pilgrimages again promoted village migration, for the pilgrims brought news of lands to be had for the taking by any vigorous and spirited body of young settlers who were not afraid of an occasional "brush" with the Finns on the frontier.

The truth seems to be that it was just this emigration of villagers that Boris and the Russian aristocracy feared. The lands on the upper Volga were now pretty densely settled. The conquest of Kazan (1551–2) and of Astrachan (1555–7), gave an opportunity for the extension of the lines of the Slavonic villages down the course of that river, and it seemed not unlikely that the Czar and his nobles would lose much of their wealth by the transfer of their people to new and masterless communities, subject only to taxation. For the law of 1592 grew out of a system of usurpation which had been pursued by Ivan the terrible, if not much earlier. First of all, bodies of prisoners of war were settled in villages by Ivan, and were in every sense the property of the State; then other villages, considered free, were publicly declared parts of the royal domain in the same sense. The dependents of the Czar's court, and the nobility created by the princes whom Ivan III. and IV. had overthrown, had been endowed with the taxes from this or that village by the Czar, and now all these began to follow the example set by Ivan in ignoring the difference between free villages under taxation, and villages owned by masters and therefore paying rent. In a word, the change took place in Russia, of which we have seen the like on Teutonic soil—a free peasantry were converted into feudal bond-men by the gradual usurpations of their recognized leaders. The communistic features of the village sys-

tem made the process all the easier; villagers who had all their life been giving up their own will to that of the majority, had been at the right school to learn submission to a master.

The legislation of Czar Boris at the close of the sixteenth century, as it grew out of a long series of insidious usurpations which then first received legal recognition, was also the first of a still longer series of open invasions of popular rights. By these the peasantry were gradually and steadily reduced to what the serfdom of Russia became, and was till our days. During the seventeenth century the peasantry still struggled for freedom, and asserted their old spirit in various ways—by popular risings, brigandage, and even religious dissent. Just as the Monophysitism of Egypt and the Jacobitism of Syria were popular protests against the centralizing policy of the Byzantine government, so the secession of the Old Believers (*Raskolniks*) and other parties from the Greek Church of Russia was an outburst of popular spirit against the usurping rulers of Russia, in a state of things where the church was a branch of the civil service. But from the time of Peter the Great to that of Alexander I., these energetic proofs of popular spirit had ceased; men had been pretty thoroughly reduced to the level of chattels, and in aristocratic *parlance* the peasantry were now mere *hands*, tools, "niggers" even. Alexander II. "found nearly one-half of them—forming with their families more than one-third the entire population of the Empire—to all practical purposes slaves, tilling a soil that did not belong to them, without being paid for their labor, during about three days in the week, while they had to sustain themselves and their families during the other three days, likewise by tilling a soil that did not belong to them, and not in the way they chose to do it, but as they were permitted or rather ordered to do it." Many of them were slaves bought and sold with the land; others were hired out by their masters, sometimes glad to buy their own time. The entire staff of the Novgorod theatre were the serfs of the proprietor, and in many instances wealthy bankers and business men were serfs, paying a fixed price for their time.

Down to the reign of the present Czar, the government seemed to outsiders to be only trifling with the subject of emancipation. Various restrictive laws were repealed, and something was done to make the lot of the serf an easier one; but to abolish the sys-

tem, in the face of the opposition of the whole aristocracy, was no light undertaking. The overthrow of the Russian armies and the destruction of her political prestige by the war in the Crimea, forced a solution of the difficulty. The existing system of social organization was brought into utter discredit; it had been found utterly wanting in the hour of sorest need. It had failed to inspire the people with the self-respect, the cheerful public spirit, and the intelligence of action, that the national defense called for. The new Emperor broke utterly with the aristocracy, and it came to be understood that the emancipation of the serfs was merely a question of sooner or later.

Two parties now came forward with their theory of how the work ought to be done. The nobles and their friends had been studying the political and rural economy of England; if personal freedom must be accorded to the serfs, would not the interests of the empire be best conserved by leaving the land in the hands of the nobles, and allowing the peasants to become tenant farmers and day laborers, according to the measure of enterprise and intelligence that each of them possessed? The land would be let in open market as in England; a large proportion of the rural population would have to find a home in the towns, for the new style of large farmers would require less labor than heretofore. The political economists had told them that, beyond a point very soon reached, the outlay of labor on land ceases to meet with a remunerative return; and also that whatever method of farming tends to the cheapest production of food must always be for the interest of the whole community, as that interest is always the interest of the consumer, never that of the producer. Why then employ more men to do what fewer can do as well, but more cheaply? The former method might indeed produce a peasantry more contented and better off, but the end of all wise political economy must be limited to the cheap production of articles of utility. It is not its function to care for this or that individual. He can take care of himself, and in doing so with all vigor, under the stress of abundant competition, he will best secure the interests of society at large. In a word, they used all the arguments advanced by the disciples of Kraus and of Adam Smith, in the Prussian commisssion to draft the new land law half a century earlier,--arguments resisted and refuted by Niebuhr and others

who thought the interests of Prussia more bound up with the welfare of the people, than the growth of large crops.

The other party consisted of very various elements, which united in making demands not less extreme on the other side. Their history demands some notice. About 1840–5, German philosophy began to attract great attention among the students in the University of Moscow, and other young men entering upon or preparing for an active life. One coterie took up the ideas of the Young Hegelians, together with those of the French communists; they adopted as their political ideal a socialistic and Democratic republic. The other maintained that Hegelianism was already obsolete; that Schelling had spoken the last word of philosophy. They formed a Romantic school, that idealized the past, and scouted modern ideas and reforms as equally un-Russian and unphilosophic. All the Czars—Peter, Catherine, &c.—who had striven to conform Russia to the rest of Europe, were held up as objects of reprobation. The age before Peter's innovations was in their view the golden era of Russian nationality. All traces of its character had disappeared among the higher classes, who adopted western culture and fashions. The true Russians were to be found only among the common people, who preserved the old national character as they still wore the old national dress. The Romanticists adopted that dress, once worn by Czars and princes, but it now became a standing jest of Moscow society, when seen on the backs of these Russo-maniacs.

The two sections of Young Russia had little in common, save a fierce impatience with the spiritless stagnation of Russian society and its intellectual life. But Herr von Haxthausen, a Westphalian Catholic nobleman of the most conservative political views, who was then traveling in Russia, furnished them with a basis of practical union and co-operation. Up to his time only the most obvious features of the village communities of Russia had attracted the attention of travelers, or even of the educated classes in Russia itself. Led by his desire to see the reünion of Eastern and Western Christendom, our Westphalian made a very careful study, first of the ecclesiastical divisions and then of the social condition of Russia, which he has embodied in one of the most valuable works that we possess in regard to that empire. As it was before the day of Nasse and Von Maurer, he had no

knowledge of any similar institutions in other European countries, and fell into the very natural error of supposing that these village communities were peculiar to the Slavonic stock—were, as he expressed it, the true "historic form" of Slavonic society. At Moscow, as he tells us, he met in 1843 a number of young Russians, to whom he imparted his views, and he seems to have gone his way again, without to this day realizing how great an influence his intercourse with those young men was to exert upon their lives and thoughts.

For never did seed fall into more congenial soil. Here at last was an answer to the question: "What *idea*, then, does this Russian nationality represent?—for all history, as your German teachers tell you, is moulded by ideas." "The keeping the whole population in comfort and comparative ease, and the possession of the soil by the whole nation." The western civilizations had been wrecked on the rock of pauperism; all that they had achieved was daily threatened by the dangerous and impoverished classes, for whom society made no adequate provision. Russia, holy Russia, had no *proletariat*, and was to have none. That the existing status of the Russian peasant was not a satisfactory one, was indisputable. How could it be so while serfdom existed?—an institution that had itself been an innovation upon the old Russian constitution of society. Were that once out of the way, the face of things would very speedily change.

The other party, the socialistic Hegelians led by Alexander Hertzen, were equally enthusiastic over the discovery. Like all innovators, it was with delight that they learned that their rashest proposals were after all sanctioned by history—that they were seeking to conserve the present and restore the past. What Fourier and Lasalle had dreamed of, existed in Russia already, a fully organized communism in land, needing only to be extended and strengthened, and made the principle of all Russian life. It was Russia, then, not France, that was to give to Europe its "new formula of civilization." What might not be hoped for from the future? With serfdom abolished, and the happiness and prosperity of the whole people visibly secured in this new constitution of society, Russia would have Europe at her feet. The toiling and suffering masses of the West would stretch out eager hands to welcome her beneficent rule—would invoke her mighty power as

alone sufficient to break the chains in which loom-lord and land-lord had bound them. A universal empire like that of Rome would fall to the great Slavonic nationality, not so much by the conflict of war, as by the suffrages of peace. These were and are not merely the dreams of cloistered and unpractical enthusiasts; they have been held by Russian ministers of state, and proclaimed in their official organs.

Of course this party wished to make a clean sweep of all existing proprietary rights, and to give up to the village communities the whole of the nation's soil. Not that they would acknowledge any proprietary rights in the villages themselves; the whole soil should be claimed as a national possession, subject to such redistributions as national expediency and the growth of population should suggest. As for its aristocratic owners, they had no more real right to it than any peasant in the country. In the view of the Romanticists, the only dignitaries that Russia could acknowledge, without giving up her oldest historical traditions, were the Czar, at the head of the nation, and his representatives—lesser Czars they might be called—at the head of the village communities. The Young Hegelians would gladly dispense with the Czar himself, and substitute an elective President or Executive Council.

In drafting the ukase of emancipation, the government struck upon a line of compromise between opposing views. It acted on the principle that the land-owners were the lawful possessors of the soil, but that their tenure of it was subject to the necessities of the public policy. It required the transfer of a certain equitable proportion to the serfs, to be paid for in money, rent or labor; and it also gave to the serfs the right to purchase the whole or a part of their allotment, the State becoming their agent and security for the payment. But it so far yielded to the demands of the Socialist party, (who had considerable power at that date and have rather gained than lost since then,) as not to break up the village communities or relieve their members from the burdens and responsibilities that the system imposed.

The ukase laid down rules by which the lands in each estate should be divided between the peasant communities and their masters, assigning to the former a share dependent upon the nature of the soil, its distance from the market, and many other circumstances. For this purpose Russia was divided into three

zones, and these zones into districts, and for each district the maximum of land that the proprietor might give, and the minimum that he must give to the peasants, was fixed by the law. Between these two limits room was left for contract. If the land now in possession of the commune exceeded the maximum or the quantity agreed upon between the noble and the peasants, then the amount and location of what was to be cut off was determined by fixed rules. If the amount was less than the minimum or than the quantity agreed upon, then the adjacent lands were to be taken in, unless the noble's house and grounds occupied them. In any case, care was to be taken that the lands of the peasantry should be as varied as the estate in general; if it contained meadow and woodland, a fair share of these must be assigned to them.

The nobles received from the government, in return for the parts of their estates thus ceded, certificates of indebtedness to the extent of the assessed value; but they were not transferable except by certain legal formalities. These were in effect what we would call five per cent. government bonds, payable in 1896. On the other hand the government undertook to recoup itself and provide for the final payment of the principal of this debt by a tax amounting to six per cent. of the same value, to terminate in 1910. Not that the peasants were forced to purchase on these terms; other arrangements were allowed, by which they would continue as copyhold tenants under their former lords; but so few availed themselves of these alternatives that they are not worth considering.

The government, we have said, in so far gave way to the socialists as not to require the dissolution of the *Mir* or village community, nor in any way to modify its internal constitution. It even deprived the majority of the right to dissolve the community, requiring the consent of two-thirds for the purpose. On the other hand, it transferred many of the seignorial rights of the nobles to the mayor and aldermen (*starchina* and *starostas*) of the Mir. At the same time it created a new class of salaried circuit judges, as the judicial superiors of these local authorities.

To appreciate justly the strong and the weak points of this legislation, it is necessary to have a clear notion of the rural constitution of Russia before the era of emancipation. "Of the

lands of each estate, whether it were a domain of the Crown, or private property, only a certain part, ordinarily a third, was directly occupied by the lord of the manor; the rest was given up to the village community, and was held by them in common. All the inferiors on the estate were equally, and almost unqualifiedly, dependent upon its owner; while a part of them—always of his own selection—lived at the manor house as his servants, the rest of the community were left in possession of the village mark, with the burden of laboring upon the lands that were in direct possession of their lord (the lands of the manor). The amount of this feudal service was fixed by their lord at his pleasure; it was customary for the peasants to work three days in each week for the lord, and the rest for themselves. In harvest time, or whenever else their lord desired them, they labored the whole week for the manor. The village mark was not held in several by the individual members of the community, but remained in the undivided possession of the whole body, which periodically, customarily every nine years, divided it in equal parcels among all the families on the estate. This division was made, according to the number of souls or by the Tjäglo (household): *i. e.*, in the former case each father of a family received a share corresponding in size to the number in his family, so that he received for each head a certain number of *dessätines;* in the latter case the entire ground was divided among the single families, and the share of each was greater or smaller, according to the number of families who claimed a share in the division.......... At each periodic redistribution all households newly established, unless they had surrendered their claim to a share with a view to adopting some other mode of life, were entitled to consideration; for all had equal claims on the soil of the village mark. It frequently happened, before as well as after the abolition of serfdom, that a peasant, with the permission of his lord, betook himself to the city and became a tradesman or a handicraftsman, and as such earned his millions of roubles. But if he did not succeed, or become tired of this sort of life, he needed only to put in his claim for a share at the next redistribution in his native village.

"All members of the peasant community, except those who belonged to the manor, lived together in a village, which was usually situated at the centre of the mark. This itself was divided

up into long and narrow strips from three to six fathoms wide, and from a hundred to five hundred long. Each redistribution was preceded by a classification of the soil, based not so much upon the comparative fertility of the parts of the mark, as upon their distance from the village. The single strips (or fields) were divided into parcels corresponding in number to that of the claimants for a share, and assigned by lot. It depended upon chance whether or not an individual again obtained for his share the land upon which he had previously labored. The woodlands, meadows and fisheries remained in the undivided possession of the whole community. The personal or individual property of the single member of the community was confined to his dwelling, the adjacent garden, his cattle, his horses, and his moveables. In some communities, especially those that belonged to the crown, and had more land than they needed, in order to avoid a too frequent redistribution of the soil, a part of the mark was set apart as reserve land to provide for households yet to be formed; it either lay fallow awaiting the formation of these, or when a tenant offered, was rented out for the benefit of the community.

"It depended entirely upon the pleasure of their lord, whether he should be paid for the use of the land by labor in his fields, or by a money rent (the so-called *obrok*); in the demesnes of the crown the payment of money rent exclusively was required for forty years back, a custom introduced by the Minister Kisileff. Individual peasants, who gave up their share of the land and with permission of their lords settled in the cities, paid at any rate at least this *obrok;* if they became rich, and their lord desired to share in their wealth, these people frequently had to pay thousands of rubles for permission to continue to reside in the city, or an emancipation was effected upon terms agreeable to both. The lord on the other hand was responsible for the bare existence of his people, and had to give relief in case of famine, bad harvests, &c., and to care for the poor and those who were unable to work, whether they belonged to the village or the manor."[8]

Now be it remembered that the ukase of emancipation, while it revolutionized the relation of the lord and the peasant, left all the

[8]Eckardt, *ubi supra*, pp. 488–90.

rest of the system untouched. "It made absolutely no change in the methods of rural economy, the relation of individuals to the community, the periodic redistributions, the method of taxation, the division of the soil," etc. Were we writing in 1861 it would perhaps be necessary to show that the work was but half done, and that the worst results might justly be feared. But in 1874, we have already to some extent the verdict of history upon it—another added to the long list of the condemnations of communism pronounced by experience.

In May, 1872, an Imperial Commission was appointed to investigate the effects of the emancipation of the serfs upon the various classes of the rural population, in each of the great districts of the Empire. Within a year this Commission had its report in readiness, and M. de Molinari has given us a summary of the results in the *Journal des Debats*, from which his account has been copied into the *Journal des Economistes*. The Commissioners have not dealt much in rose color; they had no occasion. It is not necessary to ascribe all the mischiefs they describe to the imperfections of the legislation of 1861. Had that been perfect, the condition of the working classes could not have changed in a day. The miserable results of the 270 years of serfdom, upon both the masters and the serfs, are not to be obliterated in a score of years. A great and progressive nation will rally from the worst disasters as if in a night. A civil war that taxed and exhausted their utmost resources, will have left almost no trace of its horrors in a decade. Great national calamities—droughts, devastations and the like—are lost sight of in a year; but the case is very different when the *virus* of slavery has been infused into the vitals of the nation's industry, making labor a disgrace, idleness a point of honor, and establishing shiftless, wasteful, thriftless, hand-to-mouth methods, as the national habits. Such a state of things can only be healed by long and patient treatment; every power and function of the body has been debilitated and wasted by a slow and enervating poison, and health will not come back at once.

How has emancipation left the Russian noble? He had lived on the fat of the land; he has now to taste its leanness. His manor lands were tilled for him gratuitously by a mass of serfs, whom his agents managed. He has now to pay for every day's labo

that he employs. He is indeed released from his responsibilities as a *seigneur;* his manorial courts no longer administer justice in his name, and he is no longer the official protector of all the people of his district. One-half his duties have fallen to the authorities of the Mir ; the other to the Emperor's circuit judges. His position is now that of an English nobleman, with a large estate, which he may either farm himself or rent out to farmers with capital. But such farmers are not to be found in Russia, except in some districts of the south ; the system that has been abolished did not favor their growth. Such people as do offer themselves are not of the right sort—are, in fact, mere penniless adventurers, who will make it their study to take as much out of the land with as little outlay of capital, and as little return to the return to the soil, as possible.

For years before emancipation, when it was known to be a foregone conclusion, the nobles made a great show of getting ready for the new order of things. They had whole libraries of the best books on agriculture, fresh from Paris, Leipsic and London ; they had and still have museums of the best labor-saving machines from England and the United States, most of them entirely unfitted for Russian purposes. But the books stood on their shelves uncut, something to show to visitors ; the machines stood in the sheds unused, for in a country that kept her laborers in serfdom, where are workmen to be found that have intelligence enough to employ them ? On the other hand, for a century past the Russian nobility had been making preparations for such a future of quite another sort. Catharine II. opened a great banking establishment to loan money to the nobles on the security of their estates, the money to be used for the improvement of agriculture. But no sufficient security was had, that the money should be applied as it was intended. It was spent with the improvidence of children or savages upon every object but the right one. It was squandered upon ballet-dancers and equipages in every European capital. Largely through the sums thus raised, the proverbial reputation of the Russian prince for prodigality was acquired. Emancipation found the aristocracy in debt to the crown for over three hundred millions of dollars, most of which had been spent in enabling the receivers to live in grand style at St. Petersburg or abroad, and never visit their estates. When the lands were divided between the

serfs and the nobles, the government simply deducted from the certificates of indebtedness payable to the latter the amount of this vast debt, and closed the establishments through which it had been incurred. At the same time it forbade the establishment of land banks of any kind by private persons. It had tried the credit system and found that it did not work well with Russian nobles; it was determined to make them try the cash system for some time to come. The nobility found themselves possessed of a very much smaller amount in government certificates than they had given up in the form of land and labor. In the absence of institutions of credit, they could raise money upon their certificates only at a great sacrifice of their value, and after going through elaborate forms of transfer required by law.

In fine, nothing is left to the Russian aristocrat but to begin life on a much humbler scale; to farm as much of his land as he can, and hope for better times. Even this course has its manifold vexations. He must employ large quantities of labor in the absence of suitable machinery and suitable men to manage it; and the peasant, proud of his freedom and not yet proud of his ability to work, is a poor sort of a laborer. He loves idleness, for is not the idle man "as good as a lord?" He cannot be trusted out of an overseer's sight, for centuries of bondage have made his class eye-servants. The justice of the peace is too far off to make him fulfil his contract, and the lesser authorities at the *Mir* simply decline to do so, and openly take his part. He is thriftless and careless of the future; in harvest time he can command high wages, but he spends his money as fast as he gets it, and at other times is glad to work for a mere pittance.

If any one supposes that he will find the pleasant reverse of the medal when he turns to contemplate the present condition of the peasant farmer and the village community, he is doomed to disappointment. Not that there has been no improvement. "The moral culture and the mode of life of the peasants have undergone a sensible amelioration in the northwest provinces, excepting always in the marshy districts of the Pirsk and the banks of the Pripet. In the provinces of the south and southwest the peasants are better off, though it cannot be said that their tillage of the soil has made progress. In the population of Little Russia the abolition of serfdom has brought about neither a higher degree of pros-

perity nor a sensible improvement in the tillage. In the remainder of the Empire, *i. e.*, in the governments of the North, the East and the Centre, the growth in prosperity is very little noticeable, while the morality of the people has either made no progress or has actually retrograded." These new-made freemen have hastened in most cases to realize the dreams of their past years—abundance of idleness and plenty of brandy. "It is but fair to say that the complaints of the increase of drunkenness apply chiefly to the population of Great Russia. There is much more temperance in the southern provinces," as also "in the western and Baltic provinces." "The data collected by the governments of Great Russia are certainly most distressing. Drunkenness shows itself not only as a vice of individuals, but as closely connected with all common occasions of enjoyment, and even with the transaction of public business;—it is not unusual to see the meetings of the *Mir* wind up with a bout of hard drinking, and brandy very often has its influence upon the decisions of the village authorities; and there have been cases where the punishment inflicted by these guardians of order has been to require the culprit to treat his judges."

Emancipation has increased instead of diminishing the burdens borne by the peasant. The imperial taxes remain the same, and by their unjust distribution they fall fifteen parts in sixteen upon the peasantry. At the same time the commune is paying every year to the government the value of the labor they used to give to their masters, and as much more besides as will be sufficient to extinguish in half a century the claims of those masters upon them. And whereas the expenses of local government were formerly covered by the labor given to the seigneur, and the government itself administered by his officers, the peasantry have now to pay two classes of officials—the two already named—to discharge the same duties. The communal taxes alone reach thirty millions of rubles a year.

In this state of things, the peasant should have every opportunity and every motive to increase to the utmost the product of his land, and to improve his methods of tillage. Unhappily he has neither opportunity nor motive. The ukase of emancipation left the *Mir* and its communism intact; the old periodic redistribution of the land continues. The customary methods of tillage are the un-

written common law of the village; the peasant who has done well has to contribute to the support of the worthless dog who has done nothing. If the latter has nothing to pay his share of the 167 millions of dollars collected yearly by the imperial and communal governments, the former must pay it for him; if he wanders away from his village, spends all that he has in riotous living, and begins to be in want, a paternal government passes him home again to his old neighbors, to be a burden on their industry. At such cost does Russia purchase its exemption from pauperism! She has delivered the serf from one task-master to give him over to another and a much more exacting one—the *Mir*. She has taken away nearly all motive to progress and improvement. As a chain can be no stronger than is its weakest link, so a communistic society will never be more industrious and self-denying than its worst elements are. "What's the use of taking thought for to-morrow? Let us have plenty of idleness and plenty of brandy like the rest!"

As a consequence the agricultural returns show no great advance. The number of cattle is about the same as ten years ago. The acreage under cultivation has increased very slightly—has made less progress than between 1840 and 1847. In some districts the country has been stripped of trees by its thriftless farmers, so that the climate has greatly deteriorated. In others the peasants have been forced to eke out their scanty supply of wheat by mixing bark with it in making bread. In a few governments in the far East the crops have failed so utterly as to produce a three years' famine. "The first year," says Count Tolstoï, "the inhabitants came down a peg; the rich became merely well off; those that had been comfortable were straitened; those that had been straitened sank into poverty. Next year things grew worse in the same proportion; this year nine-tenths of the agricultural population are reduced to absolute want."

If the world were to end this year, Russian emancipation might be pronounced a failure. But there is a long future before the nations that choose to live—before Russia, most certainly. She has taken brave strides in the right direction, but she must take yet more ere the goal be reached. If she were less eager about her military greatness, and her European *prestige*, the promise of the future would be better; especially if she could give

more time and attention to the development of her vast and dormant resources. But she must first break away utterly from the disguised slavery of communism, the barbarism that perpetuates itself in her soil, and cramps the energy of her people, after having disappeared from the rest of Europe.

ROBT. ELLIS THOMPSON.

THINGS NEW AND OLD.

MOST people have heard the story of that savant who, attacked by a lady of inquiring mind, and required to name his creed and the religion he adhered to, answered, "Madam, I am of the religion of all sensible men."

"And what is that?" asked the persistent dame.

"All sensible men, madam, keep that to themselves"

In reading the lives of such men as Grote and Stuart Mill, one is struck with the extreme reserve in which, until late in life, they chose to veil their true religious faith; for that they had a faith and a religion none will be hardy enough to deny. Dread of belittling controversy, controversy in which they saw only a waste of time in profitless and endless disputation, was probably the leading motive in this deliberate recticence. In the days when it was so easy to raise the cry of mad dog, and cloud with dust the heels of an acknowledged free-thinker, much of his influence over intermediate minds would be lost by such a confession. Minds that had not yet crystallized into opinions, minds of constitutional timidity, would be checked, at the outset, from nearer acquaintance by a bold avowal. Yet the same minds might be ready to receive, indirectly, the truth that lies in historic comparison and in the correlation of parables. In one of Grote's essays on Grecian tradition he notes the Homeric fable, that the horses of Achilles not only shed tears, but spoke. By a mere curve of illustration he ingeniously brings before us the like parable of Balaam's ass, and the reader, rather than Mr. Grote, draws the inference. We smile at the childish credence of the Greek, yet the Hebraic anecdote was gospel to our childhood.

The man of wide scholarship sees as from a mountain top the relative values of historic ranges, while to the simple dwellers in

the valley the homestead hill is nearer heaven than all. But when the scholar from his heights descends into the valley, and, without accepting it is true the hill-top theory, but without depreciating it, keeps from friends and neighbors the secret of his vision from the mountain top, there is so much lost to the world.

Truth, the barest and bitterest, can do no harm. Its bitterness is tonic, its bare bleakness more refreshing than the close, never-changing atmosphere of cells. By keeping silence the man of profound convictions robs his fellow-men of so much of earnestness, of enthusiasm, as he shuts within his soul. We can ill afford to spare either, and it is matter of regret that the frank convictions of illustrious scholars are left to us in legacies, rather than given in the free exchange of life.

For we must not confuse religious tradition with religion itself, as though they were convertible terms. The upward impulse and longing remains to us, though every rag of tradition is borne away on the searching winds of science. It is a fact, the soul within us, protoplasm though it be, with its strong yearning for something higher than ourselves—for a being more tender, more wise in sympathy than human hearts can be. It is as much a fact as the sunshine, as the electric beam, as the glaciers, the granite, or the magnet itself. Nay, it is a magnet; it has power to draw to it not merely love and tenderness and close communion of our fellows, but starry influences, we know not whence, that irradiate our lives.

It needs not to enter into entangling argument upon our moral nature; whether it be intuitional or the result of experienced utility; it sufficeth us to know that it is there. Not only sufficient, but all-stimulating to know that we are strong and pure in proportion as we check and control the animal, and give to what we instinctively call the higher powers, room to grow. Not in depressing traditions of a fallen nature, struggling by compact and bargain to regain its lost attributes, but in the new faith that sees the steady ascent of all organisms, "from stepping stones of our dead selves," the true inspiration dwells. And so far as our eyes are anointed to read the truth, let us give it utterance; though it break up and bring to naught our trained habit of thought and speech.

So we must rejoice rather than tremble when we read that one

great man of science has had courage to tear down the veil at last, between his inmost thought and his world-wide audience. Our hearts go out to him in recognition of his brave honesty when he gravely says: "Abandoning all disguise, the confession that I feel bound to make before you is, that I prolong the vision backward across the boundary of the experimental evidence, and discern in that Matter which we in our ignorance, and notwithstanding our professed reverence for its Creator, have hitherto covered with opprobrium, the promise and potency of every form and quality of life."

What remains? Are we then adrift on an infinite sea?—no port, no destiny, no polar star? On an infinite sea, truly; but not adrift, not floating helplessly, but sailing, steering with our best endeavor to the islands that we see. They are not mirage; they are solid foot-holds, fixed landing-places for thought, where we may tarry and refresh ourselves, and set forth anew. What do we name these happy isles? By the everyday words of Duty, Cleanness, Truth, Uprightness, and a glowing Charity.

Whatever be the protoplasm which frames our bodies, whether the primordial atom held in itself the power which shapes a world, or the touch of a creative finger is needed to start the star-dust on its way, here we take our stand, that we are *conscious* of moral growth. As in the past all physical growth has been onward and upward, why do our imaginings stop short here? Can we not people the spaces after death with a newer, higher life, as the terraces of even this world rise ever higher and more fair?

But we need a positive idea of God, it is urged. It is orphanage without a personal idea. All that passion of prayerful communion, all those appealing hymns, strong-winged that sweep infinity, how can we banish them from our lives?

Anthropomorphism, whether in guise of the jealous, revengeful Deity of the men of Syria, or the pleasure-loving gods of Greece, has surely had its day. As true now as in the time of Job, that not by searching can we find out God. We generalize certain ideas of Power, Mercy, Omniscience and Omnipresence, in imperfect balance and correspondence to our human eyes; we call on a Heavenly Father when we are in human trouble, sometimes we think of Him among our human joys.

In no irreverent spirit surely, Professor Tyndall sets it down,

that "There is also that deep-set feeling which since the earliest dawn of history, and probably for ages prior to all history, incorporated itself into the religions of the world. You who have escaped from these religions into the high and dry light of the understanding may deride them, but in so doing you deride accidents of form merely, and fail to touch the immovable basis of the religious sentiment in the emotional nature of man. To yield this sentiment reasonable satisfaction is the problem of problems at the present hour. And, grotesque in relation to scientific culture as many of the religions of the world have been and are,—dangerous, nay destructive to the dearest privileges of freemen as some of them undoubtedly have been, and would, if they could, be again,—it will be wise to recognize them as the forms of a force, mischievous, if permitted to intrude on the reign of knowledge, over which it holds no command, but capable of being guided to liberal thought, to noble issues in the region of emotion, which is its proper sphere."

But the region of emotion, accepting for convenience Professor Tyndall's phrase, has its laws as well as its limits. The experience of souls, the inner lives of men and women, are matters of knowledge as perfect and absolute as the facts of flower-unfolding or of insect growth. The religions of the world, with their petty provisions for personal advantage in a hereafter, have too often cramped or distorted the fair expansion; and have gathered together a routine of confessions, rather than a record of growth.

Impressed with the idea of a fall from angelic high estate, the emotions have dwelt on the darker side and lingered over each experience that points the downward road. When we teach a young life that above it and beyond lie the slopes of a higher, fairer destiny; that the gross impulses of selfishness and brutality, cunning and revenge, are but the outworn garments of an earlier childhood, to be cast off and trampled under foot,—we shall have freer studies in the realm of soul. The breezy sunshine of the modern hymns, spirited as a march, cheery in sentiment, with no looking back, no self-abasement, is a subtle indication that this unavowed belief is already at work.

All along the dark of history kindle everlasting lamps, that throw their beams far indeed into the dusky world. The correlation of religions brings out always some hero-martyr, who died

that his ideas might live. With more or less of reverence, as our souls are touched to cling to the past or breast the future, we worship at these shrines. But that is a sordid soul indeed, barely worth the saving, that chuckles over a secured seat in heaven by any virtue from touching, or from kneeling at the shrine. That is a mole's reading of the universe, which contemplates a future of happiness limited to a select few, while a limbo of purgatorial chaos involves the countless myriads of the rest.

Because men of science have begun to spell backwards the Bible of this world, shall it be an incantation that reduces us all to hopelessness and a blank future; that snatches to itself brute joys and fleshly pleasures, saying, "This is all?" Hand in hand with the backward evolving should go the upward too. The imagination of science pauses at sight of the primordial atom, as the mother pauses in reverent humility at the child's question, "Mother, who made God?" Even the childish seeker strives to penetrate back of a first great cause to another still beyond; so to our finite vision, baffled, the philosopher stands before the mystery of the dawn.

But as Professor Tyndall himself, in one of his glowing lectures, floats his fancy with the colors which we cannot see, with the sounds we may not hear, into the boundless matter-world of which our imperfect sense is too dull and narrow to take cognizance, let us follow this soul of ours, protoplasm though it be, into fairer regions still.

We know that duty, self-sacrifice, and the heroism of love can transfigure men and women beyond the dull clay of their surroundings, into what we stammeringly call the likeness of God. No home circle so contracted but some brow wears this aureole of lofty purpose and devotion there.

It is a hint of the hereafter:—Oh, ye of little faith, wherefore do ye doubt? Afloat on an infinite sea, we sail—under sealed orders. The shore whence we came and the land whither we go let misty behind us and before. Not boldly, perhaps, but bravely, and in perfect trust, we steer with best endeavor on our way. For each day the appointed path lies clear before us. Over us and within us shines the Light whereof no man may tell the source. By the strong magnetism of our longing we are lifted out of our little selves, and apprehend what we may not comprehend.

To an observant child, the reader of Hebrew script appears to begin at the end of the book and go backward, as he reads. May we not trust our savant, turning back the book of nature, page by page, that still he leads us forward, deeper in the old world's story, with ever simpler, grander reading of the destiny of man.

S. C. H. (*Mrs. Hallowell.*)

THE POWER OF WHAT IS GENERALLY KNOWN AS A CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION.

ALTHOUGH the term "Constitutional Convention" may have been intended to indicate a body owing its existence to the constitution of the State in which it deliberated and proceeded, it seems now to be the opinion of many that it was rather framed to distinguish a body having to do with State constitutions. Certainly in the former sense it is an inaccurate appellation in many instances, and one too wide in all; whilst in the latter it is indefensible because of the wrong significance. As it is intended in this paper to discuss one question incident to the history of the agency not the less very well comprehended because very loosely named, but to have to do with no other sort of assemblage, I shall be able to disregard the term I censure, whilst not troubling myself to improve upon it, in using the word Convention alone.

The question may be presented thus:—What is understood when reference is made to the power of a convention charged with the consideration of the subject of the modification of the existing written constitution of a State, is *the authority of that body relatively to any external political control.* At the creation of such a convention, during its sittings, after the termination of its existence, there admittedly subsists an organized government by which are exercised the functions of sovereignty which the people have secured to themselves by their charter, or written and enacted fundamental law. By virtue of its authority is the convention elevated above responsibility to this organized repository of political power, which under all other circumstances of law and order would be, and is, paramount? It is only with regard to this supposed antagonism, that the question is of any significance whatever. Certainly other aspects of the case might prove interesting

to a lawyer, whilst perhaps also to some degree involving principles of statesmanship; but this one aspect of the case, by the light of the heated discussion which it has recently provoked in Pennsylvania, and the divergence of opinion which it has disclosed, induces a warmer feeling than professional interest, in exhibiting, to both sides in the controversy, a fearful danger to the State. The advocate of the affirmative response to the question declares that, if his view is not the correct one, no evil in the state can be radically effaced, since if the written constitution can only be remodeled with the approval of the legislature, of course there can never be worked the reforms which strike mainly at the evils by which the legislators thrive. And it is just such evils which make the remodeling an imperative obligation upon the orderly masses. Probably it is such evils alone; for evils which emanate from another source could be readily remedied by a legislature itself if the legislature was pure. Whilst this consideration explains, it also proves inevitable, the antagonism which invariably arises between the two bodies referred to when co-existing; and warrants beyond question the full degree of apprehension which it has created in the minds of many citizens. It will be observed that it proceeds upon the assumption of the impurity of any given legislative body.

On the other hand, the advocate of the negative response derides the notion that co-ordinate quasi-sovereignties of the order indicated, one invisible, the other visible, can possibly exist in a State, requiring, as the notion does, the admission of an agency not recognized in the solemn instrument which must be regarded as the sole fountain of political power; and leading to many absurdities, the chief of which is the acknowledgment, that, although not recognized, and very rarely operative, not defined, and never yet in history found to have been legally employed, this absolute and irresponsible potency is the accompaniment, *in nubibus* as it were, of every written constitution which expressly or impliedly excludes it, discerned and fought for solely because of its express or implied exclusion.

For it must be observed here particularly that the discussion, practically, has nothing whatever to do with such cases as may arise, or as have already arisen, in such States of the Union as have constitutions providing expressly, or by implication, for the exercise

of a power to act independently of the already organized, and otherwise paramount government. In all such cases any contest which grows up is the result of some uncertainty, or unwarranted certainty, as to the limits of the power depending for its exercise upon the constitution itself: and the dispute ends (if it does end at all: and if it does not, it is an idle dispute) in the adjudication of some proper tribunal, which is empowered to settle constitutional questions. There is no room for fear in the breast of the advocate of either class to which I have just alluded unless he distrusts the judiciary, and such fear has no relevancy whatever in the premises. He has the written constitution of the State before him, and if (supposing him to be that one of whom I have first spoken) he dreads the legislature, he can, if, also, he accepts at all as final the judgment of his court, only thank that constitution for giving the legislature what he considers the advantage: whilst (should he be that one of whom I have next spoken) he has no room for his argument in the judicial application of his own views.

What I understand those gentlemen to assert, who are the great authorities upon what, as I have already partly hinted, by a double misuse of words, is called the sovereignty of a constitutional convention, when they declare that such sovereignty exists, or that it does not exist, is that, when a body of delegates, representatives of the people, is convened (and they do not particularly care how such a body is brought together), it constitutes, or it does not constitute, "a virtual assemblage of the people, a representative body charged by the sovereign with the duty of framing the fundamental law, for which purpose there is devolved upon it all the power the sovereign itself possesses"—and, for the particular business with which it is charged, it "is possessed of sovereign powers, by virtue of which it overtops all other governmental agencies." Of the statements of those gentlemen who have taken the affirmative view when the subject was novel, I need only quote the famous letter of Mr. Dallas in 1836. He wrote: "A convention is the provided machinery of peaceful revolution. It is the civilized substitute for intestine war. When ours shall assemble it will possess, within the territory of Pennsylvania, every attribute of absolute sovereignty, except such as may have been yielded and are embodied in the Constitution of the United

States. What may it not do? It may reorganize our entire system of social existence, terminating and proscribing what is deemed injurious, and establishing what is preferred. It might restore the institution of slavery among us; it might make our penal code as bloody as that of Draco; it might withdraw the charters of the cities; it might supersede a standing judiciary by a scheme of occasional arbitration and umpirage; it might prohibit particular professions or trades; it might permanently suspend the privilege of the writ of *habeas corpus*, and take from us the trial by jury. These are fearful matters, of which intelligent and virtuous freemen can never be guilty, and I mention them merely as illustrations of the inherent and almost boundless power of a convention." Those who take the same view to-day would modify the expressions of Mr. Dallas in the two particulars, that they would call what he denominated a *peaceful revolution*, a *legal procedure*, and the power which he exhibited as "almost boundless," they would declare to be without bounds.

From this passage its advocates deduce the proposition that a convention of the character indicated is the sovereign people in position for action, subject alone to the Constitution of the United States, and wholly free from the restraints of its (the sovereign people's) till then subsisting and fundamental and enacted law. If the latter embraces a provision by which its own total subversion may be worked by that convention, then, clearly, we have a collateral edict as to which there can be no doubt. But if it does not embrace such a provision, or if it expressly or impliedly provides that no such total subversion shall be worked, then, in so far as it is necessarily incidental thereto, and the special circumstances disclose this feature, and *because of the fact* of this express or implied prohibition, the power exists *in nubibus* as a feature of our system of law.

I need scarcely note here, that although those who claim sovereignty for a deliberative body, may subvert their till then operative constitution consistently with a provision of that constitution itself, they certainly do not pretend to act by virtue of the sufficient provision, but proceed in the exercise of the power derived from the source beyond it, and which gains no sanction in the mere constitutional recognition.

In returning for a moment to the advocate of the negative

answer to the question, I am not required to enlarge upon the grounds of his grave fears in the premises. I think them, however, of the most serious nature; and it is my purpose to refer to them on another occasion in urging my own views. I may close this statement of the dispute by noting that, to the fundamental apprehension of the other side, to wit: to the assumption of the impurity of any given legislative body, it is answered that such assumption, as the basis of a system of political control, is unphilosophical, in that it is *not a principle,* is not even so stable as matter of fact as to justify a rule of conduct in public affairs; and, when every allowance is made for it, is merely ground for the working of an immediate reform, by which the management of the State may be made to accord with the science of statesmanship, to the avoidance of what (it being allowed a continued and ruling influence) must in candor be estimated as fallacious rules of statesmanship accepted in a spirit of surrender.

Hence it will be seen that the mere question of the authority of a convention organized for the purpose of deliberating upon, and perhaps accomplishing, amendments to a written enacted constitution, *under that constitution itself,* is one with which I have nothing to do—one to be answered only by special interpretation, or construction, of individual constitutions. But the question, whether such a convention, although avowedly representative, lawfully possesses that degree of power whereby it is practically sovereign in the State, and overtops all governmental agencies, independently of a written enacted constitution, if that instrument is silent upon this head, or even directly favorable, or despite it if it expressly or impliedly provides against it, is, supposing it to be an open question, one not only worthy of, but urgently demanding serious consideration. Whilst there are to be found some very able men irresolute at present in the premises, I believe it will be the wonder of the next generation of statesmen that the point was ever considered the subject of argument.

It is now obvious that it will be quite immaterial whether we proceed by the aid of any illustrations which history affords, or, without reference to precedent, simply upon principle. I may select any one written constitution of any one of the States of the Union for examination in this connection, inasmuch as there is not one of them which can preclude the application of the

doctrine of the advocates of convention-sovereignty, if that doctrine is valid with relation to any other. Obviously I can proceed with greater convenience, if, deciding to pursue this course, of a special and practical reference, I turn my attention to a political organization, and to the fundamental law upon which it depends, wherein I find no sanction of independent political action on the part of an agency beyond the agencies created by the latter. For although in fair argument it would really matter not if I considered a constitution which expressly conferred such peculiar and extraordinary power, since I understand the contention to be, that the sovereignty claimed lies back of any such grant, and owes nothing of life or vigor to it; yet some contradiction, or at least uncertainty, might be involved in my effort to keep separate the two channels of political supremacy, or some inconvenience might be caused by the confusion to which an opponent might reduce them.

That a constitution may be found which embraces no such sanction, I think is clear. True it is that, in the case of a constitution which is silent, so far as direct enactment goes, upon this head, it may be that, indirectly, some such power is conferred: and I step aside one moment to suggest that, as we need not expect to find any *express denial* of authority in the premises, it is just as true that, indirectly, but indirectly only, the same kind of power may be withheld. So that, in turning to an instrument which, like the constitution of Pennsylvania, does not embrace any provision explicitly justifying the exercise of sovereignty by any body other than the three usual departments, we must inquire whether or not the provisions it manifestly does embrace necessitate the implications, first, that sovereignty is not confined to those three; and, secondly, that it is vested in a council of the class alluded to. And, according to my collateral suggestion above, if we fail to find warrant for these implications, we may find affirmative evidence the other way to strengthen the conclusion of the non-existence of the power. This will simply augment the convenience of the illustration for the present purpose, as I have already shown. And accordingly, and with a view to convenience alone, I shall select for examination the constitution of Pennsylvania, containing, I repeat, no express authorization of the exercise of sovereignty beyond the three

departments: and I shall endeavor to ascertain whether it justifies, or denies, such exercise by implication. That this cannot narrow the discussion is obvious, for the real question lies beyond the stage to be now attained. And it will advance us in the search for truth, inasmuch as the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania has adjudged that the constitution denies by implication the exercise of sovereignty; and has decided the question beyond adversely to the claim of sovereign power by a convention. Certainly the judgment of that court must have been inconceivably illogical not to serve as a very important guide in this matter.

In the contest of Wells vs. The Election Commissioners the case was this:

An Act of Assembly, of June 2d, 1871, authorized a popular vote upon the question of calling a convention to amend the constitution of Pennsylvania.

The vote proving favorable, an Act of April 11th, 1872, provided for the calling of the convention; and, among other things, empowered that body to propose to the citizens of the Commonwealth, for their approval or rejection, a new constitution, or amendments to that then in force; the election to determine whether the citizens approved or rejected to be conducted as the general elections of the State were, at the passage of the Act, conducted.

The convention at the close of its labors provided by ordinance for the submission of a new constitution to the citizens; and the terms of their ordinance were, partly, it was claimed in conflict with the general election laws of the State.

It was charged by certain taxpayers that the ordinance was void so far as it was not in strict accord with the Act of April 11th, 1872; and the Supreme Court at *nisi prius* was prayed to restrain the election commissioners appointed by the convention from proceeding to perform their duties.

The court granted an injunction.

It is clear that if the Supreme Court was wrong in this cause, it was wrong in that;

I. The provisions of the statute as to the *manner* of the submission covered the ordinance: or

II. This not being the fact, the Convention had power to pass the statute independently of the ordinance, by virtue of the constitution of the State: or

III. These not being the facts, the Convention had power to do so independently of that ordinance and of that constitution: or

IV. Whether the preceding propositions are accurate, one or all of them, or not, the court had not jurisdiction in the premises: or

V. The decision was wrong upon two, three, or all four of these grounds together.

It is obvious that I need not discuss the first, fourth, and fifth of these propositions for a moment. I do not propose a criticism of the adjudication merely as a special case calculated to awaken lively comment, and only take it up that I may derive some assistance from the manner in which its main point was disposed of. In this relation the first proposition is of no value whatever, being merely a suggestion of technical avoidance; and, whilst a point of the defense, opposed theoretically, if it has any theoretical significance, to the doctrines of the defense. It is true that it would not involve a tacit admission to the dogma that the Convention was subject to the statute as its chart; yet it is hardly consistent with the stoutest assertion that the Convention was subject to no chart at all. At its best it is worthless. And as it was not accepted, its rejection amounted to nothing more than this—that, given two enactments, one of which, as *assumed to be* framed solely by virtue of the authority of the other, must necessarily have been framed within the limits of a defined authority, the two were inconsistent, and the subordinate one must fall. The fundamental assumption here admittedly bound no one.

To discuss the fourth proposition would be equally idle, inasmuch as I have nothing whatever to do with the question suggested by it. If the adjudication was void in that the tribunal from which it emanated had no authority in the premises, as far as the purposes of this paper are concerned the opinion must be viewed as that of five learned jurists, who exceeded their authority in ordering that an injunction issue on the occasion, and because, of its utterance. Not the less, as they proceeded in a solemn sense of duty, the opinion would be entitled to the highest consideration; and, in view of the manner in which I use it, it would, therefore, make no difference at all, to me, whether the court exceeded its powers or not. It is perfectly clear, however, that if the Convention possessed the absolute power by some claimed for

it, derived from a source beyond the constitution, no tribunal in the State had the authority to interfere with whatever action the Convention might have resolved upon. Independently of this view, moreover, I consider the question a doubtful one.

Did the Convention possess power by virtue of the Constitution of the State to disregard the statute in framing the ordinance? If it did, that power was manifested here in securing independence of the control of the legislature, for the legislature had assumed to control the convention in this regard. If that body was not subject to the legislature, it was not because it was of commensurate, or of superior dignity, deriving its authority (as it might, say, in the latter instance) from the constitution directly, and exercising it, under that instrument, independently of the legislative department; or, perhaps receiving it (as it might, say, in the former) from the legislature itself by virtue of some prior constitutional procedure not to be affected by later enactment: and either view involves simply the question whether, or not, the legislative attempt to control was a legal attempt. I need not pause to discuss for a moment, although a proper care should lead me to note here: First, that it is not perfectly clear that the Act of Assembly which was disregarded (with, also, the act of 1871) should not be deemed invalid *as a whole*, as theoretically without the competency of the law-making department of the government, or on some other ground; and, Second, that, no matter how the first point is resolved, as far as the legislature itself was concerned, it had in no manner concluded itself in this relation from the adoption of such a law. No principle analogous to that whereby accomplished legislation is held irrevocable in the interest of vested rights, could by the largest stretch of the imagination be conceived applicable in this instance. And as to the invalidity of the *entire* Act, it is sufficient to avoid an argument by observing how impossible of discussion is such a point to the friends of the Convention, inasmuch as the existence of that body itself (if not its power) must be unhesitatingly admitted to depend thereupon. If the act should be stricken down as wholly invalid, not alone the attempt at control would be nullified, but the body sought to be controlled would be found never to have had any legal existence. The question of a superior power in these circumstances would be irrelevant. I shall assume, therefore, that

for the purposes of the advocate who dissents from, as well as of him who approves, the conclusion of the court (on that one head of the conclusion which I examine) the Act of Assembly may be deemed valid so far as it regarded the creation of the Convention as a body of representatives; whilst so far as it regarded the power of that Convention, and attempted to set bounds to that power, it may be deemed invalid, or not, as the advocate may take his side.

There are but three clauses of the fundamental chart of Pennsylvania over which we need pause. They are the second and the twentieth sections of the Declaration of Rights, and the Tenth Article, entitled "Of Amendments." The second and third of these clauses are, respectively, as follows:

SECT. XX. That the citizens have a right, in a peaceable manner, to assemble together for their common good, and to apply to those invested with the powers of government, for redress of grievances, or other proper purposes, by petition, address or remonstrance.

ARTICLE X.

OF AMENDMENTS.

Any amendment or amendments to this constitution may be proposed in the Senate or House of Representatives, and if the same shall be agreed to by a majority of the members elected to each house, such proposed amendment or amendments shall be entered on their journals, with the yeas and nays taken thereon, and the Secretary of the Commonwealth shall cause the same to be published three months before the next election, in at least one newspaper in every county in which a newspaper shall be published; and if in the legislature next afterwards chosen, such proposed amendment or amendments shall be agreed to by a majority of the members elected to each house, the Secretary of the Commonwealth shall cause the same again to be published in the manner aforesaid, and such proposed amendment or amendments shall be submitted to the people in such manner and at such time, at least three months after being so agreed to by the two houses, as the legislature shall prescribe; and if the people shall approve and ratify such amendment or amendments, by a majority of the qualified voters of this State voting thereon, such amendment or amendments shall become a part of the constitution; but no amendment or amendments shall be submitted to the people oftener than once in five years: *Provided*, That if more than one amendment be submitted, they shall be submitted in such manner and form that the people may vote for or against each amendment separately and distinctly.

These may be passed by as involving in their very terms a subordination to the existing government.

The first of the clauses referred to reads as follows:

SECT. II. That all power is inherent in the people, and all free governments are founded on their authority, and instituted for their peace, safety and happiness. For the advancement of these ends, they have at all times an unalienable and indefeasible right to alter, reform or abolish their government, in such manner as they may think proper.

Was it by virtue of this clause that the Convention possessed the power to disregard the Act of 1872? If it was, it was first, because in the appointment of the members of that body the people proceeded under this clause; and second, because, when organized, the convention, by virtue of the intention of this clause, *legally* represented *the people*, and was the repository of the sovereignty, so called, of the State, so as to be beyond, not only the legislature, the constitution, but as long as their warrants remained unrevoked (and it might be a serious problem how these could be revoked), the people themselves. There was involved an abdication of sovereignty by the people, in their invocation of the aid of the second section of the Declaration of Rights, in favor of the one hundred and thirty-three men who became sovereign for the time being; and, consequently, *ipso facto*, a subversion of the till then existing political organism. It should be remembered that, whilst it must be admitted that there was this result, it must be urged that this result was, under the clause cited, a *legal* conclusion of a *legal* process.

These considerations are sufficient to decide the point. Was it the intention of the framers of the constitution to provide that, at any time in the future, the State might hand over its sovereignty to a body of less than two hundred men, which should be beyond the departments created by the State as sole repositories of its power, beyond the fundamental law which itself, and alone, engendered its vitality, beyond the people themselves, in due aggregation the fountain of all civil power? Did the people who enacted the constitution deliberately embody therein a guaranty of its utter subversion at any time, and in any manner, legal or illegal, contemplating the possibility of such subversion as nothing more nor less than a part of an orderly and continued system of legitimate procedure? Does the second section of the Declaration of Rights demand this, and admit no other, interpretation?

However this may be, it must be observed that the question carries us beyond the scope of the second of the propositions I

have stated, and brings us to the third, inasmuch as, if its resolution is in favor of those who contend for the supreme power of the Convention, it must reach that stage through the recognition of a force subversive of the form of government constitutionally created: so that, if the Convention possessed that supreme power, it possessed it independently of the constitution. Proceeding under that constitution, the Convention, we now see, could have found no sanction for acts of government beyond the limitations thereof, and must have found in Art. x. an implied disallowance of such acts; but proceeding in the exercise of an unalienable and indefeasible right in the people to treat the limitations of that constitution as nullities, if they thought proper, the Convention may have found sanction (the possibility is simply imaginable) for any ynd every sort of action in an omnipotence beyond the constitution, although recognized in it.

Is an enacted written constitution a body of limitations of the sovereign power creating it? Does it comprise, by express language, and just implication, the *only* sanction for the legitimate exercise of sovereign power? If affirmations of these principles ascertain its nature, and its scope, what part therein has a clause like that I am now considering?

The decision of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania not only affirms these principles, but involves the conclusion that, whilst as matter of fact the people of Pennsylvania did not proceed under the clause quoted, it never was the intention of the authors of the Constitution of Pennsylvania that that clause should signify the portentous doctrines briefly hinted at. They designed that it should simply, as one of many specifications of the sacred privileges of which no man can be deprived, record the self-evident truth that, as power is inherent in the people, is derived in no other way than from the people, and can only be legitimately exercised in securing, or furthering, the people's peace, safety, and happiness, if the people's established machinery fails of its purpose, the people are not estopped by its mere establishment from resorting to force for their own preservation.

If Mr. Hallett, in his argument in Luther vs. Borden, was right, the gravest authorities in law are wrong. The reserved privilege of the people, he said, to alter or abolish their government in such manner, and at such time, as they may please, is a privilege *not of*

arbitrary force, but of sovereignty; and in support of his view he maintained that this appears, first negatively; in that the privilege cannot be *of arbitrary force*, because the Constitution of the United States fails to recognize any power of illegal alteration or amendment, and yet secures to all the States the legitimate operation of the constitutions which uphold this very privilege as strenuously as any other: and next, affirmatively, because the fact that this privilege is expressly recognized in the Declaration of Independence, and in the State constitutions, *establishes* it as a right of sovereignty and not of mere force, because mere force which was not sovereignty in its due exercise, would be illegal, and an illegality is beyond the recognition, much more the establishment, of a constitution.

But the answer to this is, that there is a distinction between the recognition of a power of revolution, and the sanction of it; and the clause cited is merely a recognition of that which, as it would not otherwise have been a degree less obvious, so it was not certainly thereby a degree advanced. Mr. Hallett must be supported in so far as he declared that an illegality cannot be sanctioned by a constitution: and his fallacy lay in the assumption that the reserved power of arbitrary alteration is legal because it is countenanced in the solemn instruments of the States; whereas, although it is countenanced, it is not legal because the constitutions of the States could not sanction it. The founders of our system were careful to preclude the argument that they resigned a right exercisable, not *under*, but when necessity demanded, *over*, or beyond, our constitutions, State and Federal: in brief, a right to use force against forms of law when found void of peace, safety, and happiness.

So that it appears that, if the Convention in Pennsylvania had the power to disregard the statute of 1872 in framing the ordinance, it derived that power from a source beyond, and wholly independent of the constitution of the State. And if an enacted written constitution is a body of limitations of the sovereign power creating it, comprising, either in express language or by just implication, the *only* sanction for the legitimate exercise of sovereign power, there was no source beyond the constitution of the State from which any power whatever could have been *legally* derived. This should involve nothing more than the most con-

cise statement of the scope and functions of a written and enacted constitution.

In a paper which has now gone to considerable length, whilst the circumstances of its publication do not allow that it be measured only by the supposed importance of its topic, it may be sufficient to rely confidently upon the already general acceptance of the doctrines of the limitation of sovereignty. Sovereignty in the abstract was well defined by Dr. Lieber as, "the self-sufficient source of all power, from which all specific powers are derived" :—as applied to States, by Story, as "the supreme, absolute, uncontrollable power, the *jus summum impii*, the absolute right to govern":—as practically in operation, by the same learned jurist, as signifying "such political powers as, in the actual organization of the particular State, or nation, are to be exclusively exercised by certain public functionaries without the control of any superior authority." It seems idle to insist upon the almost commonplace propositions thus suggested to a mind of merely ordinary activity. Sovereignty is any force which, in the sphere of its possible manifestation, is, and must be, uncontrollable. It rests in that man, or in those masses of men, who, in the conduct of the affairs of life, is, or are, irresistible. It is thus, in its primary development, arbitrary. All government is a diminution, no matter how attained, of the degree of immunity with which arbitrary irresponsible power may be exercised; and hence is a limitation of sovereignty, simply because it is a check upon force uncontrolled before the erection of the government, directed at least, and no matter how little directed, thereafter. The sovereignty of a despotism, in being tempered, as by an obvious necessity in the system of things it always must be tempered, by assassination, is sovereignty operative in a certain form of government as unrestricted as possible, and yet indubitably restricted in a measure. There never was an era, and there never will be, in which the acknowledged repository of political power, in its self-sufficiency, was, or will be, unaffected by external, and therefore modifying, influences; and it matters not to what such adverse and limiting potency owes its existence. In what are called constitutional governments these *restraints of necessity*, attending the progress of the world's history, are supplemented by restraints volun-

tarily assumed, in obedience to principles as evident as they are immutable, and infallibly guiding intelligent beings to the enjoyment of such independence as the law of their creation will admit. The growth of civilization has rather induced than been fostered by the formulation of systems of political philosophy, which are called constitutions; and which, designed especially to secure order, and to indulge individuality, accomplish their aids only in a wise surrender of the privileges of arbitrary personal force. These constitutions, as unwritten, are held in the highest reverence, as embodying, in intangible shape but absolute security, rules of action which no power dare transgress. They are, in the conception of the statesman, the product of the highest wisdom, inspired by the loftiest regard of the human race. The only difference between a written and an unwritten constitution lies in the mode in which they are produced to the senses of men; and both are alike, and equally, in their respective spheres, the only sanction of sovereign action, and the only chart by which sovereignty may act. Absurd, indeed, is it then to argue that, beyond the scope of such charts the sovereign people find an immeasurable field for the legitimate exercise of an unbounded power. "I have said," said Mr. Webster in reply to Mr. Hallett, "that it is one principle of the American system that the people limit their governments, National and State. They do so; but it is another principle, equally true and certain, and, according to my judgment of things, equally important, that the people often *limit themselves*. They set bounds to their own power." * * * * "The constitution does not proceed on the *ground* of revolution; it does not proceed on any *right* of revolution; but it does go on the idea that, within, and under, the constitution, no new form of government can be established in any State without the authority of the existing government."

THE INDIAN QUESTION.[1]

THERE is probably no one who understands more thoroughly the condition and needs of the Indian tribes within the limits of the United States, and whose views upon the policy to be pursued by the Government in dealing with them are entitled to a more attentive hearing, than the late chief of the Indian Bureau. Yet, on a question so intricate and many-sided as the Indian question, there is ample room for an honest difference of opinion as to measures to be adopted, even where there is an entire agreement as to the end to be kept in view; and while the scheme proposed by Mr. Walker may afford the most desirable solution of this question, some of its features must, we fear, be pronounced objectionable, simply because they are surrounded by difficulties too great for legislation to remove.

In regard to the treatment of Indians "actually or potentially hostile," Mr. Walker gives in his unequivocal adherence to the so-called "peace policy" of the present Administration, notwithstanding that in some instances it tolerates a system of downright blackmailing on the part of the Indians; and in this we believe he represents the views entertained by the great majority of sober-minded citizens of both the Eastern and the Western States. Dealing with hostile Indians is an ugly business at the best. If, on the one hand, it is not pleasant to be obliged to bribe them to keep the peace, to tolerate their frequent acts of insolence and to humor them in their caprices, neither, on the other hand, are the conditions of Indian warfare altogether pleasant. An extract from the Report of the Peace Commission of 1867–8, comprising such men as Gens. Sherman, Harney, Augur and Terry, of the regular army, forcibly illustrates what these conditions are. Speaking in reference to the "Chivvington massacre" and the Cheyenne war of 1864, they use the following language: "No one will be astonished that a war ensued which cost the government thirty million dollars, and carried conflagration and death to the border settlements. During the spring and summer of 1865, no less than eight thousand troops were withdrawn from the effective force engaged in suppressing the Rebellion, to meet this Indian war.

[1] THE INDIAN QUESTION, by Francis A. Walker, late U. S. Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Boston: Jas. R. Osgood & Co.

The result of the year's campaign satisfied all reasonable men that war with Indians was useless and expensive. Fifteen or twenty Indians had been killed, at an expense of more than a million dollars apiece, while hundreds of our soldiers had lost their lives, many of our border settlers had been butchered and their property destroyed." This was the experience of the United States in a contest with an Indian tribe numbering perhaps four thousand, men, women and children, and able to bring into the field not one-fifth as many warriors as the Sioux bands of to-day. In the face of such facts as these, none but the most combative or punctilious will be disposed to interpose a question of dignity between these savages and the United States, or to censure a course which aims to avoid hostile collision as far as possible—to tame rather than to subdue by force.

The proper course to be taken with hostile Indians, however, although the most pressing, is by no means the most perplexing question set before the Government. The number of Indians within the limits of the United States who are either now engaged in hostilities or with whom sooner or later we shall be brought into collision, is placed on a large estimate at no more than 64,000; and whatever course be pursued towards them, the number must steadily decrease; while the Indians with whom the Government need no longer contemplate the contingency of hostile relations, who either lack the disposition or the power to interfere seriously with the advance of railways and settlements, number some 236,000. What shall be done with this large body of barbarous or only half-civilized human beings, now thrown helpless upon the Government's hands? To the discussion of this question the larger part of the volume before us is devoted. Considerations both of humanity and of state policy urge the employment of every possible means of enabling the Indian to adapt himself to the new conditions of his existence, and to become eventually a self-sustaining citizen, instead of allowing him unrestrained freedom to follow his own bent and run into the lowest gutters of civilization, a pauper and a vagabond. The success which has thus far attended what is known as the "Reservation and Non-intercourse System," inaugurated under the administration of President Monroe, although by no means uniform or complete at every point, has been in the main sufficiently

great to demonstrate its wisdom and to leave no question as to the propriety of retaining it as the basis of all future legislation on this subject. The essential features of this system are first, the removal of the tribes beyond the limits of settlement; second, the assignment to them in perpetuity, under solemn treaty sanctions, of land sufficient to enable them to subsist by fishing and hunting, by stock raising or by agriculture, according to their habits and proclivities; third, their seclusion from the whites by stringent laws forbidding intercourse; fourth, the government of the Indians through their own tribal organizations, and according to their own customs and laws. In accordance with this system, a large proportion of the tribes within the limits of the United States have been assigned reservations, and in those cases in which they are not yet in a condition to sustain themselves, are now supported wholly or in part by the Government. In many instances, although not uniformly, the Government has agreed to establish schools upon the reservations, and for a term of years to provide tools and work-shops. But while these provisions have always been carried out to the strict letter of the agreement, they have not always been judiciously carried out, and this portion of our Indian policy seems to be capable of revision which shall make it far more effective.

In one important respect, however, there has been a departure from the reservation system as originally contemplated. While the original plan contemplated only one or at most two large reservations beyond the Mississippi, there are at the present time no less than sixty-one, ranging in extent from a few acres up to seventy thousand square miles, the extent of the Indian Territory. There can be no doubt that had the original plan been adhered to, and had steps early been taken for gathering the Indians into one or two large communities by themselves, one of the chief embarrassments which now hamper the Government would have been avoided. As it is, these reservations are met with on nearly every line along which settlements are extending themselves, and it becomes yearly more difficult to prevent the unauthorized intrusion into them of the whites, and thus to protect the Indians in the seclusion which has been solemnly guaranteed to them. The question arises, Is it too late to rectify the error? Shall the Government still adhere to the "non-intercourse" feature of its policy—in

which case it must at once take steps for the removal of many tribes from their present reservations, either to the Indian Territory or to some other territory to be selected—or shall it take a new departure, leave the tribes where they are, pacify them under their numerous irritations as best it can, and practically leave them to their fate, to rise above the evils of border civilization or to succumb under them according as they may be tempered and circumstanced? The former course is desirable from every point of view, if it is practicable. It is the course recommended by the Peace Commission, who advised the formation of a new Indian Territory for the Northern and Northwestern tribes; and it is also recommended by the Secretary of the Interior, who, however, is in favor of removing all the western Indians to the present Indian Territory. Mr. Walker favors the plan of the Peace Commission, which is the original plan of Secretary Calhoun, and which he believes to be the only feasible one, owing to the horror and repugnance which the Northern Indians feel at the thought of moving South. But very reasonable doubts may be entertained whether either plan could be carried out with anything like completeness. If there are obstacles in the way of removing Sioux, Crow and Blackfeet Indians south, there are obstacles hardly less serious which oppose the creation in the north of a new territory which shall fulfil all the conditions of an Indian reservation under the "non-intercourse" system advocated by Mr. Walker. We can hardly doubt that the first movement on the part of the government to set apart for this object any considerable tract of desirable farming land—and no land unsuitable for farming is suitable for an Indian reservation upon the plan advocated by Mr. Walker—would lead to a strenuous opposition on the part of whites, whether land speculators or settlers, which it would be impossible to overcome. The views which are now held with respect to the Great West are very different from what they were in 1825, when it was first proposed to portion off for the exclusive use of Indians what is now known as the Indian Territory. Then the great country beyond the Mississippi was a howling wilderness, into which straggling settlements were slowly working their way from the eastern frontier. Now it is traversed by railways, and thousands are pushing into its interior regions in eager rivalry to secure its best land. What opposition would be made

to the formation of a new Indian Territory, we may judge from the pressure which is just now brought to bear upon the Government to induce it to attempt some arrangements for recovering the Black Hills country from the Sioux, to whom it belongs by treaty stipulation.

The obstacles which the Government would encounter, should it undertake to carry out either plan of wholesale removal, are, in our judgment, well nigh insurmountable under existing circumstances, and we question the wisdom of its making the attempt. Some few tribes may yet be induced to give up their present reservations and remove to the Indian Territory, but that a majority of the tribes can be induced to make this change we do not believe, and to remove them without their consent is not to be thought of for a moment. If they cannot be removed, then they must be cared for where they are, the best that circumstances will permit. The conditions of the tribes are various and they will require to be variously treated by the Government. The hunter tribes cannot long support themselves upon their reservations, and for years to come the Government will be obliged to furnish them subsistence, as in fact it now does the Sioux, until they can be brought to till the soil. Some of the Indians, as the Cherokees, are already well-to-do farmers, and there seems to be no reason why the Government should not enfranchise such Indians, give them their lands as individuals, and turn them off its hands. Between these two classes of Indians there is every grade of condition, and the principal scope for Government action seems to be in shaping its course towards separate tribes to meet their present wants, with the object of giving them citizenship at some future day. The evils which will follow an abandonment of the "non-intercourse" policy, although for a time they may be felt, are, we believe, greatly exaggerated. But whatever evils do follow must be placed to the account of causes over which governments have no control. The country no longer contains territory for the seclusion of three hundred thousand Indians, by laws however stringent, desirable though such a course may be.

NEW BOOKS.

GUNNAR: A TALE OF NORSE LIFE. By Hjalmar Hjorth Boyesen. Boston, Jas. R. Osgood & Co. 1874. [Claxton, Remsen & Haffelfinger.] Cloth, 18 mo. Pp. 292. Price $1.50.

One point well worth noting is to be found on the dedication page, where Hjalmar Hjorth Boyesen gives this story, accompanied by his "love, gratitude and reverence," to Ivan S. Tourgéneff; and we hope that every reader will feel the same restful, childlike confidence in this spelling of the chameleonic name that we do. The author (we shall hereafter resort to this and similar native circumlocutions to identify Mr. Boyesen) could not offer his "love, gratitude and reverence" to a man, and then misspell his name.

The story is as straight and clear as a Norse icicle, which, unfortunately, in the last two chapters emits a foggy smoke under the influence of love.

Without any pretensions to an acquaintance with a tongue which presents such an extraordinary make up of names as the Norse, we can say that the anonymous translator has put it into perfect English, and we commend Gunnar to be read, not for the narrative itself, but for the glimpses it affords of rural life in Norway, the phase of the book which we treat in this notice. When we of the temperate zone consider the rocky Scandinavian peninsula, divided from end to end by the bold water-shed of mountains whose peaks now and then rise above the line of perpetual snow; penetrated so deeply and frequently by the fiords that it has probably more sea coast for its area than any other country in the world, and when we people of regular hours consider the three months' day and three months' night, eked out by the aurora, which the peasants believe fans the moon and stars into brighter light, we can hardly fail to be interested in a tale of Norse life. The rapidity with which these northern publications are taken up, especially when, instead of thrumming on the old strings of love disappointed, unreturned, militant and triumphant, they tell us of the Northern life as Gunnar does, shows that we are deeply interested in it.

But far above everything meriting our attention is the primitive state of society existing there, especially in the rural districts. The difference between Europe of the nineteenth and Europe of the seventeenth century consists principally in the greater diversification of employments, the increased commercial activity and the appreciated value and independence of every man as an individual. General ideas and interests have taken the place of local ones. Now this growth has not gone on so fast in Nor-

way as elsewhere, because it is isolated, has little cultivable land and few natural resources. Consequently there are found in it many of the characteristics of primitive European society. The population is almost entirely rural, the administration of the government is very local, the people are of one religion, the little good land on the borders of the fiords is owned by proprietors who compose a sort of feudal gentry. The national industries are few and ancient, viz: fishing, cattle-breeding, timber cutting, and ship building, with the time honored household employments of spinning and weaving. The landed proprietors of the parish are called gardmen, while there is a class of tenants called housemen who hold land of them at rent service. These latter are in interest and descent almost a part of the estate on which they live, and there is the same strong tie between them and the gardmen, with the same sharp social distinction, as in feudal times. But this pride is, as then, the pride of proprietorship, of independence on the family acres, and does not prevent the gardmen and their children, as Gunnar constantly shows us, from actively sharing the duties of milking, scrubbing and cattle driving, and the joys of the general holidays and feasts.

The centre of the parish is, as always in early societies, the church. The pastor is regarded as the repository of goodness and wisdom. Every boy and girl is required by law to be confirmed into the Lutheran church, and the latter rite is preceded by a thorough examination in the Bible and Bible history. After it they are regarded as men and women, so that confirmation is at once an introduction to the church and to society. By society we mean those wedding or holiday feasts, in low dark halls with huge hearths and hung with fresh leaves and birch branches, where tables groan under cream porridge, dried beef, and wheaten loaves, and beer flows without stint, while the ancient skald sings to the modern violin. Then smoking torches are lighted, and the best dancers kick the beam in the ceiling without falling. Perhaps the entertainment closes with a "stev," which appears to consist of an extemporaneous song by the leader of the men, the refrains repeated by the leader of the women and then sung by both together, which ends in a series of promiscuous whirls, leaps and plunges by all hands, not easy for the reviewer to imagine or describe. And yet these beer-drinkers, these mad dancers, fishers and herdsmen, are saturated with that religious mind, which in such states of society shows itself in myths and legends. Their mythology is sad and stern, but nature has far more personification to them than to the Southrons. Yokuls, Hulders, Throlds, Necken, there is no end of them, and the author lets us most delightfully into their private affairs. The glaciers, the waterfalls, the forests, are all persons, all intelligences

and have every one a history. The spirit and the habits of the Vikings are not as dead in the Norwegians as those of our ancestors are in us, and the reader of Gunnar will admit that the modern Frenchman differs more from Charles the Simple, than the Norwegian from stout old Rollo.

THE RHINE; A Tour from Paris to Mayence by way of Aix-la-Chapelle, with an account of its Legends, Antiquities, and important historical Works. By Victor Hugo. Translated by D. M. Avid. Cloth, 12mo., pp. 275; $1.75. Boston: Estes & Lauriat. [Lippincott & Co.]

Victor Hugo, in this little trip, gives us many charming road-views. Utterly regardless of traveling discomforts, possessed of an enthusiasm that infects the reader, he has an infinite capacity for enjoyment in all around him. Nothing escapes his quick eye; rocks, groves, insects, all speak to him and give him thoughts and dreams which make the graceful picturing of trifles one of the charms of his style. His descriptions are at times marred by the subordination of great themes and sights to his own emotions, which are not particularly great, and by the effort to "harmonize" all things with his thoughts.

The book gives very fully the historical periods of the Rhine. Attila, Vitellius, Valentinian, Cæsar, Trajan, Clovis, Charlemagne, Barbarossa, Hapsburg, Napoleon, all spring into life as Hugo leads us over their battle-grounds. It is to be regretted that he did not oftener touch on the legends that give to the Rhine a charm no other river shares. The Knight of Toggenburg, who when youth, and hope, and life had faded away, still in death kept faithful watch before the window of his cloistered love; the witching song of Lorelei; these and many others we should gladly have met again. One old nursery friend we do find in the cruel Bishop Hatto, and share Hugo's indignation at the suggestion of a possible derivation of Mausethurm, which annihilates Hatto, rats and all.

The translation is often inelegant and unintelligible, and we doubt how far it is to be considered a translation at all. The only Paris edition of this work which we know is written in the form of letters, and is much fuller in description and in interest than is this professed translation, in which, among its sins of omission and commission, the constant use of French where English words are equally expressive, is especially to be deprecated.

FIRST LESSONS IN THE PRINCIPLES OF COOKING. By Lady Barker London and New York: Macmillan & Co., 1874. Pp. 101.

Lady Barker, who is so favorably known by her admirable "Station Life in New Zealand," and by a number of charming

stories for children, has lately been appointed to direct the National School of Cookery, just established at South Kensington, London. Of the usefulness of such a school, especially under such able management, there can be no question, and it can only be a cause of surprise that it was not long ago instituted by a people so eminently practical as the English. It is both natural and proper that Lady Barker should mark her appointment to this important position by the publication of a book which should show that she possesses some of the knowledge requisite to fill it creditably.

"First Lessons in the Principles of Cooking" is a very modest little volume—modest both in plan and in dimensions; but it seems to cover in a satisfactory manner a ground before unoccupied. Several of the English papers accuse Lady Barker of appropriating without credit large portions of her book from Dr. Lankester's "*Popular Lectures on Food*," published in 1861; but in any event she has given an interesting and, in a certain way, a valuable little work, for which she does not appear to lay any claim to originality.

"It must be stated in this, the very beginning," says Lady Barker, "that the reasons I give why one sort of food is better than another, more nutritious, and therefore cheaper, and why certain methods of preparing that food will cause it to be more easily digested, and render it more wholesome, are not the result of any crude theories of my own; but are drawn from a careful study of works upon the subject by practical chemists." In the introduction Lady Barker speaks of the present high prices of food and fuel, and of the importance of stopping all waste. Economy and stinginess, she says, are not synonymous terms. "In point of fact they are precisely opposite. An individual or a household, habitually practising economy, has a far wider margin for charity and hospitality than the shiftless people who never can keep a penny in their purses or a meal in their cupboards through sheer 'waste-riff,' as the north-country people call it. 'Take care of the scraps and the joints will take care of themselves,' would be a very good motto in nine-tenths of our middle-class households, and the practical result of such a theory should be better food and more of it. For my own part, I have little hope of any real progress being made in the right direction, until it shall have become once more the custom for ladies to do as their grandmothers did before them, and make it their business to acquaint themselves thoroughly with the principles and details of household management. For that reason I hope and expect that the warmest supporters of the attempt now being made by the National School of Cookery to teach the mass of the English people how to make the most of the material around them, will be found in the higher ranks of our society, and that from them it will spread downwards until it reaches the cottage where the laboring man is fed from

year's end to year's end on monotonous and often unwholesome food, as much from lack of invention as from shallowness of purse."

Lady Barker's first lesson is on the chemical composition of our food. She takes milk as the "most perfect type of food." "During the period when the young of animals, as well as of human beings, are fed entirely on milk, they grow very rapidly in the size of every part of their bodies. From this we infer that milk must contain *all* the essentials which go to build up muscle, nerve, bone, and every other tissue. The first lesson we learn from taking milk as an example of perfect natural food, is that there should be a certain proportion of liquid mixed with the substances we consume as food, though, as the animal attains its full size and there is only waste to be made up, not growth to be provided for, the necessity for the liquid form of food diminishes. Of the flesh-forming substances contained in milk, caseine is the most important, and in the largest proportions; therefore it is with milk in the form of cheese that it can best be dealt with as human food in this place. Now, there is a popular theory that cheese is unwholesome, and it certainly is an indigestible substance; but still it need only be avoided by those who suffer from weak digestions. The hard-working man, who labors with his muscles in the open air, and whose stomach is in the best possible condition to digest his food, does wisely to spend, as he generally does, what little money he may possess, in cheese, for cheese contains nearly twice the quantity of nutritive matter he would get in the same weight of cooked meat. Even with delicate feeders, a small quantity of cheese taken with other food facilitates digestion, for caseine is easily decomposed or put in a condition which causes other things to change. When, therefore, we eat a piece of cheese after a meal, it acts like yeast in bread, and starts a change in the food; for the chances are that the stomach in trying to digest the cheese will digest the rest of its contents at the same time."

One lesson (as the chapters are called) is devoted to Bread and Beef, which are taken as samples of food which contain in themselves every element required to build up the human frame, to repair the daily waste, and to preserve all the conditions of perfect health. Wheat stands first as a "force-producer," and second as a "flesh-producer." The whiteness of flour is not always a test of its purity or nourishing powers, as in cases where the flour from red wheat has been most thoroughly "bolted," it will still keep a darker tinge than even "seconds" flour obtained from white wheat, though the red wheat remains the more nutritious. English navvies make it a point to procure the very best, and purest, and most expensive wheaten bread. We must look to beef, or rather to flesh, to provide fibrine for our bodies.

"It is quite certain," says Liebig, "that a nation of animal feeders is always a nation of hunters; for the use of a rich, nutritious diet demands an expenditure of power and a large amount of physical exertion, as is seen in the restless disposition of all the carnivora of our menageries." Hence it follows, that for those whose daily toil necessitates an expenditure of power, the truest economy would be to supply the waste of their bodies by true flesh-forming food.

"I have seen with my own eyes," says Lady Barker, "a very forcible illustration of this truth in the working man of New Zealand, as he existed some some years ago. In those days beer and spirit used to be almost unknown except in the young colonial towns, and the early settlers up the country lived entirely on bread and mutton, for even potatoes were a rare and precious delicacy for the first half a dozen years. Such a splendid physical condition of the human frame it had never before been my good fortune to behold. Every one looked in the perfection of health: clear complexion, bright eyes, and active limbs which seemed not to know fatigue, were the result cf many years of a compulsory and much-abused diet of bread, tea and mutton."

"Primarily," says Dr. Letheby, "*all* our foods are derived from the vegetable kingdom, for no animal has the physiological power of associating mineral elements and forming them into food. Within our own bodies there is no faculty for such conversion; our province is to pull down what the vegetable has built up, and to let loose the affinities which the plant has brought into bondage, and thus to restore to inanimate nature the matter and force which the growing plant has taken from it." It is thus plain that the beef and mutton we eat derive their fibrine, gluten and other necessary ingredients from the vegetables on which the oxen and sheep have fed, though such food does not apparently contain any of these substances. It is said that each member of a family of vegetarians, living in accordance with the rules of one of their peculiar cookery books, actually consumes half an ounce more animal food a day than a man does who lives according to the usual scale of diet.

The more practical part of the book is excellent. We are told how to make bread and boil potatoes—to bake—to stew—to broil, and to fry. To our horror Lady Barker lingers lovingly over the last process, which is the one of all others, from which we Americans have suffered. "Frying," she says, "is the simplest, the commonest, and, if properly done, the wholesomest form of cooking food, but it is the least understood." She has the grace to state, however, that a gridiron is preferable to a frying pan, in the cooking of a beefsteak, and we earnestly hope that the gridiron may ultimately triumph even in America.

Near the end of the book, Lady Barker gives us her ideas as to

the scope and design of the new school. "The great point which I have reason to believe the Committee of the National School of Cookery will insist upon is *thoroughness.* No one will be allowed to run, or try to run, before she can walk. The elementary knowledge of how to light and manage a kitchen fire, of scrupulous cleanliness in pots and pans, of attention to a thousand small but all-important details, will be taught and insisted upon before the learner is allowed to do anything worthy of the name of cooking. Ladies will also have an opportunity either of sitting in a chair and listening to a lecture or series of lectures on cooking, beginning with a mutton chop and ending with a *soufflé*, or they may turn back their sleeves, take off their rings and bracelets, and try for themselves. The National School of Cookery is not a mercantile undertaking. I have no wish to attempt to throw discredit upon such undertakings, but simply to state that the School of Cookery at South Kensington is not one. There will be no question of dividends or bonuses, nor will there be shareholders whose interests and pockets must be considered. The school has every reason to expect that it will be liberally supported by contributions and donations; if it finds itself mistaken in that expectation, it will close its doors, and there will be no harm done to anybody. It is managed by a committee of gentlemen whose names are a sufficient guarantee of their actions, and no one of them will be individually a penny the richer or the poorer, whether the undertaking succeeds or not. If the School be well and liberally supported it will be a sign that the need of improvement in cooking is felt by all classes, and for every shilling subscribed it is the intention of the committee to afford means of instruction.

PHILOSOPHERS AND FOOLS. A Study. By Julia Duhring. 12 mo. cloth. Pp. 357. Philadelphia, J. B. Lippincott & Co.

Miss Duhring gives us in this volume a series of vigorous and thoughtful essays in moral anthropology. The titles, both of the chapters and of the book, are not quite adequate to the contents, for their varied and discursive character forbids their accurate description in a single phrase.

The first thing that strikes the reader is perhaps the extent and the character of the author's reading. Carlyle, Emerson, Ruskin, Mirabeau, Montaigne, and a host of the strongest and clearest heads of the past and the present, seem to be among her intimate acquaintances; she quotes with a readiness and an insight that is rarely seen in American literature—perhaps only in Emerson and Lowell. Apart even from what the author has written, the book is a treasury of some of the best thoughts and the finest wit to be found in all literature.

It is no small praise to say that the setting is not unworthy of

these gems; that the finest quotation is never out of keeping with its surroundings. These essays are the easy and natural outflow of a strong, cultivated, womanly intellect, in which the undertone of delicacy and refinement is never inaudible. Miss Duhring has thought as well as read; to use Leighton's quaint comparison, she is not of the sheep that wear a grassy fleece instead of a woolen one. Her style and tone of thought remind us continually of Emerson, and we should infer that the *Essays* of that author are among her favorite books—that possibly her first reading of them marked a new epoch in her mental growth, as they have done in the history of so many persons of our generation. She resembles Emerson in the lack of rhetorical (in the presence of complete logical) consecutiveness. Some one says that Emerson has written many fine sentences, but never a paragraph of any sort, good or bad; and that if one of his essays were cut up into sentences, and then rearranged in the order in which they should turn up after being shaken together in a hat, the sense would be just as good. But this is true only as to the *form* of his writing; his rhetorical tune—every writer of mark has one—is brief and snatchy, and winds up in a key that is out of harmony with its beginning; consequently his sentences never match each other, while they lie side by side like rounded pebbles. Logically there is not only connection, but strict sequence and development in his writing; his agility of movement conceals the strenuous earnestness with which he presses on to the mark. Something of this in our author's style betrays, we think, the great influence that the Concord sage has exerted upon her writing. But in the matter of her book we think she is morally his superior. She seeks to take large and tolerant views of life, but she never seeks breadth at the sacrifice of real distinctions, such as that between wrong and right. Emerson's philosophy starts from the postulate that as there are no lines in outward nature, and all that seem to exist there are optical illusions, so also are there no lines in life. Many of his most startling surprises arise simply from the very easy application of this canon of judgment to ordinary matters. Miss Duhring, on the contrary, is always thoroughly, but not priggishly and obtrusively, ethical in tone. She is not dealing with a world of shifting sands and varying phenomena merely, but one whose foundations go down to heaven or hell.

If we would find any fault with her writing, it is with a certain tone of Neoplatonist contempt for the πολλοι, dividing the world up into philosophers and fools. She has not for the latter that hearty sympathy which is the starting-point of all Christian thinking, and itself most fruitful in insight and true wisdom.

The book is very well printed, and is as neat in appearance as Philadelphia books aspire to be.

A GRAMMAR OF THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE, WITH AN ANALYSIS OF THE SENTENCE. Also, Language Lessons for Beginners—a simple, practical and rational introduction to the study of Grammar. By John S. Hart, LL. D. Eldredge & Bro., 17 North 7th street, Philadelphia.

In presenting the revised edition of the Grammar to the public, the author divides his instructions into three distinct heads. He makes the division still more clear by having the work printed with three different fonts of type, so that the part intended to be learned by the younger scholar is clear and easily to be distinguished. The more advanced scholar having already studied the larger type, has to turn his mind to the intermediate size. The smaller type being designed to assist the teacher, is not necessarily committed to memory. We feel glad, indeed, that our schoolboy days are over, and that it is not a necessity for us to commit the portion alluded to to memory.

With reference to the Language Lessons we will say, that any simple yet correct book of lessons is acceptable to the young learners, who are too often perplexed with the elaborate lesson-books that are put into their hands. Many young persons have become thoroughly appalled at the sight of a book that they are told must be learned through, resulting in disgust for learning. We are much mistaken if the Language Lessons will cause this feeling. They are, to the end of the book, pleasant, interesting, and easy in style, embracing lessons in writing, spelling and grammar.

THE EDUCATION OF AMERICAN GIRLS, considered in a series of essays, edited by Anna C. Brackett. Cloth, 12 mo. Pp. 401. Price $1.75. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons.

Dr. Clarke, of Boston, in his essay on *Sex in Education*, hit the very hardest blow at the agitation for the absolute equality of the sexes that has yet been delivered. Of three or more answers that his book evoked, the one edited by Miss Brackett is certainly the one that has most weight and ability. Two of its fourteen essays are from the editor's pen; others are by Mrs. Dall, Mrs. Stone, Mrs. Cheney, Mrs. Dr. Jacobi, etc. It is not cast in the polemic shape; Dr. Clarke is hardly, if at all, named by most of the writers, and the only essay that directly replies to him—that of Dr. Jacobi—does him the justice of contrasting the careful and measured statements of his book, with the broad and unwarranted inferences drawn by some of his masculine reviewers. If it be the weakness of female polemics to confound persons and opinions in the same scathing condemnation, the group of ladies who have contributed to this volume are certainly above that weakness. Their book stands in the strongest contrast to the ordinary publi-

cations of the female advocates of woman's rights. There is no tracing of Dr. Clarke's private life; no attempt to show him up as an unfaithful husband and a cruel parent; no scurrilous personalities woven up with "emotional" English. The men could not have done better.

As to the main point in dispute, this is certainly a case where doctors differ; and the lay mind is left in suspense. Dr. Clarke declares from large special experience that the coëducation of the sexes must be attended with great danger to the weaker vessels, and in a large percentage of cases does irreparable mischief. A very large number of learned ladies give this a flat contradiction. Here are experienced teachers who utterly deny that the excess of study is the source of mischief, and declare that the hardest students make the healthiest women, and that they can have no fear of the results of admitting girls to the same course of study as their brothers pursue, and letting them compete with the latter for class distinction. This testimony certainly seems the stronger of the two. If Dr. Clarke were to be understood as asserting that in all cases hard study does mischief to girls, he would be answered; as he would be if he singled out the hardest students as the most injured. But he does not specify these: perhaps he has in his eye the "not the healthiest," and finds that even their imperfect application has been carried—under the impulse of class ambition, which is often as strong among the lowest as the highest—to a point that inflicted lasting injury; and it must be remembered that these good ladies, with the best will in the world to get at the facts, have not, perhaps, as good opportunities as Dr. Clarke. More than half of womankind, instinctively, shrink from all confidences that are not wrung from them by the friendly inquisition of the family physician.

Why do not the reformers "move the previous question," and demand the abolition of the whole system of prizes, class distinctions, honors and rewards of every sort, as a moral and physical curse to both sexes—as implanting in the pupil the first seeds of jealous ambition, and teaching the worst possible moral lessons under the highest sanction that the child knows. The system is a modern excrescence upon our educational system, and at best a mere labor-saving device to supply the absence of those higher motives to study that the teacher should make it his chief function to develop. Even now it is completely wanting in many parts of Europe. It is one of the accidental outgrowths of the faith in the divinity of free competition that the Economists have so deeply implanted in the English and the American mind. Its first seeds, however, were sown in the Jesuit schools; and its effects are always injurious in the extreme. If the choice must be between the rod, and the distinction and reward system, the former should certainly be preferred, and every student that proved

insensible to other motives, be flogged into doing his duty. Both indeed are bad ; both appeal to the lower nature of the student, instead of developing that which is higher ; but the rod at least sows no dissension among the young, and does not set their minds "on fire of hell."

It would be gross injustice to treat this book as valuable only in relation to the present controversy. It was not so designed by its authors ; it contains very much that has a permanent interest and value, and those who wish to speak intelligently on either side of the question, or to make up their minds with a full knowledge of what the women have to say, will find it worth their while to give it a careful reading.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

Gunnar; A Tale of Norse Life. By Hjalmar Hjorth Boyesen. 18mo. cloth, Price $1.50. 1874. Boston: Jas. R. Osgood & Co. Philadelphia: Claxton, Remsen & Haffelfinger.

Uncle John. A Novel. By G. J. Whyte-Melville. 1874. 12mo. Price $1.25. New York: D. Appleton & Co. Philadelphia: Porter & Coates.

Clara Lake's Dream. Also, The Nobleman's Wife. By Mrs. Henry Wood. 8vo. Paper. Price 25 cents each. T. B. Peterson, Philadelphia, 306 Chestnut Street.

Recent Art and Society, as described in the Autobiography and Memoirs of Henry Fothergill Chorley, compiled from the edition of Henry G. Hewlet, by C. H. Jones. 12mo. Pp. 317. Price $2.00. Henry Holt & Co., New York.

The Prophet. A Tragedy. By Bayard Taylor, author of "Lars," "The Marque of the Gods," etc., etc. 16 mo. Pp. 300 Price $2 00. Boston: Jas. R. Osgood & Co. Philadelphia: Claxton, Remsen & Haffelfinger.

New Elements from Old Subjects; presented as the basis for a Science of Mind. By John Gaskell. 16mo. Pp. 196. Claxton, Remsen & Haffelfinger, Philadelphia.

History of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions in India. By Rufus Anderson, D. D., LL. D. Cloth. 16mo. Pp. 443. Price $1.50. Congregational Publishing Co., Boston.

German Universities; A narrative of personal experience, together with recent statistical information, practical suggestions, and a comparison of the German, English, and American systems of higher education. By James Morgan Hart. 12mo. Pp. 398. Price $1.75. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York. Claxton, Remsen & Haffelfinger, Philadelphia.

The Wild North Land; being the story of a winter journey with dogs, across Northern North America. By Major W. F. Butler, C. B., F. R. G S., with illustrations and route map. Fourth edition. Crown octavo. Pp. 358. Price $2.50. Porter & Coates, Philadelphia.

Celebrities of the Past and Present. Chiefly adapted from Sainte-Beuve. By Malcolm Maceuen. 12 mo. Cloth. Pp. 240. Price $1,50. Porter & Coates, Philadelphia.

Masterpieces in English Literature, and Lessons in the English Language, designed for use in colleges and schools. By Homer B. Sprague. In four books. Vol. I. Chaucer, Spenser, Bacon, Shakespeare, Milton and Bunyan. Pp. 437. Price. $2.25. J. W Schermerhorn, New York. J. A. Bancroft & Co., 512 Arch street, Philadelphia.

Recent Music and Musicians, as described in the diaries and correspondence of Ignatz Moscheles, edited by his wife, and adapted from the original German by A. D. Coleridge. 12mo. Pp. 433. Price, $2.00. Henry Holt & Co. New York.

The Building of a Brain. By Edward H. Clarke, M. D., author of "Sex in Education." 16mo. Pp. 153. Price $1.25. Boston: J. R. Osgood & Co. Philadelphia: Claxton, Remson & Haffelfinger.

Norwood; or, Village Life in New England. By Henry Ward Beecher. Re-printed from "The New York Ledger," with illustrations. 12mo. Pp. 549. Cloth, $2.00. 1874. New York: J. B. Ford & Co. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co.

Yale Lectures on Preaching. By Henry Ward Beecher. Third series, winter of 1874. 12mo. Pp. 326. Cloth, $1.50. New York: J. B. Ford & Co. Philadelphia: J. B Lippincott & Co.

THE

PENN MONTHLY.

DECEMBER, 1874.

THE MONTH.

THE gross carelessness or willful neglect of the French authorities to preserve the strict neutrality of the southern frontier, has led to another firm and emphatic remonstrance on the part of Spain. It was to be expected that the cabinet of Serrano would hardly look with satisfaction upon the fact that the wife of Don Carlos, and sometimes even the Pretender himself, could find shelter on French soil whenever it was necessary, and make use of French towns as points from which to attack the Republic, and furnish supplies to the forces under their command. The note which it has accordingly addressed to the French government recites all these complaints at length, and while expressing very frankly the belief that a change of the men who control the French frontier departments is necessary before a change of policy can be expected, demands that the protection now given to the Carlists shall definitely cease. It declares that Portugal, with a larger frontier than France, maintains a strict neutrality, and closes by urging the anomaly of liberal France aiding the cause of absolutism in a neighboring country. In order to secure the support of the other powers in the matter, the Spanish cabinet forwarded a copy of this note to all the courts by which it has been recognized —a proceeding which seems to have given umbrage at Paris. The Duc Decazes has replied, denying specifically all the charges pre-

ferred by Spain, and refusing to discuss the question of "surveillance" as a matter of purely internal nature. Disapproving too of the action of the Spanish government in attempting to make the matter an international one, he has declined to give a copy of this reply to the representatives of other powers. The surveillance of the French frontier is of course a question of an internal character, and yet it may be made a proper subject for discussion with a foreign power, and indeed necessarily becomes so as soon as it begins to affect the comfort and happiness of a neighboring nation. Spain has no little cause of grievance, and it will not do to answer her complaints with the curt "mind your own business" of M. Decazes. There the matter seemed likely to rest, and beget trouble for a day or two, when the Frenchman followed up his note by an order to the authorities to exclude all Spaniards from the right bank of the Bidassoa. This was intended, says the dispatch, to prevent their taking part in the fighting about Irun, which had commenced, and may serve to allay the irritation which the correspondence has caused at Madrid. Meantime the cause of Don Carlos seems just as hopeless as ever, though he maintains himself with considerable obstinacy. All sorts of rumors are afloat as to the condition of his forces, and the Serrano government continues to be described as about to put an end to his proceedings. If it be true that a cordial feeling has sprung up between Madrid and St. Petersburg, that end may be at hand.

THE various phases of Prince Bismarck's conflict with the Ultramontanes are curious enough. He is supported by the Emperor, who is a zealot in Protestantism, and by the middle and lower classes, who are mainly intense anti-Catholics. On the other hand, however, most of the higher and older nobility are Protestant only in name, and by no means disposed to rest quiet under the absolute rule of one who, Prince though he has become, is still regarded by them as something of a parvenu, and whose despotic and arrogant manners have made him many personal enemies among them. The Ultramontanes are full of fire and zeal, and are supported in their warfare against the government by all the elements which are naturally antagonistic to the Chancellor. The lines in religious wars have not always been

drawn between creeds and dogmas, and now, as ever, even such Protestants as the Danes and Sleswickers are from political reasons allied with the Catholic party. Count Arnim has the reputation of being adroit, obstinate and bold, and the end of his contest with Bismarck must be, for him at least, either complete triumph or overwhelming ruin. His family is a powerful one, though neither rich nor ancient, and counts in its list some of the strongest politicians in the empire, and it has been hinted more than once that the Chancellor has this time, for once in his life, caught a Tartar. The French, hating Bismarck as they do, and naturally allied in their sympathies with the Catholic party, are watching the controversy with interest, a majority expressing disapproval of the significant withdrawal of the Orenoque from Civita Vecchia. In the present state of feeling in Europe very little fanning will start the flame, and even so wise and careful a man as Archbishop Manning may not be wrong in fearing—expecting would perhaps describe his mood better, for he does not seem to fear the consequences—that the continent may be on the verge of a religious war. He would seem, however, to be anxious to prepare his own party for such an event while there is yet time, and it is proposed to summon an International Catholic Congress in London to reassert the dogma of Papal Infallibility, the right of the Pope to temporal as well as spiritual power, and the duty of all Christians to return to their allegiance to Rome. The deliberations of such a body would hardly awaken so much interest, or be of such importance, as the simple fact of its existence in the British Capital at this crisis, and it might be expected, perhaps with great reason, to mark the beginning of extraordinary events. The newspapers give unsatisfactory accounts of the quarrel of Arnim and the Chancellor:—the approaching trial of the Count will soon put us in possession of all the facts, until which time it is rather unsafe to predict whether or not it will assume the historic importance which, on partial knowledge, it would seem to have.

THE breach in the Bonapartist ranks has widened during the past month. Not much importance was attached to the controversy in Corsica, where the victory of Prince Charles over Jerome

showed that the influence of the Chiselhurst party was active against the latter, for it was remembered that the brilliant but unstable Prince had never been in accord with his more powerful cousins for more than six months at a time. M. Emile Ollivier, however, whose reappearance last winter gave the last occasion for a display of M. Guizot's spirit and determination, is out in a letter, in which he seeks to show that he saved the Empire by the Plebiscite in May, 1870, while the Rouber faction immediately afterward brought on a war which destroyed it. As M. Rouber continues to stand in *loco parentis* to the Prince Imperial, this reveals a state of things which promises ill for the latter's hopes. The division of his small forces under the circumstances is fatal.

REPUBLICS may be ungrateful, though Republicans do not always seem to be. What shall be said, however, of the gratitude of Italy and the Italian king, when it comes to be recorded in history that, fourteen years after the famous campaign in Sicily, both nation and monarch had forgotten in his old age the patriotic soldier who gave freedom and unity to the one, and one of the first crowns in Europe to the other? We have had appeals in American newspapers within a few months for three of the most eminent men whom Europe has produced in this century. All three have been described as old, destitute and alone. In the case of Kossuth and Hans Christian Andersen, the story has happily enough been proven to be false; in Garibaldi's, however, it is true. The remarkable old man for whom, in spite of his many faults and weaknesses, there must always be in men's hearts a feeling of admiration while courage and patriotism and purity of character are considered virtues, is said, on good authority, to be really suffering for want of money. A generous American, who knew him years ago, had sent him a handsome sum and promised more, and there is talk of a subscription in this country in his behalf. Meantime the stir which the truth has made in England, and especially in the United States, has had some effect in Italy, and it is said that the municipality of Naples has decided to settle an annuity on the deliverer of the city. He will have but a short time to enjoy the bounty, in the nature of things, but better bread to-day than chiseled stone or monumental bronze to-morrow.

An incident worthy of notice is chronicled in a Cologne newspaper: It seems that years ago, when he was known only to a limited circle of Italian friends as a handsome young nobleman, his Highness, the Pope, joined the ranks of the Freemasons Changing the Masonic apron for the priestly robe, and finally the name of Mastai Feretti for that of Pio Nono, he has of late years been particularly severe in his decrees against his former associates. Excommunication and anathema he has launched at the Order with such lavish hand, that at length the Grand Lodge of the Orient at Palermo has thought fit to answer him. In a recent decree, signed by "Victor Emmanuel, King of Italy, Grand Master of the Orient of Italy," "a man named Mastai Feretti, who was a Freemason," but has now turned against and "cursed his brethren," is expelled forever from the Masonic Order, for the crime of "perjury." Coming directly after the secession from the Order and conversion to the Roman Catholic faith of the recent Grand Master in England, the decree of the brotherhood of Palermo is worth a passing notice.

A recent item in the English journals has not received the attention it deserves. The famous steamship "Castalia" has made her trial trip and will be ready in six weeks or less, to put an end, it is fondly believed forever, to the proverbial horrors of the channel passage. Of all the benefactors of the human race, surely none will obtain a higher place in men's esteem than the ingenious inventor of this curious vessel, should she fulfill the promises they make for her. In form she would seem to be the Siamese twins of steamships; her two hulls being fastened together by an extraordinary ligature of wood and iron, on which is placed the "Bessemer saloon." It is claimed for this invention, that no matter how short and chopping the sea, this cabin will be practically motionless, and under no circumstances will the stomach of him who takes passage in it falter, or his countenance be necessarily turned, as of yore, away from his fellows and bent down toward the briny deep! Farewell, forever, say the projectors of the Castalia, the melancholy days of old, when the little channel steamers tossed up and down from shore to shore, bearing upon their crowded decks, or in stuffy cabins, a group of wretched

beings to whom life had, for the time at least, lost all pleasure and attraction. No more shall the stricken father of a family rush from among them as they lie pale and motionless, in a confused heap upon the deck, to struggle for a place with the miserable beings who cling convulsively to the taffrail—no longer shall the sturdy sailor tack up and down the deck, a ministering angel, armed with a tin pan! The briny chasm between Folkstone and Dover has been bridged at last, and the inventors of the Castalia take their places among the philanthropic few.

Any day on which twenty odd States and Territories choose Governors, Senators and Congressmen is worthy of notice; but the 3d day of the present month has especial claims to be remembered in the calendar. For the first time since 1872 the sentiment of the whole country was to be expressed and a judgment passed upon the course of the administration, and for the first time in the memory of living men Pennsylvania had ceased to point out the way. Ohio and several other States, which voted in October, were apt to be wayward and do uncertain things, and were not to be taken as guides of political action, and while the Democratic gains in them had filled the members of that party with hope, to which they had long been strangers, no man could positively foresee the future. That there would be more than one Democratic victory all men knew. The American people are always wiser than the politicians, and however patient they have shown themselves to be, even patience great as theirs has a limit. They had endured, with equanimity, the changes which were to be seen in the structure of the Government in the Southern States; they had borne, without murmuring, the imposition of fresh burdens in the shape of unwise and foolish legislation; they had pardoned more than one offense against the traditions of their fathers and the spirit of their institutions, and laughed with a good nature that seemed inexhaustible, over the blunders of those to whom they had entrusted power. But thoughtful men in both parties saw that unless there was a change of policy a change of power was inevitable. Republican leaders and Republican journals urged reform, or prophesied defeat, only to find themselves ostracised from the party and dismissed from confidence for

their pains. The President, whose first performance six years ago was the key-note of his whole career, had adopted so completely the dangerous idea that not poor Greeley's weakness but his own strength had re-elected him, that he became incapable of appreciating or warding off the danger, and in the eyes of the men by whom he was chiefly surrounded independence was treason to the party, and that the chief of crimes. In vain they were warned that the course of the Administration toward the South was disapproved by thoughtful men, that the appointment of individuals remarkable only for incapacity was displeasing to the people, that the broadest statesmanship, not the narrow acts of the politician, was necessary to save them and the party of which they had become the unworthy leaders. Remonstrance and warning were alike useless. Simmons sat down on Boston and Casey remained master of New Orleans. Morton and Conkling, Cameron and Logan, became the great lights of the Administration, and Butler, the virtuous and patriotic Massachusetts statesman, the most trusted and influential adviser of the President. And there was another thing which has been given at the same time too much and too little importance. The belief that the President desired or was willing to accept a re-election for a third term took possession of many minds. It became a topic of conversation and of comment by the press. One party maintained the idea, while another scouted it. The President, who could have settled the question with a word, who had no hesitation in urging the San Domingo scheme, or expressing his views on finance, held his tongue. Nothing could draw from him anything upon the subject. Convention after convention of his own party noticed the question of the third term, or more noticeably passed it by. The New York leaders forbade its mention at Utica; local questions made it wise for the Republicans to oppose it at Harrisburg; Massachusetts denounced it, South Carolina hailed it with enthusiasm. The wisest of his counsellors urged General Dix to declare himself against it at the opening of the canvass, but this he declined to do. Secretary Robeson flamed into a momentary prominence by seeming to deny its truth at Paterson, only to be snuffed out by a semi-official announcement that he had no authority to say anything of the kind. While the minds of men

were thus in doubt as to whether there was any ground for the discussion or not, the friends of the President, who was himself too dignified to do what Washington, and Jefferson, and Jackson had done before him, were guilty of the ill-advised act of publishing a letter written by him in 1872, in which he declared himself to be "in the hands of his friends" for a second term, thus implying that he was willing to sacrifice himself and take a third. A week after the publication of this letter came the election. The Republicans were routed everywhere. Governors, Senators and Congressmen fell before the Democratic charge. Tilden was elected in New York, Bedle in New Jersey, and, strangest of all, Gaston in Massachusetts. Mr. Logan's oratory failed to carry Illinois, Mr. Chandler, in Michigan, was forced to slacken his immemorial hold. Nor all Mr. Cameron's influence, coupled with a large majority in Philadelphia, availed to save the Keystone State. Everywhere was to be seen the same thing, and the Democrats awoke to find themselves masters of the next House of Representatives. There is no doubt that the third term had less to do with the result than the second, but there can be no question of the sentiments of the American people on the point which had been raised, whatever the President may think.

There are parallels to this election in American politics. None is found, however, in that of 1860, for then there was a great change of sentiment among masses of men, who permanently transferred their allegiance from one party to another. No thoughtful Democrat pretends that the vote of last Tuesday shows a secession from the Republican to the Democratic ranks of enough voters to make the future of the victorious party secure without renewed effort, and no Republican who looks beneath the surface can have any doubt that there still remains a fair chance for his own party to regain its power. The election of 1874 is more like that of 1840, when the people, disgusted with the corruption which three Presidential terms had begotten in the Democratic ranks, turned against their rulers and elected the Whig candidate. At the present time, too, there was another influence which has always preceded such political revolutions—that of a financial panic with its attendant evils. There can be no doubt that the panic of 1873 had as much to do with this result as did those of 1837 and 1857 with the elections which followed them three years afterward, and the dis-

tress and uncertainty which it has occasioned must be taken into account in considering the causes of the Republican defeat. It is a significant fact, perhaps, that American securities have gone up in the marts of Europe since the reception of the news. Be the fact as it may, the discomfiture of the administration is complete, and more than one gentleman of unhappy prominence to-day will soon relapse into the congenial obscurity from which the President's partiality has lifted him, to remain unnoticed, certainly for years, and most probably forever. The lessons of this election are plain, and to the thoughtful and patriotic man, whether he be Republican or Democrat, they are of a cheering character. In the first place, the result demonstrates that the masses of the people think and act with independence. No party cry, however thrilling, suffices to turn their attention from the true points involved—and party lines are no longer to be barriers against principle. It proves that they can rise above prejudice and old forms of party strife, and cast their votes without reference to either. It proves that power cannot dignify incapacity or excuse corruption, and that no party can retain a control of the American people which by acts of commission or omission forfeits their confidence. It proves that the masses do not for a moment endorse the view of the President and his followers, that offices are to be considered as rewards of personal favor and party service. It has rebuked incapacity, punished dishonesty, checked corruption and destroyed Butler. Another feature of this business is to be accepted with satisfaction. The result has revealed beyond a doubt that the war is at last completely at an end—and that the Northern voters, even in Massachusetts, will not be frightened away from voting the Democratic ticket by the rattling of sabres and beating of drums, or the most eloquent allusions to the "rebel yell." The people have decided that there shall be peace, and no more significant fact can be quoted than that which comes to us from Louisiana, where the negroes contributed largely by their votes to bring about the Conservative victory. On the whole, the country must be benefited by its independent action.

It is far better for us all that the majority of a party in power, whether it be Democratic or Republican, should be no more than what is called a working majority; that it should be sufficiently small to make the leaders cautious and careful in their policy.

While they can be made to feel that their tenure of office depends wholly upon their good behavior, they will endeavor to act well and wisely, and we shall all profit by their selfishness. The Democrats have a great opportunity before them. Should they turn out to be wise and moderate enough to use their power well —an event which their course during the past few years has certainly not rendered very probable—they may retain it for a long period of time. A frank acceptance of the results of the war, a determination not to meddle with accomplished facts, a broad and statesmanlike course towards the whole country and both races, and a judicious exclusion from their party counsels of the men who have caused most of their disasters, will, perhaps, secure for them the government in 1876, and for years thereafter—but any attempt to re-open the judgment passed upon secession or the questions which grew out of it, will surely bring them to speedy and irretrievable ruin. The course which they have pursued since '61 has not been such as to strengthen in men's minds a feeling of confidence in their professions or their leaders, and nothing short of the grossest blundering, or worse, on the part of their too successful opponents, would have given them this victory. They will have to walk circumspectly and uprightly, or their fall is certain. On the other hand, the Republicans have an opportunity not less splendid. They cannot plead now the want of warnings or examples. Entrusted with power for thirteen years, they have used it gloriously and abused it shamefully, writing a record full of good and evil. The warning voice of true friends they have refused to hear; the lessons of all political experience they have declined to learn. And now at the hands of those from whom they received their trust they have had a sharp and serious rebuke. The meaning is unmistakable—and it may not have come too late. If the Republican party can shake off the grasp of those who in every community and every State have seized its power and prestige for their own uses, and built up their private fortunes on the ruins of its fame; if it will resolutely dismiss the incapable, short-sighted, selfish and dishonest men who have brought it to its present pass, and return again to the counsels and leadership of those who made its power and its usefulness, and the glory of which it has so true a right to boast—if it will wel-

come to its ranks ability, and patriotism, and independence, and character—if it will cease from this moment the attempt to perpetuate its power by narrow partizanship, or build its strength on ignorant prejudice, and henceforward act only from principle and with a statesmanlike view of the whole country's needs, the defeat which it has suffered will be but temporary and full of blessings. In any event, while both parties are conscious that they are on trial before the people, and that their tenures of office must depend on good behavior, the happiness of the whole nation cannot fail to stand on a safer and more secure foundation. From whatever point of view one may regard the recent elections, there is far less reason to-day to doubt the permanency of free institutions and the successful issue of the trial of free government than there was before the 3d day of November, 1874.

THERE are some features of the local elections which deserve notice and are quite as cheering. In New York the contest for Mayor was a triangular one, and Mr. Wickham, the Tammany nominee, was elected by a large plurality. His colleague on that ticket, however, the notorious "Jimmy" Hayes, who ran for Register, was defeated by ten thousand votes—a most encouraging evidence of the capacity of the voter to discriminate. In Philadelphia the result was not less satisfactory. The Republican ticket, headed by several unobjectionable names, carried the city by a majority as large as that of Mayor Stokley in the February election, while two candidates who were objectionable failed to secure their seats. The main interest centred in the election for the District Attorney. Mr. Mann, the Republican candidate, has been in office many years. The head and front of the small body of office-holders, who, calling themselves Republicans (in one or two instances, with equal truth, Democrats), had fastened themselves upon the government of Philadelphia,—a man of ability and strength of character, he had acquired great power in this community for more than half a generation. His manner of administering his office had become, in many minds, synonymous with maladministration, and his nomination awoke opposition, not only in the breasts of all who wished to see a purifica-

tion of the District Attorney's office, but the destruction of the city Ring. It was not the first time that his nomination had aroused resistance; for six years ago, when the Union League was still independent of his control, and several Republican newspapers capable of insubordination, he had been forced to retire by his own party. This time, however, he found no organized opposition in the Republican ranks, and the utmost that many gentlemen of that way of thinking could do, was to vote for him and hope that he would not be elected. Against him rallied the Democrats, the non-politician class and the Municipal Reformers, the latter especially waging against him a vigorous and effective warfare. The campaign was short, sharp and decisive. The Republican ticket generally carried the city by 10,000 or 12,000, and Mr. Mann and the candidate for Coroner fell short of an election. The official count is not yet completed, but his friends concede his defeat by one or two thousand votes. Had the Democratic party carried Philadelphia, and the District Attorneyship along with it, the lesson would have been very different; but, as it is, it could not have come in a better or less questionable shape. To have taught the Republican party that it can carry Philadelphia by a handsome majority even in days of almost universal Democratic triumph, provided its candidates are unexceptionable and fit, but that not even its organization and control of all the avenues of power can suffice to elect to office unworthy men whom the people do not trust, is to have taught it a valuable and salutary lesson. The people, remaining as Republican as ever, have struck "the Ring," as it is called, a stunning blow upon the forehead, for Mr. Mann was the acknowledged brains of that patriotic body, and the time may be fondly believed to have arrived when a few party managers can no longer set up whom they please and bid the people do their bidding and elect him. The opportunity offered to Philadelphia and the Republican party by this election is of the very best. This city has proved itself to be the stronghold of the party; with wise and honest men in power here it can control the State; ability and character controlling, Pennsylvania can exercise a great influence upon the country, and the time may come when, with a purified Republican party restored to power, this State and this city may obtain—one cannot truly say resume, for they never yet enjoyed it—the pres-

tige and authority in national affairs which, when we do our duty to ourselves, belong to both. While Philadelphia and Pennsylvania are not true to themselves, they cannot expect the nation to do them honor; when they take of their own accord the place they ought to take—no party, or administration, or country, dare withhold it from them.

OUTLINES OF PENOLOGY.

There must be a comprehension of the whole before there can be an adjustment of the parts.

THE Roman who declared that nothing was foreign to his feelings that concerned humanity only proclaimed what was a general condition of his race; and philosophy and religion make it a duty to utilize this condition and render it subservient to social happiness.

The new zeal, "a zeal according to knowledge," of late displayed in the interest of humanity has become so active—and proves of so much importance—that it has received special direction and particular designation.

Social science is a branch of general economy which has arrested so much attention and commanded so much talent, developing divers means of improving social life that minute subdivisions are admitted, and men are called upon to acquire and present experience on points that some time ago were regarded as too minute for investigation, too unimportant for substantive consideration. The investigation has established their importance, and consideration has elevated them into the rank of science.

The essayist has acquired credit by presenting and discussing some of those branches of social science which seem to touch the interest of the most active and most intelligent of our citizens.

While the sufferings of the prisoner have ever since the existence of a prison excited commiseration, and the relief of the incar-

cerated was commended to the charitable interference of the humane, it is only of late that interference for the prisoner's rights, or a redress of the prisoner's wrongs, has become a subject of united consideration, and the construction and administration of prison houses have been regarded with any other object than that of detention and punishment. The terrors of their cruel possibilities have been presented, enriched with the fancy of the historian, the novelist or the poet, and the prisoner has been the exponent of social, civil and spiritual bondage. Few have thought of the possibilities of benefits from incarceration, resulting from mental experience and the discipline of thought.

Certainly to an educated man, the man of books or worldly experience, the man of fixed plans and with absorbing objects, the prison may be a beneficial school from which the thinking man may graduate with honors or for distinction. Certainly the occupant of the Egyptian prison came out to be the ruler of the subjects of Pharaoh, and the prisoner in the fortress of Ham was called from his school of thought to be ruler of France. Joseph kept on thinking—Louis Napoleon yielded to dreams—St. Peter and St. Paul taught the world by their prison experience, and the Duke of Bedford has just erected a monument to Bunyan, who thought and wrote his Pilgrim's Progress in the cell of the Bedford prison.

These instances show the capabilities of the human mind under what are called adverse circumstances, and illustrate the influence of solitude. None of the prisoners alluded to were felons, and only the Egyptian minister was charged with acts which are not considered virtuous under some circumstances. The effect of separation upon the felon will be considered when the systems of imprisonment are discussed.

The subject of prisons and prison discipline has occupied so much attention of late that there have been formed parties in the school, and the zeal which seemed to be for general ends has almost naturally been directed to a consideration of the means, and as there can now be little difference of opinion upon the propriety, not to say duty, of making the imprisonment of the offender a means of benefit to the community by the improvement of the individual, it is best to consider first what system is most conducive to that improvement.

It is evident that states and communities, which are occupied with the subject of penitentiaries, prisons and reformatories, are considering the subject of fiscal economy, a matter of much importance to taxpayers and always to be kept in view, as the cost of building and maintaining a prison may be made a means of considerably augmenting public expenses without providing any corresponding good.

Some who have had experience in the administration of public affairs, have gravely considered how prisons may be made a source of profit to the community by the sale or use of the production of the prisoner's labor, subordinating the idea of the improvement of the felon to that of the public revenue.

In some places the old plan of building prisons, and maintaining them, simply for the purpose of detaining persons suspected of felony, or of punishing them when that felony is proved, is yet the limit of efforts with regard to prison discipline, and of course the object of the law naturally influences in its administration; and cruelty in insuring detention and punishment, almost invariably attends this system of imprisonment. This mode of punishing persons charged with unlawful acts and declared guilty of the offense, though generally condemned, is much more practiced than is supposed by persons who dwell on theories of penology; but its general condemnation, notwithstanding its prevalence, renders it unnecessary to argue for its abolition.

Within a few years, congresses, "national and international," have been held on the subject of prisons and protectories of all grades, and much information, as it regards prisons and prison discipline and prison economy, has been gathered, to the general benefit of the science, and few who have attended these assemblages have failed to acknowledge that they have acquired valuable information from the details of experience of members from various parts of the world; and knowledge of the operation of systems, or of practice without system, is of vast importance in any attempt to form a new system, or to recommend one that has been tried.

To a person experimentally acquainted with the management of prisons, it was evident that the discussions in these congresses (take for example that held in London in the summer of 1872) did not lead to any definite embodiment of a plan. The time of

the congress was profitably employed in the explanation of the operation of prison laws, as they are administered in the United States, in Great Britain, or the continent of Europe, and in parts of Asia, especially in British India. The earnest eloquence of some of the expounders of systems and practices insured a sort of conviction at the time, which further examination, or opposing explanation, considerably disturbed.

Systems, too, were applauded for the favor which they had secured from committees, the popularity they have achieved; when a closer investigation led at last to the inquiry whether that popularity was founded on the positive beneficial character of the system, or whether the system was not applauded because it was an improvement on a long-continued practice, which in reality had no system. The time has come when the positive, and not the comparative, benefits of a system of prison discipline must commend it to approval and adoption.

There are several divisions of the subject of penology which demand attention in their proper order. For example, the government of prisons as a part of the administration of the internal affairs of a State; such as is found in Belgium, and especially in Italy. In the latter named kingdom, the government of prisons, the appointment of officers, the regulation of rank, and the designation of duties among those officers, seem to be as much a departmental matter as is that of the army or the navy. It is a branch of "justice," and it would seem that this national or State organization of penitentiary and reformatory affairs could be made without or previous to any plan of prison houses, or any general system of prison management.

In the usual order of arrangement it is customary to consider the plan and construction of prison houses. But as the arrangement of space for the size and situation of cells and for their proper furnishing must depend greatly on the system of government and discipline to be adopted, it is better to postpone the consideration of the form and divisions of the building, till it be known which of the many systems of treating prisoners is to be adopted.

There are prisons, undoubtedly a large majority of those occupied, in which no system is thought of, excepting, perhaps, that of keeping the inmates close till the sentence time of the

prisoner shall have expired. The treatment in these "jails" usually corresponds with the character of the jailer. In some prisons in Pennsylvania, the convict is treated with a rigor that shocks humanity. In others the jailer, being also the sheriff of the county, finds it convenient to intrust the care of the prison to the only convict it contains—while the sheriff is out in his bailiwick looking after more tenants. In these cases there is no system to discuss—all that can be done is to condemn the practice.

There are three plans, called systems of prison discipline. First, the congregate system, that of keeping the convicts together in their labor and in their rest, causing them to work all together and sleeping in a common dormitory at night.

Another system—or rather a branch of the former system—is that of employing the prisoners in gangs at labor during the day, and to lock them up in separate cells, only one in each cell, at night. These and their modifications are what are called the "congregate" system. They allow intercourse among the prisoners—the second all day, and the first day and night. That intercourse is more or less free, according to the discipline of the place. It always exists.

There is another plan, known generally as the "Irish system," but which ought to be called the "Crofton system," as it was the invention of the Rt. Honorable Sir Walter Crofton, who applied it to the convicts in Ireland, where the most unsystem-like treatment of condemned prisoners had prevailed, and where, by the operation of the Crofton system, immense good was secured to the felon and through him to society. This Crofton system consists in a severe treatment of the convict, who, for a certain time, is kept in solitary confinement and on hard fare, and is then admitted to privileges, which are gradually enlarged, and liberation from the prison house usually precedes the completion of the time of the sentence. This system commences with separate confinement and concludes with a sort of social enlargement and police serveillance. We shall hereafter compare it with other systems; meantime let the high praises which it receives, and which it in some measure deserves, be considered in connection with the circumstances of Irish Prisons before the Crofton system was put into practice. We must distinguish between positive and comparative excellence.

The third plan is that of separate confinement, by which no prisoner sees another prisoner from the time he enters the prison till he leaves it.

The modification of the separate system is not in permitting occasional intercourse among the convicts, but in enlarging the liberty of visitation by friends, relations, or moral and religious visitors, an augmentation depending entirely on the merits of the prisoner—and serving to keep alive domestic affection and strengthen moral resolve.

I hesitate not to say that the system of separate confinement of convicts is the only plan by which all the advantage of penal imprisonment can be secured to the safety of the community by the withdrawal of an offending member and the consequent absence of a bad example, and the improvement introduced to society of a member who from thinking and doing wrong has been induced to make resolves of reformation—while at the same time means and inducements are provided to give efficacy to those resolves. Evil associations are poor means of making men better; very few indeed make any advance in a career of vice without the instruction, encouragement and applause of others.

When a violator of the law is sentenced to imprisonment, the natural remark of the community that has suffered by his violence or his depredation is, "We are free from his villainies for the time of his sentence;" but it is rarely considered that a penitentiary can be a school of crime in which the pupils may be advanced in the art by which they obtained entrance, and admitted to higher grades of professional employment.

But how can we admit, as nearly all do admit, that it was evil associates that sent the convinct to the penitentiary, and not believe that the same or worse evil associates will augment his criminal skill and increase his desire for its exercise?

But it is urged against this separate confinement that it is cruel to the prisoner, and that, shut out from intercourse with his fellowmen of every kind, he loses all sympathy with society and cherishes a hatred in prison that suggests plans of vengeance when he shall be released.

Such an idea is not unfounded; it is almost the natural result of a deprivation of liberty, and bad passions are not likely to be re-

pressed in men who have lived in open violation of the laws of God and man and upon the spoils of their fellow-beings.

But this idea, so well sustained by the experience of those who have witnessed protracted solitary confinement, or have noticed the influence of the congregate system upon almost any class of offenders, is unjust towards the separate system, which is, indeed, anything but "solitary."

The separate system in Pennsylvania, as practiced in the Eastern Penitentiary of that State, consists, in the first place, in the entire isolation of the convict from the time he reaches the prison until he is discharged—that is, a complete isolation with regard to any and every other convict in that prison, not to be seen by or to see any one of his fellow-prisoners in sickness or in health, in labor or in rest, in communion or in worship. And from this system of isolation the humanitarian who knows no more of the separate system of prison discipline, derives his most positive argument against the separate confinement of the convict.

But I have stated one point in that system, that of perfect separation from other convicts. The separation, however, is perfect only with regard to separation from convicts. The prisoner in the Eastern Penitentiary, and in every other prison where the separate system prevails, has three visits a day from the persons who supply him with food, and though little conversation can be allowed at such a season, yet the prisoner has at least a vision of "the human face divine," as often as he takes his meal. Some of the officers of the prison see and converse with him frequently in the course of the day; and men, who have a direction and supervision of his work, talk with him about the manner of increasing his skill in the particular branch devolved upon him.

The stated "moral teacher" is regular in his visits to the cell, and ready to propose or to answer questions, and that officer is followed by the schoolmaster with his lessons of common school education, and all are willing to add to the means of special knowledge.

It is well known that men of high education have been tenants of the penitentiary cell, and have passed much of their time in a review of, or advance in, classical and mathematical studies, and such persons have been supplied with means of pursuing their favo-

rite branches of science; and benefits, at least to the prisoner, have resulted from these renewed studies.

In addition to the visits of the officers and employees of the institution, there should be mentioned the regular, permitted visits of the relatives and friends of the convict, and the frequent official calls of the Inspectors of the prison. That certainly does not look like solitary confinement, the separation of the felon from all intercourse with human beings, nor the fulfillment of the idea that in all that time he has no knowledge of the world, "nor had the voice of a friend or kinsman breathed through his lattice."

But still further, there are visitors to the cells of the penitentiary who have nothing to do with the government of the place—and have no connection by blood or former friendship with the prisoner. Some of these persons are seen every day within the cell or at the door, there dealing gently, kindly, and in the spirit of purest philanthropy with the inmates, seeking to alleviate the misery of the prison, and to elevate the aspirations and purify the motives of the prisoner.

One point, very essential to the completeness of this system, still remains for notice. The religious views of the convict are respected. He may be called on to hear certain general speaking, or preaching by persons who are employed to improve the Sabbath hours of the prisoner, and who, to prevent any evil from positive doctrines, cuts off most of the chances of good by a general negativeness; but the convict has and improves the right of frequent visitation from clergymen and pious laymen of his own religious denomination, or of some of the different divisions of Christians, and his entire separation from all other prisoners gives to these frequent religious communions a freedom of confession and instruction, of proposition and advice, that could not be enjoyed in the prisons of the congregate system.

And while all these are in operation, the convict is learning some trade or pursuing his former legitimate mode of earning a living, in his own cell. Of course, the kind of trade taught or practiced there must have some relations with the available space. Ship building, house building, engine building, and some other important branches of mechanic art, could not be carried on in the twelve by twenty feet workshop of the prison. But even there vast acquisitions of theoretical knowledge in those and other

branches could be, and have been made. Surely, surely, this is not the realization of the terrible bugbear with which certain sensationalists have tried to alarm the philanthropist. This is not the confinement that ruins the health and weakens the mind of the prisoners. Those who have attempted to represent separate confinement as a great cruelty have dealt entirely with fancy or willful misrepresentation. The explanation which I have given above of separate confinement is founded on fact—nay, it is fact; and is the exposition of an existing institution and its administrative operations.

I have called this system "separate"—some denominate it the "solitary system." The Hon. Richard Vaux, who understands, from more than thirty years' experience as an Inspector, and from careful observation on the administration of almost all systems, the subject now under discussion, gives to this mode of dealing with prisoners the name of "individual" system; a name most correctly expressive. The prisoner is removed from all evils of bad associations, and he is brought into immediate accountability with one person. A general dehortation may touch a part of the error of almost all who are addressed, but in "individual dealing," not only the crime of the offender may be considered, but that part of it which under circumstances made it particularly criminal, will be exposed, and the proclivity of the prisoner's taste and appetites and his evil tendencies will be considered. There are no two men, though committing the same act and from the same general motive, equally guilty—or who may be best dealt with exactly by the same mode. The person who enters the cells of convicts goes thither to minister to a mind diseased—a conscience diseased, certainly a conscience that lacks the vitality necessary to true moral action. The visitor may learn something of crime—its cause and its operation—in his visits to other cells; but in that his businesss is with the one man, and he must as carefully study that man's case as does the regular physician of a hospital the condition and peculiarities of any one patient whom he may visit. And it is confidently asserted that the diagnoses of the mental disease of a convicted felon are to be as closely studied and are as attainable as are those of the hospital patient, who is suffering from small-pox, cholera, or typhus, and the skilled moral visitor administers his instruction, his caution, and his hopeful directions to the convict with as much judgment and as much regard

to the characteristics of the prison cases, and as much discrimination, as the physician of the hospital exercises when he presents the ingredients of his prescriptions.

This is personal, individual dealing, the result of separate confinement, one of the great benefits of that admirable system.

The subject of solitude and its effects thus disposed of, two objections, however, are supposed to lie against separate confinement. One is its injurious effects upon the body and mind of the convict. No argument will serve in this view of the question. It is one of facts.

Do the inmates of the Eastern Penitentiary of Pennsylvania present a greater proportionate number of sick than do prisons conducted on the congregate plan? And is the number of insane whose misfortune is due to confinement greater in the prison houses of the separate system than in those where the social or congregate system is administered?

A comparison instituted a few years since, taking actual returns of prisons of both systems, show that more insanity has begun and increased under the congregate than under the separate system. One fact with regard to insanity in prisons should be noticed, as it may be depended on. Much less of insanity is caused by imprisonment of any kind than is generally supposed. Returns from Belgium, and particularly from Germany, where the separate system is used, show that not many cases of insanity are referable to confinement—and fewer of them in separate than in congregate prisons.

The truth is, insanity in prisoners is often the result of some sudden emotion in earlier years or the development of hereditary mental disease. Sometimes it is the discontinuance of intemperate habits, sometimes it is the adoption of a vice; rarely the result of simple seclusion. In referring cases of the insanity of prisoners to any system, a great error is committed. The insanity of prisoners who have held desirable social positions in life, when that insanity commences in common prisons, may frequently be referred to the sudden exposure of a criminal course, and to a deep sense of degradation consequent upon imprisonment. In such cases the morbid sensibility of the insane convict must receive additional wounds from the exposure which the congregate system renders unavoidable, with such prisoners. When the crime can be no longer hidden, it is best to hide the criminal.

It is easily established that insanity is not imputed to the entire separation of convicts from convicts in prison. That solitary confinement, the entire separation of the prisoners from all human association, may augment a morbid tendency of the mind and perhaps induce it, is not denied. No argument is made upon that point, because, as has been stated above, the Pennsylvania and Belgium system of separate or individual dealing with prisoners admits of no solitary confinement, unless it is a punishment for gross offenses against prison rules, and then the solitude is usually limited to twenty-four hours.

One advantage, and one great, and to the prisoner an almost incalculable benefit, results from separate dealing. In the congregate system, where the influence of the free and quiet ministrations of moral visitors has been experienced, the prisoner, though he has tried what repentance can do (and begins to ask triumphantly "what can it not do?"), is suddenly met by a recollection that prisons are usually regarded as at best only places for the punishment of crime, and the time spent there is considered only a sort of temporary reprieve of society from the evil visitations of the offender. And he knows that in general, though the released convict may try to escape from the contagion of the vices of his released prison companion, yet they are likely to follow him up—and invite his aid, if he has no better pursuit, and discourage him—tax his small means to purchase silence, which must be purchased, till those means are gone—and he is driven by poverty and despair to return to the crimes he hoped he had in repentance and improvement provided means to avoid. The graduate of a prison where separate confinement and individual dealing are invariably practised may leave the prison poor and may find difficulty in establishing himself for want of some little capital; but he has in his separate prison confinement seen no fellow-prisoner, made no new acquaintance among felons, nor recognized any of his former evil associates.

When he has taken a position in which to carry out his resolution of good, he is in no apprehension of the visitation of those who levy black mail; he has lost so much time in prison, but the fulfillment of the sentence of the court has enabled him to understand his own weakness, and to guard against former assaults. Such has been the extent of this recognition of prison companions

that prison legends abound in anecdotes of the discharged convict being driven from desirable positions back to prison by the visitation of some prison companion. Novels, poems, and dramas are founded on this result of congregate confinement or felon as-association.

From this monstrous evil the separate system almost entirely relieves the convict.

One other objection is made to the separate system. It is declared that it does not admit of certain employments that would make the prisoner profitable to the community. It does not allow felons, by working together, not only to pay the cost of the keeping, but really by the profits of their product to add to the income of the State or county treasury. And it is said that the congregate system insures that result in some cases, and generally more nearly approximates it than does the separate system.

It is not proposed to take issue on that question. It is probable that owing to some favorable circumstances in their location, large prisons (usually State prisons) have been made to produce more than the cost of maintaining the prisoner. In some places limestone abounds, and granite is procurable in large quantities and good qualities; prisons built in these localities have employment for their convicts in getting out blocks of granite, or supplying kilns with limestone, and by the interference of contractors (a sort of middle men), regular employment out of the prison is given to a large number of convicts.

In other prisons various kinds of manufactures are carried on by the inmates, and the personal power of the prisoners is placed at the mercy of men who care no more for the improvement of the convicted offender than they do for the mules that take away the work.

In the cells of the separated prisoners many kinds of work may be carried on to a profit, as boot- and shoe-making (weaving, once the principal employment of the convicts, is rather out of date), lathe-turning, jewel manufacture, and other modes of earning a living; but the heavier work—stone quarries, etc., cannot be done.

The moneyed results of the congregate labor may be more than that of separate work. But in return the moral improvement of the convict is almost certain in separate confinement, while any improvement is almost impossible in congregate labor.

The great ends of imprisonment, it has been asserted, are the safety of society by the incarceration of felons and the moral improvement of the man who is to resume a place in society.

The first object is nearly, though not quite, as well attained by the congregate as by the separate system; most of the escapes from prison are, indeed, effected by the co-operation of the convicts, and such a co-operation would scarcely be possible when separation is strictly enforced. But that point needs not be pressed.

It is not likely that the improvement of the prisoner can be extensively insured in a congregate prison house. Even closely watched as the prisoners may be, it is known that compacts are made and frequently fulfilled for mutual aid in effecting escapes. The intercourse of a few who feel the unprofitableness of a life of crime with the many who have no intention, no wish to adopt any legitimate mode of earning a living, is sure to increase the number of bad by diminishing the number of those who, under better circumstances, would become good. All, or nearly all, might become better if ridicule and the bad atmosphere of felony were not operating against reformation. It is an error, discoverable by those who visit prisons, to suppose that the man called a "hardened convict" has not some remains of passive virtue that need only the electric touch, or rather the application, of affectionate interest. "None are all evil;" and of the thousands who seem to be regarded, and to regard themselves as utterly reprobate, a very large proportion could be, as many of their kind have been, recalled to thought, to good resolves and to a blameless course of life; but they grow worse, and become a fixed figure for the scorn and detestation of the good, and of envy of the bad; and because men will not make an opportunity to give them the chance of reflection and benefit of separate individual dealing, they perish, they die to social life, and their moral carcass infects the atmosphere with a terrible poison.

Among the many arguments, and perhaps the most effective, used against capital punishment, is that founded on the fallibility of all courts of justice, and the possibility that the jury which brought in a verdict "guilty" against the man tried for murder may have been misled by prejudice or influenced by a knowledge of only a part of the circumstances, and by public clamor, or the erroneous testimony of witnesses, and thus have given a verdict

against the prisoner which would lead the judge to pronounce a sentence of death. And "after-discovered testimony" might show that in execution of the sentence an innocent man had been put to death. Of those who are tried, pronounced guilty and sentenced to the penitentiary or county jail, it may justly be supposed that some are innocent. It is worse than capital punishment, worse than the gallows or guillotine, to place such innocent convicts in the company of scoundrels of the worst kind. Nay, supposing even that some or all of these convicts were guilty of all that was charged upon them in the indictment, is it just to act as if every fibre of their hearts was twisted into crime, and that there was no hope of alluring them to repentance, and no desire to make that repentance available to the benefit of their future life and to the advantage of society?

Every just sentence of a criminal court should be executed. No affectation of excessive philanthropy should be allowed to stand between the criminal and just and legal punishment; but righteousness, true philanthropy, a regard to the interest of society, should see that the punishment of the felon, short of death, should be for his benefit—at least should not be made the means of advancing the convict in crime and multiplying criminals.

In enumerating some of the best-known systems of prison discipline, particular reference is made in the early part of the essay to the "Crofton system;" and while the separate system is under consideration, it is pertinent to notice that in the first-named branch, a year or more in time of the "Crofton plan" includes, the separate system. The convict when received is placed alone, and kept alone, with very hard fare and severe treatment, and in most cases this preliminary proceeding is sufficient to force from the prisoner a promise of good conduct while he is in the hands of justice. It is scarcely possible that he could, by bad conduct, have earned a continuance of the first stage; he is said then to have so much improved in his solitary confinement, that he is prepared for the enlargement contemplated in the second stage, which admits of congregate labor by day—and holds out the hope of a third stage, which allows the advanced convict to work abroad under the surveillance of the police, and the liability of being sent back to the prison to commence at the first or second stages of the system.

The particulars of this system are well set forth by its friends, and only generally referred to here, that a comparison may be drawn between the "Crofton system" and the separate system. Without doubt, much benefit has resulted from the "Crofton system" in Ireland, and many convicts have been returned to society by being passed through the several grades. But it will be noticed that the first stage is that upon which hopes of success are founded; and if those hopes are even only partially realized, the success is due to the enforcement of the separate condition of that stage whose consequences seem to be felt in the succeeding portions of the system. Every stage beyond the first brings together the convicts; they are employed together, they work and talk together, and their experience in the second stage is chiefly that of a prisoner's life of crime. The last stage, which is really that of "the ticket of leave," is a mortifying surveillance.

But it is said that convicts have been benefited by this system, and the argument for improvement is sustained by the fact that many who have passed through the grades have never returned to the prison. Such a result may well be regarded as an argument strongly favorable to the system, and it must be confessed that it would be conclusive, if there was not ample proof that these graduates of the Irish penal institutions enter an advanced degree in the penitentiaries of the United States. Fifty of these are known to have been in the Eastern Penitentiary of Pennsylvania, bearing with them certificates of good conduct. Twenty dollars will take one of these graduates of the "Crofton prison" from Ireland to the United States, where, beyond the watchfulness of a police informed of his name and aliases, his pursuits, his branch of crime and his place of resort, he is comparatively safe.

The congregate system, whether wholly or partially carried out, is a school of crime, with ushers, teachers and professors for every class, and with an improvement in the pupils corresponding with the experience of their teachers and the opportunity of imparting lessons. Scholars willing to learn usually make rapid advance even under adverse circumstances.

It cannot be denied that the separate system does not so far promise to be as near self-sustaining as it is said and as it is admitted the congregate system is made in some of the penitentiaries. And

that admission may be used, as the fact often is, as an argument for the advantage of the congregate over the separate system.

It would be scarcely worth time and space to demonstrate that to improve a man is better than to punish him. And though a prison be self-supporting and thereby lessen taxation, still there are many who will admit that though money paid into the public treasury is convenient to the government, yet society should not suffer such a consideration to outweigh the value of the restoration to usefulness and respectability of an offending man.

While speaking of the danger from evil association of prisoners in the congregate system, we can scarcely forbear copying a part of a paragraph from a small volume by Miss Mary Carpenter, illustrating and commending to approval and adoption the "Crofton system." Miss Carpenter is known for her zealous devotion to the work of preventing vice among the unprotected of her sex. In applauding the Crofton system, she takes occasion to show what are the dangers that must beset the path of the young, and, singularly enough, while advocating a system that in the second and third stage permits intercourse among convicts, she quoted from the confession of a youthful offender who had suffered imprisonment for crime and is willing to tell how he felt.

After mentioning that his mind was injured by the perusal of such books as the "Newgate Calendar," Jack Sheppard, Dick Turpin, etc., etc., the culprit says:

"I was arrested and got one month imprisonment at Salford House of Correction, which made me worse than ever through having so much liberty for talking, by being three or four in a cell and forty or fifty in a yard. There, hearing them talk about the robberies they had committed without being apprehended, I thought I would try myself. So when I got my liberty, I started with a fresh gang for stealing." Could there be a stronger argument against the congregate system, and consequently in favor of separate confinement, than the statement of the unhappy man from which the above extract is made? And yet, any person who has spent much time in prisons and held free conversation with the inmates, must have many such anecdotes with which to strengthen his arguments against congregate imprisonment.

While the superiority of the separate system is unhesitatingly proclaimed—a superiority that extends to every point of consid-

eration excepting immediate fiscal profits—it is not to be denied that other systems are productive of much good. Every system, indeed, may be praised for the positive benefits which it has wrought. But an examination of the means and results will satisfy an experienced person that the good obtained is greatly due to the immediate administration. Indeed, the best system (the separate) would fail without that personal, individual application—which *immediate* application gives the only proper consequences which any other system has acquired.

The writer of this article has had many years' experience in the direction of a prison and in the training of prisoners, not as a salaried officer, but in the discharge of the duties of an honorable appointment, and he has applied, as far as circumstances would permit, the theory of separate or individual dealing with prisoners, especially with female convicts, and the success has been so marked, so gratifying, that no doubt is entertained that greater completeness in the construction of prison houses, and more ample means to direct and aid the discharged convict, would result in very greatly extended benefits.

The aid of discharged prisoners is an essential element in the work of prison science. Without that most of the labors of the moral teachers in prison must prove unproductive. The circumstances of prisoners in county jails differ in some particulars from those of the convicts in a penitentiary. Both have convicts, and these of course require nearly the same treatment and the same consideration. There is necessary an agent or officer, whose duty it should be to have some plan provided for the discharged convict to see that he is not driven to a renewal of crime, and that his efforts for obtaining a living by honorable means are not made fruitless by a want of some continued watchfulness and advice, and some pecuniary aid.

But in the county prison are found, besides convicts, all who are receiving light punishment or awaiting trial. Many of these are quite innocent of the offense charged. The offenses of some are really almost imaginary, and in most cases the family suffers more by the absence of the father or mother than society would by the release of a dozen evil-disposed persons. An agent to interfere in such cases, to settle the difference of litigant parties, to provide a home for those who are homeless, and to be the friend

of the friendless in court, to answer the pressing calls of the oppressed, and the cause that he knows not to seek out, is almost an indispensable officer of the county prison.

Penology, then, seems to include not only the pains of imprisonment, but all that relates to crime, from the law which defines the offense and prescribes the penalty, to the court which declares the character of the particular offense and prescribes the punishment, to the plan by which the State shall direct the administration of the penal laws—to the system by which prisons are to be conducted, and to the plan and construction of prison houses to suit that system.

W hen, then, a State has established a given system of prisons, has passed penal laws, established courts of justice, has selected a system of prison discipline, has constructed prison houses adapted to that system, and provided money and means to secure and reward the services of faithful agents and servants, it may be said to have a penitentiary system. Of course, as partly penitentiary and partly preventive, there must be a house of refuge—place of early reformation, etc.

With regard to modes or plans of prison discipline, that of the separate system practiced in the Eastern Penitentiary of Pennsylvania, in the United States, and in the kingdom of Belgium and in other parts of Europe, is regarded by the writer of this essay as beyond all question the best ever invented and applied. But the effect of that system must in a great measure depend upon its special application.

The officers of the prison—from the chief, the warden, the superintendent, the governor, or however otherwise he may be designated, and all from him down to the lowest servant of the prison—have one great duty paramount and special, that of enforcing the discipline of the place, and making the convict understand that he is amenable to every rule of the prison, as he was to every law of the State. But the convict must see and feel that the enforcement of the rules proceeds from no spirit of unkindness, and no desire for the gratification of a personal pique.

The enforcement of the laws of the prison is in no way incompatible with the fulfillment of the law of love. Driving the convict to the treadwheel, one of the most cruel of all prison employments, may be done in a way to insure both obedience to

rule and feeling for the ruled, and even the passing and throw ing cannon balls, the most ridiculous of prison exercises, may be so enforced that the offender may escape the ridicule which the employment suggests.

The execution of every prison law, the infliction even of punishment for some violation of that law, may be conducted in a tone and temper that shall create in the sufferer respect for the law and almost love for the administrator thereof.

The best disciplined institution in the United States furnishes the example of a chief who never suffers even a nice offense to pass without "comment," and never suffers offense nor comment to move him from the quiet dignity that magnifies his office and is sure to prevent a repetition of the offense that required visitation.

He who would present entirely the subject of penology must not begin with the penitentiary. The subject is not limited to the infliction of the sentence of the court upon one found guilty of the violation of the laws of the country. The law itself and its enactments, the motive of the bill and the bearing of the law must be considered.

In these times of easy access to legislative halls, and of frequent changes of occupants, a legislator may manage to procure the passage of a bill which owes its existence to some desire to promote individual interest, or to gratify personal revenge, and enable the author to escape public accountability by withdrawing into former privacy, or insuring immunity to himself by a boldness that shows him capable of sustaining himself against popular outcry, and of doing more wrong by self-defense. There is another consideration which precedes the penitentiary, and that is the administration of the law. Few circumstances have contributed more to the increase of crime than the uncertainty and inequality of the decisions and instructions of courts and the verdict of juries.

The observer of events, especially of acts and their consequences, which bring men within the operation of the penal law of the State, cannot close his eyes to the most obvious fact that the actions of the criminal courts are often spasmodic. There have been times when murderer after murderer is allowed to escape the prescribed penalties of his offense upon some plea of morbid philanthropy, some loose decision of the bench, or generally some most

unaccountable verdict of a jury, and when this practical insult to Justice has arrested some public feeling, and the impunity of crime tells upon many individuals, there is an outcry against the particular offense which negligent administration of the laws has encouraged, and forthwith the other scale of the balance of justice rises, and suspicion and arrest are sufficient to insure a verdict of "guilty," and a season of Draconian sacrifice follows—a cycle of unprecedented crime—and Justice is fed with victims as if to appease an appetite sharpened by long abstinence.

Where this essay may first be read, there may be a lack of modern instances to sustain the assertion where it is written. The history of proceedings of criminal courts scarcely a generation past, shows how arbitrary may be the verdict of juries, and how opposite the testimony and the declared law. The escape of a criminal upon some morbid feeling with the jury, some qualm of conscience upon the verdict, is a powerful auxiliary to crime, an encouragement to the felon by alluring him to count upon many chances of escaping the vengeance of the law when he shall have exhausted his ingenuity in trying to escape the vigilance of the officer.

The danger of neglect or bias of the bench needs not be considered.

Judex damnatur cum absolvitur nocens,

All that has been written has reference to the punishment and reformation of the violator of the law, and volumes might be written to illustrate and enforce the ideas set forth. But is there no preventive? must crime go on increasing with an increase of population, and be aggravated by pride that refuses labor, and augmented by the fluctuation of business that destroys the hope of success? Must society be always moved to associations, to national and international congresses, to treat of the construction of prison houses and the best mode of punishing felony, and of reforming the criminal, and no one ask whether something may not be done to lessen the necessity of prisons as well as to alleviate their miseries?

At the present time more than ever before, we hear good school learning recommended as the great preventive of crime! "Where the school house rises, there the prison loses its tenants." The schoolmaster and the prison warden are said to live in antagon-

ism, and the success of the former is the defeat of the latter. Yet careful inquiry at the cell-door of the prisoner, in fourteen years of that painful but instructive employment of time, has shown the facts that learning has little or nothing to do with preventing or promoting crime, however it may influence the character of the act.

Send your children to what school you may, accompany their studies with the closest watchfulness and hasten their progress with all the stimulants of pride or of avarice, and you neither induce nor promote subsequent virtue. The more learning the more danger, unless that learning be influenced and sanctified by religion, by a sense of moral responsibilities, or accountability for moral deeds, and for their consequences. I am not speaking of denominational distinctions, but of a cultivated conscience, whether that conscience be "the demon" of Socrates, or the inspired intelligence of St. Paul which was to be void of offense—and I repeat, that while of the lower order of crimes I may have found more unlettered than lettered criminals, I have found the former more amenable to gentle moral dealing than were the latter. Though I have found all more tractable than is generally supposed, and they have manifested more willingness to submit to some privation for the sake of virtue than it is usual to credit them with, I suppose three-quarters of all convicts who are discharged from prisons might be saved from future crimes.

The true preventive of crime—that which shall keep the young from the contemplation of unrighteous acts and withhold them from the desire of pleasure, or profit from unlawful pursuits—is a religious foundation of learning and a constant recognition of moral duties in every lesson that is imparted. And while we hear on all sides parents making sacrifices of means and comforts to give to their offspring a good school education, and see the objects of this solicitude and sacrifice make use of this learning to facilitate and augment crime, we recognize the applicability of the direction of the English poet:

> "Train up your children in the way of righteousness,
> And feed them with the bread of wholesome doctrine."

JOS. R. CHANDLER.

SCHILLER'S JOURNAL.

SCHILLER'S daughter, Lady Emilie von Gleichen-Russwurm, has published Schiller's Journal from July 18, 1795 to 1805 It is a naive and characteristic production, giving us in simple, homely phrases the details of the great and little events in the daily life of the first of German dramatists. Of the former are the traces of his immortal literary activity, in the dates of the first dawnings, the gradual growth, and the final completion of his greatest tragedies, and the full list of his correspondence. Of his little domestic affairs, there are very homely and very touching details, which show that his Weimar housekeeping was rich in comfort, although it was in the earlier days of tavern life at Goblis that he wrote his Song to Joy.

A great man, dear to his nation, cannot be made less great, or less beloved, by publishing at this late day to the world an account of his income and his expenditure, his condition in worldly goods, and the secrets of his wardrobe. The smallest news is precious to us, because it is of the individual whose existence has grown to be part of the history of the nation. That no man is a hero to his valet, is a truth that holds good only for that man's contemporaries. After a man's death, if he be famous in life, and more famous after death, the most insignificant details become piously interesting. The main part of Schiller's Journal is made up of his correspondence; to this are added brief notes of his financial budget, and a short account of the repertories of the theatre at Weimar. Goethe, Körner, and Cotta, are among the leading friends in this correspondence, but there are also Humboldt, Unger, Göshen, Kosegarten, Voight, Iffland, Steigentesch, Schelling, Matthisson, and others of all classes—booksellers, actors, professors, and poets, as well as the members of his own family.

Of the dates of the principal dramas, the following are most interesting. Schiller enters in his journal the fact that he began "Wallenstein" on the 22d of October, 1796, and that it was finished on the 17th of March, 1799; in all of twenty months his three plays of this series were ready for the theatre. On the 17th of April, 1799, "Piccolomini" was played for the first time; and

on the 22d, "Wallenstein," so that but a fortnight was given to the actors to learn their parts in. On the 24th of July, 1799, Schiller completed the first act of his "Maria Stuart;" on the 26th of August, the second; on the 11th of May, 1800, he read four acts to the actors at his own house, and on the 9th of June, 1800, it was finished. It was played for the first time on the 14th of the same month—a proof that Goethe was as good a stage manager for his friend Schiller, as even the post-haste speed of the poet could demand. On the 1st of July, 1800, Schiller began the "Maid of Orleans," and completed it by the 16th of April, 1801. The "Bride of Messina" was finished on the 1st of February, 1803; "William Tell" was begun on the 25th of August, 1803; on the 23d of January, 1804, the first act and the scene at Rütli were sent to Iffland; on the 6th of February, the rest of the fourth act with the beginning of the fifth, and the whole was completed by the 18th, so that the four last acts of "Tell," were the quickest, as they were almost, if not quite, the best of Schiller's later dramas.

The subjects which Schiller had under consideration as material for dramatic labors, are not without interest; they occur pretty much in the following order in the Journal: "The Knights of Malta," a Tragedy; "Verona and its Capture by the Romans," "Sigismund's crime and the harsh justice of the Emperor;" "Narbonne;" "The Conspiracy against Venice;" "The Sicilian Vespers;" "Agrippina;" "Warbeck;" "Themistocles;" "Countess of Flanders;" "The Filibusters" (*die Flibustier*); "Henry the Fourth;" "Charlotte Corday;" "Rudolf of Hapsburg;" Henry the Lion of Brunswick;" "Count Königsmarck;" "Monaldeschi;" "Rosamund;" "Elfride."

The choice of Charlotte Corday is the more striking, from the fact that that was so nearly a matter of contemporaneous history. It is curious, too, that of all of these subjects, almost the only one ventured on in later times by German dramatists is "Monaldeschi," by Laube.

Schiller's domestic concerns are illustrated by frequent annual statements of his income and expenditures, by some projects of household budgets, and by a comparison of his intended and of his actual outlays. One example may serve for all:

I want:	Thalers.	I receive:	Thalers.
For house-rent and housekeeping..	480	Salary	570
Sugar, Coffee, Tea	60	One Play every year	650
Wine, 6 barrels	160	Interest of 2,000 Thalers	80
Wood, 16 cords	110		
Lights, 125 lb	30		
Servants' Wages and Presents	100		
Mama	76		
Children's Instruction	36		
Clothes for All	175		
For Myself and Extras	70		
Facit	1,300		1,300

And this, at seventy cents, would give in dollars just about the smallest sum that a poet would take as compensation even for Schiller's fame.

Curiosity is satisfied even as to what Schiller had in his cellar:

WINE ON HAND, JUNE 30, 1804:

	Bottles.		Bottles.
Malaga	60	Ruster	17
Burgundy	35	Oldenburger	6
Champagne	22	Franconia	34
White Port Wine	10	Falernian	4
Muscatel	4	Rum	5
Leisten	2		

July 7. Rec'd from Ramaun, 1 barrel Burgundy @ 39 thalers.
" 17. Half-barrel do., do.
September 29. Another barrel do.
A barrel of Frankenwine (wine from the Neckar).

His wardrobe and his wash are submitted, with a fair show of coats, stockings and vests, and swords, silk hose and shoe-buckles in plentiful profusion:

"33 colored handkerchiefs, 37 shirts, 9 whole neckcloths, 4 half do., 8 cravats, 8 stiff do., 14 white handkerchiefs, 22 pair stockings, 2 pair white silk do., 5 pair col'd do. do., 5 pair woolen do., 1 woolen bed-gown, 3 night-caps, 1 powder mantle, 3 hats, 3 pair shoes, 4 pair boots, 1 pair gaiters, 1 pair spurs, 2 swords, 1 muff, 1 chapeau-bas hat, 1 pair overshoes, 4 pair gloves, 10 coats, 3 overcoats, 1 fur cloak, 1 mantle, 3 black silk "shorts," 1 pair black cloth do., 2 pair Manchester do., 1 pair green do., 5 pair Nankeen do., 2 pair black driving do., 1 pair leather do., 4 embroidered vests, 1 unfinished do. do., 2 black do., 4 silk do., 1 red-lined do., 2 white do., 2 winter do., 1 summer vest without pockets."

The steady precision with which Schiller from year to year, for ten years, persevered in this home and household diary shows how bravely the Weimar Court Counselor had outgrown the "Storm and Passion" period of his youth. The author of the "Robbers"

could not, in the days of that wonderful burst of genius, have calmly sat down each day to record the petty details of his wardrobe and his table. The little volume in which this all will be found is a real addition to "Schiller-Literature" in one way at least, for in it—"facta loquuntur."

SOME RECENT HELPS IN THE STUDY OF SHAKESPEARE.

1. Mrs. Furness's Concordance to the Poems, 1874.
2. Dr. Schmidt's Shakespeare-Lexicon, Vol. I., 1874.
3. The Cambridge Shakespeare, Vol. IX. Poems.[1]

"The works of great minds, as those of Shakespeare and Milton, are part of the property of a nation; every educated man must feel that what they have produced is to be considered as a precious legacy, by the due use of which genius is instructed and taste refined, by which the mind becomes enlarged, endowed with purer sympathies, is made more capable of estimating what is excellent, and induced to habits of thought most conducive to happiness, by increasing the motives for mental exertion, and by promoting that civilization of opinion which arises from the intellectual communion of mankind. Time glides by, fortune is inconstant, tempers are soured; bonds which seemed indissoluble, are daily sundered by interest, by emulation, or by caprice. But no such cause can affect the silent converse which we hold

[1] In July, 1795, there was printed in the city of Philadelphia an edition of Shakespeare with the following title page, "The Plays and Poems of William Shakespeare, corrected from the latest and best London editions, with notes by Samuel Johnson, LL. D., to which are added, a Glossary and the Life of the Author." First American edition in 8 volumes.

Again, in the city of Philadelphia, in 1871, there was edited and published an edition of Shakespeare of which the following is the title page: "A new Variorum edition of Shakespeare, edited by Horace Howard Furness. Vol. I., Romeo and Juliet." In 1873, Vol. II., Macbeth.

Again, in the same city of Philadelphia, in 1874, there was compiled and published "A Concordance to Shakespeare's Poems: an Index to every word therein contained, by Mrs. Horace Howard Furness."

Again, in 1874, a learned Königsberg professor published a Lexicon zu Shakespeare's Werken, von Dr. Alexander Schmidt, Realschuldirector in Konigsberg. I., Thiel. Berlin: George Reimer. London: Williams & Norgate.

with the highest of human intellects. The debt which the man of liberal education owes to them is incalculable: they have guided him to truth; they have filled his mind with graceful images; they have stood by him in all vicissitudes, comforters in sorrow, nurses in sickness, companions in solitude. For their works are as eternal springs, from whence those waters well, which flow to nourish and to cultivate the purest feelings of the heart."[2]

Such being the worth and use of Shakespeare's plays and poems, the manner of their presentation and the critical aids leading to their comprehension become of the utmost importance. He who will look at the meagre and *noteless* pages of Rowe and Pope, and the first American edition, and compare them with the matchless pages of the new Variorum and the first complete Concordance to the Poems, will have occasion to give no stinted thanks to the accomplished editors for their thorough and loving labors. The students of Shakespeare are most fortunate in having as fellow students a lady and gentleman whose knowledge, zeal, leisure, literary training and access to and mastery of complete collections of quartos, folios and Shakespeariana, have enabled them to produce as the result of long-continued and patient labor better critical machinery for thorough study than at any previous period in the History of Shakespeare scholarship. The student who has either volume of Mr. Furness's Variorum has, so far forth as the particular play is concerned, a complete collation of all quartos, folios and previous editions, and a complete collection of all valuable annotation—in short, a Shakespeare library. And he who has Mrs. Furness's Concordance has the foundation for a convenient critical and linguistic study of the Poems, which has been denied to all preceding scholars. When you have settled the text, or have the means of settling the text, and have ready access to all an author's words, you have the only sure foundations for a thorough and exhaustive study, and without these the highest criticism is impossible. As the readers and students of an author multiply, the necessity for better editions increases. Until within twenty-five years, the poems of Shakespeare have been neglected. It is true that Malone, in 1780, in his supplement, and in 1790, in his Variorum, and in 1821 in his Boswell, has done some-

[2] Spencer Hall's Letter to John Murray, Esq., on an Æsthetic Edition of Shakespeare, London, 1841.

thing; but Steevens did not even print the poems in some of his editions, and flippantly declares that no act of Parliament could be made strong enough to compel anybody to read them. But posterity has reversed the judgment of the great critic, and the Sonnets of Shakespeare are now regarded as a great literary puzzle, and to their solution and elucidation more time, labor and thought has been devoted for the past quarter of a century than during the whole preceding time since their publication in 1609.

In order that we may fully appreciate our indebtedness to Mrs. Furness, we must know what her predecessors have accomplished. In 1784 the Rev. Samuel Ayscough, assistant librarian of the British Museum, published an Index to the remarkable passages and words made use of by Shakespeare, calculated to point out the different meanings to which the words are applied.

This index, since 1790, commonly accompanies Ayscough's edition of the plays in two volumes, and is intended to be used with that edition. Its references are cumbrous and inconvenient, and although a valuable contribution to Shakespearian study a hundred years ago, it is now comparatively useless, a complete concordance alone meeting the requirements of modern study. Ayscough, following the narrow spirit of his age, neither printed nor indexed the poems, and we are thus without the means of comparing the early mind of Shakespeare with the matured mind of his later years. Still Ayscough's Index will always be found on the shelves of every Shakespeare Library.

In 1805 there was published in London "a complete verbal index to the plays of Shakespeare, adapted to all the editions, comprehending every substantive, adjective, verb, participle and adverb used by Shakespeare; with a distinct reference to every individual passage in which each word occurs. By Francis Twiss, Esq." The greater part of this impression was destroyed in Bensley's fire, and copies are now scarce and high priced, and are seldom to be met with, except occasionally in second-hand catalogues. Twiss also followed the narrow notion of his time in treating the poems of Shakespeare as inferior to the plays and unworthy of an index. And however valuable his labors may have been in one direction, they are incomplete and fragmentary, and will not satisfy the spirit of modern study nor the needs of modern scholarship.

In 1844, Charles Knight published in London the Complete Concordance to Shakespeare, being a verbal index to all the passages in the dramatic works of the poet, by Mrs. Cowden Clarke. Mrs. Cowden Clarke, in her preface, says: "To furnish a faithful guide to Shakespeare, superadding what was defective in my predecessors, Twiss and Ayscough, has been the ambition of a life; and it is hoped that the sixteen years assiduous labor devoted to the work, during the twelve years writing and the four more bestowed on collating with recent editions and correcting the press, may be found to have accomplished that ambition, and at length produced the great disideratum, a complete concordance of Shakespeare." The writer of this notice has used Mrs. Clarke's Concordance from the time of its publication up to the present hour, and he wishes to bear the warmest testimony to its value and to express his highest obligations for the many hours of toil that its admirably arranged pages have saved him. It is certainly one of the most valuable contributions ever made to Shakespearian study, and a work which no genuine student can afford to be without. Perhaps it should not be called a "complete" Concordance. Certain words and classes of words are wholly omitted; some apparently because of their supposed insignificance and some because their enumeration would have added to the bulk of the volume. But it may well be doubted whether either reason is satisfactory. In a great classic which forms and fixes language, it is not easy to say what is insignificant or what is useless. Mrs. Clarke omits the adverb "well," but retains the noun. She also omits words used merely interjectionally, and also oaths and exclamations, but she retains "toward" and "towards" when used peculiarly, and a few exclamations such as "aroint," "avaunt" etc. The words "it" and "its" do not appear, neither does the word "his" and yet in Craik's English of Shakespeare, page 160, paragraph 54, there is an elaborate note of more than ten pages to elucidate the peculiarities of Shakespeare's use of these words. So the word "that" does not appear in the Concordance, yet the late Professor Craik has no less than six notes on the uses of this word as it occcurs in the single play of Julius Cæsar. Again, in the Tempest, act III., scene i, line 156, in a passage which has been very much discussed, the use of the indefinite article "a" becomes highly important in the interpretation of the text.

It is quite true that the skill, knowledge and discretion which Mrs. Clarke displays in the omissions go far to atone for them; but the incompleteness still remains. In a book embracing three hundred thousand references and citations, a few thousand more would have added so little to the bulk and so much to the completeness, that their absence is greatly to be regretted. Had this Concordance, like Mrs. Furness's, embraced every word, it would have been a matchless monument of skill, knowledge and industry that would have served all coming time. It should be said in fairness to Mrs. Clarke, that she adopted the usual course of compilers of Concordances, such as Cruden for the Bible, Cleveland for Milton and Brightwell for Tennyson. Like her predecessors, she confines herself to the plays and wholly omits the poems, and the work is so far forth, also like its predecessors, incomplete.

In February, 1874, Dr. Alexander Schmidt, of Königsberg, published a Shakespeare Lexicon. The principle upon which this Lexicon is constructed will supply the deficiencies pointed out in Mrs. Clarke's concordance. Thus we have five compact and closely printed columns devoted to Shakespeare's use of "a" or "an," classified and arranged; four columns devoted to "but," seven columns devoted to "by," one column devoted to "his," three columns devoted to "it," etc. Every word is catalogued, arranged and classified, and Dr. Schmidt has performed a labor which no English-speaking man has hitherto attempted, and has laid the students of Shakespeare under lasting obligations, by his industry and accuracy.

In 1874, in Philadelphia, where the first American and the last Variorum edition of Shakespeare came from the press, Mrs. Horace Howard Furness compiles and prints a concordance to Shakespeare's Poems, being an index to every word therein contained. In her preface she says: "As it is impossible to limit the purposes for which the language of Shakespeare may be studied, or to say that the time will not come, if it has not already, when his use of every part of speech, down to the humblest conjunction, will be criticised with as much nicety as has been bestowed upon Greek and Latin authors, it seems to me that, in the selection of words to be recorded, no discretionary powers should be granted to the "harmless drudge" compiling a concordance. Within a year or

two a German scholar has published a pamphlet of some fifty pages on Shakespeare's use of the auxilary verb to do, and Abbott's Grammar shows with what success the study of Shakespeare's language, in its minutest particulars, may be pursued. I have, therefore, cited in the following pages, every word in his poems." The learned compiler might have added that another German scholar has recently printed an elaborate pamphlet of thirty pages on the use and history of the definite article, in the English language. We have, in the labor of this accomplished lady, it is believed, the first complete concordance to every word used by an English classic author. It is a work that once adequately done is done forever. That it was a need of the scholarship of the times is apparent, from the circumstance that the announcement of Mrs. Furness's Concordance brought to light the fact that no less than four scholars in different parts of the English world were engaged in the same task, and one of them had actually accomplished it. That we should wait from 1609 until 1874 for an index to Shakespeare's Poems, is somewhat remarkable. And it is also to be recorded, to the lasting honor of the sex, that this concordance, as well as the concordance to the plays, has been executed by the patience, learning, zeal and loving labor of a woman, and literature in all coming time laid under lasting obligations to that sex which Shakespeare himself delighted to portray and honor.

> "'Gainst death and all-oblivious enmity
> Shall you pace forth; your praise shall still find room
> Even in the eyes of all posterity
> That wear this world out to the ending doom."

It is evident that a new impulse is about to be given to the study and elucidation of Shakespeare. The reproduction of the early quartos by Halliwell in Ashbee's lithographic fac-similies; of the folio of 1623 by Mr. Staunton's photo-lithograph; Mr. Booth's very accurate reprint of the same folio; the complete collation made by the Cambridge editors in their valuable nine-volume edition; the new Variorum of Mr. Furness; the Concordances of Mrs. Clarke and Mrs. Furness; the Complete Shakespeare Lexicon of Dr. Schmidt, and Abbott's Grammar, will give to the student in textual and linguistic criticism helps that have

been denied to scholars in all past time. The reign of the old Variorum editors is over, and the world will have new editions and new commentaries of the great English classic, "new hatched to the time." A. I. F.

WHAT WOULD TYNDALL BE AT?

THE discussion excited by Prof. Tyndall's opening address at the Belfast meeting of the British Association, has not spent its force, although it has called forth vigorous discussion in almost every quarter. It has never been the fashion of this magazine to jump at the mere questions of the hour, or to treat the great problems and issues of our day as things to be taken up merely whenever they happen to be the current topic, about which every one must have an opinion. Nothing is lost by waiting a little, till the smoke and dust have cleared away and there is the clear air that befits clearness of outlook. Many of the articles on this subject, to which our periodicals have treated us during the last few months, illustrate the wisdom of this waiting. With no small amount of merit both as regards rhetorical vigor and logical cogency, they generally have the fault of missing fire. The preface that Prof. Tyndall has prefixed to the pamphlet edition of his address shows us that whoever they have been refuting, they have not refuted him; that his true position has escaped them.

It has, indeed, not escaped any one that Prof. Tyndall is not a materialist of the school of De la Mettrie and Holbach. He has nothing of their frivolity—their desire to belittle the problems to be solved—to drag them down so low, that matter shall seem a sufficient answer to all the questions that the universe presents to us. Rather he would elevate matter to such a dignity that it shall seem an unworthy answer to no question. That he does unconsciously belittle and degrade man and the Universe, we firmly believe; that he could not do otherwise while starting from his accepted premises and proceeding by his scientific method, we shall endeavor to show. But his conscious purpose is far other than that; he has not the moral baseness and frivolity of a *philosophé;* even when he seems to most assent to their conclusions, it is another and a nobler spirit that utters itself in his words.

It would be an equal mistake to assume that he is a sensualist like Czolbe. He does not assert that all existence lies within the ken of sense-perception; he finds within that ken the indication, or at least the suggestion of the possibility of mysteries that lie beyond it. If any one claim a spiritual sense that enables him to transcend sensual experience and grasp the invisible, Tyndall has no quarrel with him. He merely disclaims that sense for himself and the bulk of mankind. He says: "These things may be, but I don't know it. Other things I do know, and I am impelled to tell you what I think of them. It is my vocation to disclose to you the conclusions reached by a wide study of the departments of existence that our daily and universal experience discloses to us."

We need hardly add that Prof. Tyndall is not a dogmatic atheist. If any one chooses to call "the unknown and the unknowable" God, he again has no quarrel to pick with such a theist. To be sure, if another insist that there is no force or being beyond the ken of our senses that deserves any such designation, Tyndall has no quarrel with him either. But if he be called upon to decide between the two, he has no decidedp reference for the latter belief; he has least preference for it, he tells us, in the hours of vigor and manly strength, when he is most hopeful and cheerful. Only he will have that possible power and being treated as the mystery that it is. He will hear of no inference from the facts given us in experience, as to its character or its intelligence. It may be intelligent or it may not; the indications, found in the process of evolution, of blind attempts and failures and types, seem rather to forbid such an attribution, if the word intelligence be used in any sense in which we apply it to men. He uses some of Herbert Spencer's phrases in regard to it; but we doubt if he would heartily assent to Spencer's suggestion that it may be as much *above* intelligence and personality, as these are above unintelligent and impersonal existence.

In what sense then is Prof. Tyndall a materalist, if he be one at all? In the sense of being a *naturalist*—one who regards all known existence as springing from a common origin under the action of the same force, and bound equally by the same laws. Form the most exalted conception that you please of this common substance and its possibilities; the higher the better. Be an

idealist with Berkeley and Boscovitch, if that method of thought please you best. But lay it down as a first premise, as regards this known universe of ours, that there is in it a complete unity of existence; that the substance of what you regard as the highest form of life, is no other than the substance of the lowest; that both sprang from the same germs, under the action of the same laws, working indeed in different directions and under different conditions; and that those laws are equally and perfectly valid in the highest sphere of existence as in the lowest; the same in the lowest as in the highest. The rhyme in the school book says:

> The very law that moulds a tear,
> And bids it trickle from its source,—
> That law preserves this earth a sphere,
> And guides the planets in their course.

But the rhymer might have gone farther; what you call the *emotion* by which that tear was evoked, was but another application of the same law, and the *thought* of Newton that perceived the unity of the two laws, was but a third. As it has been forcibly expressed, had an intelligent spirit found its place of outlook amid the primal clash of atoms, and then and there have mastered the formula of their activity, he could have predicted the magnitude, qualities and relations of all the starry galaxies yet to be evolved; he could have predicted the form of our earth's surface down to the slightest detail of its irregularity; he could have foretold the various forms of life that were to succeed each other upon this planet; he could have discovered, with unerring accuracy, the movements of human history, with all their apparent arbitrariness; could have solved all the historic problems that perplex us, such as the identity of the man in the iron mask, or the authorship of the *De Imitatione*. Nothing in the outward life of man or nature, nothing in the secret recesses of any human breast would have remained hid from his ken, had he possessed the power to master and apply the formula of the simple law (or force), of which all other laws (or forces) are but the facets.

Are these conclusions the outcome of scientific investigation and discovery, or are they the unwholesome fruits of an exclusive scientific discipline of the mind? The former will be the conclusion formed by a great body of half-scientific persons, as well as by many scientific men. Not all of these latter accept any such

results; not even a majority—not even a large minority of them are naturalists in this sense. We have seen sights in our day to remind us of this:—Faraday in the Sandemanian pulpit—Forbes spending his Scotch Sunday on the edge of the Swiss glaciers with his prayer-book—Carpenter avowing, but a year earlier, before the same British Association, his faith in God, moral freedom and responsibility—Agassiz bowing with his school in prayer for divine guidance in their studies, between the time of those two addresses. These men knew what science had achieved, as well as Tyndall and Huxley; but they found in its results nothing to shake their faith in the great theistic and ethical beliefs, for which naturalism can find no place.

Yet, with a very considerable section of our half-educated public, the word of a Tyndall and a Huxley passes as the *αὐτος ἔφα* of a master. Their deliverances are retailed with the preface "scientific men say" thus and so. Some of them are quite prepared to tell us now that there is no God, for Tyndall had found it out since the last session of the British Association. In spite of Tyndall's caution that his conclusion was matter of inference and probability, a hypothesis that awaits further investigation, they will turn the whole theory into a dogma sanctioned by his name.

And curiously enough, the year that ended with this deliverance of Tyndall's was one that was anything but fruitful in great discoveries. A vast deal of excellent and thorough work had been achieved by patient students of details, but no great discovery, nothing that changed the face of science or opened new fields of investigation, awaited the usual enumeration in the opening address of the President of the British Association. Had there been anything of the sort to report, Prof. Tyndall's address would most probably have taken quite another shape. His vivid imagination and powerful rhetoric would have come into play around a congenial topic:—the onward stride of all-conquering science. In the absence of these, it would seem, and from the distaste that men of his oratorical temperament have for the treatment of details that do not admit of effective grouping, he broke away from the ordinary routine of the President's duties, and plunged into the wider and more available subject of the naturalistic results and conclusions of science.

That it was not the evidential force of new discoveries that led

to this new deliverance is shown, as we have seen, by the concession that the last step in the process is one of mere inference. Science leads us up from one form of force to another; from the indiscriminating forces of attraction to the discriminating force of affinity; from that to the still subtler electric and magnetic forces. Science, finding every manifestation of these higher forces accompanied by the play of the lower, has come to the conclusion—by no means an indisputable conclusion—that all are but the same force in different phases; that each of the higher forces is but a more or less highly specialized form of those that are lower, and that a unity of force underlies all natural processes. But higher than the electric and magnetic forces, stand the vital and intellectual forces. Scientists, under the lead of the anti-materialist Lotze, have already called in question the existence of any distinct vital force; have asserted that here also we have nothing but a highly specialized form of natural force. And now Tyndall takes the last step. What Lotze has said of the vital force, he would predicate of the forces that we call moral and intellectual. These also are nothing but still more highly specialized forms of the natural forces, and new instances of the operations of the same laws. As we have said, Prof. Tyndall argues simply by analogy at this point; he admits a break in the line of demonstration, a gap in the ground that he is traversing that can only be passed by a leap. Once he thought that gap too wide to be thus crossed; once he spoke of a transition from the natural to the intellectual forces, in this sense, to be simply unthinkable. But he has changed his views since then, not because new discoveries have impelled him to do so, for he bases his reasoning on facts that have been known all along, facts that could not have escaped his notice at the time when he pronounced his present conclusions to be simply unthinkable. Some force in the man's own mind—if he have a mind—some impulse or thrill at work in his nervous ganglia, if he have none—has carried him over that gap as by a *salto mortale*. But he has no right to call upon the rest of mankind to follow him, any more than the mystic has to drag Prof. Tyndall after *him* into the world of the unseen and the spiritual. If the one reaches his conclusions by processes purely subjective and individual, and without validity for the human race, so does the other. If the one sets up as objective

truths the intuitions of a limited class of specially constituted intellects, so does the other.

Prof. Tyndall might have treated his audience to a few more of his candid cautions without injury to the truth. He warns us that his last step is a bare inference; is his first anything more than that? The first assumption of his naturalism is the atomic constitution of matter; his brilliant catena of atomists is no proof of its truth. Nor is there any other sufficient proof of it; it is a theory which absolutely admits of no proof; its very terms put it out of the category of prove-able hypotheses. For it deals with subjects cognizant to the senses, and yet predicates that of them, of which the senses can take no cognizance. Naturalism of necessity plants itself flatly in opposition to metaphysic; it deals with the physical and denies the possibility of going behind it; it knows of no knowledge save that which is obtained through sense-perception, even while it does not with the sensualists assert that sense-perception is co-extensive with existence. And yet naturalism takes its start from a very bad piece of metaphysic, the atomic theory. It is as pure an assumption as the pre-established harmony of Leibnitz or the vortices of Des Cartes, or any other of the fanciful hypotheses of the schools.

"But," it may be said, "the theory is a highly probable one. It corresponds to all the scientific discoveries as to the constitution of matter; these all point back to this ultimate constitution of bodies known to perception. For instance, the new chemistry is based on the theory of the molecular constitution of all primary substances, and on the effect of the contact of these molecules undergiven conditions."

Such logic as this, the reasoning from the facts back to the theory, is one of the most dangerous and misleading forms of ratiocination. It possesses no real value as a demonstration, except where the principle of the excluded middle can be applied. "This theory explains the facts; therefore it is true." May there not be some other theory that explains them equally? Unless you can prove that there is not, you have not substantiated your theory at all. You have merely established a certain degree of probability of its truth. Now in this case we know that the atomic theory is not accepted by many scientific men, who have given their earnest consideration to the ultimate constitution of mater, and

who are as *au fait* with the results of modern science as anybody. We speak here not of the great host of metaphysicians; yet we might well speak of them. Prof. Tyndall has no objection to quoting them when they are themselves atomists; no one could have the audacity to say that they are not to be heard, when the discussion is carried into their own especial province—the sphere of the super-sensual. But we speak not of them, although Ulrici, to take a single instance, has probably spent more time and mental vigor in mastering the problem than any scientific man of our age, and has put himself thoroughly in possession of all that has been said and of all the grounds for saying it. But when we find physicists like Faraday and chemists like Otto-Graham repudiating this atomic theory, and promulgating a thoroughly dynamical theory in its stead, are we to say that this theory enjoys the prestige of being the only one that corresponds to the facts? Yet naturalism and atomism go hand in hand; every naturalistic theory has been, in the last resort, an atomistic theory also.

But we need not rest with these a priori objections. The atomic theory, which is as much a matter of faith, and as little the outcome of sense-perceptions as the doctrine of the Trinity, is liable to the fatal objection that it explains nothing. For what are atoms? The ultimate particles of matter, infinitesimal in bulk and weight, co-existing but nowhere tangent, all of the same, or rather of no qualitative character, and possessed of no property save the undiscriminative power of mutual attraction and repulsion, forces which act throughout all space and without any medium of their activity. Yet when these particles are brought as near each other as the nature of the case admits, they form the molecules of the chemist. The addition of bulkless to bulkless, makes the bulky. The addition of the unqualitative to the unqualitative produces the qualitative. The approximation of bodies that can never touch, and that only affect each other by forces which act at any distance, brings them out of utter and indifferent isolation into corporate unities possessed of other qualities than inhere in the elements themselves. The atoms have repulsions and attractions only; as soon as they form molecules, those molecules are found to be possessed of affinities which overcome these repulsions and attractions. The whole earth, the piece of gold ore, and the flask of hydrochloric acid, consist of the same sort

of atoms. If their difference be in the arrangement of those atoms, they have been so arranged as to form entirely different substances, so far as mere sense can judge. The weight in the gold is so great, through the greatness in number of its atoms, that if left in free space it falls instantly and swiftly to earth. But if I place the gold in the hydrochloric acid, that primitive force is set at naught; the gold that should have sunk to the bottom of the flask, is suspended in the acid; a higher and more powerful force triumphs over the lower and undiscriminating agency; and all this is because the atoms of the gold are arranged in a special method, which gives it all these specific properties (weight, affinity, etc.,) while nowhere in all the fields of nature that are open to our senses, do we find any instance of arrangement of parts determining the quality of the whole. In chemistry, especially, Mother Nature exhibits a supreme contempt for the etiquette of mere arrangement; cares only for what things are, not for the order in which they come. Talk of the atomic theory being the basis of molecular chemistry; why in no connection are so many facts that are inexplicable on that theory, to be continually encountered. No wonder that (as Lange says, in his *Geschichte des Materialismus*), the chemists are growing daily more and more sure of their molecules, less and less sure of the atoms with which second-rate metaphysicians have kindly supplied them, as the bases of those molecules.[1]

Such, then, are the first and the last steps of Professor Tyndall's naturalistic scheme of the universe; both are the barest hypotheses. So far is he from offering us any cogent reasons for

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[1] As Lange says, no philosopher will refuse to allow of the atomic theory as a working hypothesis. But its value even in that capacity is exceedingly doubtful. Clausius, in his *Treatise on Caloric*, takes good care to notify his readers that nothing depends upon its truth—not a formula would be changed if it were shown to be untenable.

We have discussed here only the purely mechanical theory of atoms—that which denies them all qualitative differences—as that only furnishes a basis for naturalism. The forms of the theory that admit of qualitative differences, surrender the primal identity of all matter. "With atoms qualitatively alike nothing can be done; and all the other explanations consist in assuming in the atoms all that is afterwards brought out of them" (B. P. Bowne in *The New Englander*). With the dynamical atomistic of Fechner, Lotze, Ulrici, Faraday, we have no quarrel.

giving up the primal beliefs for which his naturalism has no place, that he rather offers us a train of ratiocination, in which no man *can* follow him, unless he be impelled by an inward predilection for the foreseen results. His argument, logically considered, is a bridge without abutments at either end of the line; every passenger over it must take a flying leap at the start and another at the end.

This predilection for his foreseen conclusions, however, is one that he shares with a large number of men—with scientific men who have had no other than scientific culture; and with half-scientific men, who are ready to take his conclusions on faith. For both these classes, the conception of the uniform operation of natural law as the key to all the known phenomena of existence, has a very decided fascination. In this hey-day of science, when so many gaps in our knowledge have been filled up, when so much that seemed anomalous and inexplicable has been shown to stand in the closest relation to the best known facts, and when natural laws have been discovered to be far more sweeping and uniform in their operation than had been supposed, it is but natural that men should overleap the safe lines of argument that a wise caution suggests; that they should suppose that the science that has explained so much can explain everything. It is not in such times that sober and judicious thinking is to be looked for; all the history of past discoveries shows that it is not. Every new insight into a great scientific principle or law has, as a rule, carried the discoverer off his feet. He has conjectured a far wider or more exclusive application of the principle than his observations warranted, and to correct and limit his conclusions has been the work of less elated investigators. What is thus true of individual departments is true of science as a whole—is true of each of the fruitful periods of scientific investigation. Our own age, if we reckon by decades and not by years, is undoubtedly such a period. But this very fact, which gives science so much popular prestige, and adds so much weight to the *dicta* of its chief representatives before the people, should of itself inspire distrust and caution as regards its deliverances upon the large and vital questions of our time. Especially should this caution be exercised when it is easily seen that the effect of an exclusively scientific discipline, like any other exclusive discipline, is to cramp and disuse one side of the mind, and therefore to lead men to untenable conclusions upon questions that tax all the mental powers for their solution.

The peculiar function of the scientist is to find in each of the phenomena of the universe a link in the great chain of cause and effect, bound by that relation to the past and the future. He takes what the unscientific intellect accepts as an ultimate fact, and traces it to a sufficient cause; for that cause again he seeks another cause, and thus resolves the apparently meaningless chance medley of the physical universe into a great web of causes and effects, stretching backward to an unseen past and forward to an unseen future. But if unseen, not unknown. He holds the clue to both, who has mastered the formula of the great evolution, in the midst of which we find ourselves. He is a prophet in a new sense; the power of prediction is the very test of the genuineness of his science. By consequence, if there be one word more intolerable than another to science, it is *beginning*. To disprove supposed beginnings, to show that they were the outcome of what went before, is the scientist's vocation. The category of cause and effect becomes, through long practice, his first law of thought, the groove of all his mental operations. With whatever fact he is brought to face, his first impulse is to apply that category—"to account for the fact," as he calls the process. And when he speaks of causes he comes to mean only secondary causes, those that are themselves effects.

On the other hand, this word *beginning* seems to us to embrace in it all that the metaphysician, the theist and the Christian have to fight for against the naturalist. It looks as if the "Providence that shapes our ends" had a purpose in letting those words, "in the beginning," stand in the fore-front of the book that has been the guide and comfort of so many of His children. They are in some sense the key-note of the whole book, and to miss their force would be to miss the meaning of very much, if not all, that follows.

The theist asserts a beginning in the existence of the world itself. To him the words are true as Moses wrote them: "In the beginning God created the heavens and the earth" He cannot accept this material frame of things as something that is an ultimate fact, whose processes had no starting point, but have been going on forever on an ever-ascending line of development, and under the government of blind, natural law, which is the expression of no intelligent will. There was a time when it was not;

every secondary cause suggests the true and primary cause, without whose existence the duality of cause and effect could have no existence, for "on any other supposition we should have effects only, and not causes; but effect without cause is inconceivable."[1] The phenomena of the universe are in that case no phenomena, but an empty illusion and phantasmagoria, a concatenation of processes without a ground or basis of existence, a Baron Munchausen—as Ulrici says—self-suspended in the air by his own pig-tail. "But," says the scientist, "the intellectual impulse which impels you to ask after the cause of the universe as a whole, impels me also to seek for the cause of your first cause. I cannot stop there; I must go farther back still." The mental law of causality impels us to seek a cause for that which is effected; not for that which exists, not for the self-existent. The unsophisticated mind rests satisfied when this last conception is reached, and by the law of antithesis this changing, temporal and phenomenal universe forcibly suggests and leads us to the conception of such an unchanging, substantial and eternal ground of its existence—to the "I am" of the Creator as opposed to the "I become" of the creature; to "the supreme knowledge, which is incapable of surprise, the supreme power, which is incapable of labor, the supreme volition, which is incapable of change." (Ruskin.)

Even supposing that the atomic theory gives us the method of the world's genesis, the necessity for a Beginner is not removed. How came this primal nebula to concentrate into a solar system at the time it did, and not an infinitude of ages earlier or later? The first centralizing attraction that stirred the mass into motion and began the impulse to rotation came from the contact of atoms or gaseous molecules that had been isolated. What caused that contact? How could it have taken place there and then, and not earlier, not later? Matter as known to us has no motion except as moved by some outside force, such as the attraction of other masses of matter. Granted that the contact of two particles of matter may have been enough; still that contact must have taken place at some period, and cannot be resolved into the operation of any pre-existing causes, which had been acting indifferently at all times. This theory, then, furnishes us with just

[1] See Ulrici's *Strauss as a Philosophical Thinker*, translated by Rev. Dr. C. P. Krauth. Published by Smith & English of this city.

the beginning of things, and the Beginner, that the theistic hypothesis of creation demands.

A second beginning is the beginning of life or of the two lives—animal and vegetable—upon this globe. As we have said, the existence of a distinct vital force was first questioned by Lotze, a vigorous opponent of materialism, and one of the ablest of later German metaphysicians. In his view, life was no beginning, but only a modification of the natural forces, already at play in the mineral sphere. But scientific men, so eminent as Mr. Beale, dispute this conclusion, and maintain that however the lower force may be present and active in the vital processes, the results of those processes, the vegetable and animal tissues, show us that there is a master force of quite another sort as active in each and all of them. For man has the lower forces under his control; if the word *specialize* be anything more than a verbal juggle, he has the power to adjust circumstances to the case, so that the tissues may be reproduced by their agency. Has he ever succeeded? All the attempts at spontaneous generation have been efforts to solve this problem; but when success seemed clearest, a closer investigation has shown that the precautionary measures taken were not sufficient to destroy all the germs of life present in the substance or the apparatus used. The results claimed have never obtained the *consensus* of the scientific world. In its view, no meanest insect or weed of old or new species has been thus produced—nor even a fragment of genuine animal or vegetable tissue. The question is not vital, but until well authenticated experiment shows that life can now be evolved by the operation of natural law, it will be the part of those who are not eager to find more unity in nature than observation really discloses, to maintain that life is something that was not evolved out of the lower forces, was in its first appearance as a new thing under the sun.

It is equally an open question, and a still less important one, whether the various species of animal and vegetable life were in their inception real beginnings, or were evolved from each other, the higher from the lower. Agassiz, with all his scientific learning, found it quite possible to hold to the former view. Theologians and metaphysicians find no difficulty in the latter, and, as the late Prof. John F. Frazer used to say, are only following Moses in admitting the doctrine of mediate creation. Augustine

Thomas Aquinas, and Suarez were evolutionists centuries before physical science had invented a vocabulary in which to discuss the question.

But Darwin's theory of the method of evolution, which is all that can properly be called Darwinism, the theory of the genesis of new species through a ceaseless conflict for existence, and the survival of the fittest, without requiring the guidance and government of a higher intelligence, is not an open question with any consistent theist. That it is not a sufficient solution of the problem, we believe St. George Mivart has succeeded in showing (in his *Genesis of Species*). No doubt, the special advantages possessed by some species have had their share in the perpetuation of its members ; but in other cases, the peculiarities which distinguish an existing species are as much drawbacks in one direction as they are advantages in another ; in yet other cases, structural forms are found that the physiologist cannot trace to any such influence, and some even present obstacles to the perpetuation of their possessors. Even when we ascribe the utmost possible influence to the Darwinian conflict, we are thrown by facts upon the hypothesis of a plastic law of development, implanted upon the forms of natural life that throng our planet.

The next beginning is as little of an open question with us as the first was. There was beginning of spiritual life upon this earth in the advent of man. His moral and intellectual forces are not mere highly specialized forms of the forces at work in physics and chemistry ; nor even of the vital force, if such exist. His animal nature may or may not have owed its existence to the same process of evolution as brought forth each higher species from that below it. We think the question not worth a half of one per. cent of the ink and paper that have been wasted on it. The motive of many, if not of most, of the denials might fairly be traced to a certain Neoplatonist contempt of the animal creation, which has no right to shelter itself behind the Bible. Moses's story of the origin of our animal nature is humbling enough ; not less so if we construe his words as declaring its direct creation from the dust, than if we suppose that it passed through more elevated forms of existence before it attained its uprightness of stature and dignity of position. If Mr. Darwin teaches us the reality of our kinship on one side with the lower

forms of life, and stirs in our hearts the feelings that that kinship should excite, he will not the less but the more fit us to claim a higher kinship with Him who giveth grace to the humble. Francis of Assisi found his brothers and sisters in the sun, the moon and stars, the wind, air and clouds, fire and water; and was all the nobler for the sympathies that bound him to the birds and the beasts of the field.

But none the less must we assert the existence of a higher nature in man, which is not animal, and can only be governed, mastered and disciplined by a higher law than any that nature reveals to us,—a law of liberty, while all her laws are laws of bondage and of fate. No expansion of the conception of matter and force can ever make them adequate to the being of man. Any attempts to account for him from the physical and chemical data given us by experience, can only belittle the problem, however excellent the intention that prompted them. In their last results they exclude as mere fancies, those conceptions of duty and responsibility that give human nature all its worth and excellence. They sanction all the tyrannies that have held men in bondage or ruled them by violence. They ignore and set aside those fundamental anthropological truths, upon which all true civilization rests. They leave us devoid of hope and aspiration, with nothing left us but to lie down and die.

Now we have no sympathy with the crass dualism against which all materialism is a protest. Man is not a spirit, but an harmonious complex of existences, in which spirit is the ruling factor. Man has a body, would not be a man without it; is destined to have a body as long as his existence is perpetuated, which, we believe, is forever. And this body is not the mere burden that the spirit carries, and which weighs down its energies. It is the necessary organ of all spiritual activity, the *πον στω* of all spiritual energy. It is the other self, without which conscious existence would be impossible; *ohne phoshpor, kein gedanke,* we regard as an ascertained truth. And as the psychic force of the animal is a master force in the presence of physical and chemical forces that co-operate with it in producing vitality—so the spiritual force of man is not to be conceived as standing over against the psychic and lower forces in a crude antithesis, but as harmonized in activity, uniting to produce the whole humanity.

But we must no more confound the distinct, than sunder the united. As Baader well says: "Man is not natureless but he is nature-free." This in man that says "I am I," that feels in itself a value that outweighs the galaxies—this personality of the human spirit—has never yet been resolved by science into the unity of any lower forces. All that science has done in this direction is to show its close and living association with those lower forces, to demonstrate the place of the body as its necessary organ. Science has not traced the border line that sunders the world of spirit from the world of matter. She has shown that no broad seas roll between these related provinces; she has shown how hard it is to designate the exact line of division. But she has never yet shown that the same laws bear sway on both sides of that border, and if she were able to present to us a seeming demonstration of the fact—which she never has—still the instincts of mankind would be too strong for her logic. Mankind would tell her "Your proofs seem valid, but there must be a mistake. The flaw is not easily detected, but there must be one. That which every human spirit knows of itself, which it cannot learn from any other yet must find for itself, forbids it to classify itself with these *things*, or to admit that it is governed by the necessary and fatal laws which govern things." All the energies of mankind as evinced in history have been devoted to the subjugation of those natural forces, to the assertion of the infinite worth of personality in contrast to them. Every language under heaven abounds in words and phrases that assert it; and a consistent naturalism would throw into disuse nearly as many of our most ordinary terms as it would retain.

For in every man there is a conscious sense of right and of wrong, and in every man the sense of a will that is subject to the law that that conscience confesses. When he turns from himself to the play of mere natural forces, he finds nothing of the same kind. Things there are, indeed, that faintly bear analogy to this inward law, this moral life. But the analogy is as of the picture to the object depicted; not as of the lower form of life to the higher. The transition from the one to the other is felt to be a *μεταβασις εις αλλο γενος*. Take the very highest of them—the subjection of the dog to his master—it contains not a particle of the nature of conscience—of the co-knowledge of a common standard of right, common to both Creator and creature. The cry of

Abraham, "Shall not the Judge of all the earth do right?"—the demand for the same qualities of moral excellence in the Creator as He has implanted in the creature—this is that of which there is no foreshadowing in the highest forms of animal dependence and *storge;*—none in the dog, that shrinks abashed before the blow of anger, as utterly as before the stripes of justifiable chastisement—or that turns upon either indifferently when physical pain overcomes the instinct that otherwise restrains him. The possibility of remorse is the other side of this great fact—at once the seal of man's moral dignity, and the potency of a misery deeper and more awful than any lower form of life is capable of enduring. It is only because men's attention has been called away from these facts by the exclusive pursuit of the physical sciences, only because they have ceased to recollect the tremendous gravity of the problem, that they think that in matter and the forces that govern it, there is a possible solution of it.

"If there be aught spiritual in man, the will must be such. If there be a will, there must be a spirituality in man." Neither fact is capable of demonstration; a proof of them that would be, as demonstrative proof must be, equally valid for all states and moods of mind, would carry with it its own condemnation. Yet both are the axioms of all ethical philosophy—axioms, not like those of mathematics, such that every rational man must admit them, but such as no good man will deny. But the very essence of a will[3] is its power to originate, to make a *beginning* that cannot be resolved into the outcome of previously existing causes. To speak of a will in any other sense, than as a power of originating an act or state, is to contradict its very idea. To suppose it

[3] We speak not of *free* will, as, with Scholten, Coleridge, Calvin, Luther, Augustine and Paul, we hold complete freedom to be not the universal endowment of actual men, but the crown of perfected humanity, the last outcome of all spiritual culture. But that the will has been enslaved by its own act—"by taking a nature into itself," as Coleridge, following Kant, expresses it—is no reason to believe that it has been extinguished; that it still exists, is no reason to maintain that it is capable of liberating itself. "If there were no will," says Augustine, "there would be no man to save; if there were no grace, there would be no salvation." The whole subject is most admirably discussed in Coleridge's *Aids to Reflection*, which we have chiefly followed. It is a book or all times and all questions.

subject to the law of continuity that rules in nature, or to be a mere susceptibility to motives, is to rule it out of existence.

"But may it not be an illusion arising from our ignorance of the antecedent causes? You may suppose this, I rejoin—that the soul of every man should impose a lie on itself; and that this lie, and the acting on the faith of its being the most important of all truths, and the most real of all realities, should form the main contra-distinctive character of humanity, and the only basis of that distinction between things and persons, upon which our whole moral and criminal law is founded;—you may suppose this;—I can not, as I could in the case of an arithmetical or geometrical problem, render it possible for you to suppose it......" But in supposing it, the very conception of a will is surrendered, merely because it cannot be brought under certain categories of another kind,—tied up and thrust into one of the pigeon-holes of the understanding. For "a will, the state of which is in no sense its own act, is an absolute contradiction. It might be an instinct, an impulse, a plastic power, and, if accompanied with consciousness, a desire, but a will it could not be. And that every human being knows with equal clearness, though different minds may reflect on it with different degrees of distinctness."[4]

We have dwelt on this to tediousness, because there is no point that needs more to be impressed upon men, than that naturalism has no place for a human will in any true sense of that term, and, consequently, no place for morals save as a branch of social science, no place for any absolute ethical distinctions, such as the difference between right and wrong, as ethics conceive them. We do not say that naturalists have none; humanity is full of blessed inconsistencies. But in the long run a doctrine will be carried to its results and bear fruit accordingly. It will pass from the Tyndalls and Huxleys to popular teachers of less nobleness of character, and, therefore, less able to resist its logical drift. Should naturalism ever become the creed of a community, the moral tone of that community will be gradually but steadily falling. Old distinctions will slowly become obliterated; old ties and relationships will be relaxed; things that their perpetrators once would have shrunk from, will be done without blushing;

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[4]Coleridge's *Works*, I. 273 196–7.

moral scruples and principles that are none the less powerful now for not being brought into the clear light of consciousness, will be analyzed, weighed and discarded as mere squeamishness. Ethics will be voted as obsolete as theology, and where a sufficient basis for the existence and order of society will be found, is a question that few will care to face.

Now we are not pleading against the discussion of these questions ; we plead rather against silence than for it. Running water runs itself clear, and the more men's attention is called to the deep, underlying, primal beliefs of mankind, the more sure we are that those beliefs will be found to be inexpugnable. The materialistic philosophy has gained on us, partly indeed through a reaction against the long prevailing, crass, Cartesian dualism, that set up a spiritless nature over against a natureless spirit, like two fleshless ghosts grinning in each other's faces, and called it the universe—but partly, also, through the purposeless character of the deluge of talk that has been poured forth on the other side; through the lack of the vigorous and popular presentation of fundamental truths. The chief popular champions of spiritual truth have been so devoid of the philosophic discipline that a man must have, before he can even intelligently repudiate philosophy, that we have had the public sitting at the feet of Tyndall and Huxley, to learn what Descartes and Berkeley taught, and what the old Greek philosophers thought of our living questions. The cause of naturalism has been partly won, through the remissness and inertness of those who were set for the defense of the truth that is above nature.

But of those who have been inclined to go with the naturalists, most have been "come-outers" through dissatisfaction with the existing theologies. They are dissatisfied with the mere positive side of Christianity, as commonly presented in divorce from all spiritual philosphy. They yearn after an ethical church, in which life shall supersede dogma, and creeds shall be forgotten. Science fascinates them ; it gathers up their fragmentary conceptions of the universe into unity; it gives them an intellectual employment, such as they find nowhere else in these days. Even naturalism does not stagger them. "After all," they say, "the unknown is left the secret that it always was. The heart can go out to it in all the silent aspirations that the religious sentiment prompts

and demands. And life is as rich as ever it was in all ethical significance. The old conceptions of truth, and right, and duty, lose nothing of their force, if this new teaching *be* accepted." They never made a greater mistake. Naturalism has far less room for ethics than for theology. It wages no war, indeed, on the outer darkness to which it reduces the spiritual world. A man may people it with whatever beings he please, provided he do not claim that their existence is matter of experience, and not of probability and hypothesis. He may offer them what worship he pleases, if it do not offend Prof. Huxley, and excite his persecuting propensities. But no such toleration can be extended to ethics, for that is an attempt to bring the supernatural into the sphere of life and observation. It is to assert the existence of other than secondary causes, of true beginnings, in the very system and order out of which naturalism has ruled them. Whether active persecution would be waged against such doctrines, in a society in which naturalism predominated, it is hard to say. Now that liberalism has taken up the policy that used to excite all its hatred and invective when exercised by the servilists, stranger things are happening every day. But no orthodox naturalist, no one that valued the respect of his fellow men, would be suffered to believe that a true will, or anything more than a susceptibility to the force of motive, existed in himself and his fellows. The primary instruction of the young would carefully exclude and even take care to disprove this first postulate of all moral and criminal law. Persons being things of a higher order, all prejudice in favor of their freedom to do wrong—or what society adjudges to be wrong—would also be carefully exterminated by primary instruction, and the weight of public opinion—operating in the absence of the counteracting force of the sense of personal worth, freedom and responsibility to a Higher than society—would soon reduce mankind to a charming uniformity; we should at last have atoms—social atoms—without qualitative differences, whether or not they possessed the power of coalescing into social molecules.[5]

[5] We may seem here to contradict what we hinted as to the chaos into which a naturalistic society must fall. But the contradiction is only apparaent. Such a society, having lost all moral ballast, would vibrate between social anarchy and the most complete despotism. Such a vibration is now, but less perfectly exemplified, in the condition of some savage peoples. Take a parallel case

There is one other *beginning*, to which the Christian must hold fast, whatever the naturalist or even the mere theist may think of it The advent of Christ is to the Christian the beginning of a new and regenerating force in history. The sum of the truths and influences that began to mould men at that time, and which we vaguely call the Christian religion, is not capable of being resolved into the happy combination of elements that already existed in the world. That they stand in relation to all those elements, that the mythologies and philosophies were, on the one side, preparations for the advent, and on the other aspirations for it; that they were parts of the divine training of the race to receive Him who was "the desire of all nations," the New Testament itself teaches. But the question is not the answer, while it demands the answer; Christ is the answer, a new thing under the sun, a beginning from which Christendom dates its years. In His birth a divine force was born into the midst of humanity. He was come that they "might have life" in every sense in which they had never had it; as well as that they might "have it more abundantly" in every sense in which they had had it. And the history of the Church discloses to us the originality and the vastness of this new-born force. If a philosopher had made a survey of the world at the close of the old era, had carefully weighed and appreciated all the existing moral and social forces, and had been able to predict all their capacities to mould and form the future, does any one suppose that he would have been able to predict the existence, the growth and the influence of Christianity in the fourth century of the new era? But transfer the same philosopher to the fourth century, and put him in possession of all the data as to the forces then in operation, and he could form at least an approximate estimate of what the succeeding centuries would be. If he went wrong, it would be a mistake of degree, not of kind. What makes the difference between the two points of outlook, except that an unforeseen, originative and (in

in modern history: Had the great Reformation of western Christendom, effected both in the Church of Rome, (by the Council of Trent,) and in the seceding Protestant Churches, not been effected, what would have been the religious history of Europe during the following centuries, but a vibration between the utter unbelief of the humanists, and the slavish superstition of the later and decaying Middle Ages?

some sense) unexpected force entered upon the historic stage at the beginning of the first century? To disprove this fact is the task of the skeptical writers of our day; much learning has been expended, great ingenuity employed. But after all, the successes gained have been, if real, merely in matters of detail. They have succeeded chiefly in calling off attention from the width and breadth of the problem, and in concentrating attention upon this or that question of criticism, upon the authenticity of this or that document associated with the rise of the Christian Church and the life of its Founder. But if all that is thus attempted were to be conceded, nothing would have been accomplished, until the existence of the Church and the historical tradition that it embodies were disproved also. And every part of this negative skepticism lies under just suspicion, from the fact that it has an end and a purpose, to furnish a scientific explanation of facts, which, on their face, admit of no such explanation.

The same principles apply when we pass from the historic life of the world to the life of the individual Christian. Marked and conscious *beginnings* are not the ordinary methods of the spiritual life of the Christian. A tendency to lay great stress upon them, originating with the Society of Jesus, has passed over to the Protestant branches of the Church, and is now the predominant one among us. But if the first of the church's sacraments be not an historical blunder or an unmeaning form, the growth of Christians from their earliest years in Christian life and nurture, is the ordinary method of the kingdom of Christ; while this itself is but an instance, less visible and tangible than some others, of the operation of a force above and beyond nature. But cases, as well authenticated as any fact in science, occur continually, in which the truths and influences of Christianity do take hold of a man with a power that makes him morally another person. The man says he has passed from darkness to light; that he is a new creature. Some spiritual force has broken the rigid moral continuity of a wicked life, has set him free at once from the remorse and the power of his sins. His later life bears the same testimony; he is not a perfect man, but he is another man from what he was before that crisis. He holds "the treasure in an earthen vessel" only; but some sort of treasure is his own, that was not his before. Naturalistic science will not hear of such changes, not because it

asks more rigid evidence than can be offered of them, but because they do not fit into its scheme of things. All moral changes it resolves into two elements—education and circumstance. It cuts away all hope of human regeneration by denying the existence of any originative force that can accomplish it. It knows of no outlook for the future of the race more hopeful than is presented by the improvement of social and educational methods.

Naturalism, therefore, stands in the sharpest opposition to Christianity as an originative force, whether in the world's history or in the individual life. It will hear of no beginnings in either sphere. It has no choice but to eliminate out of life and society all that is distinctively Christian. And its advocates have no notion of how large an element of both Christianity is. They speak —and Christians agree with them too often—as if the influences and truths that emanate from the Founder of the Church were confined in their operation to those who avowedly and consciously submitted themselves to them; while in fact, they have been indirectly moulding the lives and characters of thousands who have never done so. The direct rays of the sun fall into the room in which we are writing; if all its windows faced to the North, would there be no light in it? So, also, with the light of life that shone in him whom we call the Son of God; that light has moulded many a life, like that of John Stuart Mill, that never confessed its influence. That life has throbbed unborn in many a soul that never was regenerate in the Christian sense.

To eliminate this Christian element out of modern society, to destroy both its direct and its indirect influences, to remove from the hearts and thoughts of mankind all objects of worship but the unknown and the unknowable, is the work before the naturalists. That they will accomplish it we have not the slightest fear. The deepest and truest instincts of the human heart, the highest hopes of mankind, the most dread and awful experiences of the human conscience, are against them. Had they offered us the strongest logic and the most rigid proof of naturalism, humanity would still reject them, assured of a flaw that had not yet been detected. That those flaws are most easily detected, it has been the object of this paper to show.

Robt. Ellis Thompson.

TRAINING SCHOOLS FOR NURSES.

THE systematic education of women for nurses, has not attracted much attention in America until within a few years. This is rather surprising, in view of the fact that the Nightingale School for training nurses was opened fourteen years ago (June 24, 1860,) —others perhaps earlier still—and that in every respect, so far as we can learn, the system has operated well in England. The agitation of the subject now is, perhaps, a part of the general movement for the better education of women, or, indeed, for the better education of all persons, which has been felt all over our country. If so, it belongs to a class of reforms which stands second to none among those arising from this movement —to a class which will receive a more general support than any other, its tendency being, not to open to women a new and contested field, but to advance the standing of a profession which is already, by general consent, almost entirely conceded to women.

Some of the nurses who have practiced here hitherto, have had the advantage of having served in hospitals under the direction of physicians, and the opportunity of watching older nurses at their work; but the great majority have learned nursing as best they could, which in many cases means not at all. For instance, the list of nurses in the Boston Directory, contains 126 names, and many more must in fact be practicing in the city, for I find that the names of several well-known nurses are not included in the list; of these, probably not more than thirty or forty have had hospital experience for any great length of time. Now we have begun to realize what in England, France, and some parts of Germany, has long been regarded as a settled matter—that it is necessary to educate nurses, just as it is necessary to educate medical students or architects. In this respect, however, nursing has only shared a similar fate with most of the other occupations usually performed by women, dressmaking, cooking, etc. None of them until lately have been thought to require any systematic training. About thirty years ago there were no Normal Schools in this country. It was not even thought worth while to teach women to be teachers. A few years hence schools for nurses may be held to be as indispensable as Normal Schools are now.

The community has doubtless been much benefited by the experience which certain nurses have gathered when employed in the large hospitals, before going into private practice. Besides this unsystematized means of obtaining experience, women have been received, for several years past, at the New England Hospital for Women and Children, with the understanding that they were to serve there for a definite time, in order to become proficient in nursing; and for the past two years a regular system of practical and theoretical instruction has been organized, so that this hospital is now prepared to send out, every year, eight or nine women who have received one year's training, and have served in all the departments of the hospital in turn.

Everywhere the need is felt of nurses well educated in their profession, and nowhere has the supply of them kept up to the demand. In an account of the Liverpool school, written in 1865, we read: "The fact that the Nursing Institutions now existing are quite unable to supply applications for those willing to pay for the superior nursing, shows that the public are becoming aware of its importance. One single institution, in the space of six months, was compelled to refuse fifty applications. People willingly bring nurses from London institutions to Liverpool, and from Liverpool to London, at great additional expense, rather than, having once experienced the benefit of trained service, be obliged to fall back on the aid of the untaught." This report is the more striking when coupled with the statement that, at the census of 1851, 14 years earlier, there were in England 25,466 nurses by profession, and 2,822 midwives. In Boston, of the ten nurses graduated during the past two years from the New England Hospital, after a year of training there, almost all were engaged in advance, before their term of service at the hospital was ended, to take charge of cases in private families, and they have still continued to find more work than they could do, even during the past year, when the majority of nurses at large have been complaining, to physicians and at the intelligence offices, of lack of employment.

The following letter, comparing a nurse from this hospital with other nurses who had been employed by the writer, shows very clearly some of the results of careful training:

"Twelve different nurses I can easily remember who were in

my family, each from four to six or eight weeks. Of all these, the only one I ever wanted a second time, or felt perfectly satisfied with, was a trained nurse from the New England Hospital, who had gone through the entire course of lectures and instruction, and nursed there for some time. She was quiet, orderly, neat, strictly attentive to the orders of the physician, even against the wishes of the patient, never suggesting an idea or opinion of her own,—a machine in his hands so far as treatment went, and a perfect one, while equally self-reliant and capable when an emergency made her independent action needful. Her cooking was exquisite, and everything was served with the tempting nicety so necessary to an invalid appetite. Her temper was even; no tales of servants down-stairs or former employers, or gossip of any kind, ever came into the sick-room, giving one a comfortable certainty that none would ever go from it. This woman being in no manner a superior, or intellectual, or gifted person, all these excellencies seemed to me to come from her training—the ingrafting of all she had heard, and learned and practiced at the hospital. Of other nurses who were excellent in some respects, I remember Miss M———, an old favorite nurse in Boston, who was also, I think, a hospital nurse, but had not gone through the training. She was faithful and efficient as long as the sickness was severe, but with no tact, and unreasonable and capricious as soon as the patient was out of danger. Mrs. N———, an excellent woman, with all the natural qualities which make a good nurse, lacked just the training and knowledge which would have given her self-reliance and promptness, and taken from her a superstitious fear of omens and warnings, distressing to the patient."

I believe that this letter points out, none too plainly, difficulties which are well recognized by both patients and physicians.

With hearty recognition of the cheerful devotion and untiring service rendered by those nurses whose long experience in the sick-room has taught them much that is essential to good work, let us remember that this experience must have been partly earned through many a blunder at the outset, and at the expense of many a helpless patient. To avoid these blunders; to give to the intelligent pupil the benefit of the well-tested experience of others, in an

intelligent and systematized way, is the object of the Nurses Training School, as of all other schools worthy of the name.

The New York school has lately begun to send out to private families those nurses who, having been pupils for a year, still remain connected with the school for another year. The Directors report: "We now have four (nurses) out, and could have employed three times that number, if we could spare them, to meet the applications for their services. They are highly approved by the physicians and families so far, and we receive high wages for them." Even those who have learned nursing as well as they could, simply serving, without receiving systematic instruction, in the great hospitals of the city, are sought for and recognized as superior nurses. Although the Training School at the Massachusetts General Hospital, has only been open for a year, a great many applications have been made for nurses, all of which the Directors have, of course, been obliged to decline. Dr. Wylie of New York writes from England that, while he was at the Liverpool Training School, a surgeon came in to engage a nurse, and adds, "He told me it was customary with almost all medical men of Liverpool to get their nurses from this school, and the trained nurses were looked upon as an absolute necessity." Doubtless physicians in this country will soon come to the same opinion. A correspondent of the *Boston Medical and Surgical Journal* writes: "If we desire to make a science of our art, to know if, and exactly how much, and after what time, and in what respect, our digitalis affects the pulse, and our calomel the temperature, or the daily or hourly variations in pulse and temperature from any cause, or if we wish to know the character of the excretions through the day, or to test the doctrine of crisis in our practice; or if we wish to give cold baths of a definite temperature in typhoid fever, or to have the ear syringed out, so that the fluid will go where it is wanted, or leeches or cups applied, or subcutaneous injections given, we cannot do it without the aid of skilled nurses, and we can do it with them, as has been abundantly demonstrated. With the surgeon the case is not very different. As matters stand, he must, in private practice, spend much time in doing what a skilled assistant could do as well and often better. There is no reason why the long list of surgical dressings, including the application of splints,

etc., should not be done by trained nurses, and the hurried surgeon be given the opportunity of eating his dinner in comfort and getting to the polls at election time. There is no reason why regularly educated physicians should be electricians or masseurs. The specialists for nervous diseases should know how electricity ought to be used in their department, and the surgeon in his, and the details could be perfectly well intrusted to skilled assistants."

Nursing of the poor at their homes has not as yet been undertaken by any American School, though, under the name of district nursing, it has been carried on successfully in England for many years, and has proved a great benefit to the poor, and a source of valuable experience to the nurses. Every dispensary physician will agree that in many of the cases to which he is called, a nurse's services would be more valuable than his own, and there are but few dispensary physicians who have not been obliged to learn in their districts to make beds and cook gruel.

As regards hospital work, the Nightingale School system has been directly adopted in the American schools as far as circumstances would allow, the changes which have been made, being more nominal than real.

A school arranged on this system consists of a superintendent, of head nurses, and of pupils who serve as assistant nurses. The practical instruction of the pupils goes on in the hospitals, and consists largely of nursing performed by the pupils themselves, under the direction of the superintendent and head nurses. All the nurses and pupils live at the so-called "Home" belonging to the school. The Home of the Nightingale School, at St. Thomas' Hospital, in London, is in a building attached to the hospital, and the Home of the Liverpool School stands within the grounds of the Royal Infirmary. As an arrangement of this sort was impracticable for the New York and Boston Schools, their Homes were placed in houses secured for the purpose near the hospitals— Lectures on subjects connected with nursing, are given by physicians, either at the homes or in the hospitals. The schools supply the service in the wards under their care, except that done by the scrubbers and ward-tenders or orderlies. The night nursing is done by the pupils in turn.

The first regularly organized school was opened in New York,

at Bellevue Hospital, on May 1st, 1873, the second in Boston, at the Massachusetts General Hospital, Nov. 1st, 1873.[6]

Bellevue Hospital in New York, is an old building, with low ceilings and dark wards. A large part of the service in the wards is done by ten-day prisoners, who, in many cases, have been arrested for drunkenness. Under the old system, all the paid nurses were much over-worked, and many of them are said to be of low character. The improvements introduced by the school are very striking. As one passes from a ward nursed in the old system into one of those under the care of the school, the visitor will very likely not have noticed any nurses at work in the wards he has just gone through; but in the school wards they seem at all times busily, though quietly engaged about their patients. Their neat dresses and uniform caps have all the attraction of the uniforms of Sisters of Charity, with the advantage that they seem more convenient for work. It is but fair to quote a few words from the report of the New York school, with regard to the present behavior of the prisoners who work in the school wards. "In this connection, we would mention a result unforeseen by us, which shows the moral influence of our nurses upon the lowest class in the hospital, namely, the helpers or prisoners employed to clean the wards. Formerly these women were the scourge of the place, and in all reports of the 'Local Visiting Committee for Bellevue Hospital,' their presence and their foul language were represented as insulting to the patients. Now, in the wards of our school, many of these women have proved obedient and respectful, and some have begged to be allowed to remain after their time had expired, and have done so, serving without pay for three months, saying, 'It was so like home.' Such are the results which Christian kindness produces upon the most degraded natures."

The Massachusetts General Hospital, in Boston, has long had the well-deserved reputation of a model hospital. From one end to the other, everything appears neat and clean. Some of the

[6] A school was also opened in New Haven in connection with a State Hospital, at about the same time, but the writer has not been able to learn anything with regard to the details of its work. In Philadelphia instruction in nursing is given at the "Woman's Hospital," and at the "Lying-in and Nurse Charity," but they DO NOT APPEAR TO BE REGULARLY ORGANIZED SCHOOLS.

nurses (not connected with the school) have been in the hospital many years, and most of those who have not been there so long have caught the habit of excellence which pervades the building throughout. No new system of nursing could develop the contrasts which are so evident at the New York Hospital. The two wards which were first placed under the care of the School are in the building which is used for some of the most severe and difficult cases, and which, from its construction, can hardly be made pleasant and attractive. The new Warren Ward, however, which is also under the care of the School, is a large pavilion very simply constructed, and in every respect the opposite of the Bellevue Hospital. It is but one story high, and its ceiling, which is close to the roof, is at the highest part over twenty-five feet from the floor. On three sides there are high and broad windows, so that the sun may shine into the ward at every part of the day, and under the eaves is another set of windows, hinged at the lower edges, to admit air as well as light. There are four open fireplaces around a ventilating shaft, and even when the windows are not open enormous quantities of air are thrown into and drawn out of the ward, both day and night, by artificial means. No ward could be more attractive and cheerful either for patients or nurses.

After breakfast the day nurses come from the Homes to the Hospitals, in New York at eight o'clock, in Boston at seven. The work of the day begins with the breakfast of the patient, and for the rest of the day, except while they are at the Homes for dinner, the nurses are pretty steadily occupied till they are relieved at evening by the night nurses. Regular arrangements are made for exercise and recreation. The pupils receive no wages, but ten dollars a month is given them for clothing and personal expenses. At the end of the year of pupilage they become full nurses, and receive a salary about equivalent to that usually received by hospital nurses. They remain, however, for another year under the direction of the School, and may be employed either in the School, taking care of the wards and teaching others, or in other hospitals, or nursing both in poor and in rich families. In the latter case, the money paid for their services belongs to the School, and in this way the nurses may repay the School in part for what they have received in the previous year.

The Boston School has but just arrived at its second year. The organization of this School was begun many months before it was opened. In Boston a circular inviting applications was issued early in August, 1873. This circular was similar to that used by the Nightingale School, but altered in some respects. Three hundred copies were distributed, mainly to physicians in Massachusetts. Up to November 1st, 1873, when the School opened, nineteen candidates had applied, and from these the six pupils were selected who entered the School at the beginning. Up to the present time fifty-one applications for admission have been received. Of these forty-two came from different parts of Massachusetts, three from New York, two from Rhode Island, and one each from Illinois, Pennsylvania, Maine, and Connecticut. As to the previous occupations of the applicants, sixteen lived at home, ten were engaged in manufactures or business of some sort, ten were doing housework, nine were nurses or were employed in public institutions, and six were school teachers. At present there are fifteen pupils in the School, who are earnest and intelligent, and give good promise of becoming first-rate nurses. New applications are constantly coming in, and whereas at first the committee had to decline a large proportion of the applicants, as unsuitable, at the present time most of those who apply are such as it would be desirable to admit.

In New York seventy-three applications had been received at the time of the first annual report, nine months after the school opened, "from all parts of the Union, including Colorado territory, Minnesota and California." The New York School opened with nine pupils and two head-nurses in six wards. It now has charge of eight wards, and there are in all twenty-five nurses and pupils, but four of them having finished their year of pupilage, as has been mentioned, are sent out to nurse in private families. They are, however, still under the direction of the school, and subject to the following rules, which are similar to the rules used for the same purpose in England.

Rules for nurses going out to private service:

1st. That the nurses are to attend the sick, both rich and poor, at hospitals or private houses, as the committee or lady-superintendent may appoint.

2d. That when sent from the Home to attend a patient, they

receive their instructions from the lady-superintendent, and do not leave the case without communicating with her; this they can do by letter at any time.

3d. That while on duty in the Home, at the hospital, or in private houses, the regulations of the school with regard to dress are to be observed by the nurse.

4th. That a nurse is always to bring back with her a certificate of conduct and efficiency from the family of her patient, or from the medical attendant.

It is expected that nurses will bear in mind the importance of the situation they have undertaken, and will evince, at all times, the self-denial, forbearance, gentleness and good temper so essential in their attendance on the sick, and also to their character as Christian nurses. They are to take the whole charge of the sick-room, doing everything that is requisite in it, when called upon to do so. When nursing in families where there are no servants, if their attention be not of necessity wholly devoted to their patient, they are expected to make themselves generally useful. They are to be careful not to increase the expense of the family in any way. They are also most earnestly charged to hold sacred the knowledge which, to a certain extent, they must obtain of the private affairs of such households or individuals as they may attend.

Communications from or on the subject of nurses may be made personally, or by letter, to the Lady-Superintendent, Nurse's Home, 314 E. 26th street, New York.

The important difficulties encountered by the Training Schools in America, have not arisen from any serious lack of suitable pupils. There are women enough of education and intelligence who are willing to spend one year in the hospital, learning to nurse, and a second year in nursing under the control of the School, in order to become thoroughly trained. The great difficulty has been that we were obliged to begin the work in New York with only a trained superintendent, and without trained head-nurses, and in Boston with neither a trained superintendent nor trained head-nurses. Had these schools been established immediately after the War of the Rebellion, we should doubtless have found women of sufficient experience in nursing to be head-nurses, but none who were thoroughly acquainted with the system

of Training Schools. When the School opened in New York, head-nurses were with great difficulty found to take charge of the wards. At the end of six months, however, they had all left the School or had been discharged, and pupils of five months' standing were appointed to supply their places. In Boston two head-nurses were engaged at the outset, one for each of the wards—and up to the present time, there have been in all, five head-nurses who have remained in the School for longer or shorter periods Only one of them, however, who had been a nurse in the hospital for more than ten years, is still retained. One not having had enough experience for the place, became a pupil, and the others were discharged as being unfit for the position.

Now that there are three wards under the care of the Boston School, the superintendent has, besides the general supervision, also the special supervision of one ward, while the head-nurse is over the other two. The real trouble arises from a want of experience in this country in the practical management of this (to us) new institution, and of the technical knowledge of the subject which it is intended to teach; but this difficulty is rapidly being overcome, with as few drawbacks as could be expected at the beginning of so great an undertaking. With the excellent material which is in them we need have no doubt but that the American Training Schools will take a high place among nursing institutions all over the world. It has been abundantly proved that there is a demand for trained nurses, and women enough of the right sort are coming forward to be educated as fast as the opportunity is given to them.

Boston, Oct., 1874. CHARLES P. PUTNAM.

APPENDIX TO ARTICLE ON TRAINING-SCHOOLS FOR NURSES.

A lack of information in regard to the work that Philadelphia has done in the training of nurses being apparent in the foregoing article, it may be well, as a matter of justice, to give some account of the history and progress of this department of education in our city.

In 1839, Dr. Joseph Warrington, at that time physician in charge of the Obstetrical Department of the Philadelphia Dispensary, become painfully conscious of the need, among the poor women under his supervision, of well trained doctors and nurses, capable of fulfilling their functions in sickness generally, and in the care of lying-in cases in particular. He found that it was impossible to get the out door physicians of the Dispensary to take a proper interest in the work of his department, and he found further, that the efforts of such as did come up to the work, were often rendered fruitless by the ignorance and general inefficiency of the nurses who were expected to carry out their orders. Being satisfied that the need existed, and that a large field was open from which it might be supplied, he at once interested in the cause a number of the influential and philanthropic women of the city, and the result of their combined labors was an institution, the object of which was, primarily, to supply respectable poor women with medical aid, nursing and nourishment in their confinements; and secondarily, though essentially for the full carrying out of the first, to establish a school where young physicians could be made expert in the management of that class of cases, and good women trained to be their skillful nurses and fitted to take care not only of the poor, but also of the wealthy patient. For at that time rich and poor suffered about alike; in the houses of both, the Gamps and Prodgitts were the torment of the physician and the mortal dread of the poor helpless mother. The institution referred to was the "Philadelphia Lying-in Charity and Nurse Society," which has, from its foundation to the present day, thirty-five years, been steadily, but quietly training doctors and nurses, and giving them their first experiences in the care of the poor women applying for aid to the Charity, of whom over ten thousand have now been attended, and supplied with physicians, with nurses, and with nourishment and comforts. How they have been attended and nursed may be judged from the fact that, during the history of the Charity, the mortality has been less than one in four hundred.

The method of training which, except in one particular, to be dwelt upon hereafter, has been continued from the time of the foundation of the School by Dr. Warrington, upon his original plan, is as follows:

The applicants for instruction presented themselves to a special

committee of the ladies in the board of management. The requisites for admission to the class being a certain amount of education, reliable testimonials as to good moral character, an unexceptionable record of integrity, and an age between twenty-one and forty-five years; these qualifications were examined into carefully, and if the committee were thoroughly satisfied, the applicant was entered upon the class list. She then gave attendance upon a course of lectures by the chief physician of the institution upon the general principles of nursing in ordinary sickness, in connection with a thorough instruction in all the details of the peculiar duties of nurses in charge of obstetric patients and their infant children, beginning with their first relations with their patients, and including everything needed to fit them for the position of nurses among the rich as well as the poor. These lectures were delivered in the presence of the medical class, and after the completion of the course the pupils, both physicians and nurses, were required to give proof of their attainments by practicing upon a manikin prepared for the purpose, going through the whole routine of duties involved in the care of the living patient. After this the pupil nurse received her instruction in dietetic preparations from the matron of the institution, and was then ready to enter upon her work. Every nurse in her pupilage had to nurse at their homes six dispensary cases, attended by the pupil physicians of the Charity, under the supervision of the chief, for which she was paid by the institution; having finished these, she next was sent to what were called her second-class cases, consisting of women in the humble walks of life, who were, however, able to pay the nurse a small compensation. Having completed these several duties to the entire satisfaction of the physicians and lady-managers, she received her diploma and went out to engagements on her own account.

The only modification in this course of training has been in the last three years, a change as to the requirement of nursing six dispensary cases, this being found to be a condition from which many an excellent woman, admirably fitted by nature and training for the duties of a nurse, recoiled in dread, the hardships involved in going into the families of the destitute, where the whole labor of the house devolved upon her, where the mother had to be nursed, and the children looked after, and sometimes a drunken,

brutal husband to be contended with, having nothing to eat but what was provided daily by the Charity, no ample sleeping accommodations, and all the privations of squalid poverty to be shared, being more than a delicate woman, however strong her human impulses might be, could be capable of enduring. Until the last three years, every pupil was required to go through this ordeal before getting her diploma; many who began their instruction withdrew before the requirement was fulfilled, and the physicians of the Institution became satisfied that the great demand in the community for their nurses could never be supplied, if some change was not made. Of a class of women who were suited by their early association and natural refinement of feeling for becoming successful nurses among a better class of people, none but the very robust and vigorous could bear the test required of them. The Institution which, up to the present time, has always been exclusively an out-door charity, urged by these considerations, is now enlarging the sphere of its usefulness, and especially increasing its facilities as a training school for nurses, by making an addition to its building of wards for the accommodation of about thirty patients, partly obstetrical, and partly such surgical cases as are sent from the large clinic for out-door patients attached to the Charity. Thus the nurses can be comfortably accommodated and be under the direct control and continuous supervision of the matron and physicians. Although the advantages mentioned by Dr. Putnam in his article, as accruing to patients from out-door nursing charities, are theoretically great, yet the practical difficulties experienced by the Philadelphia Institution duringthirty-two years of active operation, must always work unfavorably if made a requisite in the course of training for nurses to be supplied to all classes of patients in a community. That the existence of such a Charity for so long a period, was unknown to him, is surprising, yet he states that "nursing of the poor at their own homes has not, as yet, been undertaken by any American School." For thirty-five years this training school has been moving along steadily and quietly; from the peculiar nature of the Charity with which it is connected, it cannot be brought so prominently to public notice as other institutions, and it has been cut off from the personal interest and attention of that influential class of philanthropists, the *maiden* ladies of means and leisure, whose efforts

have built up and endowed so many of our noble benevolent institutions. It has prosecuted its work of usefulness upon little means, unostentatiously, and without any éclat; 193 nurses have been trained, going through the full course of pupilage, and many have received the Lecture Room instruction and have gone out as professional nurses without completing the practical training in attendance upon the patients of the Charity.

A feature of this School, which is believed to belong to it exclusively, is the teaching of the nurses in the presence of a class of medical men, who, returning to their homes in the various sections of our land, become themselves, in their daily professional life, practical teachers and trainers of nurses; and to the beneficial results of this system, constant testimonials are received from the old pupils of the institution by the medical officers in charge of it.

The criticism might be made that this is only a training school for *monthly* nurses, but they are instructed in everything pertaining to the duties of nurses in medical or surgical cases; and are constantly called upon to give their services to such, and many of the best nurses of the institution have given up monthly nursing and devoted themselves only to cases of general sickness.

During the pupilage of the nurse she is required to live in the "Home," but after finishing her instruction, it is optional with her, either to board at the "Home" at a low rate of expense, or simply to register her name and engagement, having her residence eleswhere. Every nurse when she begins her training, is required to sign a pledge, binding herself to a brief code of ethics in her relations with physicians, patients, and other nurses.

At the Woman's Hospital the Nurse Training School, though actively at work for only two years, has been so far very successful. This school was established at the opening of the Hospital in 1861, being especially provided for in the Charter of the Institution. The first pupil entered upon her training in 1863, others following in regular succession, though not in any considerable number, until in 1872 an endowment donation of $8,500 from Dr. Dodd "in memoriam" of his wife, for the special purpose of aiding this work, greatly added to their facilities for a more thorough system of training. Since that time the number of pupil-nurses has increased rapidly. So far forty-six nurses have been under instruc-

tion, of whom forty-one have already graduated. Two courses of lectures by the resident physician are delivered during the year; the nurses receive their board and instruction for eight months nursing the patients of the obstetrical, surgical and medical wards in rotation, and occasionally are called upon to nurse the obstetric patients of the out-door dispensary; having constant instruction in the preparation of diet from the head-nurse. The School, so far, has been very fortunate in getting applications from an excellent class of women, and has already sent out, as the writer can testify, from personal observation of their work in private families, a number of very well-trained and superior nurses.

The Episcopal Hospital has a department for the education of nurses, but so far it has assumed rather the character of a sisterhood for the visitation of the sick, than a school for the training of nurses in the ordinary duties and attentions required of them.

The statement that "no serious lack of *suitable* pupils" has existed in America, is not confirmed by the experience of the Philadelphia Lying-in and Nurse Charity. For many years advertisements were kept in the city and country papers, calling for applicants with the requisite qualifications and circulars sent to prominent physicians, asking their co-operation; and yet, although the instruction was gratuitous, and the nursing done among the dispensary patients in the course of training fully paid for by the institution, and the demand constant for their services at higher wages than women receive for any other occupation (being at the rate of $500 to $600 per annum with board), while the number of applicants was large, the number accepted as *suitable* was quite small. No regular record of the number of applicants has been kept, but the annual reports of the Charity for seventeen out of the thirty-seven years incidentally mention the number of applicants and the number accepted. During these years out of 275 applicants only 86 were admitted, being only one-third; although the proportion varied much in different years, in one being as low as three accepted out of twenty applicants, and in some years all the applicants being found suitable. At the school attached to the Woman's Hospital since its opening there have been over 100 applicants, from which the 46 mentioned were accepted. Not that there is any great lack of women admirably suited for such a profes-

sion, but of such there are few disposed to adopt it. And one important reason for this is the fact that so far the community have not come up to an appreciation of the relation existing between themselves and their nurses. While the compensation paid is high, and while very many regard their nurses with the greatest affection, and make them always welcome to the family circle, yet comparatively very few are prepared to recognize the professional character of the skilled nurse to such a degree as to encourage sensitive and delicate women to enter upon a course of training, except from the most urgent necessity. Time alone, with an increase in the number of high-toned, trained nurses, can remedy this trouble.

S.

THE PROPHET.[1]

THERE is a certain class of our countrymen who look from sewing machines and railroad projects with longing eyes for the advent of the great American novel or epic or drama. A century of material and political success does not reconcile them to the absence of poets, painters and dramatists national as well in themes as in birth. But several things must combine to produce such works of art and a great historical event is as necessary as a genius to immortalize it. These factors are rarely contemporaneous, for the days capable of doing great deeds are careless of chronicling them. Many of the masterpieces were produced not in the rise but in the decline of nations, when the artist was stirred by looking back on better things. In the books of the Judges, the Kings and the Chronicles we have the unadorned record of facts; great facts indeed, but for art and poetry we look to the lamentations of the prophets. Troy, Thermopylæ and Salamis gave tongue to the Greek tragedians, and the splendor of the eloquence of Demosthenes was fired by the ancestors of his hearers. Not very different was the inspiration of the Augustan age. And if this is what is needed to produce American masterpieces in these walks no good citizen will regret their absence.

Certainly there have been events in our history well worth dramatization, and none more remarkable than Mormonism,

[1]The Prophet. A tragedy by Bayard Taylor. Boston, Jas. R. Osgood & Co., 1874. Pp. 300. 12mo.

which Mr. Taylor has chosen as his subject in the Prophet. It cannot be over-estimated as a theme for poetic art. A religion, nonsensical and extraordinary, propounded in the year 1830 by an ignorant countryman, who with his family were strongly suspected of dark ways, numbers in 1874 hundreds of thousands of disciples, and has turned a wilderness into a garden. Like Mohammedanism and Christianity it sprang from the teaching of one man, and like them, encountered the most violent and even brutal opposition. The prophet was frequently mobbed, fired at, imprisoned and finally murdered. Through everything he bore himself with a constancy that could be attributed to no meaner cause than fanaticism. Only a poet could follow this flight of faith or of fancy and best explain this peculiar power of mind that has been given to so few men in the world's history. Without any admiration for the religious jumble of the latter-day saints, we have to admit the dignity of their triumph over uncommon obstacles. From Manchester, N. Y., Smith and his handful of followers were driven to Kirtland, Ohio; from there to Missouri, from there to Illinois, where the prophet was lynched in jail, and, with always increasing numbers, from there under Brigham Young to the great Utah Basin. And these were not emigrations, but exoduses, hegiras. In ruder times such hardy saints would have issued from their fastnesses with sword and spear against the Gentile; but, more in accordance with the nowadays genius, they have pushed their front in extensive propagandism and useful industry.

This imperfect outline of the Mormon undertaking we have offered not for the purpose of speculating as to its causes and advantages but to show the nature of Mr. Taylor's subject and that in it lie some of the best elements for dramatization. Strange and unpopular doctrines springing from an ignorant preacher attaining miraculous success: monstrous claims to revelations finding ready credence: courageous endurance of persecution: finally the establishment in the interior of the youngest civilized nation, of a theocracy more suited to the circumstances of the children of Israel in the Wilderness. We have the event for an American drama, but in our opinion we have not found the man to treat it.

In the *dramatis personæ* of the Prophet, David represents Joseph Smith, Rhoda his first, Livia his second wife—contemporane-

ous, of course—and Nimrod Kraft we understand to represent Brigham Young.

David is introduced as a dreamer whose views break out definitely in a camp-meeting, where he enters into a nondescript dispute with the preacher, objecting principally to the worthy man as not possessed of the gift of tongues or of powers of healing. Subsequently on being questioned by his parents as to this disreputable disturbance, the seer replies ("with a strange, rapt expression of face"), "Quarantania," which he follows by a new-fashioned quarantine of *four* days in Scene V.—"a wild, rocky valley between hills covered with forests; on the left an overhanging cliff; a small brook in the foreground." Among the felicitous tests which Mr. Taylor supplies in this valley to satisfy David of his divine commission are the following:

1st. A triumphant struggle with what, from our knowledge of New England, we should take to be a garter snake. Page 47.

[*There is a rustling among the leaves. A snake thrusts its head forth from under a bush, and gazes at him.*]

> "Temptation, was it? and the tempter, thou,
> In thy first shape? I will not be afeared.
> If thou hast power, come forth: if I, depart!
> I dare the fascination of thine eyes.
> Look thou, lest mine subdue thee. Is it so?
> He veils the glittering, bead-like sparks, and turns,
> Startled, and winds in sinuous escape.
> Why, this is fresh fulfilment of the Word!
> Faint not, my soul: the rest will surely come."

Which it does when

2d. Rhoda, his fiancée,—we feel that this term is not up to the spirit of the theme—with Peter, who plays Ali to David's Mohammed, enter the "rocky vale," etc., unseen, with a basket of provisions, which Peter spreads invitingly on a jutting rock. Now, if Mr. Taylor would have us consider the play natural at all, he must permit us to assume as, in a critical point of view, an axiom that at least one-half of these provisions consisted of pie and doughnuts. A natural lunch basket could not be put up in any of the New England States on other conditions. Yet David receives this customary fare as coming from the hands of the angel Gabriel at least.

3d. Finally Nimrod Kraft pierces the "rocky vale, etc.," assures

him neatly of his divine call and begs a blessing. Thus David is, as Shakespeare would be, could he read the notes to his plays, cleverly surprised into his gifts.

Page 58:

> "And yet a powerful soul!
> Acknowledges authority in me."

Quarantania (divided by ten) thus happily over and the Prophet entirely convinced, he makes an engagement to preach at a certain rock. Under, as the notes inform us, "an uncertain sky and portending storm," he concludes the sermon by addressing the words "be thou removed" to the crest of an overhanging rock, which instantly crashes down, followed, after a similar invitation, by thunder and lightning with great quantities of rain. The thunder and lightning effect might spoil the illusion for any but the willing reader who may rely on this as more genuine than the bread basket miracle.

Then two years elapse and we find in Act II. the Prophet, Rhoda his wife, his child and a large caravan of disciples entering their home in "a western state." Among the first to welcome him to his new city is one Livia, a converted belle of first-class society—somewhere. Her abandonment of the modern Moloch seems due to her failure to find among his worshipers a male soul large enough or white enough or otherwise suitable to link to her own and perfect her Being. At all events she asks the gift of tongues. To whom the Prophet

Page 100:

> "Take thou the gift, in measure as thy faith
> Shall justify, and even so exercise."

Whereupon she

> " Airo pamétha loydór ondis abárka
> * * * * * * *
> Oráthmedón ádra, bánnorim ádra slávo.'

At this salvo the people were justly astonished, but from the limited gift of tongues possessed by us we have a strong suspicion that Livia was humbugging them.

Act III. brings us to perhaps the most extraordinary fact in Mormon history viz: the introduction of polygamy, a relation expressly prohibited in the book of Mormon. That this generally detested and to them forbidden doctrine could be successfully

engrafted on the religion after it had passed triumphantly through its first and hardest trials, is little short of miraculous. We shall not attempt to discuss what were the real grounds of the change, whether of expediency or of closer imitation of the Old Testament dispensation; but Mr. Taylor gives no explanation but the passion of the Prophet for Livia, or more correctly of Livia for the Prophet. Under her promptings his "inner sense" began to wake up to the spiritual advantage of polygamy. Here are some of her opinions on certain topics of general interest.

Page 127.

> "There is no woman lives but in her soul
> Demands a bridegroom; failing one of flesh,
> Then one of spirit. Learn to promise this
> In secret visitations, mystic signs,
> Make truth seem love, and knowledge ecstasy,
> And you will lead our sex."

Page 242.

> "Those Pagans, to their monstrous idol bowed,—
> Once Moloch named, but now Society,—
> Defile, when turned to their forgotten Lord,
> His altars with false fire. Ah! had I found
> One pure male soul among them, not ashamed
> To seek, believe, aspire and overcome,—
> With love's white heat to clarify my own,
> And dear dependence on my differing force,—
> I had remained!"

The High Priest and the council of twelve, with the exception of two, receive from the Prophet this new mutton bone of revelation with delight. Hear the classic tone in which Peter ruminates over the hint given him by Nimrod Kraft that he may be able to wed both Jane and Mary Ann between whom, like the lover in the ballad, he could not choose.

Page 148.

> "It's half a pity such a man as that
> Is out of Congress! When he means a thing,
> It's safe to bet the thing will happen soon.
> So *that's* the secret; and they're flustered both,
> Misdoubting, doubtless, how the folks will take!
> I'm mighty 'cute, when I lay out to be,
> And here's good reason. Oh, I'll bait my hooks,
> And jerk men's thoughts out, fast as hungry pike!
> I'll go ahead where David wants to walk,
> And cut a swath, then Jane and Mary Ann."

Rhoda receives the news from Heaven unkindly and looks on Livia in a light not at all spiritual. During her efforts to move the Prophet from his purpose it comes out that she, and not ministering angels fed him during his mysterious Quarantania; a discovery which throws him into an agony of doubt. Page 164.

> ——— "the house
> Rocks to and fro, the temple's pinnacles
> Dance in the air like devils' shuttle-cocks:
> There is nothing stable."

He rushes to the temple. Midnight. The Prophet's face buried in his hands. A shadow glides swiftly from pillar to pillar. The shadow begins to sound the brass pipes of the organ, scarcely audible but gradually increasing, and then adds a faint flute-like stop. These sounds are construed into angel voices and heavenly approval and the Prophet begins to think that he is a prophet after all, when the shadow saves the story by stepping out in the form of Livia. She declares she was called by a dream to soothe him, gives him kisses (written by authority, page 176), which the Prophet returns like a man. She tells him also that she knows the plan that is in his mind, and is entirely ready for any sacrifice that would make him happier. Page 175.

> "Come, and be yourself
> The law, the revelation!"

[*He stretches out his arms; Livia throws herself upon his breast.*]

> "David! now
> My Prophet and my love."

Rhoda is at home sewing, with a testament—*New*—in her lap, and her baby in a cradle at her feet.

In act IV., the two apostles who dissent from the polygamic revelation, Jonas on honest grounds, and Hugh from a desire for advancement, plot to bring in the civil authority under one Col. Hyde. Nimrod Kraft, as usual, discovers the disaffection instantly and brings Hugh round by promises of reward. As for honest Jonas the Apostles in council assembled advise the Prophet that a revelation to "let him not be" would be quite timely. The Prophet launches out into a strain of ecstatic reflection, and rests

his final judgment as to the necessity of the revelation on the following incident in the private lives of himself and a dog.

[*He pauses, looks upward with an expression of profound abstraction, and continues as if speaking to himself.*]

I see the poor beast's eyes,
And that tremendous question hid in them,
I tried to answer. Like a human life
I loved the dog's; but when the other came,
With certain madness in his slavering jaws,
And sprang upon and bit and tumbled him,
Then staggered forward, seeking where to die,
My hands were armed with pitying cruelty;
And he, so doomed, forefeeling all his doom,
Crouched down, and whimpering read some fatal change,
Set in my face: the liquid lustrous eyes.
So sad with yearning after human speech,
With love that never can declare itself,
So tender, now so wild with dumb despair,
Implored in vain: it was a tragedy,
O God! and I the unrelenting fate.
'Twas kindness in the shape of monstrous guilt
Disguised; and, for his sake and mine, I prayed
That, through continuous being, he might know
And pardon.

The High Priest employs these internal difficulties to supplant the Prophet, but David saves him more trouble by getting killed.

Such is the story Mr. Taylor tells us, and we believe the passages quoted fairly represent the whole. We might have expected him to give us some explanation of the inflatus of an untutored soul like Smith's; to let us into the processes of his mind; to explain the hold he had on his hearers; to give us some theory of his religion; to tell us something of the esteem in which he held other religions. Instead of this we have a mere rhapsody.

The Prophet is of stuff that can be fooled by such things as the snake and the food trick; he can be lifted from doubt and despair by a few touches on the organ; he is egged on to a new revelation by a desire for another wife; he is wax in the hands of Livia, and in the end a dupe for Kraft. There is presented no distinct phase of character in him but that of an amiable lunatic.

Livia is a belle of society who flies after this man to the new

Jerusalem, kisses him, tells him dreams when he is troubled, and plays generalissimo for him in the last act against Kraft, and the Gentiles.

Peter is a vulgar fellow with no marked peculiarity except what he calls horse sense, which is certainly welcome between the ecstasies.

Nimrod Kraft is perhaps the most impossible character in the play. As representing Brigham Young, it is not true to fact, inasmuch as the now Prophet is and always was a genuine disciple and devotee of Joe Smith. Nor is it true to nature; because a cunning schemer would not have been from Quarantania and the thick of the fight the Prophet's faithful lieutenant, to prove traitor and supplanter as his high priest. The latter is conceivable enough, but not following the former.

We cannot help saying that we are egregiously disappointed in the poem. The treatment of the subject belittles it. The objections that we make are not superficial to style or expression, but they go unrelieved by style or expression, right to the root of the play, to its conception and method. We cannot but painfully contrast the work with Longfellow's simple and poetic New England tragedies.

NEW BOOKS.

History of the United States from the discovery of the American Continent. By George Bancroft. Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1874. For sale by Claxton, Remsen & Haffelfinger.

Mr. Bancroft's tenth and final volume, long announced, is before us. The first impression is that of agreeable disappointment. What there is in his power to do well is at its best, and the faults, especially when the volume is compared with its predecessor, are as little repelling as is possible—with Mr. Bancroft. In the first and most important place, we have an end of calumny: the defense which met his assaults upon General Greene and others has not been without its effect, and the patriots of the Middle and Southern States are now admitted by the author, with the ancestors of himself and his neighbors, into a share of the glory of having freed their country, Mr. Bancroft's native tone, however, which resembles perhaps more than any one other thing else, the small suspiciousness of a harsh school-master, one who takes it

for granted that his boys are lying and only lucky enough to be often not found out, runs through even this volume. In describing the Arnold conspiracy, which it may be said is vigorously told, there is for example, on page 288, this passage: "They" (Paulding, Van Wart and Williams) "delivered him" (Andre) "with his papers, to Lieutenant-Colonel Jameson, etc. *What passed between Andre and Jameson is not known. The result of the interview was, that on the twenty-fourth the prisoner was ordered by Jameson to be taken to Arnold,* but on a sharp remonstrance from Major Tallmadge, the next in rank, the order was countermanded." Now, either too much is here said, or far from enough; if Jameson was party to an outrageous treason, the assertion supported by evidence should have been made in terms; if, however, there was no further proof beyond the fact of the order described, then in mere honesty, to say nothing of right feeling, Mr. Bancroft should have ascertained something about the standing and reputation of the man at whom his blow is dealt, and if these were good, have had the grace to deny himself the ugly sneer. We have too the same petty sectional prejudice which disfigures the rest of the work; the same pretentiousness, the same unnatural rhetoric, and the same inability to see calmly and broadly the great drama. The most inexcusable thing in the whole book is a chapter or two of fifty pages in all, beginning with the time of Charlemagne and Henry the Fowler, taken up with the history of Germany, a power which never lifted its finger in our behalf. This, with constant references to the same subject cropping up throughout the volume, makes one wonder what is the reason of its all being there, till we remember that the writer has just been minister at Berlin, and went to college with Bismarck. This gratuitous pedantry shows itself again in the use of a quasi-scientific jargon, as for example the following on page 50: "But as an epidemic disease leaps mys-" "teriously over mountains and crosses oceans, *spores* of discon-" "tent might be unaccountably borne to germinate among the" "many-tongued people of South America:" on page 58: "That" "nation which rescued from the choked and shallowed sea, the un-" "stable *silt* and sands brought down by the Rhine," and on page 144: "The *initial velocity* of the British attack was exhausted," etc. Nor is this the only way in which fine writing is strained after. For instance, in the history of Germany, already mentioned, we have the state of the world before Luther arose to promote, as it would seem, the independence of the thirteen British American Colonies, described thus, page 74: "The earth wrapped in thickest" "darkness sighed for the dawn;" and Goethe's obvious connection with the same event thus: "The thought of emigrating to" "America passed placidly over his imagination, leaving no more" "mark than the shadow of a flying cloud as it sweeps over a" "flower-garden." There seems to be an unquiet vanity in Mr.

Bancroft which will never let him rest contented with stating a plain fact in simple language; he must perpetually be showing off his acquirements—a knowledge of German history, a personal acquaintance with Thierry, or the Bunsens, or whoever it may happen to be, a familiarity with George Eliot's poetry, a command of the technical phrases of physiology or geology, or the power of writing picturesque prose, etc., etc. It is an every-day experience how of two men of equal capacity, admittedly of equal culture as that word is commonly received, one will wear his intellectual garments as if they were part of himself, while the other is uncomfortably conscious in every movement—the one knowing no more than the other, having read probably fewer books, shows that he has always lived in an atmosphere of scholarship a d refinement, while the other gives one the impression of having at some period of his life (very early it may be) taken a resolution of self-cultivation. In literature, that is, the former is a gentleman, the latter a parvenu; and while we do not care to describe Mr. Bancroft by this last offensive epithet, we must say that he forces us to deny to him that fellowship which would of itself go out to a writer of the higher of the two schools. Reviewing the finished work, a sense of failure cannot be avoided. With the utmost advantages; a scholarly leisure enjoyed by very few writers of this country; an access to that documentary evidence which during the last few years has revolutionized the art of historical writing; a familiarity with men and books, and above all the inestimable experience of the last forty years by whose light to read the true meaning of events of the era half a century preceding, Mr. Bancroft has not achieved a result in which we can feel much national pride. The great opportunity has come and gone and been misused—a grand story has been told with no little clearness and force, it is true, and has its interest and profit for every reader; but in the telling there is disingenuousness, ill-nature, littleness of mind, unlimited self-assumption, and between us and the great actors comes at every turn the small figure of an obtrusive narrator.

THE BUILDING OF A BRAIN. By Edward H. Clarke, M. D. Boston. Jas. R. Osgood & Co., 1874. 12 mo. pp. 153, price $1.25. [Claxton, Remsen & Haffelfinger.]

Any contribution of *facts* to the woman question, especially one from the author of "Sex in Education," will be welcomed by all parties. This particular book contains information and statistics lying peculiarly within the ken of the medical world and not generally enough known outside of it. Dr. Clarke points out that up to the present time no race has ever obtained a permanent foothold on this continent. There is reason to think that the

native American stock would die out like the rest, were it not constantly re-invigorated from the Old World. Now the problem for educators is how to perpetuate the race, and to do so with a constant advance in the scale of existence by the survival of the fittest. He answers, that we must produce better physiques; that is, organisms more perfect and harmonious in every organ from the brain down.

These being the premises, Dr. Clarke proposes, in distinction from the Topsy method of *growth*, to build brains. He objects to the education devoted entirely to conscious cerebration in the shape of lessons, to the neglect of unconscious cerebration, or the exercise of the brain in supervising all the other organs. As the brain is evolved from the organization, built out of the body, every defect in the sexual, nutritive or nervous organs injures it. A perfect harmony through the whole system is necessary to the production of a healthy brain. This interdependence of the parts of the body, he illustrates by the relation of the two sides of the brain to the arms. The left brain, which is the larger, controls the right arm, which is generally the most effective and useful of the two; so that Brown-Sequard has recommended the training of the left hand and arm in children as a means of increasing intellectual power. In a physique harmoniously and consistently developed, exercise instead of exhausting, stimulates and developes the brain.

So far the process of brain building is alike for each sex. But at this point, Dr. Clarke points out the physiological differences between men and women, and compels us, with what grace we may, to admit since the building of a healthy brain must go on in perfect accord with that of the other organs, and those organs are not the same in each sex, that the building process for each must be different. During the periods of life therefore in which these differences exist, boys and girls ought to be educated differently and not co-educated. Many a teacher by reading this book would be saved from acts of cruelty unconsciously inflicted on girls by indiscriminately exciting them to study, and not a few ashen-eyed students might be convinced that they are not learning, writing, doing or earning more by devoting themselves continuously to one thing. They may still work, but their fire is out. Indian clubs, etc., have a direct influence on pleadings and diagnoses. All study and no play (*nomen generalissimum*) makes Jack a dull boy.

We suspect that Dr. Clarke considers the physiological differences of the sexes sufficient to make them occupy towards each other only one of the several relations that circles in Geometry do, viz: that of entire distinctness. But in this book he keeps his opinions well in hand, and confines himself strictly to his point. We may be pardoned for saying that conclusive as the

evidence is in the issue of co-education, it does not prevent us from thinking that women might, consistently with nature and healthy brains, share in many if not most of the pursuits now monopolized by men. They ought not to be co-educated, for natural reasons; and so they ought not to do, and we dare say they will not do anything else contrary to nature; and this is the answer to those who protest against women undertaking duties contrary to the laws of their nature or, still more generally, of nature—that if they strive against nature they will perish; the best refutation possible. There never has been and probably never will be any legislation preventing one-legged men from dancing the tight rope, or blind men from following the calling of pilots. Even in the male sex many are prevented from various callings by delicacy and other causes, perhaps sometimes by periodical diseases, like fever and ague.

Only throw open every avenue to women, and one need not the gift of prophecy to say:

1st. That only those who wish to, as distinguished from a general phrensy of the sex, will enter them.

2d. That when they choose a calling, they will do so in accordance with the laws of nature.

3d. That those who dô not, will cease to be employed, or perish under the inexorable law of the survival of the fittest.

CELEBRITIES OF THE PAST AND PRESENT, Chiefly adapted from Sainte-Beuve. By Malcolm Maceuen. Cloth. Oct. Pp. 240. Price $1.50. Porter & Coates, Philadelphia, 1874.

Of the fifteen essays in this volume, which consists of a series of sketches of great political actors and writers, ten are devoted to French men and women, a preference readily understood when Mr. Maceuen tells us that they are chiefly adapted from the works of the most delicate and subtle of French critics, Ste.-Beuve. The essays are sprightly and interesting, rather suggestive than instructive as to mere facts, the adaptation being for the most part mere abridgment from the original French.

The book opens with Richelieu, presented not only as the scarlet-robed minister whose will was law to king and country, but also as the founder of the French Academy, as a man of letters whose Political Testament, in spite of the sneers of Voltaire and of Frederick of Prussia, was commended by La Bruyère as a study reflecting the author's genius and discovering the secret springs of his actions. Richelieu's career deserves the charity for which his own maxim calls, "Many persons would have gained salvation as private individuals who have been damned by their public career." Whatever his faults, it must be acknowledged that even his self-seeking was of a loftier tone than that of Mazarin, on whom he let his mantle fall. Reputation was to him the only prize worthy a

man's best efforts, and while even in death Mazarin clung despairingly to the riches and adornments of life, Richelieu's stronger soul heard the "roll of the ages."

The third Cardinal follows: De Retz, whose schemes and conspiracies resulted only in the "might have been;" but to whose political failures we are reconciled by the possession of the delightful memoirs that picture his times to ours.

In the sketch of Lord Chesterfield, instead of the usual moral and social stand-point, we are shown the accomplished scholar and the affectionate father, enduring against disappointment, and not less tender in his love because his clear mind discerned in his son the want of that "Vivida vis animæ" that would have kindled a responsive ambition. How great a part of his life was this ambition for his son is betrayed when in deaf old age he writes from Black Heath: "This year has passed without pleasure and without suffering." Wealth, talent, distinguished and attached friends remained to him, but the hope that made these distinctions precious was dead with his son.

Any book that tries to give the every-day life, the hidden struggles, the failures and the triumphs of the great, should be eagerly welcomed. It affords a study that extends our views of men and things. For those to whom life is yet untried there are failures for warning; triumphs, even without the world's approval, for examples. There is the strength which thrills every generous mind as it reads the record of those who have cried out of the depths. The narrowest life by its common humanity is brought close to them. Dr. Arnold says "nil admirari" is the devil's text, and assures us that the realities we most reverence and admire in others are in some degree imparted to ourselves, so that we cannot too fully realize that not in the weaknesses and crimes of men, but in their noble deeds and qualities, we shall find the best lessons of history and biography.

TOINETTE. A Novel. By Henry Churton. New York: J. B. Ford & Co. 1874. 510 pp. 12 mo. cloth, $1.50. [J. B. Lippincott & Co.]

In the preface, Mr. Churton, after a modest appeal for public favor, gives as a reason for this work, "I looked and saw, and a voice said, write." The most determined of reviewers might quail before this; but casting off the spell of the revelation, we find little in the book to recommend. It adds another to the dreary list of war novels, but in this the war interest is subordinated to the social complications arising from slave rule.

Toinette is a beautiful slave, beloved and freed by her master, Geoffrey Hunter, and separated from him by the war. After some years she seeks him out, wounded and dying in an army

hospital, and by her faithful care restores him to life. The relation of master and slave is hardly that upon which they meet, since education and freedom have transformed the chattel into an accomplished and elegant woman, whose gentleness, fidelity, and higher views meet from him only scorn and rebuke. After many years spent as an engineer on the North Pacific railroad, and disappointed in life, with the old love rising again, Geoffrey Hunter comes to the Peace Jubilee. In the moment of her triumph, Toinette, the débutante, hears the cry, "Toinette!" Next day the police report a man found in the Coliseum, whose clothing is marked Geoffrey Hunter, and who answers all inquiries by "breathing softly and tenderly, 'Toinette.'" He loses his sight for the second time, and for the first time, the prejudice which forbade him to marry the slave who again nurses him to life, and the story ends where "a patient face, with darkened orbs, waits with a look of wondering worship, for the footsteps of a sweet-voiced woman."

The story of Toinette's trials is but a repetition of those of her mother, Belle, save that the mother attempts an indefinite number of murders, accomplishes one, and finally dies by her own hand. The moonlight encounter between Belle and Betsy Certain, a poor white, described as a beneficent genius in the book, is revolting. One woman does not, even in self-defense, kick and stamp upon another, torture her with a dagger, find music in her groans, and lead her with a halter round her neck to be buried alive. We are glad to assure the reader that Betsy relents, and with "a peaceful radiance" on her face which continues till the end of the book, devises the most generous plans for her enemy's welfare.

We should not have suspected people in the station of the "princely Hunters," of conversing in the vulgar vernacular which abounds in the book, nor can we think the use of Capitals sufficient to give the Carlyle stamp to a style so highly wrought and so weakened by adjectives as that of Mr. Churton. The political opinions of the book appear impartial. Lee has full praise, while no injustice is done to the "Smoker," or the "Hammer," as we may elect to call Grant. "The seemingly successful pigmy" in the person of Jefferson Davis, receives his dues, and in the streets of Richmond, the Avenger appears in the shape of Abraham Lincoln, accompanied by the Fanatic, the leonine child of the East, Charles Sumner.

Toinette, in her self-sacrifice, constancy, and newly-awakened purity of thought and action, is a strong and well-drawn character; but the improbable elements of the plot are so many, and the finale, in the marriage of the master and the slave, so startling to the prejudices of our society, that we cannot predict great success for the book.

ELENA; AN ITALIAN TALE. By L. N. Comyn. 12mo., cloth. $1.50. Boston: Estes & Lauriat.

The pleasure derived from the reading of this book is the same as that experienced by meeting an old friend in a new dress, the backbone of the plot being as old as the typical country circulating-library novel; one skilled in literary comparative anatomy easily foreseeing the events of the work, chapters in advance.

Thus, we have an accident that brings the hero-Marco and the heroine-Elena together; fate separates and reunites them, after the lapse of years, with increased affection on the lady's part and coolness on the gentleman's, the latter having fallen in love with Pauline, Elena's beautiful step-sister. Being compelled to engage himself to Elena by his father (for the sake of her fortune), he conquers his passion for Pauline, and, several months after marriage, discovers that he is in love with his wife; hardly has he realized the fact when the story is brought to a close by his arrest and execution for conspiring against the Papal government.

This bare outline suffices to show the want of invention that is noticeable in the book; in other respects the novel is good, the tone is pure, and good use has been made of the charm of Italian surroundings. Several situations are very beautiful; notably, the prison-scene where Marco, who is conscious of his fate, endeavors to make Elena believe that he is only to be imprisoned for some months.

Sleeplessness, caused by anxiety, forces Elena, the next morning, to take an early walk, and the course of her wandering brings her to the Place d'Armes just as her husband falls dead under the fire of a company of soldiers commanded by Louis Valan, who is compelled by his military duty to give the signal for his friend's execution. Of course, this is dramatic, but two or three even perfect leaves do not make a rose.

There is, throughout, too much high light and crude color used to produce an artistic effect; the Italian sunshine throws a glare over the whole scene and action.

Granting the possibility of all things, we decline to admit the possession of superlative qualities by *all* the characters in the book: we see a *very* dignified old marquis; Marco is as fiery as Valan is phlegmatic, Pauline is exceedingly beautiful but altogether heartless, while Elena is a glowing soul, but perfectly plain with the exception of the customary, wonderful, "*novel*"-eyes; the principle extends even to the minor characters. The general impression of the book, however, is pleasing, though we doubt if any idea therein has intellectual magnitude enough to prevent its passing the meshes of memory forever.

GERMAN UNIVERSITIES: a narrative of Personal Experience, together with recent statistical information, practical suggestions, and a comparison of the German, English and American Systems of Higher Education. By James Morgan Hart. New York, Putnam, 1874. Pp. 398. Price $1.75. [Claxton, Remson & Haffelfinger.]

Mr. Hart writes with hearty zeal and fair knowledge of his subject, and has given us a book that is sure to attract a great many readers. If it does not fully satisfy their honest thirst for information on all the subjects so broadly broached on his title page, it is simply due to the fact that the author has undertaken to cover too much ground with too little material. A man who has never been in either Oxford or Cambridge, and has no knowledge of them other than Bristed's antiquated book, ought not to spoil what he does know of German and American universities by attempting a comparison and by inviting criticism of a book which in this respect does not keep faith with the promise held out on its title page. In spite too of the years in which the book has been in preparation, there are curious slips of the pen and words which do not commend Mr. Hart's accuracy in matters of detail. It is hardly fair to credit Dr. Johnson with Tom Hood's witty but not wise line, "In France even the little children speak French." It is still less fair to his own German teachers of history, for Mr. Hart to tell us that the leading historians of the present generation are Freeman, Froude, Trollope (!) and Lingard (!!), and to talk about "Jaffe," whoever he may be, and to put Ranke or Dnoysen or Sybel forward as so incomparably superior to the real English authorities. Apart from these faults of style there are faults of substance, and not the least of these is the inordinate amount of "padding" with which Mr. Hart has helped out a rather barren personal experience. It is true that a man can write about German universities who went to Gottingen ignorant of German, and had to learn the language before he could avail himself of its really splendid opportunities of instruction; and it is equally true that a man who spends his summer months at Gottingen over German grammarsc an make himself pretty sick; and both these things Mr. Hart did, and he tells us all about them at great length; but they have nothing to do with the subject in hand, and the place they occupy might be well filled with other matter, if the real merit of his book call, as we hope it will do, for a second edition at no distant day. Mr. Hart went from Princeton, his alma mater, to Gottingen, and there and at Berlin and Leipsic, with visits to Heidelberg and Bonn, he spent the sessions of 1861 and 2 and 3, and took his doctor's degree (in jurisprudence) at the first named university; he revisited Germany in 1872–3 and studied at Leipsic, Marburg, Berlin and Vienna, and

now, after some experience of teaching at Cornell, he sets to work to give a comparison of the systems of instruction in Germany and America. As a personal narrative of the rather limited experience of a very diligent student in certain very narrow lines of legal instruction, Mr. Hart has given us a book of very great interest and value. As a standard of comparison between the two systems of Germany and America, the work is lamentably deficient; and this is the more to be regretted, because the author has clearly many elements of special fitness for just such work. A very great merit is the clear, succinct and excellent manner in which the purpose and business of the German university are set forth. Few but those who have actually shared Mr. Hart's personal acquaintance with the subject, know that a German University is never a great palace of Gothic or any other sort of architecture, but simply a place where the largest liberty of teaching and learning is given, where the government supplies a small annual fund, as measured by our standards of endowments for colleges, and where the students, for a very slight stipend, can hear an unlimited number of lectures, from an almost unlimited number of teachers; where discipline in one sense is a thing unknown; where classes and honors and grades and examinations are unheard of, and where men come and go, either to teach or to learn, with a freedom that is utterly incomprehensible to our mongrel system; where Boards of Trustees, Faculty Meetings, College and Class Societies, Prizes and Endowments are never known; where any subject that is pure science or perfectly theoretical can be pursued to its very last development and to its most abstract results, but not the slightest elementary instruction on purely practical subjects is offered directly,—all this is admirably set out at length in Mr. Hart's book.

The close discipline of the German gymnasia for the ten or twelve years of steady-continuous grind in elementary learning, is no less strange to our American youth, than the absolute unqualified freedom of the German university students, both in the matter of studies and of daily routine of life. We have inherited, with certain uncomfortable additions, the English notion of college, as derived from conventual life and instruction, and after the loose shambly course of our schools, with their constant shifting of teachers, scholars and subjects, our pupils are brought to a college or university, where they are graded and classified and disciplined and examined and graduated upon a system which makes no allowance for any difference of preparation or profession, in either instructor or pupil. Against this, Mr. Hart makes an eloquent protest, by pointing to his own experience of a German university. One of the most interesting (and least valuable) features of his book, is the inordinately long account he gives of his own examination for a degree, with all its careful coaching

and with its absolutely worthless result, as far as giving any test of his ability to teach or to practice law, either in Germany or at home. Best of all is his sturdy appeal for good schools here, as the one condition of securing good students for our colleges, and he does not give us one word too much, in his full programme of the studies pursued at German Gymnasia, and in his persistent pointing to the fact that the German schoolboy is kept at his books, if not at one school, at least on one system, for ten or twelve years, and this whether he lives in a great city or a country town, whether his parents be rich or poor—provided they are not too poor to pay the very small fee exacted for instruction; whether he be noble or simple, and the perfect equality of the German High School is much more absolute than that of the University, where tuft hunting is encouraged by the "corps" societies, in which men of rank hold themselves apart, leaving the middle class afar off and preparing the way for those distinctions which are so distasteful a feature of German society in latter life. We heartily commend Mr. Hart's book to the careful perusal of every man connected with our system of education, and we know no better example of his instructive preaching than the admirable summary he gives of the place of the German University. "It is on the one hand, the keystone of the arch of public school education in Germany. Everything in the system leads up to the University by a series of carefully graduated steps. The gymnasium rests upon the Volk schule; the University rests on the gymnasium. The whole cannot subsist without each one of the parts. On the other hand, the University is the door of approach to all the professions and also to public office. Whoever is not content with trade and commerce must submit to its liberalizing discipline; without the public schools as a basis, and State service or the professions as a goal, the University would speedily lose its right of being." From such premises every one can draw his own inference of Mr. Hart's opinion of our Colleges, but he fortifies it with reasons well worth studying.

The lesson to be drawn from the book is of especial value to us here in Philadelphia, where the University has resumed a foremost place in the interests of the city and of its Alumni; but all its great advantages and its splendid wealth of buildings, museums, laboratories and scientific collections, are dwarfed and crippled by reason of a want of sufficient training and preparatory schools; the Department of Arts is still well supplied by our best private schools, but the University ought to have its own Academy, to train pupils both in the classics and in the Natural Sciences, so that boys could remain as students of the University and under its fostering care, from their very first beginnings up to the last development of their life-work in letters, in law, in science, and in the arts.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

Toinette. A Novel. By Henry Churton. 12mo. Pp. 510. Cloth, $1.50. New York: J. B. Ford & Co. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co.

Martyn Ware's Temptation. Also, Five Thousand a Year. Also, The Runaway Match. Also the Smuggler's Ghost. By Mrs. Henry Wood. Oct., paper cover, 25 cents each. T. B. Peterson, Philadelphia, 306 Chestnut street.

The American Educational Annual. A Cyclopedia, or reference book for all matters pertaining to Education. Vol. I. 1875. Oct. Pp. 291. Price $2.00. New York: J. W. Schermerhorn & Co. Philadelphia: J. A. Bancroft & Co., 512 Arch street

Bulletin de L'Academie Royale des Sciences, des Lettres, et des Beaux-Arts de Belgique, 43e année, 2e série, tome 38. Nos. 7 & 8 Bruxelles: F. Hayes, Imprimeur de L'Academie Royale, 1874.

History of the United States from the Discovery of the American Continent. By George Bancroft. Vol. X. Completing the work. Boston: Little, Brown & Co. Philadelphia: Claxton, Remsen & Haffelfinger.

The Old Regime in Canada. France and England in North America. A series of historical narratives. By Francis Parkman. Part IV. Boston: Little, Brown & Co. Philadelphia: Claxton, Remsen & Haffelfinger.

The Pictorial Tower of London. With a full and complete index. By William Harrison Ainsworth. Illustrated by George Cruikshank. Oct., cloth, $2.50. T. B. Peterson & Bro., 306 Chestnut street, Philadelphia.

Physiology. No. VI. Science Primers. By M. Foster, M. A., M. D., F. R. S. 18mo. Pp. 132. Cloth, Limp. D. Appleton & Co., New York. Porter & Coates, Philadelphia.

The Science of Law. The International Scientific Series. Vol. X. By Sheldon Amos, M. A. 12mo. Pp. 417. Cloth. D. Appleton & Co., New York. Porter & Coates, Philadelphia.

The Lost Bank Note. By Mrs. Henry Wood. Oct. Pp. 102. Paper. Price 50 cents. T. B. Peterson & Bro., 306 Chestnut street, Philadelphia.

Hazel Blossoms. By John G. Whittier. 16mo. Pp. 133. Price $1.50. Boston: Jas. R. Osgood & Co. Philadelphia: Claxton, Remsen & Haffelfinger.

Verses of Many Days. By William Osborne Stoddard. 12mo. Pp. 172. Cloth, $1.50. James Miller, New York. Claxton, Remsen & Haffelfinger, Philadelphia.

Bric-a-Brac Series. III. Prosper Merimée's letters to Incognita, with recollections by Lamartine and George Sand. Edited by Richard Henry Stoddard. 12mo. Pp. 350. Price $1.50. New York: Scribner, Armstrong & Co. Philadelphia: Claxton, Remsen & Haffelfinger.

Epochs in History. I, II, and III. Edited by Edward S. Morris, M. A. The Era of the Protestant Revolution. By Frederick Seebohm, with maps. The Crusades. By G. W. Cox, M. A., with map. The Thirty Years' War, 1618–1648. By Samuel Rawson Gardner, with map. 1 vol. each. 16mo. Cloth, uniform, $1.00. New York; Scribner, Armstrong & Co. Philadelphia; J. B. Lippincott & Co.

An Examination of the Alleged Discrepancies of the Bible. By John W. Haley, M. A., with an introduction by Alvah Hovey, D. D. Crown oct. Pp. 495. Cloth, $2.25. Boston: Estes & Lauriat. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co.

Report of the Commissioner of Education for the Year 1873. Octavo. 178 pages, with an appendix of 850 pages, and a general index of 20 pages. Government Printing Press, Washington.

The Story of a House. Translated from the French of Viollet-le-Duc, by George M. Towle. Illustrated by the Author. Octavo, $5.00. Boston; James R. Osgood & Co. Philadelphia; Claxton, Remsen & Haffelfinger.

Eulogy of Chief Justice Chase, delivered by William M. Evarts. Price 25 cents. J. B. Parker, Hanover, N. H. Philadelphia; J. B. Lippincott & Co.

Nathaniel Vaughan: Priest and Man. By Frederika Macdonald. 12mo. cloth. Pp. 404. Price $1.50. New York: Asa K. Butts. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincot & Co.

Issues of the Age; or Consequences Involved in Modern Thought. By Henry C. Pedder. 12mo. cloth. Pp. 176. $1.50. New York: Asa K. Butts. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincot & Co.

Ivanhoe. By Sir Walter Scott. With Portrait. Oct. paper. Price 25 cents. T. B. Peterson & Bro., 306 Chestnut St., Philadelphia.

Among the Trees. By William Cullen Bryant. Illustrated by Jervis McEntree. Sq. oct. gilt edge embossed, $3.50; morocco, $7.00. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1875.

A Ramble Round the World, 1871. By M. Le Baron de Hübner. Translated by Lady Herbert. 16mo., cloth, pp. 657, price $2.50. New York: Macmillan & Co. Philadelphia: Porter & Coates.

Animal Mechanism: a Treatise on Terrestrial and Aerial Locomotion. By E. J. Marey, Professor of the College of France. With 117 illustrations. International Series, XI., pp. 283. New York: D. Appleton & Co. Philadelphia: Porter & Coates.