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JANUARY, 1878.

THE MONTH.

THE fall of Plevna and the increased certainty of Russian success, make it worth while to look carefully at this victorious power, and to see what manner of people it is, whose *prestige* is to be dominant in Eastern Europe and Western Asia, for a century to come. Her best friends are those who point to her earlier failures and later successes, before Plevna, and say that, as in this instance, so in general, the defects of her administrative system will prove remediable when brought to the light by the test of experience. It is only this conviction that would reconcile any right-minded and civilized man to the extension of her power, or even her influence, southward across the Danube. Her faults have their fatal enemies in the deepest and most abiding convictions of the people, while her merits are confirmed and strengthened by those convictions. Her system of rule is bad enough; little better, indeed, than a combination of some of the worst features of barbarism with some of the worst of an artificial and conventional civilization of the eighteenth century type. A bureaucracy atop; a communism, hostile to industry and independence, but favorable to drunkenness, at the foundation; between the two, no efficient press, no wealthy middle class, no healthy public opinion. A hide-bound rigidity which nothing but an earthquake can move, constitutes her conservatism; a feverish, reckless longing for change for change's sake, seeking destruction as sweeping as that aimed at by

the Mountain, represents her liberalism. She is a vast accumulation of good and evil possibilities; but, with all the certainty of great mistakes and great disasters before her, there is every reason to hope that she will weather the storms and come out right in the end. She is emerging from the wilderness of shallow maxims and wrong tendencies, into which Peter the Great and Catharine II. led her. The notion of making a country over again, according to the "enlightened" notions of governmental *doctrinaires*, has been defeated by the sturdy conservatism of the Russian people. The net outcome of the experiment is chiefly that, for centuries to come, all reforms will be opposed the more fiercely because of this persistency in false reforms. Even the gigantic blunder of requiring a vote of two-thirds of the villagers to dissolve a communistic *Mir*, has this to be said of it, that it represents a disposition to recognize the truth that those institutions which best represent the spirit of a people, are the best for it. If she has made the peasant the serf of the *Mir*, instead of the serf of the noble, it was a blunder which grew out of the reaction against the factitious method of reform pursued for nearly two centuries.

The grounds of hopefulness as to the future of the Empire, are found in the enthusiasm of the people for their country, their youthful energy in self-sacrifices for its welfare, and their conviction of a great vocation laid upon them as the champions of Christian civilization in the East. No other race, except the Anglo-Saxon, displays so much political initiative and imperial capacity as this. It is impossible to say what Russia may become when its people are thoroughly enlightened, and when enlightenment no longer means a contempt for every thing native and national.

At the same time, it is equally impossible not to regret that the work of sending the Turk out of Europe, was not done by united Europe, instead of by Russia alone. The story of Russian influence in Europe since the French Revolution, is not reassuring; great as was the folly of the pro-Turkish war of 1854-6, it rendered a real service to the world, in putting an end to that influence. But, thanks to the English Tories, that work has been undone, so far as the East is concerned, and every eastern Christian, from Belgrade to Gondar, will look, for the future, to Holy Russia as the protector of his cause against the Mohammedan.

THE final struggle of the garrison of Plevna was such as to command the chivalrous admiration of the Russian forces for their opponents, but especially for their brave commander, Osman Pasha. That their creed makes good soldiers, nobody can deny. It is its incapacity to make good governors for a time of peace, which made the Moslem a curse to the millions who live under his rule. And the story of the treatment of the sick and wounded in Plevna, as told by the English officers who made their way into the city before the worst of the siege began, shows how utterly devoid of what Christians call humanity, this very soldier proved himself, and not towards his prisoners only, but even his own soldiers, who were left lying on the hospital floors, a confused mass of wounds, mortifications, limbs monstrously reset by nature, and so forth. Now such conduct is far less blameworthy in a Turk than it would be in a Russian, for the simple reason that it is not at all an offence when measured by his moral standard. But for that very reason, the Turk cannot be much longer tolerated on the soil of Europe. It is not because he continually offends against his own sense of right and wrong; he probably lives up to what he thinks is right, much better than do his Christian neighbors to what they believe right. It is because his sense of what is right is so low, confused and imperfect, and because there is no prospect of his doing any better, so long as his creed remains that of the Koran as interpreted by the Shariat. Other influences at work in Moslem society are weak, transient and variable. The one elementary principle which has reappeared age after age, is its theological principle—the conviction that Allah is judge and law-giver, and that nothing can stand before His will. But this very principle it is, which—in the absence of other principles—is the root of all the tyrannies and cruelties of Moslem rule, and which makes all the talk about Turkish reforms mere idle and insincere chatter. It is not the Turk, but the Moslem, that Europe must be rid of. The creed bore the same fruits in the Shemitic Saracens, the Berber Moors, and the Aryan Kurds, as in the Turanian Turks.

SERVIA would earn but little credit by joining the Russians in the day of their triumph, if she had not drawn the sword at a still earlier stage of the quarrel. The chief significance of her action, now, and of the earlier alliance with Roumania, is, that this, and the

other principalities, by their coöperation with Russia, secure the right to a voice in the disposal of Bulgaria, Roumelia, and other conquered territories. Simple absorption of provinces south of the Danube into Russia is impossible, when Roumania, with a Hohenzollern as its prince, lies between and, with Servia, has earned a right to be heard.

The political future of the Southern Slavs of Turkey is, therefore, likely to be independent of Russian power, though under Russian protection. We publish elsewhere a very interesting and valuable article on their social relations, and those of their brethren in Austria and Montenegro, from the pen of an illustrious and gifted European lady. It is within the present century that they began to attract the attention of Europe, and to be regarded no longer as a group of half-civilized and illiterate peoples. Their ballad poetry, their primitive institutions, and even their gallant struggles with Turkish and other enemies, as well as the part they played in the religious history of the Middle Ages (Bosnia was the headquarters of the Kathari or Albigensian sect), have attained a juster appreciation, and satisfied the world that there is, in this people, the germ of a vigorous political and intellectual life, which only needs propitious circumstances to attain a fine development. As Madame d'Istria shows, they have many things to learn, and much to unlearn, before they can take their place alongside the advanced peoples of Europe. But they have shown themselves, if not exactly teachable, yet able to go forward when they please to do so.

CONSTANTINOPLE remains the point of difficulty, the unmanageable element in any reconstruction of the Turkish provinces. Russia says she does not want it, though she will doubtless insist on and secure the free navigation of the Bosphorus, and of all the waters it leads to. England says that Russia must not take it, and hints at fighting, if need be, to keep her out. The pashas will hardly be left in possession of it, when stripped of the rest of their possessions in Europe. There would be no propriety in annexing it, or any part of Southern Roumelia, to a Slavic principality; its Christian people are not Slavs, and have no love for the race. They detest the Russ about as thoroughly as the Turk. The only feasible plan suggested thus far is to annex it, with Thessaly, Macedonia, and possibly Albania, to

Greece, making the line of separation that which divides the Slavs (in speech) of Northern Turkey, from the Hellenes (in speech) of the South. This is the view taken by Gladstone and Freeman, but unless Greece casts off English influences and repels English dictation, and throws herself into the struggle, Russia will hardly be ready to concede to her three times the territory she now occupies.

The fall of Plevna has, of course, led to new attempts at negotiation. England "would, and she would'nt." Her Tory ministry, with London Society at their back, would gladly strike a blow for Constantinople. But Germany blocks the way; she has a thoroughly good understanding with Russia. And Austria, with more than sixteen millions of Slavs in her territories to balance her five and half millions of Turk-loving Magyars, is not inclined to take her cue from those mass-meetings in Pesth, of which Moslem papers in London make so much.

THE peaceable termination of the French struggle, by MacMahon's acceptance of a Republican ministry which can command a majority in the Assembly, is an event as unexpected as it is delightful to the true friends of France. After all, the President had it in his power to effect great injuries to the country. His tortuous policy seemed to indicate his readiness to use his power, but the event shows that it was due to his ignorance of the tactics of political struggle, and of the way in which it is held to terminate. Being a soldier, instead of a statesman, he "did not know when he was beaten" on this field, and thought stratagems and evasions allowable, even after the vote had gone against him. The most ominous of his attempts at retrieving the day, was his offer to accept a Republican ministry, provided the War and Foreign Departments were left in charge of his own nominees, and the premier should claim no control over them. To have conceded so much would have been to leave the way open for any measures of violence which the Marshal chose to have recourse to. The event, we think, shows that he contemplated no such acts, but that he simply acted from an instinctive dislike of having a Republican minister, responsible to Republican colleagues, standing between him and the barracks.

Now that the struggle is over, we may say that it is by no

means certain that the Republican resistance was fully warranted by the Constitution. The principle of ministerial responsibility is not, as we supposed, explicitly accepted by the Constitution; it is merely an inference from a clause giving the President the power to terminate a dead-lock by demanding a revision of the Constitution itself. Those who denied that the Marshal was bound to call together such a ministry as the Assembly would work with, made their appeal to the precedent furnished by our American Constitution, where the President, with the consent of the upper house, can select his Cabinet, without reference to the House of Representatives.

The ecclesiastico-political significance of the struggle, in view of the certainty that a successor to Pius IX will soon have to be chosen, was pointed out as one chief motive for the advice given to the Marshal by his clerically-minded advisers. It is well known that Madame MacMahon has taken Eugenie's place, as the permanent champion of ultramontane interests in the more private councils of the French executive. The defeat will, therefore, be all the more bitter to the clericals, as M. Waddington, a learned and zealous Protestant, who held previously the portfolio of education, has now become French Minister of Foreign Affairs, and is, more than any other single person, entrusted with the direction of French policy on the questions which concern the Pope—and Bismarck.

One of the most remarkable business law-suits of modern times, is that which has recently reached its first decision in Manchester, and which will affect nearly the whole export trade of Northern England. That business, so far as it concerns the Colonies, India, and indeed most of England's customers, is not done directly with English manufacturers, but through agency firms. These firms, by their reckless competition for trade, have cut down the nominal profits of their business to a figure which forbids its being remunerative. They have, therefore, as the testimony shows, sought to recoup themselves by annexing other businesses, such as insurance, packing, and the like, to the agency business, and by charging for these services in the bill as if they had been rendered by third parties. They also make purchases, when they can, at less than market rates, but charge their foreign customers full market prices. The suit was brought by a Calcutta firm, which asked to have its

accounts with its agents in England reopened, claiming that it can prove over-charges to the extent of half-a-million dollars. Large as is this sum, it is but a drop in the bucket to the amounts which will be affected by the decision, and the case was closely contested in the courts. The defendants claimed that they had acted on the custom of the trade, and that the Calcutta firm was aware of the custom. But the court held that no custom can be pleaded in behalf of a practice which is in itself iniquitous; that no knowledge or understanding on the part of the customer could be pleaded, where he had no notice in his bill of the amounts involved; and that these practices are dishonest, since the agent was supposed to be acting in open market, and taking the lowest offer for goods, packing, insurance and the like, when in truth he was doing no such thing. The case was therefore sent to chambers, for hearing on the evidence in detail, and it is said that it will take ten years to go over the accounts, and that if the master's report be unfavorable, as it cannot but be with that decision before him, the case will be appealed.

Probably none of England's large customers is so slightly affected by this law-suit as is the United States, and that for the reason that business between England and this country is discharged by a different method. British goods imported into America, are, for the most part, the property of British merchants, and are sent hither on consignment, after advices from their American consignees as to the state of the market. We have, therefore, little to lose by these "tricks of the trade," because we have few genuine merchants who are doing business strictly with their own capital, and who own the wares in their possession. It is this which deprives us of any control of the import business, and of any power to regulate the extent to which we receive wares from abroad. Hence, the frequently excessive import of articles for which there is no demand, and the consequent necessity of throwing them upon the market at any price. This was noticed by the British consul at New York a year ago, as regards recent arrivals of woolen goods, and he might now include with these the great majority of goods of all classes, which have come in since that date. The large sales made for a few weeks in September and October, were chiefly under orders from England to clear out stock at any price. And even that was only effected after a thorough canvass

of the West and South, and the invitation to the merchants of the cotton, sugar, and wheat districts, to buy "on time." The reasoning seems to have been, that large sums must be finding their way from Europe and the Eastern States toward those districts pretty soon, and that these sales would divert them into the pockets of the importers and the foreign houses they represent. It remains to be seen, when settling time comes, whether these expectations will be verified.

A PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE is not a good text for brief discourse. It gives too much temptation to be lengthy. But we must say, in praise of President Hayes's first attempt in this line of literature, that it is very much better than his speeches, and that it shows a praiseworthy effort to get at the medium of common-sense views, which will best suit the thinking of the right and left centres of public opinion, rather than the extremes. On Civil Service Reform and on resumption of specie payments, he stands where he did, and we cannot deny that he speaks on both heads for what he thinks the best interests of the country, though, as regards both, we think him deficient in practical sagacity.

On the silver question, he holds, on the one hand, that "neither the interests of the Government, nor of the people of the United States, would be promoted by disparaging silver as one of the two precious metals which furnish the coinage of the world;" and on the other, that "any attempt to pay the national indebtedness in a coinage of less value than the money of the world," whatever that may be, "would involve a violation of the public faith, and work irreparable injury to the public credit." As to Free Trade or Protection, he says but little; he would like to see the duties on tea and coffee restored, but chiefly to enable the removal of the less profitable of the internal revenue taxes.

THE "era of good feeling" which Mr. Hayes inaugurated, has not lasted a twelvemonth. Had the prestige of his Administration remained otherwise unimpaired, the President would probably have been able to weather the storm of dissatisfaction which his Southern policy roused among the more extreme Republicans. But, as we predicted just after his inauguration, half-a-dozen ill-judged measures taken since then, notably his weak and mischievous plan of Civil Service Reform, and his display of eagerness for political

support, have made his position much less practically tenable. People and papers which, at the start, could not speak too strongly in his praise, have veered and continue to veer with the new wind of public opinion, to a new direction of political sentiment. And, as a consequence, the opposition which the Republican grandees of the Senate dared not offer at the outset of his administration, when they had a pretty large majority, they are now able to offer with success, when the surplus of that majority has been reduced to almost nothing. It was the force of Republican opinion, brought to bear in telegrams, letters, newspaper articles, and every other possible channel, which led the Senate, against its own judgment, to confirm Mr. Hayes's Cabinet. If it were to do over again, public opinion would leave the Senate at liberty to act on its judgment, as it has done in rejecting the President's nominees to the principal positions in the New York Custom House. This we take to be the chief significance of the recent action; it is what would have been done, in another form, long ago, had the political temperature of that time permitted. And it shows that that temperature has changed, and that the unqualified friends of President Hayes's administration are neither so numerous, nor so fervently aggressive, as they were in March last.

While fully awake to the fact that the Administration has blundered, we do not think that this sudden right-about-face of some of its former eulogists is warranted by the number or the magnitude of its blunders. Nor are they the chief reason of these changes. It is the disappointment of hopes and expectations which were altogether unwarranted, which has been the truer cause. Business was to revive, financial issues to reach a peaceful settlement, Civil Service Reform to blossom into existence, and a whole Fool's Paradise of good things was to dawn upon us, as soon as we got Mr. Hayes into power and his Cabinet well at work. Even *The Nation* was hopeful of better times, and prophesied, in the midst of the Presidential tempest, that, a year hence, Republicans and Democrats would, amid the general revival of business interests, unite in laughing at the evil auguries of excited politicians. The causes which defeated the Republican party at the polls, are stripping it of its magnanimous moods, and are causing it to fall back upon a closer party policy. It is closing its ranks; Blaine and Conkling have forgiven each other in the Senate, the gratuitous and unmanly

insults which they had both wasted the House's time in hearing, and which were only excusable in days when such words could not be uttered without serious responsibility. The general cry is for party government, and for party coöperation between the Executive and the Republicans in Congress. As we said last month, there is a practical contradiction underlying all this, for which neither President nor Congressmen are responsible. We think that the logic of events will force Mr. Hayes to accede to most of the demands made upon him. He has neither the good nor the evil qualities, which are likely to make him offer a steady resistance to them. He is neither a thorough-going idealist in politics, who can afford to dispense with the friendliness of the men who secured his election, nor has he the Jacksonian or Johnsonian obstinacy which will lead him to carry out his own policy at any sacrifice. He will probably cling to so much of his Civil Service Reform as he can save, and insist on doing all that the rather indefinite pledges of the Cincinnati Platform call for ; but he will have to sacrifice some of the members of his Cabinet, notably the Secretary of the Interior, to whom, it is said, he owes his severe rebuff in the Senate.

THE financial questions before Congress seemed hardly nearer a solution when the holiday recess began than when the extra session commenced. The Senate vote, fixing the date for discussion of the Silver Bill (41 to 18), is thought to indicate more strength for that measure than had been anticipated. But we think the indication is misleading. Hardly a senator of them but has a big speech ready for delivery on the question, so that the vote for a debate indicates no more than a general desire to enlighten the community on this topic. Senator Stanley Matthews has definitely abandoned his career as next of kin to the Executive, by proposing a joint resolution to the effect that, in the opinion of Congress, the bonds of the government are redeemable in silver coinage of the old standard. The principle involved is quite clear. The United States are bound to pay in whatever form of money they knew was believed, by the public creditor, to be promised in the bond. We are not clear that there was not, on both sides, some ambiguity in that understanding in the present instance; but if so, then sound expediency comes to the aid of right principle. It will not pay for the United States to take any advantage of ambi-

guities. If we can have a silver currency of stable value, and worth as much as gold, there will be no need to force it on the public creditor. And that, we take it, is the real "silver question." We incline to think that it is not impossible to have such a currency, but we do not think it the duty of the government to adopt the old standard as a matter of course. Why not make the dollar of greater weight than $412\frac{1}{2}$ grains?

SOME of the friends of Mr. Wood's proposal for a sweeping change in our tariff system, confess to surprise at the united front presented by the manufacturers who have been flooding Congress with petitions for a calm and deliberate official investigation of the whole question, before definitive action is had. Most of the reasons presented are the same as we have at various times urged in these pages, *viz.*: the success of the protective method thus far, the folly of tearing down what has been half-built, when it is certain that it will have to be done again sooner or later, and the mischief which free trade would do to the agricultural and the working classes. Other and newer points urged are the example of European nations, especially France, Belgium and Germany, which take no step of this nature without first investigating what will be its practical effect; and the mischief likely to befall the revenue from a wholesale reduction of duties. That last point, we understand, is fully appreciated by the Secretary of the Treasury.

A remarkable confirmation of the justice of their claim comes to us from England. Not long ago, Sir Gavin Duffy, the Premier of the Australian colony of Victoria, explained the circumstances under which he had acceded to the popular desire for protection in that colony. He had been on a visit to England in 1866, while still undecided, and had consulted Mr. Carlyle, Mr. Mill, and Mr. Bright. Mr. Carlyle told him by all means to protect the domestic industry of the colony, as no country would have industry, or anything else, without paying for it,—an opinion foreshadowed in the last volume of his *Frederick the Great*. Mr. Mill gave him substantially the advice indicated by the celebrated passage in his *System of Political Economy*, which Prof. Thorold Rodgers stigmatizes as a "mischievous concession" to the protectionists. Even Mr. Bright advised him "to come to an arrangement with the protectionists, to take an act imposing a duty of twenty-five per cent. for ten years upon certain articles, upon the understanding that it

was then to cease. His free trade convictions would not hinder him from doing this in the condition in which we found ourselves." Which means that Mr. Bright advised Mr. Duffy to accept the principle of temporary protection, as Mr. Mill did, and gave it as his opinion that ten years (instead of the centuries employed in English *practice*), was long enough for the experiment. And it is the temporary protection of industries for which a country has special advantages, and nothing else, that is upheld by nine-tenths of American protectionists. This view of Mr. Bright's, *The Spectator* heartily endorses. "We cannot see the slightest reason why Mr. Bright, or any other free trader, should not have given such advice. There are undoubtedly prospects of industry, in undeveloped countries, which the strictest theory of free trade would not in any way forbid a community, poor in capital, from opening up under artificial advantages,—artificial advantages intended only to carry it through the immature or swaddling-band stage,—though the difficulty is, of course, to prevent the trumping up of false cases of this kind, in a hundred instances where no prospect of success without permanent protection really exists; but even if it were not so, it is obvious enough that, with an ignorant democracy which takes the wrong view, it [is] always well to make the best terms you can, and this, in effect, was all that Mr. Bright, wisely enough, advised." Now put alongside this, one sentence from the petition of our own manufacturers to Congress, which we have above referred to: "The protective policy aims only at the naturalization of those industries for whose successful prosecution we possess adequate advantages in the resources of our country, or in the capacities of our people, and which, therefore, after the continuance of that policy for a reasonable time, must become self-sustaining and able to compete for the markets of the world." There is no *difference of principle* between the two positions; if the *Spectator* is right, there is no general principle of free trade, which calls for the reduction of a single duty in our own tariff, until investigation is had which shows either that the duty is higher than is needed for protection, or that there is no reasonable prospect of the naturalization of the industry by its protection. But these are questions, not of principle, but of fact and of expediency, questions for investigation and of evidence, such as our manufacturers offer to lay before any tribunal Congress may select.

Just as the hard times are urged as a plea for adopting free trade in this country, so are they pleaded as a reason for returning to protection in England. Lord Bateman writes to the *Times*, praising the magnanimity and boldness of the free trade policy, but urging that, in the absence of reciprocity, it has been a failure. He blames it for the hard times. "Our overtures to other countries are disregarded. Our commercial treaties are not renewed. Our own trade is in a sinking and unprofitable condition. Our exports show a lamentable, and alarming, and increasing deficit. Our exchequer is affected. And, worse than all, not a single country, beginning with France and Germany, and ending with Spain and Switzerland, to say nothing of the United States of America, or our own Australian colonies, can be cajoled, by the most specious temptations, into following our example of free importations, or opening their ports to the commerce of Great Britain or of the world, unrestricted by safeguards in the shape of duties framed to protect their own native industries. . . . Partial ruin and wholesale oppression are staring us in the face. Our local burdens are increasing, our exports diminishing. . . . Our trade is ruinously slipping from us, and we are sacrificing our best and dearest interests for the sake of an unacceptable idea."

We do not believe in the entire truthfulness of this doleful picture. The old country has a good deal more vitality than her children are ready to admit in their despondent moods. Englishmen love to abuse themselves, when they get weary of lauding themselves; their national vanity inclines to sharp reactions. But still these sentences are wholesome reading for some people on our own side of the Atlantic. But we agree with the free traders, that Lord Bateman concedes too much. If the theory of free trade be right, as he believes, then it must be a very good thing for England, even though the rest of the world do not adopt it. If "the interest of the consumer" be the sole end of financial policy, as all free traders profess to believe, then hard times, low prices, and no profits, are the nearest possible approach to the millennium.

The Engineer, one of the two great organs of the British Iron Trade, gives Lord Bateman's plea a sort of endorsal, but it goes farther, and even questions the truth of the theory itself. It says, "the English press, as a rule, advocates free trade, apparently because the so-called leaders of public opinion dare not look facts in

the face, or because they are so thoroughly imbued with free trade teachings of noisy political economists that they are unable to believe anything can be said on the other side of a very grave and important question." It believes in free trade in provisions, and thinks that England's dependence upon other lands for her food supply, is the reason for the popularity of the theory. But it does not agree with Lord Bateman, that other countries ought to have reciprocated. "If we turn to America, as a country which is self-sufficing as regards the necessities of life, we shall see that protection may really be a very excellent policy. Let us take, for example, the iron trade. If America elected to remain an agricultural country, and purchase the luxuries of life by selling the corn and cotton and meat she could not consume, then it would be folly to protect the iron manufacturers of the United States, and it is possible that corn-growing America could import rails, let us say, from iron-producing England, cheaper than she could make them herself. This, however, is doubtful, for the low price of rails in England now is due, in part at least, to the fact that America does not buy from us. But the moment that America decided that she would not rest content with growing corn, and cotton, and beef, but that she would make iron as well, then her government acted wisely in protecting that manufacture. If it were not protected, it would not grow up at all. Capital would not be turned into a new industry, without artificial aid. . . . They could not have an iron trade without protection. That is admitted on all hands, except by a few political economists whose opinions are more remarkable for their dogmatism than their soundness." Yet *The Engincer* is not convinced that England would do well to resume a protective policy, for that would mean, first of all, a tariff on farm produce of all sorts. But it must be said, that no other English industry is so much in need of a more thorough development than her agriculture.

THE CONDITION OF WOMEN AMONG THE SOUTHERN SLAVS.

[This article is a translation from the French MS. of our distinguished contributor.]

THE study of popular literature, songs, tales and proverbs, has thus far seemed the best, possibly the only, means of forming a distinct idea of the manners and tendencies of the Southern Slavs, who have been, for political reasons, in some cases depreciated, and in others idealized. Prof. B. Bojusic has conceived the happy idea of examining also their legal customs, and his persevering and fruitful researches are throwing the clearest light upon a people who are now attracting general attention.

Born at Ragusa, in Dalmatia,¹ Dr. Bojusic was happily imbued with the Italian culture which there prevails. He found employment in the Imperial Library at Vienna, where he learned the value of the aid furnished to the student by the scientific methods of Germany. His strong attachment to the cause of the Slavs provided him with what is absolutely needed for such studies, to wit: a lively interest in the subject, such as a German scholar would certainly not have been likely to feel. In 1866, he published a work on the legal customs of the Slavs, which met with great success, and has reached a second edition. As his labors were highly appreciated in Russia, he was nominated to a professorship in the University of Odessa. Still later, he was despatched by the Russian government to Montenegro, to codify the legal customs of that mountain region. His long stay in that savage Tzernagora, so far from being an interruption to his studies, made him still more intimate with Servian traditions.²

The results of his researches are to be found in his *Collection of Customs in force among the Southern Slavs, (Zbornik sadasnjik pravnika obicaja u juznik slovena)*. A note to the preface of the first volume informs us that, since the body of the work was printed, its learned author had received a large amount of material which

¹M. L. Legér, Professor of Russian in the Paris School of Oriental Languages, has published a biography of Dr. Bojusic, in the *Revue Politique et Littéraire* (June 5, 1875).

²See the *Bulletin de Législation Comparée*, for April, 1875.

would enable him to fill up the *lacunae* of his earlier researches, or would lead to a modification of the views which had been entertained as regards the legal institutions of the Southern Slavs.

Dr. Bojusic has spared himself no effort to secure the information he desired, at first hand; that is to say, from the mouths of the people. After having got his plan into shape, he issued a table of questions covering the outline of the customary law in force among the Slavs. The Academy of Agram, which had given him assurance of its coöperation, sent out 4,000 copies of this table to the dioceses of Croatia, Dalmatia and the Military Frontiers, and each diocese undertook to present the questions to every parish. The author himself distributed it through Hungary, Servia, Bosnia, Tzernagora (Montenegro), Herzegovina and Bulgaria.

In his present capacity as legal adviser of the Russian government in Bulgaria³, he enjoys special facilities, in one of the most important of the South Slavonic countries, for completing his studies, which are in themselves worthy of serious attention on all hands.

The situation of France before 1789, makes it easy to comprehend the condition of legislation among the Southern Slavs. Some of the French provinces, especially in the south, were governed by the written law (the civil law), but the more part were governed by customs (*coutumes*). Fifty of these customs were called "general," and two hundred and twenty-five, "local." If we include those of the cities, the total number will be four hundred and ninety.⁴ But France was an independent country, while the Slavs of the south (if we except the principality of Servia, which is the vassal of Turkey, and the little state of Montenegro, where Russia has more power than the Porte has at Belgrade) must take account of the legislation of the governments upon which they are dependent, and that legislation continually tends to displace their customary law. Thus in Dalmatia, the Austrian Civil Code of 1816 represents the written law. But it has been obliged to concede the validity of legal custom, as regards the rights of family and of succession, among the agricultural population. In Servia itself, those who drafted the code have more than once set themselves to

³As is well known, Prince Tscherkasky has been sent into Bulgaria to organize a new administration.

⁴See Bourlot de Richelbourg's *Coutumier général*, Paris, 1724 (four volumes in folio).

copy the Austrian legislation, in opposition to the native law.⁵ That law has nothing to fear from such conflicts in Turkey, as the Ottomans respect the customs of the *rayahs* equally with their beliefs, and the Koran, which is the basis of all their legislation, is no rule for any but the disciples of the Prophet. It is, therefore, among those Serbs and the Bulgarians, who have been subjected to the rule of the Sultans, that we must look for the genuine jural traditions of the Southern Slavs.

I.

IN order to understand accurately customs which differ so widely from those of the Latins and of the Germans, it is necessary never to lose sight of the fact that, for the Southern Slav, the principle of community is the starting point in all social organization. "If Sir Thomas More, Fourier, and other socialists and communists (say, with pride, two Servian authors) had known our country, they would not have created imaginary Utopias. The French Utopians and the German dreamers would have learnt that the manners and the spirit of a people can perpetuate communism in some degree, but that no decree will ever establish it where it has never struck root."

The value of the principle of community has been and still is a matter of dispute. Communistic theories have made undeniable progress in Teutonic and Latin countries,⁶ and there are socialists who regard this as the final outcome of the French Revolution.⁷ It is however beyond doubt that the peoples set out with the community principle,⁸ and that the individual has constantly endeavored to extricate himself from it, in order to enter upon a path which is undoubtedly not free from dangers, but whose dangers never seem terrible enough to frighten back to the adoption of those primitive safeguards, the peoples who have adopted new institutions.

⁵"Our customs are the best laws for us," said the Servian lawyer Grouitch, in speaking of that law, at the time when he was studying in the Law Faculty at Paris. (*Les Slaves du Sud*, p. 119).

⁶Sudre, *Histoire de Communisme*.

⁷Louis Blanc, *Histoire de la Revolution Française*.

⁸See Laveleye, *Formes primitives de la Propriété* [also the works of Von Maurer, Nasse, and H. S. Maine.]

If we compare the Southern Slavs with the Russians, we find that the latter present a transition from the earlier communism to western institutions. The community (the *Mir*), has not among them the attributes which it possesses in Russia, where its power, already so great, has undergone a farther development since the *moujik*, once the serf of his lord, has become, in reality, the serf of the *Mir*. The *Zadruga* (association, or rather *zadrugna kula*, associated household) is a very different institution. The family community, which bears different names⁹ in each country, is a free association, in which the individual is not absorbed in the community, but subordinates his private interests to that of the community. It differs, as M. Utjesenovic¹⁰ remarks, from the individualism of those Germans who kept their houses at a distance from each other, that each family might be left in the independence of which it was jealous,¹¹ and it bears no closer resemblance to the legislation of Rome in the best days of the Republic, when the *pater-familias* was absolute master of the household, as the august and terrible representative of the gods of the city, and of its laws. The *Domacin*, who is chief of the community, is no more than *primus inter pares*, and, for undertakings of more than ordinary importance, his consent is required. Therefore, in countries where individualism has attained but slight development, such an organization cannot but be popular. In Herzegovina, it is claimed that poverty never arrives until after the dissolution of the communities. "The separate family," says a Herzegovinian proverb, "has always more toils than joys." Even in Servia, where the imitation of Austrian legislation has inflicted such rude blows on the community, people still say "the fuller the hive is of bees, the heavier the combs." The Serb has no desire to be alone, "even in Paradise," for, according to him, "the solitary is like a felled oak." We find this language of the people repeated by men of education. "Nothing can be more beautiful than to live in a Serb family, nothing more interesting than to

⁹Assembly, brotherhood, hearth, chimney, united brethren, household, etc.

¹⁰Author of a remarkable work, *Sur l'Organisation de la Famille dans les Confins Militaires croates et hongrois*. Vienna, 1859.

¹¹Tacitus *de Moribus Germanorum*: [a rather unhappy illustration of Teutonic individualism, as it was characteristic of a time when the Germans still practised communism. The comparative isolation of the homesteads inside the German thorp or dorf, seems to have had the practical purpose of enabling them to extinguish a fire before it could spread from rickyard to rickyard.]

see and to be acquainted with it. Thirty, sixty, persons live together and labor in common. That mass obeys a single will, concentrated in its Head. But it obeys with pleasure and with confidence, for the members of the household are not there by any constraint; the only bond which holds them is a moral tie, since they know that they are rendering obedience to a *wisdom* which is the farthest-sighted of them all. For the Head is chosen and recognized by themselves."¹² They add triumphantly "the Servian people is free from absurd notions. There has never been a proletariat among us."

In spite of the law, in regard to the communities, passed by the Diet of Agram, a law inspired by western influences, the Croats continue to say, "Many hands can do more than one, and only by united forces can solid households be established." Among the Slavs of the Ottoman Empire, upon whom the individualist ideas of the west have as yet no hold, the dissolution of the community is always looked on as a real calamity. Should an association be obliged to surrender its property in case of distress, the purchasers are told, "Remember those poor children, who are left helpless and destitute. Take care that their curse do not fall upon you and yours."

It is especially in the peasant class, a class eminently conservative, that we must study the *zadruga*. That association of several natural families is hardly seen in full operation, except among those who labor at the tillage of the soil, for in the towns, a greater or less influence is exerted by individualism. The Domacin is usually elected by the community. As a general rule, he must be a married man and well on in years. Among the Slavs of the South, age plays an important part, and exercises a great influence upon the members of these associations. "The Devil," they say, "knows a great deal, because he is so old." The Serbs, even in maintaining that "youth is energy," never fail to add that "age is discretion (*la tête*)," even as they think that "without obedience to the aged, there is no salvation." The aged women are treated with especial respect.¹³ The aged are never addressed with "thou" or "thee."

¹²*Les Slaves du Sud*, by Iankovitch and Grouitch.

¹³One of the most recent travellers in Southern Slavonia, M. Charles Yriarte, has been, nevertheless, struck with the sadness of the "Serb Mothers." ("Le Montenegro" in the *Tour du Monde*, 1877.) The hard lot of woman, in more than one locality, gives this attitude to the young girl, even in infancy. In the Tzernagora, "this little being, thrust out from all tenderness, grows up neglected, miserable" (Wlahovitj and Frilley, *Le Montenegro contemporain*, Paris 1876.)

In their presence jests and plays are things forbidden. They take precedence in the family councils, and are seated during meals, while the young people remain standing. These latter kiss their hands to the aged people. These truly noteworthy sentiments seem to be inspired not only by their regard for the wisdom and experience of persons who are advanced in years, but also by a sincere desire to soften to them the sore afflictions, which are inseparable from age, by all those evidences of respect which may help to render more endurable that phase of existence which the Bible calls "labor and sorrow." (Psalm xc. 10.)

Whatever may be true of those who are advanced in years and of the male sex, young men are frequently mentioned, whose energetic character has gained for them the confidence of the community, [and the place of Head,] and a woman or a girl is sometimes chosen, but very rarely, the Slavs being of M. Jules Simon's mind, that "man represents reason."¹⁴ Besides, the women have not everywhere the right to vote in the family councils, which do much to limit the Domacin's sphere of action. In Dalmatia, it seems, they usually possess this right. In Montenegro, where their lot is harder than in the other South Slavic countries,¹⁵ they take no part in these deliberations, except in serious cases.

The principal person in the *Zadruga*, next to the Head, is the Domacina,—usually, the wife of the Domacin. If she is too old, or for any other reason unfit, another woman is elected. In several countries, the choice rests with the women of the community, but her election has to be confirmed by the family council. The inscriptions dedicated to the Roman matrons, give a sufficiently correct notion of the duties of the Domacina. She is especially *lanifixa* and *domiseda*. In the Baroness Ida Reinsberg Duringsfeld's romance, *Niko Veliki*, a member of the aristocracy of Ragusa, a native of Herzegovina, bears witness what deep root these ideas have taken among the Southern Slavs: "You will be," he tells his intended, "surrounded by every respect, you will be protected,"¹⁶

¹⁴ "Excuse me, it is a girl" a Montenegrin will say, if asked the sex of his child. He would say as cheerfully "It is a serpent." (Wlahovitj et Frilley-)

¹⁵See in Wlahovitj and Frilley's *Le Montenegro contemporain*, the very important chapter entitled "The Woman of Montenegro."

¹⁶This protection is, among all the Southern Slavs, decidedly vigorous. "Wo to him who addresses an offensive word to a young girl, for she will find a protector in every passer by, and perhaps half a score of friends on her way back to her village."

but you will be submissive to me. You must not go out unattended. You will pass the hours and the days of my absences between my mother and my sister. You will not mix in society. The women of our house have no desire for parties where all ranks mingle and are confounded, We ask no stranger into the family circle wherein we pass our evenings."

If it stand thus in a city as civilized as Ragusa, one can imagine what takes place hence in the gloomy mountains of Tzernagora, where the wife is the unhappy companion of a despotic master, and her history may in effect be summed up in two words— toil and suffering. On the threshold of life's temple she reads, as it were, the title page's infernal motto, the fatal decree of her destiny: "*Lasciate ogni speranza, voi ch' entrate.*" Her whole existence will unroll itself as an inexorable circle of fatigue, sorrow, and slavery. This servitude produces here, as everywhere else, the conviction that it is legitimate and sacred. "The Montenegrin woman seems to find a pleasure in her *role* of inferiority and abjectness. She finds in it a sort of satisfaction of her *amour propre*, in reality not different from that of a beast of burden, in accomplishing the largest amount of work to which her strength is equal."¹⁷

¹⁷Wlahovitj and Frilley, *ubi supra*. [We may be allowed to doubt whether this meek submission is so uniform and universal as these authorities would seem to indicate. The fact that a woman is ever elected head of the community, would seem to show the contrary. Mrs.^e Robinson, ("Talvi") in her *Languages and Literature of the Slavic Nation*, (New York, 1850) gives much the same account of the marriage relations, as, for the woman, "a shameful state of servitude and humiliation." She adds in a foot note: "a Servian woman would never think of sitting down in the presence of her husband. At table, she stands behind him, and waits on him and his guests. Even the wife of Prince Milosh did so; only with the restriction that she confined her service to her husband. The Morlachians, [i.e. the Croats of Dalmatia,] who seem, indeed, to be the *rudest* part of the Servian population— do not mention their wives to a stranger, without adding: 'with your permission.'" But then Mrs. Robinson gives us the following translation of a Servian song, which does not seem to indicate that the husbands have always such a royal time of it:

Come, companion, let us hurry
That we may be early home,
For my mother-in-law [Domacina ?] is cross.
Only yesterday she accused me,
Said that I had beat my husband,
When, poor soul, I had not touched him,
Only bid him wash the dishes;
And he would not wash the dishes.
Threw then at his head the pitcher;
Knocked a hole in head and pitcher.

This absolute submission demanded of women of all classes is based upon the right of the stronger, whose legitimacy is altogether unshaken in these countries where it is frankly avowed in a popular proverb: "The house totters to its fall when the distaff gives orders and the sword obeys." The French, in old times, were equally afraid of seeing "the crown fall to the distaff." Another proverb refers to a more philosophical principle than force, the intellectual superiority of man. "The Montenegrin woman sees in her father, her brother, her husband, superior beings, before whom she should tremble, obey and hold her peace."¹⁸ This notion of masculine superiority finds ready acceptance with women, where they have been, as is too often the case, left destitute of every sort of instruction.¹⁹

"The man is the head, woman is but grass," is a proverb which Count Joseph de la Maistre enlarges upon till he tells us, with the bitter eloquence that is characteristic of him, that "the proud animal" has invented nothing, not even her spinning-wheel. On the other hand, the pessimistic Atheism of Schopenhauer²⁰ presents us with no better idea of the intelligence and the character of woman, than does the ultramontanism of the *Soirées de Saint Petersbourg*, or the communism of the author of *La Justice dans la Revolution et dans l'Eglise* (Proudhon.)

The Slavs of the South, who would sufficiently relish these theories if they were acquainted with them, are willing, for all that, to admit that "the house rests on the woman, and not on the ground," thus conceding that her activity can be more servicable than even the properties of the soil. She is, in effect, among them not only a hard wrought mistress of the household, and a laborer in the fields, but in that primitive world, where we may say industry as yet has no existence, she is the real manufacturer. The

For the head, I did not care much,
But I care much for the pitcher,
As I paid for it right dearly,
Paid for it with one wild apple,
Yes, and half a one beside.]

¹⁸Wlahovitz et Frilley, *ubi supra*.

¹⁹For some years past, though with some difficulty, the women of Montenegro (as we learn from Wlahovitz and Frilley) have been allowed to profit by an exceedingly elementary sort of education, of which, up to that time, they had been entirely deprived.

²⁰See the romances of a writer of that school, Herr Sacher-Masoch.

Romans thought it a great matter to wear clothes woven by the women of their families, and if, in the palace of Augustus, it would have been difficult to recognize the severe manners of that Caia Caecilia, wife of the elder Tarquin, whose bobbins were religiously preserved in the temple of the god Fidus,—if the daughters of the Emperor had something else to do than to preside, like Lucretia, at the labor of their slaves,²¹—none the less the master of the world would wear no clothes but such as they had made.²²

Like the Roman matron, the Domacina distributes their tasks to the women who are placed under her oversight. She is responsible for their conduct, their character, and the education of their children. Their conduct seldom gives her much trouble, since women who are thus absorbed in coarse labors,²³ have not the leisure which elsewhere favors the activity of the imagination, and the development of the passions. The male sex, besides, sets no traps for the women, especially where its dreams are of far other “conquests” than those of which we hear so often in the West, among men of leisure. “Gallantry is unknown in the Black Mountain . . . men seem to shun even the simplest attentions, towards the women. . . . Besides, most commonly, there would be, for her, a tragic ending to any romance.”²⁴ Hegel conceived that Robespierre had secured the reign “of virtue and of terror” in France. That association of ideas seems more rational in more than one Slav household.²⁵ If it is easy enough for the Domacina to answer for the conduct of her subordinates, it is by no means so easy to maintain concord among them, by reason of the essentially quarrelsome temperament, and of the difficult, fanciful and irritable character,

²¹In their epitaphs, the epithet *lanifica* seems to be the crowning of the edifice of their praises; as in that of Claudia, “Passer-by, my discourse is brief. Stop and read. It is the tomb of a beautiful woman. Her parents called her Claudia. She loved her husband with her whole heart. She brought two sons into the world. She left one on this earth, and the other already shut up in the bosom of the earth. She was lovely in discourse, and noble in demeanour. She kept her house and spun wool. I have spoken. Pass on.”

²²See Beule, *Auguste, sa Famille et ses Amis*.

²³In Montenegro, even “at meal-time, instead of taking her place at the common table, she employs herself in waiting on the guests.” (Wlahovitj and Frilley.)

²⁴Wlahovitj and Frilley, *ubi supra*, chap. iv.

²⁵For example: “In Montenegro, even though the wife has not given her husband any occasion for anger, he will make one, in order to have an excuse for chastising her, which he often does in most brutal fashion. If the victim defend herself, the chastisement is only the more violent.” Wlahovitj and Frilley, chap. iv.

which are too frequently the reproach of the sex in the East as in the West. It is said to be quite an undertaking to bring one mother-in-law and one daughter-in-law into harmony; but to speak of one *Zadruga* like that of Triphunovia in Dalmatia, which reckons sixty-two persons,—thirty married women and two widows²⁶; or like that mentioned by a Belgrade journal, which is composed of eighty-four members!

The Domacina, like all governments, seeks in the religious sentiment a support for domestic order. The part she plays as a religious teacher, is far more important than that of Catholic women. Since Protestantism carried off a part of Europe, viz: the Scandinavians, the Anglo-Celts, and a part of the Germans, the Catholic clergy (as the illustrious Leopold Ranke has shown in his work on the Popes of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries) have perceived the necessity of preaching, and of teaching the young. The Orthodox church, as she has no enemies to contend with among the Southern Slavs, among whom the powerful Russian sects have no influence, has allowed the family to take charge of religious instruction, without taking any trouble on herself. The Domacina is so much the less embarrassed in undertaking such a task, because the ordinances of public worship are regarded as of far more importance than are any doctrines. The attachment of the people of the South to their liturgy, is here in full force!²⁷ They concern themselves, therefore, with the countless fast days of the church²⁸, and her equally numerous festivals, with forms of prayer, and the like. As to morals, these have never been confused by those subtleties of the casuists, against which Pascal directed his searching epigrams. Alms-giving is an indispensable duty. A Protestant is inclined to see in the beggar a good-for-nothing idler, or a person reduced to poverty by vice. The Southern Slavs are inclined, like the Mussulman, to adopt a very different view of the origin of the distribution of prosperity and of adversity. Jehovah,

²⁶Vuk's Serbian, German, and Latin Dictionary. (Vienna, 1852.) That *Zadruga* owned 1400 sheep and goats, 50 beeves, 14 horses, etc.

²⁷"The most part of these warriors (of Montenegro) know nothing of Christianity, except the fasts and the sign of the cross," says Cyprien Robert, *Les Slaves de la Turquie*.

²⁸Even the Montenegrin "who passes for a free-thinker," endures 191 days of comparative abstinence, and nineteen weeks of Lent, without touching eggs, butter or fish. (Wlahovitj and Frilley, *ubi supra*.)

like Allah, dispenses them, as does the Zeus of Homer. "The beggar's staff and wallet come from God!" The consequences will suggest themselves to every thoughtful mind. "Who begs, should get," says a Serb proverb, "even though he wore a crown²⁹." Much has been said in the West, since 1848, of the right to labor. We find here the right to alms. After all, the difference is not so great.

The Domacina does not fail to teach the children that alms-giving is likewise the best means to be helpful, both to the dead and to the living. It is only necessary to say to one's self, "That God may be gracious to my father's soul," or "that He may help my dear sister." Masses are similarly extolled as helpful and comforting to the departed, and that she may teach her subordinates the cult of the dead,³⁰ a cult eminently national, the Domacina never fails to attend, on Saturday, one of the masses celebrated in their behalf.

But whatever her good will to impart a strictly orthodox instruction, she is obliged, as the depositary of their popular literature—a literature which has been for centuries the intellectual life of these nations—to impart to their minds plenty of notions which it is more or less difficult to reconcile with Christian teaching. I think that I have shown, more than once,³¹ that "the exiled deities" have found their safest refuge in the careless soul of the people's poets.

In songs, tales, proverbs, the soul of the past has braved those revolutions³² which, even in transforming beliefs as well as manners, make far more change in the form than in the substance of things. A song dedicated to the glory of some national character blends the traditions of the old nature-religion with the memory

²⁹"Our Christianity, beyond all others," men of education tell us, "is founded on the sentiments of a people whose individual members have preserved a heart which can feel for their neighbors." (Iankovitch and Grouitch, *Les Slaves du Sud*.)

³⁰The songs of the women have their share in this. "The women, from death till interment, never cease their songs of grief. These consist of pompous eulogies of the deceased, especially when a mother bewails her son, or sisters a brother. The family would feel itself especially unfortunate, if it had no women who could thus express in their songs the common regret." (Iankovitch and Grouitch, *Les Slaves du Sud*.)

³¹Especially in *La Nationalité hellénique d'après les Chants populaires*.

³²The striking features of the popular character of the Serb peoples are reflected in the mass of their proverbs, legends, songs, and customary expressions." (Iankovitch and Grouitch, *ubi supra*.)

of the hero whom the Domacina celebrates, while, in the long winter evenings, she sings the patriotic legend, at the spinning wheel, to the girls who are busy around her.³³ The Turks have not followed the profound policy of the Romans. They have never, for an instant, dreamt of waging on the popular poetry, the bloody and persistent war which Rome waged in Gaul upon the poetry of the Druids, which had been entrusted to the memory of the bards.³⁴ The Orthodox church has nothing of that political sagacity, which the Roman patricians have bequeathed to the sacerdotal aristocracy of the Eternal City, and which excites the involuntary admiration of a modern Protestant historian, Lord Macaulay. (See his review of Ranke's *History of the Popes*, contributed to the *Edinburgh Review*.) Thanks to the carelessness of the pashas, and to the indifference of the bishops, who are not of Slavic race,³⁵ the national poetry of the Serbs and of the Bulgarians³⁶ has managed to outlive the revolutions which have so often upturned the soil of the oriental peninsula.

The Domacina is not only entrusted with the teaching of the religious and national traditions; she is also the head of a workshop, to give instruction to the women under her direction, in the methods of household industry,—an industry undoubtedly primitive, but not always destitute of artistic inspirations. We have in Europe very inaccurate notions of oriental art. In Asia, the architects of the Aryan race have earned immortality by their wonderful achievements. It is enough to mention the splendid and poetic monuments of India, which are too little known in Europe. In industrial art, what European workman has ever equalled the artistic workmen of the Vale of Cashmere? No doubt the Slavs have never had any claim to be ranked alongside the great Aryan

³³The taste for singing and for poetry is quite general among them. "While the men sing of the history of their heroes, the girls also have put into verse the narratives of the deeds of their heroines, to say nothing of love songs. Besides these heroic ballads, our women have songs of their own, which justly excite the admiration of all who are acquainted with them." (Iankovitch and Grouitch, *Les Slaves du Sud*.)

³⁴See J. J. Ampère, *Histoire littéraire de la France avant le XIIe Siècle, Tome I.*

³⁵The Serbs, as formerly the Bulgarians, receive Greek bishops from their Patriarch.—Gen. Ignatieff managed to induce Abdul-Azis to withdraw the Bulgarians from the jurisdiction of the Œcumenical Patriarch, which is still recognized in the Serbian provinces of the Empire.

³⁶The poetry of the two peoples has not had the same origin, as the Bulgarians were originally a Finnish people, though subsequently Slavized [in speech and otherwise.]

nations of Asia. They have had neither their admirable literature, nor their profound philosophy, nor their sublime artistic inspirations. Nevertheless, the domestic industry of the Slavs produces fabrics which are not devoid of a sort of beauty. Such are the table covers, called *cilim*, which sometimes command a very high price, and which set off the *salons* of Austria-Hungary. Their gold and silver embroideries also deserve some attention.³⁷ It must not be forgotten that the hands to whom we owe these fabrics are not, as elsewhere, employed exclusively at one occupation. They have to make candles and soap, to weave and make up the coarse dresses of those who labor in the fields, and even to take part in that labor. In fact, while one portion of the women are busy at home, the rest go abroad to do outdoor tasks.³⁸ It is by lot that each is assigned her place.

I would gladly believe that, in those countries where the spirit of progress is insensibly displacing the harsh usages of "the good old times," whatever is beyond woman's strength is effected by men. Unfortunately, there still is left more than one trace of the abuse of her strength: "Beneath the wilted and dejected features of the Montenegrin woman," say Wlahovitj and Frilley, observers who are decidedly friendly to the Southern Slavs, "beneath that appearance of a natural maturity, you will find, if you examine closely, a woman of some five and twenty years, upon whom forced labor has set the stamp of a strange and repulsive masculinity." I pass by some of the traits of the sad picture of the life of "a modest, sober, diligent creature, capable of unceasing devotion," but whose very birth is regarded as a real calamity by these rude warriors, as if she did not, by oppressive, incessant, and at times intolerable labors, pay full dearly to society and to the family, for the morsel of bread which does not enable her to live, but which prevents her dying. As regards the distribution of the women's tasks, each woman works for her own family, that is, for her husband and his children, and, in her turn, for the bachelors and the orphans of the community.

Are the rights of the community so rigorous and so extensive

³⁷ "The Montenegrins, like all the rest of the Slavic women, appear to inherit a talent for embroidery." (Wlahovitj and Frilley, *ubi supra*).

³⁸The Serb always sings at his work. But it is especially in the *moba* (a feast during which he is allowed to give unpaid help to his neighbor), that the young girls, two by two, sing all the day long. (Iankovitch and Grouitch, *ubi supra*.)

that its members, of either sex, are not allowed to accumulate what the Romans called a *peculium* (Savings)?³⁹ Serb custom recognizes a sort of *peculium*. The dowry of the wife is regarded as her own *peculium*. It consists usually of garments, jewelry, cattle, and the like; very rarely of real estate. In some parts of Servia, this cattle and real estate are entrusted to a peasant of the village, who hires them on the *mitayer* plan, and pays the woman a half of his profits from their use. To the women belong also the products of their labors, a share of the poultry, of the eggs, and sometimes of the fruit and of the flax, which they have grown on the lands of the community. In Herzegovina, however, they must give account of whatever they get from sales. In Dalmatia, the girls who gather the olives, get the profit of that labor. All the Serbs allow the young girls to work on their wedding outfit, or to accumulate a little savings if they are orphans; for there is no girl who may go empty-handed to her husband.

All that a woman earns by labor performed outside of the community, is accounted her own; but she may not undertake such labor without the permission of the Domacin. In hardly any but the indigent communities is such permission given, and it is granted less commonly to the women than to the girls, especially to those of them who are orphans.

Among the Bulgarians, the principle of community is more strictly enforced. But the women have a right to their savings. They keep, as personal property, whatever they have inherited from their parents, and the gifts received from their husbands on their wedding day. As to their dowry, whether it consist of personal or real property, it is given up to the community, which retains it until the dissolution of the association. The wife cannot, in that event, reclaim the fruits of it which have been enjoyed by the community.

The servants are hired in Spring, by the year, and, as they are not members of the community, they have no right to any of its possessions. But among these peoples, who love equality, they are never treated as inferiors. Men-servants are under the orders

³⁹The money earned by slaves, outside their masters' service, was called *peculium*. [The earliest sense of the word is, of course, that indicated by its etymology. It designated the cattle owned by the citizen in severalty, at a time when land was still held in community.]

of the Domacin; maid-servants, under those of the Domacina. Their wages are very moderate, and in districts where money is scarce, the payments are chiefly in kind. A servant whose conduct is quite satisfactory, and who remains more than one year in a community, is presented with a heifer. Should she marry, a present is made her, and usually their departure is attended by proofs of mutual regret. But the spirit of equality does not go so far as to lead a member of the community to marry a servant. And custom just as little favors the intermarriage of the daughters with the men-servants.

Widows retain their place as members of the community, and are the more disposed to profit by their right, as second marriages are rare, and not in good repute. "Once to marry and once to die, is enough," a French proverb says. Serb custom has not the pessimist intention of that proverb. If Prince Von Metternich thought that by his second marriage he showed what a good opinion of wedlock his first wife had led him to form, the Serb, on the contrary, regards the second marriage as an outrage to the memory of the dead. Such marriages, therefore, which were already an offence to the Christians of the heroic age of the Church,⁴⁰ are as gloomy as the first were solemn and noisy. A woman who either remarries or simply returns to her parents' home, forfeits her rights over the property of the association. In the latter case, she has the right to bring up her children, but when they attain their majority, they resume their places in their father's community.

II.

THE marriage question is the one which is the most threatening of danger to the peace of these communities. It is the subject of discussions, which are not always friendly,—especially when the marriage of a lad is in question. The selection of his future wife,

⁴⁰ Saint Paul declares (1 Tim. III. 2), that a bishop should not have married more than one wife, [*mias gunaiokos andra*]. The priests of the Orthodox church are not allowed to remarry, [nor her bishops to marry. Protestants interpret the words, "the husband of one wife," to refer to the scandalous looseness of the law and practice of divorce in New Testament times, when it was not uncommon for a man to have three or four divorced wives still living, and for a woman to have been the wife of as many men, also all still alive. But a very strong sentiment against second marriages, among either clergy or laity, unquestionably did exist in the primitive Church, and it has had its representatives among Protestants.]

and the question of outlay, are always taken up with vivacity. There are Serb proverbs, which give us some notion of what is taken for granted in these conversations. "The world brags of beauty, but the home is glorified by a woman's goodness of heart;" (similarly the Latin proverb: *Sat pulcher qui sat bonus*, [and the English: "Handsome is that handsome does."]). A good character, also, is preferred to a good dower; for "if you take the Devil for the sake of his fortune, the fortune goes, but the Devil stays." In such democratic countries⁴¹ as these, the question of birth or descent can have but little meaning, but it has, however, some weight in favor of a family, if it is thought its girls are trained with care.

As to the girl herself, if she has not, in this grave matter, the independence of action enjoyed by an English or an American woman, it must be admitted that more attention is given to her own views than is elsewhere the case. In old times, so little account was made of her preferences, that infants in the cradle were betrothed. Two men or two women, who were bound to each other by close friendship, promised to marry their children, taking it for granted that their offspring must needs fall heir to something of their affection for each other. The frequency of applications for divorce caused the abandonment of the notion that a lad and a girl were fore-ordained to become man and wife. Abduction also played a great part among the Serbs, but that brutal custom has at last aroused the opposition of government. In the Austro-Hungarian empire, it was regarded as crime, while elsewhere it was beheld with indifference. The principality of Servia had hardly attained autonomy, when the terrible laws of the founder of the reigning dynasty rendered it exceedingly difficult. Even in Montenegro, the code of Damilo I. has forbidden those outrages to which their girls were exposed.⁴²

⁴¹The Christians, and not the Mohammedans, are meant. The beys of Bosnia, for instance, have but little relish for equality.

⁴²This fact is greatly exaggerated by Wlahovitj and Frilley, when they say (*Montenegro Contemporain*, chap. xiv.,) without qualification: "The arrangements for their protection have restored to women their rightful freedom." [It must be remembered, however, that this inhuman custom has come down to the Serbs from the times when it was the only way by which a man could get a wife. Primitive society was, everywhere, broken up into little groups, whose members were, either in fact or in theory, of close kinship to each other, so that a marriage between two members of the

Whenever a girl rejected the advances of any lad, he gathered a body of his comrades, and made the attempt to get hold of her, and carry her before a *Pope*, who rarely refused to give them the nuptial benediction, which is all that is needed in countries where civil marriage is not required. If we may trust the evidence of popular songs, the heroes of Tzernagora long made it a point of honor thus to carry off Mussulman women, and thus to gain them at once for their country and their faith.

Abduction, as it now exists, however, hardly deserves the name. It is mostly a means by which the girls obtain, as their husbands, lads who are not acceptable to their parents. In Bulgaria, the girl goes and takes her seat by the hearth of the lover's family, (like Ulysses in the *Odyssey*, when, in his wanderings, he seeks a host,) and she stirs up the fire, by way of giving them to understand that she asks an asylum. When the marriage takes place, her parents stay away, and thus avoid the usual outlays. This saving sometimes inclines people to feign an abduction or an elopement. In such cases, the priests are required to ascertain whether the girl gives her consent freely. Even in this case, public opinion regards with an evil eye marriages which have not the approval of both of the families concerned.

There is no such hostility to marriages between persons of different nationality, and the heads of the communities offer no obstacle to them. Thus they readily permit a Serb to marry a Roumanian wife, and, in that case, so great still is the power of Latin civilization, the whole establishment runs great risk of being Roumanized. It is to Prince Michel, of Servia, that I am indebted for this fact, which I found again recently in the *Tour du Monde*, a collection which establishes the remarkable conquests thus made by Latin society in the Slavic world. Similarly, nothing prevents a Croat girl from marrying a Pole of Gallicia, a Catholic like herself. It would not be quite the same, were a man to leave his own church, in order to marry a girl of another communion. In

group was impossible. Friendly intercourse between different groups, in those spots of neutral ground which the Teutons called markets, did not exist in the earliest period. The only way to get a wife was to steal her. Hence the *form* of abduction, which in so many and such widely separated countries did, and still does, accompany a regular and legal marriage. Mrs. Robinson, *ubi supra*, points out the continuance of those old customs among several Slavonic peoples. The Roman story of the "Rape of the Sabines," was a reminiscence of the same state of things in ancient Italy.]

Austria-Hungary there is a good deal of indulgence shown to a proceeding for which love furnishes a valid excuse. But such examples have but slight influence in other countries. A Slav who attempted to follow them, would be expelled from his community, and would even have to leave his village. If they do not appreciate religious differences existing between the heads of a family, they think them no better between their children, and the written law, which in Hungary and Croatia decides that the sons of a mixed marriage belong to their father's church, and the daughters to their mother's, seems altogether inconsistent with the ideas of paternal authority which the Slavs entertain.

The communities also hold to it that the girls should marry in the order which custom has prescribed. Thus they are by no means pleased to see the younger married before the elder. This custom is equally in force as regards the lads, who must, moreover, wait till their sisters are married. (However, if one sister is married, and the other a mere child, the brother may marry). Another very serious obstacle to marriage is encountered in the countless impediments which the Orthodox [Greek] Church presents to the union of relatives. Here, as in the Church of Rome, there are three sorts of kinship,—that of blood, that of affinity or marriage, and the spiritual. The civil law does not, as is the case in France, undertake to make enactments as regards impediments. If it did make the attempt, it is by no means certain that it would be in a different sense from the canon law. In fact, in orthodox Servia, and in some parts of Catholic Croatia, confraternity and adoption are regarded as impediments, while the Bulgarians do not consider adoption as kinship. The Serbs are, at times, very obstinate about such matters. Thus, while the Church does not extend the spiritual kinship [of gossips (*i. e.* god-sibs), persons akin through some one having been god-father or god-mother in baptism to another] beyond the fourth degree, in Herzegovina and Montenegro it goes as far as the ninth. The Montenegrins, however, are beginning to understand that it is difficult to forbid marriage between persons of the same clan, who are possibly relatives of the twentieth degree. In the upper Herzegovina, where, also, the clan system is in force, wives must be sought in another clan than one's own. But a girl is not displeased at being asked in marriage by a lad who lives at some little distance from her home. Nothing so

clearly shows that she is, if not known like the pious Æneas, "beyond the stars," yet esteemed beyond the home circle. Besides, no thought is more pleasing to her than that of traversing the country on the noisy wedding excursion. "O my mother," says a popular song, "marry me far away from home, that I may boast of my family."

If we may give credence to a proverb of the Montenegrins, the men of that country take wives where they gird on their sabres. But, as among that warlike race,

"Valor waits not till the years are told,"

the Montenegrins really marry between their twentieth and their twenty-fifth year. These marriages, as they are far more rational than many of those in the west, have preserved to this people the vigorous and healthy constitution which is so necessary in their rude way of living. The girls marry between their sixteenth and their twentieth year. There is never an instance of that strange disparity of years, which we see too frequently elsewhere, and which, from the time of Moliere to that of Casimir Delavigne, has furnished the French theatre with so many situations which we would like to call comic. A really touching letter of Moliere's, who had married a girl by far too young for him, to one of his most intimate friends, bears witness that he had found, by cruel experience, the truth of those scenes which he has immortalized, and that he knew better than anybody how griefs are accumulated in situations of which the frivolous see only the laughable side.

The Germans say that their long betrothals⁴⁴ are among the best means to render unhappy marriages rare. In that respect they are not unlike the novitiate required by the monastic orders. A French proverb says that no novitiate of this sort is known in France,⁴⁵ where betrothal immediately precedes marriage, for fear that celibacy may become too common. The Serbs seem to be of the same mind. In fact, among them the betrothed lover seldom meets the girl to whom he is to be married. In Montenegro, after their betrothal, he must not even show himself again at her home. It is true that the accord of characters and of views is of but small im-

⁴⁴The Breton poet Brezeux calls Germany "the eternally betrothed of an everlasting Professor."

⁴⁵*The Westminster Review*, in an article on "The Preliminaries of Marriage in France," dwells forcibly on the objectionable features of the French system.

portance in that country, where "every act of the husband is an assertion of his indisputable authority," an assertion which takes the least courteous shape in the least civilized countries.⁴⁶ Chivalry of which P. J. Proudhon has said so much evil, in his *De la Justice dans la Révolution et dans l'Eglise*, will never excite in women the antipathy with which the communistic sophist regards it, and if it was under the necessity of vanishing along with the social order which gave it birth, it has left behind it that spirit which we rightly call chivalrous, and which is at bottom at one with the gospel view of authority, as no longer a privilege bestowed by wrong and force, but a ministry, a service; as it is written: "He that is greatest among you, let him be the servant of all."

In Serbia, it is by means of a go-between that proposals are made by offering a nosegay of basil, in which a number of coins are inserted. The betrothal is seldom brought to pass at that first visit.

Among the Bulgarians, the young man, when he is certain of the girl's consent, pays her a visit in the company of his parents. He presents her with a nosegay, and an understanding is had as to the presents to be made, and also as to the wedding-day. They also decide upon the *ogzluk*, a present from the lover to his future mother-in-law. At supper, the future bride waits on the table, a custom which already gives her to understand that she will be, in her new family, a "servant," which quite accords with the view of one of the most famous of living French authors. The real betrothal, in the presence of the priest, does not take place till their third meeting, and the girl's mother is entrusted with the exchange of the rings.

When marriage was no more than the purchase of a girl by a man, who regarded it quite as much as the procuring a servant as a companion, the ring, which was sometimes of iron, represented the first link of the chain which bound the new piece of property to its owner. Among peoples as primitive in their ways and notions as are the Southern Slavs, it is not surprising to find traces of a usage which is still preserved by the nations who have

⁴⁶For instance, in Montenegro "the brutal nature of the Black-mountaineer becomes none the gentler under the marital roof-tree . . . The wife would not dare meddle with her husband's affairs, or to fret about his proceedings." (Wlahovitj and Frilley, *ubi supra*).

remained faithful to the patriarchal institutions. The Serb betrothed presents to his father-in-law, as the price of his daughter, a number of ducats and a furred cloak. Before the publication of the Code now in force in the principality of Serbia,⁴⁷ it was held that this payment must be made both to the father-in-law and the brother-in-law. The Bulgarian is required to give his father-in-law quite a large sum, several ducats to his mother-in-law, and presents to the brothers and sisters of his bride.

The question of dowry is seldom discussed at the betrothal. The dowry is usually carried to the bridegroom's house on the eve of the wedding-day, and sometimes a day or two earlier.

While it is necessary, when a girl is asked in marriage, to take every precaution to soften a refusal, since a family whose advances are not accepted shows itself, in such a case, irritable to a degree—there is a risk of very grave annoyance of a different sort when the betrothal is not followed by marriage. In those countries where the settlement of the Slavs has not uprooted the revengeful traditions of the Albanians,⁴⁸ in the mountains of Dalmatia and the Tzernagora, the breach of plighted troth has led to abundance of sanguinary feud. In Herzegovina and Tzernagora, the young man who is guilty of such a deed has to leave the country.

If the lover compromised the reputation of his betrothed before jilting her, the Serbs would never forgive him, nor would Heaven be more indulgent than man. "The earth trembles," says one of their songs, "when a girl utters a curse. Her complaint rises up to God, and the tears which fall from her eyes sink three spears' length into the earth." It would greatly astonish people who think in this fashion, to be told that, in other countries, "the inquiry as to paternity is forbidden." Their logic does not find room for the gross contradictions found in the legislation of other lands. If they do believe that woman is a being of feeble intelligence⁴⁹ and versatile disposition, they draw the inference that she needs vigorous guardianship, and they have better managed to

⁴⁷[Our authoress, it will be observed, uses the terms Serb and Serbia as applicable to the Southern Slavs, but designates what we call Serbia or Servia, by the name "Principality of Serbia;" the *b* and the *v* are interchangeable.]

⁴⁸Illyrians, ancestors of the modern Albanians. See Benloew, *La Grèce avant les Grecs*.

⁴⁹"Women have long hair and short judgment." So say all the Slavic poets, Russians, Serbs, etc.

secure her that, than have people of better enlightenment and a higher civilization. Even in Austria-Hungary, where there is less moral strictness, the father of a child, if it be a boy, must pay all the cost of its support; if it be a girl, the expense is divided. But in the gorges of Cattaro, this softening of old customs is not allowed.

In some Serb countries, however, it is admitted that the breach of betrothal need not be looked upon as a sin beyond pardon. On the Military Frontiers, the *vendetta* takes the shape of a demand for damages. In Lika, if the girl refuses to wed her betrothed, she must pay her lover the expenses of the betrothal twice over. When it is her lover who refuses, the damages are three-fold. In the circles of Gradiska and of Brod, she cannot marry until she has paid the expenses incurred by her jilted lover.

The Bulgarians have not inherited from the Thracians, whose country, however, they inhabit, those revengeful traditions which the Illyrians (the primitive Albanians) have bequeathed to the Serbs. Among them, the seducer is not in danger of his life, but he has to marry the girl he has deceived. If she will not agree to take him as her husband, he is handed over to the courts of justice. At Ljeskovac there is still less severity. If the seducer is unwilling to marry, he has merely to pay a fixed sum in damages.

Apart from the case of seduction, breach of betrothal does not involve very severe consequences. The girl—that sex is in Bulgaria less faithful to its troth than the other—pays a small sum to her lover, and has to undergo from the proto-Pope (or arch-priest) a little sermon on the merits of troth-keeping,—a sermon which is extremely likely to meet with the usual success of the discourses delivered by the preachers.

Betrothals generally take place in the carnival, the time of rejoicings, and the weddings in Autumn, because, as the harvest is then gathered, the house will not lack the provisions needed for a festival whose importance is so great among the Southern Slavs.

Among the German and the Latin peoples, indeed, a marriage interests hardly anybody besides the relatives of the bride and bridegroom. But the disposition of the Slavs does not allow the neighborhood to remain indifferent to such an occurrence. When a peasant girl is married, her whole village takes part in the solemnity. The *Zadruga* of itself would make quite a company, even

if the villagers were not disposed to share in the satisfaction of the two families. It has been said that, in the middle ages, all his vassals participated in the joys of their seigneur; the terrible wars of the Jacquerie in France suggest a doubt of these inclinations of "Jacques Bonhomme." The good will of the Serb peasants towards the newly married, is less doubtful.

I would like to give a notion of the facts in regard to these marriages, as numerous as they are interesting, contained in the remarkable work of Prof. Bojusic. But, besides their being far too numerous for the limits of an article, since customs change as we pass from district to district, and even from village to village,—the significance of these primeval rights is not easily grasped, unless by those who have a satisfactory notion of the family traditions of the Slavs. I shall confine myself to a very brief description of a Montenegrin marriage, as the manners of the race have been better preserved by the Tzernagora than by the other countries, and the leading idea of Slav marriage is disclosed more plainly than elsewhere.

When the wedding-day is fixed, the bridegroom selects two *djevers*, relatives or friends of his own, and entrusted with functions which the *paranymphs* among the Greeks were wont to discharge. He also invites the young fellows of his acquaintance to take part in the procession which is to go in search of the bride. These young fellows, who are called *svati*, are on horseback by dawn, as are the *djevers*, who lead the animal upon which the bride is to ride. Preceded by a standard-bearer, singing, caracoling, and especially "letting the powder speak," they go to meet a similar procession, which has set out from the dwelling-place of the bride. As soon as the two companies meet, the standard-bearers approach each other, and feign a short contest, a reminiscence of the abductions of old times. They then dismount, dance, embrace, and discharge their pistols.

When the united processions arrive at the bride's home, they find her relatives, with the exception of her father and mother, at the threshold of the house. The *djevers* next ask to be taken to the mother, in order to claim the fulfilment of her promise. But, as the appearance of an abduction is always kept up, the mother makes objections, sheds tears, and does not admit that she is satisfied until she is presented with the gifts, which, in appearance, re

present the price of her daughter. The *svati* make their way into the house, where they find the well-known box, painted in brilliant colors, which plays so great a part in these marriages. This gift of the bridegroom, which takes the place of the heavy oaken clothes-chest of the Western peasants, is meant to hold the presents, which each must bring the bride. Three days after the wedding, when the bride's mother pays her first visit to her daughter, she takes with her the box, and all the gifts it contains. While the *svati* are busy at the tables, cutting up the roast sheep, like those which figure in the feasts of Homer's heroes, and while, before the doors, the dancers are making the air ring with joyous cries and the discharge of muskets, the mother and the friends of the bride are busied with her toilet. Her brother removes the maiden's snood, which hangs in the house for three days, and they replace it with the veil of the married woman. When the time comes to set out, covered from head to foot in that sad-colored veil, and with head meekly bowed, she leaps across the threshold of her own home. After having escorted her for a moment, her relatives and friends give her up to the *svati* of the bridegroom. This blunt separation bears witness that all the ties which unite her past to her new life, must be severed without hesitation.

The villages through which the procession passes resound with hurrahs, and with the din of musketry. The Slavs are not characterized by the sobriety of the Latins, (a great honor to that ancient race,) and there is no lack of drinking. At the bridegroom's village, the procession turns directly to the church, whither he has secretly betaken himself. After the marriage rite, he departs with the same secrecy. The bride, on the contrary, proceeds with solemnity to her husband's house, amid the uproar made by the noisy *svati*. The *djivers*, one on either hand, form her guard of honor. On the threshold, she is received by her father-in-law, who presents a child to her, the symbol of her duties, and also of her maternal cares, those *longa fastidia*, of which the great poet of melancholy, that truly modern soul cast upon a rude antiquity, Virgil, speaks with such touching emotion. The mother-in-law presents her daughter-in-law with an apple, which she is to cast over the roof. It is thought unlucky if she fails to do so. That apple, given by the mother-in-law, who has, in general, but little good-will towards the bride, was it the golden apple of discord cast among the

goddesses at the marriage of Peleus and Thetis? Is it not rather the fatal fruit which imparted the grievous knowledge,⁵⁰ which allows us to "see things as they are,"⁵¹ and which must be got rid of, if we are to extricate ourselves from joint responsibility for the rebellion of the first parents of the race? But these interpretations are out of keeping with other usages. Thus the apple seems to have a different significance when the groomsman returns it to the bride, with a piece of money inserted. In the gorges of Cattaro, the Domacin of the bridegroom, when he sets out to invite the guests, carries a leathern bottle filled with wine, and adorned with apples, ribbons and handkerchiefs. During the wedding-supper, if the bride catches sight of the bridegroom, she throws an apple at him. In some villages, on a wedding-day, they place an apple on the end of the flag-staff, whence joyously hang long ribbons of divers colors. In Herzegovina, the marriage procession, before entering the house, makes its way to the village well, and marches round it three times, when the bridegroom throws into the air an apple and some coins, but so that they shall not fall into the water, and a crowd of children try to catch them.

In Montenegro, where there is no march to the well, the procession takes possession of the house, and behaves as if it were in a conquered country. The *djevers* take their seat on the nuptial couch, where the bridegroom brings them food and drink, while a feast is spread for the *svati*. The bridegroom must give no time to his wife, his dignity as master not allowing him to show her the least attention. The *djevers* are entrusted with keeping up the credit of Montenegrin gallantry. They escort the bride to the bridal chamber, which they have the right to keep the bridegroom from entering. In Montenegro, as in Herzegovina, it is the rule that the bride should pass the night with the *djever*, who is usually a brother-in-law, and the nights following, with her sisters-in-law.⁵² The mother of the bridegroom alone can put an end to this separation. She usually chooses a Sunday or a Tuesday, which are thought lucky days. But she waits hard by till her daughter-

⁵⁰"*Qui addit scientiam, addit et dolorem.*" ["He that increaseth knowledge increaseth sorrow." Eccles. i. 18.]

⁵¹"A truly terrible disease," says an eminent French physician of the eighteenth century, "for it allows us to see things as they are."

⁵²Wlahovitj and Frilley (*ubi supra*), seem to think that the *djevers* have the right to decide whether the rule is to be enforced.

in-law is asleep, and then goes to awaken her son, and gives him her blessing.

The story of young Tobit's wife, whose first seven husbands had been strangled by the jealous demon Asmodeus,⁵⁸ is possibly the origin of such precautions. In Montenegro, there is, in fact, a firm conviction of the existence of a mischievous spirit, called *Mora* or *Morina*, who is quite as terrible as the Asmodeus of the Jews.

In Bulgaria, the husband has to engage in a real struggle with the young fellows who oppose his entering the nuptial chamber. At Ljeskovac, they have a practice, more than patriarchal, which, under different forms, seems have been general among the Slavs. The sister-in-law of the bride waits at the chamber door until the bridegroom comes to tell her that the bride has kept her virginity. Joy is then redoubled throughout the house, and the guests and the husband form a procession, which proceeds to the houses of her relatives, to take their presents, and to pay to his mother-in-law the *ogzluk* agreed upon at the betrothal. The procession returns to the bride's home, bringing her relatives. In this procession, one of the young men carries a sheep, whose horns are gilt and adorned with gilt apples. But if the virginity of the bride has not been established, the guests relapse into gloom, the music is hushed, and her father has to take back his daughter, or, in case the son-in-law is satisfied to keep her, he must pay him damages for the disgrace he has incurred, and give up his claim to presents and to the *ogzluk* promised at the betrothal. An old matron of the village is directed to inform the whole village of the disgrace incurred by the mother, who has not known how to keep guard over her daughter.

Such scenes carry us far from the Latin-Teutonic world. It is the same with the Montenegrin weddings, which undoubtedly keep up old usages whose first meaning it is not always easy to get at. But the general drift of their significance is quite clear. It is to give the bride to understand that she is about to become half of a husband, whose life, like that of his people, is devoted to a perpetual conflict. Those *svati*, armed like soldiers, who go through the forms of an abduction rather than of an escort,—those *djevci* who churlishly take possession of the nuptial chamber—that festival, where the girls of her own age form no part of the bride's procession—that bridegroom who does not condescend to extend to

⁵⁸See Bouillet, *Dictionnaire universelle*, articles *Tobie* and *Asmodée*.

her the slightest sign of attention—that whole warlike and haughty ceremonial presents a remarkable contrast to our western notions of wedding ceremonies. We must say that there is a frankness about it, which has its merit. A writer who belongs to the freest people in Europe, recently showed us that the old servitudes, which have been abolished for the lower classes, have always continued in force for the women of “merry England,” and that if the squire could no longer thrash a peasant, he could “chastise” his wife as freely as a Black Mountaineer.⁵⁶ There is, at least, no attempt to deceive the Montenegrin girl, to describe, in plaintive epithalamiums, the felicities of what the Germans call *familienglück*. The Southern Slavs have not yet learned to inquire whether this life is as good as Leibnitz and the optimists thought it, or as bad as, in our own days, Schopenhauer and his school maintain. But they are aware that for themselves, both men and women, it is rough, stern and full of difficulty, and even on a day when it elsewhere seems but right to leave cares for the present and anxieties for the future out of sight, they do not manage to look with charmed eye upon the battle of life, the terrible “conflict for existence,” which has, for so many centuries, made of our little world a vast cemetery, and of its history (as Paul Louis Courier says), “an accumulation of mad follies and horrors.”

III.

THE symbolism of their wedding festivals is not deceptive. Woman is regarded as a being of an inferior order, and is treated as such; and this, it is thought, is urgently required by an intelligent view of her own interests and those of society. The *Code Napoléon*, which, in no sense, concedes the equality of the sexes, is hardly logical, when it grants the wife the right to demand a separation, if ill-treated. The Slavs have not sanctioned any such anomaly. “He that spareth the rod, hateth his son,” Solomon tells us. And if chastisement is so good for a son, can it be bad for a wife? All are agreed that, “in old times,” the Slav husband, in Russia as in the oriental peninsula, had the right to punish his wife. Was he content to strike her “with a flower,” as the Brahmins advise? We may be permitted to doubt it. The “right” conceded by the ancients, is certainly not abandoned by their sons.

⁵⁶See the remarkable articles in the *Westminster Review*, on “The Preliminaries to Marriage in France.”

A Serb officer, M. Wlahovitj, bears witness that "the wife of a Montenegrin is liable to the most brutal chastisements." The "right" is not called in question by the neighbors, and even her relatives are never provoked at these "chastisements." The wife herself regards them as so simply rightful, that she bears no grudge to her master. She well knows, that if her husband acted otherwise, he would be looked on less as a man of kind heart than as one of no firmness, and with but little capacity to act as the head of a household.

The anomaly in the *Code Napoléon*, which I have pointed out, does, however, exist in Slavic law. That same wife, who is liable to be chastised like her girl, is not regarded as incapable of managing her own property. All that she brings her husband as dowry, is hers in control, in use, and in possession. Her wedding outfit, and her jewels cannot, under any pretext, become the property of her husband, or be seized by his creditors. Such is the law, but in practice, the property of women of the poorer class is not kept separate, when they marry, from that of their husbands. In wealthy houses, the wife uses her income for family expenses, but keeps the management in her own hands. It is evident, therefore, that the Russian legislation on this subject—at which Westerns are sometimes surprised—is by no means due, as many are tempted to believe, to the influence of dynasties of foreigners,⁵⁶ but is entirely in accord with Slav traditions. This right of management has itself been frequently extended to the royal dominions. Russia, like Poland, has seen its sceptre swayed by female hands, and their Hedwigs and Catherines have borne, with glory, the crown of the Jagellons and the Rurikovitch.

When a marriage is terminated by a divorce, the woman retains her whole dowry. Besides, whenever a divorce is granted for fault of the husband, he must pay her a fixed sum. If she has no children, she may do what she pleases with her dowry. In case she dies intestate, it reverts to her husband, with the exception of her wardrobe, which is given to her mother, or, if she be not alive, to her sisters or sisters-in-law.

The right of a mother over her children is no more disputed than that of their father. But as "their father is to his child a

⁵⁶ The Rurikovitch, (Northmen or Scandinavians), the Romanoff, (Prussians), and the Holstein-Gottorp, (Germans).

god on earth," his authority will always be practically the greater, although he very willingly leaves his wife to bring up their daughters as well as she knows how. As for the sons, they feel towards their mother a genuine respect, and the haughty style in which Telemachus, in the *Odyssey*, treats Penelope, would excite no approval in a Serb or a Bulgarian. This parental authority continues, in some countries, after marriage, and even extends to the grand-children, when the son is under age. But a young woman cannot appeal to it against her husband. When a married daughter leaves her husband, she goes back, it is true, to her father's house. Nevertheless, he, no more than her mother, would be inclined to receive her, if it were merely an affair of "quarrels," even though the husband were in the wrong on all points. A wife who carries tales to her relatives, receives no support from public opinion. To suffer without a murmur, is her duty. In general, the Oriental is inclined to leave a good many things to the judgment of "her master," as Lady Morgan calls him. Saint Paul tells us to obey even him who is displeasing, and to leave to God, whose instrument he is, the work of chastising or of punishing him.

In Austria-Hungary, conjugal dissensions may be terminated by a simple separation. But that procedure, which is borrowed from the canon law of the Roman Catholic Church, is not acceptable to the Southern Slavs. While they hold, in theory, to the indissolubility⁵⁷ of marriage—married people are to live together in paradise,—they seek divorce in cases certainly not provided for in Gospels. Thus, in Herzegovina, a husband may, for instance, send back his wife, if her breath be foul,—a ground for divorce already specified by the Homer of Persia, in the *Shah Namah* (*Book of Kings*), when he narrates the legendary account of the birth of Alexander the Great, current in his country. But the Mohammedans no more than the Orthodox, perceive that the wife is wronged by the rupture of marriage. The Mussulmans of Bosnia have to pay the *nica* to the wife whom they send back, and, besides this, to give her a sum of money, if she have an infant at the breast. A Bulgarian who should divorce his wife for other reasons than those we have specified, would be obliged to pay her compensatory damages and to provide for her support. But that seldom happens.

⁵⁷The word is not used here in the sense put upon it by Roman Catholics, but in that of the New Testament, which admits of divorce in one case.

There is, among the Southern Slavs, no uniformity as regards the succession of married people to each other's property. There are districts where each is the other's heir. It is not so in Bulgaria, where the heirs-in-chief are the children. The husband succeeds only to the eighth, or, if she have no children, to the fourth, of her estate. In some parts of Dalmatia, also, the children are the real heirs, and when married people are, either the other's heir, they inherit only the usufruct for life. In several districts of Croatia, the wife has not the entire usufruct, unless she has children and does not intend to marry again. In upper Herzegovina, if she dies childless and intestate, her parents are the sole heirs. Dying intestate is no fanciful case, the more so as the notion of making a will is often strange to this people. The spirit of association and of community of goods, is not favorable to a custom which must gain ground with the disappearance of the old Slavic dispositions.

Adoptive brotherhood (*pobratimstvo*) is one of the usages, which, like that of association, has struck deep roots in the past of this people, but to which the age is so little propitious that, in more than one district of Croatia, it is not even known. It flourishes chiefly in Montenegro and the Principality of Serbia. Yet Messrs. Wlahovitj and Frilley speak of it as a usage which is becoming uncommon in Montenegro. On the Military Frontiers, there are to be found friends who swear to be helpful to each other in all circumstances. A man and a woman may take such an oath. Two girls likewise may form a similar friendship. The orthodox and the Catholic Churches do not refuse their blessing to the *pobratim*. In his earlier work, *The Customs of the Slavs*, Prof. Bojusic has published a prayer which he found in a ritual printed at Venice towards the middle of the sixteenth century, and which invokes the blessing of the loving and gracious Lord upon his "servants who are united in spiritual affection."

Vuk says that there are in Bulgaria women who enter into such friendships, and that they are consecrated by the blessing of the clergy. According to him, if a woman fall sick, she has herself taken to church by a young man, who carries a cross on his head while the priest recites a prayer. If she recover, she regards that man as a brother, and he looks on her as his sister.

The adoption of children is not attended by religious rites

among the Serbs, but it is a solemn transaction. It is not so in Bulgaria, where the adoptive father merely gives a new dress to the child. Women, also, if they have lost children, may adopt others, in case they have no near relatives to take their place in the community.

The taste for association which has given rise to the community, is, as I have already remarked, gradually growing weaker. The dissensions among the women have always been among the chief hindrances to life in community. However, except in Herzegovina and among other Slavs under the rule of the Padishah, the communities are hardly to be found in their entirety. Even there, there are undoubtedly dissolutions, but they are still regarded as a misfortune. It is no longer the same with the Slavs who live under the rule of the Emperor of Austria-Hungary. They are mingled with populations, of whom the leading one, the German, has the tendency to individuality strongly developed; they therefore find it less easy, than do the Ottoman Slavs, to keep to the customs of their fathers. As the Turks pay but little heed to what the *rayahs* think and do, they have never, like the Prussians in Posen and Joseph II in the Austrian States, made efforts to assimilate the Slavs to themselves, the conquering race. It is, therefore, in Turkey that we must study those old usages, which have elsewhere undergone more or less of alteration.

DORA, COUNTESS D'ISTRIA.

IS CHRISTIANITY ON THE WANE AMONG US?

THE truth of the Christian religion is quite another thing from its wide acceptance as true, or its progress among mankind. Christ himself, on one memorable occasion, put the question: "When the Son of Man cometh, shall He indeed find the faith on the Earth?" Whatever He may have meant by his "coming," whether a near or a remote event, he speaks of one which was to occur after the lapse of some time in the history of the Christian Church, and he speaks with a certain dubiousness as to the result of all the efforts made in the meantime, to awaken and to cherish "the Faith" in the hearts of men. It is, therefore, an open ques-

tion to the strongest believer in Christianity, whether or not it is losing or gaining ground at any time. He is not committed to the *belief* that it is and must be doing so, however strong may be his *hope* of its gradual and complete triumph.

This question has recently been raised by a very clever article in the *Nation*, of New York, *a propos* of the discussions held in the recent general convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church. That article attracted a fair share of attention and of protest on its appearance. It so commended itself to somebody as a wise suggestion, that it has been reprinted in separate form and circulated gratuitously, being sent to a very large body of the Christian clergy of various denominations,—possibly to all of them. It has been the theme of much discussion and probably of many sermons, and is, in some sense, one of the lesser sensations of the day.

To those who know the general character and tone of the *Nation*, the article will not have the force which it may have with others. When that paper was projected some years ago, the London *Spectator* was spoken of, as, if not the model to be followed by its managers, at least the paper so near of kin in its purpose and character, as to give a fair idea of what subscribers might expect. But anything farther asunder than the two in method and spirit, it would be hard to point out in modern journalism, although they are alike in literary ability, and in setting up a high standard of moral judgment. And the American journal was never better described than when the *Spectator* called it "our clever but acrid contemporary." Clever and acrid it is in every regard. Its attitude towards our national life and its every department, has been that of censorious and contemptuous fault-finding. Of course, we are not complaining of the just indignation with which it has attacked things specifically and clearly iniquitous. Nor do we desire that any organ of public opinion should ever become anything else than a severe and just but friendly critic of society. But we do complain of its wholesale ascription of base motives to all from whom it differs on questions on which there can be an honest difference of opinion; of the ingenuity with which it connects dissent from its own views on nearly all subjects, with some sort of selfish depravity; and, more than all, of the prominence which it gives to everything which can be found worthy of censure or blame, to the exclusion or undue subordination of whatsoever

things are excellent and of good report. We refer to the whole "effect" of the picture it draws of American life, as not only misleading to foreigners, but as mischievous at home. We mean, by this, what Dr. J. P. Thomson means when, in his recent book, *The United States a Nation*, (p. 225), he speaks of "the Englishman who mistakes the cynical severity of the *Nation* for a sober representation of American Society." But "cynical" is Dr. Thompson's word, not ours. It has not been exactly cynical, for the cynic has no care for those whose worthlessness he points out. He believes they are capable of nothing better, and, indeed, that he himself is no better than they. He is not capable of honest bitterness or true contempt, because he has no faith in any high ideal of life, and no hope of any improvement. He can occupy no point of view lofty enough to enable him to look down upon men. Bad as is censorious self-righteousness, there is a deeper depth, and to that depth—the cynic's disbelief in any sort of righteousness as other than a notion of the head—the *Nation* has not sunk. But censoriousness is closely allied to cynicism. It is hard to believe that all men are liars, and yet there is such a thing as truthfulness; or that all men are fools, and yet that there is such a thing as wisdom; or that all men are thieves, and yet there is such a thing as honesty: and when one gets very near to those general affirmations, he is not very far from the doubt. And the *Nation* has unquestionably tended to foster the cynical spirit in America, and also to foster that practical equivalent for cynicism—despondency. It is helping to rob those who are dissatisfied with what we are, of all hope of seeing us better, and to paralyze honest effort, among the educated classes, to amend the things with which they are dissatisfied. Being itself wholly out of sympathy, as well as agreement, with the vast majority of the people, and under no obligation to try to understand them, it has helped, so far as its circle of influence reaches, to widen the breach between the culture and the suffrages of the nation, and to cultivate the fastidiousness with which our superfine intelligences contemplate all popular movements. It is quite true that in its direct and positive exhortations it has endeavored to effect exactly the opposite result. But it is of small use to bid men step into the social and political arena, when you have persuaded them that they will but waste their pains there. The total effect produced by its discussions is much like that with

which some of its readers will rise from the perusal of the article we are now speaking of—the feeling of nearly utter disheartenment, the sense that little or nothing can be done to amend matters, and the conviction that our evils are not accidental, but essential to the system of life in which they inhere.

It is, for other reasons, an excellent thing that this and similar articles have appeared in the *Nation*. For no part of the community is so likely to pick up censorious opinions as what is called the religious world, and it is just in that quarter that the *Nation's* unjust estimate of our social and political life finds easiest acceptance and does the most mischief. It is well that some people should see themselves reflected once in a while in the mirror in which they are fond of contemplating others, that they may learn how distorted and untrue the reflecting medium is. Some of them, indeed, by reason of super-abundant bile or the like defect, are not unlikely to accept the estimate as, in the main, a true one, and to go on admiring the candor and the abundance with which their favorite weekly confesses other people's sins. Others may be poor enough logicians to think that the *Nation* is wrong this time, and to question the results reached in the present instance, without calling in question the method pursued. But many it must help to qualify their acceptance of such opinions, and put them on their guard against a false standard of judgment.

And the present is an excellent instance of the method pursued by the *Nation*. It has discovered that Christianity has lost ground as a motive power in modern society. There has been a "loss of faith in the dogmatic part of Christianity. People do not believe in the fall, the atonement, the resurrection, a future state of reward and punishments, at all, or do not believe in them with the certainty and vividness which are needed to make faith a constant influence on a man's life." And this is put forward as the first and chief solution of "the problem presented by the irreligion of the poor and the dishonesty of the church members."

Now statements of this sort might fairly be expected to come only from those who have made a large and fairly thorough investigation of the subject. We cannot suppose that our critic is dealing in second-hand affirmations, or retailing the lamentations put forward by the clerical and semi-clerical members of church congresses and conventions, without having verified them for himself

He certainly would not do so with their statements on other subjects; he would be the first to remind us of the influences which tend to warp the ecclesiastical vision. And especially he might be expected to be on his guard in the case of a Church which, whatever her merits, occupies a social position which brings her but slightly into contact with the poor, while it gives great inducement to false professions of belief.

Upon what evidence then are we told that, in our age as distinguished from other times, and in our land as distinguished from other lands, Christianity is less efficient as a motive power in the moulding of human life and conduct? There have, it seems, been hypocrites, consciously or unconsciously such, disclosed by recent cases of fraud. "It is an unfortunate and, at first sight, somewhat puzzling circumstance that so many of the culprits in the recent cases of fraud and defalcation should have been professing Christians, and, in some cases, persons of unusual ecclesiastical activity, and that this activity should have furnished no check whatever to the moral descent. . . . The church scandals multiply in spite of pastors and people." Now these statements have no pertinence, unless they depict a state of things in American church life of our own day, which was not usual, or, at any rate, not equalled in all other lands and all other ages in the history of the church. But where are we to seek that golden age of consistency and Christian perfection? Not in that of the first days of the Church, certainly. When the Christian church consisted of but thirteen persons, and when some at least of the truths on whose confession she rests were known as facts beyond doubt to every one of them, one of that number played defaulter with the church moneys, and then sold his Master to his enemies. Another denied that Master, with oaths and curses, to save his own skin; the other ten—with one possible exception, a mere lad named John—ran away at the first sign of danger. We have always thought it a pity that there was, in those days, no *Nation* or *Saturday Review* to point out the easy inference as to what might be expected after such a fine beginning! And when we get a little farther on, we find ourselves in no ideal age. Ananias and Sapphira, Simon Magus, Hermogenes, Demas, Alexander the coppersmith, Diotrephes, Cerinthus, the Nicolaitans,—these are some of the ornaments of the Apostolic age. And the church of the following centuries had the same experience. When there was a right hot time of persecution, the chaff

was sifted out very freely, but in every period of rest and quiet, it came back again. The wheat and the tares are to grow together to the end, and nothing can be weaker in logic than to infer from the presence of the tares the absence of the wheat. And if, after that plain notification, "religious professions" are taken by anybody as "guarantees of character," the more fool he. The object for which the Christian church exists, is not to act as a general reference office, in order that the world may escape burning its fingers by trusting the wrong persons. It is to bring society under the influence of Christian truth; it is to "let down the net" and take in everything, leaving the discrimination to a higher wisdom than that of man.

But we are told that this assumption of a waning influence of Christianity upon men's lives, is a natural inference from the spread of doubt and disbelief; and it is asserted that this has reached the multitudes inside the churches, as well as without. In other days, when men had not heard the truths of religion called into question, or when all such questionings were regarded with horror, the influence of Christian principles upon life was direct and commanding, and the vast discrepancy between profession and practice hardly existed. Has this writer ever read George Eliot's novels? She is certainly a fair and unprejudiced witness as to the influence of Christianity upon minds who have never been subjected to the influence of doubt. And she certainly does not present us any such picture of Christian consistency among her sober, church-going, creed-believing, doubt-rejecting English people of all classes. That wonderful chapter in *The Mill on the Floss*, entitled, "A Variation of Protestantism unknown to Bossuet," is as true to life as if it had been produced by some process of photography. The present writer speaks whereof he knows. It was his own early experience to have been brought up in a fairly religious and church-going community, in a country district of the British Islands—among a people whose faith in the Prayer Book, or in the Shorter Catechism, was an unquestioning faith. He has carried away some very definite impressions of that form of society, but he must say that the absence of any discrepancy between profession and practice is not one of them. The faith of that community was as undisturbed by doubt or infidelity as heart could wish. Even a Unitarian was an object of horror to them. They lived in the calm and untroubled atmosphere of dogmatic conviction. But it was no model com-

munity; it would have born a good deal of mending without running any risk of being mistaken for the New Jerusalem. Not that there were not plenty of good people in it,— people who did justly, loved mercy, and walked humbly with God. But those who knew it, would have hesitated to speak of its churches in the terms in which our critic speaks of the American churches, and to say that, to “the great majority,” their religious professions were “the honest expression of high hopes and noble aims.” Men they were who believed in the certainty and reality of hell fire as strongly as they believed in that which burnt on their own hearth-stones. All the sources of spiritual discipline which could be furnished by such convictions were abundantly present, and yet those men broke the commandments about as frequently and unblushingly, to say the least, as if they had lived in our own land and time of doubt and questioning. I myself remember to have speculated more than once, after burning my finger, upon the awful torture of having my whole body tormented in that way forever. But I am not aware that it ever influenced me in the least in my actual behavior, or made me more truthful or obedient.

In truth, the gulf between theory and practice is nowhere so wide and deep as in a community which has inherited its beliefs, and has never been obliged to fight for them. Those “ages of faith,” as they are sometimes called, though “ages of stagnation” were the better name for them, are never distinguished by consistency of faith and practice. The masculine and vigorous faith is that which has stood that trial which, we are told, is “more precious than silver and gold.” Woman’s faith, being, in a higher degree, of the directly personal and emotional sort, finds that trial in the burdens and the difficulties of life. All ages are alike to her, therefore, for those opportunities for testing are never wanting. But the masculine faith is a rest on principles which have been fought for and won. It is the joy “according to the joy of the harvest; and as men rejoice when they divide the spoil.” The man who deals honestly with himself and with the truth, who makes up his mind to have the truth at any cost, and to accept nothing else or less than it, will never be kept from coming short of the truth by the mental temper of his time. To say so much, is to say that those who believe that Christianity is the truth, cannot believe that these times are so much less favorable to an earnest

belief than those of mere acquiescence. They may be times of greater mental conflict,—times when men are tempted to escape out of conflict, either into the quiet haven of submission to authority, or into the equally quiet refuge of unquestioning unbelief. But they are the times, also, of that “firmer faith” which comes, as Tennyson tells us by his own experience, from facing the mental spectre of doubt and laying it. We do not say that this is a universal experience in the Church of our land and time, but we have very good reason to believe it a very common one. There are multitudes in our churches, of the feminine temperament, who never felt, nor could feel, the force of skeptical objections. There are multitudes of others who are no more cognizant of the existence or currency of such objections, than they are of the differences between the Hanbalee and the Hanafee sects of the Moham-medans; theirs is a mental world into which these have never penetrated, and they accept their creed by inheritance, and live in a quiet acquiescence in the dogmatical part of Christianity. There is yet another class to which the statement we are objecting to does apply. They have doubted, but have never dealt honestly with their doubts. They have thrust them out of sight, and try to live as if they never felt them. But it would be the greatest of mistakes to suppose this class numerous enough to give tone and character to the churches, and, we believe, altogether unfair to them to say that it is they who chiefly furnish the quota of unfaithful members, and disgrace the Christian profession. So far as we can judge of them, the influence of Christian principle in their lives and characters, is, at least, as potent as in those of the acquiescent traditionalists, whose faith is of that unshaken sort which our critic thinks the most efficacious in the control of conduct.

When our critic speaks of the intellectual movements and tendencies of our times as unfavorable to faith, he excites a just suspicion as to the breadth and accuracy of his view of those movements and tendencies. It is very easy for a man who is especially interested in some one current of intellectual movement, to mistake that for the great flood-tide which keeps the intellectual world in agitation. And when he is out of sympathy with any tendency, it is but natural for him to depreciate its importance and its extent. Burke was a very able man, and a keen observer of his times, but if Burke had been asked what was the importance

of the Methodist movement of his century, he would hardly have rated it so high as do all classes of historians in our times. In fact, this inability to feel the magnitude of a movement with which the observer is not in sympathy, is become a commonplace of the moralists, and finds, we think, one more illustration in the article under consideration. Nothing else in that article seems to indicate so clearly the antipathetic attitude of its writer towards the Christian Church.

It is beyond question that we are living in the midst of three great religious revivals, each of them independent of the others, all of them helping to awaken in men a more decided conviction of the dogmatic truth of Christianity, and none of them, as yet, seeming to have spent its force. The first and oldest of the three, is that which began with the Methodists and afterwards expanded into the Evangelical movement, reaching in succession all the Reformed Churches in England and America, and then extending to those of the Continent of Europe. A theologian who stands outside of its current, the late Chantepie de la Saussaye of Leyden, speaks of it in this wise: "That return to abandoned doctrines, around which the most glorious memories of the Reformation cling; that firm and courageous opposition to the current of a shallow and destructive liberalism; that joyous promptness in making sacrifices of every sort, and in self-devotion to the cause of God; that faith for the future, which pauses before no obstacle, and hastens to the conquest of the world; lastly, that brotherly spirit of union which pays no heed to secondary differences, wherever it perceives the operation of the Holy Spirit: these are traits of the Revival, which are nothing but manifestations of spiritual life, signs of a real Christianity." On the continent, and in the established Churches of the British Islands, the Evangelical Revival formed a school. In most of the American Churches, it became the universal influence which pervaded the whole body. The success achieved by such men as Mr. Moody, in our own day, shows how far it is from having spent its force, either at home or abroad. That success recalls the first days of its struggle with the indifference, the irreligion of the England of the Georges, when Hogarth with his pencil, a host of pamphleteers by their pens, and the mob, with whatever missiles came to hand, tried to stamp it out by ridicule, abuse, and every terrorism. Or it reminds us of George Eliot's wonderful picture of its spread through the Church of England, which she has drawn

in *Faust's Repentance*. And, without feeling any unqualified admiration for the movement or its methods, it is impossible to watch it closely without feeling that there is at work in it a great uplifting force, which is bringing men to a higher level of living.

The defects of the Evangelical movement have their bearings upon the charges which our critic brings against the American churches. Its leaders paid but little attention to the intellectual wants of mankind. They strove to awaken men to fuller and warmer emotion, and to occupy their minds with affections which would exercise an expulsive power upon old sins and evil passions. But they did not intend any theological advance upon the formulas of the sixteenth century. Where they showed any theological interest, it was chiefly in reviving the teachings of that century, and translating them into the language of a later age. But such a revival is always impossible, and Evangelicalism has never stood upon the theological platform of the Reformation. It has never caught the spirit of Luther and of Calvin, with all its pains about their letter. The most cherished part of its theology, the one addition to the Protestant theology for which it is responsible, is the doctrine of the conscious conversion of adults as the ordinary beginning of the Christian life. But it borrowed that doctrine, and the revivalist methods which grow out of it, from the Jesuits, and not from the Reformers; and it never has been able to bring it into any sort of harmony with the Reformed theology.* As a

*It has been objected, that some of the older divines, notably Richard Baxter, dwelt much on this topic. But Richard Baxter's theology never lost the color imparted to it by the book which first and most powerfully influenced his thinking, and, as he would say, effected his conversion. That book was the *Christian Directory* of the great Jesuit Robert Parsons. And as early as the Puritan days, this Romish element had begun to slip into Protestant theology. Blanco White, in his *Autobiography*, points out the close similarity of the Jesuit "retreat" to the Methodist revival services. Lacretelle, in his *Louis XIV.*, describes that age of Jesuit predominance, in terms which almost describe the Evangelical ideal of what society ought to be. He says: "At all times, society will be found preoccupied by certain ideas, which dominate men's minds as a necessity and as a fashion. All the world gives them utterance, credence, adhesion. Towards the middle of the reign of Louis XIV, the court, the city, men of rank, and plain citizens, were preoccupied by a single thought, the thought of salvation (*de faire son salut*); sermons, edicts, the brilliant conversation of the courtiers, familiar letters, tell of nothing but the necessity of salvation; that is, the need of having one's soul reconciled to God. . . . There is not a letter, not a book, of that period, which does not show us this general thinking about salvation. It became the business of persons of all ages."

consequence, Evangelicalism, in its comparative neglect of the intellectual side of Christianity, has sown the seeds of mental confusion, distress and doubt, to be reaped by a large number of those who have been brought up under its influence, but for whom its mere emotionalism is not sufficient. Unable to distinguish at once between the essential truth and errors of expression, they are often thrown, for a time, adrift from their traditional moorings. The evil is not an unmixed one. There is a rare and valuable discipline for men, in being forced to fight their way out of such confusion, if they ever do it. But to a part of them, the time of trial has no happy termination; they either go on in a state of conflict all their days, trying to believe what is incredible, or else they seek refuge in the cradle where Mother Church rocks her children asleep, or perhaps in that equally calm region whose temperature is not so unlike the other, "the populous City of No."

Another striking defect of the Evangelical revival is one which ought especially to commend it to our critic, and that was its narrow-minded asceticism. Asceticism always means that life is too large a thing for religion, and must be whittled down into manageable dimensions. The principle is clearly, but conditionally, recognized by Christianity. If hand, eye, or foot, put a stumbling block in the way of obedience, then hand or foot must be cut off and eye plucked out, that the stumbling block may be taken out of the way. Whatever destroys a man's spiritual life, he must destroy. "Sell all that thou hast, and give to the poor," may be just the injunction needed by the man to whom his riches have become a snare. But such cases are conditional, and even exceptional. The very illustration used by Christ expresses this exceptional nature of his injunctions. Hand, foot, eye, are parts of the normal man, of the man made in the image of God. And redemption must be meant to reach to and include every part of man, not to cut off or destroy any of them. And Christianity must be meant to sanctify the estate of rich and poor alike, and to bring all things into the obedience of Christ, not by making human life a narrower thing, but by taking it in its length and breadth, and consecrating it to God. But just here it was that Evangelicalism utterly broke down as a practical system. It had little to say to men, of the consecration of this life; it did not show them that all the manifold employments and relations of mankind are but so many channels of divine

service, in which a man may glorify God by doing his work in a right spirit. It did not claim art, literature, music, and all the paths of intellectual activity, as parts of a divine plan for the spiritual elevation of men. It did not say, 'There is a great world-order which is also God's order, and every man in his own place can help on that order by doing his own work right.' On the contrary, it dwelt chiefly on the necessity of saving men's souls from eternal fire in the world to come. It labored unceasingly to awaken in men that faith in God as the infinite police magistrate, which our critic thinks the most efficacious means of keeping men right. It set up a standard of Christian consistency, made up of eleventh commandments without end: "Don't go to the theatre." "Don't keep the Sabbath less strictly than Evangelical opinion allows." "Don't mix in general society." "Don't read light literature." "Don't engage in trifling or worldly conversation." "Don't play at cards." "Don't dress in the fashion," and so on without end. Thus it accepted the essentially Roman Catholic distinction between things religious and things secular, far more heartily than the older Protestantism had ever done. And it judged church members far more by the way in which they spent their evenings and their Sundays, than by the spirit in which they did their daily work. It spoke of God giving men six days for themselves, and claiming the seventh as His own. It spoke of money given for church, or missionary, or benevolent purposes, as spent for God's service. It did not so speak of the money a man spent in feeding, clothing and educating his children, or in beautifying his home.

But it knew nothing of the robust asceticism of an earlier age. It did not take its adherents out of the tangle and complexity of a profane and unsanctified world, and simplify their life down to the bounds of their faith, as monasticism had done. It compromised with the world, instead of overcoming it. It allowed its converts to go on in a life as worldly, in its methods and its ends, as the unconverted were pursuing, provided they complied with its requirements in their leisure. What it might have effected for the purification of business or social life, had it been possessed of larger and clearer conceptions on these points, it is impossible to say. It never turned the zeal it awakened in that direction. But we think it impossible to doubt that it did effect a very great deal indirectly. To take but one point,—the honesty of our contract system, the scrupulousness with which mere verbal pledges are

kept in the most trying circumstances, the *Nation* itself has more than once noticed. In part, no doubt, this is due to the love of truth which characterizes the Teutonic peoples. But, after all, it is a modern feature of business, characteristic of our own century, and due, in great part, to the religious awakening under Wesley, Whitefield and Simeon.

The second religious revival is that which so long had its headquarters in the University of Oxford, but which has, more or less directly, affected all our Protestant churches. That it has promoted "faith in the dogmatic part of Christianity," no student of the movement would think of denying. From the very start, the dogmatic interest was the chief one with it. The *Tracts for the Times* were not pleas for man-millinery or church-upholstery. They were strenuous defences of the dogmatic principles developed by the early Christian Church, or elaborated by later Fathers and Doctors. If stress was laid upon the external usages and institutions of the Church, it was from the sense that these were the abiding witnesses of the presence of "God manifest in the flesh," and the historical channel in which flowed the grace communicated to the world by his advent. They wakened up to the sense of a higher value connected with these things; they felt as though sacraments and ordinances still thrilled with the touch of the head of the Church and his divine authority. As in the case of the Evangelicals, we might call them antiquarians in dogma, the interest, in this case, being centred upon what preceded the Reformation. Now the Patristic and mediæval theology has its permanent value to the Church, as has the theology of the Reformation. But neither of the two will ever disclose its value to us, so long as we are not ourselves, like those past ages, an age of producers. Till we do as they did, in thinking for our own times and going forward in the way they did, all that past is little better than an old junk-shop. And but very little progress has been effected by the churchly revival. It has been too much tied down by traditions. We reckon by months since its representatives raised their first cry for "the living voice of the living Church" to settle the questions of a live age.

As to Christian morality, especially the morality of business, the movement has hardly more than touched the question with finger-tip. Indirectly, of course, it has helped to make men honest and true, by awakening in them new affections, convictions, and hopes, which cannot but make them better men. But its zeal

has been so much concentrated upon the church, and so little upon society at large, that far less has been effected than might be. And, just as with our Sabbatarianism, injury has been done to consciences, in some instances, by the stress laid upon matters formal and positive, rather than vital and essential. A fantastic, conventional morality has been revived on Protestant ground, leaving the door open, as of old, for men to make up by fastings and tithes for neglect of the weightier matters of the law.

The third revival is that which takes a direct interest in Christian theology as a progressive science. If we speak of the school of Frederick Maurice in the Church of England, as in some sense its best representatives, we would by no means confine it to that school. It is in all the churches; it is even in all the parties. It embraces High Churchmen and Low Churchmen, without belonging to either. It is in the Establishments; it is equally in the Free Churches of Europe and America. Its essential distinction from all other schools is this, that it believes that the religious need of the age is not only new religious zeal, without new light to keep it sweet, nor yet new and grander methods of Christian worship, but such a presentation of the truth of Christianity as shall give us the ever old in all its freshness. It does not fall down in worship before "the spirit of the age," nor speak as if any doctrine were to be at once cashiered because it will not fit into the current notions of our time. But it has equally little worship for the spirit of the past ages, of the fourth century or of the sixteenth. It believes that those ages were fruitful in their time, because the Spirit of all ages spoke into men's hearts the truth needed for their time, and was listened to and obeyed. And it believes that such a Spirit is speaking to ours, leading us not away from Christianity, but to a deeper and truer apprehension of its truths, and making us broader and more liberal, not by denial of the truth believed by the church of the past, nor by thinking it obsolete, but by finding its complement in other truths just as needful to our age. Its method, therefore, is essentially positive, which distinguishes it from all negative liberalism. It stands in no attitude of doubt or antagonism towards the doctrines which have sustained the "conflict for existence" in the Church's past history, and have authenticated themselves by their "survival." But it stands equally apart from the mere antiquarianism, which maintains that God did indeed speak to the fathers, and led them, but has no voice, no leading, for us.

The extent and number of this school it is impossible for us to estimate. Its very method forbids its close organization as a party. It believes in a light that shines into all schools, and is leading all. It is, therefore, little careful to draw sharp lines of distinction, or to wage a polemic upon those who dissent from its principles. But it is certainly the younger of the three. Its rise was foreshadowed by the teaching of Alexander Knox, the Irish layman, at whose feet priests and bishops gladly sat to learn theology. It found a still greater forerunner in the English layman Coleridge, who worked his way out of the humanitarian and necessitarian theology of Priestley into a theological position which has never ceased to influence English thinking. Miss Peabody's "Reminiscences of Channing," in the *Unitarian Monthly*, show us that he, a disciple of Coleridge, belongs essentially to the new movement. Mr. Carlyle, in his *Life of Sterling*, and Mr. Mill, in his *Autobiography*, introduce us to the little group of Coleridgeans who gathered around S. T. C. in later years. Mr. Maurice, whom both mention, tells us that he and the others learnt still farther from certain Scotch teachers, whom the Kirk had cast forth from her ministry and her membership—from Edward Irving, John M'Leod Campbell, Thomas Erskine of Linlathen, and A. J. Scott of Manchester. These new men supplied the elements which turned them from philosophy to theology, and thus laid the foundation of a wide and wholesome activity. But it is not within any limited group that we find this third revival at work. It is the outcome of a new spirit, a spirit at once of earnestness and of liberality, which is everywhere awakening to life.

Common people hear of it gladly; plain, unsophisticated men and women, whose minds have been puzzled by other teachings, are awakened to a new life of thoughtfulness by it, and souls self-tormented by the contradiction of their faith and their hopes, find peace and rest in these convictions. It has, indeed, no panacea for the age, no cureall for a diseased generation. But it has faith in God.

The great problem before this school, is simply this: "Can you be broad without losing intensity and fervor?" The English Latitudinarians were the successors of those Cambridge Platonists, who were the Broad Church thinkers of the seventeenth century. Benjamin Whitecote, the Robertson of that age, shows us, in his writings, the two tendencies struggling, like Esau and Jacob in

their mother's womb. But the worse tendency gained the mastery then, and out of that movement came a race of barren moralists, of Sermon on the Mount preachers, mighty on "the reasonableness of Christianity," but not less eloquent than our critic could wish, as regards "the future state of rewards and punishments," and the "sanctions of our holy religion." It was they who occupied four out of every five pulpits of the Church of England, when, from the feeble remnant of the old High Church party, came forth the Wesleys, to preach the elements of Christianity to a nation that seemed to have forgotten them. The morals of that age have been depicted for us by Thackeray, by Mrs. Oliphant, by a hundred other non-theological writers. All that could be done by the direct teaching of Christian morality, and the continual affirmation of its supernatural sanctions, had been done by the Church and by the Puritan dissenters, but it is the confession universally made, that it had little or no effect on men's lives. It was not specially an age of doubt or questioning. Sober and orthodox belief in traditional Christianity was the fashion. The men who threw dead cats and rotten eggs at the early Methodists, thought themselves very good Church of England Christians. They did not connect their Christianity with any indulgence in luxurious emotions. They did, after a sort, connect it with their uprightness as tradesmen and citizens. But commercial morality was at a far lower ebb than it is to-day, as one may see from Defoe's *Complete Tradesman*, and similar works. We will not undertake to say that the teaching of that age coincides with our critic's ideal. We know that it does not. But we do think that it coincides on some points very decidedly, and not in a way to strengthen his general position.

Is the new Broad Church school to go the same road? Possibly it may lead to a school of barren moralism, as powerless and fruitless as that of Tillotson and Sherlock. Up to this time, it has been rare to find liberality and earnestness, otherwise than at odds with each other. Mrs. Browning's classification of the world as, (1) those who will tolerate nobody, because they believe something, (2) and those who will tolerate everybody, because they believe nothing, has been substantially correct. Men find negation by far the shorter path to liberality of views. If the new school can carry with them the fervor, the earnestness, the positive

strength of conviction of the Narrow Church schools, they have a great future before them. But if they are to tread in the footsteps of Stanley, Haweis, Jowett, Tulloch, and Service, rather than those of Knox, Coleridge, and Maurice, then there is but slight hope for them. If they imagine that they are called to be the antagonists of High Church or of Low Church, or to set up negations against their negations, they will have given up the method which alone can make their existence, as a school, serviceable to the Christian world. Before them, lies the most difficult of all tasks, one that can be discharged only by self-denial, self-restraint, abounding charity, and clearness of insight. Theirs is the "siege perilous," where none but Sir Galahad may sit.

But supposing that they escape the perils of their course, it is impossible to estimate the services which this school may yet render to society. Especially by asserting and acting on the responsibility of the Church for society and for social morality, and by proclaiming the theological basis on which all ethics rest, they may bring Christian principles home to men of our time as has never yet been done. By their rejection of the un-Protestant distinction between religious and secular, by their assertion that the world itself, and not merely some individual souls in it, have been redeemed to God and to His service, by their assertion of the Christian character of the State, and its organ the Government, by their interpretation of the Old Testament as the handbook of national life, and by other principles equally fruitful, they have secured a standing place for ethical teaching far superior to any occupied by the other schools. We look for great things from them, and we claim for them a place of the foremost importance, when the intellectual tendencies of the times are in question.

We live, then, in an age of religious revival as well as of scientific and philosophical movement. The skeptical tendencies of the times are not the great primary current of the nineteenth century. Much rather are they the temporary reaction against the excesses, the literalism, the fantastic travesties of Christian principles, which have too often accompanied the revival itself. In the thinking of the "cultivated" classes, as they are called, of the people whose minds are in books, that reaction holds a far larger space than in fact it is entitled to. It is represented by so much literary talent, and championed by so much eloquence, that it

looms up at times as if it had the whole intellectual world to itself. But the heyday of its triumph is already as good as gone by, and the chief danger of our own times is that of a counter-reaction towards narrowness and intolerance. So long as it had not spoken its last word, so long as there was some newer and bolder position of negation for it to assume, curiosity was piqued, and men waited on its utterances with the raptures of expectation. But that last bound has now been reached, beyond which there lies nothing farther. The later utterances of Clifford, Haeckel, Tyndall and Huxley cannot be surpassed in negation. That there is no God, that man is an automaton necessarily moved by natural forces, and by no other, that the freedom of the will is a weak delusion, and that the *genus homo* is properly no *genus*, but merely a *species* of the *genus simia*—that there is no such thing as necessary truth, for in other planets it may be that two and two do not make four, while two straight lines can enclose a space—what is there to wait for after this? We have had the last word of scientific materialism, and last words are proverbially associated with death-beds. (It is only a Richard Baxter who is privileged, on finding his last words a marketable article, to give us a second batch of them.) And of the motley crowd who had attended these new hierophants of negation, no small number have begun to draw back on finding what is to be the end of the pilgrimage. So long as science seemed to have a quarrel with the theologians only, they applauded. But when they discovered that the moralist was to have even less quarter than the theologians, and that the denial of miracle led on, if not to the denial of human responsibility, at any rate to the rejection of the only intelligible reason for asserting it, they thought they had enough of science. We are not speaking at random, but from observation of a pretty large number of cases. The pendulum has already begun its rebound, and who can say how far it will swing to the other extreme?

As to the other chief point in our critic's censure of our church life, the alienation of the working classes from the Church and from religion, we have something to say. He writes from a New York point of view, and his statements have much more truth as regards that city than any other. Nowhere else in America is the line between rich and poor so sharply drawn as there. And it is drawn in the churches as everywhere else. There is by far too much of

it elsewhere, indeed, but he is altogether mistaken in supposing that he will find any such extensive separation of the two classes in other parts of the country, or that the working classes are not a very large constituent element in all our churches. We have never had any reason to suppose that they were more neglectful of religious worship than any other class, and we have seen the inside of more churches in the Mississippi Valley and in the Middle States than our critic has probably ever looked at the outside of. We live in a district of this city which is close upon a large area of two-story houses, erected by aid of the building associations. But it is a region plentifully supplied with churches, and the churches are well attended, and by people whose very dress bespeaks their occupation as working people.

Since we began to write this article, we asked an elder in one of those churches—a German gentleman of fine education, employed in the Arsenal—how many members of his church were not working people,—were even storekeepers, or book-keepers, or the like. His answer was, “There is Mr. X., and . . . and that’s all. He is the only one.” “How is it with Mr. Y’s church, a square from your own?” “Their richest man is Mr. M., and he is a porter in a dry-goods store.” “How about Z. church, and its fifteen hundred members?” “Well, there is a sprinkling of Mr. B.’s clerks and other employees among them, but all the rest are working people.” “What is your whole impression of our working classes in relation to church going and church membership?” “So far as I see, and I have seen a great deal of them since I came to this country, they are as largely interested in the churches as any other class, and far more so than in Europe.”

As we have already suggested, the representatives of the Protestant Episcopal Church are the most likely to make mistakes on this point. Their churches consist chiefly of other classes, among whom the workingman does not feel at home, and their approaches toward the working class are too often clumsy attempts at patronage, which excite only resentment and result in disappointment. We know of some notable exceptions to this, especially in the success of a few of their Working Men’s Guilds, and one gentleman told me that, at a recent meeting of a guild, he had some fifty men in attendance, and on every hand were the traces of hard work.

In a great number of our wealthier churches, the working classes are well represented, and rich and poor do meet together. But still there is a degree of separation, which the growth of a truer Christian sentiment will abolish. But it does not arise so much from any exclusiveness on the part of the rich, as from the sensitiveness of those who are not so rich, and who prefer a church connection where they may feel quite at home. An amusing illustration of this occurred at the dedication of a fine church in the southern part of the city. One of the speakers on the occasion made an injudicious reference to the occupants of the cheaper pews in the gallery. The consequence was the wholesale abandonment of those pews by their occupants, who at once built a large and substantial church for themselves, and are now, after many trials and struggles, a flourishing congregation.

Our critic is not aware how much the history of a congregation is made up of trials and struggles. His picture of luxurious ease and comfort may be true of exceptional cases, but it is far from being generally true. This generation in America is devoting a larger proportion of its income to the building of houses of worship, than has been done by any other generation, or in any other country, with the possible exception of Scotland after the Disruption of 1843. It excites less attention than the Scotch case did, because, in America, so many other buildings of all classes are going up at the same time. But this only increases the greatness of the self-sacrifice, since the supply of houses of worship has to be provided at the same time with a supply of edifices of all sorts. The cost of this operation is, indeed, far greater than it need be; as our critic justly says, we need fewer but larger churches,—Protestant cathedrals in fact. The Catholic Church does manage the matter better. And then a great multitude of the structures erected for Protestant churches, though not so monotonously ugly as the Jesuit architecture which is preferred by our Roman Catholic brethren, are yet so ugly that they will have to be torn down or at least remodelled, as soon as a taste for good architecture is widely diffused. But there are cases where an acquaintance with the inner history of such an edifice, with the story of self-denial and large sacrifices made for it, of the long struggle and of the hoping against hope, in the years which followed its completion, would redeem its ugliness from reproach, and

make one stand to look at it with an interest which few cathedrals could inspire. And it must be added that, in very many cases, the poorer churches—at least in this city—have had generous help from the richer; and many a merchant may well feel, as he sits in his cushioned pew, that he has not forgotten his brethren, whose seats are not so comfortable, nor their music so fine.

But our hope for the future of the Christian churches in this country and elsewhere, is not in the virtues of their members. The Christian theory of the Christian church is not that it was founded by Jesus Christ, who left it his example and his teaching, and then withdrew from it to some distant region of space. Luke speaks of his own gospel as the record of what “Jesus *began* to do and to teach,” implying that the later history of the Church is the story of what he went on to do and to teach. That is the Church’s theory of her own existence. She looks to the abiding presence of her founder, to turn every Winter into Spring, and unceasingly quicken her to new fruitfulness. “We tell our Lord God,” says Luther, “that if He will have His Church, He must uphold her, for we cannot uphold her; and if we once could do so, then we should become the proudest asses there are under heaven.”

ROBERT ELLIS THOMPSON.

IS OUR SOLAR SYSTEM A PART OF A VORTEX RING?

ONE of the latest theories in reference to the atoms of which all matter is supposed to be composed, is that they are vortex rings; by which expression is meant whirling masses, similar to the rings of smoke which are on calm days sometimes seen ascending from the smoke pipes of steam engines.

These rings possess elasticity and a remarkable power of retaining their form, even in spite of collisions and other disintegrating forces; and the hypothesis has been adopted as a substitute for the old theory of atoms, according to which these smallest constituents of matter were supposed to be motionless or nearly so, perfectly homogeneous and absolutely indivisible.

The vortex ring, on the other hand, although it acts as a whole, and is never divided, is nevertheless composed of still more minute particles, and, as its very existence depends on rapid motion, it is a sort of atom by which many of the phenomena of heat, light and electricity can be explained, and to which few or none of the objections can be made which bear heavily against the theory of solid and indivisible atoms.

Now there is an analogy in shape between these vortex rings and the system of suns of which our own sun is a member. This system is in the shape, or nearly so, of an enormous vortex ring, the outside edge of which is formed by the milky way, and along the inner ring of which our own sun is situated.

The difference in size is the only difficulty which any one can have in recognizing the similarity of shape; and as all finite matter is equal when compared with infinity, that of course is no objection at all.

Having granted this, and broken through the bonds which chain our imaginations to the comparison only of things which are nearly of the same size, we shall find no difficulty in supposing that our system of suns is itself only an atom; which, together with other neighboring systems, makes up in some giant world a particle which may even now be lying on the stand of some giant's microscope for investigation: and if we go to the other extreme, we may suppose that the atom of our earthly matter,— that atom which has been so much speculated about, from the time of the ancient Greeks until now, and yet has never been seen by even the most powerful microscope,— we may suppose, I say, that this atom is itself a system of suns; in a small planet of one of the smaller solar systems of which, there may be a crowding and fighting as great and as fierce, as useless and as meaningless as that which we see on our own earth, in the ravenous animalculæ in a drop of water, or on the plains of Bulgaria.

W. L. WELLS.

DE QUINCEY'S LIFE AND WRITINGS.¹

THE desire to understand other men, which never rises in the unlettered, beyond knowing and seeking to know the doings of their neighbors, widens in the minds of the cultivated into a desire for biographical details. History, since the days of Macaulay, Motley and Froude, is no longer only a list of creeds, dates, parliaments and battles; with these, they have given us men and women. Thackeray's tears on reading "his little girl's" *story of Elizabeth*; Dickens' brewing a famous punch at Gadshill; Scott's unavailing resistance to the fiat of his gardiner; Charles Lamb, with his insane sister at his side, writing that "her rambling chat is better to me than the sense and sanity of the world:"—these and such minor details as these, let us into the smaller and more ordinary tempers which we, too, share with our greater brethren. A man who dearly loves his books, if he be not a dull pedant, loves them far better for knowing the lives of the men who wrote them: then they speak to him, not in printed words alone.

The world-side of men's lives we find easily, but their truer characteristics are of the family, and Mr. Page has given in this work a most interesting memorial, not so much of De Quincey and his works, as of the man with his friends, and as the patient playfellow of his children, the sole tutor of his sons, the loving and close companion of his three daughters, one of whom writes of the "unfailing gentleness of his temper, and tender attention to the feeblest of girlish thoughts and interests, the unconscious way, to both of us, in which he turned these into high meanings, without over-shooting the power of the child, was one of those wonderful and gracious gifts, like his power of conversation, which it was as impossible to catch and bottle for future use, as it would have been to have bottled the sunshine of those days."

His dreaming power was constitutional, and he nowhere attributes its possession to the use of opium. At two years of age, he felt the pathos of the re-appearance of the crocus, he had a dreadful dream about his nurse; and at six years old, he stole into the room where his sister Elizabeth lay dead, and, watching alone by

¹ Thomas De Quincey: His life and writings, with unpublished Correspondence. By H. A. Page. 2 Vols. 12 mo. Scribner, Armstrong & Co.

her, he fell into a trance, which ever after haunted his dreams, and which led him, in the litany prayer for "all sick persons and young children," to look through the church window into the billowy clouds, for the faces of angel children like his lost sister. In his old age, he had still in him much of the child who wept bitter tears over the works of Lord Monboddoo, which were to him the revelation of Apedom. "How much it would have astonished Lord Monboddoo, to find himself made answerable—virtually made answerable, by the evidence of secret tears—for the misery of an unknown child in Lancashire; yet, night and day, these silent memorials of suffering were accusing him as the founder of a wound that could not be healed."

When he was thirteen, a master of the Bath grammar school said, in pointing him out to a stranger: "That boy could harangue an Athenian mob better than you or I could address an English one." At this school he received a blow on the head which greatly disordered his health and necessitated his removal. After many changes in home teaching, he came to the unfortunate experience of the Manchester grammar school, from which his early miseries date. It is a sad story to read his letter to his mother, begging for release from the "sickening oppression" and stagnation of a school where he consciously outstripped the master, and the mismanagement of which murdered health. His mother had his strongest attachment, and seems to have been a woman of unusual cultivation and elevation of character, guided by a very narrow religious sense of right and wrong. She would not remove him, and he tells how having resolved to escape, he passed with tears from one room to another, and made a silent farewell to the master by bowing in passing him. "He is old and infirm, and in this world I shall not see him again: I could not reverence him intellectually; but he had been kind to me, and I grieved at the thought of the mortification I should inflict upon him." The following extract gives a boyish picture of the school: "When first I entered, I remember that we read Sophocles; and it was a constant matter of triumph to us, the learned triumvirate of the first form, to see our 'Archididasculus,' (as he loved to be called,) conning our regular lesson before we went up, and laying a regular train, with lexicon and grammar, for blowing up and blasting (as it were) any difficulties he found in the choruses; whilst *we* never condescended to open

our books until the moment of going up, and were generally employed in writing epigrams, upon his wig or some such important matter." This was at sixteen, when he was placed under this amiable pedant, he being, in the opinion of his teacher, already prepared for the University, where one of the examiners afterwards pronounced him the cleverest man he had ever seen. In 1803, he entered at Oxford, but the fire of his earlier years was gone, and, with it, all ambition for college distinctions. His extreme sensitiveness is seen in the mark left upon him by the struggles of his runaway wandering in Wales, after he left the Manchester school, and his subsequent privations in London, so that he could never hear the word "guardian" without the fiery thrilling of the nerves, remembering the wretchedness of his youth, which he attributed to the want of sympathy in the guardian who would not understand, as much as to his own childish folly that would not wait. There are those whom early trials nerve against the troubles of later life; and there are those who, because of them, enter life halt and maimed—De Quincey was of these. We cannot, in his latest life, separate the man from his physical and mental boyish suffering.

Mr. Page applies to himself what he says of Lamb: "The sensibility of his organization was so exquisite that effects which travel by separate stages with most other men, in him fled along the nerves with the velocity of light." Vagabond was the genius of the man, and they who look for finished works, will find in his delightful pages nothing fully done; and of this he was conscious. This arose partly from temperament, and more, to speak through himself, from the "mind affected by my morbid condition. Through that ruin, and by help of that ruin, I looked into and read the latter states of Coleridge. His chaos I comprehended by the darkness of my own, and both were the work of laudanum. It is as if ivory carvings and elaborate fretwork and fair enameling should be found with worms and ashes, among coffins and the wrecks of some forgotten life or some abolished nature." Again, of his state of mind, he says: "It is not horror, it is not fear: all these are swallowed up in misery." His safety-valve lay in his furious love of nonsense, in which he says no man except Prof. Wilson ever surpassed him. His eccentricities are part of himself. Dirty money he could not endure, and he always pressed out the rumpled Scotch bank-notes, and polished the shillings before spending them. In his lodgings,

he covered the bed, tables, chairs, sofas, bath tubs and floors with his papers, till but a footway remained. Then he locked the doors of his "snowed-up" quarters, and hired another, until at one time he was paying rent for four.

We quote again from his daughter (p. 361, I.): "His dress, unfortunately, he neither cared for himself, nor would he let others care for it. I say unfortunately, because this carelessness gave rise, among punctilious people, unaccustomed to eccentric habits, to an impression of poverty for which there was no foundation. It might be that a thought occurred to him, in the midst of some of his irregular processes of dressing or undressing, (I should say, some thought generally did strike him at that time,) and he would stop, with his coat just taken off or not put on, without stockings at all, or with one off and the other on, and, becoming lost in what grew out of this thought, he would work on for hours, hardly ever noticing the coffee, which was his chief support at such times. In the midst of this absorbing work, would arrive visitors, of whom there were many, probably from such a distance that they could not be turned back without sight of the object of their long pilgrimage; upon which my father, with the unaffected courtesy which was one of the great charms of his character, would appear at once, rather than keep them waiting while he put on the other stocking, or whatever might be wanting, or, which was just as likely, in the wrong place, giving rise to awed impressions of poverty with some; while those who could withdraw their unaccustomed eyes from the nakedness of the land, as expounded by his feet, might have seen, in his surroundings such signs of scrupulous neatness, sufficient comfort, and refinement, as must have reassured them in this point."

Professor Masson advises us of the way to secure him for an evening. "Nothing was easier, if you knew the way. To invite him by note or personally, was of no use. He would promise—promise most punctually, and, if he saw you doubted, reassured you with a dissertation on the beauty of punctuality; but when the time came, and you were all met, a hundred to one you were without your De Quincey. But send a cab for him, and some one in it to fetch him, and he came meekly, unresistingly, as if it were his doom, and he conceived it appointed that, in case of resistance, he should be carried out by the nape of the neck. It was no compliment to *you*. Anybody might have taken possession of him, unless, by in-

advertence, time had been given him to escape by the back-window, under the pretext of dressing. So if you knew the way, you had your De Quincey. And was it not a treat? Hour after hour was the stream, the sweet and subtle eddying on of the silver talk."

It is resented, by his biographer, that Hawthorne, in speaking of the appreciation shown for De Quincey in America, adds: "No Englishman cares a fig for him." And yet Hawthorne's assertion is borne out by the fact that it was left to American publishers to first collect his works, and by the stranger fact that so comprehensive and exhaustive a work as M. Taine's *English Literature* has not a word for the dreamer of great dreams. His curious life has a charm through the *Confessions*, which is not lessened by the later developments of medical science which unveil the tortures he never detailed, and show that the unerring instinct of nature drove him to the only cure for his terrible malady, *gastrodynia*, and removed him from the class of mere opium-eaters. That he gave up the excessive use of opium at sixty-one, fourteen years before his death, is not so generally known.

A medical view of the case is given in this work, written by Surgeon-Major W. C. B. Eatwell, whose East India experience brought before him many similar cases among the rice-eating people of Bengal.

On the money troubles of his life, Mr. Page throws a new light through his absolute imbecility in the matter of pounds and shillings, but which never led him to fail in a most scrupulous and nervous regard for his indebtedness to others. As a conversationalist he had great power, with a rare consideration for his listener; and from the following extract he seems to have suffered and learned from Coleridge, whose talk he thought fatal to social intercourse:

"Was it reasonable to have assembled six, ten, or a dozen people for the purpose of hearing a prelection? Would not the time have been turned to more account, even as regarded the very object which they had substituted for *social* pleasure, in studying one of Coleridge's printed works, since *there* the words were stationary and not flying, so that notes might be taken down, and questions proposed, by way of letter, on any impenetrable difficulties; whereas, a stream of oral teaching, which ran like the stream of destiny, was impassive to all attempts at interruption." He entered into the impatience of Madame de Staël to whom Coleridge was "de Monologue."

EGYPT AS IT IS.¹

NOW that we have had Wallace's Russia and Baker's Turkey, and a whole library of lesser books, Egypt was too tempting a subject to be let alone by the book makers, and Mr. McCoan belongs to that dreary class. Not that his book is without merit and matter,—it has both, to a large extent, but it has an underlying stratum of padding, and an evident look of being made to sell, that interfere painfully with the reader's comfort.

This is the more to be regretted, because Egypt and the progress of the last few years, may well be studied, not only for their importance and significance in the past, but for their possible and almost certain weight in the final solution of the Eastern problem. Whatever may become of Russia and Turkey, it is clear that the issue of that struggle will be to relieve Egypt very largely of its vassalage to the Sultan, that the nominal submission of the Khedive will soon diminish to a vanishing point, and that England will hereafter be the strong ally and mastering power and influence in the country which plays so great a part in its Indian questions. The real interest of Egypt is, of course, primarily in its past, in the wonderful history of centuries, as revealed in the ruins that cover the banks of the Nile, and then comes the merely picturesque charm of the perpetual beauty of the country, of climate and people, of cosmopolitan Cairo, and the unchanged villages, and with these the traveller is easily content. But Mr. McCoan dismisses all this in a few words, to take up the dry, hard facts of the enormous growth of industry, agriculture, manufacturing, and other elements of modern progress, showing how the Khedive has made great efforts to bring the country up to his standard. To review Mr. McCoan's account is very much like summarizing a table of statistics. Undoubtedly, it has its uses; but the very fact that his book has the merit of condensing all the available information on the several subjects, leaves the reviewer little else to do, other than to emphasize the leading statements. In doing this, it is to be borne in mind that Mr. McCoan's book is an almost unbroken stream of praise, running smoothly over everything Egyptian,—and this suggests a na-

¹By J. C. McCoan, with a Map taken from the most recent Survey. New York, Henry Holt & Co., 1877, pp. 417.

tural curiosity as to Mr. McCoan's antecedents. It is not a little noteworthy, that we have no statement of Mr. McCoan's motives in this laborious task of authorship, yet it hardly seems likely that it was a pure and disinterested desire to enlarge the world's stock of knowledge, and then there are certain views on the settlement of the great problem in Egypt of to-day, its finances, that look as if Mr. McCoan would like some Englishmen to be adopted as the financial nursing mothers of the Khedive. Everything is lovely in his great country, but still, if he would only select some especial plans, instead of those now on trial, everybody would be paid, debtor and creditors would be rich, and all the rest made easy.

The elaborate machinery devised by the Khedive and his varied staff of officers, representing all creeds and nationalities, for local administration, for education, both of the most primary kind and for the highest subjects of science, for the army, and, above all, for the finances, are set forth at great length, but the picture lacks life. How far does all this represent any real vitality and activity, and how much of it is merely paper work, and how little of it actually influences the country and the people? Certainly the test of the actual prosperity of Egypt, was the money question, and, in spite of English and French financiers, and even with the generous interposition of Great Britain, in its purchase of the Khedive's shares in the Suez Canal, the fact remains that the future of Egypt is a very dark and doubtful one for its creditors. The enormous extension of its industries, cotton, sugar, railways, towns, gave the country the appearance of wealth and prosperity; but, once touched with the wand of truth, the picture changed, and now the traveller sees idle factories, unoccupied houses, unfinished public works, and deserted opera houses. The grand schemes of university, museum, schools, are still alive on paper, but the savants drawn from the ends of the earth, like the military officers, of whose force the United States supplied a large proportion, alike from the Union and the Confederate armies, are either starving in Cairo on half pay, or have more prudently gone home to more practical pursuits. As long as money flowed into the Egyptian treasury, from all the surplus stocks of France, England and Germany, so long was it freely spent in forwarding all the grand projects which the Khedive adopted at the suggestion of his large force of volunteers in the cause of Egyptian reform; but now most of them have gone, leav-

ing their master to face his prodigious debt, and to select from the numerous projects for regulating it, the one that seems most likely to carry out his anxious hope of paying his way into better times. Of any substantial advance in the actual condition of the bulk of the population, of any real change from the hardships and sufferings which, for long centuries, have been the lot of the dwellers on the Nile, of any honest desire to develop the personal independence of his multifarious subjects in the Khedive's wide domains, we find little evidence, either in Mr. McCoan's book, or in any other. What Lesseps did with the Suez Canal, was done for the countries concerned in the carrying trade and interests between the east and the west, and little of the advantage claimed for Egypt has been realized by the people. What Baker and Gordon did in their great raids into the outlying regions, was for the glory of the Khedive and their own, but, thus far, this sort of annexation has done little, either for the mother country, or for the newly gained provinces.

The judicial reforms now on trial in Egypt, may be a matter of convenience to the foreign population, but, thus far, no man has ventured to say that the people themselves are one whit better for the conglomerate bench of foreign judges that now sit in Cairo. In strong contrast to all the praise that has for years been poured out on the subject of Egyptian progress, is the salient fact that the latest advices from American travellers, intending to spend the winter on the Nile, report that, owing to the withdrawal of troops from Egypt for the Sultan's service, it has become unsafe to go beyond the great cities. If this is the test of the real advance of Egypt in civilization and of progress, it can hardly be said that the experiment has really proved successful. The lavish waste of wealth that brought together all the latest appliances for expenditure, has now ceased, only to show that both capital and income have gone, leaving behind them an unenviable load of debt, with little prospect of help from any internal resources, and with small hope of assistance from any foreign power, unless England should take advantage of the existing state of affairs, and become absolute master of Egypt, holding it in its grasp, as a means of securing rapid communication with India, and maintaining the Khedive, just as it does its Indian princes, in a purely nominal position.

NEW BOOKS.

BIOLOGY. With Preludes on Current Events, by Joseph Cook. With Three Colored Plates, after Beale and Frey. Pp. xii. 325. Boston: James R. Osgood & Co.

One of the sources of mistake as to the strength of a case, is the want of skill in its advocates. History is full of instances in which great principles were, for a time, utterly discredited to popular thinking, because of the blunders made by those who were regarded as their authorized exponents. Sometimes a new drift of thought secures on its side a vast preponderance of literary talent and eloquence; at others, such a tendency happens to be associated in the popular thinking with some extravagance or absurdity, which makes it not respectable or proper to take its side. The history of Christianity is full of illustrations of this truth; no other system of thought owes so many grudges, and so few thanks to its champions. Had it not evinced so many adaptations to the human mind, it must have been destroyed by the blunders of its self-chosen representatives.

For instance, in the current conflict between "science" and "religion,"—though it may be doubted whether either science or religion have much space in it—beyond half a score judicious thinkers, you find nothing but a chaos of muddle-headed goodness of heart enlisted on the theological side. And we have often thought what a thinker of the first order, and with great command of literary expression, might make of the orthodox side of the case.

In Mr. Cook, orthodoxy has got what approximates to our ideal, but by no means comes up to it. He is a man of very great popular gifts and wide studies, else he would not hold the audiences he does at the Hub. His addresses have well been called prose poems. Nothing could seem less poetical to the eye, than his numbered paragraphs. They look like a series of theses set up for the defiance of all comers. But ear and sense alike are captivated as we read, and we are forced to recognize a master of English prose, only second to writers of the very highest vigor, such as De Quincey and Swinburne.

As regards the matter of his addresses, Mr. Cook is more open to criticism, as may be seen by the volley of it which the present

work has excited, even from orthodox critics. He has accumulated a vast body of scientific knowledge, without becoming a scientific man. He has entered this domain chiefly as a critic, with a view to finding the weak places in the armor of his scientific antagonists. And, as a matter of course, this wrong method, in spite of the most strenuous efforts at fair dealing, has at times led him into mistakes. He has not caught the perspective in which things stand to the minds of scientific men. He has spoken of some unhappy assertions, or hasty concessions of individuals, as if they commanded the consensus of the scientific world, when in fact they were but private opinions.

Another fault of this method is that it leads Mr. Cook at times to seem, at least, to rest his whole case upon single points, which, however strong they seem in the light of his rhetoric, are open to discussion. In view of the purpose he has in view, this method must be exceedingly dangerous; for more people have been led into doubt by finding that the arguments on the other side will not stand the stress put upon them, than by any other discovery.

But after making all allowance for the weak points of these addresses, we must pronounce them among the ablest contributions to the theological literature of the controversy. There are single sentences in the book which will furnish war-cries for the contest, and are not without value, simply as reducing the issue between the two contending parties to the very finest point. Such is that in the lecture "Ulrici on the Spiritual Body:"

Only when involution is equal to evolution in the connection between cause and effect, is the cause adequate to produce the effect.

Those who have heard Mr. Cook, will need no recommendation to read him. To those who have not, we can commend his book as one of vigorous, clear statement, and free from the offensive peculiarities and technicalities which make most works of its class a *nchushtan* to the general reader.

ECHOES FROM MIST-LAND, or the Nibelungenlied revealed to Lovers of Romance and Chivalry, by Auber Forestier. Pp. LIV. 218, 12mo. Chicago: S. C. Griggs & Co.

We have no good metrical version of the Nibelungenlied, and we are not likely to have any. In the days of its first freshness to English readers, when Carlyle and other essayists brought it to notice, and even earlier, such versions were attempted, but they did

not catch the public ear. More recently, William Morris, in his *Sigurd the Volsung*, has given us the old cycle of Niblung Sagas in a beautiful English dress. But, like Dr. Jordan in Germany, he has not taken the *Lied* as his sole or chief authority; he has taken the far wilder and more poetical version of the tale as given in the *Eddas*, and has used the *Lied* chiefly to fill up the vacant places of the older story. And besides this, he has paid close attention to the mythological significance of the tale. He never loses sight of the fact that the hero is not merely the Norse "King," but also the sun who first weds one of the clouds (*niblung*), and is then slain by her brethren.

Auber Forestier has not attempted anything so ambitious as this, but has given us the story, as recast by the author of the *Nibelungenlied*, in simple, but generally poetical English prose, with an introduction, which points out the mythological significance of the tale, and its connection with the Edda, and even with the Aryan mythologies of Asia. The book has many points of interest for the English reader, which even Mr. Morris's tale has not. The character of Hagen especially, and the exceeding pathos of the death of the Niblungers in the last part, is peculiar to the *Lied*, and has not been taken up by Mr. Morris. We think the English of this prose version, might well have been less modern; might, indeed, have been that of the *Mort d'Arthur*, without being inappropriate to the tale. But the book, while not, as it stands, a work of art, is both useful and interesting as the best accessible version of the German form of this great cycle of Sagas. We have tested it on several young readers, and have found it well suited to its purpose. We welcome it as one of the series of works—six of them from the same publishing house—which show a reawakening of interest in the mythology, the Sagas and the literature, of our Norse and German forefathers. What Dasent, Morris and their compeers in England have done and are doing to this end in England, Prof. Anderson, Peterson and Boyeson are bidding fair to accomplish for our own country.

We have been struck with the fact that the theory of the origin of our fairy tales, published in this Monthly seven years ago, meets full confirmation in these old Sagas. Neither Mr. Morris, nor any of those who have discussed them, have, so far as we know, pointed out the identity of the dwarfs with the Uigrian aborigines, and the evidence that they anticipated the Norse race in the skill to treat metals.

MONDAY CHATS. By C. A. Sainte-Beuve, with an introductory Essay on his Life and Writings. By William Matthews, LL.D.

This is one of the most interesting books of this season, or of any season, to all lovers of good, sound literature,—to all admirers of the true, the beautiful, the good. Sainte-Beuve is the finest critical genius France has ever produced, and one of the finest the world has ever seen. His *Causeries du Lundi* are amongst the finest biographical essays in existence; combinations of portraiture and critical analysis which bespeak consummate workmanship and skill of the highest order.

Professor Matthews has been remarkably happy in the selections which he has embodied in this volume. The first essay in the volume, after the introductory one on the life and genius, character and writings of Sainte-Beuve, by the translator, is that on Louis XIV of France, the famous monarch who encouraged commerce, manufactures, and the arts; patronized liberally literature and merit; was intolerant and dogmatic; who, prompted by his inordinate zeal for the Catholic cause, revoked the edict of Nantes; who represented the majesty and power of France with dignity and grace, who—though not a great statesman or a successful general, though his internal government was bad and his later reign dimmed with disasters—was consummate in the art of king-craft, and successfully palmed himself off on his subjects and the world, for a great man and mighty monarch—“a being above humanity,” who was said by his proud and avaricious, handsome and affable minister, Mazarin, to possess the materials for four kings and one honest man,—and whose good fortune it was to reign during the Elizabethan era of French literature. Then follows the immortal triumvirate of eloquent French prelates which flourished during Louis' reign: the affable, congenial, philosophical, tolerant Fénelon; the library-reared, eight-years-old-tonsured, austere, intolerant Bossuet, and the modest, consistent, pathetic, eloquent-eyed Massillon.

Succeeding these immortal thrée is Pascal, the great philosopher, mathematician and Christian apologist, whose earnestness, sincerity and devotion we admire and extol, but whose dogmatism, bigotry and self-torture we deprecate and despise. Him follows the Genevese philosopher; founder of the vanity sect; reformer of the French idiom; friend of the oppressed; lover of men (and particu-

larly of *women*), and benefactor of the world. Next, we are feasted with an elegant portrait of Madame Geoffrin, the most remarkable Parisian woman of the eighteenth century; the pupil of Madame de Tencin, the friend of Fontenelle, the admirer of Hume, an inveterate scold, who reprimanded not so much for the purpose of correcting others as to gratify herself; who distributed gifts profusely to rich and poor, not to make people grateful or happy, but for self-satisfaction; who has been said by Walpole, the admirer of Madame du Deffand, to be an epitome of an empire subsisting by rewards and punishments. Madame Geoffrin formed the best *salon*, in all respects, probably, that Paris has ever seen. In speaking of it, Sainte-Beuve not only gives his idea of a *salon*, but introduces you to a multitude of *salons*. And now the delicate-souled, humorous-minded M. Jaubert, the admirer of Madame de Beaumont, the Charles Lamb of France is introduced. M. Guizot, of the illustrious triumvirate of Sorbonne professors; the renowned author of the *History of Civilization*; energetic politician; eminent philosopher; marvellous orator of "deceitful powers,"—is praised as he deserves, and, in a measure, controverted as he should be but never has been, if we except the timid strictures of Daunon. After a short notice of Galiani, the "little abbé" of Mount Vesuvius, the four-and-a-half feet Sibyl of Apollo, the Charles Lamb of Italy, in stature and facetiousness,—Frederic the Great—the many-sided Prussian monarch—is introduced, lauded with judiciousness, criticised with justice and judged with candor.

The translator has done his work very well; so well, indeed, that we earnestly desire that he give us another similar selection from the thirteen volumes of the *Causeries du Lundi*, in the near future. That the force and beauty of the original are in a measure marred—that some of the many graces of language and elegancies of style are lost—cannot be doubted. These are things which cannot be avoided. Yet, on the whole, the work is a very meritorious execution. The introductory essay is full and judicious, critical and just, but it possesses a fault not hitherto met with in Prof. Matthews' writings—it is pedantic. There is a superabundance of translatable French in it. It would be more elegant, less affected, and more satisfactory, if these passages and phrases were in English.

J. M. K

BOOKS RECEIVED.

Annual Report of the Secretary of the Interior, on the Operations of the Department, for the Fiscal Year ended June 30th, 1877. Pp. 54. Washington: Government Printing Office.

The Silver Country, or the Great Southwest. A review of the mineral and other wealth, the attractions and material development of the former kingdom of New Spain, comprising Mexico and the Mexican cessions to the United States, in 1848 and 1853. By Alex. D. Anderson. With map. 12mo. Pp. 221. Cloth, \$1.75. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons.

The Boy Traders, or the Sportsman's Club among the Boers. Harry Castlemon. 16mo. Cloth. Pp. 356. Philadelphia: Porter & Coates.

"Cherry Ripe," a Romance. By the author of "Comin' Thro' the Rye," &c. 8vo. Paper, 50 cts. Pp. 155. New York: D. Appleton & Co.

The Sarcasm of Destiny, or Nina's Experience. By M. E. W. S. 12mo. Cloth. 389 Pp. New York: D. Appleton & Co.

Ueber die als echt nachweisbaren Assonanzen der Chanson de Roland. Adolf Rambeau, aus Jessen. Marburg: a | L. Pp. 38. 1877.

Proceedings of Annual Meeting of Trustees of Peabody Education Fund. Cambridge: John Wilson & Son, 1877. Pp. 59.

The Historic Mansions and Buildings of Philadelphia, with some notice of their Owners and Occupants. By Thompson Westcott, author of "The Official Guide to Philadelphia," "A History of Philadelphia," etc. Pp. 528. Royal 8vo. Numerous illustrations. Philadelphia: Porter & Coates.

THE
PENN MONTHLY.

FEBRUARY.

THE MONTH.

AT the opening of the month, the air of England was filled with threats and rumors of English intervention in the Eastern War. The arch mischief-maker of the Tory cabinet, had gone through another struggle with the peaceable members of the ministry, and, although evidently defeated on some points, he had succeeded in carrying this one, that the Parliament should meet on the date to which it had been prorogued, instead of being once more put off till February, as is usual. This action was at once construed by all the Moslem organs in London, as implying that the march on Constantinople had aroused the Cabinet to a sense of the perils inflicted on "British interests," and the Pashas were once more stimulated by English sympathizers to redouble their desperate efforts. Some, at least, of the peace-members of the Cabinet, were alarmed at the result of the Cabinet's not voting a further prorogation, and the Earl of Caernarvon took the opportunity of a public speech on some related topic, to repudiate the idea of an English intervention in any conjuncture. This brought down on him a round volley of Moslem abuse, and it was declared that he spoke for himself only, and not, as he seemed to claim, for his associates. But the Queen's speech, at the opening of the session, and the declarations at once extorted from the Ministry in both houses, seemed to show that the intention of the Government was peaceful, and even the subsequent

request for a vote for military expenses, and the order issued to the Fleet to proceed to the Dardanelles, but countermanded on hearing the Russian terms of peace, indicates no more than a readiness on the part of the Cabinet to cooperate with the Premier in a policy of dictation during the negotiations. It is to be regretted that these complications have reduced the Cabinet's peace elements by Caernarvon's resignation, and it will be still more lamentable if Lord Derby should resign, as it is but too evident that what is done in the Cabinet will be sanctioned by the House of Commons.

THE fall of Plevna was the beginning of the end. The subsequent march of the Russians and their allies, has been little else than a triumphal procession. Only once does there seem to have been a genuine rally of the defeated and dispirited armies of the Porte. Pass after pass in the Balkans, city after city on their southern slope, one body of troops after another, have fallen into their power, and the Pashas who refused to listen to anything in the Conference, have humbly sued for an armistice, that they may discuss terms of peace. Of course this was first done through their dear English friends, but Russia, with proper self-respect, directed them to make their application to the commander-in-chief of the army of liberation. And for their answer, they are bid to wait until the Grand Duke reaches Adrianople. Once more, as in 1828, Russia means to speak of peace, from the European city which was the first to fall under the Ottoman arms, and not this time so weakly and inconsequently as fifty years ago. The cession of Armenia, the independence of Roumania and Servia, local self-government for Bulgaria, substantial guarantees of Christian equality everywhere else, and free passage for her own ships of war, from the Euxine to the Mediterranean, together with the payment of an indemnity, and the surrender of the Turkish fleet, are foreshadowed as among the conditions. This last condition was spoken of, even before the fleet began the work of bombarding open and defenceless towns in the Crimea. It is none the less likely to be found in the list of Russia's demands, because of these gallant exploits of Hobart Pasha. As for Turkey, it has "Hobson's choice," having found in England no help or comfort for the defeated, just as the South and Denmark found.

England and Austria-Hungary, are, of course, beginning to talk of the necessity of an European Congress, to settle all these de-

mands. The suggestion is a very astute one. Diplomats meet in Congress chiefly to prevent the benefits of the peace accruing to those who won in war, as England herself knows, if she still recollects that of Vienna in 1815. But if Russia has, as she seems to have, a good understanding with Germany and Italy, and if France continues in her present attitude of sublime indifference, those two powers will effect nothing in the Congress. Austria dreads the autotomy of Slavic provinces on her frontier, and Hungary abhors the very notion of it; but they are too late to exert much influence in that direction. It is Bismark, after all, who will have to decide how peace shall be made, and largely also on what terms.

ITALY has lost one not very admirable King, and has gained another not more admirable, and far less popular. Victor Emmanuel, first King of Italy, was a striking illustration of the maxim, that "every thing's nothing except by position." A cipher in himself, he was so happily situated as to take rank among the most important figures in the history of the nineteenth century, and to excite, for a time, a degree of popular enthusiasm which has been felt, in our days, for but few of the royal caste of Europe. He had two gifts which were of use to him, personal courage and an openness to other men's ideas. He inherited and appreciated the maxims of the House of Savoy, which looked to the unification of Italy under that dynasty. From Cavour, he received his anti-ecclesiastical policy, to which he was faithful throughout life. And yet, it is said, he never completely cast off the impressions received from a Jesuit education, but had spasms of terror, lest the offices of the church might be denied him at the last moment. His personal morality was that of the royal caste of a century ago, when it was generally held that heaven would show indulgence to the sins of great people. Without being a genuine hero, he excited, by his attitude as the patriot king, an impassioned hero-worship. It is but twenty years since the Austrian soldiers were tearing the name of the composer Verdi, off the dead wall of the Northern Italian cities, where the patriots placarded it night after night, not from admiration of their musical countryman, but because the letters of his name are the initials of *Vittore Emanuele, Re d'Italia*. Peace to his ashes; he did more good than many a better man.

THE attempt is making to put forward Mr. Bristow once more as a candidate for the Republican nomination of 1880. For a great number of persons in Mr. Bristow's immediate following, we have a very high regard. They are gentlemen of the noblest character and the purest aims, but their personal excellencies have not prevented them from being used by a knot of politicians, who have not just claim to the public respect, and who seem likely to make the name of "Reformer" as odious to the American people, as that of "Patriot" was in England, about the middle of the last century, when speeches from the hustings, in many instances, contained the assurance, "Gentlemen, I am no Patriot; I never was, and I never will be." These gentlemen's notions of reform, seem to consist very largely in the conviction that they and their friends should have all the offices; that the appointment of anybody to a post for which they have a candidate, is not merely a personal wrong, but an outrage to the great cause of pure government. This was very amusingly illustrated by the outcry raised by a number of newspapers over a recent judicial appointment, to which one of Mr. Bristow's immediate following was understood to have "claims." To be men of principles different from those of Cameron, Morton and Blaine, these gentlemen have a wonderful likeness in speech. There is hardly one of the old terms of political corruption and trickery, which we have not found in use among this party since the election of President Hayes gave them access to the ear of the executive.

It is not the words only, but the things of the old system, which they have taken up. The especial representative of Bristowism in the new Cabinet, is the Secretary Schurz. He went into office when the fine blush of shame for his country's Civil Service, had hardly ceased to mantle his features. At last we had a cabinet officer, whose master passion was Civil Service Reform, who would oppose removal from office for all merely political and personal reasons, who would seek no displacement of men in power, except "for cause," and who would help to put a check upon the wholesale destruction of the skill and experience gained by our officials during their brief term of office. But Secretary Schurz now stands on the record, as implicated in two gross violations of these very principles, of which he was regarded as the representative. It was he who secured the rebuff to President Hayes, from the United States Senate, when that body, showing themselves better reformers than

the President and his Cabinet, refused to remove the officials of the New York Custom House, except for cause shown.

And now, in this scandalous story of the St. Louis Post Office appointment, we have this lack of true reformatory principle brought more clearly home to the Secretary of the Interior. For the merits of the supposed disagreement between himself and the President, and for the question whether he sent in his resignation, or displayed his ill temper in some other way, nobody need care a button. The broad facts of the case are, that a Republican post-master, against whom no incompetence or other offence has ever been charged, much less proven, was offensive to the Secretary of the Interior, because he had opposed the latter's election to the United States Senate, and had, in other ways, arrayed himself on the side of Mr. Schurz's local political enemies. And this man's removal, on the expiration of his commission, was claimed as a right by the Secretary, and the validity of the claim was conceded by the other members of this Civil Service Reform Cabinet. The President seemed to agree; his own numerous appointments of personal friends from Ohio, in similar cases, seemed to give a positive emphasis to his silent consent. But at the last moment, the name of the present incumbent was returned to the Senate for reappointment. Whether any just cause of offence was given to the Secretary, is not our affair. But it is everybody's affair to scan the principles which underly the whole transaction, and to see the light it throws upon those special champions of reform; of whom Mr. Schurz is the type.

Civil Service Reform means, at least, three things. It means (1), such a change of our system, as will set every inducement before competent men, to accept low salaries in the government service, and to be honest in the discharge of its duties; (2), the removal of all merely personal motives from the making of appointments and removals; (3), the cessation of the quadrennial destruction of official skill and experience, by wholesale removals. But every one of these things has been thrown overboard, in this case. Nothing is left of the Reform, except the vague notion that all appointments should be made from the honest wing of the party, which, of course, means "our wing." In this view of it, Gen. Grant was a Civil Service Reformer, in just the same sense as Mr. Schurz. He acted on his own honest conviction that his friends were the better

wing of the Republican Party, and, therefore, deserved the offices. In some cases, he was certainly mistaken in the men. But the great majority of his appointments were excellent in every respect, except this, that the officials selected belonged to a personal following, and were not politically free. Grantism, we detested; but between Grantism and "Schurzism," there is not much to choose. If followed out logically, it must mean the filling all offices out of one set of Republicans, in order to secure the nomination of Mr. Bristow in 1880, which may heaven forfend!

How little even the demand that cause for removal be shown will avail, may be seen from the treatment of the two heads of the Indian office, Commissioner Smith and Chief Clerk Galpin. A secret tribunal, composed in part of men who have publicly denounced these two gentlemen, sits for months hearing evidence. Some of the witnesses are, confessedly, of that infamous Indian Ring which has spared no pains to blacken the character and secure the removal of every honest official in the department. Mr. Smith is never allowed to hear a word of what is going on. Mr. Galpin is admitted at the end, to be examined and to defend himself. The Secretary assures the Commissioner that nothing has been elicited, which, in any way, compromises him. Then, by way of *finale*, he gives to the public eye, the report of his secret tribunal—a report largely made up of charges and insinuations against the management of affairs, for which the Commissioner must be held responsible. And the public are told by the Secretary, that Mr. Galpin has been dismissed, not on the evidence of the Indian Ring, but on his own confession that he kept from his superiors, papers containing charges against Indian agents; whereas, it appears that those papers came to hand during the absence of those superiors, and that his own dismissal, and his peremptory exclusion from the Interior Department, followed so closely upon their return, that he had no opportunity to lay them before the Commissioner, or the Secretary. When his natural perturbation had somewhat subsided, he it was who recollected their presence in the desk to which he had no access, and called attention to them. If these are to be the methods of the Interior Department, no American citizen who respects himself will accept a place in it, as he knows that he may there receive wrongs and insults hardly known even to the insolent bureaucracy of the Secretary's native land.

THE silver question is still the bone of contention between two highly excited parties, and, as is usual in all such cases, very different issues are very heedlessly confounded by both. It is the part of those who are not infected with the madness of party, to call for a separation of the distinct questions which are herein involved, and to ask their separate discussion. Happily, the form in which action is pending in Congress, does in part effect this. The joint resolution proposed by Senator Stanley Matthews, takes up but a single point, and that wrongly. The bonds of the United States, excepting the recent four per cents., ought not to be regarded as redeemable in silver coin, except at the option of their holders. Even if the terms in which their redemption is promised are, on this point, ambiguous, and even if the business men and banks, who denounce the resolution, would have taken advantage of such an ambiguity in the terms of a private contract, still, the part of an honest man is to avoid any such doubtful proceeding, and to pay them in that form of coin which has not declined in its purchasing power since the bonds were issued. Governments have done such things; they have bought up gold, for instance, and paid their bonds in that, because of its depreciation, when their original intention was payment in silver. But a nation's honor should be, like a woman's virtue, above suspicion and ambiguity of any sort. We do not say this from any anxiety that the Treasury may find it easier to carry on its funding operations. We believe that those operations are vastly mischievous, and that it is to them chiefly, that we owe our seven years of inflation, and our consequent seven years of prostration. We speak from the conviction that anything that can even be construed as a failure to be honest to the uttermost farthing, must have the effect of inflicting a great injury upon our love of our country, and our confidence in her vocation as a nation. It will be a worse disaster than those of the battle-field.

But, on the other hand, we do hope to see the restoration of a sound silver currency, permanent in value, and a legal tender for all amounts. We would even be glad to see the double standard abolished, and gold treated as an article of merchandise, of which we must secure a sufficient quantity to discharge the interest, and, finally, the principal of the national debt. But, on the other hand, the recoinage of silver *at the old standard*, seems to us an exceedingly questionable proceeding. Perhaps the country may be able,

in the course of time, to return to that standard. The resumption of silver coinage in the United States, especially if accompanied by a general opening of commerce with the silver-using countries of the East, would be more than an offset to all the influences which have produced the present depreciation of that metal. But the new standard of coinage should be determined tentatively. It should be fixed by assuming an average price of silver, somewhere between the old and its new price, and with the determination of changing the standard according to the result of the experiment. If, as we are confident would be the case, an appreciation of silver to the old price should follow, then the resumption of the old standard would naturally follow; if, as some predict, there would be no appreciation—if its price is determined, as no European economist thinks, by natural laws over which legislation has no control—then the standard of coinage should be raised still farther. As to the greater variableness of silver as compared with gold, we do not think that to be the fact. The tables of comparative production, which appeared before the present controversy, seemed to show the contrary. The data on which those tables are based, are so uncertain, and so capable of arbitrary treatment, according to the prejudices of the statist, that but little dependence can be placed upon any result. But, in view of the fact that the adoption of a silver standard by the United States would draw the line of division between gold-users and silver-users, leaving about eighty millions on one side of the line, and “the rest of mankind” on the other, we think a fluctuation in production would not matter much more than a shower, more or less, in the ocean.

A more serious difficulty in the solution of this problem, is the want of any fixed standard for the determination of the relative value of silver at different stages of the experiment. The only real standard we have in the United States, is the paper legal tender dollar, whose purchasing power has hardly varied for years back. The variation in gold has been very marked, and has been simply the consequence of a greatly increased supply of that metal, produced by the unusual status of our business relations to other countries. We have exported much less than we imported; we have now nearly as much as we need for ordinary purposes. Until the approach of the date fixed for resumption, the so-called “premium on gold” will be merely nominal, unless the drain of gold

should set in the other direction. But to make all our monetary legislation depend upon the fluctuations of this metal's price, would seem to us about as wise as the doings of the old wise men of Gotham.

It is surprising that, with all their command of literary skill, natural talent, and economic learning, our American free traders are unable to state their case in any public document which will stand a moment's examination. On the resolutions of their Saratoga Convention, we have already commented. But weak and unfair in statement, as that document was there shown to be, it was a model of logical force, contraversial candor and good temper, as compared with the petition to Congress, got up by the Free Trade Club of New York, of which a copy is before us. The one good point in the whole document is that it asks exactly what the other petition asks, namely, an investigation before legislation. But it surrounds this request with so many cautions, especially against heeding the "clamor" of those who think protection needful for their interests, that it is not unfair to say that no one can tell who, besides the Free Trade Club, is to have a hearing. However, this matters little, for investigation of any sort is exactly what the free traders of the Ways and Means Committee of the House are determined not to grant. It pursues its business in private, and will hear nothing from anybody.

We have not space to expose all the fallacies of the document. It would take a book to do so, so well has the author of the petition crammed it with misrepresentations of fact and travesties of principles. Many of them have been refuted time without number, but, as Sir Charles Dilke very truly says, Free Traders are not concerned to hear what the other side have to say. Let us enumerate but a few of these, (1) that we are no nearer to being able to do without protection of any of our home industries, than in 1789; (2) that we can take English commerce with our South American neighbors, without doing as England did in paying out of the treasury for the creation of that commerce; (3) that the commerce of European nations, that in clothing "for example," is on the increase, while ours is declining; (4) that the work of American manufactures, that of clothing "for example," is cheaper than that of Europe, and is only hindered from extensive export by

duties on raw material; (5) that "the shipping of America has been swept from the seas by the protective navigation laws;" (6) that we cannot expect other countries to buy of us, unless we buy equally of them, and that our purchases from them will at once be balanced by purchases from us, (see *per contra* our balance of trade with Brazil); (7) that the picture of the American workman's present condition is a picture of strikes, lock-outs, suffering and want, while that of the English workman is substantially the opposite; (the writer never sees an English paper, evidently); (8) that the English or French workman's wages, will bring him one-fourth more comforts than will that of the American workman; (9) that the workingman pays for everything he buys, his food included, twenty to a hundred per cent. dearer, because of protection; (10) that the whole of a protective duty is paid by the consumer, and that this is involved in the very idea of protection; (11) that the protective system, by its nature, involves such changes from one state of things to another, as have been produced by the changes in the American tariff. These are samples; they may be self-evident to the man who wrote this petition, and to the men who sign it. What would not be self-evident to some people, if they desired to believe it?

Of course, much is made of the new *role* of the Free Traders as next of kin to the manufacturers, and their best friends. "*O si sua bona norint!*" One instant, indeed, the old animus shows itself, in the slander that nothing has been effected for the permanent establishment and naturalization of our manufactures since 1789; but the very same paragraph, taking that of clothing "for example," confesses that they only need their raw materials free now, to be able to compete with the world. But if the clothing manufacture, whose "work is better and cheaper than that of foreign manufacturers," be a fair specimen, then it has no need of having the duties taken off its materials, for all of these, as the petition enumerates them, are the products of manufacture. The truth of the matter lies between the two grossly contradictory statements of the petition, that nothing has been done to make our manufactures independent of protection, and that everything has been done except to admit materials free of duty. But, to give us only two self-contradictions in one paragraph, is something achieved.

The statement about the purchasing power of the American

artisan's wages, has been very fully disproved by Mr. Bolles, in his *Conflict between Labor and Capital*. His testimony will not be objected to, though he is not, as was said in the December number of this magazine, a Free Trader. Furthermore, it has been repeatedly shown, during the present labor discussions, that the reduced wages now paid to our artisans, will purchase far more than did that they received before the war, and under the tariff of 1857, for which these petitioners yearn. Free trade papers have shown this fact, as well as our own. And while the petition treats us to much cheap learning out of the tariff of duties, it does not treat us to any current facts as to current prices compared with those of 1857-60. Look at a few of the facts. Are cotton goods as dear now as then? Are the great staples of clothing dearer? Why, even in 1869, the two great Free Trade importers of New York, Stewart and Claflin, showed that dry goods were cheaper than in 1859. And the *Evening Post* admitted the fact. Now if in 1869, the very heyday of our inflation, this was true, what must be true of these goods now? Nor were iron and iron wares ever as cheap as they are at this moment. Eight years ago, it is true, iron was dear, and it was blamed to the tariff. The duties were lowered, and for years the price remained substantially the same, the only difference being in the profits of the foreign manufacturer. These and food, are the articles whose cost affects all classes, and the facts in regard to each of them are the sufficient refutation of the charge that the American people have paid a heavy tax for the support of home manufactures.

On one other point, a word. Free trade is to do everything for the farmer. "Everything he buys is protected, while everything he sells, is sold on a free market." What then becomes of the higher price paid by the workman *for his food*, by reason of protection? These two statements should not have been printed on the same page; they were made for different markets. And as if to leave no ambiguity here, as if to show, at full length, the flat contradiction involved, this precious document says, "the price of [these farm] products, [which cost at least twenty per cent. more because of the tariff], is fixed at Liverpool, where the protective hand of America cannot cover them."

The statement that "everything the farmer sells, he sells in a free [or unprotected] market," shows a gross carelessness about facts.

On what ground is reciprocity with Canada so vehemently urged by the Free Traders of New England and New York? On the ground that just across the border lies a vast agricultural community, ready to supply the Eastern States with food, which they at present purchase from the West. Most of the Down East states, as a New England writer told us some years ago, do not raise cereals enough to feed their people for one day of each year. The Canadians would gladly make up their deficiencies in this regard, but our tariff on farm produce secures this vast home market to the western farmer. If the representatives of the West choose to help New York to carry Free Trade,—even though the East should go on manufacturing as largely as ever, which it will not—the West will lose a large part of its market for cereals. And what the price of wheat will be “in Liverpool, where the protective hand of America cannot cover” it, when the home demand has come down about a third, is easily imagined.

The document is, of course, not wanting in phrases, which disclose the temper of its authors. “Economic vagaries,” “sweeping declarations,” “ingrained evils,” “valuable monopoly,” “the wishes of the most clamorous,” “the attitude of paupers,” “travesties of patriotism,” are among these bits of fine and courteous writing. No one will ever fling back the last phrase at its authors. Neither a travesty of patriotism, nor anything else and better of patriotism, guided their hands or their thoughts. The men who drew, or subscribed to, such a picture of the condition of the American people, in such contrast to that of the corresponding classes of other lands, (for there especially lies the falsehood), have insulted, severally, all orders and classes of their countrymen, but more especially those of them who live by toil. And it is just this failure to appreciate the extent and severity of the present distress throughout the world, and to seek the explanation of a general effect in a limited and local cause or group of causes, which marks this petition as the work, not of an economist, or a student of general laws, but of a quack and a nostrum vender, whose influence, whatever its extent and whatever his motives, is not a bit less mischievous and misleading than that of our worst demagogues.

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THE HIGHER EDUCATION OF WOMEN, AND THE
HARVARD EXAMINATIONS.

IT is always better, when we wish to understand fully the scope of some startling novelty in education, to listen to the claims made for it by its special champions, rather than to trust to the official manifesto. In these fast days, it is the practice to find fault with the instinct of conservatism, yet at no time is that instinct more sure, than when it tells us to hasten slowly in approving novelties, no matter how strongly urged, either in elementary training, or in higher education, for nowhere has there been more specious charlatanism, and a wrong decision in such matters involves consequences of untold importance. Of all the novelties heretofore proposed for the higher education of women, none seems so startling, or so opposed to all experience, as the Harvard Examinations for Women. It becomes, therefore, necessary for all the friends of that higher education,—as what observant and enlightened person is not—to examine carefully, and in a candid spirit, this scheme and the claims which are made for it by its advocates. In what we propose to say, we shall confine ourselves to its operation in Philadelphia and its neighborhood, as we are naturally more familiar with the state of things which this scheme proposes to improve here, than elsewhere. What may be the result in communities where different conditions exist, we cannot say, but we cannot doubt that its introduction here, with the hope of accomplishing the results which its friends claim, must prove a vain delusion.

The programme issued by the Harvard authorities, in regard to these examinations, is not so specific in its information as might be desired, but it is supplemented by an announcement of the local committees of ladies, who arrange for holding these examinations annually in New York, Philadelphia and Cincinnati. In this announcement, this part of the world is called "Philadelphia Centre," a term somewhat vague at first, with a faint suggestion of Fenianism and revolutionary ideas; but, on close inspection, it seems rather to refer to the dark circle of ignorance within which we dwell, which is to be illumined by the light brought by wise men from the East, and placed in its centre. The programme tells us, in four words, what Harvard College is doing for the women by these exam-

inations, viz: "establishing a test of culture." But is not this rather vague? "Culture," just now, is the best abused word in the English language, with meanings as multifarious as the localities in which the Anglo-Saxon dwells. There are, it is true, some who claim to know what it is, still skeptical enough to think that, under the system of "*unlimited electives*," the Diploma of Harvard, now given to *men* after a four years' course, is not the "test of culture" which it once was. How are we to be blamed, if we do not think that a successful examination upon subjects merely preparatory to such a course, can be the best "test of culture" in a *woman*?

There are to be, according to the programme, two examinations, the preliminary and the advanced. The preliminary need not detain us long, for it requires only knowledge of an elementary description. Still it might be interesting to know how far success in it, (since it must, in any event, be passed before the advanced is attempted), aids in making a woman a person of culture. This is a practical question, for, during the four years in which these examinations have been held, it does not appear that any one has passed the advanced examination, while in 1877, out of twenty-four candidates, only three passed, and they, only this preliminary one. Whatever may be thought by the Harvard Examiners and their friends, it is certain that those persons living in that Bœotia, which is supposed by many to comprise the whole territory of the United States outside of the shadow of Harvard College, cannot regard an amount of knowledge, such as is now required of every boy who seeks to enter the Freshman class, as a "test of culture." Another practical question of some interest presents itself. What exact position in the scale of culture do those persons occupy, who have passed the preliminary examination, but who have failed, or have not presented themselves, at the advanced, in other words, all the women who have so far presented themselves at either? They would seem, for the present, to be in a sort of academical *limbo*, but what their exact condition may be, and how they are to be extricated, we are left to conjecture.

At the advanced examination, the candidate is permitted to choose subjects from one of five great divisions, viz: 1st, Languages; 2d, Physical Science; 3d, Mathematics; 4th, History; 5th, Philosophy, and if she satisfies the examiners, by her answers to their questions upon *any one of these subjects*, she is entitled to

a certificate, which is the evidence that she has reached the Harvard test of culture. What is meant by this word grows more obscure as we advance, but it is very clear that, unless culture has a very different signification at Harvard from what it had in the days of Dr. Channing, or from what it has in other parts of the world in these days of Matthew Arnold, this scheme seems a strange way of gaining it.

But perhaps we insist too much upon the meaning of this word, although it is described in the programme as the outcome of the whole plan. In order to get a more definite idea of the methods by which the scheme is to be worked, and the results which it is hoped to reach, we must seek for information from the excellent ladies, whose earnest desire to advance their sex, has led them to become the sponsors for these examinations. One of these ladies, (not, we believe, a member of the local committee, but an ardent champion of the scheme), has written a paper, which is to be found in the December number of *THE PENN MONTHLY*, wherein the supposed advantages of the system are much more fully detailed than in the official programme. In this paper, those who wish to be teachers are recommended to present themselves at these examinations, as, the certificate of having passed once secured, they have the guarantee of competency, from "the highest educational tribunal of the country." It is further claimed that this method of proving such competency is far preferable to the systematic work pursued at Vassar, and other similar institutions having the same object in view, for the strange reason that Harvard is a much older college than any of these, a reason which seems all the more strange, when it must be known to everybody, that no woman has ever been permitted to enter any department of Harvard University as a student. Again, we are told that this certificate is the indisputable proof of the excellence of the learning which the young woman has acquired. And this extravagant commendation is given to a system which requires knowledge of subjects in one only of the five great departments of human learning, which asks no evidence of thorough and persistent training, the result of systematic work under competent instructors, and even suggests that preparation may be made for the examination by "girls who have left school and are occupied with home cares." This system is to give us, it is claimed, good teachers and good mothers. But we think the public will

have something to say as to this mode of preparing girls for the most responsible positions in human society, notwithstanding the "seal and voucher" of Harvard College. They are not likely to forget that training is the great end of education, and that any examination, in one or five departments of knowledge, is worthless, except as a test of that training. In order to get some idea of the vast abyss which separates means from ends in this scheme, let us ask what would be thought of any college which would give to a young man, who had passed a creditable examination for admission to the Freshman class, a certificate which should be called "a test of culture." Alas! the crowning vice of our system of education, as every college professor well knows, is the hasty, imperfect, un-systematic preparation of boys for advanced studies. Such a preparation, as we all know, often enables these boys to pass a brilliant examination for admission; but once admitted, the stimulus is gone, the momentum lost, the reaction comes, and the last state of that boy is worse than the first. No real foundation! This is the great reproach of our education, as every teacher of advanced studies knows to his sorrow. He is called upon to build upon the hay and stubble which have been sent to him by the preparatory schools, and no wonder he so often fails. The defects of such a system are visible everywhere; the professions are filled by men ill-trained because they were not early trained, and these ill-trained men are called upon to do the work of well-trained men in the best way they can. The result is always waste, and often a lamentable failure. If we ruin our boys by this system, let us save our girls from the same fate. Do not, when they ask for bread, not only give them a stone, but pretend, also, that it is bread. Our girls may be ignorant, but there is something worse than ignorance—a pretence to knowledge which they do not possess, and to a capacity for work for which they have not been thoroughly trained.

A glimpse of this fatal defect in the Harvard scheme, seems occasionally to flash upon the fair and honest mind of the writer in the PENN MONTHLY. "Preparation at the outset," we are told, "must unavoidably be obtained chiefly through private lessons or classes," but it is hoped that, in a few years, a more legitimate system may be adopted, of obtaining the invaluable certificate by means of improved teaching in the private schools. How far these schools may be able to provide this improved teaching, we shall

consider farther on, but what we have to do with now, is the system as it actually exists, with all the defects which we have named, and the conclusion to which we are irresistibly forced, is this, that the value of an examination, as a test either of knowledge or training, may be easily over-rated. The acquisition of knowledge, if it is to serve any useful purpose, is a long, gradual and laborious process of assimilation, during which, every faculty of the mind should be trained by constant exercise. Any system which offers a premium for an undue cultivation of the memory at the expense of the other faculties of the mind, whatever may be its merits for some purposes, and whatever may be the motives of those who encourage it, is not the way, as all experience proves, to make good teachers, good mothers, or women of true culture.

This much being clear, we are to consider three practical questions: *First*, Can such instruction and training as we have spoken of as essential, be acquired, as is alleged, by private study, out of the schools? *Secondly*, What is the probability that the schools will be stimulated to provide the improved means of instruction which the scheme demands, and of which they are now confessedly deficient? *Thirdly*, What, after all, is the real value of this Harvard certificate, either as an object of ambition, or as a means of gaining employment as a teacher, or as a test of culture?

In regard to the first of these questions, a glance at the subjects of the advanced examination will show that, under any present or future conceivable condition of things in this country, successful work by means of private study is simply impossible. Take, for instance, Natural Science, one of the five divisions of the advanced examination. It is certainly unnecessary to show that no accurate or satisfactory knowledge of such subjects as Chemistry, Physics, Botany, etc., can be gained unless the theoretical instruction is supplemented by experimental lectures, and practical work in the laboratory and cabinet. Practically, of course, such instruction can only be given in classes and in special establishments. In history, too, (another of the five divisions), no young woman would be likely to gain a knowledge of the many things essential to her understanding, for instance, such a subject as the "History of Continental Europe during the Reformation," much less to her writing a really satisfactory essay upon it (as she is required to do), by any amount of private reading, unless she had been thoroughly

trained previously, and her course had been under the constant supervision of that rarest of men, a competent teacher of history. It is possible, perhaps, for a young woman with exceptional powers, to study advanced Mathematics, and even some portions of Metaphysics, under the direction of a thorough scholar as private tutor, or "Coach," as that functionary is called in the English universities, but certainly no one will contend that accuracy in the knowledge of languages, except perhaps of the most elementary part of the subject, can be gained if the stimulus supplied by contact with others engaged in the same pursuit under the same teacher, is absent. It is not necessary to enlarge upon the one-sidedness given to the mind by the hard study of any one subject, when the work is done alone, for it is obvious that nothing could well spoil a young woman more effectually as a teacher, than the habit thus acquired. Practically, however, no young woman will persist in the attempt to train herself in a knowledge of these subjects in remote districts, and amidst home cares. If she is in earnest, she will find that resort must be had to places provided with the modern appliances of instruction.

The difficulties in the way of preparing for these examinations at the private schools, are of a different character, but will be found, we think, sufficiently formidable. It is claimed that a principal design of the system, is the improvement of the private schools for girls,—a most praiseworthy object which, if it can be gained in this way, is so important, that success here would atone for many obvious defects in the machinery for other purposes. One thing, however, is certain, that the best of these schools have not now, either the instructors competent to prepare girls properly for the examination in the five subjects required, and, if they had, that they do not possess the apparatus and laboratories which would be necessary to make much of their instruction efficient for the purpose. It is also clear that neither competent instructors, nor suitable apparatus, can be procured without a considerable outlay of money. Now, private schools in this country, in whatever else they may differ, are all alike in this, that they are commercial ventures, and they are kept up with the expectation of affording a livelihood to those who conduct them. It is, unfortunately, a simple matter of calculation, a question whether it will pay, in the money sense, to employ eminent men and purchase costly apparatus, to give the

instruction needed to the one, two or three young women in a school, who may be ambitious to pass these examinations. School-keeping is not so lucrative a business, that those who engage in it can afford to take any money risks. Besides, nothing irritates the average school teacher more than that he should be expected wholly to derange the general system of his school by giving exceptional instruction, for exceptional purposes, no matter how desirable that instruction may in itself be.

The University of Pennsylvania, some time ago, offered ten free scholarships yearly in the Towne Scientific School, to those pupils of the thirty-four public grammar schools of the city, who should pass the best examination for admission to the Freshman class. This was done with the double object of giving a thorough training during four years, in applied science, to deserving young men, and of raising the standard of scholarship in these grammar schools. The subjects required to be taught in preparing for this examination being somewhat different from those of the grammar school course, it became necessary to form special classes, in order to give special instruction to those boys who desired to come forward. It was soon found, or at least alleged, that the teaching of these small classes in each of the schools, interfered with the general management of the school. The principals, although many of them were in full sympathy with the object to be gained, complained that additional labor was exacted of teachers already overworked, that examination papers could not be answered from the text-books provided for them, that too much attention was required to prepare the few to the neglect of the many, and of many other things of the same sort. The consequence is, that few boys, comparatively, have been sent up, and this scheme of giving the best possible technical training to forty of the brightest boys in the schools, having this advantage, among others, of enabling each of them, almost immediately on his leaving college, to earn his living, has not been a success. Perhaps the mistake was in expecting too much from the schools under the most favorable circumstances, but the result should be a warning to those who are confidently expecting that in a few years, private schools for girls will send properly trained candidates to the Harvard Examinations.

The next point is, what is the real value of these Harvard certificates? The writer in the *PENN MONTHLY* tells us they are valu-

able because they come from "the highest educational tribunal of the country." Now it is necessary to speak plainly (although we do it most reluctantly) on this subject, for the sake of the many with whom this is the prevailing reason for looking upon the project with favor. There exists in these persons a certain vague but persistent notion that Harvard occupies, in this country, towards education generally, a position analogous to that of the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, in regard to local examinations, and the examinations of schools in England. It is necessary, therefore, to remove this misapprehension, but to say distinctly that even the system of education for undergraduates, adopted of late years at Harvard, is regarded by nearly all the New England Colleges as a heresy (to say the least), and as tending to lower the standard of scholarship. Neither the authority of the "tribunal" having been recognised, nor its example followed in New England, it is certainly not to be wondered at that some of us, even in "Philadelphia centre," should hesitate before admitting these lofty pretensions. There is nothing in the age or reputation of Harvard, which gives weight to what it has seen fit to do in regard to the education of women. The system, as adopted, is wholly alien to the traditions of the University, and is, in point of fact, a new experiment, not yet four years old, the success of which, so far, is neither shown by the statistics nor asserted by the Harvard authorities, whatever may be claimed by their enthusiastic admirers.

Some misapprehension prevails, also, as to the character of the examination. The practical value of such a test, in the eyes of the public, depends, of course, a good deal on the reputation of the examiners. Thus Professor Huxley is now, or was for many years, one of the examiners at the University of London. Naturally and properly, his certificate of proficiency, given to a candidate in his special department, carried great weight. A notion prevails among many, that at Harvard the papers are prepared, and the answers examined, by such men as Peirce in Mathematics, Goodwin and Hedge in the Languages, Lovering and Gibbs in Natural Science, Russell Lowell in History, and Bowen in Philosophy. Now the Harvard programme promises nothing of the sort, and, unless these examinations are conducted in a very different way from all others both at Harvard and elsewhere, they are practically in the hands of the younger members of the faculty, very competent, no doubt,

for the work, but without any of the reputation of the eminent professors we have named.

As these certificates will be mainly sought by those desiring them, as public tests of their capacity as teachers, it may be well to remind these persons that, in this part of "Philadelphia centre," no certificate of having passed the examination, in any one, or in all the five advanced subjects, will help them at all in securing positions as teachers in the field where these positions are most numerous and most frequently open to applicants, the public schools of the city. The law requires that every candidate for the place of teacher, whatever may be her other qualifications, shall also pass satisfactorily a special examination held under the authority of the Board of Education. There is a normal school, with a thoroughly graded course extending over four years, which, in practice, prepares nearly all the teachers for this examination. The supply from this source has, of late years, been greater than the demand, no less than 210 young women holding certificates of having passed the examination satisfactorily, being without employment as teachers at the close of the year 1876.

We have thus endeavored to show that these Harvard examinations are not what they are claimed to be by many of their advocates, in at least these four essential particulars: 1. They are, in no sense, a true test, or guarantee, of the scholarship and training of the candidates. 2. That proper preparation for them under private tuition, and "amidst home cares" is impossible. 3. That they are not likely to raise the standard of scholarship in girls' private schools. 4. That they are delusive as a scheme for educating teachers, or making women of culture.

We share, with all enlightened persons, an earnest desire to encourage the higher education of women, and it is chiefly because we believe that we have, much nearer home than Massachusetts, the true and only means of accomplishing this great object, that we have felt constrained to point out the defects of the Harvard system. Of late, this subject has been thoroughly and earnestly discussed here, with an anxious desire to discover and apply the best method. No royal road to learning having been found, we have been forced to retain the old-fashioned system of a long, thorough, systematic course of training, under competent teachers, as the only system worth anything for the true education of either

boys or girls. Let us look at the character of the work which is now being done, as we think satisfactorily, for the higher education of girls, in this city and its neighborhood.

First: There is the Girls' Normal School, with its 900 pupils, and School of Practice, occupying, it is said, the largest and best arranged building for such a purpose in this country. The course here, as we have said, extends over four years, and during that course, every one of the subjects required at the Harvard advanced examination, except the foreign languages, is studied systematically, and certain others which are not required—notably, music and drawing—are taught. It is true that this school is designed chiefly to supply the public schools of the city with teachers, and that, in point of fact, it has given to those schools nearly all of the 1,850 teachers now employed; still no one who attends the school is under any obligation to become a teacher on leaving it. If the answers to the questions at the final examination be any test of culture, then the young women who pass it may be regarded, by their friends, as well educated, because their passing it satisfactorily shows the good effects of four years' hard work.

Second: Swarthmore College. This is an institution, recently established by the Society of Friends, within ten miles of this city, and drawing many of its pupils from it. Its system of instruction is liberal and comprehensive, its apparatus is of the best modern description, and the standard of scholarship is very high. In this college, the theory of the co-education of the sexes is fully carried out in practice; in other words, it has been thought expedient to teach boys and girls the same subjects at the same time, and under the same conditions. The number of students of each sex is about the same. The range of studies is far wider than that within which it is proposed to test the knowledge of women by the Harvard examinations, while it includes them all. Indeed, it is easy to see that any one who has faithfully pursued that course during four years, would regard the answers to the Harvard papers as calling for very light work. They have some eminent teachers at this college. Their professor of mathematics, although she happens to be a woman, is well known as one of the foremost mathematicians in the country, and two of their non-resident professors are recognized among scholars everywhere, as men of the highest authority in their respective departments. If the teaching corre-

sponds at all with the opportunities, and we have every reason to believe that it does, we are, we must say once more, at a loss to understand where that deficiency in the means for the higher education of women in this part of the country exists, to supply which it has been necessary to resort to this Harvard importation.

Third: The University of Pennsylvania. Recently, arrangements have been made to encourage young women to pursue certain advanced studies here. This has been done in simple obedience to the law of supply and demand. The university has no theory, concerning what is called co-education of the sexes, to support, nor any plan to establish, nor any prejudices on the part of its officers, either on one side or the other of this question, to overcome. The admission of women as students, was brought about in this way. Applications were made, from time to time, from young women, asking that they might avail themselves of the advantages offered at the university, for the study of chemistry, physics, and history, the applicants stating that these advantages,—especially for the study of the first two-named subjects—seemed to them exceptionally good. When it was found that these ladies proposed, without exception, to become either physicians or teachers, and that they asked of the university, what was essential to their calling, and what, according to their own statement, they could not find elsewhere, except at great inconvenience, the authorities would not only have been unjust, but cruel, if they had denied their request. They are there as special students, in precisely the same position as the young men who are special students; the instruction being the same, and the conditions of the examinations, entrance and final, being the same for both sexes. What may be done in the future, depends upon the wants of the future, as they may be developed by experience. What is essential now is that those young women who are in earnest in their desire to study chemistry, physics, and history, should understand that a certificate of proficiency, awarded by the university, upon a final examination after a full course, is likely to be as good a test of their real knowledge of these subjects, and to be accepted as such, as any that can be procured elsewhere.

But we must close. What we insist upon is that true education must always be a natural and healthy growth. No hot-house treatment which forces a precocious and unnatural development,

can ever produce that fruit which is the support and comfort of human life. What we need is a training which will make women robust and symmetrical in their minds as well as in their bodies. It is such women, if we mistake not, that men love to picture to themselves as ideal types of the true wife and good mother.

C. J. S.

AN OLD-TIME ALBUM.

THE photograph albums which, in these latter days, are found in every well-appointed drawing-room, serve one important use to which the album of a former generation was rarely if ever put. There is a delicate compliment implied by the invitation to form one of the gallery of beauties, to which the languid guest is invited to betake himself when other methods of entertaining him fail. The old-time album was less frequently displayed and, with average good fortune, one might escape it altogether. The modern invention has, to a great extent, displaced its precursor, the receptacle of fond inanities, the very existence of which one could happily succeed in forgetting, until some fair dame or damsel would bring forth the elegantly-bound book, interleaved with prints from worn-out plates, but in which the pictures were not half so bad as the verses. For this relief, let us be duly thankful to the spirits of Daguerre and of Talbot, and those who have improved on their imperfect beginnings.

How some of the beaux and gallants, who were ambitious of distinction as "gentlemen who write with ease," must have cudgelled their brains in the endeavor to do justice to the occasion. What a good notion it was to have two or three elaborately prepared impromptu quatrains on hand, ready to jot down at a moment's notice, and so startle the fair owner of the album, by the quickness, as well as the point, of your verse.

But then there are albums and albums, and there is no denying that there was a pretty sentiment underlying the custom of collecting mementos of one's dearest friends, between the covers of a little book. Nowhere has this custom prevailed to a greater extent than in Germany, and there, as elsewhere, to be asked to take

one's place among the artists, authors, and other notabilities who had preceded you as tenants of its pages was, now and then, an invitation to form one of a very goodly company.

On a recent occasion, while looking through the collection of autographs belonging to a noted numismatist and accomplished scholar,* my attention was specially directed to one item which my host regarded as the greatest treasure in his keeping.

It was an odd-looking book, about six inches in width by nine in length, bound in red leather, and encased in an old and much-worn leather-covered box. It was the *Stammbuch*, or album, of an Austrian lady who lived in Vienna and Döbling, during the latter portion of the eighteenth and the earlier years of this century. There was a quaint air of faded elegance about the binding, the inside of the covers being lined with blue satin and containing each six panels—in all likelihood, for portraits which have, however, been removed.

I could not help wondering what story there might be connected with the book and its original owner, Fraulein Babet von Ployer. Doubtless, there are those now living in Vienna, who might have somewhat to tell of the less noted names, but my present purpose is with the more famous ones.

Let us trust that Mademoiselle von Ployer's distinguished friendships were owing to her worth, her intelligence, and to the possession of a due share of the graces that made society in the Austrian capital, in the days of which we write, at once so aristocratic and so charming as story-tellers and letter-writers describe it to have been. It was certainly she to whom Mozart referred, when, on the 9th of June, 1784, he wrote to his father: "To-morrow, Herr Ployer has a concert in the country at Döbling, where Mad'le Babette is to play her new concerto in G (Köchel, No. 453), and I the quintet (with wind instruments), and then we are both to play the grand sonata for two pianos. I am to bring Paisiello in my carriage, to give him an opportunity of hearing both my pupil and my composition."† With due allowance for hyperbole, the following lines, transcribed from one of the album's pages, may also serve in giving us an idea of the gifted Babet's charms:

* Mr. Joseph J. Mickley, of this city.

† *Mozart's Letters* (Lady Wallace's translation).

“Entre ce livre et vous, combien de ressemblance !
 Comme vous, il unit mille talens divers.
 Il s' exprime avec elegance,
 Ainsi que vous, en prose comme en vers,
 En langue Italienne, Anglaise,
 Latine, allemande et française ;
 On y voit de même qu'en vous,
 La musique avec la peinture,
 Imiter, par les sons et les traits le plus doux,
 Les agrémens de la nature.
 Enfin ce livre est tout, peintre, musicien,
 Poète, philosophe et bon grammairien ;
 Et, comme vous, il n'en sait rien.”

There is an irresistible charm in the suggestion of the days of tie-wigs and knee-breeches ; of *salons* brilliant with wax-candles and cut-glass chandeliers, and thronged with courtly dames and their attendant nobles ; and above these, though patronized by them, the distinguished men who, in the better sense, then formed the salt of Viennese society. Those scenes, and the actors in them, have passed away. Among the names that still live, and to whom added years bring added fame, are three of the greatest tone-poets the world has ever known—Mozart, Beethoven, Haydn. But, although the others are in the main forgotten, let the music-lover of to-day accord due praise to the society which, with all its glitter, its artificiality, and its light-heartedness, yet had the good sense and good taste to encourage, in a certain way, the great men whose works so nobly survive them.

In lieu of other claim to praise, let the puissant race of Hapsburg be credited with its services to the cause of music. As far back as the seventeenth century, Vienna was the world's musical capital, and to patronize the divine art was the fashion. Are we not told of the Emperor Leopold I, he of the heavy, hanging underlip, that, after hunting and angling, his greatest delight was music and the theatre? He was not only fond of music, but he played the flute, sang a fine bass, and composed a little. When an emperor sets the fashion, the rest are not loth to follow, and, as a result, all Vienna became music-mad. In the days of Charles VI, Vehse tells us, “At the court-concerts, his Imperial Majesty would often lead the band in person, and noblemen and ladies of the highest rank perform on the different instruments. Further on, he adds that, “In the ballets, the two arch-duchesses also took

a share." That Joseph II was an ardent votary of music is well known, and we are told that, in his time, "Music was the only cherished and popular art."

But I am wandering from my text, and, as the mention of Joseph brings us nearer Mozart and the other musical worthies, let us return to the album and devote a few words to its contents. In doing this, I shall skip many a page, and if the rest of this paper bear an unfortunate resemblance to a leaf or two of a descriptive catalogue, my excuse must be that it lies in the nature of the subject.

The frontispiece is a sketch representing Apollo with his lyre, playing to a group of shepherds and shepherdesses, who listen with rapt attention. It is signed Figer, and, in drawing and treatment, shows the exquisite touch of an artist.

On another page, there is a little India-ink drawing, of slight merit, from an artistic point of view. The principal feature in the landscape is formed by two trees growing on either bank of a brook. Although thus separated, their branches, overhanging the stream, are intertwined, and thus reads the inscription:

"Le penchant nous unit,
Quand le sort nous separe,"

It is signed Andrassy.

Besides these, there are water-color drawings, India-ink sketches, etchings of various degrees of merit, and an engraving, *Der Frühling*, by Wolfgang de Kempelen, the inventor of the speaking machine. He gracefully assures Mademoiselle Babet that if his fingers were as deft with the graver as hers with the piano, he would have sent an offering more worthy of her acceptance.

And now as to the musical autographs. Beethoven's was, it seems to me, the gift of some friend who was anxious to procure for Mademoiselle Babet the coveted autograph of the great master. Had he written by her invitation, he could scarcely have deemed a funeral-march a fitting entry for a lady's album. The circumstance that the autograph is pasted to the page on which it appears, would seem to strengthen this surmise.

Then there is a sort of musical puzzle, a canon for three voices, by Father Haydn. The composition is the same as that described in the following extract from Dr. Thomas Busby's continuation of Burney's and Hawkin's *History of Music*: "In one of his (Haydn's)

visits to London, he had the satisfaction of an interview with the King and Queen, by whom he was received in a manner honorable to all the parties. And the university of Oxford sent him its diploma. Nevertheless, it was expected that, *pro forma*, he should transmit a specimen of his musical qualifications. He accordingly sent one, consisting of a composition, so constructed, that it might be read in any way, backwards or forwards, from the top to the bottom, or from the bottom to the top, without being divested, either of air or harmony. A piece so constructed is called a *canon cancrizans*," The words in the English copy are, "Thy voice, O Harmony, is divine!" In the album, where Haydn has entitled it, "*Ein krebzgängiger Canon*," the text is, "Du sollst an einen Gott glauben!"

As illustrating the undue importance at one time ascribed to certain English musical worthies, I cannot forego quoting the opening sentence of Dr. Busby's article on Haydn, in which he naively remarks: "Had the world never produced a *Purcell*, a *Handel*, or an *Arne*, we might pronounce Francis Joseph Haydn the greatest genius that ever devoted itself to the cultivation of the harmonic art."

Another musical autograph is a *cavatina* by Weigl, of whose many operas, but one, *Die Schweizerfamilie*, still lives. This contribution fills several pages, and is a beautiful specimen of musical chirography.

There is also a fugue by Albrechtsberger, the great contrapuntist who numbered Beethoven among his pupils, and who thus inscribes it:—"Fräulein Babet von Ployer gewidmet, von Ihren unwürdigen Meister. Georg Albrechtsberger, 791."

How learned he must have been, and how he helped others, who possessed the genius that he lacked, with their musical grammar. Perhaps a few of his masses are still known in Vienna, and some of the old-time cathedrals of that vicinity, but his fame rests on that of his pupils, and not on his compositions.

Besides these, there are several pages of music by Marianna Martinas, the pupil of Haydn and Porpora, and the friend of Mozart. She was praised by Dr. Burney and was renowned for her "proficiency in the arts and sciences." Next, a *Canone a 4 voci*, by Georgius Pasterwitz, who was both priest and musician,

and music by the Abbé Stadler, the sympathizing and appreciative friend of Mozart.

Without noticing "sentiments" by Prince Colloredo, Aloysius Freiherr v. Locella, Walli, the Chevalier de Montecuccoli, and various others, I pass at once to one of the most interesting pages; that to which Constance Mozart has affixed a copy, in India ink, of the portrait of her departed husband. It is nicely done, and, while more human, bears enough resemblance to the conventional idealized head of Mozart, to satisfy one of its truthfulness. The features are not so rounded, and the effect less imposing; but, nevertheless, it seems the more attractive from its very air of sincerity.

The lines which follow are on the same page as the picture:—

"In der Ueberzeugung dass Sie, liebe Freundin! meines verstorbenen Gemahls unverkennbaren Talente jederzeit nach Verdienst zu schätzen wussten, füge ich hier zum immerwährenden Andenken seiner und meiner Freundschaft, sein Schattenbild bei, und bin sicher, dass er mir deshalb dort———seinen Beyfall zunückt.

Constance Mozart."

And now let us close the album for to-day.

Aside from the interesting associations awakened by the little book, it suggests a thought as to the uncertain duration of artistic fame, and a doubt of the value of the epithet "immortal," as assigned to a work of art by contemporary criticism. Beyle (De Stendhal) quotes Baron Von Swieten as saying that "Mozart lacked sprightliness and humor and, in this respect, was inferior to Galuppi, Guglielmi, or Sarti." Yet who to day, unless he be a musical antiquary, knows aught of the works of those Italians, so renowned in their time? It cannot be that we have grown tired of comic opera;—for does not the *Marriage of Figaro* still delight us as it did the good people of Prague ninety years ago?

SIMON ADLER STERN.

ART-WEAVING AMONG THE ANCIENTS.

[Translated by T. Nelson Dale, Jr., from the Journal of the Industrial Art Union of Munich, Nos. 5 and 6. for 1877.]

THE history of Art-Weaving treats of the ornamentation of woven fabrics, from simple dyeing and the making of regular designs up to the weaving of pictures in tapestry, for which even a Raphael and a Rubens did not disdain to furnish the cartoons.

This chapter in the history of human art is the more instructive, as this industry began in the earliest dawn of civilization, and the fabrics and their ornamentation bear the Industrial Art characteristics of the period when the Nations of the East first appeared in history.

This chapter becomes still more interesting when we consider that, although no remains of this industry of thousands of years ago now exist, yet we have specimens showing us, to some extent, how these articles were produced, while traditions are still handed down among these nations of the East, by which, with the same means and in the same way, they produce to-day, representations of these ancient fabrics equally true to art, and as beautiful in coloring; results which even with our extraordinarily perfect machinery we are unable to attain.

We have, also, abundant food for thought, when, aside from the ways and means of manufacture, we consider the materials out of which, from the very earliest beginning to the present time, textile fabrics have been produced.

We find them composed of four chief materials: Wool, silk, flax and cotton, two of which belong to the animal, and two to the vegetable kingdom.

We do not know exactly how men discovered these four materials, nor can we imagine how they came upon the idea which enabled them, by such simple means, to extract the fibre from flax and hemp, and to complete the difficult process which included the work of the spindle and the loom; and we cannot comprehend by what experience, or, we should say, by what accident, it was put in the way of men to re-spin the thread spun by the silk-worm, and to produce, out of these slender threads, so thick and lustrous a fabric, which, from olden times to the present day, has been used for purposes of luxury and state. Of all this we have not the

faintest notion. But the most astonishing thing is, that, after thousands of years, notwithstanding our immense progress in all departments of human knowledge and action, although we have stolen from Nature her secrets, ascertained her laws, and made her mighty powers serve our purposes, yet have we not been able to discover any fibre better than, or even equal to, silk.

I do not wish to leave the fact unmentioned, that even in ancient times weaving became a branch of industry, which gave to the places and cities where it flourished a very prominent position in social and civil life. It is in the natural course of things that trade should succeed manufactures, and that wealth should follow trade, and that general well-being should result from wealth, and, from general well-being, art, science, and political importance. The Netherlands in the middle ages afford us an example of this, for we find the industrial, commercial, and political significance of Flanders and Brabant rising along with their textile manufactures and art, by means of the wealth thus acquired, and the general well-being of the citizens attaining to a rare development and importance.

We observe this again in the cities of Northern Italy, whose well-being, greatness, culture and political importance, commenced at and grew from the time when the silk manufacture began there. We notice the same thing in England and North America, in which great countries, cotton even controls politics. We find it the same in France, where a failure of the crops in the cotton countries, or the disease of the silk worms, not only endangers millions of money, but the very existence of millions of people.

After these general explanations, called for by the nature of the subject, I proceed to my theme proper. The materials which demand attention for our purpose, are not so much flax and cotton, as wool and silk. Not linen fabrics, (although in ancient Egypt they were manufactured of a quality so fine, that a whole garment or a curtain could be drawn through a finger ring), because, throughout antiquity, linen was used more for under-garments, which were only slightly ornamented by means of embroidery.

Linen was not used for table coverings until the close of the middle ages, and only still later was it employed in the weaving of damask and in the manufacture of laces. Nor do cotton fabrics claim our attention, for the reason that, in general, cotton

was little adapted for artistic purposes, since, when colored it is lustreless, and the pattern, that is the ornamental element, was and still is produced by printing rather than by weaving. There remain only wool and silk, and those furnish abundant material for our purpose.

It is a useless because an insoluble question to endeavor to ascertain which of these four materials is historically the oldest. I remarked above, that we find these four materials among the nations as they appear in history, on geographically different soil, of course, where they have been indigenous for ages and ages.

Thus we find linen cloth in Egypt, cotton in India, silk in China, but wool from the mountains of Thibet and the valleys of Cashmere, where to-day the finest art-weaving is done, as far as the Syrian and Phœnician coasts and the steppes of Arabia; then, far out beyond the *Ægean* Sea to Arcadia and the shores of Italy.

Equally unanswerable is the question: How did the ornamentation of these fabrics begin? how, or rather according to what principle, did it develop itself? In this case we can only give opinions and infer from analogies, that they advanced from simple to compound lines, then to geometrical designs, then to patterns obtained from vegetable life, then to animal ornamentation, until finally they reached the high ground of figure and rich scenic designs.

Finally there is the question of precedence: Did embroidery precede weaving, or the reverse, did weaving precede embroidery? The object and the operation are alike in both, but the mode of producing the ornamental design is different. In weaving, the ornament comes into existence together with the fabric, that is mechanically. Embroidery, however, requires a woven material as a foundation, and the ornaments are added with a free artistic hand.

The origin of the ornamentation of woven fabrics can be more easily and naturally accounted for when we consider that plaiting in straw and other materials must have preceded weaving, and that these earliest evidences of human art industry must have furnished a certain model for weaving. But, on the other hand, embroidery must have been preceded by sewing, a much more complicated and difficult art.

The expressions used by the ancients to denote pictorial representations on fabrics, may refer as well to weaving as to embroidery. Semper holds the opinion that art-embroidery is certainly older than

art-weaving, if you include the representation of figures. On the other hand, colored weaving must have originated earlier than colored embroidery; that is, than simple embroidered patterns, which are to be looked upon as imitations of the woven pattern, and which follow the pattern of the woven net.

We have selected wool as the material for the art-weaving of the ancients, as the existing monuments of Assyria, Babylon, and in part those of India, indicate. We do not wish to dispute the fact that Babylon, also, by its weaving of linen, made from the flax which grew in the plain of Mesopotamia, made herself a great reputation, and we also acknowledge that cotton travelled very early across the Indus into Arabia, and from thence spread itself northwards and westwards toward Chaldea and Egypt; but wool constituted the principal material for art-weaving. Wool was also the favorite clothing material of the Greeks, among whom its heavy folds took the place of the undulating linen and cotton fabrics, so popular among the Ionic Greeks, and thus imparted to Greek art its peculiar character in the noble and expressive representation of drapery.

The embroidered Babylonian fabrics were of wool. The famous Alexandrine fabrics, worked with many threads, were of wool, and not of silk, as also the Phrygian gold embroideries, so-called *Atalic* carpets and garments.

Assyria, the great land of culture on the Euphrates and Tigris, by means of its art-industry, gave the tone to, and from 1200 B. C. to 600 B. C., ruled the neighboring countries and their dependencies, Babylon, Persia, Media, up to the coast of Asia Minor and the shores of the Black Sea. Weaving and embroidery attained there to an extraordinary height, and Assyrian ornamentation far surpassed that of the Egyptians, who never yet got beyond geometrical designs.

We find, among the Assyrians, not only stars and rosettes arranged alongside of each other, or placed in ingenious relations; not only tortuous and spiral lines, palmetto-like foliage, but also rich representations of figures, symbolic religious scenery, combats of animals, then those fantastic representations of animals with human countenances, bodies of lions provided with great wings, whose bold composition sprang from a rich and fertile imagination, which laid hold of the dark mysteries of nature, and created a bold

picture to symbolize the power of nature. And to what a point must the manufacture of carpets have attained, since the Babylonian-Assyrian carpets were celebrated in remotest antiquity throughout civilized Asia? These carpets adorned the royal palaces and the temples, here partly as a continuation of the representations of the State and its rulers chiseled in alabaster, which, placed along the lower part of the palace walls, held up to the view of those entering, the heroic deeds of the people and their rulers; there, partly to close openings for light, partly to close entrances, or to separate spaces; here, as rich decorations of the wall, or there as coverings for the floor, in order to muffle the sound of the feet, and by means of the reigning stillness, to render the presence of the Divinity so much the more sensible. Such Babylonian-Assyrian carpets we find used as curtains in the Temple at Jerusalem, and no wonder, for it is well known that the Jews were, in all that concerned art-industry and luxury, dependent upon the three neighboring civilized peoples, the Phœnicians, Assyrians and Egyptians.

From Egypt they obtained their fine linens, transparent cotton and gauze fabrics, from Phœnicia their purple garments, and from Assyria and Babylonia their embroidered clothes, and bright-colored, richly-patterned carpets.

The Jews, Egyptians and Greeks beheld the ornaments of these technically and artistically interesting carpets with wonder and astonishment. They saw these chimerical forms of animals; and their combats with unterrified men, wild hunts after lions and tigers, representations from life, hosts of impetuous horsemen, battles and combats by sea and land, events in legend and myth, alongside of historical events to which the Greeks subscribed explanations from their own religion and history, just as, 1000 or 1200 years later, the Christian world gave symbolical meaning to the fantastic forms of animals which were introduced into the art-weaving of Christendom by the Assyrians and modern Babylonians.

In Asia Minor, on the borders of Assyrio-Babylonian civilization, we find Phrygio-Lylian civilization, which, in its general type, preserves an Oriental character, but forms a certain contrast to the Assyrian. True Oriental magnificence occurs there, but not in that massiveness and stiffness which characterize Assyrian art. There is much more effort after rich, many-colored, close-fitting garments.

with brilliant hues, rich ornamentation, and elegant cut, so that in the costumes of the Phrygians the beauty of the figure has its share in producing the effect, although colored ornaments and embroidery partly conceal the same again from view. Phrygia was regarded by the Greeks and Romans as the proper home of embroidery, as the place where it was discovered, and embroidered garments were therefore called Phrygian, and the Romans knew no other designation for an embroiderer than *Phrygio*.

We find, however, that in this region of Asia Minor, art-weaving, as well as art embroidery, had become established, and even attained to a very high degree of perfection.

Although, after the Persian wars, the Greeks, who in earliest times wore the same dress as that used on the shores of Asia Minor, emancipated themselves more and more from all Oriental influence, and confined all ornamentation of garments to the borders of their cloaks; and, although the Romans in this respect also followed the example of the Greeks, and replaced the embroidered borders by a simple purple stripe, yet were they unable to cut loose from the general demand for artistically woven and unembroidered covers and carpets. In this respect, Greece, as well as Rome, remained, throughout the time of their political prosperity, dependent upon the East and serviceable to her industries. But the appearance of silk brought about a revolution. The character of wool is plastic; that of silk, picturesque.

Although silk fabrics were known in China as far back as the 26th century before Christ—for the Indians learned seri-culture from the Chinese—yet this product of industrial art did not strike deep roots until the time of the Sassanides, 226 B. C., in Western Asia, Persia, Mesopotamia and Asia Minor. But it must be allowed that finished fabrics found their way into trade at a much earlier period.

We know that on the Island of Kos there had sprung up a special kind of silk industry, which probably consisted in this :—that heavy half-silk Chinese fabrics were taken to pieces, and the silk warps or woofs were, after separating the accompanying cotton, worked up into very light and transparent fabrics. Pliny says, referring to the information given by Aristotle in regard to this manufacture of Kos: “The Chinese are, as far as we know, the discoverers of the silk manufacture, from which industry has come to our

women the two-fold labor of unravelling the threads and weaving them anew."

I observed before that the introduction of silk fabrics into Western Asia, Greece, and especially into Western Europe, produced a complete revolution; and, in fact, as this new industrial art product became more widely known, especially after the introduction of mulberry plantations and silk-worms into Europe, A. D. 555, the more did artistically-made woolen fabrics yield to the soft and brilliant silk fabrics. As home production grew, home consumption increased extraordinarily, and, although in the beginning of this new branch of industrial art they followed Oriental methods in the artistic treatment of the fabrics, and still continued to work in that direction for several centuries, yet the art received a new development by being transplanted to a different soil, among people with different social and religious views.

Four periods of style may be distinguished in the silk industry of Europe.

The period of the first style, from the sixth century to the time of the Hohenstaufen.

The period of the second style, from the twelfth century to the time of Emperor Charles IV, 1347.

The period of the third style, from the close of the fourteenth century to the commencement of the sixteenth.

Finally the fourth, from the Renaissance to the Rococo, to the middle of the eighteenth century,

Before briefly delineating the characteristics of each of these style-periods of art-weaving in silk, I desire for the sake of general information, to call attention to the different products of that branch of industrial art, the silk manufacture.

These are *gold brocades*, *damasks*, *satins*, *velvets*, and the lighter *taffetas*.

The ancients were acquainted with gold brocades. they called them *aurotextiles*, *vestes ex auro textile*, also *chrysoclavum*, *auroclavum* or *fundatum*. All these names designate silk fabrics interwoven with gold thread, the silk forming the background to the brighter threads of gold, setting out the pattern in gold on a silk ground, or else forming a gold ground for the silk pattern.

In the middle ages the name for this article of luxury, so highly prized, both on account of the heaviness of its folds and its ele-

gance, was Baldachinus, from Baldach, *i. e.* Bagdad or Babylon. We must not, however, conceive of these gold threads as we see them to-day, or in the brocades of the sixteenth century; that is, as consisting of a thick thread of silk, around which a thinly drawn and more or less gilded silver wire has been twisted.

This discovery was not made until the fifteenth century, in Italy.

The gold thread of the ancients, down to the fifteenth century, was not round and drawn as a wire, but is cut in little thin and flat strips. This strip is not an animal but a vegetable substance, bast, the skin of a plant, which has been gilded on one side and wound spirally or twisted around a more or less coarse thread of linen or cotton. This discovery was doubtless made in China, and the gold thread for all the manufactories was obtained from the east, until the modern more expensive, but more valuable Italian discovery, rendered the importation unnecessary. We find the same system of manipulation in all Japanese gold brocades, and in a fabric in the Bavarian National Museum, which dates back far into the sixteenth century. The brocade is produced by means of gilt paper. Therefore, brocades made of gilded silver wires do not date further back than the fifteenth century. Generally they are to be assigned to the later half of the fifteenth century, especially the non-Italian fabrics; because the new gold thread was more expensive than the favorite one in use.

Damask is a silk fabric, in which, instead of using gold, the contrast between the brilliant and *mat* portions of the material is produced by different grades of lustre of silk, of one or several colors. This fabric is related to the brocades, but is less beautiful and rich. The principal seat of the manufacture of these fabrics was Damascus.

Atlas or *Satin* is only another kind of ground embroidery for the production of which the loom is used. This material has hardly any texture, but consists of flat stitches continuously placed alongside of and caught into each other, so that the silk thread remains without bend or break for as great a length as possible, and unites its lustre with that of the adjoining parallel threads to produce the smoothest surface and the most brilliant effect of light and shade. Briefly, satin is a sort of flat embroidery in silk, done by the loom. It originated in China or India, and early found its

way into Persia and to the valley of the Euphrates. In Europe, it was known as early as the seventh and eighth centuries. The librarian Anastasius, in his work on the earlier Popes, gives it the name of *blattin*. In the middle ages it was called *Pfell*, and our Minnesingers cannot say enough in praise of this valuable fabric. Thus, in the "Wigalois," it is related that in Asia there was a cave full of everlasting fire, in which Salamanders made a costly *Pfell*, which was unflammable. A particular kind of *Pfell* was called Salamander.

Wolfram of Eschenbach mentions a *Pfell* called *Pofusz*, warm enough in its lustre to have hatched the eggs of a stork. The paintings of the German and Dutch masters, at the close of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth century, show what an influence this material had upon painting. This is particularly true in the works of Albert Dürer, in which broken folds were knowingly selected by him, from preference for this fabric. It is highly interesting to compare the German conception of fabric in painting, with what the Italian masters, particularly Titian and Paul Veronese, made of it; then, again, with that which came from the hands of the Dutch masters of the seventeenth century. Evidently, Dürer had other materials to look at than Titian, Paul Veronese, and even Holbein. The satin which these painters painted, differed from that which spread its lustre before the eyes of Netscher, Terburg, Mieris, and others.

Velvet is the opposite of satin. Whereas, in the latter, the lustre is produced by the threads lying side by side, in the former, the light is absorbed and the fabric becomes lustreless, as in the case of closely shorn velvets—because numberless cross-sections of silk threads are made to stand side by side. The East is also the home of velvet. Velvets are said to have been among the presents of Harun al Raschid to Charles the Great. Green seems to have been a favorite color. The crusades were a means of its introduction. But the manufacture of velvets did not attain any great perfection until the 14th century, when the Italians brought into use thick, closely shorn velvet, in the place of that which was more like plush. At first, velvets were of one color and plain, then rich designs with gold and silver ornamentation were introduced, and later, inserted spots of satin embroidered and stitched. Light *Taffetas* sometimes called *Rensa*, from the city of Rheims, were worn during the ninth

century, in Germany, under the name of Zindel. They were made of all colors, used for lighter garments or linings. The qualities with changeable colors were a favorite material with the Florentine and Roman art schools. Our Minnessingers were familiar with this peacock-colored fabric, and hence called it Pfauin from Pfau, the German for peacock. It was highly prized in England.

In regard to the purple fabrics so popular with the ancients, we are unable to decide, at present, whether they understood by that designation, a particular kind of costly material, or only its color. At least, it did not refer to the brilliant, deep, rose red color of today, but to a whole scale of color tones from violet to red. There were certainly different kinds of purple fabrics. The best was the *Purpura Imperialis*, from Byzantium. Its exportation was forbidden, but many a piece was smuggled by Venetian and Jewish hands. The highest rank was assigned in remote antiquity to the Tyrian and Alexandrine purple. In the middle ages, these costly purple fabrics were obtained from Saracenic Spain, especially from the flourishing silk manufacturers in Almeria. KUH.N.

METEOROLOGICAL METHOD.

Read before the American Philosophical Society, December 21, 1877.

IT is generally admitted that the development and progress of Meteorology are not at all in proportion to the labor and intelligence devoted to the study of its problems.

This fact has become more evident during the past five or six years, during which, the Meteorological institutions, established by the liberality of various governments, have been busy with observations, endeavoring to lay the ground-work of a science so important to general welfare. But while the material thus collected grows to gigantic proportions, no master-hand has been found to arrange it in its proper order, so that the laws that lie hid may be clearly seen. Indeed, already serious apprehensions of entire failure are felt, and the English Parliament has charged a special committee with the duty of enquiring whether the government is justified in continuing the outlay upon an institution, the

results of which are apparently so small. For the deduction of general laws has been, as yet, almost an entire failure, and the practical work of weather-predicting and storm-warning, not of very great utility. It is true, and has been gratefully acknowledged, that, in the majority of cases, the predictions of the English Meteorological Bureau have been verified; but these cases are, for the great part, the unimportant storms, and the most serious and destructive movements have come unheralded and unforeseen. In the presidential address of Dr. Thomas Andrews, before the British Association for the Advancement of Science, about a year ago, he says of the previous year's work of the Meteorological Office in London:—"Few storms occurred for which no warnings had been given, but unfortunately these were some of the heaviest gales of the period."

And also, in the nature of the case, a signal service can render no assistance in distant agricultural sections, or to ships out at sea, where its aid is most needed, except by the discovery of laws that shall enable the husbandman and the mariner to do their own predicting.

But the most serious aspect of the affair is this—that some of the scientific experts called into council by the English Parliamentary Committee, express the opinion that,—to quote the words of Airy,—“Meteorology is no science.” Now, although this condemnation is certainly too sweeping and too severe, it is nevertheless partially justified, and it should induce investigators and directors of meteorological institutions, to profit by and acknowledge the results of the labor of others, however much these results may militate against their own preconceived opinions. As long ago as 1851, I urged that the method of observation and investigation then used, and which has been persisted in until now, is inadequate and erroneous, and therefore prevents the attainment of that success which in other sciences has so amply rewarded the investigator. At that time, I exhausted all my means in the endeavor to organize in the United States a corps of volunteer observers, to be connected by the telegraph, just then come into use, but my exertions failed. While, however, such organizations are now in full and systematic activity over almost the whole globe, the same method of research remains in use, and, until it is superseded, I cannot but fear that the desired results will be unattained.

The preconception we may have of the manner in which phe-

nomena occur, necessarily exerts a great influence on what we see and how we see it. He who travels on one road, will receive one set of impressions, and he who takes another road, another set, and neither may adequately represent the characteristics of the country at large. So, in Meteorology, if we stick to the beaten paths, we may find ourselves but travelling the by-ways in which our predecessors have fruitlessly wandered. If we start with the most widely accepted meteorological theory,—that storms are essentially of but one kind,—*cyclones*; that they consist in an area of low barometer, only; that they are practically, except in degree, the same throughout their existence and have, to use a metaphor, no embryonic changes and no development of nature:—then the old method of taking observations at fixed and arbitrary hours may be justifiable and even satisfactory; and the use of the method of averages to deduce laws from the mass of facts thus obtained cannot be gainsaid, for we are proceeding on the assumption that we are dealing with phenomena all the of same class.

But if, by adopting another method of observation, we are forced to the conviction that storms are not all of one nature, but that there are characteristic types, differing in origin, movement and appearance, that they develop and change continuously during their existence; that they do not consist of merely an area of low barometer, but that the areas of high barometer in the front and in the rear belong equally to the storm; that areas of high barometer, instead of being disconnected, independent and opposite phenomena, to be investigated by themselves, are in intimate connection with the areas of low barometer:—if we believe these things, then it is evident that the method of treatment, which throws all our data into one heap and averages them, as if all related to but one class, is insufficient, uncertain and utterly untrustworthy; because, only under exceptional circumstances, can it lead to positive results.

It is almost as if the chemist were to throw his materials into one pot, and sagely announce their average color, or their average taste,—or the zoologist to drive his animals into one pen, and gratify his scientific instincts with their average weight. Yet the meteorologist expects us to value his results, when he expends patient labor in finding the “average direction of storms,” or the “average force of the wind,” or the “average amount of rain-fall.” How much more useful can these be than the average motion of the planets? No science was ever built up in this way.

I have gone over this ground pretty thoroughly in my work,¹ published about two years ago, by exposing the defective method of my own early investigations, many years since, and by an examination of the results of the labor of others. Among these latter, was the first paper² of Prof. Loomis's series of studies of the U. S. Signal Service weather maps, which came into my hands shortly before my work went to press. Seven of these papers having now appeared in the successive January and July numbers of the same journal, I refer to them again in this connection, because they illustrate very clearly the deficiencies of method by which such studies are in general pursued.

Prof. Loomis begins his study of the Signal Service maps, in his first paper, by research as to the direction and velocity of storms, and "selecting" a certain number of "suitable cases" from records for two years, he subjects them to the method of average; but, as he notices great diversity in individual cases, he rightly concludes that the average thus reached is not a very valuable generalization. He, therefore, turns his attention to the more important question of the origin and cause of movement of storms. From the material at his hand, and by "suitable selection," he finds that the rain-area lies extended in the direction of the storm's progress,—in front of the area of low pressure, and he holds the opinion that rain is a potent agent in the origin and movement of areas of low barometer, which alone he recognizes as storms. Thus he says,³ "a slight fall of the barometer was observed in Montana, probably the result of a fall of rain on some of the mountains of that region." In quoting his language, on page 173 of my book, to show his views as to the agency of precipitation, I have said:—"now, even if it were true that the rain-fall is the origin of motion in a storm, and its chief guiding power after its movement has begun, we should not have advanced, because the question as to the causes producing the rain-area would be fully as imperative as the other." On the appearance of his work, Prof. Loomis wrote to me:—"on page 173, you say that 'storms frequently travel over a considerable distance, unaccompanied by any rain-fall at all, and in most cases, the motion

¹ Storms, their Nature, Classification and Laws. Philadelphia: Porter & Coates, 1875.

² American Journal of Science and Arts, July, 1874.

³ American Journal, July 1874, p. 14.

of the storm has already begun before the rain begins to fall.' Will you please give me the dates of some cases upon which you rely to establish that statement?" I replied that such cases could be found in abundance in the Signal Service maps, called his attention to a particular case, and reminded him of the rainless storms of the desert. At that time, therefore, he certainly did not believe in the statement quoted, and did believe that rain-fall is a prime factor in the origin and cause of the motion of storms, being confirmed in this view by his study of the maps.

In succeeding papers, however, he finds that, by his method of research, the same material as before just as readily confirms opposite views. It is only after two years, however, that he finds what he might have found at first, had he looked for it. In his seventh paper⁴ he notes a number of "areas of low pressure without rain." He mentions one,⁵ of which he says: "during these forty-eight hours not a drop of rain was recorded at any station within an area of pressure less than thirty inches, although on the 20th of October, this area had a diameter of 1500 miles," and he finds that, from the large majority of Signal Stations within this area, the reports showed either no clouds, or the sky only partly cloudy. He says:⁶

"There seems to be no room for doubt that the barometric minima sometimes form with little or no rain, and continue without any considerable rain for eight hours, and sometimes for twenty-four hours and longer. These barometric minima seldom continue stationary for eight hours, but almost invariably travel to the eastward." Farther on⁷ is the conclusion, and it is italicized: "*that rainfall is not essential to the formation of areas of low barometer, and is not the principal cause of their formation, or of their progressive motion.*"

Now here is a view completely opposed to the first one, and yet both are based on the same data. His method of research had caused him to "select" those cases that squared with his pre-conceived opinion, and he did not think to look for storms without rain, until his attention was called to them. Surely, there is

⁴ American Journal, July, 1877, pp. 13-18.

⁵ Ibid. p. 17.

⁶ Ibid. p. 16.

⁷ Ibid. p. 18.

something radically wrong in the method that allows of opposite results from the same material.

And again—one of the arguments presented in my book, against Professor Loomis's theory of the rain-motor, was that there are storms having the rain area in the *rear*. Now Professor Loomis, in his first papers, does not find any such cases, but, after his attention is called to them, he has no difficulty in finding them. For instance, in his seventh paper,⁸ he says: "it is remarkable, that the centre of low pressure moved towards the north-east, having the centre of principal rain-fall almost exactly in its rear;" and "these two cases, together with No. 12, on page 15 of my last paper, indicate that in the neighborhood of Kentucky, (*sic*) it is not uncommon for the principal rain-fall to occur after the centre of low pressure has passed eastward." Thus it is evident that his method of procedure caused him to overlook—until his attention was directly called to the matter—phenomena that are entirely subversive of the views he at first held, and that were just as patent first as last. Yet he is probably the best known of American meteorologists, and but worked in the regular way.

In his second paper,⁹ which also was published before my book came out, Professor Loomis goes on to investigate the character and nature of the areas of high barometer, or "*anti-cyclones*," phenomena that appear to have greatly puzzled investigators. His proceedings are as follows: "I selected all those cases in which a maximum pressure, or high barometer, was so situated that the direction or velocity of the wind were given at a considerable number of stations for at least half of the entire area. Then, placing a wire cross upon one of the weather maps, over the centre of an area of high barometer, with the wire pointing north-east and south-west, the area was divided into four quadrants, which were designated as the north, east, south and west quadrants. Then, beginning with the west quadrant, I counted the number of stations at which the wind was reported from the north, also the number of stations at which the wind was reported from the north-east, the east, the south-east, etc., and in like manner for each of the four quadrants. The velocity of the wind, for the stations of observations in the different quadrants, was also noted. The same

⁸ American Journal, July, 1877, p. 7.

⁹ American Journal, January, 1875.

was done with each of the weather-maps which furnished an example suited to this comparison. The total number of cases derived from the weather-maps of two years (1872-3), was 188. All observations near the points of maximum pressure, were rejected, generally all stations included with the first Isobars. Also no observations were employed beyond the Isobar 30.00, and generally none beyond the Isobar 30.10. I then found, by addition, the aggregate number of observations for each direction of the wind in the several quadrants, and from these numbers computed the wind's average direction for each quadrant. The average velocity of the wind, for each quadrant, was also determined."

After this careful "selection" and preparation of the phenomena for the occasion, he subjects them to average and gets, naturally, the commonly accepted qualities of the "*anti-cyclone*"—that the wind rotates in a direction opposite to that in a cyclone, and that it is accompanied by clear weather,—in short, in every respect the reverse of a cyclone. In all cases, in these two earlier papers, the area of high barometer is treated as a phenomenon entirely independent of the area of low barometer, except as "exerting an important influence upon it." He speaks only of *one* area of high barometer and *one* area of low barometer in connection, seeks their relative position and movements, and finds that the latter moves towards the former. It is evident, however, that Professor Loomis's views have undergone a change since my work appeared. I set forth the conviction that the progressive storms of the temperate zone consist in an oscillation between the tropical and arctic belts of high pressure (or rather parts of them), or, in other words, in a system of opposing air-currents of different temperature, that replace each other. To avoid misunderstandings, I translated (p. 163), my terminology into that which generally is used, and say: "Regions of high barometer are identical with the regions of the polar and the equatorial currents, and the regions of low barometer, or 'centres of depressions,' the regions of calm between them." According to this, the storm consists not only of the area of low barometer, but of *two* areas of high barometer, which, so to speak, create the area of low barometer between them, by the upward flow of the equatorial current in front of the polar current, and all three move in conjunction. And, after two years of laborious study, we find Professor Loomis coming to something of the same

sort. It should be remembered that, in his earlier papers, he had never spoken of "areas of high barometer on opposite sides of the low area." In his seventh paper, he says: "The barometric minimum, October 19th, appears to have resulted from an area of high barometer (30.35), in the neighborhood of the Ohio valley, combined with an area of high barometer in Oregon. This excess of barometric pressure on opposite sides, caused a general movement of the intermediate atmosphere towards the valley of the upper Missouri, and each of these currents being deflected to the right by the rotation of the earth, a minimum pressure was caused over the region between the Rocky Mountains and Lake Superior. These two areas of high barometer, on opposite sides of the low area, were remarkably persistent from October 19th to 21st, but advanced eastward at about the same rate as the barometric minimum."¹⁰

And so, also, in regard to the generally accepted notion, that these areas of high barometer—"anti-cyclones"—are unaccompanied by rain. I have shown, in opposition to this, that the most destructive storms and heaviest rains are caused by the advance movements of these areas of high pressure; as, for instance, the Nova Scotia storm of August, 1873, where the area of high barometer passed for two days through the jurisdiction of the United States Signal Service, without being recognized as a storm until, on its arrival at the coast, it destroyed more than a thousand vessels and six hundred lives, in almost a single night.

In his first papers, Professor Loomis does not find any instances of rain-fall produced under the influence of areas of high barometer; he holds consistently to the ordinary view, and finds warrant for doing so in his researches. But in his sixth paper,¹¹ we find: "We thus see that great rainfalls may occur under the influence of an area of high pressure as well as of low pressure." And—"from the preceding statement, we perceive that, in the United States, south of latitude 36°, great rain-falls are accompanied by a cyclonic movement of the air, which sometimes appears to be the result of a neighboring area of low pressure, and sometimes of an area of high pressure, and that the latter case is about as frequent

¹⁰ These three areas of high and low barometer are, in my view, parts of the storm, and *must*, therefore, move in conjunction, and with the same general velocity.

¹¹ American Journal, January, 1877.

as the former. . . . Extensive rain-areas sometimes occur in the Northern States, at a great distance from a low centre, where they appear to be as much under the influence of a centre of high pressure as of low pressure."¹²

Professor Loomis's change of view, in regard to sudden and great fluctuations of temperature, is also of significance. Already in his second paper,¹³ he is struck with the occasional occurrence of remarkable changes in temperature, and comes to the conclusion that the cold changes are caused by sudden descents of cold air from the upper regions of the atmosphere. He does not believe they are due to a lateral movement of cold air from the north, and says definitely :—" If our observations covered the whole area of North America, I have little doubt we should find that the depression of the thermometer below its mean height, was greater in the United States than it was in the region north of us." He mentions changes of 5° to 10° taking place in a few minutes, and says :—" These sudden gusts of cold air are believed to descend from the upper regions of the atmosphere." We read:¹⁴ " On the 14th of January, 1875, the thermometer at Denver had been below zero all day, with a variable north-east wind. At 9 P. M. of that day, the thermometer was one degree above zero. The wind then veered suddenly to southwest; at 9.15, P. M., the thermometer stood at 20° ; at 9.20, P. M., it stood at 27° ; at 9.30, P. M., 36° ; and at 9.35, P. M., at 40° ; after which, there was but little change till near noon of the next day. The preceding observations show a rise of the thermometer, amounting to 39 degrees in 35 minutes.

" On the 15th of January, the thermometer had been above 40° all the morning, with a fresh south-west wind. About 11.30, A. M., the thermometer stood at 52° . The wind then suddenly backed to north-east, and at 12.30, P. M., the thermometer stood at 4° ; being a change of 48° in one hour. Another observer, who is pro-

¹² Professor Loomis would, therefore, agree with me in thinking that the rules for navigators, based on the theory that the storm is comprised in an area of low barometer, are worse than useless. And, in this connection, it may be stated that Commodore Wyman, the able Chief of the Hydrographic Office of the United States Navy, after a lengthy test, has recently recommended my book for use in the Navy, saying : " It is borne out by my experience." He admits that the old nautical rules for manoeuvring vessels in storms are of little value.

¹³ American Journal, January, 1875.

¹⁴ American Journal, July, 1875, p. 12.

nounced perfectly reliable, says that, between 11 A. M. and noon, a thermometer fell from 58° to 22° (that is, thirty-six degrees), in five minutes. . . . On the 14th, the barometer fell from 24.83 to 24.40 inches, and on the 15th, it rose again to 24.76 inches."

Professor Loomis thinks: "These changes of temperature and pressure which were noticed at Denver, were the effects of a considerable storm which came from the north-west." He goes on to say: "I do not think that these sudden changes can be fully explained by the supposition of a polar current sweeping along the earth's surface from a higher to a lower latitude, but it seems necessary to admit a sudden transfer of very cold air, from a higher to a lower level. The heat of January 14th, probably resulted from a sudden precipitation of vapor, caused by the elevation of air from the earth's surface, and this warm air near the earth's surface suddenly ascended on the 15th, being displaced by colder air of a greater elevation."¹⁵

Now, in the *Storms: their Nature, Classification and Laws*, I clearly ascribed all such sudden and violent changes in the northern part of the temperate zone, to a lateral movement of the air, which the change in the wind that invariably accompanies them, proves clearly enough. I assigned their cause solely to the advance of large bodies, or "areas," of warm or cold air, respectively from the south or the north. On page 79 is this: "With these changes of wind, there must necessarily be experienced a change in temperature. There is sometimes found in less than fifteen minutes, a difference of from 15° to 30° Fahrenheit."

In his fifth paper, Professor Loomis adopts the same explanation, and referring back to his former paper, quoted above, says: "These results appear to explain the facts mentioned in my third paper, showing that a great diurnal change of temperature is most common at stations near the eastern slope of the Rocky Mountains. The cold wave (*sic*) makes its first appearance in this region, and the intensity of the cold is sensibly diminished as the wave travels eastward. An example of the variable climate of the eastern slope of the Rocky Mountains, occurred December 24th, 1872. Denver was at that time *on the border of the cold wave*,¹⁶

¹⁵ It would be interesting to know how "the warm air near the surface" was produced when the thermometer registered zero.

¹⁶ The italics are mine.

which prevailed from the Rocky Mountains to Nova Scotia, and during the night of the 23d and 24th, the thermometer fell to 2° . During the 24th, Denver began to feel the influence of the storm which was advancing from Oregon, and on that day the thermometer rose to 55° , showing a change of 53° in a day, and probably the entire change took place in less than 24 hours. Similar cases must frequently occur near the eastern slope of the Rocky Mountains, and the changes of temperature are more sudden there than they are near the Atlantic coast, because the cold which succeeds a storm, is more intense than it is in the eastern portions of the United States." There is no longer any mention of the sudden descent of large bodies of cold air; that is abandoned, and lateral changes only are recognized.

In his seventh paper,¹⁷ Professor Loomis finally arrives at some idea of storms that consist of a system of two opposing currents of different temperatures, which for days keep in the same position, and therefore do not rotate. His positions are in direct opposition to those of his earlier papers, and they bear a striking resemblance, in many points, to the principles I have set forth in *Storms: their Nature, Classification and Laws*, which had appeared in the meantime.¹⁸

The following excerpts from this seventh paper, show a very different basis of opinion from the earlier papers, so complete a change, in fact, as to make some explanation necessary, one would think.

"On the morning of October 19th, 1873, along the coast of North Carolina, Virginia and New Jersey, light winds from the east or southeast generally prevailed, while west of Virginia and Pennsylvania, the winds were generally from the west and northwest. This opposition of winds was attended by rain-fall, which in the afternoon became general along the Atlantic coast, from Wilmington to Boston, and extended inland 300 or 400 miles."

"This cooler wind from the northwest, probably flowed under

¹⁷ American Journal, July, 1877.

¹⁸ Professor Loomis's earlier views as to the origin of storms, rain and snow, can also be seen on p. 15 of his first paper, (*American Journal, July, 1874*), where he says: "It seems probable that this storm originated, or at least was first developed into a storm of considerable magnitude, through the collision of moist air from the Pacific Ocean with some of the high mountain peaks in Oregon, resulting in a heavy fall of rain or snow."

the southeast wind from Memphis, causing it suddenly to ascend, and thus produced a rapid precipitation of vapor."

"Northerly winds commenced blowing from the neighborhood of Lakes Superior and Huron, being the result of a lower temperature and a higher pressure. This colder wind from the north probably flowed under the southeast wind which had been blowing over Lake Michigan, and produced that strong upward movement of the air, which was followed by excessive rain at Grand Haven and Milwaukee."

"On the evening of November 6th, the wind from the south and east generally prevailed along the entire Atlantic coast, and these being opposed by westerly winds (the result of high barometer in Tennessee), there was an excessive rain on the night of November 6th, which was especially heavy along the coast, from Georgia to Massachusetts."

"No. 22 appears to have resulted from east winds along the Atlantic coast, opposed by west winds near the Mississippi valley, on the south side of an area of low pressure."

"In No. 19, the winds upon the Atlantic coast, near Philadelphia, were generally from the south or southeast, while at a distance of three hundred miles from the coast, the winds were from the west or northwest. It seems probable that this northwest current crowded under the southeast current, lifting it up from the earth's surface and thus condensing its vapor."

"In No. 47, as has been already mentioned on p. 4, the centre of the rain-area was on the northwest side of the centre of low pressure. It seems probable that in this case the violent southeast wind from the ocean extended further west than Buffalo, and that its vapor was condensed by its being elevated from the earth's surface by the crowding of the northwest wind beneath it."

"In No. 40, south winds generally prevailed in Georgia and the Carolinas, with the cold winds from the west and northwest in the northwestern states. This westerly current probably pushed under the south wind from the ocean, and, lifting it up from the earth's surface, condensed its vapor, and it is presumed that the south wind prevailed as an upper current, at many places where the northwest wind prevailed at the surface. . . . This upper current from the east is generally concealed by the lower clouds, whose course is generally the same as that of the surface wind; but when the lower clouds

are broken, the movement of this upper current can sometimes be seen."¹⁹

Now, in all this, there is an introduction of principles entirely foreign to anything Prof. Loomis had before written. We see a constant recognition of the opposition of two air currents, of different direction and temperature, in a storm; of the cooler current flowing under and lifting up the warmer one, and thus producing the rain; and, indeed, of movements of air being the result of differences of temperature and therefore of pressure, and of other vital principles that are first set forth in *Storms: their Nature, Classification and Laws*. And in his recent essay, read at the late session of the National Academy of Sciences, but not yet published, he seems to have still further committed himself, to judge from the synopses that have appeared in the prints. The explanation he gives of our great northeast storms is, in general, precisely like my own, varying only in details, and except that he curiously mixes up with it a remnant of his old rotary views. He has adopted positively the principle, already laid down by myself, that "rain increases the force of a storm, though never originating it," which, he says: "may also be deduced from the fact the inflow begins before there is any precipitation of rain." This is what he disbelieved when he wrote to me, asking for cases, several years ago.

And so, also, the principle that the storm does not consist in the area of low pressure *only*, but in *two* areas of high pressure which

¹⁹ All this, it will be seen, bears a striking resemblance to the following, from pages 48-50 of *Storms; their Nature, Classification and Laws*. "Horizontal currents of different temperatures, moving in opposing directions, overlap each other. The warmer, rising obliquely over the cooler current, moves to the cooler region, while the cooler current flows over the surface of the earth, beneath the warmer current, to the warmer region Air may be cooled from below as well as from above When a warm current of air moves obliquely up over a cool current, this sort of cloud-formation from below, often takes place in the region where the two currents meet and mingle; and it happens sometimes that the veil of mist thus formed above us, is sufficient to shut out from view the upper clouds. In the movement of a warm current to cooler regions, it may happen, when the stratus is thus concealed by the mist-cloud of the plane of meeting, that the cool current becomes sufficiently heated to dissolve the mist from below, and the stratified appearance of the upper clouds will then suddenly become visible."

" where the cool current moves horizontally, it shifts over the ground like a wedge, with its lower edge foremost. The warm air is thus lifted or forced up, and flows over the cool current, as in the other case, and its moisture will condense," and, if abundant enough, precipitate.

create the area of low pressure between them and travel in conjunction, and that the rain area is as much under the influence of high as of low pressure.

These two principles were never set forth until I published the *Storms: their Nature, Classification and Laws*, in 1875, and, in adopting them, Prof. Loomis has committed himself to the system I hold, in opposition to the views he at first found confirmed in his researches. The fact that he applies my principles, without mentioning the source from which he obtained them, may be taken as evidence of the confidence he places in their truth. But what can we say of the system of research that first furnishes him with results only to be thrown aside, without as much as an explanation of their fallaciousness, when contrary views are brought to his attention? And yet he, like others, was working in the regulation method, in which the great bulk of meteorological investigation is being carried on the world over. And this method, with all his careful labor, but yielded him its legitimate fruit; it will always seem to confirm the preconceptions with which one starts out, and thus lead only to a number of unconnected, vague, contradictory and confusing results by various investigators. Truly, we cannot wonder when men like Airy say, "that meteorology is no science," and, in reading such results, we sympathize with the pupil of Mephistopheles, in *Faust*, when he says:—

"Mir wird von alle dem so dumm,
Als ging mir ein Mühlrad im Kopfe herum."

And we cannot fail to admit, I think, that, to a defective and inadequate method of observation and research, is chiefly due the slowness of the progress that meteorology has made and is now making.

Biot, after enumerating the efforts to advance this science, says: "What will come of it? Nothing, and nothing will ever come of it. No single branch of science has ever been fruitfully explored in this way."

And Sir William Herschel says: "In endeavoring to interpret the weather, we are in the position of a man who hears, at intervals, a few fragments of a long history related in a prosy, unmethodical manner. A host of circumstances omitted or forgotten, and the want of connection between the parts, prevent the hearer from obtaining possession of the entire story."

And Sir G. Airy: "Whether the effect of this movement will be

that millions of useless observations will be added to the millions that already exist, or whether something may be expected to result which will lead to a meteorological theory, I cannot hazard a conjecture."

And Proctor: "At vast expense, millions of records of heat, rain-fall, winds, clouds, barometric pressure, and so on, have been secured, but hitherto no law, at least, from which any constant system of prediction for long periods in advance can be deduced."

Now why is it that "millions of observations" are heaped up "at vast expense," only to be useless? The answer is not difficult. It is, as Sir William Herschel says, "because of the host of circumstances omitted or forgotten, and the want of connection between the parts."

This covers almost the whole cause of failure. Would astronomy be in its present position, if the great astronomers had been dependent on the data furnished by observations made according to arbitrary rules, and for a minimum of time at one or two hours of the night, and for the most part, too, by observers of meagre training and intelligence? And how much would the great naturalists have learned, had they been content to send out into the fields three times a day for five minutes, and sit in their closets to generalize upon the data thus obtained?

Twenty-five years ago, I urged that only by continuous observations could we hope for anything beyond mere empirical knowledge; that we must gather up the "host of circumstances" now "omitted or forgotten," and supply "the connection between the parts." I am not unmindful of the practical difficulties that are in the way of a method of observation that alone can give a continuous knowledge of a storm as it passes; but it seems to me that this may be obtainable with the means now at disposal, if the meteorological organizations would devote more attention to the discovery of general laws than to the more sensational part of their duties,—the weather predictions, which the newspapers now make as a matter of business enterprise. If we know the laws, there will be little trouble about the predictions.

Another disappointment, I fear, will be the attempt to make meteorology an exact science, and to force the winds to move in mathematical figures, and according to mathematical formulæ. The origin of this endeavor, is, without doubt, to be found in the connection of

astronomers with the beginnings of meteorological science, and the influence astronomy has exerted always upon it. Who supposes that we shall ever be able to calculate a storm as we do an eclipse? And until investigators rid themselves of the notion that the winds move as the planets do, or that their force and motion can be expressed in a mathematical formula, just so long will they lack a true conception of the elastic and variable movements actually to be found. And, on the other hand, so long as they are content with arbitrary and detached observations, just so long will they begot themselves with averages and other hodge-podge results. Each science has to find for itself the mode of procedure that is suitable to the nature of its subject, and, until that is found, its development will be slow.

In conclusion, I have to thank Prof. Loomis, for adopting, although in rather a disjointed fashion, some of my views; the compliment he pays me is the greater, in that he fails to acknowledge his indebtedness.

WILLIAM BLASIUS.

THE SECOND CONQUEST OF PERU.

IT is only as the traveller from the Pacific coast to the interior of Peru, facing the mighty rampart of the Andes, pursues his toilsome journey along the precipitous tracks and over the forbidding wastes which, for two hundred miles, rise in stupendous terraces between the ocean and the basin of Lake Titicaca, that he can adequately realize the absorbing strength of that passion for gold which impelled the old Spanish *conquistadores* to traverse on foot the desolate, pathless country lying between their vessels and the capital of the Incas. Over burning sands and snow-covered passes, across bleak plains and through frozen streams, now scaling some dizzy wall of rock a thousand feet in height, or threading their way along a cliff's edge over-hanging some mountain torrent, meeting one day a chill blast from the ice peaks and the next a hot sirocco from the sun-baked plateau, they held their constant course, undaunted by the ever-varying obstacles encountered, and undeterred by the absolute want of encouraging indication on their route of

the treasure they sought. Animated by a stubborn determination to secure the existing wealth of the empire, intent only on a gigantic thieving raid, with scarcely a thought, at that time, of utilizing the territory they conquered in gaining their quest, they relied, with an obstinate faith, on the reports that reached them during their progress of the wealth which lay beyond the bleak mountains intervening, and pushed forward in the face of difficulties which, even in the days of post-houses and mule roads, entail no little of hardship and discomfort upon the wayfarer. True, they had the blessing of their Church on their adventurous undertaking; but no one can believe that, except in so far as they looked to their religion to preserve them in the next world from the consequences of their actions in this, they were impelled by any specially irksome dictates of piety. Religion served as a convenient cloak for the most arrogant rapine, and we need only look to the measures adopted towards the natives, after the pillage of their empire, to be abundantly convinced of the entire want of even politic motives in the conquest of Tahuantin-suyu. Ignoring everything save their thirst for gold, the dauntless followers of Pizarro, pursued their steadfast way with a tenacity of purpose, a contempt of opposition, and a lofty indifference to the exactions of humanity, which amaze us by their simple, almost fatalist abandon, and yet command even our respect because of their marvellous results.

No period in history possesses a more romantic charm of daring exploit and hazardous adventure than the story of the wreck of this once all-powerful empire by what would now be a few companies of irregular infantry. Historians of far less power than Robertson, Prescott and Helps, could have made the tale a fascinating one; in their master-hands the history of the conquest stands alone in its dramatic completeness, and an interest has been aroused in the land and its future which will continue as long as the name of America itself. A great, powerful, long established empire was utterly and easily wrecked; a patriarchal civilization, whose monuments attest its extreme antiquity, was overturned; a religion which held its professors in absolute subjection was swept out of existence; and all this was accomplished before the youngest of the conquerors had reached the prime of his life. The vestiges of government, faith, even of civilization itself, were diligently, systematically, and, unhappily, most successfully effaced, either by the

fanatic iconoclasm of the Jesuits or the equally destructive vandalism of the soldiers. More terrible than all was the careless waste of human life, the murder of myriads by scores, the depopulation of whole territories, the complete degradation of the survivors. The natives, as pagans, were to be converted in the wholesome Spanish mode, or, in default, were to be debarred from plea for mercy. With pitiless, contemptuous cruelty the mail-clad warriors conducted their proselytising labors, in the cool manner peculiar to their missionary work in the Indies: "Baptize or burn, pray or perish, your money or your life,—and thank your gods that we don't take both, you heathen!" In such persuasive style did the worthy conquerors introduce the blessings of Christian civilization, and the sweet consolations of Christian religion, to the benighted dwellers in Peru. They were abundantly successful. By thousands, hundreds of thousands, even by millions, the Indians melted away before the ever advancing shadow of the Cross, and the Latin prayers of the Spanish priests blasted their hearers like the plague. Stripped of her accumulated wealth, her industrious population scattered and decimated, deprived of every institution created for the benefit of her people, Peru was made profitable to her new masters by the imposition of perpetual tribute, the minimum limit of which was the maximum capacity of her natives. The aggregate was enormous; but every doubloon was shipped abroad, and the only returning equivalents were gewgaws for the Spanish settlers and trumpery for the church. Through the long succession of civil wars which followed the conquest, and the longer period of vice-regal abuse and extortion, the same blighting system continued, and, though it has varied in kind, the effects produced have been much the same until recent years.

Dazzled by the treasure of which they had so readily become the masters, the first thought of the Spaniards was to seek its source, and at the hands of their captives secure its perpetuation. Under the iniquitous system of *repartimientos*, the natives were kept in a condition far worse than slavery, since there was no inducement for their masters to take the most ordinary care of their lives. Satisfied with the results accruing from even their crude mining of the precious metals, no general attention was paid to matters of agriculture other than such as was necessary to ensure the requisite food for the population, and the vast fertile

territories which sweep in descending slopes from the Eastern Cordillera to the level of the Amazon Valley were, until comparatively late years, known only as a region of boundless forests, populated by savage tribes. At times, rumors reached the Spanish dwellers on the plateau and western coast, of the fabled Paytiti and Manoa, cities in whose construction gold, silver, emeralds, pearls, diamonds, alabaster, and any or all precious materials were employed. But, except through the famous voyage of Orellana down the mighty Amazons in search of these wondrous capitals, for nearly two centuries nothing was known definitely of the continent between the Brazilian and Peruvian coasts. Slowly and hesitatingly, as the Jesuits established their missions, and the seekers after Peruvian bark penetrated the forests and savannas of the eastern slopes, colonists pushed down into the outskirts of the rich lands, supplying some small quantity of the products of those more favored regions for the consumption of the larger populations on the less fertile plateau. Until within the last quarter of a century, however, the mineral wealth of Peru and her guano deposits have always been the source of her prosperity and the cause of her wealth proverbial among outside nations; and her southern half, now known as Bolivia, has been wholly ignored. In common with the rest of those portions of the globe which are ruled over by that erratic portion of the race known as the Spanish Americans, the Peruvians are working out the judgment entailed by the conquerors upon their descendants, and the penalty has proved more than she or her sisters can bear. As a consequence, the greater part of Peru and Bolivia have been almost a *terra incognita* to the rest of the world, and, save along the immediate coast and on the plateau, they have been rarely visited.

Mr. Prescott is responsible, in no small degree, for the ideas current in the United States of the two republics which once formed the greater part of the Land of the Incas. So graphically has he drawn his pictures, so clearly cut are all his outlines, that they leave on all who study them an ineffaceable impression, and so, in the minds of the majority of intelligent readers, any ideas they may have of Peru and Bolivia are yet perceptibly tinged with the romance of the luckless Children of the Sun, varied, perhaps, with certain ill-defined notions of a chronic prevalence of revolutions and earthquakes. Most travellers have in-

nocently done all in their power to foster this misunderstanding, since, led to visit these lands chiefly through interest in their historic associations, they have confined their investigations to the cities of the coast and the Titicaca basin, and barely half a dozen have ever penetrated beyond the limits of the ancient population at the head of the eastern *montaña*. Their reports of the country are, therefore, generally based upon observations made in the passage of the mountain ranges, and it was not until Herndon and Gibbon, D'Orbigny, Castelnau, Markham and Church drew attention to the boundless agricultural and forest wealth of the Atlantic slopes, that any proper share of public interest was diverted from the mines and resultant cities of the arid but metal-laden mountains. The present commercial and social conditions of these republics, the distribution of their populations, the limited range of their productions, and the existing means of communication with the outer world, are all direct inheritances from the Spanish conquerors, transmitted with a directness of descent, a persistence of the original craving for mineral wealth and contempt for other sources of revenue, which make an interesting study for the North American visitor.

Recently, however, the various public improvements, projected or undertaken, have attracted a larger interest in this portion of the Southern continent, and when the grand capabilities of these and the neighboring territories are fully understood abroad, that millennial period to which every Spanish American confidently looks, of which all talk so much, and for which so few labor, *El brillante porvenir del país*, may, in truth, be expected. But that "dazzling future" cannot be the gift of patriotic natives to their country, however earnestly they may strive. For a century and a half, the states of the Southern continent have stood helplessly waiting for the needful infusion of foreign life and energy, and the introduction of a sufficiently large foreign population to change their destinies. The population at large, governed by a small dominant class, which drew its wealth, without personal effort, from the labors of the people, has sunk into a condition of inertness and depression, which will require strong measures and active intercourse with a more vigorous race to dispel. The excesses of the conquerors and their fatally blind disregard of the commonest dictates of political prudence have borne legitimate fruit. Their miserable effects have been

transmitted from father to son, until the governments raised upon the wreck of the ancient empire have been in turn destroyed, the descendants of the invaders debased, and their countries prostrated and dependent for what little of life they have, upon outside nations. The earnest for her awaking from this long lethargy lies in the fact that the intelligent portion of her population is heartily in sympathy with any steps looking to the development of their country, and in the fact that, once aroused, the Spanish-Americans are far from being the indolent and incapable race which thoughtless writers, making no allowance for the changed conditions, have asserted them to be in comparison with our own more enterprising and fortunate people.

The present condition of these nations is thus the direct result of the incentives leading to their "civilization," and of the methods employed in effecting and maintaining it. As the early settlers followed, in their search for gold, the brawling streams which have their sources in the mountains to the east of Cuzco, they entered districts surpassing in richness the most fertile lands of their own Spain, and yet the population refused to leave the older centres and seek more stable and lucrative means of wealth. For over three centuries they have daily turned their backs on these truest sources of national prosperity, and have labored, with all their energies, to increase the yield of silver and guano. When these began to fail, attention was attracted in some measure to the importance of opening to the world the inexhaustible riches of forest and plain, as well as of mountain, with which these hitherto indifferent countries are endowed. Aid was invoked from abroad, and, in little more than a decade, Anglo-Saxon progress had stirred to its very depths the torpid lethargy of the Spanish-Americans of Peru. The giant Cordilleras were tunneled or rent asunder, as engineering skill dictated; wherever a ravine was encountered it was filled, cost what it might; wherever a mountain spur barred the way it was levelled. American genius and indomitable energy (with the command of limitless British capital, we admit), started a locomotive at the rolling surf of the Pacific and drove it across the Andes, over passes as high in air as Mont Blanc, steppes as arid as those of Tartary, sending a train of cars where, before, the sure-footed llama had never ventured to tread, and frightening with their clatter the condor from its nest. To-day, one is borne through the de-

sented cities of the forgotten civilizations of the coast, past the lonely cairns and burial towers of the mountains, among the terraces and temples of the plateau, and landed on the side of Lake Titicaca, in the very heart of the Colláo, the stronghold of the ancient empire. As the traveller enters Puno from the north, and reins up his mule to study the wonderful grandeur of the panorama of snow-clad peak and blue lake spread at his feet, any reflections on the departed greatness of the Incas will be rudely dispelled by the shriek of an engine, and, looking south towards the grand dome of Illimani, he will see, among the once sacred islands, a steamer pursuing its course as placidly as if on our own Horicon.

So has begun the second conquest of Peru, effected by the accomplishment of the most daring and stupendous works to which man has as yet bent his will and powers. Like its mighty prototype, it is based on the increase of mineral wealth, for, though nominally inaugurated to bring the productive districts of the Atlantic slope into communication with the population and transportation facilities of the coast, the main roads have for their present objective points the various silver districts of the republic. Following the path of the invading army, they have their termini at Lake Titicaca and the Pacific; the first with the pathless forests of Peru and Brazil between it and the natural canal of the Amazon, and the last with 11,000 miles of ocean voyage between it and England. Until these roads are continued to points on the headwaters of the Marañon, or Upper Amazon, whence easy connection can be made by steamers with the Atlantic, Peru cannot hope to take that position among the productive and prosperous nations of the world to which she would be so clearly entitled did dormant treasures rank with active wealth. As long as she clings to the traditions of the past, and insists on the Pacific coast doing the lion's share of her commerce, forcing her trade to seek its market over the Andes and *via* Cape Horn, instead of finding a way for it down her eastern slopes, just so long must she expect that her enormous resources will remain comparatively undeveloped. She has reached that point in her existence when she must work. Heretofore, she has had but to gather her minerals, guano, cascarilla and wools; but the first gleaning of these treasures is exhausted and she must dig deeper for her minerals, find compensating revenues for her depleted guano deposits, seek farther in the forests for the vanishing

cinchona trees and provide means of access for foreign enterprise to develop her rich agricultural lands. To halt in her progress, is ruin; to continue in it, is the colonization of her territory and the instant development of her limitless resources. She has conquered a second time the huge barriers which nature has reared as an unmistakable warning against trespass from the western side. At infinite cost, and with incredible pluck, she has won her way again over the Andes, to the eastern verge of the Atlantic slopes, there to discover a readier avenue to the rest of the world than the one just opened with such titanic effort, and new fields of enterprise offering even greater inducements and more stable prosperity than all the silver of her Cordilleras. She stands to-day just where the first conquerors were when, their plundered treasure exhausted, they had to face the future. On the one side, an easy and natural pathway to the Atlantic, and the development of all branches of her multiform wealth; on the other, the traditional road to the Pacific and the inherited belief in the omnipotence of the metals. On her decision rests the question of whether this later conquest will be more productive of good for her people than has been the first.

Her twin-sister Bolivia, the Alto-Peru of viceregal days, bids fair to outstrip her while she ponders this problem. Settled by the Spaniards immediately after the overthrow of the Incas, this province was soon recognized as the richest in the precious metals of all their newly acquired possessions. The fame of her wealth attracted multitudes of colonists, and the wretched Indian population was pressed into service in a thousand mines. The records of the one famous peak of Potosi show that in a little more than two hundred years, over \$2,000,000,000 of silver was drawn from the shafts and galleries with which it is honey-combed. This, and hundreds of other less productive districts in what is now Bolivia, furnished the largest proportion of that stream of treasure which poured into the coffers of Charles the Fifth and his successors, and which gained for Peru the renown of being far the wealthiest of all the golden Indies. On the partition of the Spanish-American colonies at the close of their wars of independence, Bolivia was left virtually an isolated republic, being allowed no Pacific port except the open roadstead of Cobija, accessible from the cities of the interior only by traversing the glittering sands of the wide desert of Atacama.

In consequence, she could not even develop her mineral resources as did Peru, and for a quarter of a century she slowly pined under a complication of commercial asphyxia and political epilepsy which threatened ultimately to put an end to her national existence. Forced not only to surmount the Cordillera, but to pay tribute for the right of passage through her neighbors' territory, on her way to the Pacific through the Peruvian port of Arica, and to the Atlantic through the Argentine States, Bolivian statesmen early turned their attention to opening a route of communication with Europe by means of their grand system of rivers. By the map, nothing would seem easier: the chief branch of the Amazon, the Madeira, penetrates with its navigable affluents every district of Bolivia, Western Brazil and Southeastern Peru, affording direct access to the very base of the Cordillera. Unhappily a bar, hitherto insuperable, exists to a free interchange between Bolivia and abroad, in the long series of cataracts and rapids which for over two hundred miles obstruct the upper portion of the Madeira, where its three great sources, the Béni, Mamoré and Guaporé, unite their floods. How to surmount this obstacle was the great problem, and after many years of debate it was solved after the method of their Peruvian cousins, by calling on American genius and energy,—and borrowing British capital. Above these falls, the rivers are navigable by steamboats for an aggregate of over three thousand miles, and below them is depth of water sufficient for ocean vessels, so that on the completion of the railway around the falls, the merchants of Bolivia and the southeast of Peru will be brought into direct contact with those of the United States and Europe, and the delays, risks and enormous cost of the old system of mule transportation across the Andes wholly avoided.

The results of this action on the part of Bolivia will, it is sincerely to be hoped, convince Peru of the necessity of putting her northern provinces into like contact with the civilized world, and the benefits, commercially and socially, to the five or six millions of people affected will be incalculable. Debarred hitherto, by their position, from active intercourse with the outer world, separated by a double wall of Sierras from ports on the coast, themselves distant half the circumference of the globe from the recognized centres of progress, these nations have been able to participate to only the slightest extent in the rapid advancement of the rest of mankind. Unable, on account of the difficulties and expense of shipment, to

export anything beyond a limited amount of their richest products, they have been deprived of the luxuries, conveniences, even comforts of our civilization, and, through their restricted intercourse, their intellectual growth has been equally dwarfed. They have been, so to speak, crystallized by their long seclusion, but once brought into contact with more advanced nations, and submitted to the wholesome influences of competition and enterprise, they will expand into productive and industrious communities. Both the Argentine and Chilian Republics, as well as that part of Peru hitherto open to commerce, all of which are far less gifted by nature, have proven the capacities of the Spanish-Americans when fairly aroused, and, with the infusion of foreign ideas, the political troubles, which are mainly confined to one small but heretofore influential class of people, will rapidly disappear.

In no part of the habitable globe is there such variety of climate and production, and so great an extent of territory possessing these advantages, as on the Atlantic slopes of Bolivia and Peru. From the twenty-second to the fifth degree of south latitude, and from the plateau of the Andes for an average distance of seven hundred miles to the east, there is a series of belts, or, better, zones, each endowed with its appropriate climate and with an abundance of its peculiar productions, making almost a little world of their own. We have spoken of the mineral wealth of Potosi and the entire range of the Cordillera. In the torrents which form the headwaters of the main affluents of the Madeira, are the placers from which the golden treasures of the Incas were washed. The provinces of Carabaya in Peru and Caupolican, Muñecas, Larecaja, Ayopaya and Mizque in Bolivia, supply all of the best Peruvian bark used in commerce, and their forests abound in the rarest gums, woods and drugs of the tropics. The cereals yield the largest crops with the least of cultivation in the temperate districts of Cochabamba and Santa Cruz. In the Béni, cotton, sugar-cane, tobacco and rice grow luxuriantly, and in the warm valleys of the uplands the famous Yungas coffee, the richest berry cultivated, gives prolific returns. On the lower rivers are great tracts of country annually overflowed to the depth, and with the astonishing result, of the Lower Nile districts of Egypt; higher up, are vast rolling savannas where herds of wild cattle roam as on the pampas of the Plata, and lower down are the rubber swamps and hard wood forests of Western Brazil. Once

the barriers to free intercourse are removed, and no limit can be placed to the ultimate commercial progress of these nations. They differ from the other fertile tropical portions of the world in that they have a settled civilized population, with all the needs of civilization, but absolutely without industries and dependent on abroad for their simplest requirements. Without means of mercantile communication, there is no inducement to produce a surplus and no opportunity for internal development. Possessed of such means, they have the wherewithal to secure the latter, and, with it, a veritable national renaissance, socially, politically, commercially.

Quoting the Monroe doctrine in its broadest application, this is eminently a fitting task for American energy and sagacity, and it has the rare adjunct, in missionary labors, of carrying with it substantial returns to its founders. It is the commercial opportunity of the United States, and it is for our producers and workers to decide, in the light of the past lustrum's experience, whether they can spare time and material from our own market, with which to carry to successful completion this new invasion of the Inca Empire. Trials, difficulties, disappointments are to be as surely encountered as they were in Pizarro's march, but the results are far more certain, and the end, we hope, will be permanent prosperity to the invaded peoples.

Before the grim *conquistadores*, the ancient institutions melted away; before the glare of the locomotive headlight, the existing shadows of torpidity and ignorance must be dispelled. As they met the descendants of the old conquerors, the savages of the eastern slopes succumbed to them or retired from their once domain; as they hear the steamer's whistle and the throb of industrial machinery, these same descendants must aid the work of progress or give place to those who will. It is, after all, merely the subjugation of a new, but more than usually ripe and promising field, by the ever advancing genius of the progressive race; a new dependency added to the mighty dominion of Anglo-Saxon rule. By right of first discovery and possession, it is ours; from every consideration of statecraft and commercial policy, we should entrench our position by intimate and generous alliance with our far-southern kinsmen; but if we determine to hold the commercial conquest made by our adventurous *avant-garde*, we must take, with the resulting advantages, the attendant responsibilities, and see that, under the new order of things, our sway is progressively beneficial and not degradingly inactive.

C. P. MACKIE.

RECENT ENGLISH "HEXAMETERS."¹

THE announcement, made a year ago, of a new translation of the *Iliad* "in hexameters," by Mr. C. B. Cayley, aroused the expectation of scholars and the public, that at last something above the average attempt at this difficult metre would be given to the world. It was reasonable to presume, on hearing of the publication, that a gentleman claiming to be a good linguist and a ripe scholar, and who could dedicate his work, "by permission," to the Right Honorable W. E. Gladstone, the author of *Juventus Mundi* and *Studies on Homer*, would not willingly bring further discredit on English hexameters, and mortify his noble and truly learned friend, by publishing immature versification in a metre which has baffled many able as well as incapable poets. The most recent and best translations of the *Iliad* were those of Mr. William C. Bryant, the venerable American poet, and Lord Derby. Each of these renderings is so excellent that a choice is difficult; and both being in superior blank verse, are very acceptable. It was natural, however, that many students and a part of the public would be better satisfied with this wonderful war-poem, were it translated in melodious, sonorous hexameters, the original form of the poet's utterance.

The attempt of Mr. Cayley is before us. Had he deliberately tried to heap additional injury on the unfortunate English hexameter, which was slowly lifting its bowed and battered head, and hoping for a better recognition of its merits when fairly presented, he could not more certainly have effected that fell purpose. Thousands of Englishmen will now point the finger and say, "Such is your hexameter, is it? Did we not tell you it was execrable, as said long ago the sage poet Landor, and, with somewhat less rancor, the profound Carlyle, the brilliant Hazlitt, and other 'essayists'? Is it not verily a 'tumbling metre,' as wrote the sarcastic Guest in his *English Rhythms*?"

We should not have cared to review this translation, had it not been for the importance of the *Iliad* as a poem, for the pretentious heralding intimating superiority, for gratuitous insults offered

¹ *The Iliad of Homer, Homometrically Translated.* By C. B. Cayley, translator of Dante's *Comedy*, &c. London, Longmans & Co., 1877.

in the preface, to eminent poets deceased and living, and for the implied sanction of a permitted dedication to such a high classical authority as Mr. Gladstone.

Before proceeding to consider this translation, we must premise that our complaint is rather respecting the form than the substance. It would be strange, indeed, if a fairly good Greek scholar, assisted by such excellent renderings and commentaries as have appeared in the principal languages, should fail to make a true translation of Homer. We are even willing to admit, that it is Mr. Cayley's anxiety to be exact which has caused him, in numerous instances, to use awkward and grotesque words and expressions, when terms less literally exact, but more elegant, would have been universally preferred. We notice also, with regret, that, instead of studying condensation of thought, he has amplified passages, often as much as Pope did for his rhymed version. By striving to fit and expand the English into the Greek mould, and by insisting on bald literalness, Mr. Cayley has lost the opportunity of making himself agreeably famous in literature. The publication, almost simultaneously, of Dr. Schliemann's great work describing his recent excavations and wonderful discoveries at the real site of Troy, has awakened such new interest in the *Iliad*, that, had this one been a worthy translation, a more suitable time for its appearing could not have been chosen.

The principal error Mr. Cayley has made, however, is apparently in taking it for granted that every reader can scan metre properly, when, in fact, not one in a thousand can do so, and few would if they could. It is also true that English scholars often differ in the scansion of the same words and syllables; and as spondees, much needed in hexameter, are scarce in our language, they must often be made from two short words, of which the proper accents may be doubtful. It is also a fact, that a line of hexameter containing very commonplace words and ideas poorly expressed, may fulfil the quantities in syllables, and in the accent and time required, yet read almost like prose. Should, therefore, tame, coarse, and inelegant verses be offered as poetical hexameters—even though the construction prove correct—yet, if they be not musical when read carelessly, the fastidious public will condemn at once, and refuse to like such lines. Every one peruses poetry for entertainment, and not to be saddled with the effort of scanning to decide as to cor-

rectness, or, as Landor once sarcastically expressed it, "galloping through" a poem. If, then, Mr. Cayley wrote his translation for scholars alone, and will stand by their judgment (as will be seen by the preface, which we quote below), it would have been better to have said so candidly, for then he might have ignored the popular verdict. Students, though generally the first to notice poetical defects, are often anticipated by the public ear, which is very quick and true, albeit judging only by rhythm and intuition.

Mr. Cayley appears to have indulged the idea that a translator may coin new words and phrases *ad libitum*, the better to convey meaning, and may make as many elisions as he deems needful to secure the intended metre. Part of the title-page of the work, "Homometrically Translated," is an example of such fabrication of words. This composite word appears in no standard dictionary, and, we submit, is not as good as "in hexameters," while the use of the latter phrase would have made the thumbing of lexicons needless.

Throughout the book, there are constantly used such odd, unpoetical, and unknown words as—

aventred,	goodlily,	perdy,	wight,
belive,	hoov'd,	sith,	wittol
comelily,	lothlily,	swinking,	yfallen,
dareyning,	mickle,	uncloyable,	yfere,
folkmete,	ousted,	unprizable,	younker.

With the aid of several dictionaries, we have learned the meaning of the most obsolete of the words; but a few, such as *dareyning* and *uncloyable*, we cannot discover. Mr. Cayley appears to have taken the failures of Sir Philip Sydney, in hexameters, as his model, for in form, and in grotesque words and expressions, there is great resemblance in their styles.

We have already mentioned the elisions; their name and number is "legion;" their use, not exceptional—as it should be in our language, but constant. Such fragments and combinations as—by's, 'gan, i'faith, i'th, i'the, I've, let's, 'neathmost, o' the, 'scaped, we 'd, with 's, &c., &c., slash almost every line of the translation. Mr. Cayley appears to think the terminal *ed* will always be sounded as a syllable, if the *e* be not eliminated; and in many instances the excision is made without shadow of reason, as in "conceiv'd," when it commences a line. In other cases, as "flow'r" and

“pray'r,” the vain endeavor is made to condense two refractory syllables into one. He evidently is unaware—and yet he is an Italian scholar—that universal elision is not allowable in English poetry, though it may be in the more liquid Italian, and he practices it to an extent quite exasperating.

Besides strange and awkward words, and many instances of the obsolete possessive form, as :

“Exalting Diomed the steed-controller, his answer.”

(B. vii, 401)

there is a profusion of such coarse and prose-like lines, as :

“Let my mules get along : make way ; then ye all can have ample
Time for your sorrowings, when I into my house shall have enter'd.”

(B. xxiv, 706-7.)

This is part of a speech which Priam, king of Troy, makes when starting in his chariot to obtain the body of Hector from triumphant Achilles ; but it savors more of the costermonger, or the truckman, with his “Get along—gee—haw—peddywhoah!” than the irritation of a grief-stricken monarch.

Andromache, Hector's wife, is mentioned in the following rude manner, just before she receives the news of her husband's death :

“Ha, shallow wight! deeming not at all that Pallas, afar from
Those baths, had brought him to the ground by th'hand of Achilles.”

(B. xxii, 442-3.)

We learned, in our youth, that “wight” was then an obsolete word, having a burlesque sense in the present age, and used in the masculine gender only ; but in this book it is frequently applied to both sexes, to very dignified personages, valiant warriors, and, in one instance, to a god in disguise.

It is certainly an evidence of inferior taste, when a writer, be he Celt, Scot, Yorkshireman, Yankee, or American hoosier, exhibits an uncouth dialect in a serious English translation. The public will decide that Mr. Cayley has committed this indiscretion, since he several times calls Jove a “shaker o' lightning,” (B. v, 665 ; xii, 251) although his retaining the final *g* leaves room for a doubt. The translator may possibly be an aristocratic Englishman, who speaks and writes his language, in general, as perfectly as Mr. Gladstone. He does say, however, often, and with the same want of dignity, and of discretion—“thou b'est,” and “thou be'est,”—as :

“But sure some cozener thou be'st and fraudful avauntour.”

(B. xxii, 279.)

He puts the exclamation "i'faith" (what faith?) into the mouths of pagan Ulysses and Agamemnon, (B. ii, 285; x, 50) and shows a sovereign contempt for Lindley Murray, by the coolness with which he uses the word "right" as an adverb and adjective, as in the following instance:

"And stepping up right near, his effulgent lance he aventred."
(B. v, 604.)

One might easily mistake him for a certain kind of New Englander.

There is a profusion of inferior idiomatic expressions—such as "siez'd of his head, siez'd of his ankles" (B. xvi, 755), "tugged him" (B. xvii, 573), "by or on the defenses" (B. xvii, 749), "let go again" (B. xxi, 175), "split in half" (B. xxi, 176); and frequent instances of the obsolete junction of *a* to words, as in *a-doing a-feeding*, &c.

The double and triple adjectives in this translation are, in their size and number, quite bewildering, Hector being generally called "pied-plume-tossing Hector." Although such words, and "Troytown," are in, and were suited to, the original, our age is restive under such descriptives; and the public is satisfied that Troy was a town, or even a city, without being told so as continually as if it were in a *Kindergarten*. It should also be noticed that both Mr. Bryant and Lord Derby almost entirely avoid these chain-gang-like adjectives.

Having glanced at some of Mr. Cayley's peculiarities of style, let us notice the *form* of his "hexameters," and naturally, first, what is called the preface, composed of seven lines:

"Dons, undergraduates, essayists, and public, I ask you,
Are these hexameters true-tim'd, or Klopstockish uproar,
Like, 'Wie's den tausendmal Tausend der Todten Gottes einst seyn wird,'
Or like 'that wonderf'ul land at the base of the Ozark mountains,'
Where 'they found Andromeden and Persea, fairest of mortals?'
Such measure I'd never hear! sooner blank-verse chloroform me,
See-saw me couplets, gape for me sooner immense Earth!"

Here is a challenge that the lines *are* true-timed; a rude fling at Longfellow, Klopstock, and Charles Kingsley, ending with the suicidal wish that if he could not hear (he means *writ*;) better hexameters, then he would submit to "blank-verse chloroform"—the effect of Bryant and Derby dulness—he would even invoke the shade of Pope, with his jingles, as a lesser horror; or, might he escape the uproar by an obliging earthquake. It is true he does

not accentuate *mense*, as we have, but if the line be "hexameter," that syllable must have double accent, in order to end the verse with a trochee, though it be but a poor one.

An examination of this preface will show that the first line, besides being weak in expression, and inelegant through using the unpoetical word of five syllables, "undergraduates," and the harsh one, "essayists," has defects in the fourth and sixth feet. In the second line, the fourth foot is short two syllables, and the third line, though it makes fair hexameter—thanks to the German—is a bad quotation. Though the original of the "Messias" is before us, it would require too much time to find that line; but we are confident the two first words should be "Wie es." Klopstock very rarely used elisions, and had one been used here, it would have been a blemish.

To flippantly condemn a poet whom Wolfgang Menzel, in his *Deutsche Literatur*, calls the "German Homer," and whose "Messias," published in 1748, though then unfinished, produced a wonderful excitement and "unbounded admiration" throughout Europe, would be presumptuous in a poet of established reputation; but in this case it is difficult to find terms of condemnation sufficiently strong. It is undeniable that Klopstock's hexameters are now considered "heavy" reading, even by his ardent German admirers, and yet it is impossible to overestimate his services to his country. He built a breastwork against the vile French literature of that age, and laid the foundation of "classic" German.

The fourth line of the preface is from Longfellow's "Evangeline," and, if quoted in full, reads: "Into this wonderful land at the base of the Ozark mountains."

The third and fourth feet are inelegant, through repetition of "the," the second from being composed of only one word, and the fifth foot is short one syllable. This offending word "Ozark," is one of the scarce spondees, and comes within the rule of being "occasionally permitted" instead of a dactyl.² Still this line must be called defective. Such a quotation, however, as a sample of Mr. Longfellow's hexameters, was most ungracious, when, throughout "Evangeline," there are many lines as good as the following:

"This is the forest primeval. The murmuring pines and the hemlocks,
Bearded with moss, and in garments green, indistinct in the twilight,
Stand like Druids of old, with voices sad and prophetic."

² Vide Hood's *Rules of Rhyme*, p. 14. London.

Not only are these, and others, very beautiful in rhythm, but they are almost free from the defect of one word only in a dactylic foot—a blemish common in the best hexameter, ancient and modern. The "*Courtship of Miles Standish*," and "*The Children of the Lord's Supper*," are also, in the main, composed of good hexameters. We will charitably suppose that Mr. Cayley was unaware of the existence of these; or possibly he forgot them, as he forgot to quote properly from Charles Kingsley's "*Andromeda*"³, in the fifth line of his "preface." He there uses *five* words not in the original, and it seems impossible, with the poem before him, that he could have mistaken the following:

"There she met Andromedén and Perséa shaped like immortals."

(Boston ed., 1858, line 423.)

It is certainly possible that the latter part of this line may have been changed in a later edition, since "shaped like" is not a very poetical expression; but "they" could never represent Pallas Athené, who finds the lovers. We have accentuated two syllables as the author evidently intended them to be, and the condemned line thus forms a more perfect hexameter than any of Mr. Cayley's.

Besides the blunder just mentioned, there is a grammatical mistake which is worse. The word "where," at the commencement of the fifth line, connects it with the fourth; and, as if to rivet the error, there is a comma after "mountains." We are, therefore, thereby informed that Andromeda was exposed and chained

³ Respecting this poem, a memorial paper in the "Cornhill Magazine," London, April, 1877, says: "The *Andromeda* is in every way admirable. It is probably the most successful attempt in the language, to grapple with the technical difficulties of English hexameters."

If this be true, it must not be forgotten that Canon Kingsley had the advantage, not only of all the German "classic" writers, including Goethe, Schiller, and Lessing, together with Coleridge and Southey, but also of the efforts of Longfellow, Clough, and some others; and he doubtless profited by all the discussions and criticisms upon their hexameters.

On the contrary, there is the following tribute to Mr. Longfellow, in Hood's *Rules of Rhyme* (London), already cited: "Longfellow, in his *Evangeline*, has perhaps done the best that can be done to give an exact rendering to the Latin hexameter." As Kingsley, in *Andromeda*, had the advantage of a subject *wholly poetical*, and Longfellow, in *Evangeline*, one, all of which deals with our ordinary life, and which, though a beautiful story, has parts difficult to render highly poetical, we prefer the latter compliment to the former. It will be observed that both opinions are from Englishmen.

at the base of the Ozark mountains—an honor quite overwhelming to the United States, and to practical Missouri! This error will cause many readers, especially in England, to think that Kingsley's line, as quoted, is part of *Evangeline*.

We have omitted scansion, in quoting the preface, that the style may be more clearly observed; but we feel constrained to scan the last line:

See-saw-me | couplets | gape for me | sooner im | mense Earth.

This is a "hexameter" of only *five* feet, and is like a lobster, which has become so angry at something as to jerk off one of his articulations—which these belligerent crustaceæ sometimes do.

Since Mr. Cayley throws down the gauntlet, we here formally take it up, and quote four lines which are really not worse than the average of his translation:

"By Apollo, Athena (*sic*)
And Jove omnipaternal, if only the rest o' my army
Had such a mind in them, King Priam's Troy very shortly,
Ta'en by us and ransack'd, would adown to the dust be stooping."
(B. IV, 282-4.)

"And Bias, and puissant Hæmon, pastors of a people."
(B. v, 289.)

This last is among the poorest lines it has ever been our ill-fortune to find. We would be highly pleased if any one could scan it into the semblance of hexameter; it could not have more than *five* feet, and they would be all out of time. The verses just mentioned as imperfect, if compared with the one quoted from Klopstock, will show the true location of "blood-chilling uproar,"—a personating expression used by this translator (B. v, 734), and here very *à propos*.⁴

⁴ Were this the proper place, we would like to answer some of the hard criticisms against the English hexameter, which have appeared on both sides of the Atlantic. We will only remark that, scold as its opponents will, and hurl as they may, the sarcastic thunder of "mere hexametroids" and "accentual hexaphodies," together with the assertion, that "they are offensive, and have been tolerated only because supposed to be classic"—it is certain, that some lines condemned, or severely criticised, form very pleasant reading. The more we examine, the more we are convinced that *perfect* hexameters are impossible in English.

Because Stanihurst and Sir Philip Sydney so signally failed in this metre, long ago, through ignorance of its true form—and though Clough, more recently, and others besides Mr. Cayley, have made poor attempts, it does not follow that there will not yet be established an acceptable English hexameter, a near approach to the Latin. *Evangeline* and *Andromeda* are very good forerunners.

The English language affords few better examples of hexameter than most of Longfellow's and Kingsley's lines, together with some by Miss Frothingham and J. R. Lowell, all of which are improvements on those in Southey's *Mohammed* and *Vision of Judgment*. S. T. Coleridge wrote some lines as model hexameters, but they were translations from Schiller's verses, in the same metre; and Coleridge could not write continuously in such an elegant manner. We cannot expect the skies always to be spanned by a rainbow in the east, while the sun shines brightly in the west. The best of these model translations are generally well known, but somehow Mr. Cayley must have missed them. They are as follows:

"In the hexameter rises the fountain's silvery column

* * * * *

"Strongly it bears us along on swelling and limitless billows,
Nothing before and nothing behind but the sky and the ocean."

Many of Coleridge's hexameters are irregular, and those of Southey's *Mohammed* and *Vision of Judgment* often inelegant, through the use of one word only in the dactylic feet, where there is no other fault. This blemish, already mentioned as common to most writers of this metre, is found in the fourth and fifth feet of the first of the three fine lines just quoted, and in the fifth foot of the second line of the said three. From this a fair idea of the rigid requirements of pure hexameter may be obtained, and the difficulties surrounding it better appreciated. It is almost certain that no one can write that metre continuously in English without frequently using one word only in some dactylic feet. Had Mr. Cayley taken as models the three lines quoted above—some of the best of Longfellow's or Kingsley's, or, if he preferred it, the first verse of Virgil's *Æneid*:

"Arma virumque cano Trojæ qui primus ab orbis,"

he might have made his translation most agreeable and fascinating to cultivated minds.

We come now to the commencement of the poem:

"Muse of Pelidæan Achilles sing the resentment
Ruinous, who brought down many griefs on Achaians
And untimely banish'd many souls to the mansion of Hades
Of warriors puissant, them making a booty for hounds and
All manner of prey-birds, wherein Jove's will was accomplish'd
From that time forward, when first was in enmity parted
Atreides, king of hosts, from Jove-exampling Achilles."

Scansion will show that of these lines the first, second, third, and seventh can be made into six feet; the fourth into *five* feet only; and the fifth and sixth into six defective feet. We presume that if Mr. Cayley gave a banquet to the flesh, he would, "at the beginning set forth good wine;" and that he should have been so unwise as not to act in a similar manner when offering a feast to the mind, would seem to be past all human comprehension, except on a most melancholy supposition.

The first two lines, taken together, are very unpleasant, because the second is ungrammatical. The word "resentment," represented by "who," should, since it is an impersonal noun, have had "that," or "which," as a relative—though both of these are generally unpoetical.⁵ We doubt not the word "who" was designed to refer to Achilles; but good intention cannot excuse the error. The fourth line, as above intimated, is short by one metrical foot, and is irregular throughout, if, indeed, it can be said to allow scansion; but, as if those were not faults enough, the line ends with "and," making a singular species of weak trochee. The fifth line is ungrammatical, being also, independently, incorrect, because Jove's will was not accomplished *in* prey-birds. The fifth, sixth, and seventh lines, collectively, are quite obscure; and the use of the adjective "Jove-exampl'g," is, as a word, peculiarly unhappy. Without multiplying remarks, we drop this disagreeable part of the examination.

As examples of the style of the translation, in those gems of the *Iliad* allowing the best exercise of poetic taste, and ample scope for elegance of diction, we transcribe portions of the parting scene between Hector and Andromache; also the night scene from ch. viii :

"He met her here hasting by a single maiden attended,
Who bore his son in arms, for a feeble babe was it only,
Their dear Hectorides, a star of beauty resembling,
Whose name was for him only Scamandrius, else to the Trojans
Astyanax, meaning that Troytown's safety was Hector."

(B. vi, 391-5.)

* * * * *
"My mother eke, liege lady to sylvan Hypoplacus erewhile,
He led away Troywards, and all his booty beside her,
But freed her very soon, accepting a ransom enormous;

(*Id.*, 417-19.)

* * * * *
"Trust me I have ponder'd these things dear lady, but hugely
Would the men and maidens robe-trailing of Ilion awe me

⁵ "Which" is several times used in *Andromeda*, without unpleasant sound, or appearing to the ear to be a defect. (*Vide* liues 245, 421.)

From flinching dolorous conflict i' the guise of a craven,
And little I'd like it!" * * *

(*Id.*, 433-6.)

* * * * *
"So much having spoken to the child reached Hector his arm out,
But below its father's aspect it shrank back affrighted,
Crying, on its nurse's bosom, to behold such a waving
Of plumes on topmost morion, such blazing of armour.
Whereupon its mother and father smil'd both to behold it,
And the superb Hector from his head took forthwith his helmet,
And as soon as on earth he'd placed it, glinting on all sides,
Then took he his son in arms, and danc'd him awhile, and kiss'd him,
Then spoke:" * * *

* * * * *
" Oftimes let a witness
Say, that he excels me by a deal; let him eke from a rival
Bring back spoils all gory, rejoicing her heart who bore him.
So said he, and in her arms replac'd their dearly-belov'd one,
Whom within her bosom's hollowness so balmy she harbor'd,
Smiling a teary smile: thereat pity sank upon Hector,
Who, carressing with his hand, bespoke, and made her an answer:

(*Id.*, 455, &c.)

* * * * *
"As when a horse many days stabled, fed at oats from a manger
His tether has broken, when he over a mead rushes ambling
Down to the fair-flowing waters he bathed in aforetime,
Or to the mare's pastures and haunts, with head haughtily lifted
And mane on shoulders fluttering—then nimbly careers he,
Trusting in his power, sped on hooves as swift as the whirlwind;
So was Alexander," etc. * * *

(*Id.* 496-502.)

The celebrated night-scene now claims our attention, it being justly considered by all students as exceedingly beautiful in the original.

"Thus they with dapper hearts, i' the lanes o' the combat assembled,
All night were seated, many watch-fires blazing among them;
And as heaven showeth when stars all round the refulgent
Moon are array'd beaming, when stirs not a wind below æther—
Hill-tops and outlines o' the woods, and sea-jutting headlands
Stand clear, and from above the skies breaks infinite heaven in;
All stars are manifest, each neatherd inly rejoiceth;
Thus by so many fires, the front of Troy was illumin'd
From the rippled Xanthus right up to the ships of Achaia.
O'er the plain full a thousand burn'd, and fifty by each one
Were sitting, arm'd warriors, red firelight glancing among them,
While their steeds, fastened to the cars, and greedily tearing
Their oats and pale barley, superb-thron'd Morning awaited."

(*B.* viii, 539-556.)

- Here was certainly an opportunity for the highest exercise of poetic taste and elegant expression, but alas, how tame, how prose-like—with such phrases as "dapper hearts," "right up to," and "greedily tearing"! Mr. Cayley, having discovered the proper

ending of the hexameter,⁵ seems to think that true measure and rhythm can be obtained without always using six metrical feet. He appears to be convinced that any kind of prosy expressions will suit, so that the line end rightly; and he almost ignores the important *cæsura*, or pause at or near the middle of the line. His "hexameters," in general, remind us of a wounded ostrich, limping heavily over an arid plain, and then stooping, covering her head with the sand, to hide from the hunter. Respecting this bird, it is written (Job xxxix, 17): "God hath deprived her of wisdom." If there had been any remarks, in the book of Job, respecting her peculiar digestive powers, we would have been pleased to quote them as appropriate in this connection.

As already intimated, Mr. Cayley is quite oblivious—perhaps he does not know—that elegance of words and beauty of expression are expected from a poet, even if he must correct and gloss over errors or coarse epithets of the author whose poems he translates. Although the lines already cited illustrate these remarks, still, as direct samples of such negligence—and these are not the worst that could have been given—take the following two quotations:

" but his hope Aphrodita defrauded,
Like gods, with no ado; for she Paris hid from his onslaught,
Enswath'd in mickle air, and brought the man off to repose him
All in his own chamber, full of odors daintily mingled.
Then for Helen went out the superb Aphrodita, to call her," etc.
(B. iii, 373-6.)

Achilles, just before the fatal combat with Hector, says to the latter:

" Now therefore recollect all prowess, as only behoves thee;
Show what a deft spearman thou be 'st, and how good a fighter:
There's no more shelter to be had; now Pallas Athena (*sic.*)
By this lance forthwith shall make thee render atonement."

In strong contrast with these lines, are those by Mr. William C. Bryant—in which also the full sense of the last passage is given in thirty-four words, instead of the forty as above used:

" Summon all thy valor now.
A skilful spearsman thou hast need to be,
And a bold warrior. There is no escape,
For now doth Pallas doom thee to be slain
By my good spear."

(B. xxii, 603-607.)

⁵ "The hexameter consists of five dactyls (— ∨ ∨), with one spondee (— —) or trochee (— ∨) at the end. A spondee may take the place of each of the first four dactyls, and sometimes, but rarely, of the fifth. The last word in the line should be a dissyllable or a trisyllable." Hood's *Rules of Rhyme*. London.

Having weighed some of the words of the heroes in this translation, let us attend to a few utterances of a heroine. Hector is dead, but they fear to inform Andromache:

"but not to the wife yet of Hector
Had been shown anything: no true word-bearer arriving
Told her that still abroad outside o' the gates was her husband."

She begins to suspect all is not right, and calls to her maidens:

"Come follow me two of you; must see what's yonder a-doing:
Hark to the queen's accents: my bosom is all in a tremble;
Mine heart springs up against my throat, my limbs are a-freezing."

After she has discovered that Hector is dead, and when she has lamented awhile, she continues:

"And there's our son still an infant,
Born to wretched parents us twain: nor wilt thou, O Hector,
Win for him henceforward, nor for thyself, any vantage."
* * * * *
"Yet nothing henceforward but toil and pain can await him,
For when a lad's orphan'd, farewell to coæval associates."
(B. xxii, 366, 367.)

King Priam, in his grief at the death of his son Hector, says—among many other rude words—to the weeping people:

"Go your unlucky ways ye losels, shames to the country!"

Then to his household:

Haste ye vile children, caitiff horde! O if all of you only
"Mid the galleys yonder were slain in place o' my Hector!"
(B. xxix, 236, 249.)

"Losels" is not an improper word—though now not used—but it is ugly, and we find here that shame can become plural, which is a new discovery. After Priam had gone forth in his chariot, drawn by mules and horses:

"Solid hoov'd and buxom in harness,"

he is met by the god Hermes, who, having assumed the form of a young man, introduces the king and his equipage into the guarded camp of the Greeks. Before thus guiding Priam to the tent of Achilles, Hermes gives intimation—darkened only slightly by a comma—of such surprising sleeping arrangements among the Trojans, that we are constrained to quote, for the information of Mr. Bryant, Lord Derby, and others:

"What brings thee father, thoro' night's ambrosial umbrage
While mankind are abed, with mules and horses in harness?"
(B. xxiv, 357-8.)

Our ypight conclusion, from a goodlily extended examination o' this comelily bedight volume, is, that were we condemn'd lothlily to mount a-straddle o' the rough-hoov'd tho' buxom mule o' scansion, and canter thoro' such unprizable lines; or else, read i' the metre o' Bryant, yfere with Derby: if we'd in no way 'scap'd, nor was there any flinching a swinking fate, unless a choice were made, then, i' faith, o' the two conditions, we'd rather be blank-verse chloroform'd!

But, sith, therefor untimelily t' enter th' "ambrosial umbrage" of carth, her caverns—as Mr. Cayley 'gan wishing i' the preface—would be mickle punishment, e'en tho' for such a yfallen essayist, younker, and wight as we; we'd aventure—"smiling a teary smile"—belive to make the pray'r, that, like Job o' old, we might wait till a change come.

SAMUEL H. NEEDLES.

PHILADELPHIA.

NEW BOOKS.

Souci, a Novel, by Mrs. J. H. Twells. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co.

Upon the order of mind adapted to the reception of the strongest impressions to be made by novels, this book will have a good effect, in that it is, so far as it preaches, a homily in honor of constancy. The novel reader is generally a young person, too apt to be taught by cheap romances, or a literary person, unduly inclined, by the influences of his day, to the consideration of all sorts of casuistry, inspired by illustrations of the violation of the simple rules of right. For the past thirty years, our *belle-lettres* have comprised mainly histories of good people excusably doing bad things; and the actors, in these histories, who have played the star *rôles*, have been gentlemen and ladies married to the wrong person. In the language of the average editorial, a breach of the marriage compact has underlain the plot, developed merely to show the limitation of life, and the nobility and the strength of the passions which find a vent in illegitimate courses. How much deeper this sort of thing may go is uncertain. It has not yet sunk as far in America as it has in France; but it has reached as hideous a region as it seems likely to, in the natural order of things, in both countries; because it has come already to be, spoken boldly, the recognition of animal passion as altogether beyond the domination of the decalogue, and as worthy of apology, veiled in arguments of conscientious subtlety and humbleness of mind.

Before the reign of this itching of uneasy desire, we had a class of novels of which *Mansfield Park* may be considered a fair specimen in the outset, and *Oliver Twist*, a brilliant specimen towards the close. In America, *Horseshoe Robinson*, was creditable to the morality and mind of its day. This order of romance dealt mainly with young people, held up to biting scorn and hopelessly lost, if they did not walk circumspectly, trembling amid the then sufficiently tragic temptations of selfishness and pride, and winning our contempt, or our devotion, according to their right in the end to the prize of a good husband, or a blooming wife. We are familiar with the expressions of tenderness which great men in life have uttered for such pure folks in fiction. Thackeray loved Sophia; Macaulay knew Clarissa as a sister; Leigh Hunt dwelt tenderly upon Louisa Mildmay's image: "her eyes, we thought, had a depth in them beyond those of any person's in the room." Consider the thousands of homely mothers, who think of Oliver and little Nell with a thrill; and of practical men who have a secret place in their hearts for some fancy of a beauty that one of the old novels has given them. This power is wholly gone out of the later literature. The later literature appeals to the animal that is in us, through the instincts which it calls our intellect.

Souci is more nearly a book of the better order, in one sense. The heroines, alike the singing woman whose birth no one knows, all through, and who is probably sprung from vice; and Viola, whose birth no one knows at first, but who turns out to have come of a noble line, pretty much as did the pleasant girl in the *Old Mam'selle's Secret*, resist all temptations to marry any man but the right one, and are very positive, from the first, as to who the right man is. Even the heroes are true in the same way, one dying rather than supplant his idol by the girl who offers him devotion and wealth; and the other, exploring the whole field of civilization, from London to Cairo, merely, in the counter-irritations of travel and eligible suggestions from the fairest women he encounters, to keep himself true to the one whom alone he will have. This is so healthy and upright, that it must be commended. By the approved method, these people would have been ranged thus:—Viola, who loves Rawdon, would have married Tonio; and Souci, who loves, Tonio, would have married Rawdon. Then, after a year or so, they would have met, and the wives would have fallen to love-making with the husbands not their own; and there would have arisen the nicest intricacies of impulse, and such involutions of accident as would have arrested the attention of even our gravest psychologists. Add to this, the merit of another sort, which the book really has, and the married wretches of our day would have found within its covers, the delicious arguments which are so plenty, in favor of home treason and godless misanthropy.

It is a curious fact that, exemplary as it is in this respect, the

faults of the book are the result of the author's evident intimate knowledge of, or, at any rate, of her entire subjection to, French literature. She has taken no hint from Hawthorne's methods, or Miss Thackeray's methods. Whilst the thread of her story is good, she has hung upon it accessories which may not impeach her sincerity, but they impair somewhat the force of her moral. For instance, the entrance of Rawdon upon the scene, is the appearance of a man almost dissolute, entirely selfish, and of principles so uncertain, that we can at no time confide in him. Yet he does some noble needs. Viola is too good for him. But, of what can we convict him? This failure to appreciate a fine nature, outside of the false lights of what is now considered by novelists the highest sphere in society, is the result of the same cause which inclines the author never to overlook a toilet, and always to hint at the purse. It is the result of one sort of superficiality. The citation from Plato, the dubious allusion to the "thumb downward," the comparison of the perfume of flowers to Lubin as a standard, the description, "sheeny satin, fancy lace, and shimmering pearls," are the result of another. These faults may be safely indicated, as they are not, in the connection in which we find them, grave faults at all.

Viewed as a work of art, in construction and in movement, the book is superior to *The Mills of the Gods*. It is also superior to most of the books which daily appear. It is evidently the working up of a carefully considered plan, falling into few errors of rhodomontade, and advancing with considerable strength from situation to situation. In other words, it is not only not negligently done, but it is carefully done.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

- Memory Gems for the Young. Charles Northend, A. M. 16mo. Boards. Pp. 62. New York: D. Appleton & Co. [Porter & Coates.
- The American Girl, and her Four Years in a Boys College. By Sola. 12mo. Cloth. Pp. 269. New York: D. Appleton & Co. [Porter & Coates.
- Romances of the East. From the French of Comte de Gobineau. 16mo. Sw'd. Pp. 327. New York: D. Appleton & Co. [Porter & Coates.
- Rene & Franz (Le Bleuët). From the French of Gustave Haller. 16mo. Sw'd. Pp. 196. New York: D. Appleton & Co. [Porter & Coates.
- Field Paths and Green Lanes. Louis J. Jennings. 12mo. Cloth. Pp. 293. New York: D. Appleton & Co. [Porter & Coates.
- Primer of Piano Forte Playing. F. Taylor. New York: D. Appleton & Co. [Porter & Coates.
- Album Leaves. George Houghton. Sw'd. Pp. 34. Boston: Estes & Lauriat.
- The Nabob. Translated from the French of Alphonse Daudet. Lucy H. Hooper. 16mo. Cloth. Boston: Estes & Lauriat. [Claxton, Remsen & Haffelfinger.
- Boston Monday Lectures. Orthodoxy, with Preludes on Current Events. By Joseph Cook. 12mo. Cloth. pp. 343. Boston: Jas. R. Osgood & Co.
- Cyclopedia of Biography (new edition). By Parke Godwin. 8vo. Cloth. Pp. 1153. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. [Porter & Coates.
- Thomas De Quincy. H. A. Page. 2 vols. Cloth. 12mo. Pp. 369 and 362. New York: Scribner, Armstrong & Co. [J. B. Lippincott & Co.

THE
PENN MONTHLY.

MARCH.

THE MONTH.

THE policy of bluster, into which England has been forced by the collapse of Turkey, and her acquiescence with the demands of Russia, has already met with a severe defeat, and less because of the energy of those whom it was meant to intimidate, than the indifference of those it was meant to succor. On a bare rumor that the Russians were about to enter Constantinople, the English fleet was ordered to the Bosphorus, but failed to reach the Golden Horn, because, in the first place, the Porte would not give its permission, and in the second, because Russia declared she had not meant to occupy Constantinople, but she certainly would if the British entered the harbor. "But," says John Bull, "I don't come with any hostile intention, you know. It is just to secure the lives and property of the Christian residents from outrage." "Just so," replies Ivan, "and I too will come with those most benevolent intentions, and no other." And the answer is as truthful as the statement. Throughout the war, England has shown herself supremely indifferent to every thing but "British Interests." If she wanted to see her fleet in the Bosphorus, it was that she might go into the coming Conference with the key of the position in her own hand, and in a better position to dictate the disposal of the city, whose possession by Russia she so absurdly dreads. And this talk about "the interests of humanity," "this verbose resentment of Russia's saying that the approach by sea would lead to occupation

by land, is merely one of those bits of hypocrisy, by which the dear British people deceive nobody but themselves. No other nation has such mastery of the ostrich's trick in hiding itself.

As to the Turkish refusal to coöperate with the British seizure of their capitol, it is explicable enough, in view of their creed and of ordinary human motives. Islam is a good belief for a victorious or still undefeated army; but it degenerates into fatalism in the presence of defeat. Hence the utter collapse of an unfortunate Mohammedan power, and the wholesale treason which in general characterizes that collapse. Now since Plevna fell and the Russians crossed the Balkans, the Turk seems to have had but one feeling: that Allah has given the faithful into the hands of the Muscovite. Resistance has been paralyzed; the lines of defence, about which western strategists talked, seem to have vanished from the map; and not a single hearty and honest attempt has been made to retrieve the fortunes of the empire, or warn the conqueror that he has driven a lion to bay in its lair. In fact, this lion, as is sometimes the case with the four-footed sort, is cowed, fascinated and prostrate. The sense of a doom hanging over his European empire, has never been absent from the Moslem's thoughts since he lost the Crimea and was driven back from the gates of Vienna. Slowly and steadily he has seen his possessions stripped away by wars and treaties, and all other friends and foes have vanished out of sight, in presence of the great northern power whose armies are gathering around Istamboul. He remembers Grenada and Plassy, Ivan the Terrible and Jengis Khan, and the other great disasters and enemies of the true faith. His is not a creed which steels men to stand erect under disasters; it is one so crude, so bound to temporal success, as to become all but incredible in the presence of disasters. Hardly the presence and the inspirations of the Prophet were enough to rally the true believers after the defeat of Ohud. And therefore the fascination of the Russian is come upon them. Why should they offend the powerful neighbor, on whose side Allah has declared himself on the field of battle?

So the Orientals regard the situation; and all that they have learned of European ways of thought, helps them to the same conclusion. The outburst of anger, during which Serfer Pasha charged the English premier and his ambassador with luring

Turkey to her destruction by false promises, was altogether natural, and significant of the Turkish feeling. The specific charges were exaggerated no doubt, and will have to be retracted and apologized for. England was not powerful enough to drive, by her influence, the author of the Bulgarian massacres into private life; but she will be able to make a Turkish minister eat his words. But the very exaggerations of that outburst of temper, are significant. They indicate what the Turks expected, what their half-barbarous and uncultivated judgments made them quite sure of, as regards England, better than would any measured or diplomatic words borrowed from the social style of the Occidentals. And, in their view, England has simply betrayed them to their enemies. In their eagerness to shift the blame of foolhardiness and defeat from themselves, they lay to her charge much which would have turned out the same if she had been part of a different planet. But unquestionably, those two English statesmen have much to answer for. And if their words and acts have not been interpreted in Stamboul as in Berlin, they have not the excuse of not knowing that they would be subjected to a different method of interpretation.

And, indeed, why should Turkey trust them more than Russia with the possession of Constantinople? That all their motives are thoroughly and simply selfish, the Turk knows as all Europe knows. They backed the Turk by their moral influence, simply because they regarded him as a good instrument to oppose the Russians, just as they backed the Southern Secessionists, because they saw in them a good instrument for the destruction of the Union. But for the Turk, they care as little, at heart, as for the Southerner, and in no section of our country is the old-fashioned detestation of England, now so deeply and so justly rooted as in the Sunny South.

RUSSIA, we fear, is not unlikely to give her friends some very painful disappointments in the conclusion of peace. Even the terms demanded for Bulgaria seem to be unsatisfactory, as they are said to ask no more for that long-suffering people than was done for the Maronites of Syria, after the massacres of 1860. Roumania, which really won some laurels, her first laurels, before Plevna, is to give back Bessarabia to Russia, who had it till 1856; and is to get nothing but the acknowledgment of her independence. Servia is

hardly mentioned, and utterly dissatisfied with her prospects. For the Greek population of Southern Turkey, nothing is to be done, and, with the conclusion of the armistice, they, like the Cretans, and with large support from Greece, have risen against their Turkish rulers. Bosnia and Herzegovina are promised reforms.

In truth, this huge, wooden, unsentimental Russian empire, is altogether unfitted to propose and dictate such a solution of the delicate questions of readjustment she has opened in the Eastern peninsula, as shall be solid, just and final. She will give us another such peace as that of Villa Franca, which, in 1859, disappointed all the high hopes which the liberals of Europe had formed for the liberation and unity of Italy. It was not to her hands that the vindication of the rights of the Christian nationalities should have been left, nor will she receive, from other quarters, the wise suggestion and the firm aid which might have led to a hopeful settlement. Even Germany, though Kaiser Wilhelm talks of the conference of last spring, as furnishing the right basis of a settlement, just as the half-hearted appealed, at the close of our last war, to

. "the Resolves of '61
That tried to coax an Earthquake with a bun."

Let us hope that Russia, like Hosea Bigelow, will object to

. wriggle back
Into the old crooked pettifogging track,
When their artillery wheels a road have cut
Strait to their purpose, if they keep the rut.
War's just dead waste, except to wipe the slate
Clean for the ciphering of some nobler fate.

THE death of Pio Nono suggests a backward glance at the very eventful period of ecclesiastical history, which has elapsed since his election in 1846. His was the longest of the two hundred and sixty-four pontificates of Papal Rome; he had outlived by eight years "the years of Peter," which a tradition, never before contradicted, had assigned as the utmost extent of any papal reign. And he had seen changes as vast, and as permanent in their influences on the civil relations of the church, as any of the preceding Popes. In 1846, the Papacy had recovered from the shock of the French Revolution; it had gathered to its support nearly all the conservative interests, both Protestant, Catholic and Greek, which were then dominant in Europe. Its temporal power, which had begun before any of the nations of Europe could be said to have

taken shape, was as unshaken in outward seeming, as it was venerable to the student of its history. In Southern Europe, at least, the great accumulations of wealth, which piety or superstition had bestowed upon the church, were still untouched. And the concordats with Catholic and some Protestant sovereigns established, as parts of the law of the continent, all those principles of the counter-reformation which were not quite intolerable to the public opinion of the nineteenth century. And, best of all, in nearly every Catholic country, there was evidence of fresh hope and vigorous life, presented by the rise of schools of thought,—theological, philosophical and political—whose representatives had pledged themselves to the reconciliation of order and progress, of vigorous movement with a sound reverence for the past.

All that this Pope saw pass away from him; concordats have shrivelled into dust; the temporal power is gone, and gone forever; the vast wealth of the Church in Italy has been secularized and her orders disbanded; Germany, the most friendly of Protestant powers, has expelled the Jesuits and subjugated the Church. Every European government, with the possible exception of Spain, is in open conflict with the Church, or secret antagonism to her ideas and wishes. On the other hand, the variety of life and movement has vanished out of Catholic thought; the schools of hope and progress have died out, as in France, or have been driven into revolt, as in Germany. Ultramontanism has become the one type of Catholic thought not proscribed by the Church's authority, and Louis Veuillot, a lesser and exaggerated De Maistre, is the chosen champion of her ideas. The two great capstones of the Roman Catholic system, the immaculate conception of the Virgin, and the official infallibility of the Pope,—the two which, more than any others, make Roman Catholicism an impossible form of thought to those who have been trained outside its influence,—have been added to the articles of faith. And the Syllabus has pronounced the final and absolute breach of Rome with modern civilization, science and toleration.

Very much of this great change has been the fault—or the merit—of Pio Nono. Centuries will not obliterate the traces of his hand in the course of the Church's movement. He was anything but a bad man. Those extreme Protestants, who are not content with rejecting the papacy as an institution unsanctioned by

the New Testament, and as even likely to obscure the true nature of Christ's Kingdom, but must see in each Pope the antichrist of apostolic prophesy, were probably puzzled to discover in this gentle, kindly, though warm-tempered old priest, the great visible enemy of human salvation. His private life was above reproach. Even his theology lacked that almost malevolent narrowness, which, in some Protestant quarters, passes for orthodoxy. He claimed all the baptized as members of the true church, and as sheep of his own fold. He declared that only God could say in what cases the truth was rejected through invincible and therefore pardonable ignorance, and in what from that hatred of the truth, or pride of intellect, which calls down the divine condemnation. He was a good, pure, upright man, in whose life the fruits of Christian principle were not wanting. But his goodness seemed, to our heretical judgment, to lack the guidance of sound insight and a wise sympathy with others. To Paul's advice to become all things to all men, he could only have answered *Non possumus*. He has made the task of the Catholic Church more difficult, the burdens on the faith of her intelligent membership heavier, the hope of a reunion of Christendom more distant. And, in a less degree, he has helped to widen the breach between the scientific and the theological, between the political and the ecclesiastical, between the progressive and the conservative, tendencies in European society. He did more harm than a dozen worse Popes have done.

As to his successor, he will be (1) an Italian; (2) of conservative principles, both politically and ecclesiastically; (3) of considerable age. He will take up the *non possumus* just where his predecessor dropped it, and carry out the policy of Pio Nono. . . . So we wrote on the eve of Cardinal Pecci's election to the vacant See, but the event has not changed our opinion. There is much in the past record of Leo XIII, which inspires the hope that he will avoid the asperities and soften the antagonisms of his predecessor's policy. But the previous record of a Pope is almost proverbially misleading; none more so than that of Pio Nono. As Pio Secondo said of himself, the higher a man gets the farther he sees. The pressure brought by the system of the papacy and by its traditions, are too strong for those individual tastes and preferences which are not in harmony with them. Since the Sack of Rome began the great reaction called the Counter-Reformation, and made Caraffa,—the

Hildebrand of that age—the virtual dictator of the papal policy, there has been but one Pope strong enough to offer a genuine resistance. Clement XIV. (Ganganelli) had nearly all Europe at his back in administering the papal power in conformity with the views of the eighteenth century, but he was a mere interruption, and a brief one. His name is hardly felt to belong to the great series. And Leo XIII. will be no Ganganelli. He will “see farther,” see with the eye of the dead and fight with the weapons of the dead.

THE prospect of the general adoption of Free Trade by the nations of Europe, seems about as distant as ever. The German Chancellor has definitely committed himself to a partial resumption of Protectionist duties. The action of Spain and Sweden in the same sense, we have already mentioned. In Austria-Hungary the subject is one of the grounds of dispute between the two halves of the dual Empire. Austria, the better developed and more intelligent country of the two, is urgent for a revision, in a Protectionist sense, of all her existing commercial treaties. Hungary offers a stolid resistance, as having no manufactures to sacrifice and no industrial ambitions to gratify. Nothing but a federal alliance in which Teuton, Magyar and Slav shall each weigh according to their numerical strength, will put an end to the collisions, which every far-seeing statesman predicted from the start, for this double-yolked egg, and which are continually occurring. The Teuton made a great mistake in not insisting upon that, when Sadowa compelled a reconstruction.

In France, the negotiations with England about the revision of the Commercial Treaty of 1860, were of course interrupted by the political troubles. Indeed they had already come to a dead-lock before that interruption, and the English commissioners were forced to go home for further instructions, as the French had come to conclusions which seemed to make any Treaty like that of 1860 impossible. Since quiet has been restored, the French Ministry are in no hurry to resume them. They say that they had better be postponed until a return of commercial tranquility. It is only in the United States that any responsible person is willing to run the risk of disorganizing trade in such times as these.

This leaves Holland, Norway, Italy and Switzerland on the list, as the only countries on the continent which even profess to prac-

tice Free Trade. The two first are devoting all their energies to the carrying trade; Norway has the second commercial marine of the world, and neither have any manufactures of international importance. Italy is in a perpetual worry over the deficits in the national budget, and the distress of her people. Switzerland is groaning over the destruction of her peculiar branches of manufacturing, especially by American competition, and some of her people begin to talk of re-annexation to the German Empire, as the only way of escape from the utter prostration of all her interests.

JAPAN has given notice to all the world that she must have a revision of the commercial treaties, as regards the amount of duty to be imposed upon goods imported into the empire, or exported from it. The formation and virtual dictation of those treaties and their forced maintenance in defiance of every principle and usage of international law, is one of the most shameful chapters of the history of the intercourse of Christendom with Japan. And here, as in almost every other instance, the United Kingdom has been the evil genius of Japan. It was her agents who secured the reduction of all import duties to a merely nominal figure, who dictated the clause preventing any revision without the agreement of *both* parties as to the need of a revision, and who have bullied the authorities of the empire in every previous attempt to bring up the subject. On the other hand, it has been very largely owing to the outspoken honesty of individual Englishmen that the iniquity has been exposed, and its termination made possible. The case was made so plain to the conscience of the country, that even the *Pall Mall Gazette* has denounced this iniquitous system of dictation, and declared that Japan must be left at liberty to adjust her fiscal arrangements to the needs of her government for revenue.

In the meantime, the revenues of the empire have fallen far below its needs; the exports are far less than the imports; and all the other consequences of Free Trade between poorer and wealthier countries have ensued. Home industries languish in decay, and new openings for enterprise are wanting. Treaty revision, which means the substitution of high for nominal duties, has become an urgent necessity. The step has been taken none too soon, and that it has been taken even now, is owing in good part to the moral support given by citizens and representatives of our own country.

To Mr. E. Peshine Smith's influence, as legal adviser of the Japanese Treasury, and to the *Tokio Times*, the only American paper in Japan, is largely due the formation of a just public opinion as to the rights and interests of the Empire.

It has been usual, in our fiscal history, to call the tariff of duties by the name of its more prominent author or proposer. Thus the tariff of 1833 is called Hay's Tariff, although its chief author was Mr. E. Littell, then of this city. So with the Dallas (or horizontal) tariff of 1846, and the Morrill tariff of 1861. Should that now in the hands of the Committee of Ways and Means ever take any place in the records of the country—which is not likely—it might be called, with great appropriateness, the Wooden tariff, so as to designate at once the chief author of the measure, and the degree of intelligence exhibited in its preparation. Its one merit is the impartiality with which it sublimely ignores both the theoretical principles and the practical interests of all schools and all classes. Of those who petitioned Congress in regard to the measure, one school asked that time be taken to consult the interests involved, and that especial care be taken not to throw men out of employment, by putting a stop to manufactures which are just able to keep their feet under the present rate of duties, but which give fair evidence of being at an early day strong enough to do without Protection. The other school also pleaded that time be taken—exactly for what we do not know, unless it was to read Mr. Wells's papers in the *North American Review*. They further alleged that the great need of the country was a larger export of our manufactures, and that it would help to this if we were to put the materials of manufacture on the free list. But the new tariff actually takes a large part of the duties off imported manufactures, to put them on the materials of manufacture. It might fairly be described as a bill for the suppression of manufacturing in the United States. Under its provisions, a great number of articles, now produced cheaply at home, would have to be brought from abroad, because the United States had taxed the materials as no other nation does, while they gave no countervailing advantage to the home producers. Now, it has often been charged upon our Free Traders, that their policy would have this effect, and, we think, rightly charged. But, except in cases where persons of this party have personal interests

at stake, they certainly do not desire such a result. On the contrary, the great development of our manufactures in recent years, has made many of them aware of the greatness of our national future as a manufacturing people, and they now urge Free Trade as a means of extending the market for our manufactures, by opening trade with other countries. We think them mistaken in their expectation, but believe them honest in it.

The new tariff, therefore, is just as directly in opposition to the Free Trade as to the Protectionist policy. It should rally in opposition to it, every man in America, who has faith in the industrial capacity of his country, whatever his views on the best method of developing that capacity. There is but one class in America who can be expected to speak in its favor: viz., those who are the paid agents to represent the manufacturing interests of other countries, either in a business capacity, or by their literary activity. But these are certainly not the people with whom American statesmen are expected to take counsel.

We are not surprised, therefore, to find the genuine Free Traders avowing their hostility to a measure which is in such direct opposition to the recommendations of their own petitions to Congress. And we hope that it will have the effect of arousing such men to a just sense of the fact, that they have been co-operating with some who are not in agreement with them on the much larger question, which is not an open question to any patriotic American—that of the industrial development of the nation in all possible and natural fields of enterprise.

On the other hand, even if this Wooden Tariff were to be so amended as to get rid of this monstrous anomaly, it could not become a law without inflicting a terrible blow upon nearly all the leading manufacturing interests. That of cotton, and some of the hardwares, might sustain the shock; but all the other great textile, metallic and similar industries would be obliged to give way; and the terrible sufferings now endured in South Wales, and impending over other parts of England, would be among our first importations from abroad. In the iron business, for instance, there has been a gradual improvement in business, but hardly in prices. Very many of our establishments have plenty to do, but at prices which do not leave them profits enough to pay their taxes. They are glad to go on even on these terms, as it enables

them to employ their men and keep their working force together ; but were a large quantity of foreign iron wares to be thrown upon the market at reduced duties, and the prices pulled down even slightly, they would have to close at once. They might sell their machinery for old iron, and their buildings for the material which compose them, and plant cabbages and turnips on the sites. And the men must shift for themselves. Now will any sane man say that there is anything in the scale of prices at which the American people are supplied with home manufactures, that calls for the destruction of those manufactures, and the plunging so many thousands in the depths of distress and suffering ? Of all the stupidities of this stupid tariff, nothing in it is so stupid as its date.

CONGRESS has passed the Bland Bill for the coinage and remonetization of silver, but without the provision for free coinage which constituted the peculiar, and indeed the practical, feature of the measure as it first passed the House. As the bill now stands, it provides that the United States Mint shall convert into coins a certain amount of silver each month ; that silver being the property of the United States, and under control of its Treasury. But it provides no outlet by which a dollar of this silver shall ever pass into circulation. Of course, the Secretary of the Treasury might pay it out as "coin," under the laws creating and regulating the national debt. But nobody expects that Mr. Sherman will do so of his own accord, and it is pretty clear that no order requiring him to do so will ever pass this Congress over the veto. If he should bring any of it into circulation, it will be in small amounts and cautiously, so as not to disturb the ratio between our paper money and gold. The only good effect of the measure will be to test the effect of an increased demand for silver upon the price of that metal. The silver men may profit by it, but not the people—at least not at present.

To us it seems that the great vice of this Bland Bill is the re-coining of silver at the old standard, instead of raising that standard, so as to bring silver to the present paper level. We believe that it is never the duty of governments to take measures to either raise or lower the standard value of the dollar, or whatever other coin they use. And we would gladly see this dangerous power taken out of their hands by the refusal to them of the right to

make any thing a legal tender. And, therefore, we especially object to this measure, because if it succeeded in making such silver our current coin, it might drag our paper money down from its present level of value. We do not say it *would*, but it *might*; for the new demand for silver might possibly be sufficient to counteract entirely—as it certainly would in part—the influences which have caused its depreciation. But, as the greenback would be at once redeemable in this currency, it could not continue more valuable than the silver, and what that value would be is, as yet, uncertain.

On the other hand, a really practicable and successful measure for the remonetization of silver would take the sting out of the Resumption Law. If we could replace our paper money by a silver coinage of equal value, resumption would have come of itself, and the prosperity of the country, as well as the solvency of the Treasury, would not be staked upon the chances of our limited supply of gold standing the raids which would otherwise be made upon it.

It is still an unsolved puzzle what this Administration means by Civil Service Reform. The latest light upon the problem is cast by the fact that Gen. Butler received a circular from the Post Office Department, asking whether he had any body to propose for a post office in his district, which would soon be vacated through the expiration of the incumbent's commission. It seems that nobody had any fault to find with the incumbent; the best people of the place were quite satisfied with him: they rallied to his support so heartily that both of Gen. Butler's nominees were distanced. And yet the Department, under this Reforming Administration, instead of renewing his commission as a matter of course, must first take this eminent Reforming congressman into their counsels, and ask whether he had anything to object. True it is, that the right thing was done at last, but done rather by accident than by intention, and so done as to inspire in the great army of our civil servants no confidence, that they may keep their places so long as they do their duty to the nation.

Equally unworthy of the national executive have been the steps taken in regard to the Collector of Customs in New Orleans. A sober, public spirited citizen, who had the reform of the Civil Service at heart, would have thought that the first thing to be done

was to inquire, whether among the merchants of that city, there was any whose honesty, capacity and loyalty fitted him for the place. But this never seems to have occurred to the President or his advisers. From the first, the nomination has been treated on all hands as a purely political affair, and not a candidate has been mentioned in connection with it, for whose appointment, any but a political reason could be urged. And of some of them, the mildest we can say is, that, to all decent people, their political record would seem reason for leaving them in the retracy of private life.

The nomination of Bayard Taylor to the Berlin Mission, is one of the best Mr. Hayes has made. Mr. Taylor is not indeed the great author that his admirers think him, but he is a very respectable member of the Republic of Letters. Germany knows that he has made the most popular, although only the second best, English version of Faust. And should she discover that he is only a second-rate author, she will probably bear it with equanimity. She herself is not overstocked with first-class writers in our era.

THE President's Southern Policy has met with a severe rebuff in Louisiana, though not so severe as to be disheartening. It was understood that when the United States troops were withdrawn from the South, there was to be a general, though informal, amnesty on both sides, for political offences committed in the past. Persons under indictment, in both Louisiana and South Carolina, for offences against the voting laws of the United States, were allowed to escape further prosecution. But this principle of letting bygones be bygones has not been accepted on the part of the Southern leaders in Louisiana, and several members of the Returning Board, have been prosecuted and imprisoned for their conduct in connection with the proceedings of that body. This State Government, which owes its control of the State to the personal forbearance of President Hayes, sets itself to take vengeance upon these men for the measures which led to the decision in favor of Mr. Hayes's claim to the Presidency.

Were this anything but an isolated and unhappy exception to the general good conduct of the Southern Governments in this regard,—and, especially, were it to lead to still other acts of revenge against other persons,—it would be a very ill omen for the political future of the South. But, standing alone, as it does, it is not so

discouraging, and it will be still less so, if it be rebuked as it deserves by other Southerners. It is, as yet, the mere receding of a wave in the advancing tide of good feeling.

As regards the feeling excited in behalf of the persons who have been subjected to this treatment, much may be said, but nothing can be done. The absurd arrangements of our political system tie the hands of the national authorities; the one thing possible to them is retaliation, and to that they cannot stoop. The good and hopeful side of the whole affair is this: that it adds a little more to the strain already brought to bear upon our artificial distribution of jurisdiction. It will, therefore, help to hasten the better day when the law and the authority of the nation will be paramount everywhere, and when local jurisdiction will be limited to purely municipal matters and subjected to national review.

THE outbreak of violence and insubordination at Princeton College, provoked by the scandalous treatment of some members of the Freshman Class by some of the Sophomores, is one more illustration of the difficulty experienced in enforcing upon the minds of young men a just attention to the laws of social morality and propriety. In a crowd of youths isolated from the wholesome constraints of home life, there come into currency standards of right and of fitness, which are as far from the truth as can well be imagined. College life, as it is called, has great fascinations and great dangers, against which the most watchful discipline will not always secure those who have to meet its temptations. All *artificial* collections of mankind, whether old or young, lie to a great extent outside of the healthful currents of thought and feeling, which belong to the *natural* social unities. Their *esprit de corps* is far more capable of receiving a wrong direction from their baser elements, and of becoming a powerful agent for evil. And of all such artificial collections, none contains so many explosive elements as does the assemblage of several hundred lads and youths in a college town, most of them just set loose from the constraints of the school, and gathered into groups, between which a degree of sharp antagonism is unavoidable. It is owing to the steady and self-sacrificing efforts of the teaching body that collisions occur so seldom, and are fewer with every generation. A hundred and fifty years ago, Edelmann tells us in his curious *Autobiography*, a dozen students were killed

by fellow-students in street brawls, during the four years of his attendance on the University of Jena. And in our own time there has been a vast improvement in American Colleges. This "hazing," which provoked the collision of classes at Princeton, is but the isolated remnant of customs which were once all but universal. And even at Princeton, it was vigorously put down some years ago, and President McCosh will have the hearty support of the public in taking equally vigorous measures for its suppression in this instance.

One of the worst features of the present case, is the indication it presents that the carrying of fire-arms is not unusual with a part of the rising generation. This bad practice was fostered, like many others, by the war; young gentlemen thought it gave them quite a military tone, to carry a pistol. They were not aware that the only class in the nation with whom that practice is lawful and professional, *viz*: the officers of our army, regard it as cowardly to avail themselves of it under any ordinary circumstances, when off duty. It is precisely the most unmilitary practice that could have been adopted by our aspirants to soldiery bearing.

THE year has already seen the death of more eminent personages, than did its predecessor. Victor Emmanuel and Pio Nono, alone outweighed all the names we can recollect from the obituary list of 1877.

At home, we have lost, among others, Mr. Gideon Welles, the least popular and the most combative of all the members of Mr. Lincoln's historical cabinet. His character, and still more, his appearance, were provocative of popular fun, and latterly, he rarely failed to hit back when he was struck. But his whole record justified Mr. Lincoln's confidence in his capacity and his worth. During his administration of the naval department, a respectable fleet was actually called into existence, well handled and efficiently used. Capable men were sifted out and put in command with a good deal more promptness than was the case with the army. We have every reason to regard his memory with patriotic gratitude.

OUR city has been mourning over the removal of a good man and a model of public spirit, in the sudden death of Mr. William Welsh. We were not always able to give our assent to Mr. Welsh's judgment of things; and we still think that his probity

and sincerity were made use of, in the prosecution of a former Indian Commissioner, by men who were not so largely endowed with those virtues. But no one could doubt that he was a man of the most unquestionable singleness of mind and purpose, and that he would shrink from no sacrifice in behalf of any great and good cause. Both in his labors for the Indians, and his devotion to the educational and charitable institutions of our own city—especially the Deaf and Dumb Asylum—he earned the thanks and the regard of every friend of humanity and of his country. Less widely known, but even more remarkable, is the story of his achievements in connection with St. Mark's Church, in Frankford. He seemed to have set himself, as did Dr. Chalmers when in charge of St. John's parish in the wynds of Glasgow, to show what a blessing a single Christian Church may be made to a whole community. It will be a pity if his work is allowed to die with him, as did that of Chalmer's.

Scotland has lost the most eminent of all Chalmers's especial disciples, by the death of the great missionary, Dr. Alexander Duff. He was a man of high, resolute ways, great energy, and had been "laid hold of by a transcendent Message in the due transcendent degree." It is nearly half a century since he landed, after shipwreck, on the shores of India, and gathered around him a class of children to lay the foundation of an educational mission to the Hindoos. Out of that class grew the Free Church College in Calcutta, on which as many as fourteen hundred natives are at times in attendance together. His own converts have been among the most successful of the native preachers, and they are known all over India by their speaking English with the strong Aberdonian burr which was native to Dr. Duff. Mr. Townsend, of the London *Spectator*, declares that no other European of modern times has ever acquired such a hold upon the confidence of the natives, and further says that the Scotch, in general, are much better liked than the English, because they will hear a Hindoo to the end of what he has to say, without interrupting him. Dr. Duff was a man of large aims; instead of fishing with hook and line for a convert here and there, he wanted to take all India in the Apostolic net. Hence, the educational direction he gave to his missionary labors; he wished to permeate Hindoo society with Christian ideas. Had he been less trammelled by the ecclesiastical methods and notions

of the Kirk, he might have become to Bengal what Columcille was to Scotland, Boniface to Germany, and Ansgar to Scandinavian Europe. Ill health compelled him to spend his later years in Scotland. He was here in 1854.

A POSITIVE CREED.

IN the *Nineteenth Century*, for the months of June and July, there appeared two papers entitled "The Soul and Future Life," by Mr. Frederick Harrison. These papers embody a statement of the Positivist belief on the two subjects above-named, and an exposition of the processes by which such belief is attained and the grounds on which it is held.

As is natural in the fruit of Mr. Harrison's pen, they are eloquently written, but they possess a rarer charm, a more potent interest than that of mere eloquence; they have the accent of sincerity and frankness. A genuine confession of an honest faith has an interest peculiar to itself, and possesses a power to impress and kindle which does not belong to disquisition or controversy, however able, or argument, however logical. As we read, we feel that a man is telling us in earnestness, with frankness, what he believes, and the shadow of timidity, expediency or ignorance never darkens the page.

When Mr. Harrison, therefore, invites, or, to speak more accurately, challenges us to come forward in like wise, and say what *we* believe and why we believe it, when he says, on his first page: "That which is to come after is no less solemn to us than to you; we ask you, therefore, what do you know of it? Tell us,—we will tell you what we hope. Let us reason together, in sober and precise prose. What, in the language of clear sense, does any one of us hope for after death, what precise kind of life, and on what grounds?" we have an impulse to answer him, to do as he has done—and state our belief and our grounds for it, boldly and frankly; for, assuredly, the world is not helped by many denials

and negatives so much as by one honest utterance of positive and living conviction. It is no purpose of this paper to controvert Mr. Harrison's positions; indeed, it would be a barren achievement, however complete, for he proceeds, for the most part, by negatives and exclusions, and assures us only of what he does *not* find, what he does *not* believe. There is a sonorous emptiness, a hollow grandeur about the spacious spiritual edifice which he inhabits, and, save for the love of argument and controversy, there could be but small satisfaction in demonstrating Mr. Harrison's self-contradictions, or in replying to his misstatements or his invectives. Indeed, we cannot but feel that an answer to these papers, to be a satisfactory one to one's self or others, must be quite another thing from a mere reply to Mr. Harrison; it must be a statement of a faith other than his, and obtained through a different process. Meagre as is Mr. Harrison's creed, a pulse of conviction throbs through it, and it is this which moves and impresses us. Whether he be right or wrong, he knows what he thinks, and has a reason to give for the faith that is in him. We feel that we can do no less but speak for ourselves as frankly as he has done. He has struck one chord, at least, that finds an echo in the mind and heart of every one who responds to genuine earnestness; he has carried the questions he proposes into a region common to all thinking beings, wherein the speech of any one who possesses a distinct conviction on the subject under discussion, has a value and a claim to be heard. We know that there are many minds to which the sound of Mr. Harrison's words are but as idle wind, which they regard not. To such, we do not speak; they do not feel the point and weight of his weapon—they need no shield to guard them from its blows. There are many more who find in authority, whether of a book, or an individual, or an organization, an all-sufficient protection against the darts of the Positivist. To them it is enough to say—"this contradicts the Bible; this denies the authority of the Church—he *must* be wrong." To such we do not speak—they have what they need. But to those who, with us, have understood and felt whatever of power and truth there is in the Positivist Creed, who shrink from no loss or pain resulting from the pursuit of Truth into her abiding places, who love her more than spiritual ease and sloth, more than peace and rest, more than sympathy, who love her *best*, who are freed from the thralldom of authority, who crave a living

faith that feeds their minds and souls, to whom the arbitration of theology and the solutions of physical science—regarded as spiritual food—are alike husks,—to those and for them, we would speak; believing that if some word of ours finds or wakes an echo in their breasts, we shall have done well to utter it.

And first, let it be understood that when reference is made to Mr. Harrison's belief, or non-belief, it is simply because his papers are the immediate occasion of ours, and because his positions often form the direct antitheses to ours; not because we propose to reply to him, except so far as responding to his challenge, by an expression of a widely different faith from his own, may be called an answer; for it seems to us that the day is past when proving, even to one's entire satisfaction, any one else to be wrong, is to give one's self assurance of being right.

We who are about to state our belief, claim that it is based on a *rational* method. We accept no intellectual dogmas, incapable of apprehension by the human intellect; we assume the existence of nothing of which we have not reasonable proof, either by observation or inference; above all, we claim to observe men in the light of the faculties that we all possess in greater or less measure; that the belief which results from our observations is, in the justest sense, a reasonable one, and that the process by which it is reached, neither does violence to the laws of our intelligence, nor is at variance with scientific methods of enquiry, but is governed by the one and in harmony with the other. We do not claim that faith and knowledge are identical terms, but that knowledge is the legitimate basis of faith and the only sure one. We do not claim to explain all facts of which we have cognizance, but we recognize them *as* facts, even when our ignorance and imperfect capacity prevents our classifying, co-ordinating and connecting them into a perfect sequence and intelligible harmony.

It does not seem necessary to us, in order to admit the meaning and power of a fact, that we should know as well the fact which is its immediate cause and reason of being; nor does the knowledge, when we obtain it of that second underlying fact, which explains its forerunner, make its own existence less a mystery to us. We are conscious that, independently of our evidently limited capacity to know and comprehend, there exists in us a more extensive and far-reaching capacity to believe and apprehend. We use first one, and then the other.

As to the "Soul," we believe that there is something existing in human beings, which, by the laws of its nature, is exempted from the operation of those laws which, in due course of time, bring to pass in every human being, that dissolution of elements called death,—that this thing, which we also believe to be a conscious entity, is not subjected to the process of death, that it is the essential part of each individual, that which makes him a unit, and that this exemption from mortality constitutes what we mean, by the "immortality of the soul." We believe this conscious entity embodies, so essentially, the personality of each human creature, that to any one believing this doctrine and allowing it to leaven his thoughts and feelings, death becomes merely the most serious circumstance of which he has any positive knowledge,—the event in his life, which, on a reasonable hypothesis, brings more of change and novelty than any other of which he has even an apprehension, involving a probable readjustment and refashioning of all but the very essentials of his being; which transfers him to the government of totally unknown conditions of existence, concerning which he can only surmise, never predicate. It is a door opening upon impenetrable darkness, through which he must pass, and which must be closed behind him; but it is in no sense, an ending, a completion. That behind and before us lie mystery and thick darkness, we grant, but we have reason to believe that death can in no sense be the end of what we recognize as a fact, without attempting to explain it,—the individual conscious existence of man.

Belief in future life, that is life after death, is involved and implied in the foregoing statement of belief in the soul of man. Concerning the conditions and limitations of that life, we have no knowledge, nor even a defined belief. We know just enough of ourselves to know that of the life hereafter, we can now *know* nothing. Nor would we have it otherwise. The magnificent vagueness which pervades that chapter in St. Paul's first epistle to the Corinthians, is the most sympathetic expression of the state of our minds. We apprehend enough to realize our incapability of comprehending, and the facts upon which we base our reasonable belief in immortal life, in no way incite us to attempt definition or assertion concerning the special character and nature of that existence which is to continue after death. These two points of faith, are inseparable and interdependent. If you believe in a conscious en-

tity called the Soul, which does not undergo the operation of the natural laws which enforce the death of the body, you must consequently believe in its life thereafter.—How such laws as it will then be ruled by, may deal with it, is no question for us, under our present conditions. Mr. Harrison proposes a series of questions regarding this “conscious entity,” the soul of man, and assumes from our palpable, and indeed freely acknowledged inability to answer them, that such inability disproves its existence.

But surely such a position is arbitrary, and it seems to us to involve a frivolous method of treating the question. What are the conditions of a reasonable belief in the existence of any thing? Is it essential that we should thoroughly understand the laws that govern that existence, and their workings? If that be so, then we deny all facts which we observe, for, in their ultimate ground, we understand none of them. We have an objective perception and power of recognition of them, which we exercise. For instance, we claim to believe in the existence of natural forces,—electricity, for example. Are we bound to comprehend all the phenomena of its manifestations, its exact relations to all other natural forces, to grasp it as a whole, and be competent to state exactly whence it came and whither it goes, before we are permitted to say that we apprehend and believe in its existence?

The power to exactly define and set limits, belongs not to the scholar, but to the master. It were as well to make the power to create a thing the condition of belief in its existence, as the power to thoroughly comprehend it. We may be truly said to comprehend nothing and apprehend much. This is most literally true of inductive physical science, to whose processes the positivist makes his triumphant appeal, in proof of his position that ignorance makes faith impossible. The very basis of research in physical science, is the acceptance of facts and the inferences that are drawn from them consequent on that acceptance. Once in centuries, a Newton looks upon a heap of carefully accumulated facts, the result of long and laborious observation, and sees the golden thread of sequence and connection running through all. He disentangles it, and follows whither it leads. It is but a little way that he travels, before it is again lost in an inextricable maze, but we call that straight short path—beginning in inexplicable facts and ending in inexplicable facts—a law of nature. We all believe that it leads into and

among other yet unknown laws of nature, with which it is in harmony. We all admit that it started from mystery, that is from fact, for, what is more incomprehensible than a fact? And men of science tell us, it is but one step made on a road of which they have no map, a path to which they have no certain clue. If it be a good and sufficient reason against belief, that we cannot answer every question about the object of our belief, then even the objects that we smell, taste and handle, we have no reasonable right to believe exist. From the flower of the wayside, in whose fragrance we delight, to the mighty sun himself, who lights the earth on which we live, we must renounce belief in them all. We know but a mere fraction of the laws which govern them, and we do not know whence comes the odor of the flower, or whence issues the light of the sun. In the old days, when the world was young, the instinct of humanity led it to reverence and worship that which it could not comprehend; to-day the instinct seems to lead us to measure the world of life by our own stature, and deny the existence of all that is beyond and above us. Which is wiser? Which is better? On every side, our finite capacity, our finite power to grasp and define, struggles with a far-reaching power of apprehension and assimilation.

But to return; we believe in the soul of man as a conscious entity and we claim to base this faith on reasonable methods. What are those methods? We are sure, precisely the same that lie at the basis of all ascertained science. By observation of facts, and by reasonable induction from those facts, our inferences are as assured as any inference made by men. No law of nature, as expounded by men, plants its feet on any firmer ground than first, careful observation of facts, and then, induction from those facts. Sir Isaac Newton—Professor Tyndall tells us—did his great work by “pondering” on facts; and here let it be said, all great steps in science have been made by a spark of intuition or genius, which is not induction itself, but acts upon the train of facts, carefully laid, as the spark to ignite them.

Discarding then Mr. Harrison's condition, i. e., that in order to believe anything, we must first learn everything, we start on the basis that we know nothing of man but what our faculties enable us to observe, and will believe nothing which is not based upon some positive knowledge. We assume nothing but the ground on which

we stand, that we must be guided by the light that we can see. That is, we take man as he appears when scrutinized by the faculties he himself possesses, and we find in him certain powers, certain capacities, certain instincts, which make certain manifestations and exhibit certain tendencies. These we observe, and from these we draw our conclusions. This is what science proposes to do—to judge of man and other creatures, by the light of reason, man's highest faculty; and science does not disdain to employ in her method, analogy and probability, as well as certainty, for of certainty she recognizes that we can obtain but a small part, and that beneath and above and about our best ascertained facts, lies mystery, dark and inscrutable.

The facts on which we base our belief in the soul of man as a conscious individual entity, and in a life for that soul after death, must possess certain qualities to make them available. They must be generally recognized as facts by the common experience of the thinking fraction of mankind; that is, they must be undeniable facts and they must be susceptible of no other just and reasonable inference than that which we draw. If conclusions pointing in another direction can be reasonably drawn from them, then, although the man of science might refuse to relinquish them, as the basis of a system, here we part company with him and give them up, for into a genuine conviction enters an element unknown and unnecessary to the pursuit of science, the element of *faith*, which excludes doubt and confers assurance. We acquire our knowledge, even as the votary of science acquires his; we make it the basis of our belief, but we exercise a faculty as real as our eyesight or reason, in dealing with the facts we have accumulated, and that faculty we term *faith*.

In looking at man, with a view to comprehending his nature and the laws which govern it, if we might confine our observation to what are termed purely physical facts, we would have no difficulty in attaining a harmonious and defined conception of that nature and those laws. If we could ignore all facts that are at variance with physical ones, all those generally known as spiritual facts, we would have a clear field of vision, even if the horizon were limited by the end of bodily life. Our problem is how to harmonize and co-ordinate two sets of facts which are perpetually coming into collision. Looking at one series of facts, in the light of

the physical laws we have found to govern the universe, man is a perfectly comprehensible, harmonious and limited being, capable of reaching a symmetrical perfection by obedience to laws, which he has ascertained govern alike him and the universe, and able to trace all his imperfections and shortcomings to his evasion of, or disobedience to, natural laws. This is all simple enough ; we have only to regard ourselves as subjects of a harmonious system of laws, to comprehend the puzzle of our existence and, by persistent and intelligent action, to produce results of growth and progress, which can be confidently calculated on beforehand. But there is another series of facts which are at war with this system of physical law, and which incite us to rebel against its sway, and when not openly at war, then discordant with, and if ever in harmony, then so, only, in a region beyond our ken ; here on earth and among men, in perpetual contradiction.

Yet these facts, which teach us of the existence of other laws, which, if obeyed, oppose the operation of purely physical laws, and which cannot be welded as links in the chain of induction from physical facts, are as real to us—often *more* real—as any of the phenomena of hearing, or sight or touch. As our thoughts about them take shape, we see that they are in harmony with each other and interdependent, capable of logical union, and we see purpose, connection and meaning running through them ; we see that each man possesses, in his life and experience, these two series of facts, and we see that these facts plainly indicate the existence of two distinct systems of laws. The more closely we observe, the more evident it is to us that the underlying, inward springs and essential ideas, from which these laws are respectively evolved, are diverse from each other—not to be made at one on any terms—and the deeper we penetrate, the more absolute is this diversity. We see that if man attempts to govern his life according to the dictates of merely physical laws, and makes such laws his supreme guide, that he reaches a certain symmetry of development, but that he can only do this by disregarding the monitions of facts which cannot be harmonized into obedience with known physical laws,—but which continually contradict and combat them—and we see the lives of most human beings become, as we watch, a compromise between the impulses derived from this double nature of things, the instincts of obedience to one or the other of these two systems of law. No

one can pretend to harmonize them; no one can reconcile their behests, and obey both at once. All life presents a scene of incessant choosing and compromising, or else, more rarely, the spectacle of a choice made once and forever, the subordination of one nature to the other; a choice, which, even to the careless eye, produces an immediate and marked result in the life of the person who makes it.

It is not too much to say, that no great general physical law can be put into unmodified operation and obeyed, without its acting as a Juggernaut on the spirits and souls of its subjects. Take, for an example, the natural law of "the survival of the fittest." Work out its dictates, live in obedience to its indications, and we will cease to be impeded, in our progress as a race, by the imbecile, the lame, the blind and the maimed. Vigor and endurance, clear heads and strong arms, will tell with all their legitimate force, but, in the execution of this great physical law, we shall have exterminated charity, pity, compassion and self-sacrifice, from our natures.

Our observation of spiritual phenomena leads us to infer that man is intended to be governed by a system of law which often contradicts and always transcends such laws as have been ascertained to govern the physical universe. But when we say man should be governed, what do we mean? Surely, something distinct from, and different from, the physical nature and being of man. Our intelligence tells us, that that physical organism, viewed by itself, should be governed by those laws, obedience to which so manifestly and unquestionably produces symmetry, harmony and perfection in that organism. If man is only an animal, he should reasonably obey those laws which make him the most perfect animal, which give him the fullest and best result of completion and fulfilment. He assuredly should not trample this law of his being under foot, in striving to obey a law which is evolved from no element essential in himself, which is not deduced from his faculties, or needs or powers. If man were merely an animal, if we knew nothing to forbid his being regarded as an organism containing the seed of its own fruition and decay and extinction, as a flower or fruit, then the convictions of Positivism were inevitable. But, facts do forbid this conclusion; facts undoubted and of universal experience, crowd upon us, and we can not thrust them aside or ignore them, neither can they be explained and co-ordinated by physical laws. What is the inference we draw? We "see another law in

our members"—we believe that man has that within him, which we cannot locate or describe in the language of sense, cannot see or touch, cannot even define, but which is, nevertheless, evidently his essential self, the very principle of his being and life—this thing which we call his "soul"—has powers and faculties by which it apprehends the existence of a life which we have no functional power to observe—that it possesses impulses, instincts, aspirations, which lead him with resistless power to disobey the laws of a physical, sensuous universe, that he may keep a law which in its operation directly contradicts and frustrates the laws of nature, and impel him to follow a course of action which would be meaningless and without object, but for this apprehension of something beyond, which drive him to seek to harmonize his physical life into accord with an impulse which implies some further, some other life than the life here.

In other words, we see that man is possessed of, or possessed by, two natures, which exist under the condition either of one being subordinated to, and ruled by, the other—or in a perpetual warfare and struggle for supremacy; that no just and equal harmony can ever be produced between them, no alliance entered into; that whatever apparent harmony of union is achieved, is done through the subjection of one nature to the other, and that this irreconcilable discord is essential, and grows more absolute, the deeper one penetrates into the mysteries of the body and soul of man. All sympathy and accord is superficial; the difference and antagonism are radical.

By observation of phenomena, we are forced to conceive of one of these natures, or portions of the nature of man, as limited and governed by the laws of the universe, as at present ascertained, and, inferentially, by the whole system of law under which the world exists, to be absolutely and without reserve amenable to the operation of such laws, and to find its perfection in implicit obedience to them, and its destruction in disobedience, or disregard of them. We see too, that this physical nature of man is not only governed by the same laws as the rest of the creation—but that the inference which necessarily follows, from the observation of physical phenomena is, that the more entire man's faith in his own finiteness and limits—the more complete his acceptance of the analogy between himself "and the beasts that perish," the more symmet-

rical becomes his development, and more rapid his progress towards physical well being.

But we see another nature acting in man, manifesting itself in every man, and we observe its manifestations, and strive to interpret them in analogy with those laws and conclusions which explain and correspond so perfectly with the other nature we have been observing. But the key will not enter, the lock refuses to turn, our solutions fail us, symbols and words take a different meaning; nay, objective nature, facts the most common and universal of life, seeming to underlie all that we know of it, act differently upon this nature and present a different aspect. We seek a clue, an explanation to this contradiction.—We see that much that is most precious and all that is highest in human life becomes absurd and meaningless, looked at through the glass which showed us finite man so clearly and consistently; yet our reason tells us these things have a meaning, these phenomena are as real as those we have already found the key to, but we must discover the principle that governs them, the powers by which we observe the phenomena must serve us to interpret their meaning. It is by the mind that we are cognizant of their existence, it must be by the mind that you co-ordinate and connect them, that we find the thread that leads us to the centre of the labyrinth. They have a law of their own, that is plain; plain, too, that the law which orders them, is either at war with physical law, or escapes collision by utterly transcending it.

We are possessed by impulses to seek out these spiritual laws, to understand and obey them, as strong as any animal impulse. We are driven to follow courses of action which hinge, for meaning, upon this hypothesis, that somewhat within us, by its nature and laws of its being, belongs to a different order of things from this present life. Life, indeed, may be said to lose its perspective by depriving it of this hypothesis and becomes like a Chinese plate—no heights, no depths, no proportion, because no standard of comparison.

If the presence of capacity and desire in a physical organism, unerringly indicate to the scientist, the existence of something to employ that capacity, to fulfil that desire,—if wings in a bird are proof sufficient to the scientific mind, that it was intended to fly,—then the presence of capacities and powers and aspirations in a

man, that have no possible significance till conceived of as stretching toward and grappling with another life, is a reasonable argument for belief in that other life. Should the geologist now disinter the remains of some creature, which indicated to the eye of science, a physical organism intended to be nourished by some method or function of which, as long ago extinct, we possess no living specimen for observation, the philosopher would unhesitatingly dictate, that its evident intention and purpose, proved the existence of what would gratify and fulfil the function. The thirst of man for the capacity to imbibe the infinite and everlasting, proves in like manner that they exist for him. Human life loses significance and comprehensibility the moment we deny the soul, and the prospect of its future existence; the moment we grant them hypothetically, the blank wall, against which, the Positivist says, we must come in the end, turns into an open door, opening in darkness, if you will, but still open.

The conception of the existence of a conscious individual entity in man, and a life for it continuing after the dissolution of the body, acts upon the mass of accumulated spiritual facts as the application of a discovered principle of physical law acts upon a mass of accumulated physical phenomena; only with even more exceeding power, for, instead of a partial co-ordination and apprehension, it gives a clue which leads to the very centre of the labyrinth; it is rather the essential principle of which all the laws of the spiritual kingdom are expressions, than one of those laws themselves; it enables us to apprehend the motive of our being, not to comprehend it; to do that, one must be able to put all things at the same focus,—to be above, and equally above, all.

To illustrate the absolute and profound antagonism between the two natures of man, let us take the most universal experience of life and observe that the interpretation of it, the attitude towards it, the result from it, in the two natures, are diametrically opposed one to the other. We mean the great fact of pain, the fact of suffering. What is pain, looked at under the conception of man as a finite being, entirely amenable to the laws of the physical universe, evoked from them and dissolved by their operation into the elements of which they composed him? It is an unmitigated evil; it means that something is wrong in the workings or structure of the human machine, and is the result of that disturb-

ance, perversion or irregularity. No, more—it serves no good end, has no beneficial purpose, indeed no purpose at all, and to prevent or arrest it, should be the object, the great object of us all. But that we may take this simple and consistent view of pain, we must shut our eyes to many facts, some of them the gravest of which we keep record. If pain means evil, broken law, and, in the end, the destruction and dissolution of the body, it means just as surely and plainly, good, laws obeyed and in the end life, fuller and more abundant.

There is not a single impulse, transcending in dignity the rudimentary impulse of the mere animal, that in its execution does not involve some element of pain; pain, that may well be far outweighed by the accompanying rapture, but still pain. Some physical law is always overridden, broken, or thrust aside, when we strive to keep a spiritual law; and the breaking of physical law is ever accompanied by pain. Theologians and philosophers have always striven to account for the presence of pain and suffering in human life. They have offered solutions and explanations without number; not one of them satisfies us. They never penetrate into the heart of that mystery, not more than into the kindred ones that surround us and enshroud our beginning and our end. We are left to accept pain as a great fact in all its manifold forms and by observing it, to learn its meaning.

As we have said, if man is to be regarded as a finite being, subject without reserve to the laws which govern the physical universe, then it is evident and indisputable that pain is an altogether bad thing, a thing to be avoided and evaded and escaped, if possible. It is not only an evil, but the greatest evil, and never to be preferred to others, because nothing else can be so bad. All speech of it, as elevating, or purifying, or helping, is meaningless. If we are our bodies, and our bodies are all of us, how absurd, to say that we are elevated by being frozen on the Alpine summits of great pain, or purified by fire, or helped by torture! We cannot deny this conclusion—physical laws are not vague, or cloudy, or incomprehensible in their workings; they exactly fit the finite nature of man. We already know positively enough of the sequence of those workings, to regard them intelligently as a whole. We feel that the investigation of them is a field, from end to end of which our faculties may stride, and that there is a correspondence

between our powers of comprehension and the physical universe. We can grasp its laws and apply them, as a master grasps his tools; and how comparatively clear and simple a thing life is, when looked at in this way! The perplexing element is evidently something, forming no part of a physical universe. We see a law, a physical law, distinctly. We see that if we once strip ourselves of those aspirations and convictions—"those obstinate questionings"—which lead us to regard ourselves as possessing an essential being, whose laws not only do not accord with physical laws, but often directly oppose them; that life, instead of being a warfare, a combat, will become a symmetrical, harmonized whole—no more puzzles, no more problems, no more apparent contradictions, and choosings difficult to make—no more summits to drearily climb, no more depths to sound. Limits shut us in on every side, and the goals of a just and intelligent ambition are within our reach; the prizes of the race set before us are visible, tangible, comprehensible, not seen through a glass darkly. But in truth, and with reason, we cannot so deal with life. We grow daily more conscious, as we observe and ponder, that there is an element putting discord, irreconcilable discord, into our lives. Two voices cry in our ears; we cannot make these tones to blend and be at one together.

From youth up, we have been conscious of two natures fighting within us—as one of us—and long ago "we saw another law in our members," and we see and know that they are at variance. How shall we—how can we—solve the problem? Thus, we take all known physical facts, group and classify them, and find a clue to their meaning as a whole; we find the laws by which they are ruled, and we find the key to their comprehension, in the acceptance of the fact, that a portion of ourselves is literally a part of the physical universe, absolutely subjected to its laws—to the same laws that we observe to govern the material world. This part of us we call our body—we find our comprehension of it by subjecting it to the same laws that govern the progress, decay and dissolution of the rest of what we term matter; more than this, we recognize an impotence to exempt it from the operation of these laws, in the very smallest degree. We break or disregard them, not with the danger, but with the certainty, of paying an exact penalty. We find that the perfection of our bodies is best attained (assuming our ideal to be a consistent physical one), by implicitly and joyfully

obeying the laws of nature. All analogy and proof shows us that our bodies are like other bodies and governed by the same principles of vitality, growth, decay and dissolution. To take away the physical organism, man, from the universe, we know, would be like removing the capital of a column or the keystone of an arch. But, this done, there are still a host of unexplained, unsolved, unarranged facts, which refuse to be brought into sequence and connection with those with which we have been dealing, by any logical process, and we have no excuse for attempting the task, for there is a complete symmetry in the result we have attained. We cannot perfect that beyond its own limits.

These facts, with which we are now to deal, betray a sympathy and analogy with one another, just in proportion to their foreign, alien attitude towards those we have just co-ordinated. We search for a clue to their meaning. No analogy with Physics helps us. We must either ignore these facts of our existence, or find another key to their significance. When we attempt to unlock it with the one that has just so well served our turn—it breaks to pieces in our fingers. What are we to do? Are we to accept this incomprehensible discord, this perpetual discontent and rebellion within ourselves, and not seek for some method which will at least enable us to deal with ourselves—with this part of ourselves—on a principle? Shall we be content to leave what forms a part of all of us, and so large a part of some of us, without an attempt to grasp the principle of its being? Can we be content to contemplate the vast array of facts, which seem most pregnant with meaning to us, and confess ourselves incapable of understanding that meaning? We *know* that the laws which govern our bodies are not the laws which govern our souls. We *know* that we can only satisfy our souls and fulfil their longings, by, for the most part, overriding, thrusting aside, and, at times, violently breaking these physical laws, under which our bodies move to a harmonious perfection. What, then? Is there a portion of man's nature, lawless and chaotic? Has he powers intended to no end? and capacities never to be filled? No, we say; reason forbids us to think this. If we have capacities and powers, they have objects, design, meaning and purpose.

In physical research, the man of science would scout the idea of ignoring or evading facts, or of holding any theory inconsistent and irreconcilable with the results of observation. Let us use our rea-

son, our understanding, as well as he. At what results do we arrive? The more carefully we observe, the more thoughtfully we consider spiritual phenomena, (under which name we include all manifestations of our nature that refuse to be interpreted by physical laws), the more sure and plain it appears to us that we possess the germ of a nature within ourselves, which can only come to full development in a different sphere from the one we now inhabit. It is *but* a germ. We know that, undeveloped and imperfect as yet, but with an evident principle of vitality and growth within it, which—fettered and imprisoned as it is—still expands and stretches towards an atmosphere where temporal symbols utterly lose their significance; something within us which—although constrained within a network of laws, which it does not obey and which still hamper its expression—still manages to establish a royalty of greater or less power, a kingdom of broader or narrower sway, within the breast of each one of us; a kingdom, of whose laws, if we obey them, we may know even more and more accurately than we do of the laws which govern seed-time and harvest, the early and the latter rain. The moment we assume that we possess such a germ, a germ of another life, an essential conscious part of each of us, which is not only exempt from the law of mortality under which our bodies exist, but grows and lives in obedience to another and far different law, which is only hampered and impeded by its present embodiment, which indicates to us its innate capacity for growth and fruition in an atmosphere other than that native to the body, which shrouds it, in a myriad of ways;—the moment that we assume this, or, rather, the moment we infer this, from the inductive process applied to spiritual phenomena, we have our key—we surely do *apprehend* in the deepest sense of the word.

The clue is in our hands, and the light shines steadily over the path along which it leads us.

The only conception that has ever been commensurate with the aspiration of a human soul, has been that of a life conscious and individual, essential to itself, not dependent upon, or involved with, that of the body.

The soul is never content to be chained to the body in an equality of condition; either it must be supreme over it, or it breaks from it in defiance. There can be no real alliance, as of equal sovereigns, between them.

Those men, whom we all call greatest, in all times, have always set at naught the laws of the physical kingdom and lived as rebels to them, falling under their dominion through the instrumentality of their bodily desires, it may be, again and again, but never submitting to them as to a rightful sovereignty. If their capacities were really meant to be filled under that physical dominion, how is it that disobedience to it has worked so much of good, of the highest good, for men?

We hear a great deal, now-a-days, of the old sentence of divorce, which theologians once pronounced between body and spirit, being revoked, and that they are again wedded in an indissoluble union. If they are united, it is as master and slave, not as equal partners. A man may put his spirit at the feet of his body; he may make the desires and the objects of time and sense his rulers, but then his spirit is enslaved by his body, not united to it.

Some one may say, "But tell us some of these spiritual facts, that point so clearly to the presence of a soul in man and a life to come, beginning here in germ and growing with an endless power."

Let us take for one fact, the effect and meaning of pain. Instinct, experience and observation teach us the value, the blessedness, the enriching and elevating power of pain. Where would we be without the help and teaching and strengthening and softening of pain? Whether it is the pain born of our own mistakes and errors and sins, or of the mistakes, errors, and sins of others, we know that it acts on us like sun and rain on a plant. We *grow* under its influence. More than that, we recognize that it is the price of all good things; we choose its pangs, and let the mess of pottage go. By both impulse and deliberate action, we constantly endure it for the sake of others and for our own sakes. Why do we believe these good things of pain? Viewed as a condition of an organism governed solely by the laws that govern the other organisms of nature, it is an unmodified loss and evil. There is no good in it, or to be got from it. It means disobedience to the laws of our being; nothing more or different. Ah, yes! but it means also obedience, the best meaning anything can have; better even than sacrifice, because it is the structure built on sacrifice, the outcome of it—the flower obedience from the root sacrifice; but what is it that we sacrifice? Just those impulses, desires and instincts which counsel obedience to mere physical laws, which bid us harmonize

our being by them ; and we obey the law of our souls—the giant germ that heaves within us as it grows, and forbids harmony and sends a sword into our lives.

The sense of personal responsibility to a personal knowledge of right and wrong, alone lifts us out of the region of mere animal organism. Every choice our will makes between right and wrong, every recognition we give of personal responsibility, necessitates the assumption on our part of the objective existence of a standard, a law, a world of laws, above and beyond this one, and casting only a shadow of its meaning on our path ; and it necessitates, in likewise, the assumption on our part that we, our essential selves, that part of us which makes the choice and knows the difference between right and wrong, bears an affinity and is in its life, in analogy to the life that lives in that other realm of law. You cannot call an organism " a responsible being. We all agree to withhold the element of moral responsibility from all creation that we observe, and we confer it upon, or rather we behold it in, man alone. But moral responsibility is inconceivable without individual life, without entity, and meaningless, absurd even, when you attempt to conceive of that entity as possessing it towards a law, the principle of which is alien to its very nature. Then can a law be the law for you and me to live by, to grow by, to live on, if its principle and the ideas on which it is based have no correspondence and analogy with the essential principles of our being ? When a man finds that obedience to a certain law of health makes his body strong, vigorous and elastic, he says that law is proved to be the law of my body. Why ? Because obedience to it makes his body what it was meant to be at its best, he recognizes its power and proclaims the harmony between his organism. It then cannot be that when a man finds growth and vigor and purity come into his spiritual nature by obedience to a law, the principle of which is the individual life of the soul, and its growth hereafter, that he should fail to see that the reason why that obedience cures him and helps him, is because that law finds its own principle answering back from his soul ; if the same idea and germ were not within him, it would be an empty echo of itself that it would hear. The law that governs a being is evolved from a principle which, wherever else it exists, must exist within the essence of that creature itself. If man were an absolutely finite being, the laws of time and sense would have

uninterrupted sway over him ; he could not answer to the cry of the infinite if he could not hear it. Strong desire involves a partial possession ; we want more because we already have ; we desire further knowledge because we already know. If we were mere complements of earth, the whole glorious system of moral law that we, now, imperfect as we are, still bow before and apprehend sufficiently to adore, would pass over us without our eyes being once raised to gaze upon it. The great moral ideas and laws that we now feel to be one with something within ourselves, so much the greatest thing that we make over our entity to it and call it ourselves, would mean no more to us than to the rocks, and trees, and grass. No, the law of moral responsibility, and of conscience of right and wrong, is evolved from the essential principle of the natures it governs and who recognize it. And this moral law which finds itself repeated in us, and yet is objective, and seems to come to us from beyond ourselves, is not a law of the earth as a physical universe. Right and wrong are words with no meaning in the affairs of atoms, and globules and crystals, nor in connection with chemistry and botany, geology and physiology. We can explain the earth, as far as we have gone, without them, and we can master her forces and use them, without them. The moment you try to make the moral law an integral part of a world of physical laws, it becomes useless and meaningless and superfluous. The body is protected by its own laws ; if it obeys them, it will do as well as possible. It must dissolve some day ; universal experience teaches that ; but, under its finite condition it is amply provided for by a complete system of law. The moral idea will only create complication and make trouble. But the soul leaps up within her prison house, and cries, not audibly, nor through the function of the voice, but "with groanings that cannot be uttered," and calls for her master and her servant. The soul has a kingdom prepared for the moral law, and a throne whereon to seat it.

If we take any of our strongest and deepest convictions, any convictions or ideas that we know to have been the most strongly rooted in the faith of great men of history, they will, generally, when looked at from the standpoint of an unbeliever in the soul as an entity and in its future life, appear meaningless. Then we realize how necessary, as a logical and reasonable basis for all our highest and dearest aspirations, these two convictions are. It is not as

the Positivist would have it, that we so ardently cling to life; it is that we are so *absolutely sure* of possessing it. Mr. Harrison tells us a story of the Great Frederick crying to his craven soldiery, "Would you then live forever?" and compares this to the state of mind of the believer in immortality. Does he remember how many, many thousands of men and women have embraced the death from which the Prussian soldiers ran away, just because they *did* believe in immortal life. It is a sort of foregone assumption, a basis *in reason*, for all high resolves, all noble purposes, all lofty aims, this belief in the soul of man, and its exemption from the death of the body. All teaching that goes beyond "eat and drink, for to-morrow we die," infers it. We unconsciously or consciously build all our spiritual lives on it; and it leads us to positions and conclusions that, when we strive to hold them still, and yet relinquish their old bases, stare us in the face, as emptied of meaning, and signifying nothing.

Take the recognition that we all yield to the idea that incomplete, imperfect and unfinished work, whether subjective in a man's own character, or objective done for the world outside himself, is often nobler, higher, better, than symmetrical completion. We feel a kindled enthusiasm, over a mere plan or intention at times, that no achievement scarcely inspires in us. We lay down the story of a life that has been nothing but one long attempt, and has ended on earth, barren of successful result, with a deeper sense of admiration, a fuller glow of added courage, with more of help and comfort gained for us by that man's failure than we often get from the story of prosperous fruition, and the work that is done, and well done. We say:—

" Not on the vulgar mass
Called " work " must sentence pass,
Things done, that took the eye and had the price,
O'er which, from level stand,
The low world laid its hand,
Found straight way to its mind, could value in a trice.

" But all, the world's coarse thumb
And finger failed to plumb,
So passed in making up the main account;
All instincts immature,
All purposes unsure,
That weighed not as his work, yet swelled the man's amount."

We plainly see that the apparent end, that which is the end indeed of *one* existence—is but the beginning of another. If we believed for an instant that death was the goal of life, that failure here meant final and absolute failure, for that spark we call our conscious self, then we could hardly endure to read the record of struggle and defeat that most of the noblest lives we know of, present; or, if we believed that we became a mere *memory*, as the Positivist would have us, bidding us look forward to a resurrection in the minds of men, of which, however, we possess the fruits only prospectively, since, when we are remembered, we shall be ourselves—our conscious, responsible, living selves no longer, but, if existing, then

Rolled round in earth's diurnal course
With rocks and stones and trees.

But all our enthusiasm for unfinished work; all our eager recognition of the purpose and design of it, as making it greater than mere *accomplishment*, less grand in scope, can ever be; all our sympathy with that prodigality of labor and strength, that we see men give towards the work that they needs must leave, but just begun,—is but an echo of

“He said, What's Time? Leave *now* for dogs and apes.
Man has Forever!”

Conscious of the possession of a Future, illimitable to our present sense, we plan for it, work for it, and when we do not do this, we dwarf our faculties. If death closed all, if man had not an immortal soul, then surely we could find no meaning in failure, but its simplest and dreariest one, and death would become the last choice of all, instead of being, as now, preferred so often and met so gladly. Take that choice of death for another fact, pointing directly to the certainty of immortal life.

Death is, assuredly, the most terrible of all things to the human organism, meaning, as it does, dissolution of its elements and destruction of its organic unity and conscious life, and every instinct of that body bids it shrink, as well as it may, from its foe. All that a man has will he give for his life,—for the physical life, that is so glad and good a thing to have. Yet, which of us can say that there are not things he would willingly die for; and, if not things, then people; if not people, which of us has not known one human creature for whose sake he would lay down his life? Not one of us; and indeed, even if we make but few abrupt

choices of death, we are all continually signifying, in one way or another, how many things and portions of things we think better worth having, and choose to strive to get, rather than merely the keeping and preserving of our physical lives. And even when we choose a poor thing rather than life, the choice no less goes to prove that we are possessed of some consciousness, deep grained in our essence, that present life is only a condition of things—that we, ourselves, will exist without its maintenance. The very keynote of the martyr's or hero's choice of death, is that he has no belief in death as affecting himself. It may be a pain he is to endure, a trial to experience, a struggle to meet, but, with all, it is a fuller form of life. He dies, that is he gives his body to die, in the very effort to live more, to fulfil the craving for a fuller, deeper, higher life than that of the mere body.

Surely, if death be the end of all humanity, and we know no more individual existence after it is over, then, ever to prefer it to any other evil or calamity is, on the face of it, absurd, (with the possible exception of such great physical misery as would make it a burden.) But all choice of a nobler kind becomes illogical and objectless; indeed, the willingness to meet death and endure it, under many circumstances, is the direct growth from either a deliberate conviction that there is another life, or an instinct, possibly an unconscious one, of the same fact.

Take the whole meaning of what we call self-sacrifice. The human mind cannot rationally conceive of a being with an individual existence and a principle of life, desiring to sacrifice the essential part of its being. Self-sacrifice, as we mean it, the putting aside of self and trampling under foot our desires, spending and being spent for others, means the *highest* kind of self-fulfilment; the making one's whole self obedient to the laws of the kingdom of souls. If we were not conscious that we, our very selves, were not essentially part of this world, we could never treat it as if it were alien to us; were it the mother of our souls as well as of our bodies, we would not trample it under foot; but we feel assured that we are in part foreigners and strangers to the very atmosphere that our bodies feed on. Take away this intense, essential consciousness of life, and what is left, has, it seems, nothing; but you cannot take it away—it cannot be destroyed. You may violently destroy the body, and so long as the man possesses means of communication

with us—who still live in the body—he will tell us, “I still live!” No mere delusion holds its own in the awful presence of death; no mere sentiment can keep its color in that chill air that blows from the tomb; but the soul of man, which lives in, and by, its own laws, says, “Death has no more dominion over me; I belong to another kingdom. Have I not been always denying and breaking the laws of physical nature? Why should I yield to them now?” To us it seems no more wonderful for that which is within a man to refuse to die—to live in disobedience to a physical law, which is part of a system of law, to which he has never yielded allegiance—than any other act of successful victory over a natural law. It does not seem to us so great and strong a thing for the soul of man to live without the body, as to resist temptation to obey the body, being yoked with it.

The law of sacrifice is the sacrifice of one part to the other, of the poorer to the better part, the baser to the nobler. It is not against our whole nature, not a crucifixion of the *whole* man, only of part of him, and the glorious fulfilment of the other. There is no real loss of life involved in a man laying down his life for his friend; there is life to be had more abundantly through the very loss of the physical life, and he who already possesses a spark of life immortal, feels the longing to kindle it into a fierce flame.

“ ’Tis life for which our pulses pant.
More life, and fuller, that we want.”

Oh, never doubt it! The strongest thing in man is the desire and consciousness of life to be; and it is “this power of the growth of an endless life” that, working within him, makes the vital element in every desire and power of his nature. It is this which gives him strength and love and faith.

The Positivist may tell us that this love of life is a poor and unworthy sentiment for a man to feel; he may sneer at the man who is narrow and “personal” enough to crave the retention of his individual consciousness, and he may bid us conceive of being merged into a memory, as the more glorious and satisfying destiny; yet, the facts of which we have spoken remain, and he can do away with none of them. Yet, another; there is not an idea or sentiment on which the moral and spiritual greatness of the world is reared, that does not strike far outlying roots into another life than this of which we have functional knowledge, and which would not be un-

intelligible and purposeless, did we conceive of man as a mere physical organism. Any one, looking thoughtfully at the world of spiritual life, must see how it bears the stamp of incompleteness upon it; one can find its outer edges nowhere; "the margin fades forever and forever as we move." The imperfection is not that of a thing badly done, but of a thing not done at all; a thing begun and left unfinished. "We look before and after", all through life, and as we contemplate what we know of men's spiritual lives, the old time-worn similes rise to our lips; they seem the fittest, hackneyed as they are: a pilgrimage, a warfare, a passage. We never see an end—many, many beginnings, but never an end. And we never feel so sure of this, as when we stand in the presence of that which ends the physical life under whose conditions we all exist.

FLORENCE BAYARD LOCKWOOD.

ULF VIKINGER, AOIFÉ, AND BRENN.

IRELAND, A. D. 790.

What then, what if my lips do burn,
 Husband, husband!
 What though thou see'st my red lips burn,
 Why is thy look so wild and stern,
 Husband?

It was the keen wind through the reed,
 Husband, husband,
 'Twas wind made sharp with sword-edge reed
 That made my tender lip to bleed,
 Husband!

And hath the wind a human tooth,
 Woman, woman?
Could light wind scar, like human tooth,
That shameful mark of love uncouth,
 Woman?

What horror lurks within your eyes,
 Husband, husband?
 What lurking horror strains your eyes,
 What black thoughts from your heart arise,
 Husband?

Who stood beside you at the gate,
 Woman, woman ?
Who stood so near you by the gate,
No moon your forms could separate,
 Woman ?

So God me save, 'twas I alone,
 Husband, husband!
 So Christ me save, 'twas I alone
 Stood listening to the ocean moan,
 Husband!

Then hast thou four feet at the least,
 Woman, woman !
Thy Christ hath lent thee four at least,
Oh viler than four-footed beast,
 Woman !

A heathen witch hath thee unmanned,
 Husband, husband!
 A foul witch-draught, alas, unmanned;
 Thou saw'st some old tracks down the sand,
 Husband!

Yet they were tracks that went not far,
 Woman, woman !
Those ancient foot-marks went not far,
Or else you search the harbor-bar,
 Woman !

It is not only your's that bleed,
 Woman, woman !
Those lips of his can also bleed ;
Your wounds have been avenged with speed,
 Woman !

What talkest thou of bar and wound,
 Husband, husband ?
 What ghastly signs of sudden wound
 And kinsman stricken to the ground,
 Husband ?

I saw your blood upon his cheek,
 Woman, woman !
The moon had marked his treacherous cheek,
I marked his heart beside the creek,
 Woman !

FROM THE NOTE BOOK OF AN ISHMAELITE. IV.

OF all the queer martyrs, reputed such by a public opinion more or less extensive, Galileo Galilèi is surely the queerest. In our common understanding of the word, a martyr is one who "resists unto blood, contending for the truth," while the next lowest dignity is that of the confessor, who runs the risk of death, but escapes it from some circumstance—such as the cessation of persecution—which is not discreditable to himself. But for the man who, facing death for the truth, flinches and subscribes to a falsehood, Christendom has but one name. He is *lapsus*, fallen,—not an apostate, indeed, for that implies a voluntary abandonment of the Christian profession. Now, whatever may be said in favor of the "lapsed," they have never been objects of eulogy or of admiration, but rather of pity and apology. The more severe of the early Christians refused to receive them back into communion on any terms; the less severe readmitted them after stern penance.

The terminology which has thus become historic, is, of course, capable of application to all those who suffer, or flinch from suffering, in any other behalf. When Anselm visited his former Superior Lanfranc, who had become Archbishop of Canterbury, the primate asked him whether he might unite with the English in paying the honors of saint and martyr to Alphege, who had suffered a cruel death at the hands of the pagan Danes, rather than burden his people with the expense of his ransom. And Anselm answered, "surely he who for such righteousness willingly sustains death, is rightly accounted a martyr. St. John, the Baptist, is venerated as a martyr by the whole church, not because he was put to death for refusing to deny Christ, but for refusing to conceal the truth. And what is the difference between dying for righteousness and dying for truth?" So we speak as properly of Giordano Bruno, as a martyr for his convictions of philosophical truth, as of any other.

But we continually hear Galilèo Galilei described as one of "the martyrs of science." What are the facts? The man was brought before the Inquisition and threatened with torture. That he ever was tortured, is more than doubtful. That he recanted what he did not cease to believe, is certain. Is that the stuff of which

martyrs are made? "But then he recanted his recantation. *Pur si muore*. And he underwent imprisonment for the rest of his life in consequence." This statement represents the commonest view of the facts, but it is incorrect on every point. He did not retract his recantation. If his *Pur si muore* was not a mere afterthought, as seems most likely, it was at least no more than a muttered protest, inaudible to the great assemblage, before whom he solemnly and audibly pronounced and visibly signed his recantation. As for imprisonment, he left nothing mean and despicable undone to avoid it, and, in fact, he was merely placed under surveillance in a Florentine villa, where he had every facility for the prosecution of his studies, and enjoyed every comfort which his friends and his means could command. If this be martyrdom, then how cheap a thing is martyrdom.

We shall contrast with him, not Henry of Zutphen, not Patrick Hamilton, not Hieronimo Savonarola, but the brave Dominican of Nola. Bruno was just as far from sympathy with the church as was Galileo Galilèi; he had earned a European reputation as a heretic; his retraction of his heresies would have been a European victory. But he went to the stake rather than do it, and died, as a man should die, rather than utter the thing which was false. No one can say for himself that he could die for the truth. But every one feels that a deep veneration is due to those who have done so. And a great wrong is done to their preëminence, when any laurel due to them is placed on a head unworthy to wear it. And Galileo Galilèi was no "martyr" for science or anything else.

Is it morally right to read such books as the *Greville Journals*? If a man has obtained information in confidence, even in the implied confidence involved in the relation of a prince to his immediate dependents, he has no right to divulge it either to posterity or anybody else. And if he has no right to tell, I have no right to hear. As soon as I know that he is a rogue to tell, I become his accomplice in roguery, if I listen to him willingly. This principle is universally recognized as regards the spoken utterances of men, even by those who do not put it into practice, except for their own self-defence. They would resent the conduct of a confidential servant, whom they knew to carry tales about things said and done

in the privacy of their homes; they would not merely get rid of such a servant as they would of a balky horse, but they would make him feel their anger in his dismissal, and think, with Jonah, they did well to be angry. But as regards literature, any amount of tale-bearing and violation of confidence is allowable, provided the dish of scandal be but spicy and entertaining, and people run to read what common decency forbids them to seek to know.

It is pleaded that George IV. was a public character. So he was, but like other men in high positions, he was a private character also. His public character was quite as well known to us before this news was served up, as it is now. We have, and we need, no new materials for forming an estimate of him as a public man. It is not his conduct as a king, nor his bad influence upon English society, that we are told about (to judge by the criticisms on the book, as I have not read it and do not mean to), but his dressing-gown and night-cap record,—his acts and words in careless and unrestrained moods, as they were watched and recorded by a man who utterly despised him, but clung to his service for the sake of the pay and pudding. And yet people whose better instincts must prompt a desire to kick the fellow, spend over his book the time that might have been employed in mastering a new language, or studying *Paradise Lost*, which nobody reads now-a-days, we are told.

I cannot help recalling the protest uttered by Thackeray, when he made his James Yellowplush review another nasty book on the very same theme, viz.: *A Diary of the Times of George IV.*

WILL Protestant historians never cease to denounce the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, and to confound that altogether rightful act with the altogether wrongful persecutions which followed it? The Edict of Nantes was a measure which nothing but the most extraordinary circumstances could have justified. It created a virtual *imperium in imperio*, which could not continue to exist in a country so intensely national as France was in the seventeenth century. Sooner or later it must go, and had the state of things it created been got rid of slowly, wisely and justly, as Richelieu proposed, there would have been no tears to shed over its memory. The Dragonnades were no necessary or logical sequence of its abrogation. It is true that they were impossible when it was in

force ; but equally true that France has seen equal toleration established without making her Protestant population into a republic inside a kingdom.

Another historic delusion of that epoch, is the fancied tolerance of Fénelon. We are sometimes told, in popular biographies of the man, that he begged that no troops be sent into the district with whose missionary interests he was entrusted, and that he in no way implicated himself in the violent measures of the Persecution. One of the first ecclesiastical functions exercised by Fénelon, was as spiritual guide of a house of the Convertites,—Protestant girls torn from their parents, that they might be bullied, cajoled and tormented into the Catholic church. Need we say that no man who abhorred persecution would have accepted any such position ? And so far from begging at a later time, that no troops be sent to aid his own missionary efforts, we have still one of his letters in which he asks that still more dragoons be sent to his assistance. I do not say that he was not quite sincere in his conduct on both these points. But it is not fair to his contemporaries, such as Bossuet, to represent Fénelon of so much greater enlightenment and gentleness than they, and to allege “ false facts ” in proof of the assertion.

WHEN Tennyson calls death the shadow who
“ Holds the keys of all creeds,”

he assumes a great deal more than he has any just reason for. Why should the dead, as dead, know more about the truth of the Christian creed, for instance, than do the living ? Is not the knowledge of a living Leighton or Maurice, for instance, likely to be far more exact and extensive, even as regards the future world, than that of the man who hardly gave the spiritual life a thought, till a few hours before his death yesterday ? Spiritual knowledge, like all other, is based on experience as a moral discipline. The life to come fastens very closely to that which now is. It is mainly the prolongation and continuation of the latter upon an ascending or a descending plane. While I do not believe that Swedenborg ever visited the regions of that life, except in thought and imagination, I cannot help being struck by his statement that he found atheists going up and down the middle region, denying that they had ever lived before death.

Of course, if the Mohammedan notions about heaven and hell, which frequently pass current as the Christian conceptions, are true, then there is no possibility that even a shade of ignorance will cling to men after death. Heaven and hell will so advertise themselves as such to men's very senses, that there can be no mistake, and no possibility of it. But if the real and essential things of that future are *what* a man is and not *where* he is, then there is no reason to believe that a man's transplantation to a new set of surroundings, will give him a light to whose capacity he has not attained by moral growth.

"But it is said 'the devils also believe and tremble.' That implies that spiritual knowledge stands in no necessary relation to spiritual attainments in character and virtue." The passage quoted is not descriptive of the ordinary condition of the devils or of those who have sunk to the level of their companionship. It refers simply to the recognition of Christ's power by the spirits of possession, when they cried out, "what have we to do with thee, thou Son of God?" The Apostle James is thus referring to what he had seen in this present life, not to any mysteries of the unseen world. All that the facts in question can tell in favor of the thesis we are opposing, we are ready to concede. But it amounts to just nothing.

Books of great literary vitality often sink for a time into comparative neglect, and seem forgotten, and then are rediscovered and set on their old pedestals. Who will thus rediscover the great (but brief) treatise of Boethius *On the Consolation of Philosophy*? It was a favorite throughout the Middle Ages. King Alfred translated it paraphrastically into Anglo-Saxon. Planudes put it into Greek. Notker of St. Gall—author of the famous sequence, "In the midst of life we are in death,"—rendered it into Old High German in the Eleventh century. Chaucer Englished it in the speech of his day. Thomas Aquinas wrote a scholastic commentary on it. There have been two or three later English versions of it, but it is as good as unknown, except to those who have come upon Professor Maurice's loving account of it in his *History of Mediæval Philosophy*. Even George Eliot, the most learned of all our fine writers, in her *Daniel Deronda*, gives Dante the credit of the beautiful sentiment:

Nessun maggior dolore
Che ricordarsi del tempo felice
Nella miseria,

so beautifully reproduced by Tennyson,

For sorrow's crown of sorrow
Is in remembering happier things.

But Boethius had already said: *Nam in omni adversitate fortunæ infelicissimum genus est infortunii, fuisse felicem*; and Chaucer, whose borrowings from Boethius are nearly countless, has versified the saying, after Boethius and Dante, in *Troilus and Cressyde*:

For of fortune's sharp adversité
The worst kind of infortune is this,
A man to have been in prosperité
And it remembre when it passed is.

With which compare his prose rendering in translating the *De Consolatione*: "For, in all adversities of fortune, the most unseely kynde of contrariouse fortune is to hav ben weleful."

A taste of the man's quality as a thinker, is furnished by his discussion of the difference between what is temporal and what is eternal. "Eternity is the whole and perfect possession of endless life. . . . Whatever lives in time, proceeds from past to future; and nothing that exists in time, which can embrace at once the whole space of its own life. It hath not yet got to-morrow, it hath lost yesterday. Even in the life of to-day, you live no more than the flying moment, which you call the present. Whatever, therefore, is subjected to temporal conditions of existence, even though it never began to be, nor should ever cease to be—as Aristotle thought was the case with the world—and though its life should stretch into an infinity of time, yet it has no claim to be thought eternal. For it does not comprehend and embrace the whole at once, even though the whole of its life be in extent infinite. The future it has not." This conception enables him to understand God's providence, which he declares is not a prescience, or a knowledge of things before they happen, but a present and immediate cognition of all things as happening. No part of space, and equally no point of time, can stand at the least distance from Him.

Baader maintains that our present subjection to temporal existence is one of the consequences of the fall. The perfect man will be, "not timeless, but time-free." His own proper life will not

be eternal as God's is; but he will have the same freedom of movement through time that he will have through space. Instead of being obliged always to move on, he will be able to go back when he pleases. Something of this is already indicated in the vividness and range of moral recollection, in the more spiritual races of mankind. The Australian savage can, with difficulty, recollect what happened the day before yesterday. What happened half a lifetime ago, is still an efficient motive to action with a civilized man. We live in the past, instead of merely recalling it, as we grow in true mental power. Short memories, ordinarily made such by the habit of making lies and loving them, mark their possessors as standing on a lower level than the truly human.

There is properly no country in the world, for the intelligence of whose people Americans have so little regard as for the Irish. They stand in such relation to American life, being known chiefly through hewers of wood and drawers of water, and the domestic tyrants of the kitchen, that the whole conception of them is neither complimentary nor truthful. It is just like the notion of New England character, embodied in the writings of the great Nova Scotian humorist,—a conception derived from contact with Connecticut peddlers and clock-dealers. If we were to estimate Ireland and America by the degree of knowledge which each possesses of the other, we might pronounce Ireland by far the more intelligent country.

But light is breaking in some quarters, although, as yet, only half-light. One very curious instance of this comes out in a recent discussion of the relation of education to crime. It is not an unusual assumption of American writers that Ireland is a country of frightful disorder, over which England exerts a sort of legal control, by the help of a garrison. On the contrary, the green island is the most orderly country in Christendom, and the percentage of offences against life, person and property is less than in any English or American community. When the judge comes on circuit to an assize town, in the British Islands, it is the duty of the sheriff to present him with the docket of cases to be tried, or, if there are none, with a pair of white kid gloves. This latter ceremony is as rare in England as frost in midsummer, or thunder at Christmas. It would be certainly not more common in America. But in Ireland it occurs every judicial term, and not in one assize town, but

in several. It may be said that it is because there are so few arrests in proportion to offences, for want of an efficient police force. But, on the contrary, the police of Ireland ranks as the most efficient in the world. Its only rival in thoroughness of discipline and every other excellence, is the *gens d'armée* of Belgium. It is a national organization, subjected to military drill, full of *esprit de corps*; and to obtain entrance to it is an honor, while dismissal from its ranks inflicts indelible disgrace. It represents all classes and creeds in the island, yet so thorough is its discipline, that no collision ever occurs among its members, and no charge of favoritism to either of the embittered religio-political parties is ever heard against it. The one weak point in its management is its subordination to the justices of the peace,—those amateur magistrates, who have made justice a by-word in England, and who have again and again prevented the prompt suppression of Orange and Green disturbances in Ireland, by losing their heads, and by getting, in that headless but objurgatory condition, into the way of every body who is able and willing to do anything.

Now these facts are coming to be known and recognized, even in America. Mr. R. Bingham, in the *Polytechnic Review*, points out the fact that the ratio of crime to population is less in Ireland than in Massachusetts, which is true enough. But he goes on to repeat another very common delusion as regards Ireland, when he says that this is in spite of the fact that Ireland has no public school system, while Massachusetts has had one for over a century. In the sense of gratuitous education at public expense, it is true that Ireland has no public school system. But the "national schools" of Ireland are public schools, built and supported by co-operation of the government, and they furnish education and books at so cheap a rate as puts schooling within the reach of the poorest classes who desire it for their children. And that they do reach the children of Ireland is shown by the fact that nearly one-fourth of the whole population of Ireland is in attendance on them. The system is not, indeed, as old as in Massachusetts; it dates from the accession of the English Whigs to power, nearly half a century ago. Archbishop Whately may be regarded as the chief author of the system, and of its provisions to allow religious instruction without permitting sectarian propagandism. As regards the merits of the instruction given, it is much like our own, better in quan-

tity than quality. The teachers are required to graduate at a training or normal school, such as that jestingly described in "*Father Tom and the Pope*." They are confined to teaching from the books furnished by the Board of Education, at nearly nominal prices; and while the English system of "payment by results" is not in force, they are subjected to a rigorous system of inspection for the enforcement of a needlessly rigid discipline. They are badly paid, and therefore, as a rule, not cordially attached to either the system or to the government. But there is a good hope that when the revenues of the disestablished church come to be distributed, this and some other defects will be remedied.

We believe that the comparative freedom of Ireland from crime, in later times, is partly due to the national school system; partly, also, to the national virtues, and partly to the absence of temptation in a country so poor. Something is also due to the Irish convict system of Sir Walter Crofton, which must be pronounced the most successful experiment yet made in the treatment of the dangerous or criminal class. The numbers of that class have been reduced by one-half in less than twenty years.

In no one respect is the merely naturalistic theory of life and the universe,—now so zealously propagated by some scientific, and many quasi-scientific, persons,—so distinctly and signally a practical failure, as in its inability to furnish those who adopt it, with a supply of oaths and objurgations which shall be at once in harmony with their theoretic convictions, and yet a sufficient outlet for explosive passions. My friend Protoplasicus, is a fine type of the new order of minds, so ably represented by Prof. Clifford on the other side of the ocean. He has not a prejudice left as to the existence of anything spiritual, inside or outside of him. His thinking and his feeling are both the product of physical agitations in the nervous ganglions; and he has no more expectation of a continuance of this particular combination of nervous capacities after death, than of the continuance of the winter's snow through the heat of midsummer. He is as logical as a man can be, whose opinions contradict the uniform language and the practical premises of human existence. He even clearly discerns the limits of his logic, and admits the validity of certain practical rules, for which he can give no reason, but which a man would stultify himself, if he refused to act on them. So it is

until he grows angry, and it must be admitted that the moral discipline of his new creed does not prevent him from doing so at times. And in his anger he has sad relapses into Theism, and even into Christianity; nay, he becomes, all at once, an orthodox Christian, and talks like a man who had accepted all the three creeds, not excepting those clauses of the *Quicumque saluus vult*, which stagger many of the theologians. Some of his acquaintances resent his use of such phrases, as a blasphemy complicated with impertinence. On that point I shall not dwell, but merely mark the confession thus made of the insufficiency of naturalism, even for "the natural man." "There is not enough of it left to swear by," is a popular expression for the complete destruction of anything. And to this, naturalism would reduce the universe itself. It would leave us a whole vast congeries of details and facts, with no vast background of the awful and the mysterious, to give life an interest and a zest higher than that of the restaurant and the theatre, and to furnish us with the thoughts and the sense of relations which shall correspond to the exalted moments of existence. For just the necessity of laying hold of the infinite and the eternal, which comes upon the man excited by anger, is common to the purest, calmest and grandest instants of human existence, which, like anger, carry a man out of himself, but not devilward.

We look back upon the superstitions of astrology and alchemy, with a hearty contempt, like that bestowed upon the belief in witchcraft. And yet all three bid fair to reawaken in the midst of our own nineteenth century. Spiritualism has already brought many of the old superstitions of witchcraft into a certain currency, and an ingenious apology might be made for Judge Sewall, and his fellow victims of the Salem delusion, from the literature of modern spiritualism. Then as to astrology, it had two sides which appeal very powerfully to modern ways of thinking. The first is its assertion of the unity and relation of all parts of the universe to each other,—the sense that every part possesses a force which exerts an influence upon every other. For science shows, as a German theologian says, that the universe has not been built after the model of a Pennsylvania prison, with each part in isolation of force, as well as of space, from all the rest, and the whole mass moving in the constrained tramp and with the enforced silence of the penitentiary.

And, in the next place, there is much in the growing belief in the power and play of purely natural forces in the direction and government of human life, and in the consequent doubt of human freedom and responsibility, which exactly corresponds to the astrological theory of the universe. Shakespeare, makes a character in King Lear, argue against astrology, in terms which have been not inaptly turned against Prof. Tyndall's Birmingham address:—"This is the excellent foppery of the world that, when we are sick of our behavior, we make guilty of our disasters the sun, the moon, the stars; as if we were villains by necessity,—fools by heavenly compulsion,—knaves, thieves and lechers by spherical predominance,—drunkards, liars and adulterers by an enforced obedience of planetary influence,—and all that we are evil in, by a divine thrusting on. An admirable evasion of abominable man, to lay his goatish disposition to the charge of a star!"

As regards alchemy, the case is still clearer. Our theoretical chemists are toiling after the *substantia prima*, not from the old motive, but from one equally powerful. The conditions of value are too well known now, for men to suppose that any method of producing gold artificially would make them permanently rich. But the necessities of science are as great as ever. Men must look for the unity which underlies variety, and cannot rest until they find it. And in Chemistry, the great discoveries seem to be leading away from unity to variety. We still speak of *matter*, but that word represents a conception as obsolete as does *disaster*, or *humor*, or any other out-of-date expression. Not one, but one hundred and forty matters are known to the chemist; no two of them are, under any conditions, introconvertible. And any chemical unity of the universe is, as yet, beyond our ken. The atomic hypothesis, properly so called—not the molecular theory of practical chemistry, with which it is confounded by some—is a bold assertion of the fundamental unity of these various matters, which are, on that hypothesis, so many "forms of matter," differing only in the method of crystallization of the ultimate and indefinite particles. But the hypothesis has never been verified, and most probably never can be. If it could, it would be by proving the introconvertibility not of a few of our present chemical substances, but of all of them. For if a part only were found capable of transformation, the result would be merely a reduction of our existing list to smaller dimensions,

by showing that some substances had been given rank there by mistake. And when we had reached the actual proof of the truth of the hypothesis by the mutation of them all, we should have realized the dreams of the old alchemists, at which the world has laughed for centuries.

In the very interesting lecture on Japan, delivered by Prof. Edward S. Morse, we are treated to such a picture of the many perfections of that island empire, as suggested the question, "What vantage then hath the civilized world? And what profit is there in Christianity? What have we to teach this sensible, clever, observant, good-tempered, gentle, manly and orderly race, from whom we might rather be expected to take lessons on many important points? Is not Emerson right after all, when he asserts the universal and perfect validity of the law of compensation, and have we not lost as much as we gained, in all the changes which have carried us onward and away from this simple, innocent and natural standard of life?" So it might seem at first sight, but a deeper view of the different conditions of our social life and that of Japan, brings us to a different conclusion. In Japan and in China, society is everything and the individual nothing. Consequently, the recognized popular standard of what is right and fitting is carried out with a thoroughness to which we are strangers. Every man lives up to what his neighbors regard as proper, and whatever principles you can have sanctioned by public opinion are sure to be realized in public practice. But there it ends. There is no striving after an ever higher moral ideal, than that of the world,—no freedom to mould life after a nobler, as well as a baser model than the social one. There is no special worth in their goodness, for the powerful social constraints leave them no choice about it. To those who, like Prof. Huxley, would barter their freedom to go wrong for a subjection to a virtuous dictatorship, the moral level of Japan may seem something better than our varied western life, with its moral heights and moral depths. But for the rest of us: "Better sixty years of Europe, than a cycle of Cathay."

HOUSE-DRAINAGE AND SEWERAGE.*

BY GEORGE E. WARING, JR.

I.—HOUSE-DRAINAGE.

A CHIEF justification for the spending of large sums in city drainage, is to be sought in the *sanitary* benefits of the work. The first great purpose is to promote the health of the community.

Believing that the good or bad drainage of our houses has far more to do with the sick-rate and the death-rate than the good or bad drainage of our streets has, I place the house-drainage question first in order, as it is first in importance.

It is an unfortunate fact, which we cannot evade, that all human life involves the production of refuse matter. The economy of the person and the economy of the household, present this constant condition. In proportion as individuals and households are congregated together, does the difficulty increase. In one respect, the disposal of refuse matters forms an exception to the general law, that "in union there is strength." So far as possible, sanitary authorities should adopt as their motto, "Divide and Conquer." The more we unite our offscourings, the more do we increase our difficulty in their proper disposal. It is a simple matter to care for the liquid and solid wastes of a single family, living in a house by itself, and surrounded by ample ground; but it is a very difficult matter,—it is indeed the most difficult problem with which modern engineering has to deal,—to take proper care of the wastes of thousands of families, living close together in a town. In the former case, the ground itself, in the immediate vicinity of the house, affords ample means for safe and easy disposal. In the case of the town, where public sewers are required for the removal of the fouled waters of the community, we are overwhelmed with the volume of that with which we have to deal.

At the same time, whether the drainage waters of the house are to be cared for in its own garden, or discharged into the public sewer, the conditions of its interior drainage are essentially the

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same. We will assume that there is no question as to the ultimate disposal of our drainage, and that we have to concern ourselves only with its removal beyond the walls of the house.

It is well known that water, containing organic matter, if left to itself, becomes fouled by the decomposition of its impurities; and that vessels, whose sides have become soiled by dirty water which they have contained, soon become offensive.

Our pipes and drains are made for the express purpose of carrying away waste matters, and even a soil-pipe "cannot touch pitch and not be defiled." Every conduit intended for the removal of dirty liquids and semi-solid filth, must become more or less slimed by adhesions, and the adhering matter is of a decomposable character. Even the thin coating of soap and of the dirt of ablution, lining the outlet pipe of a wash-basin, wastes itself away in the production of the gaseous results of decomposition. Whether it be much or little, so far as it is not washed on to the drain, it converts itself into "sewer gas," and seeks such means of escape as the plumber may have left for it. Even a tin slop-basin, standing at the side of a wash-stand, unless daily rinsed after emptying, becomes offensive, in spite of its free exposure to light and air. Its smell comes, not from the evaporation of its liquid contents when full, but from the decomposition of the slight coating of foul matters adhering to its sides after it has been emptied.

The decomposition, of precisely the same matters, takes place inside of the waste-pipe of a stationary basin, but here it takes place in a confined space, insufficiently supplied with air. For lack of air, the chemical changes are of a different, and are believed to be of a more dangerous, character. The resolution of organic matter into its gaseous elements, implies the absorption of oxygen. So long as this element can be supplied by the air, so long the dissolution is of a normal character, producing as its final result the simple elements of which all organic matter is chiefly made up—sulphur, phosphorus, carbonic acid, hydrogen and oxygen (combined as water), and nitrogen (in the form of nitric acid and ammonia). The intermediate combinations between the organized form and the ultimate result, are more or less offensive in their odor, but the ultimate products are innoxious and innocuous. When, on the other hand, there is not a sufficient supply of air to furnish the oxygen required, then this element is taken from the decom-

posing material itself. The decomposition goes on, but, lacking its natural food, it feeds on its own body, and the whole process is deranged, producing sulphuretted hydrogen, phosphoretted hydrogen, carburetted hydrogen, carbonic oxide, nitrous oxide, and other offensive and dangerous gases.

Of course, the waste-pipe of a wash-basin—only a few feet long, and of small circumference—does not contain enough material to produce a very serious effect, but it is probable that the foul smell we so often get from a basin, comes more frequently from its own waste-pipe than from the street sewer with which it is connected.

The waste-pipe of a butler's sink is still worse in the character of the decomposition of its slime, because it is coated with grosser materials; the kitchen waste is fouler yet; and when we come to that grand combination receptacle of all domestic foulness, the soil-pipe and the drain leading away from it, we may well stand aghast at their possibilities for offence and mischief. We are much given to ascribing the smells with which we are annoyed to the bad state of the public sewer, but surely we have in the pipes and drains on our own premises (as these are usually arranged and kept), a factory of aeriform nastiness sufficient to account for our worst troubles. This unfortunate state of affairs we cannot entirely avoid; foul substances will stick to the sides of our pipes, and, being detained there, will go on and rot and produce their bad effect.

Fortunately, however, we can greatly mitigate the evil; indeed, I believe it possible, by the exercise of intelligent care in the planning and construction of a house, to reduce it to such a point, as absolutely to remove all danger and all obvious offensiveness.

The perfect sanitary formula would be:—

Allow no organic decomposition to take place within the dwelling or within any drain or pipe connected with it.

Allow no decomposition to take place under conditions favorable to the propagation of unhealthful influences.

Allow no air that has once been inside of a drain or soil pipe, to enter the house under any circumstances.

To secure the first condition named, with entire completeness, is not now possible, nor is it likely that it will become possible. All that we can reasonably hope to do is to reduce the amount of decomposition to an insignificant point. Decomposable matters

are retained within our drains in two ways: (1) by adhesion to their walls, (2) by retention in water sealed traps, though which the current is too slight to carry away solid matters.

By making all our work as smooth as possible, by avoiding horizontal or very oblique courses and irregular surfaces, we may much lessen the tendency to adhesion. By arranging for the rapid discharge of every vessel, we may give a velocity to the movement which will have a good flushing effect. We must depend on these means so far as the minor waste-pipes are concerned; but when we come to the main soil-pipe, something more is necessary.

In my opinion, it is just as important to flush a soil-pipe or a private drain, as it is to flush a public sewer, and I should feel disposed to insist upon it in every instance where it is practicable. Let there be provided on the top floor of the house, or above the junction of the highest waste, some appliance by which from 20 to 40 gallons of clear water may periodically be poured rapidly into the soil-pipe, flushing it, and the drain leading from it, with a force that will wash them clean of all filth, and we shall remove one of the greatest causes of our annoyance and danger.

The extent to which the flushing system may be advisable, will be governed entirely by the abundance of the water supply, and it is a question for the water department to consider how far water can be afforded for this use. Its general adoption would probably involve the consumption of five gallons of water *per capita, per diem*. In Philadelphia, for instance, this would amount to an addition of nearly 8 per cent. to the total consumption. Should it be found possible to devote this amount of water to the work of cleansing soil-pipes and private drains, it cannot be doubted that the beneficial effect on the public health would be most marked.

The second number of our sanitary formula relates to the character of the decomposition of such organic matter as is necessarily retained in our pipes. We have seen, that in the absence of a sufficient supply of air, the process of dissolution goes all awry. It proceeds in spite of us, and it demands oxygen for its support.

For want of a better source of this element, as I have already stated, it takes it from its own material, and then is set up a pestilent process of fermentation,—which Tyndall has aptly called, "life without air."

If we can devise means to introduce into the immediate pres-

ence of these decomposing substances a constantly renewed supply of fresh air, we shall entirely change the character of the decomposition, and secure a complete and innoxious distribution of the whole material.

It seems strange that it should have been only within the past three or four years, that means for the accomplishment of this purpose have been promulgated. Indeed, the inventors of different processes in England are wrangling over the question of precedence, and while the evidence adduced shows that the process was known years ago, it is only now struggling into anything like general adoption, though its simplicity reminds us of Columbus and the egg.

We have heard a great deal, during the past fifteen or twenty years, about the ventilation of soil-pipes, and in New York and Boston it has become an almost universal rule to carry a small lead-pipe from the highest point of the soil-pipe out through the top of the house. More recently, the size of this pipe has been considerably increased, and it is not unusual to find it equal to that of the soil-pipe itself. But all of this furnishes no ventilation. We cannot ventilate the shaft of a mine by simply uncovering its mouth. We must also supply air at the bottom, to take the place of that which is to come out at the top. If, in addition to the opening at the top, we make another at the bottom, we immediately transform all of the conditions. Obedient to the impulse of atmospheric movement, and change of temperature, a free current flows, up or down, almost without ceasing, and furnishes at every point the full supply of oxygen needed for perfect decomposition. It secures, too, the further great advantage of the immediate dilution and removal of all gaseous products of decomposition, whether harmless or hurtful, whether offensive or pure.

Our third requirement: that no air which has once been inside a drain or soil-pipe, must be permitted under any circumstances to enter the house, is at least as important as those which we have already considered.

A properly arranged system of waste-pipes and soil-pipes should be regarded as a section of "out-of-doors" brought, for convenience, within the walls of the house. The pipes, by which this exterior air is inclosed, should be of a material which will permanently exclude it from our rooms. Its joints should be as tight and lasting

as art can make them; its walls should be swept by a freely moving current of air, and they should be frequently washed by copious floods of water. All communications between utensils, in which water is used in the house, and the interior of the pipes, by which it is to be carried away, should be constantly and tightly closed against all backward movement. When we discharge our refuse into a soil-pipe, let the door be tightly closed against its re-entrance. With these conditions, we shall be as free from annoyance as though we had thrown our wastes out through the window of a castle wall and closed the sash behind it.

Under such an arrangement as I have indicated, our refuse will be as completely removed as possible; such traces as it may leave on the sides of the outlet-pipe will be subject to copious flushing; and such as may still remain, will be decomposed in the presence of abundant air.

Thus far, the efforts of sanitary plumbing have been largely confined to the production of a trap whose sealing water shall not be subject to removal by siphoning. The old idea was, that the discharge of a considerable quantity of water on the lower floor, would create a vacuum, which must be supplied by the entrance of water through a trap at a higher level. No doubt this is, to a certain extent, true, and to this extent relief was obtained by the carrying of even a small pipe to admit air directly from above the roof. It was soon found, however, that, although this arrangement protected the highest traps, there remained the further difficulty that, when water was discharged from above, its rapid passage across the mouths of the outlets below so rarefied their air that the traps gave way before the atmospheric pressure behind them.

This latter difficulty has been sought to be remedied by making the trap of such form and size that, although air may pass through it, its water shall, by its quantity or by its oscillation, restore the seal.

At the same time that this has been effected, the liability of this trap to retain organic refuse, which, under the old forms, would have been carried away, has done much to counteract the benefit.

Then again, in any case, a water-seal trap performs very imperfectly the work for which it is intended.

Dr. Ferguson of Glasgow, who first demonstrated the liability of lead soil-pipes to corrosion and perforation by the action of their contained gases, has rendered a no less valuable service to

sanitary science, by his experiments on the absorption and transmission of gases by water. He showed that ammonia, presented at the outer end of an ordinary water-seal trap, produces its alkaline reaction at the inner end, in fifteen minutes. Sulphurous acid, sulphuretted hydrogen, chlorine and carbonic acid were all transmitted, so as to produce the chemical effects in from one to four hours. In another experiment he produced the rapid corrosion of a metallic wire at the house end of the pipe. The practical meaning of this is, that water acts with reference to gases, very much as a sponge does with reference to water. If our tank has sprung a leak, we had better plug the hole with a sponge than with nothing; although it will permit the water to exude, it will stop the escaping *current*. On the same principle, a water-sealed trap is very much better than no obstacle at all.

It has been found, further, that in tightly closed rooms, the air needed to supply the draught of a fireplace, may be drawn through a trap by the displacement of its seal.

These serious defects have occupied much of my attention. It seems to me that there is no way in which they may be completely overcome, except by furnishing every trap and every outlet with the added protection of a check-valve, which, while opening to pass liquids towards the drain, shall close absolutely against any movement of air towards the house. Such a check-valve will not only exclude air which might enter under pressure, or to supply the draught of chimneys, but will also form an impassable barrier between the water of the trap and the air of the drain.

- Let us insert a tight, compressed rubber plug in the top of the soil-pipe above the roof, and in the foot of the soil-pipe outside of the walls of the house. We can now connect an air pump, having a mercury column gauge, at some convenient point, and force air into the whole system, until the mercury indicates a certain pressure, say 5 lbs. per square inch. If the mercury stands permanently at this point, we may be sure that the work is sound and trustworthy. If it falls, this will indicate a leakage which must be sought out and repaired. We can assure ourselves before accepting the job, that under no circumstances shall we be subject to an invasion of sewer gas into our rooms.

I have thus indicated, somewhat hurriedly, the general principles, and the methods of construction, which should guide us in arrang-

ing for the drainage of a house. In the construction of new work, there will be no difficulty in carrying out these indications quite literally. In rearranging the plumbing work of old houses, it will often be necessary, for reasons of economy or of expediency, to deviate from these instructions, to a greater or less degree; but, although I have been called to direct the alteration of the drainage of many houses in town and country, I have never yet met with a case where the essential features which I have indicated, could not be so far applied as to secure absolute immunity from danger. I ought to add, too, that I have never examined a single house, no matter how new, and how thoroughly constructed, in which serious defects did not exist.

II.—SEWERAGE.

WE come now to the question of disposing of the liquid waste of a number of houses through the medium of public sewers.

The difficulties by which we are met at the very outset, relate (1) to the manner in which the air contained in the sewer is affected by the presence and the decomposition of the foul materials which pass through it, and, (2) to the proper means for disposing of these matters after they leave the mouth of the sewer. Besides these considerations, and more or less involved with them, there arise the questions of size, form, inclination, repairs, ventilation, location of outlet, flushing, hand-cleaning, etc.

Two of the leading principles referred to in connection with house-drainage have an equally direct bearing on sewerage.

It should be our aim to permit no decomposition of organic matter within the sewer, so far as it is in our power to avoid it. Such decomposition as cannot be avoided, should take place in the presence of an abundant supply of fresh air, in order that the products of decomposition may be as far removed as possible from the dangerous character of the gases evolved, when organic substances putrefy and ferment, without the presence of sufficient oxygen.

Proper observance of these requirements is necessary, at almost every step of the work, from the first consideration of the project to the last stroke of the mason's trowel. No means have yet been devised, and none seem to be promised, which will serve to make

a sewer anything but a disagreeable necessity. By exercising the utmost care at every step of our progress, we may so mitigate its offensiveness and its danger, that a civilized community need be neither ashamed of it nor afraid of it.

I trust that the sewers of your city are free from some of the grave defects of the older sewers of New York and Boston, which have been fitly described as being highest at the lower end, lowest in the middle, biggest at the little end, receiving branch sewers from below, and discharging at their tops; elongated cesspools, half filled with reeking filth, peopled with rats, and invaded by every tide; huge gasometers, manufacturing day and night a deadly aeriform poison, ever seeking to invade the houses along their course; reservoirs of liquid filth, ever oozing through the defective joints, and polluting the very earth upon which the city stands.

This description applies in its entirety to few, if any, remaining sewers, but the number of large brick sewers in either of the cities named, built in the first half of this century, which are not amenable to more than one specification of the charges, is extremely small.

The number of large brick sewers in any city, of however recent construction, not amenable to some of these charges, is, perhaps, even smaller.

This may seem to many, who have lived all their lives on sewered streets, to be an exaggerated statement, but I am satisfied that a sufficient investigation of the subject will convince them that it is not so.

What are now regarded as the requirements of a thoroughly good sewer, may be stated as follows:—

It should be so tight as to prevent its liquid contents from leaking, or leaching into the ground.

Its fall, or inclination, which need not be great, should be constant, so that there may be no sluggish flow, and, above all, no dead water at any point.

It should be so thoroughly ventilated, that the filth which smears its walls may always decompose in the presence of an ample supply of atmospheric air; that the gaseous products of such decomposition may be copiously diluted and speedily removed; that it will be easier for those gases, so diluted, to escape through chan-

nels purposely provided for them, than through pipes leading to the interior of houses; and that any pressure brought to bear on the contained atmosphere, either by an increase of the volume of the flow, by an increase of temperature, by the rise of tide-water in its outlet, or by the force of wind blowing against its mouth, may find easy relief.

It should discharge at its outlet, within a very few hours, every substance that it has received.

It should be supplied with such appliances for flushing, as shall insure its periodical cleansing of whatever substances that may have found lodgment on its walls, save only the slight sliming, which no practicable flushing can remove.

A sewer which meets all of these requirements may be regarded as the best device which human ingenuity has yet provided, for carrying away the offscourings of houses. No single item in connection with sewer construction, has been the subject of so much dispute, and is still so far from a universally satisfactory solution, as the matter of *size*. Whether sewers, intended for the removal of house wastes, shall be made large enough to remove also the water of copious thunder storms, is a question, about which engineers are still in dispute. There is much to be said on both sides of the question, and I do not profess to be able to decide it in a way that shall be universally satisfactory. My own conviction, however, is very clear that storm-water should be kept out of the sewers, which carry house wastes, where other means can be provided, at practicable cost, for its removal.

Having a firm belief that the sanitary condition of any town is influenced more by the details than by the *ensemble* of its drainage work, I shall confine myself chiefly to the consideration of such sewers as serve to drain side streets, which are mainly the streets of residence.

I should make such a sewer only large enough,—adopting a diameter of six inches as a minimum,—to carry the drainage of the houses along its line and a very small amount of rainwater,—say the first few minutes' fall of a shower and the whole flow of a very light rain.

I should *prefer* to make the sewer of such a size, that the ordinary forenoon flow, of house drainage only, should fill it half full, not admitting more rainfall than would fill it to its greatest capacity.

If we can make sure that at least at that part of the day when the discharge from the house drains is most copious,—say from eight to eleven in the morning,—the sewer shall be running half full, we shall provide, in the best manner, for its thorough flushing by its own unaided current.

The size of sewer requisite to meet this condition is astonishingly small. For example: a pipe 6 inches in diameter, having an inclination of 4 inches in 100 feet, has a capacity of discharge of nearly 200 gallons per minute,—say 12,000 gallons per hour, or between eight and eleven in the morning, 36,000 gallons. It is usual to estimate that during these three hours, about one-third of the daily flow is discharged. Such a pipe, then, at such an inclination, would be adequate to the removal of over 100,000 gallons per day. Suppose, now, that each household numbers six persons, and that the consumption of water is $33\frac{1}{3}$ gallons per head per day. The pipe would therefore serve for the drainage of 500 houses, or, supposing it to run only half full between eight and eleven in the morning, for 250 houses.

Allowing a width of only $12\frac{1}{2}$ feet for each house, it would serve for a street over 1,500 feet long, closely built up on both sides.

There is no theoretical objection, if we can devise some other means for getting rid of storm-water, to adopting sewers of very much smaller size, and, consequently, of very much less cost than is usual for all of our purely domestic drainage service.

On the other hand, there is the very great advantage that sewers, whose capacity is regulated to the amount of work which they have to perform, are quite sure to keep themselves clean. The flushing power of their current will be sufficient to carry forward to the outlet, or to the junction with a large sewer, every substance, of whatever character, that can gain access to them,—they being protected against the entrance of bulky matters by having no inlet, whether from a house or from a street gutter, more than 4 inches in diameter.

It is usual in the ordinary practice of sewerage, in many places, to use no pipe smaller than 12 inches in diameter. Such a pipe laid on an inclination of 1 in 600,—or 2 inches per 100 feet,—has a discharging capacity of 400,000 gallons per day, and, on the basis of the calculation just made, it would, if running half-full, suffice

for the drainage of 1,000 houses occupying over 6,000 feet of street closely built up on both sides.

I am well aware, that the use of pipes of small diameter implies a strict adherence to what is known as "The Separate System of Drainage," all the surface water, except the small and foul first flow of a heavy storm, and the whole of a light rain, being removed by separate channels. I am not so Quixotic as to recommend the use of pipes so small as 6 inches for any considerable length of city sewer, for, in the present condition of the drainage art, the prejudice in favor of making all drains "big enough anyhow," would compel the use of larger sizes. But I should contest the prejudice as vigorously as possible, and insist on a reasonable adjustment of the size of the drain to the amount of work it would have to perform.

Let us assume that, as a compromise between the smallest pipes, which are theoretically adapted to the work, and the popular notion in favor of large conduits, we adopt a diameter of 12 inches for all subsidiary drains. Let us see how we may best go to work to make such a drain conform to the requirements which I have set forth.

Whether the sewer is made of earthen-ware pipe, of hard-burned bricks, or of iron,—the only three appropriate materials for the work,—its joints must be made in the most thorough manner, and with the best material, lead in the case of iron pipes, and the best cement in all other cases. The advantage, under certain circumstances, of having a sewer act as a land drain for the removal of excessive soil-water is more than counterbalanced, in time of drought, by the escape of foul sewage into the ground.

Practically, it is a matter of extreme difficulty to make a brick sewer tight; but pipe sewers, laid on a firm foundation, and jointed with tarred gaskets and good cement mortar, are easily made absolutely so. However slight the inclination, the greatest care should be taken to secure its uniformity. The less the fall, the greater the care required. The requisite cleansing velocity of 120 feet per minute must be not an *average*, but a constant velocity. Any depression in the grade, causing a less rapid flow, or absolute dead water, leads to the deposit of silt, which aggravates the difficulty. When the inclination of the line is very great, slight deviations are of less consequence, but, except on steep grades, the

constant care of the surveyor should be exercised to maintain the exact fall.

Tightness and regular inclination being secured, insuring the constant movement toward the outlet of all foul contents, the next great requirement is thorough ventilation. To secure this, has taxed to the utmost the skill and ingenuity of all sanitary engineers. The use of fan blowers, of tall chimneys, of fires, of falling spray, and of all other known devices, has been advocated by one and another, and all have been applied, usually with doubtful success.

The experience of the world seems to have demonstrated that there are but two means by which a satisfactory result may be obtained. (1) By free communication with the atmosphere, at intervals not exceeding 100 yards, through manholes covered with open gratings; (2) by requiring every house-drain to be in untrapped communication with the sewer, and to afford a free passage, of its full diameter, through the soil-pipe to an open end above the house. Either of these systems produces a reasonably satisfactory result; but a combination of the two is necessary to perfect ventilation.

If every sewer is in free communication with the air, through open gratings at each manhole, (and at the intervals indicated); and if every house furnishes a 4 inch ventilator, rising high in the air, the sewer will, under all circumstances, have such a free circulation and such a constant renewal of its atmosphere, that, even though it contains more or less decomposing materials, it can never become a source of what is popularly known and dreaded as "sewer gas." Sewers, so ventilated, produce no offence, even in the immediate vicinity of the manholes, and are, so far as their effluvium is concerned, entirely unobjectionable and safe.

This system of ventilation through soil-pipes, if undertaken at all, must be compulsory and universal. We cannot ask Mr. A. to furnish a channel through his house for the air of a sewer which Mr. B., and Mr. C. and Mr. D. exclude; but if every man, who is permitted to discharge filth into it, is compelled to furnish his quota of ventilation, and if there is a free inlet for air at each manhole, each soil-pipe will deliver a current which might almost be discharged without danger, at the level of the street, and under the noses of passers by, instead of being sent out into the free air above the roofs of the houses. A sewer, so ventilated, will accom-

plish all that I have indicated as a necessary requirement, under every condition.

In order to secure a prompt discharge of its contents, it must have an inclination which will give its current a velocity of at least 120 feet per minute, *i. e.* its current should have this velocity at some time during each day. However great the inclination, in practice the flow near the upper end will rarely be sufficient to overcome the friction due to the width of channel; and the deposit of silt will be quite a matter of course. Especially when the ground is nearly level, the flow must necessarily be sluggish, until, at a considerable distance from the head of the sewer, the constant additions to the stream shall have given it a cleansing depth. To overcome deposits of silt, and further to remove the sliming of the walls, occasional flushing is important. The efficient means for accomplishing this are various, but none seems to me to promise so good a result as the recent application, by Mr. Rogers Fields of London, of his flush-tank principle.

By the application of this principle, a large flush tank is made to receive all the drainage of a certain number of houses, at the head of each sewer,—at least enough to fill it every twenty-four hours. As soon as it becomes filled, the whole accumulation is driven down the branch lines and through the subsequent main sewers with a force sufficient to remove all accumulations.

A sewer, not too large for its work, arranged as above indicated, is as good as, in the present state of engineering knowledge, it can be made.

I regard this question of the construction and arrangement of minor sewers, together with the construction and arrangement of house-drains, as being far more important to the public health than the more obvious matter of the ultimate disposal of the outflow.

It seems to me, therefore, that the City of Boston, in its proposed outfall sewers, is beginning quite at the wrong end of its work, and is devoting itself to the remedy of a comparatively minor evil. As a piece of engineering work, the task which it is now undertaking is truly monumental; but, even assuming that the result will meet the expectations of the projectors, there will still be left to be provided for, the removing from every street of the city a source of offence and danger, compared with which, the question of ultimate disposal is almost insignificant.

London, a few years ago, spent \$20,000,000, in an attempt to secure a permanent solution of the outfall question. Recent indications all point to the conclusion, that the attempt has resulted in failure; and that fresh millions must be spent in seeking a satisfactory solution of the terrible problem.

If London cannot safely pour its outfall into the Thames, miles away from the city, discharging it only in the copious ebb tide of that river, it becomes a serious question whether Philadelphia can always discharge her sewage into the Delaware, at any point to which it would be practicable to carry the outfall sewage.

My knowledge of your local conditions is far too little to warrant me in suggesting a remedy; but I will venture to indicate certain principles which seem to me applicable to all cities, and which may be worthy of consideration here. They relate to the disposal of the wastes of the closely built part of the city, and of the disposal of the wastes of the manufacturing villages and smaller towns which are included within your limits, or which, from lining the banks of the Schuylkill [which should be your best source of water supply,] tend toward its contamination.

In England, attempts have been made, in some cases on a very large scale, to effect the deposit of matters, held in suspension, in large settling tanks, by various chemical and mechanical processes. So far as I know, none of these experiments has resulted satisfactorily. When sewage has been discharged into the sea, or, at ebb tide, into tidal rivers, the removal of sewage matters has been much less complete than was anticipated, largely from the fact that the erosive power of the flood tide is greater than that at the ebb.

The sewage of Dover (discharged where experiments with floats indicated that it would be entirely removed,) is brought back on the foreshore by the flood tide, in objectionable amount. The same difficulty is said to exist at Brighton. When the great outfall works were built at Barking, 11 miles below London, it was believed that each ebb tide, supplemented, as it is, by the fresh water flow of the stream, would carry the deposits steadily onward toward the sea. It is now found that the greater power of the flood tide carries it constantly farther up the stream, and it has appeared in alarming quantities quite up to Blackwell.

What would be the ultimate effect of a similar discharge into

the Delaware at League Island, can only be surmised, but the experience of London indicates that a similar course, adopted here, might result unfavorably, though the greater volume of the Delaware would be in your favor.

If we are to assume, from English experience, that, to discharge our sewage into tidal rivers, or to attempt its purification by mechanical or chemical deposition, will only result in failure, we are driven so far as we now know, to the adoption of one of two remaining methods: (1) the Liernur Pneumatic System or, (2) the purification of sewage by application to the land.

Liernur's system, which removes all sewage admitted to his iron pipes through vacuum chambers, and finally to receptacles near his air-pump engines, where it is so desiccated that the solid residue is salable as manure, is too new to be considered as applicable to large cities like Philadelphia, except as a last resort, and after careful investigation. It works well in Dordrecht, and in Leyden, and after years of experience at Amsterdam the authorities have ordered its extension over a large part of the town. At the same time, its use in any American town would involve too great a modification of our habits of life for it to be now regarded as feasible.

The process of purification by application to the land has been measurably successful, with greater or less drawbacks, in numerous cases in England; but, on the whole, what is there known as sewage-farming has generally proved to be a losing business; and engineers are divided in opinion as to its future.

There have been two somewhat extensive experiments with Dr. Frankland's system of "intermittent downward filtration",—Merthyr-Tydvil in Wales, and the other at Kendal.

These have demonstrated that an acre of porous soil, deeply under-drained, so as to be aerated to a depth of at least 6 feet, is capable of purifying the sewage of a population of 2,500, so as to bring the effluent to a potable condition.

The land is laid out in several separate areas, each crossed with alternate ridges and furrows. The sewage is accumulated in a flush-tank which discharges a sufficient amount to give a saturating flow over any one of the areas. Of four areas, three are in use, alternately,—one each day, or half day, as the case may be. The fourth area is kept out of use during a whole year, save when occasionally needed for storm-water. At the end of the year this is used as one of

the three, and the one which has been longest in use is thrown out for the next. The ridges are planted with mangel-wurtzel, cabbage, Italian rye grass, or some other crop of strong growth.

At each discharge from the tank, the ditches between these ridges are filled to a considerable depth. The water settles rapidly away to the level of the drains, leaving its impurities attached to the interior surfaces of the soil. As it descends in the ground, it is followed by fresh air which, during the interval between the successive floodings, effects the decomposition of the foreign substances, and, as is found in practice, the entire purification of the ground,—being aided, of course, so far as the upper portions are concerned, by the roots of plants with which it is permeated. It is very likely that our more frequent severe frosts might operate as a serious drawback to the operation of the system, but if, instead of attempting to grow grass or vegetables on our ridges, we plant them with osiers, it is probable that the shelter which these would afford, together with the warmth of the sewage, would prevent serious trouble from freezing.

It may be found that no serious objection exists to distributing sewage to these absorption beds through porous conduits, lying for a short distance below the surface, and so protected against the frost. Certainly this system works perfectly for the disposal of the drainage of single houses.

So far as the closely built part of your city is concerned, I am very far from recommending this comparatively new system as applicable to your needs. Indeed, a question of such magnitude may well tax the most careful study of the most competent engineers, and, even then, it is fair to assume that the work would be more or less experimental in its character,—but it is an experiment well worth trying.

I am, however, inclined to think that the system of intermittent, downward filtration *may* offer a perfect solution of your problem, so far as the towns on the banks of the Schuylkill are concerned. Indeed, the case of Merthyr-Tydvil,—with a population of 14,000,—furnishes unquestionable evidence of its fitness for such work. It *might* serve, too, for communities like Germantown, and all of your smaller outlying settlements; and the more you are able to provide for your sewage in detail, reducing your main problem to the simplest possible terms, the easier will its permanent solution become.

A most important means for still further simplifying this problem is to be sought in a thorough system of street cleaning. If we consider all the difficulties, arising from foul matters admitted to our sewers, we shall see that the most expensive and troublesome surface scavenger that we can have, is the rain that falls from heaven and washes the dirt of the public streets into the public sewer.

NEW BOOKS.

MYCENÆ; a Narrative of Researches and Discoveries at Mycenæ and Tiryns. By Dr. Henry Schliemann, Citizen of the United States of America. Author of "Troy and its Remains," "Ithaque," "Le Peloponnèse et Troie," and "La Chine et la Japon." The Preface by the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone, M. P. Maps, plans and other illustrations, representing more than seven hundred types of the objects found in the Royal Sepulchres of Mycenæ and elsewhere in the Excavations. Pp. 384. Royal 8vo. New York: Scribner, Armstrong & Co.

Dr. Henry Schliemann's "Mycenæ" has now been some time before the public, and the interest of the subject, the beauty of the book and the excellence of the illustrations, added to previous notices of the excavations, and numerous discussions of their value, have attracted to it a greater amount of general interest than any other publication at all of an archæological character has ever received. There have been innumerable newspaper notices of it, and many articles in the magazines—most of them mere abstracts, and their information evidently drawn only from the book itself, even when they criticise Schliemann. Others repay reading, and it will probably be esteemed worth while to review the present general literary and scientific judgment of the book, which we will do, adding here and there an observation of our own. Its mechanical execution and, above all, the illustrations, deserve all praise. The importance, as yet incalculable, of the discoveries, and our gratitude to Dr. Schliemann for his unselfish expenditure in making them, render it hard to criticise his book and his views with perfect impartiality. As to do so is, however, our duty, we make, like others, the emphatic acknowledgment, once for all, that science cannot be too grateful to him for what he has done, and proceed to say, as all have said, that the want of arrangement and digestion, and the author's habit of describing a thing not as it is but as he sees it, and of referring to an object persistently by some title suited to his

foregone conclusions, so that the reader is more or less misled and confused, destroy much of the value of the book; though the illustrations are worth the full price without the text. It is an additional vexation to be presented, under the name of an index, with a list which ignores some of the most important subjects and facts mentioned. Gladstone's introduction, despite some charming exhibitions of *naïveté* in it, it is not fair to blame after his humble and candid apologies at the beginning. We pass on to the magazine articles. Bayard Taylor has a fresh and entertaining article in the *North American Review* for January, called "Ephesus, Cyprus and Mycenæ." *Fraser's* for December, contains "Mycenæ from personal investigation," by William Simpson; *Blackwood's*, for the same month, under the title "Pelagic Mykenæ," a piece, also written by an eye-witness of the excavations, taken up mainly with a discussion of Homeric burial, and a comparison of it with the indications furnished by the discoveries at Mycenæ as to the method of entombment there. Specially interesting is an able article, by J. P. Mahaffy, in *Macmillan's* for January, an instance of more sceptical views as to a connection between the newly discovered relics and Homer's heroes. Mahaffy is mistaken, let us note in passing, if he thinks, as he seems to do, that Schliemann was the first to notice that the heads of the lions—now wanting—over the gate of the Acropolis were made of separate pieces and fastened on by rivets of metal;—that the heads were of metal is very improbable. It would solve many difficulties, especially as to the confusion of Argos and Mycenæ, or the ignoring the latter in the tragic poets, if we could adopt the view, well defended by this writer, that its destruction by the Argives took place long before 468, B. C. A strong argument against the assumption of *hasty* burial in the tombs in the "Agora" is afforded by the fact, adduced in this article, that the size of each tomb is in direct proportion to the number of bodies interred in it. Mahaffy further makes the important remark that no *honest* "Svastika" is found in the whole book. *Soldering*, as he notes, is mentioned in a number of places, an important circumstance, as it proves that soldering of other metals was known in Greece in the earliest times, though soldering of iron is said by Herodotus and others, to have been first invented by Glaukos (about 690, B. C.) and in Homer, fastening is done by rivets, as in so many objects at Mycenæ. We now turn to the most important article of all, "The Discoveries at Mycenæ and Cyprus," by R. S. Poole, in the *Contemporary Review* for January,—important because it does not present mere negative criticisms, but tries to furnish material for positive conclusions, especially as to dates, from a comparison of the history of Egyptian, Phœnician, Assyrian and Cyprian art, with the discoveries at Mycenæ. Poole believes that the latter are contemporary with the older works found in

Cyprus, and that they show undoubted signs of a connection with the art of that country, citing, not inappropriately, the breastplate sent to Agamemnon by Kinyras, king in Cyprus. (*Iliad*, xi. 19). It is not unreasonable, he infers, to attribute them to the tenth, eleventh or twelfth century, B. C. The favorite spiral system of ornamentation, he holds to be more developed than that in Egypt, but less so than that in the northern countries, to which latter system it is more closely akin. Similar conclusions were reached by Conze, in his paper, *Zur Geschichte der Anfänge griechischer Kunst*, from the Transactions of the Austrian Academy of Sciences, February, 1870, in connection with a class of vases, many of which had been found at Mycenæ. The Mycenaean vase with figures of warriors (pp. 133-139), found in the house on the Acropolis, is undeniably like the earlier Attic vases, but far more advanced in style than the ones published by Hirschfeld in the *Annali*, and the *Monumenti dell' Istituto*, for 1872. The Mycenaean antiques, we may conclude, while containing probably Egyptian and Cyprian articles and marks of foreign, especially Asiatic, influence, show on the whole much of a European, not to say of a pre-historic *Greek*, character. It is, however, unsafe to make general remarks on the matter, until they have been properly exhibited in Athens, and seen and judged by a number of competent archæologists. For the present, the reader will still do well to go back to Newton's account of them in the *London Times*, of the 20th of last April.

LEIGHTON HOSKINS.

OUTLINES OF ETYMOLOGY. By S. S. Haldeman, LL. D., M. N. A. S., Professor of Comparative Philology in the University of Pennsylvania, President of the American Philological Association, 1876-7., 12mo., cloth, pp. 113. Philadelphia and London, J. B. Lippincott & Co., (1877.)

The famous sneer of Voltaire, "*L'Étymologie est une science où les voyelles ne font rien, et les consonnes fort peu de chose*," soon lost its sting. The sceptic was still a mere lad when Leibnitz began to apply the inductive method to Philology; within three decades of his death Frederick Schlegel announced the Indo-Germanic (Aryan) family of languages; and before a half-century had elapsed, Grimm's Law had been formulated in the *Geschichte der deutschen Sprache*.* Since then Phonetics has grown to be a science, which

* "Kanne, Jean Paul's genial but erratic friend, who published, in 1804, a book on the relationship of Greek and German," was, however, the first to recognize "regularity in phonetic changes." But it is in Grimm that "we meet for the first time with the distinct enunciation of a Law in the domain of Etymology." [Professor Oswald Seidensticker, *Phonetic Laws and their Limits*, PENN MONTHLY, June, 1872.] (Vol. III. p. 324.)

fills whole volumes; and now, within a year of the centennial of the witty Frenchman's passing away, the results of these most diligent and unprecedentedly successful labors are presented to us in a school-book. For in this manual of a hundred pages will be found explained and exemplified every principle and process of scientific Etymology.

The key-note of this most interesting book is sounded by Professor Haldeman, in his Preface, pp. 5-6: "In the present volume an attempt is made to teach Etymology as other sciences are taught. * * * Little would be thought of a treatise on arithmetic from which the pupil could not learn to analyse and solve problems outside of its pages, yet, through false explanations, and the absence of explanation, much of the Etymology commonly offered, is of such a character that the learner is likely to leave school with a smattering which will not enable him to investigate the history of words outside of his text-book, or to give a correct analysis of many of its examples. This is due to the fact that attention is not directed to those laws of speech which form the ground-work of scientific (as distinguished from empiric) etymology, and the neglect of which allows teachers and pupils to commit many errors."

Accordingly, Professor Haldeman avoids the beaten track of collecting a large number of examples in order to exhibit our vocabulary in analysis, as if every word were an independent existence the laws of the formation of which could be explained only by holding up to view its several parts, and states general principles only, truths that are applicable alike to all specific examples. His book is not a museum, a collection of facts from which the principles of the science have been inferred; but rather a tool-house from which the student may draw the instruments of investigation with the fullest directions for their use. Examples abound, it is true; and the latter half of the book (from p. 55) is really a Praxis intended to train the young Etymologist in actual work. But the leading chapters, (the second to the seventh, with part of the eighth), constitute a text book of Pure Etymology, in which abstract theory, and not concrete examples, is the subject-matter of the discussion. Indeed, Professor Haldeman would seem to have been so engrossed by his desire to teach the theory of Etymology, and not its facts only, as not to notice, or to think it worth while to indicate, this important division of his book into Pure and Applied Etymology. That he felt it in some degree is clear from his limiting his "chapter on Derivation to about twenty heads, selected to exhibit the range of form and extension of idea to which derivative words are subject," [Pref. p. 7.] and from the further facts that the lists of both prefixes and suffixes are quite complete, and the chapter on Synonymy almost wholly empirical in its character. But the main purpose of the book is uninfluenced by this addition of a practical

division; or rather, it is all the more fully expressed and the more certainly gained by the addition. The contrast alone between pp. 12-54 and the rest of the book would suggest the writer's intention, had he not himself distinctly announced it. As it is, this intention is plainly the controlling motive of the work, giving form and character to every page. The subjects of the earlier chapters are plainly general:—Phonology, Morphology, Synthesis, Paræsis or Neglect, Grammar (as influencing the forms of words) and Analysis; while the titles of the later chapters suggest more strongly that in them the preceding general principles are applied to particular cases:—Affixes, Derivation, Synonymy, and an olla-podrida-like Appendix, which contains much that is useful, but which (we can not help thinking) mars the unity of the volume.

To both the plan of this book and the method of its execution it would seem impossible to give too much praise. Dr. Haldeman has worked with a single eye, and has earned the proud honor of being the first to treat, within the compass of a book designed for elementary instruction, Etymology as a science. Known for years as an able scholar, he has now won distinction as an able teacher; for his book is clear and effective, and must not only leave a lasting impression upon the minds of its readers, but even materially modify the methods of instruction. To appreciate fully the value of Dr. Haldeman's contribution, one need only contrast his own early training, which stopped at the Scholar's Companion or some kindred book, with the more complete course which this book makes possible. Even Sargent's Etymology—superior by far to the other books of its class—is constructed upon the museum system, and leaves the mind ignorant of general principles. Dr. Haldeman's work is *sui generis*, and fills a place heretofore unfilled except by extended works designed for an altogether different use.

But it would be a mistake to conclude that the *Outlines* will serve as a text-book for very young pupils, especially beginners. The empirical must precede the scientific Etymology. The place of the latter is certainly the last year at school, if not with the Composition of the Freshman year at college. Granting all that can be said against letting down the standard of instruction in college, it remains a painful fact that many a Freshman has never thought of even the longest words as compounds, much less that such words as *fife*, *ycp*, *gild*, *smelt*, and *usc*, are derivatives [Haldeman, p. 9]; and it follows, therefore, that, until the standard for admission in English can be raised so high as to remedy this glaring defect, Scientific Etymology must remain a study for older pupils than our boys at school. Fortunately, both public sentiment and the attention of those who are specially concerned with securing a higher standard of instruction in English, have been aroused: fortunately, also, a whole library of new books, to assist both pupil

and teacher, have appeared within the last ten years, and are bearing fruit an hundred fold. The day is past in which both school and college had ample time for every foreign language, but not one hour for English: the day is near when even Scientific Etymology will be a regular study in every school-curriculum.

For another and a better reason, however, Etymology must begin with facts and proceed to theories. This order is that of its own development, and, more, the order of nature. The whole difference between the Etymology of the last century and three-quarters and that which preceded it, lies in the discovery of this truth by Leibnitz. "The guessing etymologists" were the men who provoked the sneer of Voltaire; and they guessed, solely because they had never troubled themselves to ask what were the facts in the case. Our age will hardly revert to this error in teaching. Of course, we do not mean that Professor Haldeman's book would inculcate this error, but only that not even an intelligent boy should be asked to study etymological theories, till he has mastered the facts of Etymology. Moreover, this order is natural. The infant child begins, and the growing child continues, his education in this way. It is only when he is sent to school, that the order is reversed and in the modern Kindergarten, or other school that employs the system of object-teaching, it is not reversed at all. Mr. Earle [Philology, pp. 4-5] has said all this, and said it well. "There are two chief ways of entering upon a scientific study. One is by the way of Principles, and the other is by the way of Elements. * * * * Each of the methods excels in its own peculiar way; * * * * The method by Elements "follows the order of natural growth;" and "the complete and compact view of principles, as a whole, will be deferred until such time as the learner shall have reached them severally, by means of facts which lie within his own experience." In the same spirit, too, Mr. E. A. Abbott (in the preface of his *How to Parse*) accepts, as the only true basis for Scientific Grammar, the knowledge of the facts of a language that every intelligent boy gets without teaching. The "what" of his language, says Mr. Abbott, he knows well enough: that which he needs to be taught is the "why."

And it is this use, exactly, that we think a competent teacher will make of Dr. Haldeman's book. He will begin the Etymology with oral teaching; he will call attention at first only to the composite character of words, then to the affixes, last to the stems; when a text-book is taken, it will be an empirical etymology, like Sargent's; and at last, when the facts of the subject are before the pupil, the science will be taught from the *Outlines*. There is an important difference in this particular between Grammar and Etymology. The boy must learn some form of speech, the literary or a provincial idiom, whether he ever sees a grammar-book or

not: he may live a long life through, and never dream that words are composite or derivative, or ever employ but a very small fraction of the entire English vocabulary. Grammar will find him, therefore, in need only of a correct idiom and the *rationale* of facts he already knows: Etymology must teach him first the facts and then their *rationale*.

The defects of the *Outlines* are so few and comparatively so unimportant, that we had almost omitted to mention them. In several places Dr. Haldeman errs on the side of brevity—a vice, however, that strongly simulates virtue. For example, on p. 16, the Etymologic Chart starts many a question that the context does not answer; and the whole of Chap. III, on Morphology, would admit of much fuller explanations. Throughout the book the abstract character of the thought makes condensation dangerous; but the author no doubt intentionally left something for the teacher. In like manner, a complicated system of “marks and abbreviations” (explained on pp. 104–5) seems open to criticism. The brightest boy would need an intimate acquaintance with the book, before he could translate these marks readily and with invariable accuracy. Ten or a dozen of them have no presentive force whatever, and must be remembered by main effort. Others are easier, but still burden the memory.

Such things, perhaps, are but spots on the sun: another peculiarity of the *Outlines*, while it is doubtless a question of opinion, is certainly a great defect, unless it is a great point of excellence. We refer to the constant use of the technical terms of the science in a book of this size and aim. “As each science,” says Dr. Haldeman, “has special names for special things, such names will be found where the subject demands them.” And they certainly are found, and in goodly quantities; *e. g.*, phonology, morphology, hybridity, epenthesis, otosis, parasynthesis, paropsis, (to name no more for want of breath). All told, says the author with grim humor, they are “less numerous and less difficult than those of rhetoric; such as *antonomasia*, *catachresis*, *hypotyposis*, *polysyndeton*, *synecdoche*;” and he concludes hence that his text-book of Etymology, a science that has risen in Western Europe and within our own century, may have as many and as foreign names for its processes as an art that had its origin in Greece and at least four centuries before Christ. Now we are far from desirous to quarrel with technical terms. Their importance and their usefulness were established, if never before, by Archbishop Whately, in his *Rhetoric*, [Introd. § 4.] Every year of our progress in the material sciences and the inventive arts has not only added to their number, but proved their necessity also. But it would seem at least doubtful, whether it is as necessary for the boy-etymologist to have special names for all his tools, as it is for the carpenter or the steam engi-

neer. Rhetoric itself, cited by Dr. Haldeman in support of his practice, is fast dropping its more difficult (*i. e.*, its less familiar) technical terms; and many even teachers of rhetoric could hardly define all the names which the ancients once used with great ease. Besides, in many cases in both Rhetoric and Etymology, the thing that is named by a word at once awkward and unintelligible, is more easily understood, and as definitely referred to, by a phrase; while, in other cases, a plain English term is better on every score. Prof. Haldeman himself translates a number of his unknown terms, perhaps all the most objectionable ones; *e. g.*, epenthesis, *addition*; otosis, *mis-hearing*; parasynesis, *misunderstanding*; etc. Certain others are easy enough and, it may be, necessary; *e. g.*, morphology, phonology, etc. In such cases, a simple rule would seem to be the advice of St. Paul to the Corinthians: "Let him that speaketh in an unknown tongue, pray that he may interpret. * * * * Else . . . how shall he that occupieth the room of the unlearned, say Amen?" And in this we know that Prof. Haldeman will agree with us, however he may differ as to the propriety of the technical terms; for his purpose is plainly to teach; and, did he once believe that such words as otosis and paresis were stumbling blocks and not helps to the student, he would doubtless replace them all with their English equivalents.

In conclusion, we esteem it high praise of Professor Haldeman to note that, in a science in which absurdities abound, and the grossest insensibility to the laws of logic has been a most noticeable trait of only too many writers, he has preserved the utmost good sense and the most rigidly logical habit of thought. Instances of this self-control may be found on every page; but the reader will feel it most sensibly as a total impression left on the mind after he closes the volume.

McE.

REMINISCENCES OF FRIEDRICH FROEBEL. By B. von Marenholz-Bülow. Translated by Mrs. Horace Mann. With a sketch of the life of Friedrich Froebel by Emily Shirreff. Pp. 359. Boston, Lee and Shepard.

Rousseau, Pestalozzi, Froebel,—the three great names in the great educational reform of our age. Rousseau insisted on the conformation of methods to the constitution and course of human nature. Pestalozzi applied the idea to the actual school room. Froebel breaks down the conventional separation between playground and school-room, or rather between school-room and life; he also sets aside the conventional distinction between children ripe for school and their younger brothers and sisters, educates by games, by toys, by employments which interest while they teach. He saw that a child's education must begin with the dawn of thought, and not after the mind has been already warped in

wrong directions. He saw that already in our practice we employed educational influences, which were not recognized in our theories, and were not employed to the best advantage. He saw that before the education to be got from books could be rightly enjoyed, must come the education of wisely directed activity in work and in observation of facts. After a profound study of the normal methods of intellectual growth, he devised the *Kindergarten* system, which is steadily making its way in our own country, in spite of many obstructions to its progress, and many counterfeits of its excellence.

His early life fell within the period of the war of Liberation, in which he served three years as a common soldier. He secured a thorough education by an amount of effort hardly credible. He shared deeply in the influences disseminated by the Romantic school; the simple, childlike, undogmatic type of Christianity which characterized the best minds of that school, became his and remained with him throughout life. He studied Pestalozzi's method in his own school, but left him, satisfied, as the world now is, that the Swiss had a right idea, but was not the man to carry it out. In a country village in Thuringia, he started his own plan, gathering around him the village children, that he might teach them by song, by play, by the exercise of their constructive and creative instincts, and by giving direction and extension to that study of simple facts, which takes up the first years of every young life. There Madame von Marenholz-Bülow accidentally found him, and became his earnest disciple, as she is now recognized as the successor to his place at the head of the movement,—the place held in America by Miss Peabody. Her book differs altogether from ordinary volumes of "Reminiscences"; it has the single purpose to transmit to us his oral teachings and the practical exemplifications of his method which she witnessed. It therefore leaves room for the biographic sketch by Miss Shireff of England, which forms the Appendix.

All who are interested in the new methods will find the book of the highest value. The translation seems to be excellent, and the publishers have done their duty by the work.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

<i>Authors.—Titles.</i>	<i>Publishers.</i>	<i>Prices.</i>
Bardwell (Prof. F. W.), Methods of Arithmetical Instruction, swd,	(G. P. Putnam's Sons).	\$0 15
Honorable Miss Ferrard.	(Henry Holt & Co).	1 00
Laveleye (Emile de), Primitive Property.	(Macmillan & Co).	
Lecky (W. E. H.), History of England in the 18th Century (D. Appleton & Co.)		
Lukin (Rev. J.), The Boy Engineers.	(G. P. Putnam's Sons).	1 75
Spofford (Ainsworth R.), American Almanac.	(American News Co).	

THE
PENN MONTHLY.

APRIL.

THE MONTH.

THE political atmosphere of Europe still continues electric, and any unforeseen event might bring about a swift and bloody collision between the English and the Russians. Both parties continue to prepare for a struggle with one hand, and to arrange for a peace with the other, and both look anxiously around to discover upon whom they may depend for assistance. The declarations of public men and the utterances of the press, preliminary to the Conference, are sharp enough to remind one of the prolonged feline crimination and recrimination which precede the midnight collision of two angry tom-cats; but they are not, like the cats, working themselves up to the fighting point. On the English side, which is now the aggressive one, there is really a degree of irritation which is of ill omen for the peace of Europe. The blood of the nation is up; fancied wrongs to English honor and fancied perils to English interest, have become the only theme present to the national mind. And this least military but most warlike of nations, will not be happy till she has dealt with Russia as she did twenty years ago. We are so much accustomed to regard England as committed to "peace at any price," that we forget that there has been another transit of political power since her last war. The middle classes became England by the Reform Bill of 1832; the lower classes took their place by that of 1869; and the wisest

politicians predicted that a more vigorous foreign policy would be one of the very first results of the change. It is to be regretted, that while the general influence of England in European affairs has been wholesome, the very first occasion for this greater vigor is one in which all her prejudices are enlisted on the wrong side.

Russia, on the other hand, has no real wish for war; that which has just closed has been most exhaustive in its effects upon the really limited resources of her bulky Empire. If she scolds, it is simply by way of retaliation, and to keep even with London's scolding till the Conference meets. While she is the weaker power, she has the great advantage indicated by Bismark's last epigram: *Beati possidentes*; and of that she seems inclined to make the utmost. On the other hand, she is likely to leave to the Conference itself the decision, as to what portions of the Treaty of Peace should come within its purview, as concerning questions of European magnitude. By combining a bold front with a conciliatory spirit, she will probably keep the weight of European opinion on her side. Germany, especially, seems not unlikely to second her efforts to secure a final settlement on the basis of the Treaty; and even Austria-Hungary, taking its tone from Berlin, has thrown out hints that England is somewhat too urgent.

If England is dissatisfied, some of the lesser Christian powers in the East are even more so. Eastern Armenia has no relish for annexation to the Russian Empire. Not only the national aspirations, but even the religious convictions of the Haik people, make such an absorption unwelcome. While Iberia had not a point of doctrine in which the creed of Tiflis differed from that of Moscow, the Armenians, who are proud of being the first nation which, in its entirety, accepted the Christian faith, are heretics in the view of the Eastern Church. They are, however, very near to the Eastern Church in belief; so near that the latter will leave no stone unturned in the effort to proselytize. But their difference, slight as it is, represents a most venerable national tradition, and was, in its inception, a national revolt against the domineering administration of their Byzantine masters. For the Muscovite heirs of the creed and of the governmental traditions of Byzantium, they have no special affection. A few of them fought in the Russian ranks, and one of the few generals who earned any glory in the Kars and

Erzeroum campaign, was the son of an Armenian priest. But of all the Oriental Christians, they have been the least sensible to the blandishments of the Russian propaganda.

While Bulgaria seems well satisfied with her position of tributary autonomy, and Servia and Montenegro comparatively so with the rectification of their frontiers, the Roumanians are in the worst humor, in consequence of the demand for the retrocession of Bessarabia to Russia. They are likely to have the cordial support of Austria-Hungary in their resistance to this demand, as it would give Russia a hold on the Danube's mouth, and immediate contact with her new protégé, Bulgaria. The Greek Christians of Southern European Turkey are the worst satisfied of all. Greece seems to have been waiting till the Slavs had utterly overthrown the Turkish power, with the hope of stepping in and claiming the Hellenic provinces and portions of provinces, as hers by kinship and by historic right. But the Slav Empire acted on the principle that, if the Slavs must fight without Hellenic aid, it should be for Slavic interests only. She has, therefore, stopped at the line which sunders the predominantly Slavic populations from the rest, and left the Hellenes to their fate. The latter have lost a great opportunity, which is not now to be retrieved by dilatory insurrections. Their new jealousy of the Slavic race—to which most of themselves belong by blood, if the truth were told—has kept them from giving the *coup de grace* to the Ottoman Empire in Europe, and their uprisings and incursions will merely produce a time of confusion, and will end as fruitlessly as others have done before.

As our readers know, one of the curious results of the unhappy situation of the finances of England's Indian Empire, has been the revival of cotton and jute manufactures in India. There is a fine poetic justice in this. The debt of India was incurred very largely under pressure from the manufacturers in England, in order that it might be expended in buying English railroad iron for Indian railroads, and the like. But the interest of that debt must be paid in London and in gold, and the East Indian Government can only procure this gold by selling in London exchange upon India. As its supply of this exchange is far in excess of the needs of commerce, it is obliged to dispose of it at a loss to itself, but the money it must have. The effect of this is to offer a premium upon

importations from India, but to discourage exports to India. Since the importer can pay for raw jute, indigo, opium and spices, in bills of exchange bought at a discount, he will not send out English goods except on terms equally favorable to himself. And they can only be made equally favorable at the expense of the English producer.

On the other hand, the need of a revenue for India, has compelled the Indian government to impose a duty of five *per cent.* on English cottons imported into India. This has been a standing grievance to the Lancashire loom-lords. They have been continually asking for its removal, and in one instance, with so much success, that a peremptory order to that effect was telegraphed to India from Downing Street. Yet even Downing Street has been brought to see the necessity of such a duty, and to withdraw its order. But Lancashire is almost equal to its neighbor Yorkshire in its proverbial persistence, where solid interests are affected. Finding that the cotton mills of Bengal are not only extending their control of the Indian market, but also beginning to drive English cottons out of the Chinese and Japanese markets, these representative Free Traders actually united in asking the government that an excise duty be imposed upon cotton goods made in India! Nor was it one or two who made this shameless and cynical display of their greed. *The Times* says: "There was scarcely a town in our cotton manufacturing districts which was not represented. Lancashire *en masse* had turned out for the occasion, personally or by deputy, and the speakers may be fairly taken as expressing the fixed opinions of some hundreds of thousands of Englishmen. Private disputes were sunk for the moment, in face of a great question, in which the earners and payers of wages were equally concerned, and Lancashire, for once in a way, was in perfect harmony in all its sections."

We shall allow the same authority to characterize this proposal of *the* Free Trade region of England: "Their wish to preserve a foreign market for their goods is natural enough, and, within decent limits, praiseworthy enough. We can scarcely say much for them when they ask not only that Indian finance shall be regulated for their own convenience, but that the export trade of India shall be kept within the bounds they wish to assign to it, and shall be crushed out of existence when it intrudes itself as their rival. It

was nothing less than this that the deputation were asking for, and with scarcely a disguise as to their real meaning. . . . It is a strange thing, we cannot help remarking, to observe the new quarters from which proceed, in the case before us, the attack on Free Trade." But Americans are libellers when they say that this is the spirit which is the controlling one among these Manchester economists.

LEO XIII. seems likely to carry out that liberal policy of which his election was taken as a promise. He has authorized the Italian bishops to come to terms with the civil authorities, whereas he himself, while a prelate under the reign of Pius IX, refused to acknowledge them in any way. He has sent a notification of his accession to the Emperor of Germany, whom his predecessor rebuked for assuming that dignity without the papal sanction; and it is said he has arranged for the employment of the recalcitrant Archbishop of Posen in the papal court, so as to make way for a successor less likely to quarrel with the authorities over the Falk Laws. And above all, he is reported to contemplate the elevation of Father Newman to the cardinalate. If this last news be true,—and it is both asserted and contradicted—it is the most significant of all, for it is not in this case a yielding to the inevitable, but a setting the stamp of highest approval upon a type of Catholicism which has been for years under the ban as unsound. In view of Father Newman's utterances as regards the pronounced types of the worship of the Virgin, his opposition to the promulgation of the doctrine of Papal Infallibility, and the whole attitude of the man towards the Catholicism of Veillot and Manning, his elevation could not but portend a complete change of front. Perhaps the attitude of Cardinal Manning during the Conclave, in which he certainly did not vote for the Cardinal Chamberlain, has not been without its influence in the selection of the English priest whom the new pontiff delights to honor. For few men could be more sharply contrasted than these two converts. Manning lingered in the English Church for six years after Newman's secession, and then went over, not as finding Rome better, but Canterbury worse than he had thought. But he found his place at once among the extreme men of the Roman Catholic Church, and was carried by his thin, wiry, logical intellect, to the most "advanced" opinions on every subject. Newman is a man of far greater breadth and

geniality. He carried with him into the Roman Catholic Church, the *via media* spirit of the Oxford movement. He found himself more at home with the sober, old-fashioned Catholicism of the original English Catholics, than with the new fashions in doctrine and practice, which the Oxford 'verts brought in from Italy. Hence it is that the two men have become, to all English-speaking adherents of the Roman Communion, the foremost representatives of two sharply contrasted types of Catholicism. And for thirty years past, the Catholicism of Manning and his like has been favored, petted, promoted in every possible way, while that of Newman has been frowned upon and thrust into obscurity and disgrace. When the Bishop of Birmingham, his only friend among the bishops, sent him to Oxford, and money was raised with a view to building a church and ultimately a college, the bishops, led by Cardinal Manning, and the Propaganda, combined to frustrate the plan, and he had to give it up. He was forbidden to go on with his English translation of the Bible, to which he had devoted some of the best years of his life, and which would have taken rank among the greatest versions. But Cardinal Newman would be not quite so easily put down. He might have his Oxford College and his English Bible, and even Westminster and the Propaganda could not say him nay. If Leo XIII. is capable of anything as bold as this, he may soon see the more conservative of the Old Catholic scholars making their peace with the church, and the memory of Günther, Montalembert, Bautain, Lacordaire, and their like, will lose the taint of the Church's disapproval.

THE Bland Bill is one of those measures which are sure to disprove all the prophecies made as to their effects, whether by their friends or their enemies. It has raised the price of silver, (as we foretold, would be a likely though not a certain effect) till the new dollar is worth as bullion, about as much as the paper dollar. It has not raised gold in value, but rather the contrary, while, on the other hand, the value of United States bonds has risen even in foreign markets. This last fact is possibly owing to the formation of a conviction that the funding of the debt must now come to a full stop. In that case, our bonds would now be worth more than they were, as having become available for long investment, and practically no longer subject to recall. It is also said that their price has been

kept up by large purchases made abroad on home account. This we venture to doubt, although it is certain that very large amounts have changed hands during the few weeks since the bill became a law. We think their return homeward a result more to be wished than hoped for.

The fact that the United States has remonetized silver, has naturally led to the attempt to substitute silver for gold, in payment of the balances due to us from Europe; and it is predicted that one effect of the measure will be the expulsion of gold from the country, or at least the cessation of the present rapid increase of our supply of that metal. As this imported silver can only come in as bullion, while the demand for silver coinage is distinctly limited, it can only be practicable to export it to America, because of, and in proportion to, an increased demand for it on this side of the ocean. In fact it comes in as a commodity, to be disposed of at market rates, and it might have been sent hither at any time, or under any legislation, in that capacity. Its importation, to some extent, is unavoidable, as soon as any cause improves the value of the metal on our side of the ocean; but in view of the fact that we are the chief source of silver supply, it does not seem likely that its export from Europe will be found profitable enough to cause its extension and continuance.

Meanwhile, and to our very great satisfaction, the funding operations of the Treasury have ceased. That those measures have driven our bonds from the home to the foreign market, that they are chiefly responsible for the inflation of the years 1866-73, and consequently for the disasters which have followed, and that they have made the interest of the debt more burdensome and its principal less secure, we have repeatedly urged. We might recommend to the Secretary of the Treasury, the following brief quotation from Mr. Lecky's *History of England in the Eighteenth Century*:

"It is certain that, although a debt which a nation owes to itself is economically an evil, it is an evil of very different magnitude from a debt owed to a foreign nation. There is also a real and considerable advantage in the possession of a secure and easy mode of investing money, accessible to all classes, universally known, and furnishing the utmost facilities for transfer. Nor should it be forgotten that a financial system which gives a large proportion of the people a direct pecuniary interest in the stability

[and honesty] of the Government, is a great pledge of order and a firm bond of national cohesion."

For these and many other good reasons, we think it the height of folly for a nation to attempt to fund its debt at rates too low to induce its own people to retain it as an investment.

THE impression that Mr. Wood's tariff bill is to take its place in that limbo of abortive plans which Ariosto locates in the moon, seems to be a growing one. The Protectionist element of the community has shown itself so united and vigorous, and has called forth such expression of disapproval of the proposed tariff from the laboring classes, that the Democrats are alarmed. The Ohio Legislature has formally rescinded its resolutions in favor of Free Trade, and the Democrats in our own Legislature, after showing some indifference at the start, have hastened to put themselves on the record as sound Protectionists. No Free Trade tariff was ever passed in this country, except while the Protectionists were napping, and they are certainly wide awake in the present instance. And we believe they will not stop in this instance with the defeat of the measure, but will hold every man who votes for it to a strict accountability before the workingmen of his constituency, before and at the next election. It is only since this campaign began that they have learnt the extent and degree of the interest felt in the cause and the prosperity of American manufactures, and the apathy with which all Free Trade proposals are regarded by the classes who were thought especially favorable to them. The indifference shown by the South and the West, is very easily understood by those who have travelled in those districts since the war. There is hardly a constituency among them, which is not full of hope for its own future as a centre of manufactures, and does not dread a sudden irruption of cheap commodities, as ruinous to some local interest. Even Jefferson Davis has come forward as the champion of manufactures in the South, urging upon the attention of his fellow citizens the evidence of the fact that they must be forever poor, if they are to be forever taken up with agriculture alone.

The arguments on the other side are losing their charm, the farther we get from 1851. That was the date when, as the *Saturday Review* says, the English people, under the pontificate of the Prince Consort, set up a new religion, composed of "Free Trade

and the pleasanter parts of Christianity." But the shine has worn off that Britannia metal structure, and there is a growing conviction that the great bonds of human brotherhood are not to be cemented mainly by cash transactions across international counters. Only very young and very unpractical people still cherish that faith with the enthusiasm of 1851.

One of the remarkable features of this tariff making, has been the refusal to give a public and formal hearing to the representatives of the interests it assails. On the other hand, private and informal interviews have been granted to many representatives of single and limited interests, such as the wool growers, the beer-brewers, the drug manufacturers and others. These interviews have been followed by the removal of objectionable specifications in regard to those interests. Some say the consideration received, was the withdrawal of opposition to the tariff, the promise of support, and the like. Others say other things. We only know that such interviews were granted, and with these results. But the great manufacturing interests have entered into no such private negotiations; they have gone forward publicly, and were accorded one public but informal hearing.

In another part of this magazine, will be found an article upon a question of very great importance to our city; viz., the better coördination and management of our local charities. Since the article was written, a public meeting was held, and our contributor and twenty-four of his fellow citizens, were appointed a committee to devise and to put into operation, some such plan as has been successfully tried in other cities and in our own Twenty-second Ward. As the proposals of this committee have not yet been made public, we can only speak of what has been attempted elsewhere, especially in Germantown, of which Rev. Charles G. Ames furnished us an account some time back. It is not proposed to supersede our existing local charities, but merely to enable them to do their work better; to bring to their notice deserving but retiring persons who need aid; to prevent their being defrauded by persons who have either no just claim to assistance, or who are obtaining it in excess of their needs by making application to several of these societies, or by misrepresenting the extent of their wants. This has generally been attempted by a duplicate system of local-

ized visiting,—by a committee of ladies for each district, acting in harmony with a board of directors of the other sex, and aided in their inquiries by a salaried inspector. The experiences of London and other cities seem to show that no feature of this arrangement can be safely dispensed with, and that a municipal recapitulation of all these local organizations under a central council of direction, and a general inspector, is equally necessary to their harmonious and efficient operation. Should this plan be adopted and put into operation, it will become desirable that the giving alms of any sort at our doors,—except perhaps bread to be eaten on the spot,—shall cease, and that every applicant shall be referred to the agency of the local committee of the district, in order that the case may be looked into and properly treated. As it is, much of our giving is from a bad motive; viz., to be rid of the beggar; and nearly all of it has the bad effect of pauperizing the poor, and confirming paupers in their pauperism.

THE general political record of the month has been more varied than important.

The Interior Department has favored the country with another specimen of the Paul Pry method of Reform, in its treatment of those people of the Territories, who are charged with making free with government timber; and it has earned the Administration one more rebuff from its own party, in the Senate.

The Supreme Court of Louisiana has given very great satisfaction to most people, by deciding that the Returning Board of that state cannot be sent to prison for the offence of making Mr. Hayes President.

The Congressmen from the South have greatly injured its claims to that generous treatment at the nation's hands, for which we have repeatedly pleaded, by urging a mass of claims upon the Treasury, whose collective magnitude, though exaggerated in some quarters, is such as to excite just alarm. And it is not an unfortunate circumstance that one very large claim,—that of the Mail Contractors, whose accounts were still unsettled when the war broke out—has been shown to be grossly fraudulent. The C. S. A. records showed that these claims had been paid by the Richmond government. It is to be hoped that every similar claim will undergo the

severest scrutiny, and that the Democratic majority will be no whit behind their opponents in exercising this.

We had not thought that the Pennsylvania Legislature could give us a genuine surprise, by displaying a degree of ignorance and prejudice beyond all expectation. But in the debate in the State Senate, on the new law for the regulation of building associations, our law-makers surpassed themselves. With the exception of a small and very hard pressed minority, none of them knew what a building association was, or, it seems, would even let anybody tell them what it was. They were of the mind that it was an arrangement by which a lot of capitalists got together to lend money to the poor at usurious rates! Happily in this, as in nearly all cases, their ignorance was honest and not invincible, and on being put right, they passed the law. To do them justice, they sin from ignorance more than from any bad motive. In spite of a common impression to the contrary, we venture to say, any measure which is put properly before them, has a fair chance of being treated on its merits.

CERAMIC ART AND ART CULTURE.¹

I.

DEEP and universal as is the interest now manifested in every branch of ceramic art, it must not be supposed that this gratifying exhibition of interest is either peculiar in itself or unprecedented in the history of the art. As pottery is unquestionably the most ancient of arts, so, from the earliest historical times down to the present, we find that there have been periodical revivals of interest in the subject among all civilized peoples—revivals during which it became fashionable to feel, or to affect, a love for rare, pe-

¹ Ceramic or Keramic? "Under which king, Bezonian?" Following the example of analogous words derived from the Greek, the initial *k* of the Greek is changed into *c* soft in English. Furthermore, this particular word has not been incorporated into our language direct from the original, but has been taken second-hand from the French *c ramique*, so that we have a double reason for spelling and pronouncing this verbal orphan ceramic, and not keramic,—the latter being but a fashionable affectation, without propriety or precedent.

culiar and beautiful articles of pottery and porcelain, and, silly or extravagant as the present mania on the subject may seem to excessively "practical" people, the best guarantee they can have that the world is not becoming hopelessly demented, is the fact that the present mania has been fully paralleled, if not exceeded, by previous ones;—and yet the perverse world still retains its senses, in spite of the fact that these oracular "practicals" have condemned it as "hopelessly demented," time and again. Lord Macaulay, in describing the condition of English society after the Revolution, nearly two hundred years ago, says:

"Mary had acquired at the Hague a taste for the porcelain of China, and amused herself by forming at Hampton a vast collection of hideous images, and of vases on which houses, trees, bridges and mandarins were depicted in outrageous defiance of all the laws of perspective. The fashion,—a frivolous and inelegant fashion it must be owned—thus set by the queen, spread fast and wide. In a few years, almost every great house in the kingdom contained a museum of these grotesque baubles. Even statesmen and artists were not ashamed to be renowned as judges of teapots and dragons, and satirists long continued to repeat that a fine lady valued her mottled green pottery quite as much as she valued her monkey, and much more than she valued her husband."²

Thus we read of the successive revivals in Europe, following the discovery of the different processes of manufacture and the introduction of the various styles of different countries, from the early Greek and Egyptian vases down to the Doulton ware of to-day. A description of the various styles of pottery and porcelain made between these two periods, would be a history of the development of art and the growth of civilization,—a subject rather too comprehensive to be attempted within the limits of a magazine article.

That we have never before had the public interest aroused upon the subject in this country, and have never had, and, unhappily, have not yet, a very high standard of popular taste in fictile art, is due simply to the fact that we have not had the objects wherewith to arouse the one and to cultivate the other. It was not until the Centennial Exhibition displayed its mechanical triumphs and artistic treasures to us, that we realized how sadly deficient we were,

² Macaulay's *Reign of William and Mary*.

and how much we had to learn, in matters of art; and one of the most gratifying, most important, results of that exhibition, was the direct and immediate influence it exerted in awakening the popular interest in ceramic art—than which, it may here be said, no subject is of more true, practical interest, or the study of which will do more to develop a correct taste for art in its highest branches, and thus lead directly to a cultivation of all those qualities which tend to elevate and ennoble our lives. The extensive and magnificent display of pottery and porcelain at the Centennial, showed our people the magnitude and infinite variety of the art; its resources and capabilities; its wonders and beauties; its ornaments and utilities; and the happy results of that superb display are to be seen in the improved taste already observable in the productions of our domestic potteries and in the higher sentiment of our people generally.

It is a somewhat paradoxical fact that we frequently know the least about subjects upon which we might naturally be supposed to be best informed. Such is the case with the vast majority of mankind as regards their knowledge of the potter's art. The oldest, the simplest, the most familiar of arts is, to nine persons out of ten, a sealed book, into which they have never looked, and of the contents of which they are most profoundly ignorant. How many are there, for instance, even among the usually intelligent and well-informed, who could give a satisfactory account of the process of manufacture of the plate from which they eat, or the cup from which they drink, three times a day? Yet the whole process is extremely simple and easily understood. Many books have been written upon the subject but, being technical or historical, they do not supply the popular demand for simple and concise information upon the chief points of interest. What is particularly needed now is a simple account of the process of manufacture and decoration, with a brief review of the distinctions and characteristics of the principal kinds of pottery and porcelain, that the general reader may obtain a fair knowledge of the subject without being compelled to spend much time or money in so doing. It is in an endeavor to supply this want that this article is written.

In order to learn the process of manufacture, the reader will please accompany the writer, in spirit, through a pottery, where the process can be seen and followed from beginning to end.

But before entering upon the account proper, it may be well to state here, for the better understanding of what follows, that there are but two *distinct* genera of earthenware: first, porcelain, or chinaware; and second, common earthenware, or pottery, so called. The first is composed of a fusible and an infusible earth which, in the burning, become white, vitreous, and more or less translucent, while the second is composed of a mixture of infusible earths, which may be white but do not vitrify, do not become translucent, and are always of a heavier and coarser nature than the first. The two earths of which porcelain is made, are *kaolin*, or china clay, and *petuntse*, which are now found in various parts of the world, including several of our own states. *Kaolin*, a decayed feldspar, is a white clay, composed of silica, alumina and a trifling presence of potash, lime and oxide of iron; *petuntse* is also a white clay of ground feldspathic rock, composed of silica and lime, which flux, or fuse, under a strong heat, thus giving the translucency peculiar to porcelain. The glazed service porcelain ware manufactured at the Royal Works at Sevres is made of silica, 59; alumina, 35.2; potash, 2.2; and lime, 3.3; which is about equivalent to *kaolin*, 65; *petuntse*, 20; ground flint, 10; and chalk, 5. The composition of ordinary earthenware is of *kaolin* and ground flints, and for special purposes a small percentage of other ingredients, the proportions being varied by different potters and for different kinds of ware. For the colored wares, various colored earths are used. Other than this difference in the earthy constituents used, there is no radical difference in the process of manufacture of the various kinds of pottery and porcelain, so that the process hereinafter described, may be accepted as the process for all, except where the trifling variations may be noticed.

Entering the pottery, we descend to the cellar, where we see the clays and flints of which the ware is to be made piled up in great heaps, just as they are dug out of the mines. The *kaolin* is ready for use in its natural state, but the *petuntse* and flints must be ground to powder, which is done by large revolving *chert* stones, or by ordinary "stamps." The clays and flints being taken in the proportions required for the particular ware to be made, are thrown into a large vat, called a "plunger," into which a stream of clear water is running. In this "plunger" a number of revolving arms mix the water and clays into a thin, creamy mass, technically called

"slip." At the bottom of the "plunger" is a conducting pipe, through which the "slip" flows to the "sieves," which are made of the finest silk or wire—some of the finest sieves having 300 threads to the square inch. After it passes through the "sieves,"—each successive sieve being finer than the preceding one,—and into containing vats or troughs, it is usual to draw magnets through it, in order to attract and draw out the oxide of iron which it may contain, and the presence of which would injure the ware. From the vats, the still liquid "slip" is forced by a steam pump through an iron pipe into the "press." This press is composed of from twenty to fifty uniform "sections,"—a "section" being a wooden case about three inches deep, thirty inches wide and six feet long, inside of which is a canvas "bag" to contain the "slip." These "sections" being placed in a row on their sides, are held firmly together by iron bands, and the "slip" forced in through small pipes branching from the main one and connecting with every "section" on its upper side. The water having been forced and evaporated out of the "slip," the "press" is opened and the "sections" taken aside one by one. Opening the "bag," which is not sewed up but merely has its ends folded over, the clay, or "paste," is found in a flat, oblong mass, corresponding to the shape of the "section," and of the appearance and consistency of putty. This "paste" is now piled away in the cellar,—in large potteries it is allowed to stand for some months—where it undergoes disintegration and becomes partially decomposed. It is found that ware made from old "paste" is more homogeneous, finer grained, and not so liable to crack and become disfigured in the baking, as is ware made from fresh "paste."

Before forming the "paste" into ware, it must first be "wedged" for the purpose of expelling the minute air bubbles it may contain, which, if they should remain, would inevitably ruin the ware by expansion in the kiln, producing blisters, &c. "Wedging" is the method of taking a lump of "paste" as large as the "wedger" can conveniently manage, cutting it through with a wire, raising one-half and, turning it, slapping it down violently on the other, so that different surfaces come together the second time. The whole mass is turned over, again cut through, and the halves again slapped together at different angles, this being repeated many times until every vesicle of air is expelled and the whole is a smooth,

soft mass. In some potteries, this "wedging" is done by steam power, the clay being thrown into a cylinder, where it is cut and "wedged" by two sets of knives, having their flat sides lying in the plane of a spiral line, one set stationary and projecting from the inner surface of the cylinder, and the second set, with their edges looking opposite to those of the first, revolving as the radii of a central upright shaft. The revolving knives, by their spiral action, constantly press the clay downwards to the bottom, whence it issues through an opening in the side of the cylinder.

The paste is now ready to be made into ware by three methods,— "throwing," "pressing" and "casting;" for the last, however, the clay must be in the liquid state of "slip."

"Throwing," the most ancient and most simple of the three processes, is confined almost wholly to the manufacture of articles of a purely circular form, and almost exclusively to those of a shallow nature, such as dishes, saucers and cups. The "potter's wheel" (upon which the process of "throwing" is performed), consists of a horizontal circular disc of wood, a little higher than the potter's bench or table and secured upon an upright shaft, which is revolved by the ordinary mechanism of belting, run by either steam power or, as is still the case even in many large potteries, "boy-power." Assuming that the article to be "thrown" is a plate, a convex plaster-paris mould of the concave side of the plate is secured to the "wheel." An attending boy takes a lump of the "wedged" paste and levels it out flat on a "batting block" of plaster-paris. The potter takes up this thin paste and throws it on the revolving mould, shaping the convex side of the plate with his hand, which he dips into a basin of water every few moments in order to keep the paste moist, that he may fashion it the more readily. In some cases a concave mould is used, when a "jigger" is employed to fashion it. The paste being thrown into the mould, either rolled out, as before, or in a lump, the "jigger"—an upright wooden fixture attached to the table near the wheel, from the cross arm of which depends the "jigger" proper, a flat piece of wood and iron, the edge of which has the outline of the concave surface of the article to be made,—is held by the potter who presses the outline piece against the soft paste in the mould and forms the article in a few revolutions of the wheel. Cups are "jiggered" by having the paste pressed between two moulds.

“Pressing” is the process by which nearly all articles of oval, irregular and mixed shapes are made, this class including most of the table and chamber ware and almost all of the purely ornamental ware. The moulds for the “pressed” ware, like all the moulds used in pottery, are of plaster-paris, and are in two, three or more parts, according to the shape of the article to be pressed, all the parts fitting accurately together to form a perfect whole. A pitcher, and almost all articles of an oval, an oblong, or a deep circular form, will be “pressed” or moulded in three parts,—the two sides and the bottom. The method may be thus particularly described: Assuming that the article to be made is a pitcher or a vase, the parts of the mould are made accordingly, two of them forming the sides in concave and the third one forming the bottom, which, being circular and shallow, is “thrown” on the wheel. The potter, having the three moulds before him, takes a thin layer of paste from the “batting-block,” and, to use a familiar illustration, like a woman laying pie-paste in a baking-pan, lays the clay paste in one of the side moulds, “pressing” it into the mould with his wet hand. The other side is then “pressed” in like manner and the bottom “thrown,” after which the edges are “shaved” with the finger, or some simple instrument, and the three parts joined together, the inner seams being smoothed with the hand, after which the complete mould is set aside for awhile to dry. The handle, it must be understood, is not included in this mould; handles of every kind for pitchers, dishes, cups, vases, etc., spouts for teapots, and all similar parts, being “pressed” in separate moulds and added to the ware at a stage to be noticed hereafter. Handles, knobs, and all ornamental open relief work, are made by hand-pressing the paste between two half-moulds having the desired hollow pattern for the paste to be “pressed” into. Tubes, spouts for teapots, etc., are pressed in two concave moulds like a pitcher, the bottom being left open to be attached to the ware.

“Casting,” the third and last method, is employed exclusively for ornamental objects. In this method the clay is poured into the united moulds in the state of “slip,” filling the mould completely. The plaster absorbs the moisture from the “slip” very rapidly, so that the surface of the clay in contact with the mould soon becomes doughy and stiff. The mould can now be turned upside down and the semi-liquid “slip” poured out, leaving the hollow

casting in the mould, the thickness of the casting depending upon the time the "slip" was allowed to remain and solidify in the mould.

The various articles of ware being now made, they are carried by boys to the "drying-room" or "stove," in which they are placed on shelves, where they are allowed to remain until the excessive moisture is evaporated out of them. The ware contracts a little in the mould and still more in the "drying-room," which may be heated by stove or steam.

From the "drying-room," the ware is carried to the "turner" or "finisher." "Turning" the ware is done on a lathe, like ordinary wood and metal turning. The "turner" takes a piece of ware and secures it to a vertical block or "chuck;" he then shaves off the rough edges and dividing lines left by the mould, the tools used being few and simple. A wet sponge is finally used to smooth the surface and remove any little particles adhering to it. "Finishing" is usually done by girls, and is for simple articles that do not need to be turned on the lathe, or are of such shape that they cannot be turned. Like "turning," "finishing" is done with a few simple tools (a piece of common iron hoop being frequently used), and a sponge, the ware to be "finished" being placed on a horizontal "wheel," which is revolved by hand.

The "green" ware, as it is called, is now ready for its handles, spouts, or other adjuncts. These have already been "pressed," as previously explained, and are now put on the ware with the "slip" of which the ware itself is made, the adhesion being so immediate that the article can generally be lifted by its handle in a few seconds after it is put on. The simple figures in bas-relief on common ware are "pressed" in the mould with the article, but all figures in alto-relief, and much of the bas-relief on the finer ware, are pressed in separate moulds and put on with "slip." Some of the more intricately ornamented pieces may require from fifty to one hundred different moulds for the various parts and figures.

The ware is now complete, and, after passing through the "green-room," where it is allowed to remain some days, in order to thoroughly dry, is ready for its first burning, or for the "biscuit kiln."

From the "green-room," the ware is carried to the "sagger house," in immediate connection with the kiln in which it is to be baked, or "burned," as it is more generally called. The ware is

here placed in "saggers," preliminary to being put in the kiln. The "saggers" (pronounced si'-gers), are made of a common marl, or red fire-clay, made into different shapes, chiefly oval, for containing the various articles of ware, and are burned in the kiln once. They are for the purpose of protecting the ware from the flame and smoke and from the effects which a too sudden heat might have upon the ware if it were exposed directly to it. Plates, dishes and saucers are placed in the "saggers" above one another, not touching each other, but resting upon three small "stilts," or sticks of burned clay stuck in the sides of the "saggers," leaving a space between the articles. Pitchers, vases, cups, etc., stand on the bottoms of the "saggers."

A pottery kiln, or oven,—the external appearance of which is certainly familiar to every one,—is built of fire-brick, its size varying from 12 to 25 feet in diameter, and from 20 to 50 feet in height from the floor of the oven to the circular opening at the top, which takes the place of the chimney. The interior of this is perfectly clear of all fixtures or partitions. Under and around the oven, the floor of which is about three feet above the floor of the kiln house, are the fireplaces, six to nine in number, which extend a little outside of the external line of the oven. The fires are fed through square openings in the flat top of this circular extension, similar openings at the bottom, in front, aiding the draft and supplying the outlet for cleaning out the fireplaces. From all these fireplaces flues converge to a central opening in the bottom of the oven, while other flues pass up along the inside wall, having their openings a few feet above the floor of the oven. The fire is drawn through these flues directly into the oven, thus enclosing the "saggers" between a central and a circular sheet of flame. In many kilns the central flue is not used at all.

The "saggers" being filled with the ware, are carried into the kiln through a doorway in the side, and are piled up so that the bottom of one forms the lid of the one under it, a strip of soft clay being placed between them, making them air and smoke-tight. The "saggers" are piled up around the sides first, the piles being called "bungs," and then in successive rows towards the door until the kiln is completely filled, care having been taken to locate the "saggers" so that they may receive the heat (which varies in different parts of the kiln), most suitable for the particular articles

they contain. The entrance door is then bricked up solidly and the fires started. "Watches" are small pieces of the ware put in "saggers" on the outside row, having open sides, and out of which the "watches" are taken from time to time, through small apertures in the wall of the kiln, to mark the progress of the burning. The fires are at first increased slowly, in order to fuse or vitrify the ware gradually and to prevent it becoming too brittle by drying suddenly; having been increased to their maximum, the fires are slowly reduced again, this first, or "biscuit," burning lasting from 50 to 60 hours for ordinary pottery, and from 45 to 50 hours for porcelain. During the height of the burning the interior of the kiln, as seen through the apertures in the wall, is a bright mass of roaring, liquid flame, which has apparently dissolved and devoured everything within in its all-consuming intensity, and we can only marvel that simple clay could remain refractory through so long, and so severely literal, a "fiery ordeal."

The burning completed, the kiln is allowed to cool for two days, when it is opened and the "saggers" taken out. The ware is now in the "bisque," or "biscuit" state,—so called from its resemblance to a dry, crisp biscuit,—and is ready for its decoration, (if it is to receive any), and final glazing or enameling.

We now come to the most artistic and most interesting stage of the whole process—that of decorating the ware. It is this one stage in the process that gives particular value to all the wares that have any special value attached to them, because the difference between all articles of ware of the same class of different countries is chiefly in the characteristic decoration.

In ceramic decoration, the paints as mixed, and before they are fired, are nearly all dull and quite different from the bright and attractive colors they become after the firing. The artist thus labors under the very great disadvantage of having to paint in colors totally different from those he intends to bring out in the finished piece. Thus, for example, rose color, when used by the painter, is drab; gold is a dirty brown, etc. Under such unfavorable conditions it may readily be conceived that, added to his ordinary artistic skill, it requires long practice and experience for the artist to know just what colors, shades and tints will come out of the firing from the deep colors that go into it; in many cases a single mistroke, or a shading too light or too heavy, not noticeable

in the painting on, but too sadly so after the firing, spoils the whole effect of a delicate piece. Nor is this peculiarity of the colors the only risk or disadvantage of the art. Much of its success depends upon the firing, the colors continually changing from the crude to the finished state with the varying degrees of heat, so that the colors are always more or less liable to be "short-fired" or "over-fired." If, from any cause, the heat be raised above a certain degree, or be continued too long, the effect upon the colors is to ruin their shades and brilliancy beyond remedy, but if the required degree of heat be not attained, or be not continued long enough, the colors will be found in one of their intermediate states; but in this case they may be brought out properly by another firing. Added to this, the liability to cracking, by the heat being increased or diminished too suddenly, and the risk of breakage or injury from other causes, and it will be admitted that such untoward conditions and vicissitudes render ceramic painting, in its higher branches, extremely difficult and unsatisfactory, not to say disheartening, while they at the same time largely enhance the value of those pieces that are successful and meritorious.

With the exception of this difference in the color of the paints when used, painting on pottery and porcelain is precisely the same as painting on canvas, with the difference of skill in favor of the former, so that a successful ceramic painter is not merely a "decorator of pottery,"—he is an "artist;" and it is only when we know the conditions under which he paints, and see the transcendently beautiful creations of his brain and hand, in the exquisite treasures of the finer pottery and porcelain decorations, that we can fully appreciate his genius and skill. Indeed, many of the greatest canvas painters of the past have not disdained to "decorate" pieces of porcelain and maiolica, while the history of pottery has handed down to us the names of Luca della Robbia, Francisco Xanto, Orazio and Camillo Fontana, Maestro Giorgio, Van der Meer, Lamprecht, Boucher and scores of others who were famed for their ceramic paintings, which were as eagerly sought after, and as highly prized, as were the works of the painters on canvas. In our own day we have Ginori of Florence, Landorée of Limoges, Houry of Sévres, Gauffré of Gien, Montereau of Choisy, Colinot, Chapelet, Barbizet and the Decks of Paris, Solon of Minton's, Butler, the Sparkes and the Barlows of Doulton's, England, and dozens of others who are

more or less famous for particular specialities in the art; the name of the artist affecting the value of the ware on which his name appears, just as the name of the artist affects the value of a painting on canvas.

This slight digression is made here simply to give the general reader a clear idea of the value and importance of ceramic decoration, as one who is unacquainted with the process and the finer productions of the art, and who forms his ideas from the commoner decorations in ordinary use, is very apt to suppose that the whole process is very simple—probably done wholesale, by some machine like that which prints off chromos, and requiring no genius or skill in executing it and involving no risk in perfecting it. But when the reader learns that every fine piece of decorated pottery or porcelain is in itself a complete work of the very highest art—for the possession of many pieces of which, kings and nobles have struggled, and for which fabulous sums have been paid—he may entertain a much higher appreciation of its beauty and value, and may devote a little more time and attention to the subject when he subsequently realizes how deep is its interest and how elevating is its study. The subject is, indeed, that of sculpture and painting combined in the one object, and no one will question the manifold and ennobling influences of such a study.

Ceramic decoration is of two kinds—painted and printed—although the etching by incised lines and figures, called *sgraffito* work, may also be properly called decoration, making a third kind. Relief work in clay modeled by hand, as well as the Wedgewood jasper relief work, may also be called decoration, but the ordinary pressed work in relief cannot properly come under that head, it being made with, and in the same manner as, the body of the ware itself.

Painting may be done on the ware either in the "biscuit" state, or after it has been glazed and then burned a second time. The dry "biscuit" ware being more or less absorbent of the paints is well adapted for producing certain effects, but generally this property of absorption is objectionable for very fine and delicate work, in which case the ware is "stopped" by a coating of size, or other preparation, brushed on its surface. The "ground work" is first laid on, either by the mixed paint being applied with a brush (camel's hair brushes being used throughout the process), or

by having it laid in oil, upon which the paint powder is dusted. Where this "ground work" is a plain band, as on pitchers, dishes, cups, etc., the article is placed on a "wheel" and the decorator, poising his hand, or pressing a finger against the edge of the article, lays on the band in one or two revolutions of the "wheel." The fine circular lines are also laid on in the same manner. After this, the flower, figure and tracery work are painted by the artist, under the trying conditions already explained. Painting on the "biscuit" ware, or *under* the glaze, is done with mineral colors, but painting *on* the glaze is done with oil colors. Otherwise, the method is the same. The difference in the finished work is that underglaze painting is always perfectly smooth, with a heavy glaze over it, as on fine porcelain, while overglaze painting is in slight relief, as on canvas, with only a light glaze or varnish over it.

To save time and expense, as well as to obtain uniformity of size and shape, in designing the same pattern on many different pieces of a set, a "pounce" is used—a "pounce" being a sheet of paper perforated with the desired pattern in outline, and dusted over with charcoal, which passes through the perforations and leaves the black outline on the ware underneath. The outline is then filled in in colors with the brush.

Printing like painting, may be done either under or on the glaze; the former, the method by which most of the printing is done, being called "press printing," and the latter "bat-printing." For a description of the two methods, the following clear and concise extract may be quoted:—

"The engraving is executed upon copper plates, and for press printing, is cut very deep, to enable it to hold a sufficiency of color to give a firm and full transfer to the ware. The printer's shop is furnished with a brisk stove, having an iron plate on the top immediately over the fire, for the convenience of warming the color while being worked; also a rolling press and tubs. The printer has two female assistants, called 'transferrers,' and also a girl called a 'cutter.' The copper plate is charged with color mixed with a thick boiled oil, by means of a knife and 'dabber,' while held on the hot stove-plate, for the purpose of keeping the color fluid; and the engraved portion being filled, the superfluous color is scraped off the surface of the copper by the knife, which is further cleaned

by being rubbed with a boss made of leather. A thick, firm oil is required to keep the different parts of the design from flowing into a mass, or becoming confused while under the pressure of the rubber, in the process of transferring. A sheet of paper of the necessary size and of a peculiarly thin texture, called 'pottery tissue,' after being saturated with a thin solution of soap and water, is placed upon the copper plate, and, being put under the action of the press, the paper is carefully drawn off again, (the engraving being placed on the stove), bringing with it the color by which the plate was charged, constituting the pattern. This impression is given to the 'cutter,' who cuts away the superfluous paper about; and if the pattern consists of a border and a centre, the border is separated from the centre, as being more convenient to fit to the ware when divided. It is then laid by a 'transferrer' upon the ware and rubbed first with a small piece of soaped flannel, to fix it, and afterwards with a rubber formed with rolled flannel. The rubber is applied to the impression very forcibly, the friction causing the color to adhere firmly to the bisque surface, by which it is partially imbibed; it is then immersed in a tub of water, and the paper washed entirely away with a sponge, the color, from its adhesion to the ware and its being mixed with oil, remaining unaffected. It is now necessary, prior to 'glazing,' to get rid of this oil, which is done by submitting the ware to heat, in what is called 'hardening kilns,' sufficiently hot to destroy it and leave the color pure."

The "bat printing is done upon the glaze, and the engravings are for this style exceedingly fine, and no greater depth is required than for ordinary book engravings. The impression is not submitted to the heat necessary for that in the bisque, and the medium of conveying it to the ware is also much purer. The copper plate is first charged with linseed oil, and cleaned off by hand, so that the engraved portion only remains. A preparation of glue being run upon flat dishes about a quarter of an inch thick, is cut to the size required for the subject and then pressed upon it, and being immediately removed, draws on its surface the oil with which the engraving was filled. The glue is then pressed upon the ware, with the oiled part next to the glaze, and, being again removed, the design remains; though, being in a pure oil, scarcely perceptible. Color, finely ground, is then dusted upon it with cotton wool, and

a sufficiency adhering to the oil leaves the impression perfect, and ready to be fired in the enamel kilns."³

We will now return to the "biscuit-ware," plain or decorated, which is ready to be glazed or enameled. The glaze is composed of *petuntse*, flint, soda, borax and glass, varying in the proportions used for different wares, ground to an impalpable powder, and mixed with water till they form a solution like milk. This is called the "vitreous" glaze. The addition of a varying proportion of oxide of lead forms the "plumbeous" glaze, which is most commonly used on all the ordinary kinds of earthenware. The further addition to this of the oxide of tin forms the "stanniferous" glaze, or enamel, which fuses to a pure, opaque white, differing essentially in its opacity from the two first, which become transparent in fusing, thus exposing the decorations underneath. This difference in the effect of the glazing makes a corresponding difference in the decorating; while the ordinary ware may be decorated under or on the glaze, as already explained, all ware to be enameled must be decorated *on* the enamel, and this is done generally before subjecting it to the fire, the burning thus fixing the colors and fusing the enamel at the same time.

Enamel colors are metallic oxides combined with an alkaline flux mixed with essential oils and turpentine, which, when exposed to a high temperature, fuse into a perfect glaze. The colors are generally laid on very thick, forming a slight relief, and are also used in "filling in" *cloisonné* work. Enamel colors, which change like the others in firing, must be burned in separately, as every color requires a different degree and length of heat in order to develop and fuse properly.

A fourth kind of glaze, called "salt glaze," is used almost exclusively for the heavy, semi-vitrified stoneware. When the fire of the "biscuit kiln" is at its height, a quantity of salt is thrown into the oven; the salt is immediately decomposed by the intense heat, which converts it into a volatile vapor; the chlorine gas of the decomposed salt passes directly up through and out of the kiln, while the other constituent, sodium, unites with the silica of the fused ware and forms on the surface of the ware, an exceedingly hard and delicate glaze, called soda glass. Stoneware is thus burned

³ Ure's *Dictionary of Arts, Manufactures and Mines*.

and glazed in a single firing. Another method,—called “smearing,”—of salt-glazing earthenware in the “biscuit” state, is to coat the inside of the “saggers” with a glaze of 13 parts of common salt and 30 of potash, dissolved in water. The intense heat converts this salt glaze into vapor, part of which condenses on the surface of the ware within, giving it, like the stoneware, a delicate, but almost indestructible glaze.

Glazing and enameling the ware is done in the “dipping room.” The glaze or enamel being prepared as described, is kept in a tub. The “biscuit ware,” plain or decorated, is handed by a boy to the “dipper,” who plunges it into the milky solution and withdraws it again immediately, handing it to another boy to carry away and place on shelves to dry. Simple as this operation of “dipping” appears, it nevertheless requires experience and a peculiar skill to be entirely successful at it—to hold the ware so that the fingers will cover the smallest possible space, and to be so dexterous as to have a perfectly even coat of glaze all over the surface.

When glazed or enameled, the ware is again carried to the “sagger room” to be burned a second time. Articles placed directly on the bottom of the “sagger” must have the glaze scraped off their bottom rims to prevent adhesion to the “sagger” in fusing. Most of the ware, however, is placed on little “tripods,” or “stilts” of burned clay, the three little marks so generally found on the bottom of the ware being caused by these “tripods” or “stilts,” which mar the glaze at the points of contact. The burning of the glaze or enamel kiln lasts from 24 to 36 hours, according to the kind of ware in it, the workmen employing “watches,” as before, to observe progress.

After being taken out of the “saggers” the second time, the ware is carried to the storage room, where girls chip off, with sharp pieces of iron, the little points made by the “stilts” or “tripods,” or the rough edges caused by the adhesion of sand to the glaze when the ware lay on the bottom of the “sagger.” The ware is now ready for sale, or for the decoration on the glaze.

Such is the process of pottery and porcelain manufacture and decoration. While the account here given may seem a little technical and intricate,—and it could not well be otherwise and be satisfactorily detailed,—it will be noticed that the only ingredients used throughout the manufacture are water and various earths,

while the tools are as few as they are simple. No manufactured acids or peculiar chemical compounds are used, nor are there any mysterious stages to pass through, the only secret of the manufacture being the "secret" that every pottery has of the proportions it uses in making its paste, glaze and enamel.

A succeeding article will notice the special distinctions and characteristics of the principal varieties of ware of the different countries, to be followed by a third and final article devoted to the subject of art culture—ceramic and general.

JAMES JOSEPH TALBOT.

SOME CAUSES OF PAUPERISM AND THEIR CURE.

THE invention of Whitney's cotton gin, eighty years ago, fixed the policy and development of our Southern States, and led, in no small measure, to the civil war of 1861. If cotton was believed to be King by Southern leaders, Whitney raised the plant to its royal eminence. His invention gave a new value to the system of slave labor, and thus settled the agricultural character and free-trade policy of the South. This social system, in its turn, awakened the military spirit of the ruling classes, but made them conservatives in jurisprudence and religion. It retarded the progress of education and caused such divergencies of moral character, that what was truth on one side of the Ohio was error on the other. Of course, the cotton gin did not do all this alone, but it did so stimulate some tendencies and repress others as greatly to affect the development of the South. It was also responsible, in some measure, for the factory system of New England and her consequent predilections for a high tariff, as well as for the growth and present condition of Manchester, in England. Such is one example of the far-reaching effects of mechanical invention on the social structure, on the tastes, and even on the moral and religious sentiments.

Work is vitally connected with the intelligence, the social feelings, the customs, the laws and the character of mankind. Whatever gives new direction to labor, will deeply affect all other human interests, even those most spiritual. If this be true, what a wide field of study is opened to one who would trace the social and

moral results of the marvellous fertility of mechanical ingenuity in this century? I propose to limit the present inquiry to the effects of machinery on pauperism, and then to ask what measures can be devised, adapted to our industrial condition, for dealing with this complex and obstinate evil. Pauperism is not poverty, however closely they may sometimes approach each other, for personal character makes a world-wide and essential difference between them. Again, pauperism is not an especial product of machinery, for, long before Arkwright or Watts were heard of, the statutes of the English Parliament were full of measures to put down "valiant beggars," and Henry the Eighth's judges hung 72,000 big and petty thieves recruited out of this class of "sturdy vagabonds." Nor is machinery to be thought injurious to the interests of the laborer, for while it has inflicted some terrible wounds on the working class in its development, it is a means of increasing the comfort and productiveness of the operative; and its advantages are more than an equivalent for the temporary hardships of its introduction. But mechanical apparatus has so modified our social organism, that I do not see how we can clearly discern what ought to be done, without taking these effects into account. Of these, the most important are the breach of sympathy and acquaintance of the influential with the artisan classes, and the increasing tendency to make a proletariat condition more fixed and hopeless. It may not be that the natural amiability of men has abated, but the opportunities to make such sentiments effective have certainly diminished. The economical relations of men to each other ought always be supported by the largest measure of moral and social influences. Indeed, the true science of political economy must come, in the end, to a recognition of the fact that industry and commerce have a necessary dependence upon the laws of man's moral nature,—that the development and welfare of the individual are the basis of productive power and of secure wealth, and utilitarianism in the hands of its last great advocate, becomes the humanitarianism of John Stuart Mill.

In the reconstruction of European society after the decay of feudalism, and the general decline of villeinage, industrial society became very closely knit together in ties of neighborhood and community of feeling. Even under the old barons, after the rise of the free cities, as Ranke writes of Italy, so may it be said of France

and Germany and, perhaps, even of England: "The peasants lived with their barons in a sort of fraternal subordination; nor could it easily be told whether the peasantry were more ready to offer service and obedience, or the barons to render aid and protection; their connection had a character that was even patriarchal." The Church, until the Reformation, with her rights of asylum, with her ameliorated conditions of serfdom, with her open avenues for advancement from slavery to priories and episcopal thrones, was a great counterpoise to the exclusive privileges of birthright. In the cities, the guilds were the basis of government, and no one was eligible to be alderman or Lord-mayor of London who did not belong to one of the trade-companies. Edward III. was a member of the company of cloth-workers. These guilds, which seem to have furnished the first ideals of European communists, were composed of masters and journeymen and apprentices. They had their bad development, but it was because increasing wealth corrupted them and turned them from their original purpose. At first, they recognized the fellowship of masters and men. Before mechanical invention changed the aspects of society, large cities were rare, the population was dispersed over the rural districts, industries were not concentrated entirely in a few localities, and certainly not in a few hands. Then the parish was the *cure* of a given district, and the neighboring lord sat in the same free church with the petty master of cordwainers or tailors, with journeymen and apprentices, and with the agricultural clown. The acquaintance of one with another was general; local attachments and interests were cherished in common; the exchange of respectful and neighborly civilities was maintained. In times of distress, relief was chiefly personal, and distributed by the parish priest or by neighborly hands. Proofs of this might be abundantly adduced; as how the agricultural tenants were permitted to pasture their kine, with the lord's permission, on his farm lands; as how, in the early Statutes of Henry VIII. the poor were compelled to stay in their hundred, and the parish was bound to look after them with voluntary and charitable alms, that none might be compelled openly to go a-begging; as how the clergy were to enjoin on their parishioners the duty of being liberal to the needy and to collect alms for them. In some papers belonging to the library of Congress, at Washington, there is a household account book of an English gentleman,

which probably illustrates the usual life of persons in that station, and it contains frequent entries of gifts to "lame soldiers," to "tenant servants," to "poor people" to "the scholars at Wickham," to the cook for preparing a tenantry dinner, to servants for coming home sober, for alms at sacrament, to "carrier-man for his Xmas box." In 1801, when the factory system of England was in its infancy, and the working population was not concentrated in towns as it now is, the poor rates of the realm were \$20,000,000. In thirty-three years they rose to \$35,000,000, while the population had increased only 50 per centum. This change must indicate, in part, a transition from private to public relief; personal care of the poor giving way to official and organized charity. This change would naturally follow the redistribution of the population in aggregations of laborers and operatives, which hindered the acquaintance of the wealthier classes with the poor.

In the latter part of the last century, over large districts of Lancashire were scattered the homes of weavers, who worked by the piece, and looms were in countless houses. Then the tailor or the saddler worked in the shop with his journeymen, and often his apprentices were members of his family, for whose moral welfare he was responsible. Men of professional skill were not drained off to large towns, but rode their circuits in the country. Each little agricultural district enjoyed diversities of employments and social culture. The apprentice looked upon his master as a type of what he, by frugality and industry, could become, and he might venture to hope that even the hand of his master's daughter would not be inaccessible to him. Such is a slight view of the condition of society ere machinery revolutionized it. Acquaintance and neighborhood welded each little local community into a whole; kindly sentiments and mutual courtesies were daily exchanged; prospects of honorable though limited advancement were before the humblest artisan; yeomanry was not extinct; the parish was a true and common home for all. All parts of the structure were "fitly joined together and compacted by that which every joint supplied."

How wonderfully Watt and Arkwright and Crompton have changed all this? When the spinning jenny and the mule began to turn out incalculable quantities of yarn, hundreds of households embarked in weaving it. But soon came the power-loom with its water-wheel, and capital flowed rapidly into enterprises, the early

profits of which seemed to surpass the promised gains of the South Sea bubble. Then factories lined the banks of streams, and labor began to migrate from the country to the neighborhood of the mills. The next step was to substitute steam as a motor in place of water; then the factories, which annually grew larger, could be located where population was densest, or supplies easiest obtained. The little shops could not longer compete with the great mill. The looms of the private weaver were shoved aside into lumber-rooms, and the operatives flocked to the towns. The skilful mechanic was reduced to attend on a machine, and the old trades broke up. What went on among spinners and weavers happened also in other industries as fast as machinery could be applied to them. The foundry and the rolling mill took the place of the countless little smithies in the land; just as, more recently, in New England, the shops of the shoemakers decrease before the factories of Lynn and Salem. The watchmaker and the silver-smith exist now, chiefly, to repair the productions of factories; carpentry is invaded by sash and door mills; stage-drivers and postillions have become conductors and engineers. The whole industrial fabric has been reconstructed.

But concentration of capital and the erection of vast factories, have not been the only results. A tremendous impulse has been given to corporate action. Incorporation for industrial purposes became a necessity for gathering together the means needed to carry on the huge enterprises of the day. This combination secured credit, organization and economy. The process soon extended itself into other fields, and all kinds of religious and charitable enterprises are seeking the advantages of chartered life. Charters are sought in order to hold property, to execute trusts, to economise time and experience; also means of rapid communication have depleted the country of its varied talents and concentrated them in cities. We are tending to restore the municipal organization of the Roman empire, in which the city comprised all the elements of society but that of the agriculturist. By the last census taken in the state of New York, the increase of population was found to be confined to the larger towns. Not only so, but the rural population showed a positive reduction, which loss was compensated by the increased gain of the cities. This fact, at least, shows our drift. Within the city, tramways and street-cars carry the wealth and

ability into fashionable and expensive localities, and thrust the poor in zones out towards the suburbs, or gather them in low and crowded quarters, where little improvement seems practicable.

Grave are the consequences which these changes entail. In the first place, the division of labor, incident to machinery, breaks up trades. The productive power of the factory increases by confining the workman as nearly as possible to a single motion. The effect of this on the workman is to destroy his skill and his pride in his work. He creates nothing alone; his care and fidelity gain him little credit or advancement. The breaking up of trades ends apprenticeship, a custom once universal, now rapidly becoming extinct. The little shops give way to vast mills, and the poor boy on the threshold of life, can no longer hope to rise into a proprietor against the overwhelming rivalry of rich and powerful corporations. Once he could fairly hope to become like his employer, for a bench or a loom was not beyond his capabilities, but to be the owner of a factory is clearly a rare achievement for the penniless operative. Thus the incentive to rise is gone, and the young workman sinks into a listless, or discontented drudge.

Nor is this all; concentration of capital causes concentration of labor, and it is aggregated in masses in back streets and hollows of dense towns. Men work in shifts and gangs, and the proprietor of these days hardly pretends to know the names of his workmen, much less how, or where they live. They are only connected with the master by taking their places in his big machine, of which they are a part, and getting their wages in an envelope on Saturday night, perhaps through a little hole in front of a paying teller's desk. Then, too, labor grows migratory. The stimulus of gain concentrates capital beyond the power to earn dividends, owing to excessive competition, or disastrous credits. A mill stops, and the whole body of operatives has to move to more fortunate towns. There is a flow of mechanics and operatives from place to place seeking work, going on all the time. These unsettled conditions are highly unfavorable to stability of character, or moral restraints.

The Church also participates in these changes. The parish becomes a corporation, managed so as to make its investment successful. It presses into expensive and fashionable quarters of the town. It incurs heavy debts to accomplish this end. It seeks

influential patrons. The parish is no longer, territorial space, but a collection of persons having social affinities. It is no longer noticeable for the varieties of condition in its members, but there are wealthy churches, every pew of which is leased out to private control, and there are intermediate churches, struggling to get into the financial light and warmth of wealthy patronage, and there are half-swamped churches, where petty shopkeepers and devout dress-makers go, and there are dingy missions for the poor, into which a very few reluctantly enter.

It will be seen that machinery has worked a gradual disintegration of society on its sympathetic and moral side, although it has given it vast complexity on its purely commercial and economical side.

Industrial organization has engrossed largely the place of a moral and social order. Human relations are settling to a ledger adjustment; cash-payment takes the place of acquaintance, and respect, and sympathy, and while men are scarcely less amiable than of old, and, perhaps, more generously disposed, they have been unconsciously and helplessly borne along into a situation where the ability to give their kindly impulses effective play, is tremendously reduced.

The relation of these thoughts to pauperism, may now be considered. Pauperism has long been distinguished in law and philanthropy from hardship or destitution. Those who fall into it prey upon the benevolent instincts of society, and are characterized by a self-abandonment to vagrancy, idleness, imposture, and, usually, to the vices of drunkenness and thievery. The honest poor man insists most strenuously, that there is a world-wide difference between his situation and that of the pauper. Were the distinction sustained only by pride, it is an inestimable one, and ought to be maintained by every influence in the possession of society. But it is much more; even a distinction of character; a distinction between self-respect and self-abandonment; between self-reliant industry and predatory idleness; between honor and shame.

Yet the pauper class is recruited chiefly from the poor. Whatever breaks down the hope, the independence, the settled habits, the social consideration of the laborer, tends to drive him to vice, vagrancy and imposture. How many influences there are at work in society to send him on this career! Division of labor, reducing

wages, has lessened the ability of men to support their families. The average weekly wages in the cotton mills of Pennsylvania in 1874, were, for overseers and foremen, \$15 per week; for pickertenders, strippers and dressers, generally men, from \$7 to \$9. The average weekly expenditures of workmen's families in Philadelphia, consisting of two adults and three children, were \$13.67; consisting of two adults and four children, were \$15.86. In iron rolling mills, first men got excellent wages, running from \$16 to even \$36 and \$40 per week for the best grades of rollers' work; unskilled workmen and helpers, received in 1874, from \$8.50 to \$11.00.

These figures, taken from Mr. Edward Young's book on "Labor in Europe and America," show that only the *overseers* and *foremen* in cotton mills, earn an average subsistence. The other male operatives fall behind the average expense of maintaining a family of five persons, in sums varying from \$4.67 to \$6.67 per week. In the rolling mills, unskilled and second class labor falls behind from \$2.67 to \$5.17. How is this difference to be made up? Clearly by the employment of children. Accordingly, the same authority says that in a census of eighty-one families of skilled workmen in Massachusetts, the father earned an average of \$619.00. The total average cost of living was \$929.96, or \$310.96 more than the father earned. This was compensated by the wages of the children, which averaged, per family, \$310.78. These statistics are adduced to show that the young in operatives' families, must early be taken from school and put in the factory. There they do not learn a trade, but attend on machinery. If they wished, they would find the avenues to a trade closed to most of them, owing to the practical breaking up of the apprentice system. So, quite early in life, the child enters on a hopeless and monotonous round of factory labor. His surroundings are not favorable to self-improvement. Bare and untidy homes, in uninviting localities, are easily exchanged for evenings in the street and the bar-room. He seldom knows his employer; he cares not to go to Sunday-school or church, towards which he can contribute nothing, and where the whole atmosphere of wealth and refinement only makes his own condition seem more repulsive and bitter. His employment is uncertain, and he starts on a migratory life to get better positions. Among strangers, the slight restraints of home fall off, and his restless spirit disposes him to irregular habits, which make his prospects darker than ever.

His acquaintance is all uninfluential, and he sees himself shut out of that society which controls the institutions of the community. If the pressure of hard times comes upon him, and he is forced to seek relief, that is the most perilous time of all for him. The first charity he asks of a stranger will sting and mortify him. Alas for him, when that sensitiveness is worn out. Relief he will get, but instead of the aid of friendship, it will be the alms of some organized charity, for which he will feel small thankfulness. Were the aid personal, he might recognize it as a friendly and respectful act, and he would hesitate about applying for it a second time. But he soon perceives that society is furnished with appliances to make begging easy, and to take away his own sense of personality. It is bestowed upon him as one of a thousand, and by professional almoners of funds contributed for that purpose. He accepts it as an acknowledgment of society that it owes him a living, and, indeed, that is the practical bearing of much so-called charity. It has been said by high authority, that the real effect of the poor-rates in England is to reduce wages. Manufacturers rely on the disbursement annually in England of \$35,000,000 by overseers of the poor, to compensate for inadequate wages, and thus by taxing other interests, their factories are enabled to undersell foreign competitors in the markets of the world; and alms do the same elsewhere.

But our operative, now depressed, unsteady, addicted to drink, has learned how to eke out a subsistence without work. If he meets with indiscriminate charity, he is confirmed in his begging career. It is but little gain to reduce the dole of money which the charitable bestow. The pauper only stretches his activity over a larger field when his gleanings are small. He becomes a vagrant and canvasses first the town, and then the state, and so he becomes, through the pressure of hopeless and ill-paid labor on the one hand, and, on the other, from the facilities for getting subsistence from organized charities or from strangers, a confirmed tramp. Such is the process among us of increasing pauperism. When the struggle for bread grows desperate and begins early, when society separates into classes having nothing in common, when the privileges and comforts of the earth grow more remote from the laborer, when the reciprocal play of human sympathies is barred at cash payments, when men must feel that the joy and hope, the culture and beauty, yes, and the very religion of Christ, are becoming the

equipment and possession of a society that does not recognize them nor strive to bring them into it, then there will come upon them a spirit of despondency, of listlessness, of self-abandonment and vice.

If we seem to overlook hereditary pauperism, that most wretched disease of human society, it is not from ignorance that it is rapidly increasing in America, but because we are chiefly concerned with the causes which reduce persons from independence to beggary.

This picture of artisan and operative life is drawn in sombre colors, and indeed the evils are very grave. But there are lights to be thrown in the scene. Society is not and cannot be utterly sordid and selfish. The pressure of misery affects it too vitally, and many efforts have been made to resist the process of making and degrading the proletariat class. There are laws carefully prepared to protect the mill-hands and secure the schooling of their children. There are rapidly growing labor organizations, upon which, unfortunately, rival interests and class prejudices act from without and within to mar their usefulness. The workmen themselves, apprehensive of the tendencies bearing them on to a hopeless and class impoverishment, have combined in trade-unions and benevolent societies, and all departments of manual labor are honey-combed with them. The popular impression of those outside these unions is that they are combinations to war heedlessly and blindly on capital. There may be some ground for this impression, such as the protracted and obstinate labor strikes, once more bitter and desperate than they have been for many years, and the supposed connection of these unions with the International Society of Europe, and the communism of the French. But Mr. Edward Young quotes the constitution of many of the principal trade-unions in England to show that these have extended themselves into great societies with central committees on purpose to impede local strikes and to substitute arbitration for them, in controversies arising between men and masters. In a congress of trade-unions, held in Liverpool, in 1875, where 800,000 British workmen were represented, resolutions were passed referring "to strikes as a mode of settling differences with employers, which ought to be avoided by all practicable means, and resorted to only in the most extreme cases." Instance after instance might be adduced from the laws of these societies, to show how benevolent and noble their

aspirations are, whatever infirmity or passion has attended their working. Yet it must be confessed that, whatever else they are, they are the resolute effort of labor to keep itself from sinking down into factory serfdom and the animalism of ignorant, hopeless penury. Neither have they been without important results to society at large. Deplore, as one may, their rules restricting apprenticeship, which react most disastrously on their own children, or their almost exclusive attention to the matter of wages when other matters quite as important deserve their care, or their adoption of the same class-spirit and methods of which they complain in their employers—there are still valuable consequences growing out of their history. While they have failed in their first aim, to affect the price of labor, they have put employers on a level by making the rate of wages uniform throughout a state or a country; they have taught laborers to rely on their own efforts; they have won that respect and consideration for their class, which the world only gives to that which is formidable and strong; they have shown how combinations can be made for nobler ends than pecuniary ones. Men who can act in concert have a higher intelligence and force of character than those who cannot. Trade-unions may be regarded as temporary expedients, and in due time they will undergo transformations into something better. They will correct their mistakes and develop by their virtues.

As for the communism of Europe, it is quite a separable thing in every way from trade-unions and benefit societies; although, through the indifference of Christian churches to these problems, there is a wide-spread skepticism and alienation from Christianity prevalent among workingmen.

On the other side, our abundant charities, while devised more to cure injuries already inflicted than to prevent them, are the attempt of humane men to arrest the evil drift of our industrial condition. But these schemes of charity, imposing as they are for magnitude, great as they are for numbers, seem to be wrong in principle and hurtful in operation. Organized charity has again and again been found to produce the very evils it undertakes to alleviate. I have already referred to one of the effects of the poor rates in England in reducing wages. They also encourage the operative in idleness and thriftlessness. The universal beggary of Italy has been often attributed to the monastic establishments and

their free gifts. In a speech made a few years ago by Thomas Hughes, member of Parliament, he used a strong expression, which was to the effect, that many economists in England had come to doubt whether the realm would not be better off had all the money spent in charity for the last fifty years been sewed up in a bag and sunk in the depths of the sea. The fact is that money is not what the disease demands. True charity, as men will yet see, is not alms; but respect and fraternal sympathy and justice,—a doing unto others as we would they should do to us.

What seems to be needed to remove the tendencies towards pauperism, are these two things: first, a fair chance to earn a reasonable living, or to maintain a decent independence; second, a participation in the organic life of society to the largest practicable extent, that its courtesies, its rewards of respect, its culture, its humane impulses, and, above all, its religious restraints and incentives, may operate to produce a more perfect manhood. These two classes of influence, it is true, aim at no more than to arrest the growth of pauperism. They are preventives rather than cures. As for the cure, inasmuch as pauperism is in fact, as well as by statute, outlawry, it falls under the cognizance of the state. It ought to be dealt with as an immoral thing, and as against all public policy. Hence, almsgiving and charitable societies are poor helpers in this war. Remedial measures, not those of our police courts, but of a legally empowered commission, having authority to restrain the vagrant from wandering about, to subject him to surveillance, to enforce industry under pain of the loss of liberty, to require families to fulfil the duties of humanity to their infirm and unfortunate members, are required. Such a scheme has been successfully tried in Prussia; the name of every one applying anywhere for relief is entered on a roll, with an account of the results of investigation into the case, and, above all, a fixed residence is enforced as the condition of any aid whatever. Were no relief extended, by either private hands or benevolent societies, except to people in their own homes, the evil of vagrancy would largely be conquered. Were this city districted and every case of want investigated by some agency, acting under one central committee, with all its divisions moving in accord, and as complementary to each other, then the inducement of going from ward to ward, or from parish to parish, or from soup house to fuel society, would be taken away. Of such an organization in the

Prussian town of Elberfeld, an interesting account was given in the *Contemporary Review* for January, 1876. This is a summary of its results:—"In 1852, before the adoption of the system, out of a population of 50,000, there were 4,000 paupers, costing nearly £9,000 a year; in 1869 there were 1,062 paupers, costing something less than £4,000. Meanwhile, the direct diminution in pauperism has stimulated the general thrift and prosperity of the poor, and the contributions to benefit societies have increased steadily from year to year." In Prussia the people are more accustomed to act under legal and municipal organization than we, but in England, where the public love of free action is as strong as with us, a voluntary society has been established, operating chiefly in London, which avails itself of the poor rates, the police, the statutes, public institutions, parochial alms, charitable societies, seeking to bring all the agencies of the city for dealing with want and mendicancy, into coördination and harmony. This scheme ought to be found practicable in any of our American cities. Indeed, it has been substantially inaugurated in New York, Boston, Buffalo and Germantown.

But, more than this is needed to prevent pauperism. The first question is one of labor, even to secure it a decent recompense. Fortunately, between the ever increasing intervention of the law to protect labor from avarice, and the more promising efforts of mechanics, artisans and operatives to secure their own improvement, thrift and succor, by combining in mutual benefit societies and trades-unions, considerable progress has already been made. The prospects are good that the workingman will be able yet to secure an honorable position of independence for the industrious, and that by legitimate and praiseworthy means. The church can help this consummation, by teaching men to respect toil and detest selfishness, by denouncing, as false in morals and economy, the idea that every man is entitled to all the money he can make without regard to the real worth of his services to others. It can help it more by becoming acquainted with the labor problems of the day, and by countenancing every honorable effort of the poor to secure their independence and advancement, not leaving all care of industrial questions to political socialists, and communists, and demagogues.

The other part of the problem, that of bringing men to a fuller

participation in the intercourse of refined, humane, educated and religious society, will, I trust, be at once admitted to be an imperative duty. In entering upon it, the proud workingman must be made to see that he is not confounded with the pauper. We must draw a broad line of distinction between penury and degradation, and by all means respect the independence and manhood of the artisan or laborer. We cannot go to him with charities of the pocket, but only with charity of understanding and heart. No Dorcas societies, no mission chapels, no dole of outward things will meet the case, but only do harm and break down the self-respect, which so often stands alone between the poor and the pauper. All influences contributing to the welfare and refinement of mankind must be given him. In order to make effective the distinction between poverty and pauperism, it is requisite, first of all, to have a system for the suppression of vagrant begging, such as prevails at Elberfeld, or is adopted by the London Society, already alluded to. The elements of such a system might be found in Christian Churches if they were morally ripe for it. But it will be necessary for various parishes to come into relations with each other, in order to cover the city. They ought to be coördinated, and their functions in this matter assigned and harmonized at some central agency, whence counsel and often impulse are to come. In the London Society for "organizing charities and repressing mendicancy," the clergy in charge of established or dissenting churches, may become members, at their pleasure, of district committees, which committees send their chairmen and secretaries to the central board of control. If the churches in a given ward, or in each of our fifteen poor-districts as organized under the Guardians of the Poor, would take upon themselves the task of a combined oversight of the want and imposture in that territory, they could furnish, at once, the district visitors, local knowledge of the ground, and the means necessary for the support of the work. Each congregation now probably makes some provision for the care of the poor, but the work is done at a disadvantage when churches work singly and at cross-purposes, when almoners are without conference with each other, when private impulse and sentiment take the place of training, experience and method.

But Christian churches have a nobler work still to do, than dole out alms in any fashion. They are societies in which the

strongest moral forces are at work; where the sense of duty is enhanced by a constant training of the affections, and, consequently, where social reactions are strongest, purest and most varied. Moreover, as a matter of fact, and as a normal product of character, religious societies gather into them resources of intellectual life, and the reading public is largely to be found there. Habits that lead to prosperity are countenanced, and those that destroy prudence and self-control are reprobated. Above all, in such associations, the intercourse of the members stands upon the highest plane of deference, respect and amiability yet attained on the earth. All these influences are powerful agencies for producing character, and supporting men in trouble. There seems to be but one way in which they can be brought to bear, and that is by incorporating people into these Christian societies. Can our churches then absorb into their usual parochial life, the poor and the humble? Practically, they are not doing so, and the working classes have drifted away from our Protestant Christianity. One needs but to walk through the obscure streets of the city on any Sunday morning during the hours of public worship, to be convinced that a vast proportion of the working people are not in our churches, even while half of these churches are not filled by their Sunday audiences.

There are some reasons for this state of things. Among others, there is the unnatural extension of parish independency, peculiar probably to no one Protestant denomination. It is that excessive local feeling which renders a sect a mere aggregate of parishes adhering to one creed and consenting to one discipline, but having no other administrative unity. Each congregation acts for itself, is complete in its functions and only becomes part of a denomination, as in the old botanical classifications plants were reckoned of one species, because they had certain forms in common. In the isolation of parishes, each striving for its own particular welfare, concert of action becomes difficult. Not unfrequently congregations fall into a bitterer rivalry where they are of the same denomination than where they belong to different sects. Their real opponents are those organizations that most impede their influence and growth. In the selfish isolation of churches, a pernicious spirit and method of action spring up. Many of our parishes have been steadily *incapacitating* themselves for accommodating the poor.

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They have carried their independence so far that they have no real concert of action or feeling. This vicious system, when touched by the genius of Church-extension, results in producing too many churches established on their ability to run into debt. There is little to hinder their creation. They spring up on every side. They get a generation into corporate life at the hands of the Court of Common Pleas, with a chance of subsequent regeneration at the hands of the sheriff. They start in the struggle for existence, handicapped with a terrible debt. The consequences can easily be seen. The majority of our parishes have all they can do to keep solvent, and for the most of them, their solvency is a painful state. Their exertions are turned to keeping themselves out of pauperism, and how can they help any one else out of this slough? The pressure of difficulties makes them envious, and neighboring churches thrive on the misfortunes of one another. Worse yet, the society tries to draw to itself wealthy patronage, and it strains every faculty to allure, with music and polychrome, contributing people into its pews. The pews are rented, of course, to get income against the day when interest falls due, and the result is, that owing to expensiveness, to an atmosphere of servility to wealth, to ostentation, and to incessant begging, the poor man cannot maintain himself with any complacency in most city congregations. The cost of this extravagance puts the offices of religion out of the poor man's reach; the rivalry of independent parishes in the struggle for existence, which is hardly less if not greater than between sects, hinders all concerted action, all community of feeling.

Finally, ecclesiastical love of corporate life has led us to strip our parishes of some of their noblest functions. The true secret of charity, even when almsgiving, is that the donor should meet the recipient as a friend and neighbor. Charity done as a duty and through mechanisms, is a hurtful thing. It ought to be the evident product of a personal sympathy and respect. But ecclesiastical disintegration has caused new corporations to spring up as almoners of those whose sentiments of benevolence compel them to give. These trust agencies are absorbing the proper work of the parishes. There is a list published of 250 charitable organizations in this city, and it is by no means complete. These dispense clothing and medicine, and fuel, and money. They take care of

all kinds of human misfortune. But they are trustees acting within limited prescriptions, and so divested of discretion to do what the occasion may require. There is none of the free power of adaptation that would inhere in the parish. Again, these societies are rivals for public support, and their claims are felt to rest on the amount of work they have done each year. They have an *esprit du corps* to accumulate statistics, and they will be prudently managed, indeed, if they resist the innate tendency to distribute aid to as many as possible. Moreover, acting without concert, while but few of them have as good an income as a well-established congregation, they interfere with each other's fields, and, in their anxiety to cover as much ground as possible, end all prospect of bringing the whole city under systematic care. Now what these petty societies do, thriving on the mean support afforded by debt-burdened parishes compensating their consciences for neglect of the poor in other respects, ought not our congregations to be doing themselves each in its own territorial limits? When each church is trained to look after the poor of its own district, it will do it, not so much with money, as with the friendship and respect of Christian men and women, each looking after his own neighbor in a kindly way.

It must be remembered that the great agency for saving the world is not cash, but a Christlike spirit. It does not appear that Christ worked with alms. He was poor, but He gave poor men the wealth of His own steadfast courage, His own hope, His own deep love. His apostles after Him were not appalled at the thought of converting the whole world, although "silver and gold had they none." Their instrumentalities were their humanity, their yearning respect for men in view of what they could become, and their love of the Master's beautiful thoughts and ways. So they point their followers to the best method of work; even by friendliness and neighborliness, and noble, social life, to help each other into a better state.

When Christian society comprehends its own functions and resources, it will first try to save men from vagabondage, hopelessness and shame by improving their social conditions, making the destitute and tempted sharers of its own best advantages and influences. When it awakens to its sense of responsibility for the salvation of men in this life, that they may be saved in the next, it

will produce that common organization, of which each congregation will be a part, that will bring concord, and experience, and energy among the workers, and enable a just discrimination to be made between the imposture and vice which ought to be suppressed, and the misfortune that really deserves relief. When it penetrates into the true nature of Christ's gospel, it will teach men such principles of equity and humanity in their economical relations, that the poor shall no longer be crushed into a drudging toil that hardly earns a decent subsistence, and that has no promise of escape from its barren monotony.

D. O. KELLOGG.

THE HARVARD EXAMINATIONS FOR WOMEN.

THE February number of the PENN MONTHLY, contained an article severely condemning the Harvard Examinations for Women, which are to be held, for the first time in Philadelphia, in June of the present year. The eminent authorship of this attack, which is written by the Provost of the University of Pennsylvania, the pains taken to circulate it in various forms, and the singular unanimity of the daily press of Philadelphia, in giving its substance to their readers, are circumstances which exempt the present writer from any necessity of further explanation, when he invites a reconsideration of the grounds on which the article is rested. Since, however, one of the newspaper reproductions of Dr. Stillé's article has spoken of the coming Harvard Examination in Philadelphia as an "intrusion," unless our recollection deceives us, and as some feeling that it is such, seems to disclose itself at times in the article itself, something may properly be said in advance, as to the circumstances under which Harvard University was asked to enter upon this jealously guarded field.

The arrangement under which the examination is to be held in Philadelphia, was made upon the application of several ladies of that city, well known among the earnest friends of female education, and, in some cases, stimulated to action by the wants of their own daughters. These ladies desired some opportunity for bringing the work done by young girls under various circumstances, to

the test of some common and recognized standard. They desired by this means to secure a definite aim, a proper stimulus for ambition, and a guaranty of the quality of actual attainment, such as they failed to discover in the existing educational arrangements of Philadelphia. The success of the system of local examinations by university authority in England, warranted the belief that such a system would supply the need which they felt. "It was understood, however, that in answer to inquiry, the Provost of the University of Pennsylvania had disclaimed any intention of establishing such a system, and had stated that Philadelphia already offered sufficient advantages for girls who wished to go beyond the usual course of study." Equally discouraging answers were made to the proposition by other gentlemen connected with the University of Pennsylvania, and finding it useless to hope for action by that institution, the ladies applied to Harvard University, which had already undertaken the experiment of local examinations for women, in response to the urgent request of persons deeply interested in that subject. It thus appears that the ladies with whom the movement originated, are free from any charge of improperly ignoring the local University, and that, on this score, their action should not occasion any sensitiveness of feeling among the authorities or friends of that institution. Nor is there any more reason why any similar uneasiness should be caused by the action of Harvard University, in undertaking, in answer to a call from Philadelphia, a task which those who are on the spot would not perform. If comity required Harvard University to refuse whatever is refused by her sister institutions, her field of usefulness would be narrow indeed.

These being the circumstances under which the holding of an examination in Philadelphia has been secured, we have now to examine the reasons assigned by Provost Stillé, for the grave disapproval of which he desires the public to take notice. These reasons, briefly stated, are, first, that the system is pernicious, secondly, that the test which it offers is illusory, and thirdly, that, at any rate, nothing of the kind is needed in Philadelphia.

I. The opinion that the system is pernicious, appears to rest upon a belief entertained by the learned Provost, that the Harvard Examinations are intended to serve as a substitute for the regular training given by schools and teachers. The origin of this belief, it is not easy to conjecture. No warrant for it is to be found in any

publication made by the authorities of Harvard University, or with their knowledge. Nor is it warranted by anything either in the operation of the English examinations, which suggested the experiment by Harvard, nor by any of the details or requirements of the Harvard scheme itself, which are set forth on pages 945-7 of the December number of this magazine. But, whatever the origin of Dr. Stillé's belief as to the object of the examinations in this respect, it is certain that his belief is entirely incorrect. The ladies who induced Harvard University to undertake this service, did so with no disapproval or distrust of the few existing institutions for the higher education of women, and with the strongest desire to encourage and improve the numerous excellent public and private schools for girls. They believed, however, that many girls in every community, fail to use their opportunities for intellectual improvement, for want of the stimulus which effort for a definite object affords, and that this stimulus could best be given by the recognition implied in a certificate from some well known university. They also believed that the studies of these girls need a better direction than can always be given them, especially in private schools, where the judgment of the instructor is apt to be set aside by the conflicting demands of individuals; and that the schools themselves might thus be improved, if a common standard of work were set before them. In this opinion, the ladies who undertook the matter found themselves confirmed by the judgment of many teachers of wide experience in different cities. They desired no revolution in the ways of obtaining knowledge, but they hoped for improvement in the kind of knowledge sought, and for greater zeal in the search for it.

The influences which it was thus desired to bring to bear, are not in themselves harmful. They are not inconsistent with the most thorough training, through a long course of study in schools, and the writer has had not a few opportunities of observing their direct encouragement of such training. Nor does it appear, from the limited trial which the system has had, that it tends practically in any direction adverse to sound learning and thorough discipline. Of the thirty-nine candidates thus far examined, in whole or in part, for the preliminary certificate, six were themselves teachers; fifteen had been prepared in schools; eight had had the assistance of private instructors; and eleven had finished their preparation

by themselves, after a course of study carried on in most cases in some High or Normal School. It may be added, we trust, without impropriety, that a majority of the two classes last named would probably have given little attention to study after leaving school, but for the incentive afforded by these examinations. Indeed, the practical operation of the experiment thus far, well justifies the language used in the announcement made by the Philadelphia Local Committee, which Provost Stillé had before him.

“The preliminary examination,” says this announcement, “is strongly recommended to girls *in course of education at home or in private schools*, who desire to test their progress by a strict and publicly recognized standard, instead of by the lax and partial criteria which prevail in private education. On the other hand, the *graduates of our High Schools and Grammar Schools*, who have probably enjoyed a more solid elementary training than private education usually gives, may be tempted to take the Harvard Preliminary Examination by the fact that it offers a test of proficiency in a wider range of subjects than the ordinary Public School course includes.”

We fail then to see the relevance of Dr. Stillé's warning against “any system which offers a premium for an undue cultivation of the memory at the expense of the other faculties,” or of his reminder that “there is no royal road to learning,” and that “no hot-house treatment which forces a precocious and unnatural development, can ever produce that fruit which is the support and comfort of human life.” These truths are well-worn and not denied, but if they serve in this connection any other purpose than that of a modest rhetorical embellishment, it is because they relate to some fancied system, quite different from that under discussion.

II. “The next point is, what is the real value of these Harvard certificates,” and on this point the learned Provost feels it necessary to speak plainly, although most reluctantly. “There is nothing in the age or reputation of Harvard,” he declares, “which gives weight to what it has seen fit to do in regard to the education of women;” and “the vague but persistent notion that Harvard occupies, in this country, towards education generally, a position analogous to that of the universities of Oxford and Cambridge in regard to local examinations, and the examinations of schools in England,” is altogether a “misapprehension,” which “it is necessary to remove.” Upon the general question as to the

weight given to the action of Harvard University by its age and reputation, the present writer will not enter. It is enough for the purposes of this discussion, that the most active friends of the higher education of women in New York, Cincinnati and Philadelphia, have found reason for honoring the University with their confidence. But a word may be said as to two special objections alleged by Provost Stillé in condemnation of the value of the judgment implied in the Harvard certificates. In the first place, "it is necessary . . . to say distinctly that even the system of education for under-graduates, adopted of late years at Harvard, is regarded by nearly all the New England colleges as a heresy (to say the least), and as tending to lower the standard of scholarship. Neither the authority of the 'tribunal' having been recognized, nor its example followed in New England, it is certainly not to be wondered at that some of us, even in 'Philadelphia Centre,' should hesitate before admitting these lofty pretensions."

There can be little doubt that by "the system of education for undergraduates," is here meant what is known as the elective system, by which the course of study of the undergraduate after his Freshman year is, for the most part, determined by himself or by his parents. It is with surprise then that we observe the confident assertion that the example of Harvard is not followed in New England. If Dr. Stillé will examine the catalogues of Yale, Amherst and Tufts Colleges, and of Brown, Boston and Wesleyan Universities, he will find that each of these institutions has made the elective system a leading feature of the later years of its course. He will, in fact, find upon inquiry, that the great majority of the colleges of New England have moved in this direction, so far as restricted means or the limited number of their instructors have enabled them to do so. Indeed, we observe with pleasure, even in the University of Pennsylvania, some praiseworthy efforts towards the establishment of the same "heresy." So far then as readiness to follow the example of Harvard, manifested by all who are able to do so, affords any indication, the soundness of her judgment is remarkably confirmed by the assent of her neighbors.

But, says Dr. Stillé, in the second place: "Some misapprehension prevails, also, as to the character of the examination. The practical value of such a test, in the eyes of the public, depends, of course, a good deal on the reputation of the examiners. . . .

A notion prevails among many, that at Harvard the papers are prepared, and the answers examined, by such men as Peirce in Mathematics, Goodwin and Hedge in the Languages, Lovering and Gibbs in Natural Science, Russell Lowell in History, and Bowen in Philosophy. Now the Harvard programme promises nothing of the sort, and, unless these examinations are conducted in a very different way from all others, both at Harvard and elsewhere, they are practically in the hands of the younger members of the faculty, very competent, no doubt, for the work, but without any of the reputation of the eminent professors we have named."

We shall not question the ability of Dr. Stillé, to state with authority the manner in which examinations are conducted in the University of which he is the head. He is entirely at fault, however, as to the method pursued at Harvard, both in the examinations for women, and in "all others." There is no question of the competence of the younger members of the faculty, as Provost Stillé suggests; but still, no class of examinations is thrown into their hands, or those of any other section of instructors, for the reason that the practice of Harvard University requires every examination to be held by the officer giving instruction in the subject of the examination. The practical adjustment of this method to the novel case of the examinations for women, may be understood from the following statement, giving the names of the gentlemen by whom in the last four years, "the papers have been prepared and the answers examined:"

PRELIMINARY EXAMINATIONS.

English,	Professor Child.
French,	Professor Bôcher.
Physical Geography,	Assistant Professor Pettee and Mr. Hamlin.
Botany,	Assistant Professor Goodale.
Physics,	Assistant Professor G. A. Hill and Mr. Willson.
Arithmetic, . . .	Assistant Professors C. J. White and Byerly.
Algebra,	Professor J. M. Peirce.
Geometry,	Assistant Professor Pettee and Mr. Briggs.
History,	Professor Torrey and Dr. E. Young.

German,	Professor Hedge and Assistant Professor Bartlett.
Latin,	Professor Lane.
Greek,	Professor Goodwin.
English Composition,	Professor A. S. Hill.

ADVANCED EXAMINATIONS.

History,	Professor Torrey.
English,	Professor Child.
German,	Professor Hedge and Assistant Pro- fessor Bartlett.
Italian,	Assistant Professor Nash.
Latin,	Professor Lane.
Greek,	Professor Goodwin.

It should be added that the returns made by these gentlemen, among whom will be recognized no small proportion of the senior instructors of Harvard University, are made to a committee which is entrusted with the general supervision of the examinations. The gentlemen who have thus far acted as the committee are:—

Professors Hedge, Torrey, Lane, Child and J. M. Peirce; Assistant Professors Seaver, Goodale and Trowbridge.

The present Dean of the College Faculty has served as chairman of the committee, from the outset.

III. But it is unnecessary to pursue this part of the subject further. Enough has been said to show that the value of the certificates offered by Harvard University cannot be impeached on either of the grounds alleged by Provost Stillé, and we gladly pass to his final, and indeed his original, objection to the Harvard Examinations, that they are not needed in Philadelphia. In support of this, he points to the character of the work now done, in his opinion, satisfactorily, for the higher education of girls in that city:—

“First: There is the Girl’s Normal School, with its 900 pupils, and School of Practice, occupying, it is said, the largest and best arranged building for such a purpose in the country. The course here, as we have said, extends over four years, and during that course every one of the subjects required at the Harvard advanced examination, except the foreign languages, is studied systematically, and certain others which are not required—notably, music and drawing—are taught.”

It was to this school that Provost Stillé pointed, as sufficient for all necessary purposes, when inquiry was first made of him, on

behalf of some of the ladies now interested in the Philadelphia Examinations. And it was, after full consideration of the merits of this school, that they made application to Harvard University. The grounds on which they dissented from the learned Provost, we do not know. They may have objected to the removal of their daughters from private schools or from home instruction to a school with 900 pupils; they may have thought the exclusion of "the foreign languages" from the course of study a more serious defect than Dr. Stillé deems it, not even to be compensated by music and drawing. At any rate, the presence of this school, however excellent for its own purposes, in some way failed to satisfy a want felt by the ladies who had the matter most at heart.

"*Second*: Swarthmore College. This is an institution recently established by the Society of Friends, within ten miles of this city, and drawing many of its pupils from it. Its system of instruction is liberal and comprehensive, its apparatus is of the best modern description, and the standard of scholarship is very high. In this college, the theory of the co-education of the sexes is fully carried out in practice; in other words, it has been thought expedient to teach boys and girls the same subjects at the same time, and under the same conditions."

The merits of Swarthmore College are widely known; but is it necessary to point out to Dr. Stillé, that while it necessarily fails to meet the wants of parents who do not wish to remove their daughters to a large establishment, it also presents the difficulty which, whether with or without reason, is even more formidable in the eyes of many parents, that it carries out "the theory of co-education?" That it does so, may be its recommendation to some, but is for others a fatal objection. It is not surprising, therefore, that the ladies, again dissenting from Provost Stillé, felt that there might be a want which even Swarthmore College failed to satisfy, but which was nevertheless worthy of consideration.

"*Third*: The University of Pennsylvania. Recently, arrangements have been made to encourage young women to pursue certain advanced studies here. This has been done in simple obedience to the law of supply and demand. . . . Applications were made, from time to time, from young women, asking that they might avail themselves of the advantages offered at the university, for the study of chemistry, physics and history, the applicants stating that these advantages—especially for the study of the first two-named subjects—seemed to them exceptionally

good. When it was found that these ladies proposed, without exception, to become either physicians or teachers, and that they asked of the university what was essential to their calling and what, according to their own statement, they could not find elsewhere except at great inconvenience, the authorities would not only have been unjust, but cruel, if they had denied their request. They are there as special students, in precisely the same position as the young men who are special students."

We have no desire to call in question the value of the assistance received in their special pursuits, by the three young ladies, who, according to the catalogue, have availed themselves of this opportunity in the last two years. But, it is to be observed, as they were "without exception, to become either physicians or teachers," not only were their demands of a special kind, limited to "certain advanced studies," and having no relation to any previous course of elementary study, but the other conditions of their case are entirely unlike those under which most young women, at work in schools or in the seclusion of their homes, are likely to carry on their education. In short, the proposition of the University of Pennsylvania is intended to satisfy only a limited class of wants. That wants not satisfied by it, nor by either of the other institutions pointed out by Dr. Stillé, are felt to exist, is sufficiently shown by the demand made by the persons most likely to know where the shoe pinches.

This last consideration brings us indeed to what is the essential weakness of the position taken by the learned Provost, and might, perhaps, have justified us in omitting any inquiry as to special defects in the arrangements for the higher education of women, to which he points with so much satisfaction. In matters of this kind, it is the persons who feel the want, who must be the judges as to the sufficiency of the means provided for satisfying the want; and when these persons, having an immediate and deep interest in the subject, and being individually as competent to form an intelligent opinion in the matter as the most highly placed critic, declare that something more or different is needed and must be had, not only is it idle to argue with or to lecture them, but there is a strong presumption that they are right.

Having dealt with what are apparently the chief grounds on which Dr. Stillé disapproves of the Harvard Examinations in Philadelphia, it remains for us to notice briefly three practical questions raised by him in the course of his discussion:—

“*First*: Can such instruction and training as we have spoken of as essential, be acquired, as is alleged, by private study out of the schools? *Secondly*: What is the probability that the schools will be stimulated to provide the improved means of instruction, which the scheme demands, and of which they are now confessedly deficient? *Thirdly*: What, after all, is the real value of this Harvard certificate, either as an object of ambition, or as a means of gaining employment as a teacher, or as a test of culture?”

With respect to the first question, it is to be remarked, that the system makes no requirement as to the manner in which the necessary instruction and training are to be obtained, whether by private study or in school; it simply provides for those who have not had the advantage of school instruction as well as for those who have had it. As we have already shown, however, experience has proved that it is possible for earnest students to prepare for the Preliminary Examination by private study. We must add that, of the three candidates who have passed advanced examinations, one was prepared in school, one by private teachers, and one prepared herself. But it must, no doubt, be admitted that the extent to which candidates can rely upon their own unaided efforts in preparing the advanced subjects, must be determined by trial, and that the results will probably vary in different branches of study. Provost Stillé is certainly right in maintaining that the natural and physical sciences need to be studied where there are opportunities for experimental work and for observation. His opinion, however, that history cannot be advantageously studied except under the constant supervision of “that rarest of men, a competent teacher of history,” that only exceptional powers will enable a young woman to study the higher mathematics or metaphysics, even with a thorough scholar as her tutor, and that accuracy in anything beyond the elementary part of the study of languages, cannot be gained without the stimulus of a class at work under the same teacher, appears to us in a considerable degree eccentric. They are, indeed, so far at variance with the conclusions reached by other teachers of extensive observation, that we must regard them as being probably the peculiar, although, no doubt, the carefully considered, results of a highly exceptional personal experience.

To the second question, as to the probability that schools “will be stimulated to provide the improved means of instruction

which the system demands, and of which they are now confessedly deficient," Provost Stillé answers that the schools are "commercial ventures," that those who carry them on cannot afford to take many risks, and that, besides, "nothing irritates the average school teacher more" than the demand for exceptional instruction and the consequent derangement of his general system of teaching. If all this were true, it would still be no reason for refusing to make the effort to secure from the schools "improved means of instruction," in which "they are now confessedly deficient. But it is not to be so hastily assumed that the teachers of private schools are more apt to regard their work merely in its commercial aspect, or are more apt to be irritated by stimulus, than those who have in charge the higher education. On the contrary, even the brief experience of the Harvard Examinations has led to the exhibition, on the part of private teachers, of a high sense of the duties and privileges of their honorable vocation, as well as of a regard for its possible gains or losses, and has shown that they are not only ready to provide, as far as possible, for the new wants of their pupils, but that they welcome the presence of such wants. Not a few teachers, who have never sent, and may never send, candidates from their own schools, have declared with satisfaction, their belief that the standard set by the Harvard Examinations is giving material assistance in improving the work of their own schools. Notwithstanding the doubts of Dr. Stillé, then, we believe that there is a high probability that the schools will be stimulated to improve their means of instruction.

The third of the practical questions which we are considering, inquires, among other things, as to the value of the Harvard certificate as "a test of culture." This phrase, which Dr. Stillé improperly cites as the language used in "the programme issued by the Harvard authorities," is made by him the occasion of some mild pleasantry, and of some grave doubts as to the sort of culture implied, "unless culture has a very different signification at Harvard from what it had in the days of Dr. Channing." We are spared the necessity of an investigation as to the standard of culture maintained at the epoch hit upon by the learned Provost, for it is evident here, as in other parts of his discussion, that his chief difficulty springs from his failure at the outset to possess himself fully of the subject of debate. This failure shows itself in

his *singular* inability to comprehend the present position, or possible *fate*, of those candidates who have passed the Preliminary Examination, but do not care to pass the Advanced, who seem to him to be in "some sort of academical limbo." As he has undertaken to examine this subject "in a candid spirit," we must suppose therefore, that the announcement of the Philadelphia Local Committee *fails*, for some reason not fully apparent, to convey distinctly the *meaning* of its authors. The whole question, as to the sort of culture attested by the Harvard certificate, is, however, set in a clear light, and all real doubts should be resolved by the following language used in the announcements made in 1877, by the Boston and New York committees:—

"The Preliminary Examination is intended as a careful test of proficiency in a course of elementary study of a liberal order, arranged for persons who may or may not afterwards pursue their education. It differs, therefore, both in its purpose and in its selection of subjects, from any college examination, whether for admission or for subsequent standing. It applies, however, the same standard of judgment in determining the excellence of the work offered, as would be used in judging similar work if done in Harvard College. It is, therefore, strongly recommended to all girls who wish to test their progress *by a strict and publicly recognized standard*, or in a range of subjects wider than the ordinary school courses include.

"The Advanced Examination offers a test of *special* culture in one or more of five departments, namely, Languages, Natural Science, Mathematics, History and Philosophy. It is not intended to be taken as a whole, and does not, therefore, represent the studies of a college course, but is adapted to persons of limited leisure for study, such as girls who have left school and are occupied with home cares, or teachers engaged in their professional labors. Many of the latter class who have not time or inclination for a Normal School course, may be glad to obtain a Harvard certificate of proficiency in one department."

This statement is sufficiently explicit to render superfluous any further comment upon the fancied discovery of an attempt to establish some absolute standard of complete excellence, which Dr. Stillé terms "the Harvard test of culture."

There are other points in this discussion which invite attention, but it is probably unnecessary to pursue the subject further. We have spoken of the Harvard Examinations for Women as an experiment. The experiment was undertaken, after full considera-

tion by the friends of female education, and with good grounds for hope in its success. This hope has thus far been more than justified, and in unexpected ways. We need only say in addition, that, with this encouragement, the undertaking will be continued for whatever length of time may be required for the complete establishment of the system, or for the full satisfaction of those by whose advice, and in deference to whose wants, the trial was begun.

CHARLES F. DUNBAR.

THE LANGUAGE OF INSECTS.

(From the German.)

IS it instinct, or intelligence and conscious will? This question, touching the nature and actions and the power of expression in animals, will always be disputed.

But the researches of modern Natural Science, the results of careful observations, have decided in favor of intelligence, instead of the so generally accepted theory of instinct, so far, at least, as by instinct we understand mechanical action without consciousness and volition.

Nothing can be more convincing than to examine the facts which have led to this important decision between Sagacity and Force of Habit. The many evidences of intellectual animation in animals, appear so strange and incredible at first, that one is tempted to regard them as creations of a poetical imagination. But the disclosures concerning it do not proceed from the brain of an individual, but have been made by different men, many of them of distinguished intellect, at different places and times, after close and diligent investigation, and, therefore, we must admit that, in those disclosures and the conclusions to be drawn from them, we have to deal with realities only.

Science has not yet reduced animal psychology to an organized system, based upon universally established principles. But it may be safely asserted, that, through individual investigation too minute to be followed by the eye alone, the key has been found to the enigma of the animal world. An affinity with the thoughts and

wishes of human beings has been proved beyond dispute, not only with regard to the larger animals and those of a higher organization, but even in the strange, mysterious world of the myriads of neglected little creatures that fill the air about us and cover the ground under our feet.

Insect life has long been one of the most interesting subjects to thoughtful observers of nature, and in all ages it has been a favorite fancy to descend in imagination to the world of these little creatures. But in order to derive certain conclusions from these observations, we need that method of critically sifting and testing, by comparing the facts collected here and there, which has now become a rule in Science, and recently applied, as for instance, by Dr. Ludwig Büchner, in his very interesting treatise published lately in Berlin. (*Aus dem Geistesleben der Thiere; oder Staaten und Thaten im Kleinen.*) To enable us to decide upon the great question of instinct, Dr. Büchner does not describe to us the vast kingdom of the Insect World, he merely calls our attention to a number of authenticated facts concerning ants, bees, wasps, spiders and beetles of different kinds. Almost every one of these statements excites our interest in no ordinary degree, but together, and in their proper order, they make a powerful impression, which surpasses the interest of mere amusement.

He who has read this treatise, will surely never again doubt that a clear warm ray of that reasoning which fills the world, has been bestowed upon these tiny creatures, and in some of them has reached a high stage of development. Let us examine one, the simplest of the many points demonstrated.

Many sensible teachers have objected to the use of poetical fables of animals in instructing children, on the ground that, as in these poems, the animals acted and spoke like men, they taught them what was not true. But it now appears that Æsop, Lafontaine and Gellert, should henceforth be esteemed as realists. For the great advance of Modern Science has established, beyond a doubt, that animals, within their range of vision and action, develop a mode of thinking and acting very similar to that of human beings, and have a peculiar language, by means of which they communicate with and understand each other. Although this is now considered an established fact, with regard to the mammiferous animals and birds, many and much more wonderful discoveries have

been made concerning the little insects, who form communities among themselves. It is clearly shown that these little animals can communicate with each other by certain sounds, and also by means of the feelers attached to their heads.

“Two ants,” says Büchner, “when holding a conversation, stand opposite to each other and move their very sensitive and flexible feelers, in the most animated manner, striking their heads, etc.” That, in this way, they hold detailed conversations, can be proved by many instances.

The Englishman Jesse, relates: “I have often placed a small green caterpillar near a nest of ants. It would at once be seized by an ant who, after vain attempts to draw it into the nest, would go after another ant. With the help of their feelers, these two ants would then have a consultation, the result of which was, that they would repair together to the caterpillar, and, with their united strength, draw it into the nest. I have often observed two ants, on their way to and from their nest, stop and have a conversation by means of their feelers, which I supposed, and not unreasonably, to relate to the best place for a foraging expedition.”

Hogue, in a letter to Darwin, says that he one day killed, with his finger, a number of ants, who came daily through a crack in the wall to some plants standing on the mantelpiece. The result was that the newcomers turned back and informed their comrades who had not witnessed the disaster, and tried to prevent them from coming. Those they met on the way, they stopped, and had a long conversation with, they being apparently unwilling to go back without some proof. In this way, too, the warrior-ants have often been observed to hold consultations before they begin their interesting campaigns. When an ant is hungry, it makes known its wants to its comrades, by means of its feelers, and even induces the helpless larva to open its mouth for the reception of food in the same way. Their inclinations and disinclinations are expressed by different gestures.

Landois, (author of a work on the utterances of animals, which appeared in 1874), after a careful study of the subject, has arrived at the conclusion that, besides the language of gestures, ants have also a language of sounds, although not always audible to the human ear. For example, he threw a live spider of large size into the midst of an ant-hill. In a moment, the entire colony became

alarmed, so quickly that Landois could only explain it as the effect of an **audible** communication. A large number of ants instantly **attacked** the spider, and a fierce combat ensued, resulting in the defeat of the latter. This scientist has also succeeded in proving, that in **the** hinder part of the ant, especially of a certain species, there **is a** tone-apparatus, or what is called a rasping-organ. In that **species** (*Ponera*), the rasping sound can be heard by the human ear.

Thus it is not only obvious that these little creatures have need of a **mode** of communication, which is in itself an evidence of intellectual life, but have also the power of communication, which is, however, more or less developed in the different species. When a change of abode is to take place, an ant of one species will take another in its mouth and carry it thus to the spot selected for their new home. Other species again do not find so drastic a method of **communication** necessary; they discuss the subject by means of gestures or signs. But bees are gifted with far more wonderful powers of expression. Although we do not understand their language, it has been ascertained by careful investigation to be very complete. Undoubtedly, one of the duties assigned to the guards, stationed by the bees at the doors of their hives all day and night through the summer time, is to forward the news brought from without by fresh arrivals, to those within doors. According to De Fravière, they possess a number of different notes produced through the air-holes in the breast and back part of the body, each note having a particular meaning. As soon as a bee arrives with important news, it is surrounded by the guards. It then utters two or three shrill notes, and touches one of them with its long, flexible, and very susceptible feelers or antennæ, which are furnished with no less than twelve or thirteen points. The guard then repeats the news to another in the same way, and soon it is made known to the whole hive. Perhaps it is of an agreeable nature, touching the discovery of a stock of honey or a rich field of clover, and all remains quiet and orderly within. But if, on the contrary, the tidings refer to some threatening danger, or if a strange animal break into the hive, great excitement prevails and all is bustle and commotion. Such matters are probably told first of all to the Queen Bee, as the most important person in the state. The language of the bee is certainly one of sounds as well as of gestures,

and it cannot be doubted that bees can converse, not only in a general way, but also about various and particular matters. If one bee discovers sugar or other article of food, the result is that a whole crowd of hungry bees will flock to the spot, having evidently been informed of it by the first bee.

Landois, whom we have already mentioned, says "if you place a dish of honey before a beehive, you will presently see a few bees come out of the hive, from one of them a peculiar sound will be heard (tut, tut, tut). This note is tolerably high, and of the same nature as that made by a bee when it is caught. At this call, a great number of bees will emerge from the hive, and begin to store away the honey. If one who is interested in raising bees, wishes to have the hive placed near water in the Spring,—water is required for the pulpy lining of the nest when the hatching season begins, and it is not advisable that the bees should have far to go for it,—all that is necessary is to place a stick smeared with honey in front of the entrance to the hive, and when a few bees have alighted upon it, to carry it to the water. These few bees will soon inform the whole swarm not only of the vicinity of water, but also of the precise spot where it is to be found."

The best means of mutual understanding the bees possess is in their feelers or antennæ, which they can move in many different ways. This can be easily observed by taking the queen-bee from a hive. In a little while, perhaps an hour, a few of her subjects will discover their loss, they will then stop working, and will run anxiously in and out of the honey-comb. This happens on one side, and in a small division of the honey-comb, but soon the agitated bees will leave their own quarters, and when they meet any companions, they will cross their feelers and touch each other gently, and in this way will impart their anxiety to others. Very soon the disturbance will become general, and the whole swarm will exhibit signs of distress and alarm.

Similar observations have also been made in the beetle world. The grave-diggers, as they are called, as well as many other beetles, possess a complete apparatus, by means of which they make a whirring sound, which serves, among other purposes, to call their comrades to work. They can also confer together, by means of their feelers. All beetles, without exception, are provided with the latter, and there cannot be any doubt that they use their an-

tennæ, which are so strangely and peculiarly formed, just as the ants and bees do, to converse with each other, though probably the topics discussed by them are not of so deep a nature.

Mr. Goelitz, of Marysville, North America, writes the following to Dr. Büchner: "One day in July of last Summer, I found in my field a heap of fresh earth like a mole hill, on which a red and black striped beetle, with long legs, and of the unusual size of a hornet, was working to remove the earth from the mouth of the opening leading into the mound, and trying to level the place. After watching his movements for some time, I noticed another beetle of the same kind. The latter brought a small heap of earth from the interior of the opening and then disappeared. Every four or five minutes, a little mound of earth was in this way deposited at the opening, and removed by the first beetle. When I had been a witness of these proceedings about half an hour, the beetle that had been working within, came out into the daylight, and ran to his companion. The two beetles then put their heads together and apparently made an agreement, for they immediately exchanged duties. The one who had before worked outside, now entered the hole and the other undertook the work outdoors. I watched them for some time, and turned away at last, with the conviction that these little creatures can understand one another, just as we men can."

Perty relates that a gold beetle came across a May-beetle, lying on its back in the garden. He attacked, but could not conquer him; so he ran under a hedge near by, and came back with a comrade. Together, they made away with the May-beetle, and then returned to their nest.

Beetles have often been observed to call others to their aid. This is very striking in the case of the *Attenchus* or *Scarabeus sacer*, whose curious and strange actions have caused them to be much esteemed by the Ancients and even worshipped by the Egyptians.

The *Attenchus* has, for instance, the habit of making a ball, an inch or two in circumference, in which to hatch its young, and this it rolls before it on the ground, until it becomes round and firm, and arrives at the place where it intends to bury it. To get to this spot, the beetle has often a long way to go, and it is astonishing how it will overcome all the obstacles it meets. Sometimes it happens that the ball falls into a hole or rut in the ground, out of which the beetle cannot move it. In this case, one will see the beetle leave

the ball, and, spreading its wings, fly off in the air. If one has the patience to wait a few minutes, he will see the beetle come flying back again, accompanied by two, three, or four comrades, and they will unite in placing the ball on level ground, so that it will roll again. Arrived finally at the destined spot, a hole is dug in the earth, with the peculiarly formed front feet, which work very much like a spade; the ball is placed in it and covered over.

We have, as before stated, dwelt upon only one point of the many demonstrated, but I think it will be new to many when they hear that, so far as the question under dispute concerns a language of animals among themselves, it can no longer be treated as a matter of conjecture or imagination, but as a scientifically established fact. But as to the rest, Büchner, in his illustrations of the intellectual animation of insects, gives us so many disclosures of the most surprising nature, that we are tempted to venture farther in this rich field thus opened before us.

An explanation of the mental and emotional life of our animal contemporaries, already an inexhaustible source of instruction, will gradually tend to a treatment of animals, considerate and careful, but at the same time free from sentimentality, which will assist greatly in civilizing and humanizing future races. The scientific material for such an enlargement of our views is offered us in abundant measure. If thinking men would only examine into it, they would certainly not regard the following statement, which was made by a reliable and learned authority, merely as an extravagant idea :

“Every step in the far-reaching study of Natural History leads from one surprise to another, for one finds repeated, in the animal world, everything which has been previously discovered in the human mind and heart.

“The temperament and passions, the good and bad qualities of men, appear also in animals, and everywhere the wondering observer beholds a faithful copy of our own social, artistic, scientific and political life.”



ART WEAVING AMONG THE ANCIENTS.

[Translated from the *Zeitschrift des Kunst-Gewerbe-Vereins*, in Munich. Nos. 7 and 8, 1877.] (Conclusion).

THE modern Babylonian style, which had been formed under the dynasty of the Sassanides, predominated during the first period, from the sixth to the twelfth century, when the use of silk fabrics became more general. We may call this period the *Oriental Byzantine*. The fabrics of this period were very heavy, closely woven, and, during the early portion of the period, were made without designs. The ornamentation was added by means of embroidery. (*Opus cypricum anglicanum*). Whenever patterns occurred, they consisted, but only after the time of Carl the Great, of Persian designs of animals, generally dichromatic, afterwards interwoven with gold, mingled with quadrangular, polygonal, circular, cruciform, striped, or other geometrical designs.

We learn from the *Liber Bestiarius*, by the Englishman Philip of Thau, in the twelfth century, that these animals, often of the strangest forms, consisted of lions, elephants, eagles, peacocks, griffins, deer, unicorns, horses, birds, owls, tigers, leopards, in herds or flocks surrounded by smaller forest birds, which are represented as prey running from or to them. Then smaller game—never single, but in pairs: pheasants, owls, swans, swallows, also a multitude of wild and tame birds, which existed neither in the air nor on land, but only in the imagination of the oriental composer. The fabrics were named after these ornaments, and thus we read of *vestes cum rotis, circumrotatæ, scutclatæ* (shield-shaped), *vestes elephantinæ, leoninæ*, etc. Yellow, red, purple and grey, in all shades, were the colors ordinarily used.

The cities of the east, especially those of Persia, Alexandria, later Constantinople, then Sicily and Spain while under Arab rule, were the principal seats of this manufacture. In the fabrics made at Constantinople, crosses frequently occur in small circles, as designs; later, entire scenes were borrowed from sacred history, especially from the New Testament and the life and sufferings of Christ.

That these fabrics were widely used, is evident from the fact that not only the state dresses of the princes, knights and noble-

men and their wives were made of them, as we learn from a work on costumes by Heffner-Alteneck, who called attention to these materials and fabrics, when nobody thought of their extraordinary importance and meaning for art and art-industry, but this is also confirmed by the fact that the Church used these fabrics for liturgical purposes to adorn the walls of the churches, for canopies and curtains about isolated altars (*bibonium*), and preferred them as *Frontalia* and *Antependia* at the more important feasts.

The chimerical forms of animals, with which the heathen or Mohammedan orientals had embellished their fabrics, did not hinder their being put to such uses, for a way was found then, as at present, to give symbolical meanings and allegorical bearings to these designs. We even find proverbs from the Koran, names of Califs etc., in Kufic texts on imperial robes and church vestments, as we saw at our recent exhibition.

The second period begins a little before the time of the Hohenstaufens, when sericulture was introduced into Sicily by the Norman kings, and a royal silk manufactory was established in Palermo, and continued to the time of Charles IV, 1347. It was the period during which the art of weaving reached its height among the Arabs and Moors. The royal manufactory connected with the palace of the Norman kings, called *Hotel de Tiraz*, where Saracenic workmen, together with a few Greeks, oversaw the work and became highly skilled producers, figured then prominently. Hugo Falcandus, a contemporary historian, describes to us this *Hotel de Tiraz*, and we learn from his account that it consisted of four principal departments. First, the department for simple fabrics, taffetas, levantine, gros de Naples, etc., which were called *amita*, *dimita*, *trimita*, that is fabrics in which the woof is either single, double, or treble the thickness of the warp, and in which the woof is plain. Second, the department for velvet (*hexamita*, *examita*) and satin (*diarhodon*). Third, the department for flower weaving, (*diapistus*, which was green; we call this fabric damask), and figured goods (with circles and other geometrical designs *exanthemata*, *exarctasmus et circulorum varietatibus insignita*, as Falcandus calls them). Fourth, the department for gold fabrics (brocades), colored fabrics and embroideries. In the last department, were produced real works of art, in which the beautiful variation of the design was irradiated by the lustre of precious jewels.

Sometimes pearls were inclosed in golden frames, sometimes they were perforated and fastened to a thread drawn through the fabric, and placed in such tasteful order as to form a design. The coronation robes of the German emperors came from the Hotel de Tiraz in Palermo, where, according to inscriptions of the year 1183, they were produced by Moslem operatives. After the conquest of Sicily, neither King Roger nor his successors could afford to dispense with these skillful workmen, who, even after the importation of Greek silk operatives, were still accounted as among the most capable. We have evidence of this in vestments, both royal and ecclesiastical, some of which bear the the favorite designs of animals brought, however, into a peculiar and delightful combination with vigorous representations of plants and foliage, thus forming splendid interlacings (Arabesques), others of which are ribbon-striped and many-colored. These stripes frequently bear continuous straight ornamentations, half-moons, stars and intertwined ribbons, woven in gold; very often there are short proverbs taken chiefly from the Koran, embroidered in gold and constantly repeated in the same line. Historical fabrics, *i. e.* fabrics woven with scenes from sacred history, were not made at this period, but representations of scenes from the Old and New Testaments were left to the art of embroidery.

The material of the fabrics consisted of a heavy, close plain cross-woven silk, or of strong twilled levantine. The oldest fabrics are two-colored, the design being produced by a filling of another color. The later were almost always woven with gold threads, so that either the ground or the pattern is golden. The prevailing colors were purple, red and violet, green and yellow, the latter often replaced with gold. We find that at the time when the silk manufacture was flourishing under the Norman kings, this industry attained to a high state of development in Moorish Spain, particularly in the cities of Almeria, Lisbon, Seville and Granada. Sultan Aben-Alhamar (1248) interested himself in silk culture and manufacture to such an extent that these fabrics were preferred to those of Syrian manufacture. As we learn from the poems of the Troubadours of Provence, and those of our German Minnesingers, the Moorish fabrics of Spain and the Saracenic fabrics of Sicily were called, *étoffes d'outré mer*, *étoffes sarrasins*, *moresques*, etc,

While the flourishing silk factories in Sicily and southern Spain (the city of Almeria alone contained within its walls, during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, several thousand silk operatives) formed a powerful competition against the great monopolizers of silk fabrics in Byzantium, Alexandria, Antioch, Tyre, Damascus, Bagdad, Ispahan, etc., we find the consumption of these fabrics for ecclesiastical and secular objects, within a century after the introduction of the silk manufacture in Sicily, became very great. There sprang up in northern Italy, in the cities of Lucca, Florence, Milan, Genoa and Venice, new competitors, who not only entered into the contest with Palermo, but also with the East and became victorious over their Moslem instructors and rivals.

Of course, Oriental models were adopted in these north Italian factories—not only in the weaving, but also in the ornamentation. Designs from Byzantium, Alexandria, Persia, etc., were also imitated. Then, as the art of weaving had considerably advanced, fabrics once made of a single color began to be made of many colors, the material itself became lighter and more delicate, the drawing of the plants and animals more life-like, and embroidery was replaced with gold. This period may be denominated the *Arabic-Italian*, from its characteristics.

As the third period extends from the middle of the fourteenth to the commencement of the sixteenth century, we may call it the *Gothic*. Just as far as the Lombard silk manufacturers came to be masters of their business, so far did traces of the oriental influence vanish. They disdained to copy, or confine themselves to designs obtained from the figures of animals, and began to adorn fabrics, destined to religious uses, with allegorical figures or scenes from the life of Christ, the life of Mary, or the lives of the saints, and continued to have the polychromatic figures stand out against a gold ground. This branch of manufacture, the productions of which are often of great beauty, was specially Italian. Figured goods were even used for secular purposes. Coats of arms, battle scenes, tournaments, mimic performances, erotic scenes, became here subjects for the pictorial activity of art weavers, but even figured goods with religious representations, were not despised.

Partly owing to civil dissensions, partly in consequence of the ever recurring battles and declarations of war, a number of North Italian silk operatives, especially from Lucca and Genoa, emigrated

from Lombardy and settled in France and in Switzerland (Zürich), and then went over to the Netherlands, so that flourishing factories arose at Lyons, Tours, Vitré in Brittany, then at Bruges, Ghent, Malines, Ypres, and thus another style was introduced into this branch of Industrial Art.

We saw how ingeniously the Saracens united in their designs subjects from the vegetable and animal kingdoms, and it has been stated that these well contrived interlacings of vegetable ornaments with originally conceived fantastic animal forms, which were sometimes interwoven with words of eulogy addressed to feudal lords, or with texts from the Koran, gave rise to the technical expression "Arabesques." Although this combination of the plant ornamentation with the *Bestiaire* still continued, yet was attention soon turned away with disdain from animal figures, and given almost exclusively to purely decorative creeping plants. These, with vigorously drawn foliage, enveloped a pomegranate (*pomme d'amour*), often glowing in full bloom, and sometimes with a few fruit capsules. These so-called *pommes d'amour*, recurring at regular intervals, are regularly surrounded with a five, seven, or more leaved rose, the leaves of which are not circular, but generally pointed and sloping. This rose leaf structure occurs often only in narrow borders, generally woven in velvet and damask. This design was the favorite ornament in art weaving for more than a century, appearing, of course, in numberless modifications, but most fully developed in the red velvets of Burgundy, which were richly embroidered with gold.

Although a symbolic meaning was given to this plant design, namely, that of love which acts by faith, just as formerly in the case of the different figures of animals, yet it is established that the pomegranate was a Saracenic design, used in fabrics centuries before, but not so fully developed. Doubtless, this design was happily adapted to Gothic architecture.

As to the texture of the different fabrics of this period, damask predominates, but heavy velvets with cut patterns were also in style. The ruling colors were red and green, besides violet and black. Gold embroidery was in favor. These rich fabrics were, as a rule, very heavy and not adapted to admit of flowing, wave-like folds.

The fourth period began with the Renaissance. This took place

almost half a century later in Germany than in Italy, where the silk establishments, even in the last decade of the fifteenth century, followed the classic antique to an extraordinary degree, as we infer from the broad acanthus leaves and other decorative foliage which was transferred from Corinthian capitals to textile art. France and Flanders held firmly to the ancient traditions until the third decade of the sixteenth century, when these countries followed the new direction of art in the province of artistic silk weaving. Then everything of a symbolical nature, even traces of oriental, Roman, or Gothic art were avoided, but the designers could invent nothing new to meet the wants of the reigning style. They wished to become productive, but became, at the best, eclectic. They adorned themselves with borrowed plumes; imitated, with more or less success, Byzantine, Arabic, Persian, Egyptian forms; borrowed Corinthian, Etruscan and Roman plant ornamentation. They also went to nature herself, and in an altogether naturalistic way reproduced her plant forms in silk, but everything remained heterogeneous, and the natural element of life was lacking in the whole production.

But tapestry-weaving developed itself the more grandly, especially in the Netherlands and in Flanders more than anywhere else, where the manufacturers of Arras, Bruges, Ghent, etc., enjoyed a European reputation, in consequence of their extraordinary skill. Even Raphael had his celebrated cartoons executed there, and the most eminent German masters of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries employed the skilful hands of the Flanders weavers to clothe their cartoons with the attractions of color. But as to this really wonderful tapestry-weaving which found later in France a welcoming field for its activity, which it still enjoys to-day, I have already spoken at length in this journal, and I will find occasion to speak more particularly of this branch of industrial art in Munich, and therefore only allude to it here.

The art-weaving of the Rococo and Pigtail period indicates its decline. Naturalistic conceptions became more dominant, the designs were more and more void of taste. Manufacturer and designer seem to have lost the feeling for colors and for their harmonious arrangements. I have already called attention to the wide use to which this branch of industrial art was applied, both for ecclesiastical and secular purposes, during the middle ages. The wealthy patricians, the nobility, the princes, the rich cathedrals

and collegiate churches, the monasteries, etc., were great consumers. In addition to this, the religious sentiment of the time prompted the lesser and greater nobility, the patricians and well-to-do citizens to enhance the splendor of the church feasts by the presentation of rich liturgical vestments. The members of many a rich cathedral chapter were obliged, when taking the oath, to endow the cathedral with a complete set of vestments, to which the donors had their coats of arms affixed. Although in later times, namely, during the last century, the nature of the demand changed about and secular costume called for far more silk fabrics than the church, yet the latter continued to be the main outlet for real art fabrics. Of course, the demands for the church had to be satisfied with the prevailing tasteless designs. But the consumption was so much the greater, since, even for church purposes, homage was paid to the ruling taste of the time, and that was only thought to be beautiful which happened to be in fashion. Thus it occurred, after the time of Louis XIV, that when the closets of the cathedrals and churches which contained ancient church vestments, curtains, antependia, etc., were cleaned, these articles were thrown aside or else used as burial robes for ecclesiastics, or even burned, as it is prescribed in some rituals for disused church utensils. Thus the so-called Pompadour fabrics came into wider use, and were thought to be the paragon of good taste.

That no one was offended at the use of these profane fabrics for church purposes, was a sign of those times. This was thought to be quite natural, especially as it had become quite customary for ladies of princely, noble, or even wealthy burgher circles to present their bridal robes to some church, which were then cut over into church vestments. An improvement took place in this truly sad state of things, but a few decades ago, when people began to put new life into art handiwork and industry.

The firm Noël le Mire père et fils, in Lyons, Franz Joseph Casaretto in Crefeld, Karl Giani and Philipp Haas and Soehne in Vienna, and our honored Munich firm, Ebner and Gerdeiszen have, by means of the investment of large capital and extraordinary industry, attained to very great results in this field for church purposes, in that they have furnished us with good, sometimes excellent designs, in imitation of the remains which have been handed down to us from antiquity. Of course, every design which has been pre-

served is not appropriate to our times, for many of the beasts which have been transmitted to us by the Orientals, would not suit every body's taste for liturgical purposes. But so many designs are preserved, and among them most excellent ones, such as have a deep symbolical meaning, that our modern manufacturers surely have a greater selection than they have demand.

PROF. KUHN.

SYMONDS' "RENAISSANCE IN ITALY."¹

MR. Symonds is already favorably known by his *Studies of the Greek Poets*, and other writings that show a mastery of the mediæval history of Italy. His earlier volume on the *Age of the Despots* is followed by his *Revival of Learning*, and the subject is to be completed by another on the Fine Arts, and that by still another on Italian Literature. His aim is to give the biography of a nation at the most brilliant epoch of its intellectual activity, and he does his work with great zeal in reviving a knowledge of the men who may fairly claim the honor of having rescued and made known the world of classical literature. Of course, vast advances have been made in the thorough mastery of the individual authors, and Greek and Roman history have been completely remodelled, almost in our own day, but none the less do we owe a debt of gratitude to the humanists who revived the love of letters, and restored to classical antiquity its best claim upon our admiration. Few readers of our generation can boast any familiarity with the voluminous authors, whose works have supplied the material for this book, and for the others that complete the series, but Tiraboschi and Romini are still a mine of learning that may well be worked by one who, like Mr. Symonds, brings to task a thorough knowledge of the later canons of criticism, and can thus fairly claim the merit of originality, if not in research, at least in method and manner. What Erasmus and Casaubon did for the learning of their own day and ours too, would have been less known if their recent biographies by Pattison and Dennison had not renewed our

¹ Renaissance in Italy: the Revival of Learning, by John Addington Symonds. London: Smith, Elder & Co., 1877. Pp. 546, 8vo.

acquaintance and heightened our respect for the men who bridged over the long distance between classical literature and the renewed study at the hands of those leaders in philology and letters, of the great masters. Mr. Symonds fills a broader canvas with his studies and traces the transfer of decaying literature from the declining Empire of the East, to the growing republics of Italy, where it grew with their greatness, and remains, to this day, one of the proudest evidences of Italian development at a time when the rest of Europe was but slowly emerging from the darkness of the middle ages. Much of Mr. Symonds' material has, of course, been found in books dedicated to the lives of single authors, but he has grouped together their literary achievements, has shown how the times and the men of the Renaissance worked together, and has given us a vivid and picturesque sketch of the leaders in the humanist struggle that, with many mishaps, at last established classical learning firmly. With the actual revival of learning, humanism lost its importance, but it had done its work, and in place of a few teachers of classic literature, here and there a Byzantine Greek condescending to reveal his stores of classic learning, there was a general diffusion of knowledge, and instead of slavish imitations of the Greek and Latin authors, a valuable store of Italian literature was given to the world, in which a familiar acquaintance with the greatness of the past, produced the best fruits of the present and supplied material for the future. From Italy the transition to other countries was an easy one, and the great scholars of France, Germany and England, drew from the schools of the Italian Renaissance the lessons that restored learning and established classical literature in their several departments of culture and in their own homes. While the literature of the humanists is itself in a great measure lost and deservedly forgotten, Mr. Symonds emphasizes the benefits it left behind. It restored to Europe the knowledge of the classics, it recovered the familiar use of Greek and Latin, it gave a standard of excellence and established the conditions of pure style that lent to learning and to letters the charm of elegance of diction, and prepared for the great masters of literature the scaffolding within which they could raise their works and build them up to be monuments for later generations. Mr. Symonds gives in brief the names and leading events in the lives of the long catalogue of Italian scholars, whose services as commentators, translators, compilers of

grammars and dictionaries, collectors and writers of antiquities, great as they were in their own day and generation, especially deserve to be remembered, now that learning is established on a broader and more enduring foundation. The great libraries founded in the Italian cities are now overtopped by the magnificent collections of modern times, but in their day and generation the earlier represented the learning of their time quite as fully as do the accumulated treasures of Paris and London, that of our own day. What is now done with national wealth, was then the special province of local princes, who sought to put on a firm foundation this evidence of their love of learning and their superiority to the merely temporary interests of political struggles. What the Medici did for letters and for art, will be better shown and longer known in Florence and in history, than all their statecraft, and the Popes who built galleries and filled them with the master-pieces of ancient and modern art, will outlive, in the world's estimation, those who sought only to enlarge their temporal power. Didot, the great French publisher of the classics, left a loving and complete biography of his great prototype, the founder of the famous Aldine press, and Mr. Symonds, with due acknowledgement, has transferred to his pages, the salient facts of the lives of successive printers of the family whose name is now the synonym of the best results of the printer's art. Printers and authors in those days were on a level of learning and of a common zeal for its distribution to the world of readers, and indeed the copyists of an earlier generation were less scholarly and less accurate than were the printers, whose volumes are now almost of equal rarity and quite of equal value with the exquisite manuscripts of the period when copying was yielding to printing the palm both of accuracy and price. The second volume of Mr. Symonds, the "*Renaissance of Italy*," is therefore attractive to many classes, to those who love learning for its own sake and desire to master the story of its revival and development, to those who seek information as to the gradual development of classic learning in modern times, to the curious in antiquities of printing and of the manuscripts that preceded it; and it is valuable as embodying a vast deal of learning that would otherwise have to be sought out through many books, few of them easily accessible or in familiar tongues, while this has a clear style that makes a mastery of its contents easy and attractive. The fact that such books are read, is of itself an evi-

dence of a better spirit of learning than a mere, dry recital of facts and dates, and no teacher of classics could find pleasanter change from the mere text of his prelections, both for himself and his pupils, than in making this a book of reference and bringing it home to his classes.

NEW BOOKS.

FIELD PATHS AND GREEN LANES; being Country Walks, chiefly in Surrey and Sussex. By Louis J. Jennings. New York: Appleton & Co., 1878. 8vo., pp. 293, with illustrations by J. W. Whymper.

Mr. Jennings was for some years a resident of New York, in various newspaper capacities, as correspondent of the *London Times* and as editor of the *New York Times*. Now that he has gone home again, where he is still in the harness, as editor of *The Week* and correspondent of *The World*, he has found relaxation in wandering over England, deeming nothing unworthy of notice, whether it be an ancient church or homestead, a grand old tree, a wild flower under a hedge, or a stray rustic by the wayside. He writes pleasantly of his country walks, addressing himself largely to Americans, for he has found in them appreciative sight-seers, willing to give time and risk a little discomfort, for the sake of a more thorough knowledge of the English country side, with its charm of old fashions and unchanged customs. He has, too, his American experiences and his American readers in mind, when he tells us that "American calicoes are better and cheaper than English goods of the same description," and he gives us the explanation of one of his new-made acquaintances, that "it is all because we let the Americans see our machinery in the great exhibition; of course, they went away and imitated it, so that now you can get American calicoes in every village." Then, too, he had a kindly recollection of this country, when he found in homely use, phrases that had passed current as Americanisms, which, as he says, are, in nine cases out of ten, English words preserved in their ancient sense. He found "fall" used in speaking of the Autumn, how winged insects were called "bugs," and other true Americanisms in the depths of Sussex. He had not far to go, thus to find proof of the boast of our New England friends, that they have carefully guarded good old English.

The scenes that he describes are those that are within easy reach of a tired Londoner, so that one can leave London by an early train, do the small amount of walking that would make one of our

sturdy pedestrians laugh, find abundant sights and scenes outside of all guide books, and get back to his dinner at the club, in time for a fair share of work for next day's paper. Of course, in short rambles, Mr. Jennings finds plenty of time for sight-seeing, and, through his eyes, we see nooks and corners of old English country scenes, with here and there a familiar ruin, or the details of some well known historic castle or country house, that may well tempt the American sight-seer to forswear Murray and find out for himself the charms of out-of-the-way scenes. Mr. Jennings has a love of great trees and a passion for cross country walks, that may well be learned for home use, where pedestrianism is fast becoming a question of speed and endurance, and not at all a comfortable excuse for avoiding high roads and dull routes of every day travel. Many of the places visited and lovingly described by Mr. Jennings, are old familiar names, endeared to readers on both sides the ocean by literary associations. There is the stately ruin of Hurstmonceaux, connected with the Hares, whose *Guesses at Truth* are far better than the doubtful stories told of them in the *Memorials of a Quiet Life*, by their kinsman. "The Marquis of Granby," which is not to be found in Dorking, is a much more real relic, through the thousand readers of *Pickwick*, than half the castles in England, and if an American, with characteristic realism, go down to Dorking, he will find, in the neighborhood, a country well worth visiting. The whole district, for miles around, is rich in trees, and wild-flowers, and ferns, and the most melodious of our song-birds so abound that in Spring and early Summer there is a perpetual concert going on in the open air, from sunrise to dark. Blackbirds, starlings, thrushes and skylarks, are as thick as sparrows in a London Park, and from many a wood, the song of the nightingale thrills the listener. The lover of trees will find plenty of occupation for him in every direction. The yew and the beech flourish marvellously in this chalky soil, and there are many fine oaks, limes and chestnuts in the neighborhood. The thick hedges, the green trees, the church tower, grey with age, the cheerful farm or homestead, the old timbered cottage, the air full of the faint scent of flowers, and the songs of innumerable birds, Spanish chestnuts which were fine when the Park (at Betchworth) was first inclosed in 1449,—these, and such as these, are the scenes over which Mr. Jennings spends his heartiest zeal, and an occasional contrast, in the way of description of some famous house, full of old world wonders, only heightens the charm. In sight of London, he turns his back upon its smoke, and the vague outlines of Crystal Palace or Windsor Castle, to wander through neglected parks or across well kept preserves, finding here a green lane and there a famous tree, and then on through famous seats of other days, Norbury Park, Albury and Deepdene, each with its own own family history, its local traditions, and its

special glory,—such, for example, is the last, the home of the Hopes, with a noble domain, more than twelve miles in circumference, full of magnificent trees, and long sweeps of forest glade, deep dells covered with foxgloves and ferns, and solitary paths so covered with moss that the ground is as soft as if it were covered with a velvet carpet. In the midst, stands the house full of art treasures, works by Thorwaldsen, paintings by the great masters, a room full of Etruscan vases, a Pompeian chamber with an antique statue of Minerva, a library rich in treasures of learning and literature, where Disraeli wrote *Coningsby*, an enamelled lawn, and a scene that the guide-books nowhere describe,—these are the favorite subjects of Mr. Jennings' eloquence. In great contrast to Mr. Jennings' faithful account of his cheap journeys, his homely meals, his rough experiences of great houses that shut their doors against him, are the glowing descriptions in the ordinary hand-books, or that most delightfully snobbish guide, Serjeant's *Skeleton Tours*, where all England is laid out in a sort of grand tour, with the author in carriage and four, and servants, posting from one famous Park to another, all gates thrown open, and the result told in brief notes, with a delightful schedule of expenses that might give an ordinary mortal a house of his own. From Kent and Penshurst, the home of the Sidneys, still rich even in the midst of ruins and that greater danger, restoration, in the relics of centuries long past and names enshrined in their history, Sir Philip and Algernon Sidney, Sacharissa and all the traditions that cluster around "Sidney's sister, Pembroke's mother," Mr. Jennings takes himself and his readers off to Wales, and indulges in a sneer at railroads as a modern inconvenience, and at Tintern Abbey, like all professed shrines and resorts, spoiled by the unappreciative crowds that visit it in a perfunctory way, and degrading the noble ruin to the level of a suburban show; and there he ends his book with a rather unfortunate attack of ill temper, abusing everything and everybody, the sight-seers, the people he meets, the inn where he finds shelter, and leaves his reader under the impression that one has not far to go, to find in England scenes quite as unpropitious to the lovers of the beautiful and the picturesque, as many of the surroundings of our own great lions. However, the book belongs to a class that is but too rare, an unaffected account of the personal adventures of a traveller in regions all too near to be spoiled by excess of sight-seeing,—and, in this respect, it suggests the facility with which much more of the same kind might be seen and learned in our own immediate vicinity. Who knows all the beautiful country, and the quaint life, and the curious relics of the past within easy reach of his own home?

THE HONORABLE MISS FERRARD, by the author of "Hogan M. P."
New York: Henry Holt & Co.

The author of "Hogan M. P.," whoever he or she may be, is doubtless, like one of the heroes of this last effort, of English birth, familiar through frequent residence in Ireland, with her people, customs, institutions and scenery. And, although the "Honorable Miss Ferrard" exhibits extensive acquaintance with subjects that are only supposed to be known to men, the novel, taken altogether, is probably the production of a female writer. Indeed, the book has such merit that the question of its origin is an interesting one. As we have intimated, the tale is essentially Irish. Its burden is an episode in the life of a wealthy young Englishman, the resident purchaser of a farm in the South of Ireland, who is smitten with a wild young beauty in the rough, and who of course fails to appreciate his passion for her. In the sequel which one easily anticipates, she gives her hand to another of her own class, and bride and groom emigrate to America. From this it will be plain that the simplicity of the narrative presents little opportunity for skilful story-telling. In fact, viewed only as a tale, "The Honorable Miss Ferrard" is in no sense remarkable. Its chief excellences are its character studies, its picturesque sketches of scenery and its keen analysis of national peculiarities. Some of the cleverest bits of landscape word-painting we have recently met with, surprised us agreeably in the pages of this pleasant little volume. They betray an affectionate identification with the rare beauty of Irish scenery, and entitle the writer to high rank in art of this description. As for the characters, that of the heroine, Miss Ferrard, is well drawn. It is a successful embodiment of the peculiarities and attributes of a decidedly fresh original. This young woman is the only female descendant in the direct line of a poverty-stricken and much demoralized noble Irish family. Her only heritage is her remarkable beauty, and the lack of all wholesome home-influences has developed in her a magnificent scorn for the world's conventionalities. In the pages of a novel she is an interesting individuality, but even there the sympathies of no one can follow her unsuccessful suitor; and even in real life she would prove an intolerable infliction.

The English gentleman farmer, Mr. Satterthwaite, the disappointed lover in question, is a sort of walking-gentleman in fiction; and while he is at once greatly at a disadvantage in his absurd fancy for this ignorant, uncivilized Irish hoyden, he is again but a foil for the best-outlined character in the novel, Madame Really. The following dialogue will justify this estimate:

"Not as witty as you expected, Mr. Satterthwaite? What right had you to expect anything of the kind? You English

always fancy that you can buy Irish wit as you buy Irish poplins or whisky. It is not so at all, and perhaps it is as well that the wretches have something left that they cannot sell. I don't know why it is you always expect fun and drollery from an Irishman, and moreover, you are angry when you don't get it."

"I do plead guilty to being disappointed in my Jehu."

"There it is—you were disappointed;" she spoke petulantly; "now what right have you to expect to get wit over and above the mileage, in return for your shillings and six-pences? Money never yet bought wit. The historical Irishman has a great deal to answer for."

"What do you mean by the historical Irishman?"

"The Irishman that all you English have in their minds' eye! A wonderful, impossible animal; extinct, thank heaven, as the dodo, bare-footed and ragged, witty as Voltaire and philosophic as Plato, and ready, for a consideration, to shower his epigrams and reflections on your eager ears. I don't know who is responsible for it, the stage Irishman or the literary Irishman, but somebody is."

Will Mr. Dion Boucicault, or Mr. John Brougham, answer this pointed accusation? We have reason to believe there is justice in it. And those who are not wanting in knowledge of Irish life, will bear witness to the melancholy accuracy of this remarkable conversation.

"Ah! you see, sir, they are so ignorant here. This very woman let one of her sons die of fever just out of pure neglect. 'They'll die or they'll get well, according to God's will,' and what is the use of the doctor? In fact, the general rule is to send for the priest when they see some extraordinary change in the sick person, and he usually orders the doctor; but, indeed, in too many cases, I'm no use. And look what they'll spend then at the funeral. That poor boy of Doyles' cost forty pounds to bury him."

"How did he cost that sum?" asked the listener in wonder.

"Oh! whisky chiefly. There was a rich farmer in Limerick, when I was doing duty there last summer for a friend of mine, and his father-in-law was taken suddenly ill—stroke after stroke of apoplexy. Well, I told him the old man might hold out three days. 'Three days,' said he, 'that will just give time to get the whisky down from Dublin!' And he wrote off to Dublin for a hogshead on the spot. After all, he had to telegraph to them not to send it; for his father-in-law died that night, so of course they could not wait, and they had to get it at the nearest town."

"Is this practice general, Doctor?" asked Satterthwaite, after a shout of laughter at the matter-of-fact way in which the doctor related this story.

"Ay, it's the rule; but, indeed, the priests are doing their best to keep it down. Sixty gallons were used at the 'going out' of the last funeral in Ballycormack."

There is, also, some clever talk by the characters, about Home Rule, Disestablishment and Tillage; and on the whole, this novel is an important addition to the "Leisure Hour Series" of the publishers.

THE BRIDE OF THE RHINE; Two Hundred Miles in a Mosel Row-boat. By Geo. E. Waring, Jr., to which is added a paper on the latin poet Ausonius and his poem Mosella, by Charles T. Brooks. Reprinted (with additions) from *Scribner's Monthly*. Boston: J. R. Osgood & Co., pp. 312, illustrated with sixty-five cuts.

Col. Waring has given us a charming addition to our slender stock of books of travel that really give the reader fresh impressions of a new region of country. Starting from the old French provincial capital, he made his way, partly in an open row-boat, partly by steamer, and, under very great stress, a little by rail, down the lovely Mosel, and his little volume, with its apt illustrations, tells the story of his adventures in a way to tempt the reader to follow in his successful discovery of a new route through an old country. With a hearty love of mild adventure, with a real passion for beautiful scenery and an honest faith in legends and stories, with a passion for rebuilding crumbling castles, not with matter-of-fact stone and mortar, but with the delightful tales that cluster around ruined towns and tumbling fortresses, with a companion who thoroughly shared all these excellent qualifications in a traveller, and possessed the talent of sketching gracefully and well,—Colonel Waring went to his allotted task, armed at every point. His book is just such a one as hits the happy mean between the sentimental traveller, now, perhaps, too much a thing of the past,—Hyperion is the best example of a realistic picture of scenery, and a group of very fanciful persons put in the foreground by way of contrast,—and that dreary matter-of-fact journal, which is little more than an expansion of Murray and Bædeker, with little of the accuracy of either, and with just enough gush to carry the reader over dry details. *The Bride of the Rhine* is in every way a book to take up on a dreary stay-at-home day, when one can revel in the dear delight of other scenes. The tie that binds the Rhine and the Mosel goes back to the Romans, and Mr. Charles T. Brooks has furnished a clever translation of the old Latin poem that shows one of the rare instances in which the Romans manifested any apparent sense of the picturesque in nature. The wealth of legends that has gathered around the banks of the Mosel, covered its moss-grown ruins and kept alive the traditional glory of the few castles that are still intact, is fairly shown in the pleasantest way, by making them part of the popular faith, as it was gathered from the dwellers on the shores of the river, and from the stories that form part and parcel

of the estate of every descendant of the robber knights and the representatives of the old houses whose ancestors bravely stood by their own rights and those of the emperors and sovereigns of their day. In happy contrast to the ordinary lover of the picturesque, Colonel Waring has a toothsome love of the good things of the world, and he gives such grateful account of the modest hosteleries that he found on his way down the Mosel, as to make one long for some fairy wand to transfer our pretentious and bad hotels into something like the modest inns that still welcome the traveller on the almost unknown route that Colonel Waring describes. His book has the charm, too, of being free from any special purpose,—it is not like his clever “Farmer’s Vacation in Holland,” a series pleasant pictures with a perspective of cattle and canals, drainage and dry statistics, that speak the mind of the agricultural engineer,—and it shows a wholesome and hearty enjoyment of the business of sight-seeing for its own sake, an evident delight in a region still free from any utilitarian side, and in a people whose main business is to make life a steady round of work and play, with a fair distribution of both in due order.

The every day traveller, who pursues the beaten track “Up the Rhine,” and finds the English population in full possession of its towns, its hotels, its steamers and its bill of fare, may well read with profit and advantage this simple and unaffected story of a journey through one of the loveliest regions of the Rhineland, made in the earliest and most comfortable way, and with a delightful absence of the incongruous elements that have made the Rhine rather an English and American panorama, than a real picture of German life and nature. The strong element of love of home and home customs and traditions, that especially marks the dwellers on the Mosel, comes out only to the traveller who, like Colonel Waring, takes his route in humble guise and sees more of the real population than the traveller over the beaten track, and as an undistinguishable one in the rushing mass of sight-seers, hungry for new sensations and fresh surprises. It is just this difference in his way of looking at the every-day life of the peasants, and their habits of thinking and doing, that makes Colonel Waring a better guide than any professed book-maker, and his fresh delight in finding an old castle in perfect condition, owned by a German Knight, who had fought with Waring in the famous 4th Missouri, stretches anew the cord that binds the war of our own day with the far-away period when the Mosel region was the scene of bitter feuds and protracted hostilities. To the ordinary American traveller, whose brief holiday is filled with incongruous sight-seeing, and who goes abroad with no notion other than that of interminable picture galleries and inevitable lions in his path, all to be conquered at an infinite cost of time and temper, returning at last jaded and ex-

hausted, but with a comfortable conscience that he has "done," Europe,—the calm comfort in this account of a journey of two hundred miles in a rowboat, in lovely autumn weather, will be reading more useful than any amount of hard grinding facts and dull formal journals. It is an absolute gain to our stock of knowledge, thus to learn how to travel rationally, and Colonel Waring, in giving us his little book, has furnished a suggestive source of other journeys at home and abroad for hundreds who now know what a holiday ought to be.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

- The Life of His Royal Highness The Prince Consort. By Theodore Martin; with a portrait. Volume III. Cloth. 12mo. Pp. 432. New York: D. Appleton & Co. [Porter & Coates.
- Bibliotheca Americana, 1878. A priced catalogue of books and pamphlets relating to America. Svo. Sewed. Pp. 262.
- Between the Gates. By Benj. F. Taylor. Illustrated. Chicago: S. C. Griggs & Co. 12mo. Cloth. Pp. 292. Price \$1.50. [J. B. Lippincott & Co.
- Amateur Series. Actors and the Art of Acting. By George Henry Lewes. 12mo. Cloth. Pp. 237. Price \$1.50. New York: Henry Holt & Co.
- French Poets and Novelists. By Henry James, Jr. Cloth. 8vo. Pp. 439. Price \$2.50. London: Macmillan & Co. [Porter & Coates.
- Buried Treasure, or Old Jordan's Haunt. By Henry Castlemon. 16mo. Cloth. Pp. 290. Price \$1.25. Philadelphia: Porter & Coates.
- Poems, from the Spanish and German. By Henry Phillips, Jr. 12mo. Pp. 76. Philadelphia: One hundred copies printed, exclusively for private circulation, 1878.
- Putnam's Library Companion, "The Best Reading." Vol. I., 1878. Svo. Boards. Pp. 94. Price 50 cents. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons.
- Modern Pedagogy; a Poem. By George D. Hunt. 16mo. Sewed. Pp. 32. Price 15 cents. Salem, Ohio: Published by the Author.
- Bulletin de L'Academie Royale des Sciences, des Lettres et des Beaux-Arts de Belgique. 46 annee. 21 Serie. Tome 44. No. 12. Bruxelles: F. Hayez, 1877.
- Annuaire de L'Academie Royale, 1878. Quarante-quatrieme Année. Bruxelles: F. Hayez.
- Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione Bolletino Ufficiale. Dicembre, 1877. Gennaio, 1878. Roma, Tipografia Eredi Botta.

THE
PENN MONTHLY.

MAY.

• THE MONTH.

IT has been April weather in European diplomacy. From day to day nothing has been certain but daily change, for it has rarely happened that the tone of the despatches was the same for two successive days. The most noted alteration in the situation has been the growing dissatisfaction of Germany with Russia. Bismarck has not extended to his Slavic neighbors that cordial support, in the face of English demands, which some of his earlier utterances seemed to portend, and he is even credited with the remark that Russia must pass under the yoke, but it must be made as like a triumphal arch as is possible. The truth is, the evidence that England was gradually working herself up to the fighting point, and that when once war broke out she would act as a unit, has occasioned very serious thought to those who feel that on their shoulders rests the responsibility of the peace of Europe. After all, England is a very great power—in some elements of strength, the very greatest of the European powers. Those who thought that the Manchester Delilah had shorn England's locks, and slipped a yard-stick into the sheath which once held a sword, are mistaken.

The Premier's war policy is vastly strengthened by the resignation of Lord Derby, and the filling of his place as War Secretary by another of the Stanleys, Lord Salisbury. The change seems to have been brought about by the decision of the Cabinet to order

a large body of native Indian troops into the Mediterranean, and possibly to seize on Egypt in case the Porte preferred a Russian to an English alliance. The first step has been taken, but it is most unwise; to give Sikhs and Sepoys the bad lesson that they are equal to the task of fighting Europeans, is no addition to the security of England's grasp upon India, for whose sake she is threatening a European war. Whatever the cause of the change in the ministry, Lord Salisbury is just the man for Disraeli's purpose. He is a keen, nervous, epigrammatic writer, who can put the English case before Europe as no other of the ministry could; and his note criticising the San Stefano Treaty—while open to Gortschakoff's retort that it contained only criticisms and not proposals—has put a new face upon the whole discussion. It has helped to convince Europe that England is in earnest, and that she will fight rather than allow of any adjustment of the current issues, which brings Russia one step nearer to the Suez Canal.

Thanks to Germany, however, the meeting of a congress seems more probable than it did. It will be held, if at all, for the full and free discussion of the Treaties of Paris and San Stefano. We trust that it will undo nothing which has been done for the liberated Christians of Turkey. Even though it should remove the Russian protectorate from Bulgaria, and cancel the independence of Roumania and Servia, and substitute the autonomy of Eastern Armenia for Russian occupation, the cause of humanity would suffer nothing; while in return for these gains, England might well exact from the Porte some concessions to the Greek populations under Turkish rule. These seem to be her especial clients; they certainly hate Russia as cordially as she does.

FRANCE opens her third great *Exposition* amid auguries of the brightest promise for her political future. A notable spirit of moderation reigns in her legislative councils. The Orleanists of the Senate have acceded to the chief demands of the Republican ministry, and have given it a working majority in the Senate, while the lower house, by the prompt adoption of the amendments proposed by the Orleanist senators, have shown their willingness to make the coöperation of these senators feasible. In the ministry, it is the Secretary for Foreign Affairs, the Protestant Waddington, who has secured a controlling influence over the mind of President

MacMahon, and this fact secures France from any more such backstairs intrigues as drove Jules Simon from power, and precipitated the late struggle. M. Waddington is a Guizot of less brilliancy and more judgment, a type of statesman the French seldom appreciate.

As for the *Exposition*, we wish it better success than the French merited by the conduct of their representatives at our own. It will hardly increase the number of visitors to Europe by the attractions of its display. The appetite of most Americans for such exhibitions had the edge taken off it by the Centennial.

IRELAND has had another of those terrible agrarian crimes which constitute such a glaring exception to the general peaceableness and orderliness of her people. The murder of an old man, the Earl of Leitrim, while riding through his estates, and in retaliation for his exercise of the right "to do as he pleased with his own," is an offence which leads the distant observer to suppose a state of barbarism in the district, and to applaud the suspension of ordinary law as regards its residents. But a closer knowledge of the facts makes the act not in any sense excusable, but certainly more intelligible. The Earl of Leitrim was one of the worst specimens of that bad type of character developed among the Irish landlords and middle-men by the possession of a nearly absolute power over a subject population. In a country so stripped of manufacturing industry, and so entirely dependent upon agriculture, the choice is between the possession of a piece of land and absolute starvation. The tenant must submit to any exaction: he may, indeed, pay but a small sum for his holding, but it represents a very large proportion of his earnings. So great was this power, that the landlords were able to set aside the terms of the contract by which the Scotch and English settlers were induced to colonize Ulster, a contract preserved in the immemorial customs of Ulster tenant-right. Mr. Gladstone's Irish Land Law established tenant-right as a legal right, and, besides that, restricted the right of exacting a rent by law to the amount which the judge should regard as a fair rent.

The Earl of Leitrim and the Marquis of Hertford distinguished themselves from all the great Ulster landlords by the ruthless exercise of their proprietary rights, as much as the Dufferins did by their

kind and considerate treatment of their tenants. Hertford spent his income in Paris, and left his clerical kinsmen and agents to bear the brunt of his tenants' hatred. Leitrim lived among his tenants like a petty despot to whom cruelty had become a necessary luxury. We have heard it repeatedly predicted in this city, by natives of that county, that he would not die a natural death. The Irish Land Law seemed to sweep away his power at a single blow. It disabled him from dispossessing a single tenant without incurring a heavy fine. He deliberately accepted the latter alternative; he offered his tenants their choice between eviction and signing a lease renouncing the rights secured them by the Land Law, although to every tenant evicted he must pay the compensation required by the law. The people's blood was up; the mixed population of Celtic Catholics and Scotch-Irish Presbyterians who occupy Donegal—the former greatly in the majority—were as one in resisting. He had eighty tenants under notice to quit, when he and his two attendants were killed, not far from the house of a Presbyterian widow, whom he had driven out because of her refusal. From which creed and race the blow came is still uncertain, since the murder has not been fixed upon any of the persons arrested on suspicion. It was a terrible mistake for these poor people to burden their consciences with the guilt of blood. But it is true, in other relations than that of politics or religion, that "oppression makes wise men mad and fools fanatics."

THE effect of the Bland Bill, in causing a return of American securities and consequently an outflow of gold, has been to arouse the fears of the friends of the Resumption Law. Should the amount of gold accumulated in the country by reason of the favorable balance of trade, be transferred to the other side of the Atlantic, then Secretary Sherman, it is evident, would have to attempt an impossibility next New Year's day. Of course the Resumptionists lifted up their voices in lamentation over this result, but on other grounds than the prospect of their own defeat. They discovered that this rapid conversion of our savings into bonds would paralyze industry by withdrawing capital from production; and that a frightful wrong had been done to the foreign bond-holder by the legislation which made him so willing to sell at a very small percentage of reduction. Secretary Sherman caught the alarm,

and made up his mind to lay his hands on all the loose gold to be had. Giving up all immediate hope of placing his pet four-per-cents., he offered the street what they had repeatedly asked and he had as often refused: viz., the four-and-a-half per cents., whose sale he had stopped when that of the four per cents. was agreed to. The Syndicate of course jumped at the offer, as they would have done at any time for a year past. They put their bid, however, in such a shape as to secure themselves very amply: viz., to take ten millions at once, and six millions a month thereafter, unless the state of the market made it unprofitable to continue taking. No sooner was this result reached, than it was heralded throughout the land as a great triumph of finance. The Secretary having gone under the yoke—in Bismarck's phrase—everything possible was done and said to make it look like an arch of triumph. The fatal effect of locking up our productive capital in bonds was lost sight of; so was the wrong done to the foreign bond-holder by depriving him of his American market for his depreciated bonds, with the chance of thus eventually forcing their further depreciation. And on the morrow after the passage of a law which was to place the nation in the ranks of the repudiators, and to permanently destroy our credit in the world's money markets, we were told by these very prophets that our treasury had driven a most excellent bargain for the sale of bonds which are redeemable in silver or gold at the Government's option.

The truth is that the Secretary has accomplished nothing but what any child might have known to be within his reach from the first. The situation is changed only by his surrender of his four per cents., which were a failure from the first. Beyond a few millions purchased for sentimental reasons, there never had been any *bona fide* purchases of the four per cents. for investment; the large amount taken at the start was bought by the rivals of the syndicate on speculation, and with a view to anticipate its market; and that amount has been purchasable ever since at less than the government rates, but finds no takers. The sale of four per cents. stopped long before Congress met, much more before Mr. Bland's bill or the Matthews resolution were proposed. And just the terms that the Secretary could make for the sale of the four-and-a-half-per-cents. before the silver was remonetized, he has now secured with silver dollars a legal tender.

THE difference between our legal tender paper and gold having become merely nominal, it is said that we have already reached virtual resumption. In some instances, banks and firms are paying out gold as the equivalent of other coin, and the certainty that resumption will succeed is regarded as a matter beyond dispute. This only shows how loose people's notions are in regard to this matter. The price of gold in terms of paper—our true money,—depends on the relation of the supply to the demand. Resumption will increase the demand, but will add nothing to the supply. If the object of resumption be to bring the money of the United States to par with gold, then the best way to effect that end is to repeal the law, and to bring about the result by the operation of natural economic forces. If the object be to convert the United States Government into a great brokerage establishment, whose notes are liable to go to protest whenever the balance of trade turns against the country, then the law should be maintained by all means.

Of course, if the Treasury had and could maintain an unlimited gold supply, the proper method would be resumption by legislation. But what is the condition of our supply? *Nominally* the amount is \$138,357,608, which looks promising enough. But, of this, \$57,883,400 is the property of the banks, and is represented by coin certificates in their hands. It may be drawn at any time from the Treasury,—on the eve of the date fixed for resumption, if the banks think it necessary. To this must be added \$12,560,636 of outstanding and unpaid claims, payable in coin at any moment chosen by their holders. This leaves \$50,234,624 of real gold in the Treasury, awaiting the day when every legal tender note will become a coin-certificate, and a means of drawing on the Treasury's gold supply for the payment of foreign bills. Now be it remembered that in the years 1861-75, we had to pay foreign countries \$784,700,000 in gold (net), to cover unfavorable balances of trade, and that we thus reduced our gold supply from \$275,000,000 to \$140,000,000, (if the Mint estimates be trustworthy), besides exporting the whole \$649,700,000 which our mines produced in the meantime. These figures go to show that, should our commerce resume its old dimensions without changing its character very essentially, the gold now held by the Treasury would not suffice to pay the average balance of trade for a single year. And if Mr.

Wood's Tariff Bill, or anything like it, were to become the law of the land, the gold on hand would not suffice for six months. It is altogether deceptive to appeal to the analogy of the Bank of England, and to say that our Treasury is the stronger of the two. The bank has to sustain the drafts of a business community which, in the long run, keeps the balance of trade in its own favor; the drains are, therefore, temporary and comparatively slight. The case is altogether different in America.

It is, however, encouraging to see that the Secretary does not mean to attempt resumption through a wholesale conversion of the legal tenders into interest-bearing bonds. Nothing less than that will satisfy the extreme men of that party, some of whom even demand that the money of the country be "taken out of politics," *i. e.* be confined to specie and bank issues. The Secretary, no doubt, has the wit to see where that sort of resumption would place the National Banks, and to decide that the command of gold must be a part of the Treasury's duty, since the Government alone has the power to procure it.

THE Wood Tariff has at last reached the table of the House, and, under the pressure of a Democratic caucus, the question of adjournment has been postponed to ensure some action upon it. The decided and avowed opposition shown to it by many Democrats, confirms its enemies in the conviction that it is not to pass even that body. On the part of the Pennsylvanian Democrats, this opposition is the more notable, since the Bill was recast at the last minute, and the duties on iron, steel and others of our productions were greatly increased, in order to make it safe for them to support the measure. Mr. Wood acted in this on the cynical estimate which Free Traders have formed of the Protectionists, as in their speaking of the "scramble" for government aid, the "the clamor of rival interests," and the like. The facts show the exact contrary, in this case as in many others. The Protectionists, with a very few unworthy exceptions, have acted as a unit, fighting for the principle at stake, and standing solidly by each other. There has been no "scramble," no "clamorous rivalry," and from our own commonwealth, from all its interests and all its parties, there has gone forth such a denunciation of the whole measure, amended

or unamended, root and branch, as shows that the senator or representative who votes for it will stay at home for the future.

Mr. Wood's opening speech in defence of the Bill was a rather weak production, and chiefly noticeable for a threat—suppressed in the official report—that in case this measure were defeated, a more pronounced one would be introduced next year. We construe this to mean that he does not expect to make any concessions to secure Pennsylvanian votes next year, but hopes to carry it by those of the New York, Western and Southern democrats alone. In what other sense the bill could be worse than it is, is hard to see. As *Capital and Labor*, the London organ of the English manufacturing interest, very truly says: "The fact is, many provisions of the Bill seem to be directed not against protection as a false and mischievous doctrine, but against manufacturers as a class hostile alike to the importing merchant and the agricultural producer."

Another bit of Mr. Wood's speech, which did not appear in the official report, was the letter he read from a manufacturing firm in Michigan, urging the removal of protective duties. It was the one document of the sort he had to show,—the one appeal from the oppressed class who are to be enriched by the new extension of our commerce and the opening of foreign markets. But it was cruelly "sat upon" by a Michigan member, who at once informed the House that the firm in question employs nothing but convict labor, which it hires from the state at 72 cents *per diem* for each workman. Mr. Wood's affection for that letter cooled so rapidly that before he got his speech into the printer's hands he had lost it, and then, of course, it was not worth while to print the correction.

WHAT this Administration means by Civil Service Reform, and what its notion of party government is, still remain the unsolved conundrums of the times. A little more light has been cast upon the former question by the action of Secretary Schurz, in the case of the medical staff of the Freedmen's Hospital in Washington. The old way was to turn a man out of office as soon as you thought you would like to see another man in his place. The new way is to investigate and reinvestigate until you can find some excuse for pronouncing him unworthy of confidence, and then dismiss him, with lofty indignation on your part, and an injured reputation on

his. It is to Mr. Bristow, we believe, that the country owes the invention of this new method, but Mr. Schurz shows himself an apt scholar in this highly moral style of Civil Service Reform. The treatment of the late Indian Commissioner Smith and Chief Clerk Galpin, might have been thought supreme instances of this sort of Reform, but Mr. Schurz treats us to ever new surprises. He continually surpasses himself. That the staff of the Freedmen's Hospital was, must be, corrupt, Mr. Schurz knew. It is true, a committee of investigation, such as sat on Smith and Galpin, and chosen by himself, pronounced them innocent and upright; but the Secretary threw the report aside and appointed a second committee of medical experts, who made the same report. The Secretary once more threw the exculpatory report aside, and proceeded to a third examination, but the intended victims, being more acquainted with Anglo-Saxon than with Prussian traditions of official procedure, made their appeal to the President. Congress heard of the trouble, and, having a roving commission of investigation, pounced on the poor doctors for the fourth time; but the new committee had sense enough to see where the trouble lay, and to say that the matter had been searched into more than enough already. The whole procedure reminds us very much of one of those passages in the legal history of the seventeenth century, which have given Judge Jeffreys his unenviable reputation. A jury organized to convict, remanded back again and again to the jury-room with orders to bring in a verdict of guilty, was no unusual sight in those times. If the Secretary could but fine and imprison recalcitrant investigation committees, the parallel with Jeffreys would be more complete.

As to the large question whether the administration stands in any special, practical relation to the party which elected it, the President seems quite unable to make up his mind. We may be permitted to suggest, on his behalf, that he could see daylight on that question all the sooner, if the Republican party could clearly state for what object it exists. The theory of party government implies the existence of great "questions on which parties can be rationally or morally based," and where there is no "dividing line between the parties or assignable ground for their existence, they become mere factions, striving to engross the prizes of office by the means which faction everywhere employs. The consequences are the increasing ascendancy of the worst men, and the political de-

moralization of the community." So Goldwin Smith says, *a propos* of Canada. We are not quite so ill off as the Dominion in this regard, but we are very rapidly verging toward it. We have still plenty of live questions, large enough for every purpose, but they are not the lines upon which our larger party divisions are formed. It is the instinct that this is wrong, and that those who agree on the great questions should act together, which has led to the formation of the National Party. But each of the two great parties stands before the public with precisely the same claims to confidence. Each says, "We are the friends of reform, of retrenchment, of economy and of the workingman; our opponents are our opposites on all these points. Vote with us and for us, and you are welcome to think as you please about remonetizing silver, about altering the tariff, about plans for reforming the Civil Service. Ours is the broad church in politics, the roomy church of comprehension which meddles neither with your religion nor your politics, provided we get your votes." Neither party seems to retain any sense of a vocation as regards the historical development of our national life. Neither is permeated by any leading idea, such as once characterized the Whigs and the Democrats, and around which its views on all secondary questions naturally would crystallize.

THE business prospects of the country do not seem to brighten very greatly. The number of failures during the last three months has been even greater than last year, when everything was supposed to be going wrong through the suspense about the Presidency. There is, indeed, more work to be had in this city and in many other manufacturing centres, but not enough, and some districts in the interior of the state seem to be the scene of very great suffering still. New England is said to be, if anything, worse off than ever before, and the many failures in Boston, with gold and paper as good as at par, should show some wise people that the inflation and depreciation of our paper money is not the root cause of our prolonged hard times.

More painful than the mere failures, have been the many gross breaches of trust which these hard times have brought to light. In this respect, no section of the country has a right to throw

stones at the rest. All have been put to shame by the dishonor of men who had been trusted and honored beyond their fellows. In the discussions of Civil Service Reform, we have heard many contrasts of the management of the public service with the cheapness and faithfulness with which private firms are conducted; and it has been the watch-word in some quarters that every government establishment should be conducted on the same business principles as a mercantile establishment. But a comparison of the conduct of the eighty-five thousand persons in the employ of the United States with that of an equal number of equally trusted servants of incorporated companies and private firms, would probably show a greater amount of uprightness and faithfulness in the government service than in the other. And a careful collection of statistics has shown that the percentage of government losses from defaulting agents has very greatly decreased in late years;—that it was less under General Grant, for instance, than under General Jackson. We are heartily in favor of Civil Service Reform; but we are equally in favor of telling the truth about our unreformed Civil Service.

Nor can we regard these many cases of default as isolated facts, which tell us nothing about the general condition of the business community. These men are not “sinners above all the Galileans.” The false and immoral principle that any human life may be rightfully devoted to the mere getting and hoarding of money, is the root of the whole evil. That principle is itself as profoundly immoral as is any act of theft or breach of trust which grows out of it. And how deeply it has taken hold of and corrupted American business life, any business man knows. A fresh illustration of it comes to us in the story of a vast series of dishonest suits for the refunding of customs’ duties, based upon forged protests, to which the firms concerned had, in every instance, signed their names, at the desire of a rascally lawyer, who took up these cases on speculation. We are assured that the firms did not know what they were about when they put their signatures to papers bearing false dates; that they were innocent of all intention to evade the requirements of the law, which specifies that these protests must be filed in due legal form, at the time when the duties are paid. But that the evidence of fraud lay on the very face of those papers is clear from the nature of the case, and was further shown by the re-

fusal of Mr. Abram Hewitt's firm to have anything to do with, or append their signatures to, any such documents.

WE congratulate the Pennsylvania Museum upon the splendid gift they have received from the British government; viz., the exhibit of East Indian products sent to the Centennial. That Exhibition secured some very solid acquisitions to our museums and collections, but it gave us far more in the awakening a taste for beautiful things, and in giving that taste more or less education in the right direction. If not a scrap of what was sent here had been secured for any public or private collection, the main result would still have been achieved, and we should have had the certainty that our manufactures would receive a new direction, and the continent be filled in due time with objects which gratify the love for the beautiful.

Just at the close of the Exhibition, an English weekly, of a very high class, drew a parallel between New York and Philadelphia, as regards the selection made by each city of the thing it meant to secure. The former had decided, it said, to purchase the Castellani Collection; the latter, Hans Makart's huge picture of Catherine Cornaro; the choice showed which city might be expected to become the chief centre of artistic study in America. The parallel was very unhappy in its relation of facts. The choice made by our city was not the "Catherine Cornaro," but the splendid collection of the art manufactures of the old world, selected by the Pennsylvania Museum and now to be seen in the Memorial Building. The Castellani Collections were valued at a price beyond our purse; we supposed, as the *Academy* did, that New York meant to pay that price when she asked that they be left on exhibition there. It now seems that New York never intended to pay any such sum; that the gentlemen especially interested thought it twice their worth, and were satisfied that the owner would be glad of half so much if it could be raised. But, after most strenuous efforts, they failed to raise enough to make Signor Castellani even an offer, and the collections have been sent back to Europe, insured, by the owner's directions, at half their nominal value. This failure has been made public property in all its details, by a newspaper discussion between Mr. W. C. Prime and Mr. Clarence Cook, in which the latter gentleman cuts a very poor figure.

Another gift to our art collections comes from our honored Minister to England, Mr. John Welsh. He sends our Park Commissioners a series of forty-four paintings of the discoveries made in Pompeii,—a series which will be of interest at once to the artist, the student of history, and the student of social science.

THE University of Pennsylvania, our readers will remember, began last November a very important experiment in medical education. In view of the fact that more time and harder work was to be exacted from the candidates for a degree, it was expected that the receipts from fees would be greatly diminished. A number of public spirited citizens subscribed a guarantee fund of \$12,000 for five years, to cover the risk of a diminished income, until the experiment should be fairly on its feet. But the receipts from fees during the past year surpassed all expectation; they were close upon \$42,000, and were enough to pay all the salaries, and all other expenses, except that of fitting up the new laboratories required for the better system of teaching. In view of these facts, and of the call for ampler accommodations, the subscribers to the guarantee fund have paid up their entire subscription for the erection of additional buildings, and other subscriptions have been received for the same purpose. The new edifice will be on the north side of Spruce Street, parallel with the building of the Faculties of Arts and of Science, and just across the street from the Hospital. It is not only to furnish larger accommodation to the medical department, but is also to be the home of the new Faculty of Dental Science, whose members have been elected. It is expected that the quadrangle will be completed, at no distant date, by a fourth building, facing on Thirty-fourth Street, and devoted to the Law Faculty and to the library and the museums of the University.

The number of students in the six faculties is 970.

THE TRAINING OF CHILDREN.¹

IT seems to me that any woman who has borne children, and any woman who has loved children, should have something to say about their training, which would be worth the hearing of us all,—which might help us. The training of children is the business of our sex—as a sex, distinct from any individual special gifts or powers we may possess as individual women; and I think we all demand from a woman, if she has children to train, to do it well; we all feel as if she may do other things, but must do this thing. As the stern old King in the “Princess” tells us, “The bearing and the rearing of a child are woman’s wisdom.”

It is something in which we, any of us, are entitled to excel,—a great universal vocation of which we are all possessed, underlying whatever individuality we may each be endowed with. So I think I may speak to you about it, just because, only because, I am myself a woman and a mother. Either title would qualify me to speak, and both united make it, in my eyes, essential that I should have thought and felt deeply on the subject.

I know very well that, in one sense, theories go but a little way in the training of children. After it is all said, we must admit that it is what we are, rather than what we say, that moulds the child’s character. Yet, it seems to me that rules of conduct based on principles are a great help, in that they lend a certain harmony, which belongs to system and law, to the training of the child, which otherwise it cannot have. I do not think all children should be treated and trained alike. I think rules should be made to fit, and applications to suit, the individual character of each child—but I think they should all spring from the same broad underlying ideas and principles, and all aim towards the same object. And that object is the first point to decide upon, for it must bestow the inspiration and the significance which we require to make what would be otherwise spasmodic and desultory, into an intelligent and symmetrical whole, with connection and sequence in its parts.

My idea of the object of the training of a child is twofold. It is to make the best possible thing of the child’s whole nature—to

¹ Read before the New England Women’s Club, in Boston, December 17th, 1877.

enable it to feel, to know, to be, the best thing—to do God's will as perfectly as it may, but to do this with a reference always to its special individual capacities,—to be, not the best worker and thinker that you or I could be, but to work and think and do towards the fulfilment and ideal of its own nature. And I think the preservation of the balance between these two ideas in training a child the most difficult and the most important thing one has to do. To impose an ideal upon it and yet not dwarf its personal growth or suppress its individual powers, to teach it to run the race that one is panting in one's self, and yet part company with it at some turn of the road and let it take a path which our feet have never trod, only to meet it again when the goal is reached: this requires wisdom and faith. It requires one not so much to "live again their own lives," as I have heard women say they did, in their children, but live new lives, different lives, from their own old ones—to live out of themselves and in another creature, for it is only so that one can live in another by renouncing one's self for the time; no two of us have precisely the same capacities, and so no two of us have just the same ideal of perfection. The best thing you can be is never identical with the best thing your child can be. No, not even when you see and feel how much it resembles you, how well you understand it. Somewhere there is the germ of difference, and the germ that makes the difference is the one that makes it an individual growth with a root of its own, and not a mere off-shoot of your nature. It is one of the subtlest and strongest of temptations, to try to make one's child an improved and corrected edition of one's self,—one's self with the mistakes foreseen and avoided, the temptations resisted, with the valuable result of our experience of life available and unpaid for. It is a temptation to resist, for it is not the best thing to do for one's child, even when successfully accomplished. Before it is done, some mutilation, some dwarfing must take place, and we will have gratified an enlarged egotism at the expense of the child's individual development.

I assume, then, that the object of training is to help the child to become the best thing of which it is capable, to reach the highest and completest self-fulfilment.

It is unnecessary to say anything to women, now-a-days, as to the need of obtaining a basis of physical health and vigor for their children. There is but small danger of physiological laws being

ignored or sanitary laws neglected in the treatment of the children of to-day; at present, indeed, many women make a species of religion of it and erect the body into an object of worship, so that the securing proper nourishment, proper clothing, due exercise and rest for the physical organism, seem to begin and end their system of education. I take for granted that we all agree in thinking that we should try to make the finest creature possible in physical respects of our child, so that it may possess all its physical powers and exercise all its physical functions while it lives under physical conditions, with the least possible hindrance and the utmost vigor and success; that we should see to it that it gets what it requires for the purposes of full physical growth and development, and that, while immature and in process of growth, no drain should be made upon its vital energies, to turn them aside from their natural physical channels. But quite apart from health and bodily training, there are a few ideas to which I would like to call your attention; ideas which, it seems to me, ought to underlie the whole moral and mental training of children. I have thought that many, very many, of the difficulties one meets with, the failures one saddens over, in the training of children, might be lessened and diminished if these principles were carried out by mothers.

And the first of these ideas is the importance of our gaining a just and true conception of the value and meaning and intention of obedience. One often hears it said that obedience is "the thing" to get from our children, and that to perfectly obtain it, should be the object of all our training. To my mind this is a manifest fallacy. Obedience is not a result, it is a method of attaining a result, a means to an end, not the end itself. We enforce obedience that we may make a stepping-stone of it to our object, which is the development in all noble ways of the child's character. If we were dealing with a puppy or a kitten, it were different. When we have taught the animal to obey us, its education is completed. Obedience is our end and object, and when achieved, there is nothing to desire further. But we do not regard our children as creatures to be trained with a single eye to our own convenience and amusement, nor yet as creatures whose development, like that of an animal, is confined within easily seen limits. Obedience in itself, is not the end we aim at with a child. There is no intrinsic benefit to be gained for it in the mere fact that our will controls

its will. That fact we try to establish as a means whereby we can teach, lead and guide, impress and stimulate. But I think the mental habit of looking at implicit obedience as being in itself a moral act on the part of the child is most pernicious. Of course, I have reference to obedience of the child to its parents, regarded as a direct and final thing, being its own object; not to obedience taught to a child as a duty to a moral law, speaking through its appointed exponent and mouth-piece—a law, the germ of which exists within the child itself, and to which appeal is made by the parent or ruler who presents it to the child. The obedience that I object to as a characteristic of training, is the obedience that is made to overrule and transcend even the very sense of justice, the principles of consistent and even truth and forbearance, which we ourselves have striven to plant and develop in the child's mind. It is the obedience to an arbitrary and unjustified and licentious will, born of habit or fear, or, at best, of the abuse of the seemingly inexhaustible spring of love and faith towards its parents, which exists in the heart of the child. Power claiming to be its own justification, is always immoral. I have heard it said, "a parent stands in the place of God to a child." I say: not so, not for a moment. God has a relation to the child, unique and inimitable, which he never delegates or transfers to any one; a relation which not one of us could fulfil, even in the most rudimentary way, did He impose the terrible task upon us.

I recognize the necessity of teaching, yes, of enforcing obedience, more especially with young children, but I think that those who do this, with the idea clearly in mind that obedience is a mere means, and that they make the child obey them in order that they may thereby teach it to obey the Sovereign of all men and govern itself in accordance with His laws, do it differently and produce a different effect on the child's nature, from the person who believes that training it into absolute subjection, unreasoning and irresponsible, is in itself an object and result to be gained.

In other words, we create the duty of obedience, simply that through it we may obtain the means of training the child to be true, honest, noble and generous; but when we forget that it is merely a means, a method, and make the securing it our object and result, just so far as we do that, we sacrifice the child's character.

It is not difficult to obtain an immediate and apparent result in

training a child, by bending all one's energies towards the enaction of absolute obedience, but I hold that any complete result obtained from a child, is only obtained by a costly sacrifice of its future development. Patience and hope are needed to choose rather the fragmentary results, the incomplete foreshadowing of what will be hereafter. A child is and should be an incomplete creature, a mere beginning. It is its glorious birthright, the very warrant and guarantee that it possesses a principle of growth. It is, in all senses, an embryo, and we do it an injury when we are unwilling to wait for its natural growth and development, and when we try to obtain an immediate and complete result. There are harder things to do, better things to do for a child than to teach it to obey you or me; "obedience is necessary, and is the first step," you will say. I say so, too, and it is just because it is a step merely towards the goal that I object to making it the goal itself. The vitally important thing for a child's character is not that you, its mother, or I, its mother, should be able in outward ways to do just as we like with it. We may trust to inexorable laws to give us all the power and influence that we are justly entitled to, over its life and nature in the long run. But it is vitally important, of the deepest consequence, that it should learn to love truth, to conquer itself, to choose the right, to be gentle, honest, merciful and just. You will say "a child learns these things by obedience." Obedience, yes; but obedience as to what? Not to you, nor to me, but to that part of divine truth that you or I have been strong enough, and wise enough, and good enough to set before it.

Do not misunderstand me; I believe in teaching obedience, but I also believe in teaching it as a tribute paid to us as agents, as representatives of a Master who is over us and over our lives as well as over our children, and I think, therefore, they should be taught to recognize the moral element in our commands, that they may submit to the arbitrary element of our will.

If we looked at our children simply to see how to make them give us the greatest amount of pleasure at the smallest loss of convenience or expenditure of time, then it were easily settled, as I have said, by training them as one trains an animal, but there is a small moral gain for the child there, and a terrible risk of harm.

"Do it because I tell you," or "do it because it is right," which puts our relation on the better footing? Power must have a moral

element of responsibility connected with it, or it becomes mere tyranny. I think it should be always implied, if not stated, by a parent in ruling a child, that there is a reason for the ruling, a right behind it, and that bare will alone is not what we bring against the child's bare will, but something stronger and higher, which we ourselves obey, and the presence of which on our side makes it the duty of the child to obey us, even as the absence of it from our side would turn our command into the merest exercise of might over weakness, than which nothing can be more profoundly immoral.

One hears a great many stories, some of them very painful ones, about "conquering a child—breaking a child's will." Does one render it a great service then? I hardly think so. To break a soldier's sword before the battle begins will not increase his chance of victory. It will want all the will it has before it has done with life's struggles, and the best thing we can do for it, is to teach it that every action of its will should be with a sense of direct responsibility to a law which governs us equally with itself. I think to make it feel that it is not your will alone that you summon to oppose it, but your will backed by somewhat which it dimly perceives without itself and confusedly feels within itself, is not to "break its will" by an arbitrary exercise of power without reason, explanation or appeal, but to strengthen and train its will towards making what you cannot make for it, namely, a choice of right in obedience, not to you, but to the law which should govern us all alike.

Those parents who claim to be, as so many do by virtue of their position, infallible and not liable to err, to be the fountain of law instead of its teachers merely, occupy a purely artificial position, and one from which they must either descend or be hurled sooner or later. You must have something stronger and better, and more perfect than your own mind or will to work with in training your child, or you cannot go far. You must consent to be God's instrument if you would do God's work, and it seems to me that the introduction of the element of moral and rational right into one's government of a child, to the elimination of all arbitrary power, the being willing to have your child learn fast enough to appeal, if need be, from you to what you have taught it, the development of a sense of responsibility and conscience towards a law as far above you as it is above the child itself—is the use and object of obedi-

ence. This is the harder way: as much harder as it is to slowly and painfully untie a knot than to cut it; but that will not make us reject it.

If any one asked me to name the most important element in the training of children, I should say—first, reality; second, reality; third, reality; to be first real one's self, and then to teach them to see things in their reality. There are many people who would not tell a lie to their children for the world, that is they say and sincerely think they would not, yet who are always pretending to think something that they do not think, to believe something which they do not believe, to know what they do not know, to be what they are not, to their children; who teach that the name is the thing, not that the thing is itself the fact, whatever name may be affixed to it; who call, indeed, the same thing by different names at different times and in connection with different persons, and who are forever throwing dust in the clear eyes of their children. They do not do this because of vanity or weakness only. They would tell you (for they support the system with argument) "one cannot say that to a child;" "of course I always tell my children so and so;" "I never would let them think this, that or the other thing of me, or of life, or of other people; it will come soon enough." One is tempted to say: the sooner the better, for you are only preparing a shock and strain under which many young creatures succumb morally, when they find that the real world is so different a thing from that unreal conception of it which their parents have so carefully created to surround them with.

It is answer enough to those who believe that unreality is the tenderest and best thing to muffle children's natures in, that even if it be desirable to impose an unreal self and an unreal world on one's children, it is not possible to do it successfully and persistently. Children are the most unerring and penetrating of observers. No one with whom they hold daily intercourse can long deceive them. They are absolutely uninfluenced by spoken words, by assertion and asseveration, where these contradict the results of their observation of facts and character. Children are naturally inductive in their mental processes; they are curiously philosophical in the readiness they show to give up a theory you may have offered them, if facts of their own observation contradict it. They have a necessity to prove, to test, to verify for themselves. It is altogether what you are that affects your children, not at all what you

claim to be and say that you are. They understand truth, not as verbal accuracy merely, but as what it is, reality,—a correspondence between the seeming and the being. Let us never forget that we may reiterate again and again to our children that we care for and desire the best things most, but if we pursue eagerly after poorer ones, we have wasted our breath; it passes over them as idle wind, which they regard not, and they are influenced, led and guided by what we are, what we desire, what we seek, and by that alone. Your child and mine is daily, hourly, forming for itself a code of laws, a standard of living, a series of rules of conduct which will be the future food and support of its character and inward life; for these, it gets its material, in the main, principally from you and me,—not from what we say, but from what it sees and knows us to be. There is no possible way of withdrawing it from the influence of our real selves.

But the argument of necessity is the poorest I could urge in favor of being real with our children. The real reason for it is the inestimable moral advantage we bestow on the child by it. We assure the firmness of the ground under its feet thereby; teach it to see things as nearly as may be as they are; furnish it with no merely conventional ways of looking at things; offer it no explanations of things and ideas that one does not one's self believe to be genuine and sound; never blunt the edge of its sensitiveness to good, or its recoil from evil, by telling it to look at the thing as it is not.

You will say, perhaps, that this is putting perplexity and discord into the child's mind before it can deal with them, and that one should make the world harmonious and comprehensible to it while it is so young and tender, even if we make it seem what it is not, as well, in the process; that doubts, and fears, and problems, and puzzles crowd upon them soon enough, even if we exercise the most tender care to shield them from such disturbance to the last possible moment. Yes, let us shield them, guard and protect them by all means, but do not let us delude them or tamper with reality. As for problems, as soon as a child begins to speak almost, it begins to ask questions to which we possess no adequate answer, and to which in its fullest maturity it can never find one. We cannot help that being so, by false solutions and unreal statements. We may postpone the day when it accepts the world as inexplicable,

but we can do no more; and we can only do that by evasion and superficiality, and timid, sometimes false ways of teaching. It seems to me as if it were kinder and better to teach it from the beginning that it must live by faith. Its time to know is not when it is young and immature; indeed, it may be said to be the birthright of a grown human being, as well as of a child, to accept what they can never understand. Why should we offer it what we have learned to know, ourselves, is a make-shift?

Our children are perpetually coming themselves and bringing us in contact with the greater problems, mysteries and realities of life. There is not one of us who has not had a little child to lay its finger on some deep, dark, incomprehensible fact and say to us, "What is this? What does it mean?" I say, never belittle or strive to diminish the depth and mystery of life to a child; never try to make things that you yourself have only found harder to understand and explain, as you thought of them, more plain and simple to a child's mind;—it is unreal, and therefore bad. Do not think that it is your duty to reconcile evil and goodness, life and death, the working of God's inexorable laws and the flowing of his love, the prosperity of the wicked and the suffering of the good man, and make it all clear to a child's mind;—you cannot, for it is not clear to you. It must begin at once to live in a world of perplexity. God made us capable of accepting His laws and resting on Him in faith. Let you and me trust Him enough to believe that we can safely treat our children as He treats us. As a practical matter, if you have never tried it, I think you would be surprised to find how well straightforward reality works with children; how, when one is not afraid to say, "I do not know why or how," their minds and souls seem to expand in the very presence of the mystery which we feared would overshadow and crush them. They have so many of our own problems, in little, to think over and wonder about, and they are just as insoluble in bud as when they are fully blown. When your child asks you its little unanswerable questions about sin, and evil, and suffering, and confronts one of our unreal solutions with which we glibly furnished it, with some fact of ordinary life, which pierces its shallow emptiness as with a sword, we feel how much better it would have been to have confessed our ignorance and proclaimed our faith, than given it a staff to support it, which bends and snaps at the first stress put upon it. For it is not only that we

hinder and impede the growth of our children by our unreal statements and explanations, but we run the risk of their accepting, with their perfect faith in us, these shallow, hollow dogmas, and building on them. If they do, the day surely comes when some fact of their own experience of life cuts at the rotten foundations, and their whole edifice crumbles at their feet. I do not mean this merely with reference to religious ideas in their restricted sense, but to intellectual and moral ones as well. It is much easier to give a child too much foundation than too little; in one way, one can hardly give too little, for what is really valuable and solid must be the result of its own mental and spiritual labor;—the work may be slow, but it is genuine and sure.

One often hears people say "that is well enough to teach a child: all right for a child to believe, but it cannot last." We should give it nothing willingly that is not to last. If it is not prepared to receive the best and most enduring seed, then let its nature lie fallow awhile longer. Much indeed, alas! we do involuntarily give it, you and I, that we would so gladly keep back. We give it of our prejudices, and imperfections and short-comings; every mistake, every sin of ours, inevitably tinges and taints what we give our children. We cannot get away from the solemn fact. It is the expression of a law; we must accept it and face it, and do the best we may with it. We can never do some one else's best for our children, only our own best.

But children are not one thing and grown people another. We are but "children of a larger growth," the child is "father to the man" in every sense, and therefore it is that we should look to it that what we give them as children will be good for them as they grow, and it grows, from a germ into a plant. You cannot give your child a poor, base motive of action now, and take it away and substitute a noble, high one when you think it old enough to bear it. You develop in it that quality to which you make appeal. You cannot stuff its mind with what is called "milk for babes," in the way of false religious and moral statements as to the grave things of life, and then substitute a more intelligent and a more honest system of religion and morality later on. The impressions made on a child are the deepest and most tenacious ever made; we are told, "they are wax to receive and marble to retain." If we think that it will be as easy for them to unlearn as to learn,

we make a terrible mistake; and this is true of mental training, true of matters of taste, true in everything that you can teach a child.

Perhaps I have not made my meaning as clear as I might, as to what I conceive reality to be; all condensed definitions must of necessity, be only partial truths. I mean the habit of seeing things as they are, of calling them by the names that express their reality—not their appearance or claims. I mean the teaching of a child that there is a vital connection between saying and doing; that there is an essential correspondence between profession and practice; that they must not be separated or weighed apart; that people and things are what you know them to be—not what they label themselves as—and more especially that we are what we know ourselves to be—not what we may profess to be. I do not think one can impress too deeply upon a child the truth that one always tries hardest for what one wants most, and that it is absolutely unreal to say to one's self, "I care most for and long after goodness, truth and purity," when one is perpetually choosing to do and be things that are neither good nor true. I believe in teaching them to look at themselves as they are, to free themselves from delusions as to their being a certain sort of person because they have said they would like to be, or have admired the type in some one else's life or in a book. I think it would be better, healthier and more life-giving for our children, if we were oftener to drop the mask of consistency and to say to them, when we see them, as we do see them, puzzling over the gulf between what we have taught them is the best to seek, and the objects we are ourselves seeking to gain—that we have been leading, just so far, unreal lives. Children always connect saying and doing, and in this instinctive hunger for living real lives, they stimulate us to be what we have said we were. If we cannot do the best, let us never let them think, for an instant of time, that saying and meaning to do can take the place of doing, in our lives, or theirs, or anyone's.

Ah, we make it very hard for them, with our little knowledge and our less faith; for, after all, it is want of faith in God that is at the bottom of every mistake we make and every wrong thing we do, either by them or to ourselves. We are afraid to let them face the foes who have conquered us. We try, by expedients of cowardice and dishonesty, to guard them from an enemy on whom we

have turned our own backs, and from whom we have fled; we cannot trust God to take care of his own children in his own world. We have not enough robustness, or boldness, or courage in our feeling. We are afraid to be real with them. There is another thing which is closely connected with this question of reality, which seems to me to supplement it; that is, the importance of giving our children the best of us, our best selves, our genuine, unaffected selves, surely, and also the best of ourselves always. I think it a great mistake to think that the difference morally and mentally between a child and a grown person, is in the quality of the mental and moral food by which they are best nourished. Many people think that nothing is too weak mentally, too flimsy morally to satisfy a child's appetite. This is an absolute mistake. You want to give it the best kind of food for mind and spirit, just as you do its body; you seek out and obtain that species of physical nutriment which is most easily assimilated, and which possesses, in largest proportion, those elements that furnish strength and vitality to the body; you give your child the essence of physical food. Do as much for its mind and soul; don't cram it with crude, narrow notions, with here and there a grain of truth, but sift out the truth and give it pure and free from chaff. Immature as it is, it should have the best and only the best. Keep back as much as you think best; refrain from feeding its mind and soul where you think it unwise; but, when you do give, give it the very best you can get; a little at a time, perhaps, but that little the best. When it asks you a question, answer it as if you were under oath and your testimony might decide the jury's verdict. When it brings you a moral knot, don't cut it with the sharpness of decision and impatience, but untie it with patience and tenderness. Give it your best hope and your best faith, your most sympathetic comprehension; don't give your weary self, the ends and ravellings of your time and energies, but your freshness and vigor, your essence. I think there are few women who need fear to be real with their children, if they are also their best with them. One sometimes sees the whole relation between mother and child suddenly lapse when the child grows up, the only bond remaining to hold them together being the indissoluble one of strong affection. But where there had seemed to be one person, there are suddenly two, and very diverse ones. The child has been its mother's property, she has

apparently done what she liked with it, but the girl is her own property, and if she opens her heart and mind fully to anyone, it is hardly likely to be her mother.

How many girls (boys, too), one sees, good and well brought up, it seems, yet who would never think of telling their mothers what they call "their secrets," nor of asking their advice about any purely personal matter, nor of letting her even suspect how they feel and think, innocent and natural as those thoughts and feelings are, about anything more personal and less superficial than the shade of a ribbon.

This crisis may be said to be reached, as nearly as one can fix it, for it is sometimes a gradual process, when the mother abdicates from the sort of control she has exercised over the child from its birth, and says to the girl who is turning into womanhood, "You are old enough to decide this for yourself, are too old for me to insist." The element of arbitrary power removed, the two natures spring apart. Surely, there is something radically wrong in a relation which is based on a merely provisional system of control. We all know that the time must come when we must hold our children, if we hold them at all, by other bonds than those of fear and the habit of obedience; that if we have not succeeded in creating a personal relation between our child and ourselves as of one human being to another, with the elements of confidence, sympathy, congeniality and mutual comprehension in it, that then, so soon as our child reaches years of discretion, our part in its life is played out, and just when the fruition of our love and labor should be fullest, we cease to have any real share in its existence; for strong affection, sweet and dear as it is, is inadequate to bridge the gulf which separates every human nature from its fellows. There must be sympathy and comprehension, interest and tastes in common, for real companionship. If we have not managed to make our children enjoy our company, rely on our counsel, be assured of our sympathy, and, most of all, of our respect for their individualities as distinct and different from our own, we must not look to hold them when the time comes for them to choose their friends and occupations; and I know of nothing so calculated to bind one human being to another, with an enduring bond, as the consciousness that that other recognizes one's right to think and feel in one's own way, and not only does this, but is capable of understand-

ing thoughts and feelings other than their own. In the long run, we always turn to the person who understands us; yes, rather even than to the one who is ready with a flood of uncomprehending tenderness. I have noticed that children seldom expect to be understood by their parents when they differ from them; the mere fact of difference of recollection or opinion seems to involve a delinquency, and, for the most part, they expect and receive a measure of reproof and condemnation, if they venture to say that they think or feel differently from those above them. There is a sort of moral pressure brought to bear upon them in this respect, which, to my mind, induces a kind of moral subservience which is detrimental to the character of the child; there is something that most parents resent, in their child having the audacity to think for itself, it wounds their vanity, and the natural result of their resentment or deprecation is that the child learns to suppress its individual tastes and preferences and notions till it is free to express them.

Yet, surely, we all earnestly desire that they should think for themselves. We do not wish them to adopt the ideas and tastes of others without intelligent, independent consideration. We desire that they should have what the French call "the courage of their convictions," for we know that without courage, convictions are worthless. But if they are not to acquire it at home, where can they gain it? Home is the very place, of all others, to make mistakes in, to express one's crudities, to say foolish things and outgrow them. We cannot have a full-fledged standard of taste and knowledge all at once put into our hands; if it be genuinely ours, it must have come to be so by growth. We want to make our children feel that they can differ from us and tell us freely what they think and feel, not without our reasoning with them, persuading and influencing them; not without our doing all we can to enable them to see clearly and wisely as we esteem it; but quite without being blamed and reprobated just for the mere act of difference, as if the modelling their whole nature on ours, and reducing all its manifestations into uniformity with ours, was a duty, and the failure to do it, a moral short-coming.

The highest proof of love seems to me not to be to absorb and overshadow and stamp with one's own image the thing one loves, but to rejoice in its perfections, to respect and honor its individuality, and to love it, for itself and as itself, enough never to wish to

clip its wings, even should it soar above our heads. Even supposing our opinions eminently correct, what then? They are not fit for a child to hold; they are valuable to us because they represent our progress and growth, something earned by our individual labor and experience, and so ours. But that precious quality cannot be transmitted as a ready-made thing. What is really vital and valuable in our opinions is that they are the result of our own mental labor. If our children are to be genuine, and have an individuality worth anything, they must do as we have done, must begin for themselves and go through successive stages of growth in thought and feeling, till their whole nature ripens. We can help them immensely; but, I think, not by imposing full grown opinions and tastes and feeling on them.

The two things that help them most are courage and reality; those are the two best weapons against the self-consciousness and tendency to uniformity that prevail to-day about us.

I confess I would rather a thousand times see a child with a hearty, indiscriminating appetite, liking vigorously, enjoying uncritically, laughing immoderately over a stupid, "funny" picture in a pictorial paper, stopping to listen to Verdi's music ground out of a hand-organ, buying a sentimental chromo from a pedler and sticking it up for an ornament, than see the same child curling its lip in fine scorn, stopping its sensitive ears in disgust, and acutely criticising the coloring of the chromo. It makes me sad to hear children find fault, as they often do in attempting to criticise. I think they do it because it is the surest way of agreeing with their elders, and they are afraid or ashamed to disagree. They have learned that there is a certain appearance of taste in not liking a thing, and they have found when they liked it and tried to say why, that they had not given the right reasons, so they pick holes and find flaws, in doing which they speedily acquire a fatal facility, for we all know that, more especially to an immature mind, an uncultivated mind, defects are more salient than beauties.

I went to the theatre not long since in company with a young girl, amiable, sweet and not over bright. The performance was a capital one, even to my disenchanted eyes, and I found it very enjoyable. In one of the pauses, I said to her "How do you like it?" expecting in reply, an enthusiastic "Oh, I think it's delightful!" with a beaming smile, instead of which, came "Oh, it's very good,

but what a dreadful voice Mrs. So and So has!" Yet the same girl confided to me, in a moment of expansion, that she had wished, when the curtain fell, that the whole five acts could be played over again; at which refreshing bit of natural vigor, I smiled and forbore to say anything as to what my own feelings would have been under those circumstances. Here is an instance of what I mean. That girl felt as if a pressure to criticise was brought upon her by my question, and her only idea of criticism being to find fault, she did so. It pains and jars one to see the substitution of the analysis of their feelings for the expression of them, in children; one feels "Oh! why do they not drink in the odor of their flowers, instead of pulling them to pieces?"

When we repress the hearty, head-over-heels, indiscriminating enjoyment of a child, and stimulate the habit of fault-finding, we weaken and impoverish its nature.

Give a child genuineness in its feelings and opinions, and courage to express them, and you have given it the basis of all sound taste in art or literature. A very acute French art critic has said, that the basis of good taste in art is absolute frankness and honesty as to your likes and dislikes, that you can never have a cultivated taste for pictures if you do not begin by admitting to yourself what impression pictures make on you, irrespective of the name at the bottom of the frame. I think this is true of all cultivation and so important for our children. Teach them to see for themselves, not to mind liking the wrong thing, not to like according to the tag the world has put on the object; if they do, they will end by being absolutely devoid of real taste. We must remember how sensitive they are to our ridicule and blame, how easy it is to make a monkey or a snob, in the way of taste, of a child, especially of a child with quick perceptions. We must remember that they can never see more than they have the "vision" to see; there are inexorable limits set to that, that we cannot alter by false measurements. We can teach them to make the most of what they have. Let us, as far as we may, show them beautiful things, surround them with objects worthy of admiration, take them to hear good music, clever acting, read them the best poetry, furnish them with a standard to embrace, if they will, say to them, "this vase, this picture, this poem, this sonata, are thought to be among the best," but do not let us impose it on them, do not let us insist on the acceptance of

any thing artificial. A false enthusiasm, an unreal admiration, is as lowering to the tone of a character as a genuine enthusiasm, a real admiration, is elevating and ennobling to it. Bad as the *nil admirari* school is, there is something worse in pretension and pinchbeck.

But you may think that my idea of training is, for the most part, a *negative* one, and that I have dwelt on what we should not and what we cannot do, rather than on what we should and can do for our children. Assuredly, I believe profoundly in permitting spontaneous growth as far as is consistent with the rights of others, and that much more of our duty consists in guiding and watching, than in constraining and moulding. Also, I think we should have a lively recollection of our own imperfections, when we are striving to impose our own ideals of perfection on them, remembering always, with Dorothea in *Middlemarch*, "that if we had *been better, and known better*, we might have done better."

But with all our inevitable shortcomings, all our mistakes and failures, there remains one thing which the most imperfect of us all can still do for her children, and that is so great and infinitely good a thing that it seems to compensate for everything that we omit to do and everything that we do badly. This thing I take to be the giving our children a living faith in the existence of a personal God, and a sense of their personal responsibility to Him, growing out of their personal relation to Him.

If we do this for them, and I believe it rests with us to do or not to do it, then I think we shall have done the best thing one human being can do for another, and we may rest content. Let us consider what we do for them when we make our children religious, for this is what I mean by religion. To begin with, it is only by a positive and vital realization of the existence of supreme and immutable good, that one is enabled to face successfully the positive evil in the world. Evil is too real a thing to be met and vanquished by any negative notion or partial power. To be able to support the crushing weight of the sin and wrong about us, we must have something equally real and stronger behind and above us; we must have a God to fall back upon. The gleams of goodness and flashes of virtue that we see in our fellow creatures are not enough; we must have an ideal real perfection, a concrete thing from which all our individual ideals radiate, as from a central sun. We want more than just an idea, a suggestion, a shadow

of goodness and holiness and perfection. We want to believe that somewhere exists the Being from whom the ideas and suggestions emanate, and to adore Him, to realize His existence with a keenness and vitality that makes that existence the most real thing in lives filled full of hard cruel facts, more real even than the sin we committed yesterday, or the wrong we may do to-morrow. We do not need to make sin real to a child; it forces itself upon him very soon, very surely. But we do need to make God real to him, to teach him that all the precepts we instil, all the rules of action we enforce, are faint, imperfect expressions of the will of a Supreme Being, with whom the child itself is in direct and close relation, to whom it is akin by every noble virtuous impulse and high prompting it ever knows. The highest and best things in human beings of necessity find their spring and source in the Divine Being; just as we often say that no one knows the evil in another's heart, so no one but God knows all the good. The divine element in us can only be perfectly understood by the Divine Being. No one ever thoroughly comprehends a human soul but God. So the child needs, above all things, to be taught to believe in the existence of God, that he may be as sure that good is and and lives and has power, as he is sure of the reality of evil.

What is the end of religion? St. Augustine tells us, "the end of religion is to become like the object of worship." We must all worship something, and in doing so with genuine adoration, we do grow to resemble it. So a child that is taught to be sure that there is a God, and to associate with that conviction an inflexible certainty that goodness, truth and justice exist not in part but as an harmonious whole, must learn to turn towards that light ever more and more steadfastly, and approach it ever more and more nearly.

It does not seem to me that any rule can well be laid down, as to how we can best secure this conviction of God's existence, and this realization to our children of his relation to each one of us, how to make him more real to them than any material object. There are many ways and many methods of approach, and although human experience has touches in which the whole world are made kin, it has also an individuality no less positive and exclusive. But whatever way we take, we must first be ourselves sure that God is real to us, otherwise we can never make Him a

reality to our children. We may dispense with many things, but not with the spark that is necessary to kindle the fire; a conviction has a power that is all its own, and which nothing else can simulate. We must be sure that we believe not merely in a church and ordinances of worship, not merely in this dogma or that dogma, but in a personal and living God, whose light lights every man that comes into the world. If, when we look about us, we see no present Deity, we can never make our children see him. Faith alone has the sublime privilege to kindle faith.

Then again, upon this conviction of the existence of God hinges all sense of personal responsibility. One cannot hold one's self responsible to a fluctuating ideal of humanity, which turns and changes with the centuries. Only in a limited degree does one feel one's self responsible to his fellow creatures. The deep and absolute sense of accountability that we all feel, is felt towards something which speaks within ourselves and which yet is no mere subjective notion of our own, which we feel has a habitation without our spirits and above them.

If we teach our children that there is a real affinity and likeness of nature between themselves and this Divine Being, we have paved the way to their apprehension of His existence. If we teach them that justice, truth and love are not one thing with us, and another with Him, that His goodness is in all ways but the perfecting realization of the ideal of ours, that the very image of virtue as it exists in the divine nature, is stamped on our natures, and that if we love God and obey Him, we grow more and more like Him, nearer and nearer to Him, that He is never far from any of us, that they can always have a personal communion with Him at any time, as real as with us, I think we help them much. I think we help them more if we teach them that they may find God different and differently from you or I, that to some of us He comes in the whirlwind, or to some, in the still small voice; and, as the late Mr. Buckle said, "just in so far as a man lives up to the manifestation God makes of Himself to him, he leads a true life, and so far as he tries to live up to the manifestation God makes of Himself to some other man he lives a false life."

For the most part, I think the ordinary introduction of a child to a belief in God, tends to make the realization of His existence difficult, and its own relation to Him a compound of contradictions.

The points generally dwelt upon, are the omniscience, the omnipresence, the almighty power of God, to which are added His absolute goodness and consequent aversion to sin and displeasure at wrong-doing. All these are solemn facts, but the illustrations of them are almost always drawn from physical and material sources, and are speedily reduced to absurdities in the quick, narrow mind of a child, or, if not that, leave it with an unpleasant conception, as if all giants and magicians it has ever read of, were rolled into one and that one to be really believed in. Illustrations in words are precisely the same to a child as pictures in a book, they are the gist of the whole matter to it, and fix and define its conceptions of your meaning, so that it is the teacher who makes happy illustrations who is eagerly listened to, and who most impresses the minds of his pupils.

The recapitulation of God's physical attributes, oppresses and appals the mind of a child. While at the same time it instinctively longs to apply physical tests to physical matters, it has an early apprehension, gained from its own little circle of observation, of the limits and laws set about and over the body, and instead of its gaining an idea of greatness from our illustrations, it listens with its bodily ears, and is often perplexed without being impressed. But the spirit of a child has an element of infinite comprehension in it, and expands to hold the growing truth, and if you talk to it of the spiritual wonders of God's infinite goodness and endless power of spiritual greatness, there is no perplexity in its mind, or contradiction in its understanding.

It is a fact, and one which may be tested, that no spiritual horizon ever seems too vast and remote for the reachings of a child's imagination; no tale of spiritual help given and strength lent to men, too wonderful for its ready credence; no deed of self sacrifice as inspired by God's Spirit, too mighty to be done among men; but try to bring the greatness and power of God home to a child by illustrations drawn from the material world, and you at once either belittle the child's conception of Him, or you puzzle the child's mind and befog it, by uselessly contradicting facts of common experience.

The only sound way of giving a child an idea of God's greatness in the physical kingdom, is by pointing out the inflexible and rhythmical workings of His laws, through which alone He governs our bodily lives.

The only method of real approach to the Divine Being is a spiritual method; this we must all admit, whatever our respective creeds may be in other points. We apprehend and are assured of the existence of God and hold communication with him through purely, exclusively spiritual channels. We have the highest authority for saying emphatically, "God is a Spirit, and they who worship Him must worship Him in spirit and truth."

This, then, being admitted to be so, that our kinship and relation to God is through our spirits, why should we mingle with the teaching of the most spiritual religion ever known to the world, any flavor of materialism?

The great thing to do, is, I think, to make the idea of God familiar, but not mechanical, to make it a thing of every day life, and yet in no way deprive it of its sacredness and holiness. Religion is not a thing to have apart from other things; it is not a part of life, but the spirit of the whole life, something pervading and permeating, not something dis severed and isolated. It is surely better to teach a child that all days are God's days, and all life to be lived "as ever in the great Task-master's eye," than that God's service is the duty of one day and merely incidental on the others. The further we keep our children's religion from crystallizing into particular formal acts, the more likely it is to be a living faith. Above all things, they should be taught to make God the central inspiration of their lives; not of a part, but of the whole. There can hardly be too little formulating in the religious teaching of a child, surely never too much of God's presence introduced into its life.

Two things, specially, I think should never be lost sight of in the religious training of a child: first, the danger of teaching it anything dogmatically concerning God as he manifests himself in the world, which its own observation of the universe will ultimately impugn and contradict; anything provisional which growing intelligence and increasing thoughtfulness must reject as untenable. We need not and should not dwell so much on what God can do, as on what we know that He does do. His powers and their possibilities are a field wherein speculation the most daring may readily lose itself, but may never embrace. It is not by assertions of God's power to do what we have none of us ever known him to do, and what our children may look in vain to see him do, that we can best

impress them with a realization of His perfection and greatness. Let us confine our teaching to that which we know he can, does, and will do for each and all of us, if we desire it. There is a region of which we may safely assert that thing which they will never find to be false when they test it. "The economy of Heaven is dark" in physical matters; the tangle of good and evil and their workings in and out are mysterious and inexplicable, unfathomable, but take a child into the region of spiritual things, and you may safely bid it count steadfastly on reaping that which it has sown. The fruits of the spirit are no uncertain harvest, they are inevitable and exact, and with no lawless element to hinder their growth and maturity.

To teach a child that it is made in God's image, with a direct relation and responsibility to God, to teach it first to believe in God and then to love Him, is to my mind the essence of the whole matter.

Let us teach them to look for and find God's presence in everything that is good and beautiful, to identify God with every noble impulse or holy act they know of themselves or perceive in others, teach them emphatically that every good gift and every perfect gift cometh down from above, that everything worth having or caring for in the world bears God's image and superscription on it, even if sometimes defaced; that, wherever goodness is God is, and where goodness is not, He is not; that justice, mercy and truth are elements of His being, and that to love them is to love God; that He is no abstract notion, no mere idea, a compound of power and will which we possess no power to interpret, but that He is, in very truth, the embodiment of all that we know or reach towards of goodness and perfection, satisfying our deepest longings and highest aspirations.

Let us teach them that to God only, must they turn for perfect love and entire comprehension; that it is through that portion of their being which is capable of utter sympathy with His, that they may hope to grow towards an endless life.

If we can give them both the sense of accountability and of personal freedom of choice, and then help them to make that choice, by making their wills obedient to the will of God, then whatever else we may do or not do, this will remain the greatest thing done, or the greatest thing left undone.

FLORENCE BAYARD LOCKWOOD.

AVIARY.

My soul, a lonely architect of song,
 Gathered a shining heap of broken lyres,
 And fashioned from the twisted golden wires
 A cage, that in the tender sunshine hung,
 And in it poured a breathing, throbbing throng
 Of warblers, full of longings and desires,
 That fain would join the strain of grander choirs
 Singing in woodlands all the summer long.
 Each yearning heart, such fate shall not be thine!
 The wild wood shall not flutter with thy wing;
 Nor, laughing at the moanings of the pine,
 Mid forest surges shalt thou climb and cling;
 But haply, 'neath some lowly cot's woodbine,
 Sunshine and shadow shalt thou sigh and sing!

BEETHOVEN.

Thine is the music of the roaring gale
 Among the tossing pine-tops; in its sound
 There seems to rise a forest from the ground,
 And down into a gloomy, fern-fringed dale
 Thy harmony compels me: lo! the vale,
 By towering trees and massive umbrage bound,
 While bending glooms above and trunks around
 Join in a whisper, swelling to a wail.
 Hush! hark! a wilder note! the swift-swoln cry
 Of the far cataract sent upon the breeze,
 While every glen and crag shouts in reply,
 Drowned in the thunder's stormy melodies.
 I bow and shudder at thy slightest sigh,—
 Thou harp of forests and thou voice of trees!

JOHN ARTHUR HENRY.

STATESMANSHIP FOR THE TIMES.

THE best use of history is to arraign the mistakes of the past. Long years of torpor and inanition in the life of certain nations are clearly chargeable to the policy of their statesmen of a preceding age, and, though experience is not a transmissible quality, nor are the instructions of St. Simon, to seek for ideas as well as facts in history, an invariable sequence with its readers or writers even, still the lessons of history are not actually lost on mankind.

The United States are suffering from the effects of the rebellion, that is, from an over-stimulus to production in a very few grades of fabrics only, as well as from the ultimate evils of a former unprecedentedly depreciated currency. Yet, were these elements of disorder not present, from the fact that this country is surely passing through a process of growth, the same anomalies in its different industries would probably be apparent. The exuberance of its youth is in a measure passed. Already through waste and prodigality its soil has become in many localities exhausted. Its forests which once were supposed to be inexhaustible are seen to be rapidly diminishing. Slavery, with its rude though concentrated productiveness in a few exportable staples, is gone; and that abnormal capacity of the country, which set at defiance those immutable laws presiding over the destiny of nations, has in a large measure departed, and demand and supply, the controlling forces of civilization, are silently though surely developing the character of the nation and the resources of the country.

That particular branch of knowledge which treats of the material wealth of a people is called political economy. It is in this division of the world's attempts at attainments that probably more veritable "Bunsby" is met with than in all the rest. There is not the least harmony among the disciples or teachers of this science as to its definition even, and, as is ever happening with the recurring systems of German metaphysics, each new recruit to the study denies that of his predecessors and presents a new one with fresh axioms. Quite recently the French Minister of Public Instruction issued a decree making political economy one of the subjects of examination for the degree of licentiate in all the schools of law,

which did not seem to give unmixed satisfaction to the French lawyers, who retorted that "political economy is not a positive science, but at most a conjectural art, or kind of literature less amusing than others." The French legal mind will find much sympathy with its views on this vexed question outside of the borders of that realm.

A writer, attempting to give an idea of the present position of this science, very candidly says, "perhaps no study of the day which bears the name of science presents more vague theory, grave, mysterious empiricism, dull prolixity, inconsequential arguments, gratuitous assumptions and elaborate triviality than political economy." This opinion, and it is from a high source, is clearly void of uncertainty, whatever value it may possess as an opinion.

Political economy may be very simply and comprehensively stated to be a science of human well-being in its relation with the production and distribution of the wealth of a nation.

A great deal which is written on this subject assumes that national prosperity depends almost wholly on external trade and foreign commerce, and purposes to leave these entirely free from any government control. This conception of the correct policy of a government has received the name of free trade, which by its partisans is supposed to cover the whole ground of human welfare, and to be the only restorative for the present atrophy which has seized on the industries of the entire civilized world. Still, as the leading industrial nation of the globe, the statesmen of which not only boast of carrying to their utmost extent these very free trade principles, but whose chief solicitude appears to be to have nations less advanced in industrial arts than their own adopt them, is suffering equally if not more severely than any other; and when, also, it is remembered that free trade is but a theory, not yet sanctioned by the wisdom of experience, but subject to the grave doubts and misgivings of the profoundest political students, it is not easy to resist a suspicion that a part at least of so much apparent confidence in the benefits of free trade is in an inverse ratio to any practical comprehension of the subject, and is allied perhaps to that overweening confidence felt in nostrums by those who know least of their nature.

The expounders of this science are, with the slightest exceptions, persons removed from the friction and drill of an active business

occupation, and free trade appeals strongly to the theoretical intellect. In short, professional men, as a class, appear as if smitten with the seductive title free trade, and they usually treat the subject in what may be called a heroic manner; that is, as though the rights of man and the general well-being of humanity were involved in their premises,—or as if the earth were but one human family, which in a certain high religious sense it is, but not in a politico-economical one. To take such a view of political economy is simply Fourierism on a gigantic scale. There are nations and nations, as there are families and families.

This planet is *peopled by nations*, and these nations are separated by oceans, mountains, seas, and other natural barriers. It is a fixed fact of Providence, this manner of peopling this earth, and it seems a logical sequence that each nation is an association to obtain, in this way, all the advantages which united powers and wisdom can secure. A very slight knowledge of the course of events reveals this important and most suggestive truth: that the world's progress and advancement have come from the perfection of single nations, and that the more intensely national these nations have been, the greater benefactors have they proved to the race. The Greeks, says a well-known moralist, made Greece what it was by staying at home! This is not national selfishness; it is nature's method of perfecting mankind.

The real discovery of Adam Smith, as it has become fashionable to say when naming this gentleman's writings, was that labor is wealth. Before the days of improved machinery and its universal application to the mechanic arts, and the consequent division of labor, when the East India Company and kindred corporations were in their infancy, external trade and foreign markets were alone supposed to be worthy of a nation's ambition, and gold and silver were thought to be the only real wealth. From this conception grew up that great struggle of nations for what was called the balance of trade. With to-day's knowledge it is seen that *properly* directed labor is the real wealth of the world, and consequently that it is through this labor only that a nation can be developed, its productive capacities created, and its material possibilities revealed. It is this labor of a nation which statesmen have universally assumed is a logical and inherent part of it.

The industries of each people are its life's blood; through them

come its civilization, knowledge, improvements, inventions, arts and sciences, and, as a corollary of this, the more numerous and diversified are these industries, the greater will be such a people's material prosperity and its political power, and the higher rank will it take in the great family of nations. A comparison between England and Spain, or between France and Portugal or Turkey, will illustrate this idea.

To build up, to develop, to diversify, and watch over these industries of a nation, have ever been the purpose of the most sagacious counsellors and of the wisest statesmanship the world has ever seen.

Free trade may be said to be of a recent origin; and the opposition to a proper protection of our country's industries,—other than that coming legitimately from those directly or indirectly interested in bringing foreign wares and fabrics into the country, an opposition limited in numbers, though interestedly active,—is in a large measure owing to the influence of those illogical and oppressive enactments known as the Corn Laws of Great Britain, which assumed the bountiful cause of protection though made wholly in the interest of the landed gentry of England, and in part also to a former sectional jealousy of Southern statesmen, who, stricken by the blight of slavery, saw in the steadily increasing prosperity of New England a fancied loss to the South.

The earlier illustrious statesmen of the revolution, Washington, Madison, Hamilton, Gallatin and the rest, not only favored protective revenue laws, but they were in many instances in favor of granting bounties even to encourage manufactures, seeing, as they could not avoid seeing, the utter weakness and impotence of the country depending on other nations for its wares and fabrics, and the consequent incessant and insatiable drain from it of its capital and productive energies; or, in other words, seeing the utter impossibility there was that the United States could ever take any rank among nations, except through the development of their industries. This was the common sentiment and judgment of that day, as is seen in the letters, speeches, and reported conversations of the wisest and most sagacious of our early statesmen.

The real revolution of the colonies of Great Britain was, when philosophically considered, more an industrial than a political one. For a hundred years before the Declaration of American Indepen-

dence, the great commercial monarchies of Europe were vying with each other for colonial possessions; they pushed their maritime adventures to every part of the globe, grasping at continents for their plantations. The discovery of the Cape of Good Hope, and of the ocean route to the Indies, had already quickened the spirit of adventure and the extension of power, and kings and nobles joined in these pursuits for wealth and new dominions.

The mercantile system, as it is termed by writers, was the dominant and impelling idea of that day; this system predicated a nation's success on a balance of trade in its favor. Its whole wisdom was to sell as much as possible, to buy as little as possible, or, in other words, to be always a creditor nation, and thus to hold the largest share of the accredited wealth of that day: viz., the precious metals as they are called. This system, which has a substratum of soundness, was completely overlaid with error and the fanaticism of the age, and by giving undue importance to foreign trade, urged on the commercial greed and colonial ambition of the nations to such a pitch that it blinded them to their real interests, and led them to pursue the same policy with their own colonies even!

It was under the domination of this idea that England planted her colonies in North America, and also ruled them. They were not, in a noble sense, so much colonies of Great Britain, as they were dependencies "riveted to an immense colonial system," says a historian.

All questions of colonial liberty were settled from the point of view of English commerce alone. The legislation of England, at this period, is a striking example of the evil which a nation can inflict on itself while under the influence of mistaken principles. With to-day's experience, it seems incredible that such opinions, such conceptions, and such measures as are exhibited in the statutes and preambles of that period could have been entertained even, much less sanctioned and supported by statesmen whose names are familiar to us chiefly for their exceptionally broad and enlightened views, but it is patently apparent that the whole weight of England's authority and influence was exerted to augment her own commercial and industrial supremacy at the expense of her own North American possessions.

In 1695 the Lords of Trade, "to make the most of the money

centre of England," to use their own language, established a fixed standard of gold for England, and a fixed standard of depreciation for the colonies, and the effect was, according to the inevitable laws of trade, which no one knew better than these same "Lords of Trade," that all the gold, and even a portion of the silver coinage, went to England, to the immense injury of the colonies, interrupting their whole business and seriously affecting their progress and advancement as colonies!

At that period wool was the great staple of England, and a writer says the growers and manufacturers seemed to envy the colonies a flock of sheep, or a spindle and a loom, urging that colonial prosperity would "inevitably sink the value of land in England." The following clause in an act of William III. illustrates clearly the antagonism in industries between England and her colonies: "After the first day of December, 1699, no wool or manufacture made or mixed with wool, being the produce of, or manufacture of, the English plantations in America, shall be laden in any ship or vessel upon any pretense whatever, nor loaded upon any horse, cart, or other carriage to be carried out of the English plantations *to any other* of the plantations, or to any other place whatever."

In 1700 the colony of Virginia, in sheer desperation, attempted some coarse manufacture, and at once the royal governor calmly advised Parliament to forbid the people *to make their clothing*, saying that, "though urged to the course more from necessity than a wish to engage in and establish manufactures, it is certainly necessary to divert their application to some commodity less prejudicial to the trade of Great Britain."

In 1750 a manufacture of hats in Massachusetts drew the attention and excited the jealousy of Parliament, and "all colonial manufactures were thereupon declared a common nuisance, even to forges."

The Declaration of Independence threw off the statutory control of England, and the war interfered with the trade between the two countries, so that the rebellious colonies had made a respectable advance in supplying their own wants at its close.

Now began those overbearing tactics of wealth and position, which for so long a time kept this country in industrial subjection to England after all political bands had been severed.

After the treaty of Paris there was no provision for the establishment of a common system of commerce for this country, and the products of England found an open door, and, encountering in free competition the infant manufactures which had grown up during the war, literally crushed them out, causing the bitterest sorrow and suffering to numberless families in the land, and fairly demoralizing the immature government of the moment. This state of things lasted till the adoption of the constitution, and its influence for evil on the country outweighed even years of the war. It probably hastened the adoption of the constitution, and gave existence to the first tariff, that of 1789, which was, however, a wholly insufficient one.

Before the adoption of the constitution, the British Parliament, always sensitive and ever alert where its industries are concerned, and to counteract any effort on the part of the United States to develop theirs, passed an act to prevent sending persons to America, for fear that mechanical and manufacturing skill and drawings, etc., might come over. The act was skilfully worded to cover laborers, but it was intended to prevent the establishment of manufactures in America, and it illustrates how thoroughly English statesmen comprehend the value and importance to that country of its industrial supremacy.

As an indication also of the direction of the English mind at that time, Adam Smith, among his other discoveries, announced that the United States were like Poland, destined for an agricultural nation. So English statesmen, English capitalists, and English philosophers had arranged to provide this country with all it needed, and to take, at English valuation, that amount of cereals which English agriculture could not more cheaply furnish.

American statesmen, even down to the war of 1812, did not comprehend the importance to the country of home industries. Mr. Webster, in an early speech, while fresh from his commercial constituents, said he did not wish any Manchesters in this country, though he subsequently learned to know and to appreciate at their true value the country's growing industries. During the war, Lloyd, in the Senate, on a motion to arm our vessels, said, by "harassing English commerce, we shall force her people to ask her government whether it is England's interest *to sever the chief tie which binds us, and compel the United States to become a manufacturing people.*"

In 1815 Henry Brougham, subsequently Lord Brougham, in Parliament said England could afford to export at a loss to strangle foreign manufactures. And some ten years later Joseph Hume made a similar statement.

At the treaty of Ghent the debts due English merchants were the cause of many humiliations to the parties treating, and on the definite settlement of peace a large part of the war stocks were transferred to Europe to pay for our vast importations.

In 1828, at the date of the first real tariff this country ever had, Huskisson, one of England's most lamented statesmen, threatened to inundate America with British goods through Canada.

This is a mere sketch of England's course, but it irrefragably shows the most determined, persistent, and continued attempt to dominate, by her wealth and influence, the industries of the United States. It is as great a solecism, with this day's knowledge, to talk of one nation being the workshop of the world, as it would be to revive the old exploded commercial fallacies of the sixteenth century. No nation can manufacture for another but at *the expense of human nature*. The producer is lost in the product—and England is a glaring and painful example of the fact: by long hours and low wages the English operative, laborer, and peasant are mere *proletaires*, with *no homes*, and the whole island is in the hands of a rich and favored class.

Legislation is for the present. A time will come in the life of nations, if they have been wise, when all duties on imports, unless for income, will be useless, but it will be only when the whole industry of a nation shall have been fully developed; when its people shall be clothed and housed, and all their wants supplied by themselves. England is probably nearer to this position than any other nation, and hence her desire for free trade with nations who are immensely her inferiors in this respect. Priestly said years ago, speaking of her navigation laws, that it would be as wise for England to abolish her system of protective laws as it had been to establish it. To-day England imports a larger percentage of her consumption than any other nation except the United States—about ten per cent.; but it is chiefly *raw products*—that of the United States is chiefly manufactured goods.

Recently, a well-known clerical gentleman of Massachusetts, prepared for the encounter by a long course of Bible hermeneutics,

entered the lists as a champion of free trade, and he started off by showing that, "in the English customs tariff there are but six or eight articles which pay a duty," which he named, spirits, teas, coffee, tobacco, etc., "while, in the codified American tariff of 1874, more than a thousand articles pay a revenue duty," so that, while the English tariff can be written on a "piece of paper no larger than the hand," the American congener is a very long and mixed affair. This discovery the reverend gentleman felt was a hit straight from the shoulder, for he asks, in an exultant strain, "what is the result?" This poser he answers agreeably to the clerical intellect by a jumble of ethical and fanciful objections, as far from being according to knowledge as preaching is from conveyancing. Were the reverend gentleman a producer of something besides metaphysics, he would have seen in just his own statement the most inevitable logic, and, instead of discord and injustice, he would have read the clearest evidences of statesmanship and wisdom. England, for income solely, lays a duty on a few articles which can best bear it, but her imports being raw products she cannot tax them and still export the goods made from them—this is a settled point even in political economy; while the United States, having in comparison with England an *impulse* only toward manufacturing, import manufactured goods. England cannot tax her raw products and has no manufactured imports, and the United States, to protect and encourage their infant manufactures, so as eventually to get along with a tariff no larger than a man's hand, taxes the goods which come in competition with them. Is there any heinous injustice here?

But this same England is the most patent example of what protection has done that can be cited. Before the time of Edward III. the English were sluggards; they were the poorest people in Europe, and could bear no comparison in industrial aptitude with the Italians, Belgians or Germans. They exported their wool and imported their cloths. Taine, in his history of the English people, very pointedly says, "England, after the Norman conquest, was like the United States some thirty years ago: she exported her wool and imported her ideas." After long years of encouragement by her wisest sovereigns, and by the aid of the severest enactments against the labor of the continent, England has become a manufacturing nation.

But there are more recent facts in the history of England which it were well for American statesmen to ponder. As late as the middle of the last century, the English imported the most of the linen used by them, precisely as the United States do at this moment. Linen manufacture had been for a thousand years in the hands of the Germans, Dutch and Belgians; these nations had the resources, experience, skill and agricultural knowledge which are pre-requisites for the industry. England, after the invention of Hargraves and others in cotton-spinning, had made great progress in cotton manufacture, and, as was natural and logical, wished to diversify the labor of the country, and to add another textile to those already in the service of her industries, and introduced linen-making. Like all new enterprises, the difficulties to be overcome were immeasurably greater than had been anticipated. And so great were they that her statesmen came to the rescue. Lords Liverpool and Castlereagh in Parliament represented that it was not possible for England to compete with Germany in linen-making without protection from government. The battle was a severe one, but with the aid of the government the victory was won, and linen-making became one of the recognized industries of that country, and from being the poorest linen-makers in Europe, by their skill and inventions the English have secured a monopoly of this manufacture, and at this time are sending weekly to the United States tons of linen thread alone, for one article, to help the Yankees make their clothes, not to mention the numberless varieties of linen fabrics with which this country is flooded by them.

Is it not beyond any argument that, were the linen goods of all kinds used in America (and the sum total in dollars and cents cannot be less than twenty-five to thirty-five millions of dollars, annually) manufactured in this country, the industry would be diversified just this amount? Is it not apparent that a new textile would be added to the country's industry? There need be no more persons employed; only a portion of those who are producing such immense amounts of an average article of woolen and cotton fabrics would be drawn off to flax, and linen-making would assume the grand proportions it does in England, and the cotton and woolen manufacturers would at once find their productions remunerative, and in demand. What a change would be wrought in the present depressed state of our industries could this change be

effected! Could the relative proportion of the mills, scattered all over the New England and Middle States, be put to linen-making, what a relief to the country would be felt! The cry of over-production would cease, and a legitimate way to rise from our present embarrassments would be had. It is nature's way of relieving a plethora.

The question will be asked at once, and most exultantly by those who are the least practically acquainted with the problem to be solved, why not at once commence linen-making in America? It would seem to such minds the weakest of all answers, to say that, before this can be done, government must be wise enough to shape its policy to this end, as England's statesmen shaped that of England. But a few facts which have happened to come within the writer's experience may, perhaps, throw a little light upon the subject.

Some years ago the enterprising citizens of Fall River, who are justly celebrated for enterprise and determination, decided to commence linen manufacture in this country. They built a fine mill, which this day is called the Linen Mill, and filled it with machinery and commenced their production, which was a medium grade of goods. After a great deal of experience and effort it was clearly perceived that the revenue laws of the country were not properly arranged to give them any aid or encouragement. The duties were not simply inadequate, they were illogically laid; they favored the importer; they were in the interest of English labor and capital, and not of American. With the characteristic tact and energy of that thriving city, the gentlemen who were managing the enterprise, at great expense of time, money and patience, began the attempt of having the tariff framed a little in the interest of American labor. They visited Washington season after season; made those unsatisfactory rounds of interviews with American legislators, who are presumed to watch over the interests of this growing republic, and found their footsteps were "dogged" by importers or their agents, who were also attending to their affairs at the national capitol; but, after great exertions, which can be better conceived by those who have ever undertaken a like enterprise than can be described, these gentlemen succeeded in getting a little change in the revenue laws through both houses of Congress; but, when the bill appeared, it had been *silently reversed*. The linen

yarns paid a larger duty than before, and the product itself, which Fall River was attempting to manufacture, came in free. This experience was too much even for Fall River. In utter disgust at this result of American statesmanship, the linen machinery was thrown on the scrap-heap, and the mill itself changed into a cotton mill and went to swell the already overcrowded market with 6-4 square printing goods or some ordinary shirtings and sheetings, and the field was abandoned, left open in fact for more hopeful and possibly more practical workers.

More recently, not many years ago, ex-Senator Sprague of Rhode Island must have sunk nearly, if not quite, one million of dollars in an attempt to make linen in America. He had a large mill of the most perfect construction; he imported his machinery and brought over the most skilled labor; he spared no exertion nor expense which seemed to promise success; but after several years of the most annoying, perplexing, and unsatisfactory endeavors, he was compelled to abandon the business for precisely the same reasons which forced Fall River to succumb: the legislators of the country could not be made to see the benefit of aiding and assisting in the enterprise to the extent of *wisely* arranging the revenue laws of the country. His mill was turned into a cotton mill, and is at work on the invariable average article. Had his efforts been seconded, as were those who began the industry in England, linen-making might have been placed on a sure foundation, for Senator Sprague is a man of determined energy, and he sincerely desired to benefit his country, and was willing to sacrifice his peace and a reasonable share of his fortune in the attempt; but the task was too much for a man even of his unquestioned abilities. Like all those who do not succeed, he may probably be called a visionary by those whose theoretical acquirements and accomplishments would be equal to any emergency. So much for linen.

When the remark is so glibly made that there is an over-production of goods in this country, it rarely happens that those making it have examined the reasoning which has led them to such a conclusion, or that they ask themselves, is there really in the United States too much production provided the inhabitants did the whole of it? If there is an over-production, why are the imports so large? There is a flaw somewhere in this logic. Here are the United States importing some two or three hundred mil-

lion dollars' worth of manufactured goods from countries in the same latitude as themselves, into which are compressed, so to say, the labor, food, rents, profits, etc., of these countries, and the labor of their own people is standing around idle; and, what seems strange to a reflecting person, standing around, too, in clothing made abroad, and complaining of over-production at home!

The real facts on this point are that the United States do not half supply the real needs of the people. There is in this country an impulse only to manufacture, and the whole nation is at work on two or three grades of goods only, and is importing the rest.

To illustrate this, suppose any well-dressed American citizen be taken at random from one of our large cities, and, in a Carlylean sense, sartorially analyzed, and the result will show that he is clothed from head to feet by foreign labor. Presuming that such a selection has been made, let the test proceed somewhat searchingly.

To begin at the head; take his hat, it is, of course, a silk one; the plush which covers it comes from abroad, possibly Huddersfield, England, or some thriving town made so by aiding to dress Yankees; the binding of the hat, its band, and possibly a large part of the trimmings are imported, while the shape and peculiar form, on which important point the hatter adds a little American muscle, are given to it from some European model, most clearly showing that Taine's assertion is a true one, that the United States, with the rest of their foreign articles, import their ideas. So much for the hat.

In descending series comes the shirt collar, which, being linen, is English; so is the shirt bosom, so are the wristbands, so is the neck-tie. Now comes the coat; this is presumably Scotch, German or English; if it have a velvet collar, that surely is; all the silk about it, the linings, the braid, the cord, etc., are imported; the linen thread with which it is sewed is English; so are the needles by which it is made. The vest, if linen, or silk, or of fine wool, is imported; and the pantaloons in which this representative American stands are French or Belgian; his stockings are imported; so is what tailors term his underwear; and it is almost a sure point that he has an imported watch and knife on his person, and that his house is full of imported goods, such as table linen, crockery, cutlery, curtains, mantel clocks, and all the hundred and one knick-knacks and *rococo* with which American houses are surcharged, while the

wife and daughters of this citizen surely will wear nothing made in this country if they know it.

This is not an exaggerated picture of average American life, and it most patently exhibits the false views of the people. The United States import a larger percentage of their consumption than any other civilized nation, and nearly all of it is manufactured goods.

Were an Englishman or a Frenchman put to such a test, how diametrically opposite would be the result! It would be exceptional to find on either of them, or in their houses, anything not made in their respective countries. In both these nations the people support their own industries, and these industries make the nation. The importations of these nations are almost all raw products, bought by the ship-load or the ton, and transmuted into fabrics, into which enter all their other industries, their food, wages, rent, profits, etc., all compressed to such an extent that it has been asserted, and is most probably correct, that 300 millions of dollars in value in French goods can be sent to this country in 30 ships of one thousand tons each, although it would require a thousand ships of the same tonnage to carry an equal value of the raw products. America thinks it a great advantage to get twelve or fifteen cents a pound for its cotton crop, yet England and France export this same cotton manufactured, at prices from one to five dollars a pound; where do the benefits remain?

A very patent illustration of the advantages to a country of supplying its own wants, that is, of producing at home the things which enter into its daily consumption, is seen in the introduction of the manufacture of screws into the United States. So small an industry as this made a marked change on the country.

Nearly forty years ago, immediately after one of those periodical American inflections called panics, or commercial revulsions, in which the community, banks, and government usually fail together, an ingenious Yankee mechanic set himself to work to invent a machine to make screws. At this time all the screws used in America were made in England, and were brought across the Atlantic ocean to us. The most favored article went by the name of the "James" screw, which had become an old-time institution, like about everything which once gets a footing in that country. This James screw was known the world over. It had a high nom-

inal price, possibly fixed upon it from the days of Marlborough and Queen Anne, but this price had been toned down by long years of competition, and so skilfully arranged by discounts, rebates, drawbacks, etc., that none out of the secrets of the hardware trade could decipher the actual cost to the dealers. They were sold in every State in the Union, and probably all over the continent; in short, they had become in the New World, as they had been for so long a time in the old one, a fixture.

The inventor, once possessed with his idea, set to work in good earnest. He made, and broke to pieces, model after model, changed his plans, his cams, and the principles of his machine, but never his intention to succeed. Like Palissy, the potter, he would have burned his very bedstead to continue his experiments. He had imparted a portion of his confidence to two or three gentlemen of means, who had supplied the "sinews of war" for a time, in fact for years, until a large sum had been expended and he was still experimenting, without positive results, and all the associates were losing faith and courage, when, in spite of the predictions of the skeptical, and the wise shakes of the head of the cautious and conservative, the machine really commenced to work, and, in due course of time, genius, which Buffon says is but an "aptitude for patience," triumphed over all obstacles, and the possibility of supplying the world with screws made by machinery was a demonstrated fact.

At this point nearly all would say that the struggle was over, that all that remained to do was to sell the screws, which was in fact the precise position. The screws could be produced with automatic regularity at the bidding of the inventor, but there was *no market* for them. There were no buyers. Hardware dealers as a class are no more patriotic than the rest of mankind, and they declined to buy and introduce a new article of screws against the old world-widely known and desirable James screw. The article gave perfect satisfaction, it was always asked for, it had all conceivable shapes and forms to fit the trade, and besides it was so enveloped in sliding scales, percentages, and drawbacks, and haberdashery enigmas, that the extent of their profits was an unknown figure the other side of the store counters. At any rate, the screws had for a long time failed to find a market, and the patience of the parties was in Bret Harte's phraseology "souring on them."

At this desperate juncture in the inventor's affairs the tariff of 1842 was passed. The present account comes from one of the associates who aided the inventor, a highly-intelligent and capable man, and he attributed the final success of this enterprise to the assistance which this tariff gave the parties. A conference of all concerned was now had, and it was resolved that another and final effort should be made to introduce machine-made screws to the American people.

The associates assessed themselves for a last effort, and resorted to what may not inaptly be termed first principles. They sent out agents in all directions with these screws, labeled the American "gimlet-pointed" screw, (the point being in fact their chief superiority), to the users of screws, to carpenters, joiners, cabinet-makers, coffin-makers, to all with whom screws are a prime necessity, and, after a lengthened and desperate encounter with the prejudices, neglect, and obtuseness of their own countrymen, the field was gradually won, and victory was accomplished; the American machine-made screw was the conqueror; and the old James article, which died so hard, became one of the things which had been.

To borrow the words of the reverend volunteer of free trade, "what are the results?" Most certainly no one can question the beneficial results! A better and *chcaper* screw has been given to the world. An entirely new industry has been added to the productive possibilities of America. Employment in all the ramifications of the business is now assured to thousands of its inhabitants, who but for it would have to find it in the present overcrowded ranks of labor. Immense manufactories have arisen where were before mere wastes. Splendid warehouses grace many a city from this very industry. Railroads find freight and business on account of it. Elegant residences have been built, and culture and refinement have followed as a consequent. The country's capacity to bear increased taxation is clearly patent. Endowments to charitable and literary objects have been made. In short, America itself has been proportionally advanced in the rank of nations, all from so apparently insignificant an industry as the manufacture in America by Americans of their own screws.

Gold is the world's standard of value. When it first became so, or by whom chosen, no one can inform us. The question is as insoluble as that of the origin of language, which so agitates at the

present time comparative philologists. All that is known, or can be known, is that at the dawn of history its selection for this service had then been predetermined, and that it then was and has continued to be until the present moment the world's standard.

The reasons which led to its adoption for this vital function are not at all obscure, but are plainly apparent. Its unalterable supply is a very marked cause for its choice as a measurer of values. Ninety-five per cent. of the earth's whole crust is found in six or eight articles alone, leaving the other *five* per cent. distributed between fifty and sixty others, among the rarest of which is gold. Then its beauty, its indestructibility, its divisibility, and its marvellous malleability and consequent utility mark it for this very office.

Gold is universally desired in unlimited amounts, and yet its value is fixed by the same law which governs the value of every other production, that is, the amount of labor it costs.

Whenever a purchase is made, gold is sold; if a person buy a hat for five dollars, he in reality sells so much gold. Gold is an article *universally* desired; hats are not; hence it is the purchase which is thought of, but the purchases of the whole world are based on the purchasing power of gold. It makes no difference to this statement that gold is not present; it silently performs its office.

Gold being then the world's standard of value, it is evident that every nation a remove from "barter" must have it. A government may, for a limited time, resort to some artificial standard, as have the United States since 1860, and as has Austria since 1762, but sooner or later there inevitably comes a time of inextricable confusion and uncertainty in values, when the people are compelled to return to a coin standard for relief.

Gold being the standard of value, and being an article of universal desire, it is, so to speak, the very breath of a nation's life. It is the key which unlocks its energies, it bases all its transactions; but, beyond all this service, gold is the regulating, controlling, and restraining power which guards it from excesses and disorders; its potentiality in a nation's life cannot be overstated.

It is quite common, with a certain class, to speak of gold as an article of commerce, which, in a certain sense, it is, especially in a gold-producing country; but this does not exhaust its effectiveness, it is but a faint description of its service. Weights and measures

are also articles of commerce, but this definition cannot add to or subtract from that invariable service which they alone can render. There is a higher signification which gold possesses than an article of commerce; it is a regulator of commerce itself, and it is an object of *universal* desire; with it a nation is all-powerful, without it impotent and powerless, and any course of trade which reduces a nation's coin balance serves to prostrate it.

The North American colonies are a patent example of the fact. They were kept always in debt to England purposely, usually one crop ahead being pledged to her merchants. They were impotent to aid themselves, and resorted to all conceivable expedients of the thriftless to develop the few industries that lay in their power, but they were ever in a chronic state of collapse, for the want of that portion of the world's gold and silver which every people must have, to allow a breaking away from the leading strings of other nations.

History is full of the teachings of the indispensable need of capital to a nation. Green's *History of the English People* says that in the time of William the Conqueror he was statesman enough to protect the Jews, who were at that time the only capitalists of Europe, and their loans, even at their rates, gave an impetus to industry such as England had never before seen.

English statesmen of the present day comprehend the importance of keeping England's coin balance intact. It is watched over as scrupulously as is the indicator of an engine which reveals the power and pressure at work, and the rates of the Bank of England rise or fall with automatic regularity as the tendency of coin is from or toward that realm. And it is just this wise provision which gives that confidence in the stability of the English nation the world over.

English statesmen are master workmen; they never make a mistake when the industries of England are concerned. It does no great injury perhaps in paradoxical utterances, or in theoretical works, to state that it is indifferent to a nation whether it ship coin or merchandise, but English sagacity and English statesmanship never *act* on this plan. In England's case it is merchandise, and *manufactured* at that, which goes. Were England's importations manufactured goods and her exportations raw products, her commercial supremacy would vanish at once under her present revenue

system, for no nation, however skilfully managed, can retain its gold against the inevitable laws of trade. It would not be skilful management to attempt such a thing. America's imports and exports being the exact reverse of England's, her statesmen are perfervidly anxious to have this country adopt their views, as if the experiment had not been often enough tried to convince even the professorial intellect. Napoleon is credited with saying that, were an empire adamant, political economy would grind it to powder.

Though a nation's transactions are all based on gold, still, unless in the smallest amounts, gold is not desired in ordinary transactions. Its demand is governed by the laws of probabilities, like insurance for instance, it being mathematically demonstrable that losses must occur in fixed rates. So with the demand for gold; the transactions in the large cities of America possibly exceed in amount each day the whole gold in the country, and yet the supply is ample for the wants of the people and the regulation of trade. The business of the country has to conform to the amount of gold; it is the only sure guide for a nation, its supply of gold.

The indebtedness of a country due at home is a very different indebtedness from that which is due abroad. Debts due at home are a chain of mutual liability; no movement of coin affects the general balance; the community owe the banks, the banks owe the community, and the people owe the government, and an immense indebtedness can be wiped out silently without a disturbing cause.

In illustration of this fact: during the financial troubles of 1829, which affected a portion of New England chiefly, a gentleman, who at this time was a cashier of a bank in a village in the vicinity of Providence, R. I., describes this occurrence as coming under his own observation. Toward the close of business hours one day, he noticed that a note for a thousand dollars was still unpaid. Soon after, parties began to fill up his bank, until some twenty people were congregated before his counter, when a gentleman from Providence came in with a check on a bank in that city, which he immediately paid to one of the crowd of persons, who at once paid it to another, and this one in his turn paid it to a third, and so on, until the check had passed to every person in the room, the last one receiving it being the payer of the note, who gave it to the cashier and took up the note. Here a check for one thousand dollars paid

twenty thousand dollars of liabilities, and without any disturbance to the community.

Were this sum due in England, for example, for labor and goods of that country, what an entire change! It is now the coin which goes to settle the liability; no matter whether exchange or coin is sent, the country is so much poorer in gold, and its power of usefulness to develop its industries and assist its citizens is lessened just this amount.

There is an example in point which, were it not a humiliating one for an American to reflect on, would be ridiculous in the extreme. In 1835-36 the business of this country appeared preternaturally prosperous. Its importations were on a magnificent scale, so much so that a portion of our small war debt was paid off by the revenue, and to encourage the business our revenue laws were arranged to afford credit and aid to the importer. Speculation was rampant, and Eastern lands at that moment seemed the favorite investment. Fortunes were doubled and trebled at each change of the property, and all seemed sound and substantial, when, in 1837, the community, the banks, and the government all threw up the sponge at once, and, in American parlance, suspended specie payments. When the smoke had a trifle blown off, and an opportunity was obtained to see the position of affairs, the damaging fact came to light that all the gold in the country, with which the New York banks had been playing at settling balances due to each other, belonged in the Bank of England. This country owned no gold; it had to be all sent where it belonged to pay for silks, champagne, tabby-velvets, accordeons, and such valuable articles, as well as for the clothing which the speculators and traders stood in, and it resembled any other spendthrift, only on a larger scale. In honest English, the United States of North America had collapsed and were bankrupt. And like all bankrupts, instead of getting any sympathy or consolation in their distress, the nation which had contributed more to their industrial ruin than any or all others at once, began those bantering and scoffing attacks on this country which became world-famous through the *London Times*, *Sydney Smith*, and others.

There can be no error in practical men's minds as to the importance to a nation of keeping its coin at home. The teachings of experience and the lessons of history are too evident to be wrongly

read on this point. A nation's coin is the exponent of its capacity and its power. Look at France after such a terrible infliction, more thriving and industrially prosperous than her conquerors even, and at this moment vying with England in the possession of the larger coin balance. It is a settled principle, that wherever skill, intelligence, endurance, and power are found, or, in other words, where productive force is found, there gold centres and remains. England and France have these qualities. Spain and Portugal and Ireland and Turkey and Poland have them not. The productive power of a people surely bears a qualified ratio to that people's capacity to maintain its coin balance. The increased productiveness of the world in cotton fabrics within one hundred years is as 1 to 320, and that in flax in a much less period is as 1 to 240. Were the comparisons in machinery made, they would be as startling and suggestive. It is this increased productiveness which elevates the race, lifts mankind from a dependence on the chances of nature, and raises the individuals in the scale of being. It introduces comforts, arts, and luxuries, and develops new powers. From what nations has in the largest degree this augmented productiveness come? Unquestionably from England first, and secondly from France.

It is, then, the home industries of a nation that are the sources of its power and intelligence, and it is the unquestioned part of true statesmanship to give them its first, its wisest, its unceasing vigilance.

The four principal textiles of the world, are wool, cotton, flax and silk. The United States, in a very partial manner, use two of these, cotton and wool. The standard of American production in these should be raised and made equal to that of any other country; for why should Americans be obliged to get their fine woollens and cottons from England or Belgium or Germany or France? Down to Colbert's time, France itself depended on Spain for its fine cloths, but his sagacious statesmanship bravely altered all that dependence. America is surely equal in intelligence and skill to any of these countries; why depend on and pay these nations to clothe our citizens?

The standard in cotton and woolen fabrics should be raised to meet all this country's demands, then the other two textiles, flax and silk, should be manufactured here in America. A small begin-

ning has been made, but it is but an impulse only. These industries should have the fostering care of the government. What an example for America is the manufacture of beet sugar in France, which was begun and carried to perfection under government aid! Very recently, the London *Saturday Review* chronicled the stoppage of a large sugar refinery in England, and acknowledged that England could not compete in sugar with France, and, as is invariable with the English mind, it inveighed at the course of France. But why? The course of France gives its own people sugar $33\frac{1}{3}$ per cent. cheaper than those of other nations, and it affords them a magnificently remunerative industry, and creates activity, opulence, and all that train of beneficial results.

Foreign artisans and capitalists are beginning to come to America to prosecute their different crafts. Steel-makers purpose establishing their works here, and once here they are American citizens; their interests and those of America are then identical; they become producers and consumers; the whole country will feel the benefit of such an immigration. Agriculture will be largely benefited, all bulky farm products, beef, mutton, hay, vegetables, fruits, etc., will find a sure market, their culture will be increased, their standard of excellence raised, and agriculture itself will be raised to a science. The concentrated cereals which are now shipped can find a better market at home, and America, with her fifty millions of inhabitants, with a continent extending from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean, with wise and enlightened administrative counsels, will outstrip the dreams of the most sanguine.

When the home industries of this country are assured, then true commerce will be possible; a commerce with the world, in which the productions of different latitudes will be exchanged; a commerce with the tropics, with the Indies, with the globe, in which the raw products which enter into the manufactures of American wares and fabrics will be brought here in exchange for them, gums, chemicals, dye-woods, oils, resins, fruits, luxuries, etc. A legitimate commerce will then be possible, a reciprocal exchange will then begin, and be the mover of American commerce; not a bastard commerce which brings to this country its clothing, and carries back its raw products of which they are made, similar to that with the negroes on the African coast.

A celebrated essayist, condemning the surrender of American

independence in character to English standards, thus writes: "The word commerce has only an English meaning, and is pinched to the cramp exigencies of an English experience,—the Commerce of Rivers,—the Commerce of Railroads, and who knows but the Commerce of Air Balloons must add an American extension to the pond-hole of Admiralty."

D. W. VAUGHAN.

THE USE AND ABUSE OF EXAMINATIONS.*

"*O fortunatos nimium*, those who have found out how to do their duty by machinery."—J. R. SEELEY.

IN the year 1852, a Prussian educator, Dr. Ludwig Wiese, published in Berlin a series of *German Letters on English Education*, which at once, both in their German dress and in their English translation by Captain W. D. Arnold, attracted great attention as a thoughtful and just estimate of the comparative methods of the English and the Continental systems. His method of discussion obliged every one to regard him as a singularly patient, unprejudiced and impartial enquirer, who, whatever his attachment to his own country's methods, was bent most of all on seeing what England had to show, and learning both her excellences and her defects. After the lapse of a quarter of a century, Dr. Wiese has recently

* GERMAN LETTERS ON ENGLISH EDUCATION. By Dr. L. Wiese, Professor in the Royal Foundation School, at Joachimsthal. Translated by W. D. Arnold, Lieutenant Fifty-eighth Regiment, B. N. L., [author of *Oakfield, or Fellowship in the East*; son of Arnold of Rugby]. London, 1854.

GERMAN LETTERS ON ENGLISH EDUCATION, written during an Educational Tour in 1876, by Dr. L. Wiese, late Privy Counsellor in the Ministry of Public Instruction in Prussia. Translated and edited by Leonhard Schmitz, LL. D., Classical Examiner in the University of London. London, 1877.

"Liberal Education in the Universities," the seventh paper in *Roman Imperialism and other Lectures and Essays*. By J. R. Seeley, M. A., Professor of Modern History in the University of Cambridge, author of *Ecce Homo*." Boston, 1871.

"The Good and Evil of Examinations," by the Rev. Canon Barry, Principal of King's College (in *The Nineteenth Century*, for April, 1878). [This is a review of Wiese, and a defence of the principle of examinations, but it concedes all the principles on which we object to *public* examinations. This article was in the printer's hands before our attention was called to it, but we have added some points from it.]

paid England a second visit. He is no longer a man comparatively obscure and unknown; for nearly the whole of the interval between the two visits he has been at the head of the Prussian gymnasial system of education, and his chief work in the mean time has been his *Ordinances and Laws for the Higher Schools of Prussia* (2 vols., 1867-8). What such a man has to say of English progress in the mean time, cannot but be of weight and importance to Americans as well as to Englishmen. For during no quarter of a century have their educational problems been more earnestly and practically attacked by English people, and during no other period has the influence of English notions and methods upon the educated and the educating classes of America been so extensively and intensively felt. It is this last fact which makes Dr. Wiese's judgments of such capital importance to ourselves. It has become, or is fast becoming, the distinctive mark of the "cultivated" American that he has no national prejudices; and with the unjust prejudices, of which we were all well rid, there has appeared to be no slight danger of getting rid of much that was valuable and indispensable to our national character. A due sense of the very different conditions of our national life from those of Europe in general and England in particular,—a cheerful and hearty acceptance of our distinctive advantages and national merits, as a compensation for our want of those of other countries,—a firm faith that our country must become better by moving forward on her own lines of national development, rather than by transplanting to our soil a *hortus siccus* of European and English methods of reform—these are not the convictions in which our educated classes are strongest. We can all speak of these matters from experience, for we have all been more or less tempted to this sort of national self-depreciation, and this aping of foreign ways.

It is therefore not un instructive to us to find that Herr Wiese pronounces that the quarter-century has been for England a period of no educational progress whatever, except in the department of primary education. That there has been plenty of change, plenty of movement, plenty of the new mechanical devices in which the Anglo-Saxon race is weak enough to put its trust, he is fully aware. He passes them all in review, weighs their merits with characteristic calm, and pronounces upon them that the England of 1852 was positively better off in every sense, as regards the ways and

means of imparting a higher or a middle education, than she is today. And even as regards primary education, which has become for the first time a national concern, he augurs ill for its future, simply because of one of those pieces of contrivance upon whose invention the Englishman values himself so greatly. "The greatest obstacle to a healthy development of the system of elementary education lies in the part which money plays in them. The 'payment by results' is a stimulus for teachers, but the impulse comes from without, and not from the thing itself." In Dr. Wiese's judgment, it will be seen, the stimulus to higher effort should be from within. The teacher should be led to know, and to aim at realizing, the ideal of his position. It should not be his chief problem to please a set of paymasters, who stand outside his profession and are possessed of the most inadequate ideas of its difficulties and of its capabilities, and who have no way of testing his work except by mechanical means and devices. These contrivances continually force upon his attention what should be of secondary importance to him; they leave little room or scope for that play of individuality, for that flavor of character, which we have all felt to be among the highest educational influences.

It is against another of the cherished contrivances in the English educational system that Dr. Wiese directs still severer censures,—the method of public examinations. That we may not be misunderstood on this point, let us say that by public examinations we do not mean those which are conducted by a professor or teacher for his own satisfaction and measurably for that of his associates and his superiors, and with a view chiefly of testing the comparative progress of his pupils. We mean those which are conducted by a board of examiners different from the teachers, and, in many cases, with a view as much to testing publicly the capacity of the teacher as the proficiency of the pupil. An examination of the former sort is nothing more than a special form of recitation, designed to test how far the student has been carrying with him a grasp of the whole range of topics covered by a large number of earlier recitations. One of the latter sort, a public examination, has a purpose altogether different, and, as we shall endeavor to show, is open to objections of the most serious sort,—objections to which Dr. Wiese has given the very highest sanction by his censures.

Examinations are among the educational procedures which are

popularly assumed to date back to the remotest periods, while they are in truth of very recent invention. It may seem incredible that in past ages students were led to give time and attention to study, without any of those outside inducements which we have come to think indispensable, but it was so. The whole apparatus of marks for recitation, prizes and premiums, class standing and honors, is a thing of but yesterday. Through whole millenniums of the world's history, the insatiable thirst of mankind for knowledge was thought sufficient to spur students on to spending toilsome days and sleepless nights in its pursuit, without these appeals to the principle of emulation. The introduction of these innovations has sometimes been ascribed to the Jesuits, but we believe incorrectly. They are still comparatively unknown in countries where the Order gave shape and character to the educational system; they are most in feather in those in which its influence has been the least felt. They have been, in the main, an outgrowth of the industrial and trading spirit which came into play with the acceptance of Adam Smith's doctrine, that universal competition is the one sound, wholesome and practical motive to which all sensible people may make their appeal without reserve, and with the fullest confidence. And therefore, they have had their seat, very appropriately, in the one country which accepted heartily the teachings of Smith's school of economists.

The public examination made its appearance in the English universities, in the first decade of this century. The test employed in the earlier periods was the disputation, and the dissertation or thesis. In 1801 Oxford made a trial of public examinations, conducted by boards of examiners selected by the Senate out of the whole body of the Fellows; in 1807 the plan was adopted definitely. It was not devised as an ideal method, but to get rid of a serious, though temporary mischief. "The system of examination and classification, I conceive, is an honest, but an ineffectual and unhappy attempt to connect study with the student. At the time it was established there was no obvious way of doing this, for college instruction was carelessly and slothfully conducted; intercourse between the college tutors and their pupils hardly existed."*

When the universities were "reformed" in 1854, two years after Dr. Wiese's first visit, it was largely by changes which led to a

*Maurice's *National Education* (1839), pp. 316-7.

still further extension of the principle or method of examination. A famous attack upon those institutions, from the *Edinburgh Review*, had called attention to the fact that their proper university life had been sacrificed to the existence and prosperity of the colleges, and a movement, which has not yet reached its final stages, was begun for the revival of the universities. Something was done to make the professors stronger and more numerous in relation to the great bodies of tutors, but still more to increase the number and the importance of the examinations required of undergraduates, and thus to bring into greater prominence the official and private tutors. *Except* as examining bodies, the universities are even less alive than in 1852.

A still more serious step was taken at the same time, with reference to filling the fellowships. Heretofore, the fellows of each college had formed a close corporation, filling all vacancies in their own number from the ranks of their graduates, and acting upon any motives they thought forcible in making the selection. As a matter of course, the excellence of the choice depended very much upon the character of the electing body. At times and in cases it was no doubt bad; but in the twenty years preceding the Reform of 1854, the men in possession at Oxford were such in their character and their attainments, that they exercised a wider and more far reaching influence than any equal body of men in any quarter of the world. But the Reform of 1854 threw open a portion of the fellowships to competitive examinations, and thus brought this new principle to bear directly upon the governing body as well as the students. What the comparative merits of the two methods are, is not easy to say. Complaint is made that the occupants of these Prize Fellowships regard them purely as rewards for past achievements, and not at all as conferring an obligation to further effort. They are pronounced to be men at least in no way superior to their predecessors, either in conscientious regard for the duties of their position, or even in the scholarship which should adorn it.

This, then, is a brief history of public examinations in the universities. It was the pet plan of the time, and its time is seemingly not over. A further and a very important extension of it was made in its application to selections for the civil service. Until recently that body was regarded chiefly as a field for the proper employ-

ment for the unprovided members of the upper classes, and for those of the middle classes who could get to have speech and influence with them. The chief purpose of *Little Dorrit* was to hold up to public scorn the abuses of the system, the inefficiency of the clerks thus appointed, and the underhand, snobbish ways of securing those appointments. Dickens spoke in this, as in all his stories, after the manner of a short-sighted, narrow-minded, highly prejudiced, middle-class Whig, and of course caricatured freely whatever he did not like. And Whiggish England made the reform demanded; by law all future appointments were confined to the class of well crammed, bright, alert lads, who could give good account of themselves when set down to face a paper of questions upon certain specified topics.

Then came the extension of the system to the private schools for middle class education, through examinations conducted by committees sent down from the universities to various local centres to test the way in which these schools discharge their proper functions. And in the new public school system, the plan of "payment by results" to be ascertained by Government Inspectors, is, as we have seen, an essential feature. It is the era of examinations. About one person in four of population is either passing an examination or getting ready for one. Not even the Celestial Empire, with its "Forest of Pencils," can compare with the realm governed by Queen Victoria, as the land of the Examiner and the Examined.

Our readers may have followed us thus far with an ever deepening admiration for the practical wisdom of the authors of these devices, and a desire to see them reproduced in our own practice. They may be inclined to accept them as, in the main, substantially right, and to pronounce before-hand that no objection can be laid to them on the score of principle, whatever remediable faults of detail be discovered in the practice. We are not of this mind, and for the following reasons:

(1). They repress some of the most valuable educational forces in the teaching class. A teacher is not a mere machine for pumping facts into a recipient mind. The greatest teachers have been men who, like Fichte and Schleiermacher, Newman and Maurice, stood in the most vital relation to their pupils, and imparted to them impulses which never ceased to vibrate in the lives of their students.

It is the contact of the growing intellect with an intellect rich, ripe and generous, which constitutes the highest education. When the City of Leyden, newly enriched by the gift of a university, asked the younger Scaliger to become one of its professors, he replied that the routine of teaching was so utterly distasteful to him that he must refuse their call. They had the wisdom to reply that they would insist on nothing, except what he himself should choose. He came; he never delivered a lecture, nor had an hour of assigned duty. He merely sat in the library, when not otherwise engaged, and talked to the students, who flocked around him. And out of those conversations grew that great Dutch School of Philology, the most illustrious since the Renaissance, and glorious in seven generations of great Latinists. This, of course, is an extreme case, but none the less it illustrates the principle which mechanical theories of education, and mechanical tests of its success, continually set at naught. And it is just this principle, to which the plan of public examinations cannot but run counter. The nature of the work set before the teacher by the public examination system, obliges him to exclude all considerations which do not bear directly upon its proper performance. To get into his pupil the proper modicum of facts, set forth in their proper order, is his one task. To awaken any interest in his subjects, which does not immediately contribute to that end, is not merely a waste of time, but a mischievous distraction. He finds himself, year by year, more closely engaged in a study of his subjects, not with regard to their intrinsic merits, but with regard to the lines on which the examiners will approach them, and the best method of fitting his pupils for the attack. We are not speaking at random here. This has been one result of the system as pursued in the English Universities. We are told that the great body of those engaged in the remunerative work of teaching undergraduates have become, or are becoming, specialists, not in subjects, but in method, "mere crammers for examination," who do nothing for the extension of knowledge in any department, and systematically repress any interest in their pupils which does not contribute to the main object—their success in competing for distinction in the examinations. "Thinking of any kind," says Professor Seeley, "is regarded as dangerous; it is the well known saying of a Cambridge private tutor, 'If Mr. So and So did not think so well, he might do very well.'" And as

those members of the tutor class who have the best record in this regard, get the most pupils, the competition which goes on inside this class is of a mischievous and narrowing tendency. Educational literature in England tells the same story. Books of real merit and of literary power, are indeed produced; but alongside them a great multitude of cram-books, which, by skilful arrangements and the use of varied type, present every subject in the form and style best suited for speedy learning—and speedy forgetting. Some of these are for the Civil Service examinations, others for the universities, and the number of both sorts is legion.

The present outcry for the endowment of research at the universities, is but one of the many symptoms of this evil state of things. It is to the candid avowals of the "Researchers," as they are called, that we are indebted for a knowledge of the real effects of the public examinations. They have no hope to get rid of these, no great hope even to improve the methods of a better training for the undergraduates while they last. But they plead that teaching is not the only function of a university, and that, since the tutor class is hopelessly spoiled, a class of "readers" should be created alongside it, with either light professorial duties of a specialist character for its members, or with none at all, but always with the implied pledge that they shall devote themselves to original research in their several departments. But so long as the public examinations last, there can be no practical work for these readers in teaching. It is simply a question of the student's time; he cannot afford to attend professors, in view of what is before him. He must cling to his expert in examinations, the tutor. And, in the absence of professorial work, the endowment of research, it seems to us, would be greatly mischievous. It would be the final acceptance of the principle that the class engaged in teaching and that employed in original research, were to be henceforth separate and distinct. It would mean the permanent separation of the undergraduates from all contact with the really productive minds, and from all ordinary chances of productive impulses from those minds.

(2.) Look at the case from the pupil's side, and yet to much the same purpose. Is the chief end of education the *acquisition* of information, or the *illumination* of habits of insight? To illustrate our meaning, we shall take, as an instance, a science the least favorable for our purpose. Two men take up the study of chronology.

The one, by dint of a good memory for figures, or by some mnemonic practice, manages to store his memory with names and dates to such an extent that no examiner can pose him. But all his facts are dead facts, lying barren in his mind, and with no vital relation either to one another or to himself. The other has learned far less of the bones of the matter, but at every step the facts have set him a thinking. His dates have begun to connect themselves with all that he knows of literature, of general history, of science. He is struck, for instance, with the different rates at which civilization has advanced at different eras, as suggested by a comparison of Ancient Greece with, perhaps, modern England; or he is surprised to see in what different stages civilization may be in two countries, as indicated by the fact that Commines and Machiavelli were all but contemporary; or the date of the Wars of the Fronde indicates that there had been in France a parallel shock of the political electricity which had so recently jarred England. Dates are not dead things to him, but the seeds of thought. They are *aperçus* which present to him long vistas of truth and fact; they bring him illumination, not acquisition only. He is forming habits of insight into the meaning and the relations of facts.

But the most skilful examiner will hardly be able to draft a paper which will bring out this difference in the results in the case of two such students. It is ten chances to one that the former will make the better show, and get the higher mark. For examinations deal with knowledge in a way essentially mechanical, and can make but little account of the manner in which a man possesses his knowledge, if he have it at all.

Again, all genuine knowledge implies some degree of genuine familiarity with facts. There are many degrees of familiarity, such as our acquaintance with the dates in chronology that we know as we know 1066 or 1776,—with those we can recall by an effort,—and with those we know only in case we have come upon them within three days past. But the examiner can rarely discover how it stands with the piece of knowledge put on paper for him by the candidate. He can make no discrimination between the knowledge gained by cram, to be forgotten in a month's time, and that which has resulted from years of genuine study, and which will never be lost. Those who have examined candidates for admission to a University, know that cases sometime occur in which boys pass ex-

cellent examination for classes for which they are afterward found to be altogether unfitted, while students who seem to be far worse prepared do themselves great credit after admission. A certificate from a competent teacher, stating that the boy was "well grounded," would be worth more than any examination whatever.

It is not surprising, therefore, that the English Government have been obliged to retreat from the position first taken in regard to the civil service examinations. All the more important positions have been classed, under the new rules, as staff-appointments, to be filled in the old way, by personal selection, while the inferior and routine positions have been reserved for those who pass the examinations. In the East Indian Civil Service, under the new rule laid down by Lord Salisbury, examinations go for nothing, unless accompanied by evidence that the student has enjoyed the "advantages of systematic study and discipline at the Universities or at other institutions of higher education." This should be remembered in view of the attempts made to introduce the same system here.

(3.) Out of this mechanical notion of education as the acquisition of knowledges which can be tested by public examinations, has grown that high pressure system which has spread farther and faster than the examinations. For with this notion there is no point at which the teacher can stop with a good reason for stopping. No limit can be set which is not a merely arbitrary line between things not essentially different in their claim on the attention. The one necessary limit is the capacity of the human animal; and the pause at that point must be accompanied by a sigh over the weakness of poor human nature on its physical side. In too many cases, as Dr. Tuke has recently shown,* even that limit is passed, and the mind is hopelessly injured by the means employed to improve it. He says things are growing steadily worse; "It seems to be thought that the cubic capacity of the British skull undergoes an extraordinary increase every few years, and that, therefore, for our young students more subjects must be added to fill up the additional space."

On the other hand it should not be forgotten that Public Examinations are not in vogue in any other country than England.

* *Macmillan's Magazine*, for December, 1877; Article III: "Modern Life and Insanity."

In Germany even the examinations for admission to the universities are conducted by the teachers of the upper schools from whom the universities are supplied, and the university acts on their certificate of competence. Hence the name *Abiturienten-Prüfung*. That for degrees again is conducted by the Faculty under whom the student has studied, and no rule would seem to a German Professor more preposterous than the one prescribing that no Oxford or Cambridge fellow shall take part in the examination of a pupil who has "read" with him. Even in England this rule is relaxed as regards those who are examiners in the Natural Sciences.

In America, the free scientific life of the German universities is unknown as in England. Our universities, growing, as they did, out of the needs of the American churches for an educated ministry, correspond far more to the upper section of a German gymnasium than to a university like Berlin or Leipzig. This is true even of the best of them; they are what the English universities, because of ecclesiastical repression and the particularistic tendencies of the colleges, became; *i. e.*, little more than upper schools where the methods of school life are carried up to a somewhat higher level. As Dr. Whewell said of Cambridge,—“We give university honors for mere school-boy work.” Nor will it be any better with us so long as the mania for money-getting retains the hold it has got upon the life of our people. When every young American is regarded as obliged to be earning his living by the time he reaches his legal majority, there is but slight opportunity of a deeper and broader scholarship becoming a national characteristic. It may be said that the American is older at twenty-one than his English or German compeer, and there is truth in this. But he is more mature because of climatic conditions which are most unfavorable to thoroughness of scholarship. He has not been “raised” in a country where the student can work sixteen hours a day for three hundred days of the year, without feeling it,

In America, we have thus far escaped this English infection of public examinations. Our only native approach to it is the vicious system of examining students for admission to the Colleges, rather than accepting them on the certificate of a school recognized as competent. But that grows out of the entirely unorganized condition of middle-class education, and the want of fairly endowed and properly inspected classical academies and other preparatory

schools. As regards advanced examinations, the English practice is unknown. As Professor Dunbar tells us, "the practice of Harvard University requires every examination to be held by the officer giving instruction in the subject of the examination." The very institution which is doing the most to naturalize the mischievous English principle among us, is quite sound as regards the examinations conducted *in gremio universitatis*. No university or college has as yet allowed the examination for degrees to pass out of the hands of its faculty, although, in a few cases, it is nominally vested in the board of trustees. Nor is it wonderful that those who have been watching the educational currents, have been jealous of all approaches to the importation of the English system. One of these has been in those inter-collegiate literary contests, which divide the public attention about equally with the inter-collegiate athletic sports. But these have as yet no real hold on American college life, and while they have done some harm, they cannot become very widely mischievous. The other is the Harvard Examinations for Women, whose merits have been repeatedly canvassed in the pages of this magazine.* The advocates of that plan have been allowed the fullest hearing. Where they have felt aggrieved by the criticisms to which the plan has been subjected, they have been allowed to give utterance to their own views in such manner as they thought best.

Nothing seems to us more striking in the way in which the controversy has been conducted, than the manner in which the advocates of these examinations have dispensed with any thing like a full defence of their major premise. Here is a new method introduced into our educational system, to which serious objection is taken by more than one person who has certainly a right to have and to express an opinion in such matters. But the real use of the method is rather assumed than shown; secondary matters of very much less moment are made the prominent points. And it is actually taken as a point made against the University of Pennsylvania, that she declined to establish such public examinations, and preferred to make some experiments as to the way in which her own curriculum of studies might be made available to the women of Philadelphia. The criticism of these examinations, put forward

* Let us here say that the present writer in the views put forward in this article, speaks for no institution, nor for anybody but himself.

by her Provost—a criticism grounded on reasons given, sanctioned by very high authorities in England and in Germany,—is held up to scorn as a piece of inter-collegiate jealousy. This method of procedure assumes a strong public opinion in favor of the plan, which enables its friends to dispense with much argument, and to assume that the burden of proof rests with the opponents of the innovation. For reasons given at the opening of this article, we think they are probably right. “Now is the winter of our discontent,” if we may misquote Shakspeare. Even Mr. Emerson cannot speak with satisfaction and hopefulness in regard to the merits of his native country, without at once evoking volleys of criticism and censure. The language of patriotic pride has been abandoned by our educated classes to the politicians; if a foreign lecturer makes a reference to American history, he is met by a ripple of sarcastic laughter; and intelligent American citizens, with some pretence to be statesmen, manage to work themselves into paroxysms of fear that our country is doomed unless we can import Civil Service Examinations from England, or adopt some other pet contrivance to supply, in a mechanical way, the want of brain and of conscience in our public men. That a new plan comes from abroad, with great flourish of trumpets as regards its success there—though what the test of success is, we have never been told—is quite enough to secure it a favorable reception among our superior persons. That it is pretty nearly out of date, and exploded by the sober second thought of the country where it originated, is too often no drawback to its general acceptance as the advanced thought of the era.

We have endeavored to show the principle of public examinations is one which has all reason and all experience equally against it, and is calculated, when put in practice, to do more harm than good. It is one which Harvard University itself refuses to sanction as regards its own work. It is one which puts the most unsatisfactory methods of study upon a par with the best, and which fixes attention upon results without giving any attention to the far more important question of the method by which they have been reached. And English experience has already shown that the relation of schools to the university, which it creates, is a source of serious disturbance to the whole school-economy. Some schools refuse to accede to it in any shape; others have substituted the method of employing a delegate from the university to examine the school as a whole

upon the studies of its own curriculum, and of receiving his public report upon its work.

The English procedure, Dr. Wiese thinks, has not been without its uses as a sort of substitute for competent inspection, such as all middle as well as lower schools receive in Germany. But he cannot see either that it is the business of a university to undertake such work, or that the method of examination is the right way of doing it. That more harm has not been done by it, he attributes to the conservative character of the English Schools, and their retention of the wholesome idea that the formation of character is the main object of education. He thinks it a great gain that the schools have been thus brought out of their isolation, and that common subjects of study have been prescribed to them by a very high authority. And he emphasizes the fact that the English regard for such testimonials is so great, that they are an actual advantage to those who hold them. He states the case for them with great candor, and it is not until we come to his summing up, that we find him speaking his word of condemnation in regard to them. Without ignoring the good, he is satisfied that the evil outweighs it. We shall let him speak for himself, merely appending a few parallel passages from two English authors :—

“There can be no doubt that the examinations of schools and scholars, instituted by the universities and by the college of preceptors, have produced a good effect on many an institution, that they have increased the eagerness to learn, and have set in motion the stagnating waters, especially by publishing the results of the examinations, because an institution which carries through none or only a few scholars loses confidence with the public. But the public in this case may be greatly deceived; and we in Germany consider this very stimulus unsuited for the teachers as well as the pupils, and we do not wish to see the quiet course of instruction disturbed in the manner in which it is done in England. We regard the school as too good a thing for such a purpose; it has higher aims than those of a ‘racing stable’, as some one in England expressed himself in speaking of its schools. It not unfrequently happens that boys of no more than fourteen years, who have over-exerted themselves in order to gain a scholarship, afterwards, especially if they have not succeeded in the race and not gained a prize, are for a long time exhausted, incapable and unwilling to work.* We,

*“I knew a man who had an almost unprecedented career of success at Cambridge, who had so completely made success of this sort his end, that when he had exhausted the prizes of the University, he confessed that he did not know what next to do, or how to employ himself. Another Alexander!”—*Prof. Seely.*

too, have scholarships in many of our schools, and know that they may be a great blessing; but they are given, according to the judgment of the teachers, to pupils who need them and have recommended themselves by their diligence, their progress and their good conduct. In England I have heard some teachers complain of 'the scholarship fever' among their pupils; and the same is continued at the University, which is to many only 'a goose that lays golden eggs,' and their object is to get as many of them as they can. The golden eggs are the exhibitions and fellowships. It is the opinion of the English university professors that the method of preparing for examinations inflicts only too often an irreparable injury and destroys all freedom in the pursuit of learning and science; nothing is studied from a love of the subject, but only as a means of gaining a higher number of marks at the examinations. What a different picture would these young men present, if, unfettered by such anxiety, they could with freedom look around them and strive onwards, 'without fancying an examiner in every bush'.

"It is further felt by head-masters and teachers, to be a great inconvenience that they have to occupy themselves principally with those pupils who intend to go up for examinations. In our whole system of examining a school we pay more attention to its real object; we hold the examinations, as is natural, in the schools themselves, and do not hand over our boys to be examined by outsiders who do not know them, and from whom, according to the nature of the arrangement, they can receive no information in that in which they are wanting; we examine, moreover, much less frequently, and attach greater value to oral examinations, because they afford greater opportunities of becoming acquainted with the whole man; nor do we isolate the examinations in the manner in which it is done in England, and we even regard the leaving examination (*Abiturienten-Prüfung*) only as the completion of the preceding course of instruction, and by no means as deciding the ability of a young man to enter the university.*

"Examinations and prizes are looked upon in England as the most effective means of producing the desired effect; other means

* "To make examination thoroughly useful as an educational agency, it ought to be carefully correlated with systematic teaching. It is, perhaps, on the whole, best conducted mainly by those who actually teach, occasionally by others independent of them. But in each case it ought to have regard to the actual teaching, in the one simply gathering up its results, in the other supplementing these results by fresh suggestions."—*Canon Barry*.

"It is to be remarked that the system [of Harvard Examinations for Women] makes no requirement as to the manner in which the necessary instruction and training are to be obtained, whether by private study or in school. . . . Of the three candidates who have passed advanced [?] examinations, one was prepared in school, one by private teachers, and one prepared herself."—*Prof. C. F. Dunbar*.

are either unknown, or not attempted. The administrations of German schools are more concerned about securing the right way to the goal, and about seeing it rightly followed. . . . In England, attention is almost exclusively directed to the final result. From time to time something like an alarm-bell sounds throughout the country: 'come and be examined!' And they come, boys and girls, young and old, having crammed into themselves as much knowledge as they could. How they have acquired what they know is never asked, nor are they shown what is the best method; and yet what work could after all be more worthy of a university, than to point this out? Results! results! this is characteristic of England, and best explains the present high value set upon examinations in schools and universities.

"The apparent grandeur and vastness of the system of examination, according to which the same set of printed papers is distributed over England and sent all over the world, to Canada, to Mauritius, etc., has nothing imposing for us.* Where is the difference between this and the mechanical centralization of the French, which enables the Minister of Instruction at Paris, on looking at his watch, to tell a stranger what chapter of Cæsar was read at that hour in all the Lycées of France. We consider it a great and unnecessary trouble to print such simple elementary questions, as many of them must needs be, from Grammar, Geography, Biblical History, etc., and to send them over the wide world. The English have transplanted the same system of examination into India. A young Hindoo of Calcutta, who was for a long time my travelling companion, greatly disapproved of it, saying that in their schools they were only urged on by their English teachers to get ready for examination, and that they were obliged to stuff their memory with a mass of unconnected facts, which were often only half understood; a process in which it was impossible to cultivate independent thought..

"It is strange that Englishmen, who attach so much importance to the free development of individual character, do not see that this excess of examination is in direct opposition to it. Germans, too, who have settled in England, soon become acclimatized in this respect. Some German fathers and mothers expressed to me their satisfaction, not with the excellent manner in which their children's intellects were developed, but with the many examinations which

* Surely here is a valuable suggestion for the Philadelphia and other local committees. If they prefer the distant to the near, then Oxford or Cambridge are even farther away than Harvard. And if *prestige* be the great object, by all means let them get the genuine article. Perhaps a judicious employment of the telephone or the phonograph, would enable an extension of the plan to include oral examinations, which would be an improvement.

their sons and daughters had already passed, and with the prizes they had carried off.

“However, we also meet with men who are convinced that, after all, examinations are not the main thing. An English scholar, who himself had long acted as an examiner, owned that it was a great mistake to believe that the place of an efficient organization could be supplied by examinations; he declared that, according to his own experience, this kind of examinations was by no means a guarantee for the real existence of that degree of culture which they were intended to discover; that bold and resolute natures with a good memory often gained the victory over those who went to work more calmly, and with more deliberation and better judgment. ‘Few of our great men,’ said he, ‘who have distinguished themselves by originality of mind, or by strength and independence of character, and have done good service to the nation, had obtained honors at the universities. But unfortunately, in the matter of examination, we have taken China for our model.’

“I have no doubt that English teachers also, will soon become more and more convinced that the present state of affairs in this respect is not a healthy one, and that perhaps they will soon come to see which is the greater evil, to be subject to a school administration, or to be the slaves of examinations outside the school, with which the quiet and successful work of the school is incompatible.”

He adds, in a foot-note: “That this conviction has already been gained by some, is proved by expressions like the following: ‘If we go on long, as we are now doing, we shall utterly deteriorate the education of our youth and impair the national character.’ ‘The mania for examinations has been pushed to its furthest limits.’ ‘We are in danger of confounding the faculty for swallowing with the faculty for digesting.’ ‘A system whereby the teachers of the of the country are converted into “coaches” is, by its very nature, hostile to the true conception of education.’ ‘No school which converts itself into a coaching establishment, is a place of education, in the proper sense of the term. There is a repose, a calm, a stability, in the steady march of all sound education, which is alien to the feverish spirit that animates the ante-chamber of an examination room.’”*

* Canon Barry puts the case as to dissent much more strongly: “On every side we hear a chorus of discontent—groans from examiners and examinees under the burden which weighs equally on both—cries of commiseration from a sympathetic body of bystanders, looking on both classes of victims with mixture of contempt and pity. . . . That chorus is at the present moment so loud, that it bids fair to drown the triumphant paeans of the band which has marched so confidently to victory under the banner of ‘payment by results,’ and trampled resolutely down all educational considerations, which cannot be brought to the test of examination and tabulated in the appendices to Government Reports.”

So far Dr. Wiese. He has discussed, with the insight of an expert, and the calmness of an honest inquirer, that English system of which an integral part has been transplanted to our side of the Atlantic in the Harvard Examinations for Women. The word "examination" is employed to describe such different things, that the real nature and the true effect of the innovation is only too likely to escape public notice. It suggests the extension to the schools of the method employed to supplement recitations in our colleges, and in the universities and the gymnasia of Germany. But, in truth, it would be hard to find two things more distinct in effect than these, however great their seeming resemblance. These *public* examinations, unlike those others, are a means to convert study into cram,—teachers into coaches,—the calm of study into the feverish contact of an excited teacher with an excited class,—the free spontaneity of intellectual growth and interest in both, into slavery to an external and utterly inadequate criterion of success,—the wise development of better methods into the subordination of all methods to immediate and visible results,—the school into a seed-plot of emulations and contentions, in which anything is fostered rather than the love of learning, and everything is taught, except how to learn. As Professor Seeley says of the public examination system—a *propos* of his own University, "competition is a dangerous principle, and one the working of which should be most jealously watched. It becomes more dangerous the older the pupil is, and therefore it is most dangerous in Universities. It becomes more dangerous the more energetically and skilfully it is applied. At Cambridge, . . . therefore, . . . it produces most visibly its natural effects,—discontent in study, feverish and abortive industry, mechanical and spiritless teaching, general bewilderment both of teacher and taught as to the object at which they are aiming. . . . [It] produces, in fact, what may be called a general suspension of the work of education. Cambridge is like a country invaded by the Sphynx. To answer the monster's conundrums has become the one absorbing occupation. All other pursuits are suspended; everything less urgent seems unimportant and fantastic; the learner ridicules the love of knowledge, and the teacher, with more or less misgiving, gradually acquiesces."

That something needs to be done for the special class of schools

to which the new system has been applied, few will dispute. We do not share with Dr. Stillé the confidence he feels in the Normal School and others of our local institutions, as being fully adequate to all the demands made upon them. We are fully at one with Professor Dunbar, in holding that an institution which excludes the study of both ancient and modern languages from its curriculum, has but slight claims to be reckoned among the superior schools of the country. With that cardinal omission, it cannot even do properly the sort of work that it ought for the class for whom it is especially designed—the teachers of our public schools. And, as regards Swarthmore, it, no more than Vassar, supplies the want of a city institution, accessible to the pupils from their own homes. Something has to be done to elevate the character of the present schools for girls, or to call new ones into existence. It is unfortunate, however, that nearly the worst thing has been attempted first, and seemingly with a support in public opinion which promises the same persistence in a mischievous way of procedure as has obtained in England. A far wiser solution of the problem seems to be offered us in the opening, as far as practicable, of our higher institutions to the graduates of those schools. Even in our present relations of the colleges to the schools, a very great benefit would ensue, for, although the examinations for admission to the latter are not conducted by the proper persons, yet the absence of any form of competition, and the principle of a minimum of admission,* prevents much of the mischief which would otherwise be done to the schools. And, under a better system of affiliation of the schools with the colleges, implying the power of visitation and inspection on the one hand, and the right of certificate, such as the German gymnasia enjoy, on the other, we should possess a far juster means of bringing the schools up to the proper level than could be afforded by any system of examination, or even of government inspection. This, we understand Dr. Wiese to say, is substantially the Bavarian system.

Apart, therefore, from any other consideration, we regard the co-education of the sexes in our colleges as the one effectual means

* In the final examination of the German Gymnasia, there was formerly a division into three classes. But it was found to make mischief, and the principle of the minimum substituted. That is, no distinctions excepting "passed" or "failed to pass" are allowed.

of securing the true and wholesome development of our system of middle-class education for girls. We do not say that co-education can or ought to be universally adopted. We do not pass any censure upon institutions situated at a distance from the home of their students, who decline to make any experiments in this matter. But in the case of city colleges, we can see no valid objections to it. Where the students meet only in class-rooms and in the college chapel, and live under the wholesome restraints of their home life, many things seem possible that would elsewhere be impracticable, and the margin for possible mischief is reduced to very slight dimensions. Not that we put much stress upon the forebodings expressed, as regards the abolition, under any circumstances, of the present monastic separation of the sexes,—a relic of the middle ages clung to by some who have given up many a better thing inherited from that much misunderstood period.

We have seen, therefore, with very great pleasure, what the University of Pennsylvania has already done with reference to the admission of women to its class-rooms. It has been the more significant and promising, in view of the announcement that the policy of its authorities in this regard is a purely tentative one, and that they only await evidence of a further demand to take farther steps in this direction. We do not understand this to mean that they intend to surrender their own judgment as to the best means to the end and the proper extent of their action. They have not accepted Professor Dunbar's canon, that "in questions of this kind, it is the persons who feel the want, who must be the best judges as to the sufficiency of the means provided for supplying the want;" they take a very different view of the comparative responsibility of the trustees and officers of a public institution, and that of a self constituted committee—of one!—on whose judgment the Harvard authorities acted in the present instance. But we are very far from being satisfied with what has been done; we hope to see it still farther extended in the same directions, until all needless restrictions upon the studies of women are finally wiped from the statutes of the University.

As regards what has been done, a word of explanation may not be out of place. The admission of women as special students in the University, was not, as has been alleged, prompted by the establishment of the Harvard Examinations in our city. It began

in the Autumn of 1876, before a word had been said in regard to importing the Harvard Examinations, and when the few who had heard of them regarded them as a Yankee notion designed for Harvard's own field of labor. It was afterwards, in December of the same year, that an estimable lady of this city asked a gentleman friend to make enquiry of Provost Stillé, whether the University of Pennsylvania had any intention of establishing such a system as the Harvard Examinations. As this gentleman himself says, his "enquiry was as to a matter of fact, and not at all in the nature of a proposition or request" that the University should do this thing. The answer being in the negative, this lady, in January, 1877, made the application to President Eliot, and received an affirmative answer. That is to say, the application accepted by the Harvard authorities was from a single person, who had not even heard of any one else in the city desiring such a thing. It was preceded by no such application to the authorities of the University of Pennsylvania, as any reader would infer from the tenor of the statements which have been made in regard to it. It led to no communication on the part of the Harvard authorities to those of our University. It preceded, and its acceptance led to, the formation of the Ladies' Committee, who are supposed to have made it. We should be loth to regard this as a specimen of the comity which should exist between American universities; and we are not at any loss to know how Harvard would have treated a similar procedure of a sister University in its immediate vicinity.

"But at any rate," it may be said, "the University would have refused, even if the application had been made in due form, and had been accompanied by a proper statement of reasons for the step." We sincerely hope that it would; but we are not so sure of the fact. At any rate, "there is such a thing as having the honor of refusing," and the awkwardness of the situation is in no way affected by this supposition. If there are any better reasons for the system than have yet been presented by its advocates, the committee might have presented them, and our Provost and the Trustees might have been open to their persuasive influences. We would fain hope that Mrs. Wister and Professor Dunbar have not exhausted the logic of the situation. And if any proof had been presented of a real and spontaneous desire on the part of the ladies of the city for the introduction of the plan, that of itself would have

been one reason for making an experiment at least; though not perhaps a final one, still a reason calculated to weigh heavily against more general considerations. No evidence of any such desire was laid before the University; none has yet been laid before it, or before the public. The committee of ladies was brought into existence to carry out a programme already adopted, not to devise one.

As to the extent of the work done by the University, for, or rather by the women students, Professor Dunbar is slightly mistaken. He speaks of "the three ladies" who have attended the University during the last two years. It might have occurred to him that a catalogue issued before Christmas was hardly likely to show the extent of the system's success, when, as announced, some very important parts of it were to begin with the opening of the year. But even the three ladies actually taught something by the University, might fairly be regarded as an offset to the three recorded in Harvard Catalogue—not as having been taught anything, but merely as passed in review at a preliminary examination.* There are in the University of Pennsylvania, five women as special students in Chemistry, two in Physics, twenty-three in History, ten in the natural sciences taught in the Auxiliary Faculty of Medicine, and six in Music, a total of forty-six women, as we call them in this city, since the Centennial year. This, it is true, is but a beginning, but at any rate it will not compare unfavorably with what has been done by the sister university, whose name is everywhere advertised by the interest she has taken in the education of the women of America.

ROBERT ELLIS THOMPSON.

"A COUNTERFEIT PRESENTMENT."

THE dramatic company of which Mr Lawrence Barrett is the leading performer, visited Philadelphia recently and, during the course of an all too short season, played "The Counterfeit Presentment" some two or three times.

It were rather late in the day to offer an analysis of so well-known a story. The many admirers of Mr. Howells have had

* Professor Dunbar says that they passed the *advanced* examination, but both Harvard Catalogue and the ladies contradict him.

abundant opportunity to read it, and the critics in those cities in which it has been played have not neglected it. The general impression upon the reader of their criticisms would be that Mr. Howells has, in this instance, achieved a literary rather than a dramatic success. The author has of course read and carefully pondered their remarks as to construction, climaxes, characterization and what not, and has, by this time, doubtless learned many a lesson in the art of play-writing, from the critics who, where they have been able to find fault at all, have objected to his delightful play because it lacks this, that or the other feature of something it does not pretend to be.

Critics are not allowed to forget that it is their duty to analyse their emotions. They dare not rest with the simple fact of being pleased; their vocation requires them to account for the *how* and the *why* of their pleasure or its reverse. In this instance, however, they with great unanimity confess to their delight in the fresh and charming essays in portraiture offered us by *The Counterfeit Presentment*.

Mr. Howells is always so sure of himself, so careful in "marking his middle distance", to use the words of one of his characters, that we have come to look for success in whatever literary venture he may attempt. A polished style, free from the slightest trace of affectation in sentiment or expression; a keen sense of the humorous, both in thought and situation; an honest, manly regard for the good opinion of those who, placing honor above passion, would have the stage supplement the lessons taught by the pure and healthgiving influence of the home circle:—these are of the essential, though not the only equipments of Mr. Howells for the task he has set himself.

Aside from these qualities, Mr. H. offers us the results of a seemingly microscopic study of human nature, and, more especially, feminine human nature at that. He has, even in this, been very careful to restrict the scope of his inquiries to a very narrow section of the field before him, but has, for that reason, been the more thorough. The attentive reader of his various books cannot have helped observing the point that marked his transition from the study of things to the study of men and women. And that he has been a careful student, in particulars as well as in generals, no one familiar with *A Chance Acquaintance*, *Their Wedding Journey*, or *A Foregone Conclusion* need be told. A clever woman, reading one of these books, will often stop at some passage, the great felicity of which lies in its truthfulness, and ask: "How in the world could he have found it out?"

Thackeray makes us stop now and then, in much the same way, and we are not alone in the belief that his books are, to a great extent, an excellent substitute for actual experience. It is not that he says for us what we fain would have said, had we but possessed the art

of putting it in that way, but he seems to have thought our very thoughts for us.

However, we did not mean to institute comparisons. We started out with the intention of expressing our thanks for *The Counterfeit Presentment*, in the matter and the manner of which work, the author has once more made us all his happy debtors.

S. A. S.

NEW BOOKS.

FRENCH POETS AND NOVELISTS, by Henry James, Jr. London: McMillan & Co., 1878. 12mo., pp. 439.

Surely, we Americans can come in closer sympathy with certain forms of French art and feeling than the English. We are as hard as they, and detect as quickly as they do, the *poscurs* of French poetry. We both catch De Musset tricking himself out with tawdry, cheap agonies for exhibition, and Baudelaire covering himself over with filth and calling on the universe to admire and pity them. But there is a coarse fibre in English criticism, seemingly wanting to us, which becomes so saturated and engrossed with the unworthy part, as to prevent the full recognition of the innumerable beauties of form and substance presented in the literature of modern France. Maginn, Mahoney and Thackeray, entered into and enjoyed the *insouciance*, practical good sense, and affectionate tenderness of Beranger. His philosophy is their philosophy. "*Le Grenier*" and "The Cane-bottomed Chair," are, if not twins, children of the same father. But Thackeray saw nothing in George Sand but her eroticism; he was blind to her high aspirations, her clarified style, and the ineffable delicacy of her touch. So, the best English renderings of De Musset are Mrs. Wister's. Among the later brood of American writers, no one is more fit by taste, temperament and training to be the expositor of the beauties of the modern French school, whose works are the subject of this volume, than Mr. Henry James, Jr. Whilst we do not agree with the estimate which he has affixed to the authors of whom the several essays in this handsome book treat, yet we are indebted to him for some searching and very happy criticisms. The best, we think, are the essays on De Musset, Gautier and George Sand. The one we like least is that on Balzac, the first part; for part two, "Balzac's Letters," is a charming picture of his struggles, his vanities and his daily moods. He has hit De Musset exactly when he says, "It is not fair to say of any thing represented by De Musset that it is caught in the act. Just the beauty and charm of it is that it is not the exact reality, but a something seen by the imagination—a tinge of the ideal." But he does scant justice to Balzac, who is to French novelists what Fielding is to English, the one to

whom the future historian of their respective countries will go for his colors when he wishes to paint the manners and life, the "very form and pressure" of their times. There is, too, in this article, a struggle for expression, a grasping for something not well defined in the author's mind, which we do not find in the clear, sharp language of his other papers. The last article in the volume on the *Theatre Francais*, would be well enough for a newspaper letter, but is unworthy of its companions. On the whole, Mr. James and his publishers have given us, the latter a beautiful specimen of their craft, and the former, much thoughtful and enjoyable reading.

THE NEW REPUBLIC; or Culture, Faith and Philosophy in an English Country House, by W. H. Mallock. New York: Scribner's, 1878. Pp. 368.

The extremes to which the leaders of English thought have gone, naturally bring about a reaction, and here we have an Oxford man making a smart hit in a satire, cast in the shape of a Socratic dialogue, in which all the lights of new doctrines are made to figure. Matthew Arnold, Ruskin, Huxley, Dean Stanley, Tyn-dall, Liddon, are all thinly veiled under the names given to the characters whose interminable discourses are clever exaggerations of the extravagances to which we have almost become accustomed, if not indeed reconciled, by the ability with which their doctrine of doubt is set forth. The total negation of all the orthodox canons of faith, the calm recommendation of a return to Greek methods of thought in morals and religion, in place of the worn out dogmas of Christianity, the superior advantages of Mohammedanism, or at least of the Koran and the Talmud, the last steps in progress towards a recognition of culture and science as the all sufficient elements of modern civilization; these are the topics of the clever people brought together in an English country house, and sketched in sharp, clear tones. There is no actual dissent or protest on behalf of the author as the representative of the orthodoxy of the day, and it takes a certain amount of reading between the lines to determine how far he goes in opposition to the prevailing sentiments of the modern English philosophical radical, and how far he wants to amuse himself and his readers by good-natured fun at their expense. It is plain, however, that his book bodies forth very much the sort of talk that prevails in the homes of men and women who have grown up under the intellectual heresies of the last decade or two, and is, to that extent, a good means of gauging the want of faith and strength of doubt that are sapping the strength of English orthodoxy. There is a cynical sort of satisfaction in the offensive way in which obnoxious things are put in the mouths of these leaders of English thought, as when the advanced and very clever Oxford man, Goldwin Smith perhaps, justifies or rather suggests, the future recognition of prostitution as an honorable and

beneficent profession, or where Freeman is described as "somebody who had not only read heaven knows how much history, but had written even more than he had read." There is a tone of license in the book, as in the description of the life led by a man who evidently is meant for "Vathek" Beckford, and in the warmth thrown into the picture of typical women, suggesting to one of the listeners, the notion that he, the Mr. Ruskin's *alter ego* of the book, "always seems to talk of everybody as if they had no clothes on." But all this is only clever fun compared to the bitter way in which the godlessness of the school of Matthew Arnold on the one hand, and the latitudinarianism of that of Dean Stanley, are put on the same level with the last efforts of science to set up a world without religion and a religion without a finite God. The book presumes a large acquaintance with the books and writings of all the doubters and deniers whose ideals are paraphrased, and unless the reader can distinguish between the real and the pretended, he may find himself forgetting the satire and accepting as truth that which the author means to deny. Like the very men whose mischievous preaching he wants to overcome, he is so strong in his mastery of style, and so fond of his use of their best weapons, beautiful English, full of soft tones and exquisite modulations, that a casual reader may lose the lesson of the orthodox faith it aims to reestablish and go on in blissful ignorance of the fact that this book is meant to be a warning and a caution against the authors and preachers, lecturers and poets, essayists and reviewers, whose doctrines are here followed out to their last extreme, so as to show the dangerous and destructive tendencies of their liberalism.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

Collection of Foreign Authors, No. VIII. Madame Gosselin. From the French of Louis Ullach. 16mo. Sw'd. Pp. 366. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 60 cts.
My Intimate Enemy, a Story. 16mo. Cloth. Pp. 176. Philadelphia: Claxton, Remsen & Haffelfinger.

Landolin. By B. Auerbach. Leisure Hour Series. \$1.00. New York: H. Holt & Co. [Porter & Coates.

"Warrington" Pen Portraits. A Collection of Personal and Political Reminiscences, from 1848 to 1876, from the writings of William S. Robinson. Edited by Mrs. W. S. Robinson. 12mo. Cloth. Pp. 587. Boston: Lee & Shepard.

Ingersoll, Beecher and Dogma, or a Few Simple Truths and their Logical Deductions. R. S. Dement. 12mo. Cloth. Pp. 155. \$1.00. Chicago: S. C. Griggs & Co. [J. B. Lippincott & Co.

Current Discussion, a Collection from the Chief English Essays on Questions of the Time. Edited by Edward L. Burlingame. Vol. I, International Politics. 12mo. Cloth. Pp. 368. \$1.50. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons.

Bulletin de L'Academie Royale des Sciences, des Lettres et des Beaux-Arts de Belgique. 47 annee. 2 serie. Tome 45. No. 612. Bruxelles: F. Hayez. 1878.

Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione. Bulletino Ufficiale. Febbraio, 1878. Roma, Tipografia Eredi Botta.

THE
PENN MONTHLY.

JUNE.

THE MONTH.

ONE month more leaves the European situation pretty much as it found it. The Russian forces are a little nearer to Constantinople, but the Russian diplomats are no nearer to a definite understanding with those of England. Every new step in negotiation is talked of as an ultimatum, and criticism of the English ministry in Parliament is successfully deprecated as mischievous, because coming at a critical instant. But there are indications that the Opposition in England are returning from that invertebrate condition, into which they were thrown by the near prospect of hostilities, and are again beginning to exert their legitimate influence in favor of peace. Two very critical elections to Parliament have been decided against the Conservatives, under circumstances which excite great surprise, while others which are alleged as verdicts in their favor have no such significance. In Oxford, the Liberal candidate refused to commit himself to any definite policy in support of peace; in Downshire, the controlling force is the Orange Association, which always elects its candidate. * At the last general election, it sent up a Liberal, as the expression of a temporary dissatisfaction. But those who know the past record of the most stubborn of Orange constituencies, are aware that such a reaction could only be temporary.

Some alarm is excited in England, by the evidence furnished that the Queen has no respect for the constitutional maxim of

royal inefficiency. The official biography of the late Prince Consort shows clearly, what was long suspected: viz., that that German prince was more fond of asking German statesmen what the position of an English sovereign ought to be, than of consulting English constitutional history to see what it really is. And it is made known that the Prince amply earned the distrust and unpopularity with which his name was enveloped in 1853-4, by a persistent interference with the national purpose of war with Russia. His wife, though as decidedly on the opposite side of European questions, is putting in practice the same principle of the constitutional efficiency and responsibility of the sovereign. She and her son are exerting their whole influence upon the side of the war party, and, in so far as legal restraints permit them, are restoring that theory of personal government which was thought to have expired with the accession of the House of Hanover. Nor is this the first instance of her interference. During the debate on the Irish Church in 1868, Disraeli was allowed to express on the floor of the House the sympathy felt by her Majesty with the positions he had taken. Some indignation was very naturally felt, and the result of the debate did not indicate any great readiness of the House to submit to such guidance.

The calling in the East Indian troops to take part in the possible war with Russia, is another instance of the disposition to stretch the royal prerogative, and has excited a very just alarm. The Empress-Queen is authorized by law to raise and employ these troops solely for the defence of her East Indian possessions; and when they were otherwise employed in the war with Abyssinia, it was by express permission of Parliament. To have waited for that permission in the present case, would have been to provoke a struggle, whose result was by no means a certainty. Therefore, the measure was adopted and executed with complete secrecy, while Parliament was in session; and although the resignation of the Earl of Derby was caused by it, he was not at liberty to give his true reasons for that step, even when falsely charged by Beaconsfield with others than the true. Even the slow-blooded leaders of the Opposition have been aroused by this proceeding to take the sense of the House on the legality of the proceeding; but, from such leadership nothing practical was to be expected. They were outvoted.

THE most startling piece of news in regard to the coming struggle is that telegraphed from our own side of the ocean, in regard to preparations for an attack by sea upon the mercantile marine of England, in case war is declared. That something of the sort was contemplated, we have known for a long time back; but we supposed it was to be kept secret until war had been begun. Russia seems to prefer to use the threat of it, first of all, as a deterrent, if we may judge from the openness of her agents on the subject. The announcement has caused a considerable sensation in London; but the mercantile mind reassures itself with two considerations: first, that the English navy is ample enough to put a stop to the thing; and secondly, that the United States will not allow the provisions of the Treaty of Washington to be broken in any such manner. As to the first, if the British navy is large enough to watch the whole coast of the United States, and yet supply the proper quotas for duty in other waters, it must have received considerable enlargement since its numbers were last reported. And to capture vessels which have unlimited refuge within high water mark all along our coast, to say nothing of our harbors, may not be easy work. Even should the English succeed in eventually taking every hostile cruiser, the mischief would have been done, since the Russians could afford their loss after each of them had carried three or four Cunarders into Boston or Salem. As to the Treaty of Washington, our Muscovite friends do not mean to run their heads into that noose. They have certainly taken the best legal advice as to all their plans, and not a ship will be fitted out within our territory after war has begun. But no treaty debars them from using our ports as places into which to carry their prizes; no treaty will allow British squadrons to cruise around those ports within high water mark; no treaty will permit of pursuit into or out of those ports. The present status of international law makes the proceeding which is threatened much easier and safer than even general equity would call for. It enables Russia to deliver a damaging blow to the most exposed and perilous of British interests, without violating a single rule recognized by any nation, or prescribed by any treaty.

New York interests, of course, will be disadvantageously affected, equally with English. The Russians are, therefore, getting no sort of sympathy from that quarter, and the warmth with which

their proposal has been censured by New York papers, has helped to mislead the English as to the possibility of delivering such a blow. Perhaps the New Yorkers will come to see that a few ships of American build and ownership would not be a bad addition to their commercial resources.

Hard times are bringing into strong light the fundamental antagonisms of rich and poor, on both sides of the Atlantic. In Germany, the Socialist movement has been growing more threatening. The number of Socialist delegates elected to the Imperial Parliament is, indeed, but small as yet; but it increases in geometrical ratio with every election, and it represents a much larger constituency than its numbers would suggest. Under some of the plans for minority representation, the delegates elected by the Socialists would be four times as many as at present. The recent attempt made on the Emperor's life by one of the party—if it was indeed an attempt—has aroused public attention and indignation on every side, and very severe measures of repression are contemplated. While we deplore every resort to force for the suppression of opinion, we are not of the number of those who, with Macaulay, believe in the inefficiency of such measures. Persecution and repression have succeeded far oftener than they have failed, and the present position of the Socialist minority in France is an instance of such success. But we hope that the day is not far distant, when the return of better times will put an end to the disaffection which breeds Socialism, and when even this hard-money and almost free trade country will see a revival of her industries, which would not have sunk so low but for the mischievous effect of her commercial treaties.

One of the most important results of the new policy will, perhaps, be its relation to that policy of ecclesiastical repression and restraint, of which Dr. Falk has been the ministerial representative, and the May laws the fullest expression. For some time past, there has been an evident change of tone on Bismarck's part, as regards the *Kultur-kampf*, as this war on ecclesiastical privileges and liberties is called. The more conservative Lutherans, who are very strong in his native Pomerania, and with whom his earliest and most natural affiliations were formed, have been bringing him

to see that laws which would have sent Martin Luther and John Bugenhagen to the common jail for contumacy, are not the logical outcome of Protestant principles, nor the truly Protestant method of opposing Rome. Dr. Falk has been losing his grasp of the Chancellor's policy, and the new necessity of exercising repression upon the classes most alien from any religious belief, has, no doubt, compelled a more conciliatory tone towards the Churches. Should Leo XIII. fulfil the better omens of his beginning, the day may not be far distant when the worst of the Falk Laws will be consigned to forgetfulness, and men who honestly believe in the divine authority of a Christian Church will find it possible to live under Prussian rule. It is, therefore, most significant that, just at this juncture, Dr. Falk tenders his resignation, and that those of the ministry who share his views, threaten to follow him into opposition. With both Kamphausen and Falk gone, Bismarck will have lost his two evil geniuses, and will have a chance to develop into an excellent ruler, and to dispense with repression of every sort.

IN England and France, the native homes of modern Socialism, the movement seems to have spent its force. The latter enjoys comparative quiet, and is enjoying her badly arranged and half-finished *Exposition*.

England has on hand the largest strike that she has seen for many years, the great mass of her cotton-mill operatives having refused to submit to the reduction of wages, which the masters insist on as indispensable to the continuance of their operations. To Americans, the most interesting point in the controversy is the part which our own country plays in it. The fact of American competition in the production of cotton goods for the markets of the world, and even for the English market, is one which can no longer be denied. This "hot-house industry," which languished under Free Trade and flourished under Protection, has acquired such a vitality since 1860, that it now courts competition in point of price and quality with Manchester. And it has won in the race, by virtue, not so much of the cheapness, as of the excellence of our product. It is said that we are sending cottons to England herself, at the rate of a million and a half pieces a year.

On the other hand, the fact must not be overlooked that there is a tendency to overstate the extent of this competition. The

English workmen, in their statement of their case, fully admit its existence and influence, but they deny that it is so great as to compel the reduction proposed; nor will they be persuaded that American mill-hands are working for wages as low as are offered them, on which point they are no doubt right.

THE rumors of Communistic movements in the United States, which we have been hearing for some weeks past, are very largely magnified by the sensationalism of our newsmongers. Wherever a body of workmen use rash and vehement language, they are at once telegraphed over the continent as Communists. Indeed the name begins to play the same part in our current controversies, that the name "familist" did in the theological controversies of the Puritan period. Whenever you did not like a man, and did not exactly understand what he would be at, you disposed of him by saying he was a familist. So our hard-money people stigmatized all their opponents, including the National Party, as Communists; and the *Nation* passed the name on to the Protectionists; and those who sympathize with capitalists affix it to trades' unions and workmen's parties; and the National party in Indiana affix it to capitalists and banks. The consequence of this loose talk is not merely to breed confusion in the minds of those who indulge in it, but to tend to produce a panic, both needless and in the highest degree mischievous, in the mind of the public. Such panics are the necessary previous condition of those temporary submissions of the majority to the minority, which in Europe are called revolutions. They should be impossible in this country, where every citizen is accustomed to insist that all social and political action shall flow in the ample channels provided by our laws.

Of course there are Communists in the United States, many of them. They are most numerous in those quarters in which great bodies of foreign-born workmen are suffering under hard times, and are refreshing their memories as to the wild theories sown broad-cast over Europe in 1848. But the temporary unrest and dissatisfaction produced by hard times is not in any large measure communistic in its character; it has not become enmity to society and its institutions, and it would vanish in a month if wages were better and work plenty. Nor can there arise any danger to our country from Communism, or even from the more violent types of

discontent which are not such. The uprising of the have-nots against a European government, is like the rush of a mob against the palings of a park; while a similar uprising here would be the rush of a mob against the Alleghenies,—and it is not the Alleghenies that would be hurt.

If there was one piece of folly into which the Democratic majority seemed unlikely to fall, it was the attempt to reverse the decision of the Electoral Tribunal, and to call in question the title of President Hayes to the Presidency. Nothing seemed so full of good omen as the cordial acceptance of that decision by the great mass of the Democrats, both rank and file. It indicated a sound public spirit in all classes, which would ensure a prompt acquiescence in the legal decision of all disputed questions, and would make impossible among us those disorders arising from disputed elections, which have been the bane of our sister republics. Both in agreeing to the creation of that tribunal, and in the practical acceptance of its decision, the leaders of the party gave to the country a pledge of devotion to order, which they cannot retract without destroying all public confidence in themselves.

And yet the Potter Resolution for a partial and partisan investigation, carried through the House under the previous question, has no logical meaning if it be not this. Its author has been before the public as the representative of the doctrine that it is the duty of the House to undertake such an investigation, and if it find no election has been made, to proceed to make one. The refusal to allow debate or entertain amendment, even when it was evident that no time would be gained thereby, is proof enough that something beyond a mere inquiry into facts is aimed at, and that that something could not be brought to the light of day with safety. On the other hand, both by the omission of all Republican leaders from the committee, and the selection of Adullamites like Butler and weaklings like General Cox to represent that party, there is evidence that the management of the proposed inquiry will be as partisan as its origin. In making that selection, as well as by his whole bearing since his election to the speakership, Samuel J. Randall has labored to destroy the good opinion entertained of him by his fellow citizens of both parties, and there

are few who will regard with regret the certainty that this is the last Congress which will number him among its members.

It is quite certain that, however much the House may desire to unseat President Hayes, it has not the power to do so. The refusal of the Electoral Tribunal to go behind the official returns, in the case of the disputed States, is quite final as regards that. Nothing but a mandate from the Supreme Court, or a joint-instruction from the two Houses, directing them at the time to do otherwise, could give to the result of such investigations as these any pertinence to the main questions in dispute.

The first and chief effect of the passage of this resolution is to make the Republican party a unit as never before. It puts Mr. Hayes at last in the van of the party; but it also intensifies party feeling as could no other false step on the part of the Democracy. Those who have been accustomed to let their party principles and loyalty sit very lightly upon them, are beginning to feel that they cannot afford to be indifferent to party lines; they are refreshing their memories as to the fact that, while there are bad elements in both parties, the Democratic party has a peculiar nack of giving up its control to the baser element in its ranks.

THE extreme advocates of resumption are anything but pleased with Secretary Sherman. They see no effectual way to resumption, except the annihilation of our treasury notes by the conversion of that part of the debt into interest-bearing bonds. They would have no paper-money in the country, except the notes of the banks of issue. In this they take exactly the opposite ground from that held by the principal English economists, and by the British Boards of Trade. These have been urging the government to redeem the promise made by Sir Robert Peel in 1844, that in thirty years the bank circulation should be replaced by treasury notes issued by the government. For they hold that the power to issue paper-money is a power to borrow money without payment of interest, and that this advantage should be monopolized by the nation, and not conferred upon private corporations of any sort.

We regard Secretary Sherman's view as the wiser of the two; but we see no wisdom in his recent grab at the loose gold of the country, as a means to make resumption safe and possible. His resumption will be effected, if at all, at a heavy and needless ex-

pense to the nation, for even if he does not aim at destroying the greenback circulation, he does very largely duplicate it as debt, by issuing large quantities of new bonds, whose price in gold is to be hoarded in the treasury and not to be spent in the redemption of others which are overdue. By the amount of every bond he sells under this arrangement, he deprives the nation of the advantage it enjoys in having an equal amount of treasury notes in circulation. He might just as well have converted as many treasury notes into national bank notes, (as indeed the extremists propose), and have left to the banks the responsibility of redemption.

It seems altogether likely that Congress will not adjourn until it has tied the Secretary's hands, as regards any further contraction of the treasury notes. The bill forbidding their withdrawal from circulation has passed the House, and, as there is no hearty opposition to it even from Wall street, there seems every reason to expect its passage by the Senate. The fact is a sign of the times, for it shows that the silly prejudice against our paper-money has been at last exploded by the evidence of facts, and that the day is past when it can be held up to scorn and horror as the source of all our financial evils.

THE award of the tribunal of arbitration, created under the Treaty of Washington, to adjudicate upon the Canadian Fishery Claims, has driven one more nail into the coffin of arbitration. Not only is the finding itself grossly unjust and excessive, but the question as to the binding force of a mere majority of arbitrators, in the absence of a treaty provision on that head, is any thing but certain. Dr. Woolsey's theory that a majority binds, because the maxims of the Civil (Roman) Law decide the question, is, indeed, the doctrine of the great text-writers of the seventeenth century, and has passed from them to authors of our own age. But that maxim derived its force from a view of the authority of the Civil Law which both England and America have always repudiated. It is part of the theory of the universal and perpetual dominion of the Holy Roman Empire, which breathed its last at the opening of this century. It has been kept above ground by writers on international law, because it furnishes so much material for filling up the defective holes and corners of their systems. And on this par-

ticular point, its validity is more than usually questionable. This, an issue of the international law of the sea, and the maritime law of the Romans was not their own Civil Law, but the Law of the Rhodians, which they found universally current in the regions we call the Levant. It would probably be difficult, in the present state of our knowledge of the *Lex Rhodia*, to allege any maxim from it which would govern the present case. Nor do the authors of the Treaty of Washington seem to have accepted any such principle, for they have expressly settled this question by treaty provision as regards the other Boards of Arbitration to be created under that Treaty, although they omitted to do so in this case. And if we apply to this omission the universal maxim of interpretation: *expressio unius, exclusio alterius*, we find that it leaves the question altogether an open one. This was the view taken by the London *Times* as to the force of the Treaty, and it distinctly censured the British authors of the Treaty for this cardinal omission.

Secretary Evarts very properly recommends that the money to pay the award be appropriated, and the State Department be vested with freedom of action in the matter. He sees a way out of the difficulty in connection with the rash statements of international law made by the representatives of the English Government. Before he pays the money, he will insist on a full and categorical acceptance by England of the unsound and dangerous principles on which the award was based, or, failing that, he will have the whole matter re-opened.

Another pending question, growing out of the Washington Treaty, will be well disposed of if the bill now before Congress should pass that body. It will allow all those who hold unsettled claims to sue them in the Court of Claims, with right of appeal to the Supreme Court. As both courts will be governed by the language of the Treaty and of the Geneva Award, there can be no objection to this plan from any quarter. And when all these cases have been disposed of, nothing will remain but to remit the balance on hand to the English Exchequer.

WE sincerely hope that nothing will come of the vague threats of another Fenian invasion of Canada, in case England begins a war upon Russia. It is altogether certain that such an invasion would lead to no change in the distribution of English troops, and

would in no way contribute to the success of any uprising contemplated in Ireland. And when looked at from the Canadian point of view, it is seen to be a wanton and wicked attack upon a peaceful community, in revenge for wrongs for which they are not in the least responsible. Whatever sympathy is felt in America for the Irish nationalists, will be greatly impaired by another of these mad assaults on the Dominion, and that sympathy is to day far weaker than it would have been, had the Fenian leaders confined their military efforts to the only field of operations where there is a possibility either of success or of honorable failure.

It is one of the disadvantages of our system of government, that our rulers find it very hard to put a stop to these violations of our duties to our neighbor country. But in these days of railroads and telegraphs, it should be not impossible to exercise an efficient surveillance along our Northern frontier, and, as we still have a few companies of soldiers wearing the national uniform, to repress any hostile movement across the border.

THE political parties are getting under way for the Fall election, and the Republicans have good reason to hope that they will recover their control of the House of Representatives, although they will lose that of the Senate. Certainly the Democrats in Congress have left no stone unturned to make the Republican party both united in itself and popular throughout the doubtful districts, unless it be the failure to pass Mr. Wood's Tariff Bill. In Pennsylvania, the nomination of Mr. Hoyt for Governor was a mistake, since a better man, Mr. Grow, was in the field; and it is not the less likely to alienate some votes, since it was a clear victory of "the machine" over the better elements of the party.

The National Greenback party have certainly not improved their chances by the proceedings of their State Convention. A body in which Damon Y. Kilgore plays so prominent a part, does not commend itself to the community at large, by its sobriety of judgment and the soundness of its views. Mr. Kilgore seems fairly to have captured the Convention, and, despite some protests from the hard-handed element, he had very much his own way in shaping its utterances. The ticket, indeed, is not a bad one, in some respects; but there is no man in the ranks of the party, whom Pennsylvania would care to see in the seat which Mr. Hartmanft is about to vacate.

THE death of Prof. Henry is even a greater loss to American science than was that of Prof. Agassiz. Prof. Henry was a sort of central figure in our scientific world, by reason of both the respect commanded by his brilliant record as a physicist, and his genial character and kindly humor, as well as his position in the Smithsonian Institution. It is to his consummate administrative abilities, that the Institution owes very much of its success. His integrity was equal to his intellectual and scientific greatness; and, with manifold opportunities to make money by turning aside from the strict path of scientific research, he lived comparatively a poor man. He would have left his family unprovided for, had not a fund of fifty thousand dollars been subscribed—very largely in this city—to supply his and their wants. He was to have received the first instalment of the interest on the first day of June.

Prof. Henry's name is enrolled alongside those of Faraday, Forbes, Agassiz, Cuvier, Owen, Liebig, as a scientific man who believed that there was "an intelligence at the heart of things." One of the last acts of his life was a letter stating the grounds of his belief in God. His faith was not a blind inkling of the Unknown and Unknowable of Herbert Spencer, or of the Something best called Nothing, of John Tyndall. It was faith in God, a personal and spiritual "Being of all perfections," the Unchangeable in contrast to a world of changes.

PHILADELPHIA is, as yet, the only city on the American continent which, with all respect to the growing and promising Gardens of Cincinnati and St. Louis, has naturalized a first-class Zoological Garden. That she has been enabled to do this has been due, primarily, to the high character of the gentlemen who have had charge of its direction and management, and, secondarily, to the very large amount of means it has received by reason of the great number of visitors in the Centennial and preceding year. This latter has enabled it to expand very rapidly and to accomplish, in a short time, what is generally the result only of the growth of many years. Apart from its function as an object-teacher and the affording of rational recreation to jaded citizens, the scientific value of the collection in the Philadelphia Garden is remarkable, considering the short period of its existence. It consisted, according to the Report of the Directors for the year ending 28th February, 1878,

of 434 Mammals, 453 Birds, 58 Batrachians and 63 Reptiles. Among these are some specimens which never, so far as has been ascertained, have been heretofore exhibited in any Zoological Garden. All of the Carnivora and larger faunæ are first-rate specimens of their respective kinds, with none of the blemishes or deformities which are so common with menagerie-bred animals. During the past year—the least favorable thus far of the Society's existence,—the number of visitors was 203,773, and the receipts from admissions \$39,555.50. It is matter of congratulation to our community, that so important and attractive an institution should have taken so permanent a root in our City in so short a time.

SANITARY LEGISLATION IN THE LIGHT OF HISTORY.¹

A PLEA FOR A STATE BOARD OF HEALTH.

A State Board of Health, that is to say, putting the matter into its abstract form, the authoritative embodiment of organized and methodized effort to protect the inhabitants of a commonwealth against the inroads of disease, and thus secure to each individual a longer and happier life than he could otherwise have enjoyed, although a new idea perhaps to a Philadelphia audience, is by no means to be classed, as many of you may suppose, among modern and new-fangled inventions. It is emphatically not a "Yankee notion," although it has taken root on Yankee soil. On the contrary, few institutions can claim a more venerable ancestry.

The first State Board of Health of which we have any authentic record was instituted by a man, known by reputation to most of us, named Moses—a man of great natural ability and brilliant attainments, "skilled in all the learning of the" most highly civilized people of his day—to whom, indeed, thoughtful historians do not hesitate to assign a front rank as a sagacious legislator. So wise, in fact, was his statesmanship that it is not easy to explain it, unless we admit the generally received opinion that, in addition to his innate intellectual powers and conspicuous early advantages, he was favored with the special counsel of the Most High, the source

¹ Read before the Philadelphia Social Science Association, March 7th, 1878.

of all wisdom, and the author of all good government. Allowing this, his sanitary administration is elevated at once to the plane of inspiration for its foundation, and the State Board of Health stands side by side with the church as a means of alleviating misery and elevating humanity. Whichever view we may take of it, certain it is that his hygienic code, which has fortunately been preserved to us, is the model for, and contains the germs of, all sanitary legislation from his day to ours. And the key-note of his admirable system is "PURITY—purity of air, purity of food, purity of water, purity of clothing, purity of habitation, purity of person, purity of life. Beyond this we shall never get as a foundation-principle for sanitary science". What a nation must that have been which this great leader, legislator and hygienist brought to the borders of the promised land! Fancy them, for a moment, at the end of their forty years of open air life, the only life, I am tempted to say, in which it is possible to realize the full luxury of living. Think of those six hundred thousand warriors, all in the vigor of perfect manhood, not one among them decrepit from age,—for every soul that had lived long enough to have become tainted with Egyptian corruption in body or mind, before the exodus, with but two single exceptions, had died,—most of them, therefore, in the full flush of early strength, their muscles hardened by a thousand marches and countermarches, their forms developed to the standard of perfection by constant military exercise and rigid adherence to hygienic rules, their heads proudly erect with the consciousness of victory in many a hard-fought fight,—picture to yourselves that goodly array of noble matrons, full of gracious dignity, walking with free, untrammelled steps and firm but easy carriage, able to make their day's march even with their infants in their arms or on their shoulders, ignorant of aching backs or weary limbs,—fancy those joyous, blooming maidens, their cheeks flushing with a hue almost divine, born of a blood perfectly pure, because fed on heavenly food free from all taint or germ of disease, their laughter-loving eyes sparkling with the very radiance of the sun itself, in whose health-giving, joy-inspiring rays they daily basked, their countenances beaming with that unrestrained kindliness which the consciousness of perfect innocence and purity alone inspires,—their unconstricted forms and lithe limbs eloquent of grace and happiness—see even the little children, as soon as they are able to take care of their

own steps, not peevishly craving help, but sturdily shouldering their pet-lambs, taking up the milk-white kids in their little, round, sun-dyed arms, and proudly bearing their part in the labors of the camp and the cavalcade. And here and there among them all, the consecrated Levite, clad in his robes of sacred authority, at once the minister of religion and hygiene, in his own person an exemplar of health and holiness, ever on the watch to see that no ordinance, whether looking God-ward, man-ward or beast-ward, be neglected or infringed. In all the vast host no decrepitude, no infirmity, no deformity, no pallid faces, no blotched skins, only bright, beautiful, exultant health.

Truly the sun never shone on such a sight before or since. Can we imagine it? We miserable, irritable, excitable, nervous, dyspeptic, neuralgic, hysterical, hypochondriacal wretches, men without sinew or stomach, women without muscle or bust,—dare we hope that such a grand, comely, vigorous race will ever enjoy the light of God's heaven in our land? Yes, it may be. But not until the care of health becomes again, as it was then, a part of religion; and disease and imperfection are seen by all to be displeasing to Him who made all things good. Not until the law-giver feels, as he did then, his responsibility as the protector of the health of the people. Not until offences against public health are punished as they were then, as certainly and as vigorously as offences against private property.

Is it to be wondered at that this pure-blooded, healthful nation swept over the fields of fair Palestine almost without opposition from the sensuous, enervated and diseased inhabitants of the land? That Sihon, king of the Amorites and Og, the king of Bashan, found armies and incantations alike powerless to stay its victorious march? That it founded there a dynasty whose power was felt from the Nile to the Euphrates, and accumulated stores of wealth which made its capital the wonder of the world for beauty and magnificence?

And what a commentary have we on the far reaching effects of wise sanitary legislation in the types of that historic race, no longer a nation, as we see them to-day, forming an essential and an important element in every nationality on the face of the globe. In spite of centuries of oppression, degradation, persecution, martyrdom, ever coming to the surface with renewed vigor; their men,

sound in body and keen in intellect, of great commercial ability and commanding statesmanship; their women, full of that passionate self-devotion which marks true womanhood, cheerful because healthful, not shirking the burdens of life, fond sisters, irreproachable wives, wise, as well as loving mothers—their children growing up as “young olive plants around their tables,” and every man “his quiver full of them.”

If we turn now from the most devout to the most powerful and the most intellectual of the nations of antiquity, do we find the public health any less a matter of religious observance or of legislative oversight? Far up on that hillside, glittering with polished marbles, see the temple of Hygeia, “the sweet, smiling goddess of health,” nestling under the shadow of the loftier fane of Esculapius, her fabled father, unless, indeed, her lovely image stands side by side with his severer form in the same noble shrine; or, as on the Acropolis, sharing the honors of the goddess of wisdom herself, who disdained not to be called Minerva-Hygeia. One of the fairest conceptions of an age which combined, to an exceptional degree, poetry of thought and diction with soundness of judgment, owing to the very fact that it appreciated so much more thoroughly than any other (except the Mosaic), the absolute necessity of corporeal sanity to the possession of mental sanity,—all the wonderful powers of poets, sages and artists were lavished in giving expression to her ideal, as the divinity whose special care should be the bestowment and maintenance of physical health. The embodiment must needs have been feminine, because the mother, the nurse, the wife, have for their special function, that daily ministry to the bodily welfare and necessities of offspring and of husband, that constant presence in and care of home, which are the two essentials of health in the family and in the individual. She must needs be youthful, as presenting ever to the mind of the entranced beholder that period of life when a blood unvitiated by vice or excess courses through a frame unmarred by violence or exposure, and colors a cheek unstained by sin. Purity must look forth from her eyes and truth sit enthroned on her brow; for unbridled passion and soul-torturing deceit are equally inimical to the preservation of perfect health. Her form must be lithe, vigorous and well nourished, but not redundant, as showing her adorers that neither asceticism on the one hand, nor gluttony and voluptuousness on the other, are

allowable in her worship; cheerfulness must radiate from her every feature, since gloom and despondency are the recognized foes of sanity, whether of body or mind; and over all, pervading expression of feature and pose of limb, must be that indescribable charm of gentleness, as teaching her votaries that in the mutual interchange of kindly sentiment and act they should greatly promote the common health and common weal. And so has the lovely inspiration come down to us, immortalized by the sculptor's art, a frank and joyous maiden full of tender grace, robed in chaste and flowing vestment.

The author of New England's Centennial Ode, has drawn so true a picture of her, under another name, that, *mutato nomine*, I cannot forbear quoting his mellifluous lines:—

“ Who cometh over the hills,
 Her garments with morning sweet,
 The dance of a thousand rills
 Making music before her feet?
 Her presence freshens the air,
 Sunshine steals light from her face,
 The leaden footsteps of care
 Leap to the tune of her pace,
 Fairness of all that is fair,
 Grace at the heart of all grace!
 Sweet'ner of hut and of hall,
 Bringer of life out of naught,
Hygeia, oh, fairest of all
 The daughters of Time and Thought.”

And who are the worshippers of this charming maiden-divinity? Enthusiastic youth alone or thoughtless girls? Nay, prominent before her shrine see the grave *censors*, men full of years, of ripe experience and vast authority. Into such hands is the health of the people entrusted, and so do they appreciate the sacredness of their great trust. How they discharged their duties, witness the twenty aqueducts, bringing water of perfect purity to Rome, some of them for more than sixty miles, through rocks and mountains, over gorges and valleys, on magnificent arches over one hundred feet in air, and supplying to each inhabitant, man, woman and child, three hundred and twenty-two gallons per day. Witness the labyrinth of sewers over which the ancient city hung, as if suspended, while loaded wains might drive, or vessels sail beneath her palaces. A proud man was Frontinus, the Consul of the Waters.

Two lictors bore their fasces before him when he went without the walls, and a long retinue, architects, slaves and secretaries accompanied and followed after.

But a change comes o'er the spirit of our dream. The statue of the "sweet, smiling goddess" is hurled from its pedestal, with its companion deities, creations of mere human imagining. A great religious revolution is followed by a fearful political convulsion, and this, in turn, by a wave of barbaric invasion, until finally, the civilized world is, in its religious aspect, overshadowed by the gloomy pall of a monasticism which, too often, borrowed the evil and rejected the good of the faiths which it had supplanted, and which it, in its political aspect, dashed into ten thousand fragments by the battle axe of feudalism. No room now for State Boards of Health. Priestcraft forbids—for what are these vile bodies but tools of the devil for working the damnation of souls. The sooner they rot the better. Statecraft forbids—for how is concert of action for the public weal possible where every man's hand is against his neighbor, and every mile-square principality is an independent sovereignty, observing at best an armed neutrality with all around it. And what do we find to be the result? Pestilence after pestilence stalks, unrebuked, through the helpless, horror-stricken land. The black death piles its putrid monuments high in the streets, claiming, during a single century, twenty-five million victims—the plague fills all the cities of fair Italy with loathsomeness and mourning; whole villages are, not decimated—that were a trifle,—but actually depopulated by the deadly breath of the pest; hamlets left solitary for long years,—given over to the wolf, the owl and the bat. Two million lepers taint the air and horrify the sight in France alone at a single period, and not less than nineteen million are scattered throughout Europe. On the high seas more brave men die of scurvy than by battle, shipwreck, and all the calamities of sea-life together. One-tenth of mankind perish in the horrid embrace of small pox, and as many more bear its disfigurements as long as they live. In England alone four hundred thousand deaths a year are due to this dread disease.

But, again a change. The fetters of religious despotism are broken; manhood reasserts its claims; the body is once more seen to be worthy of reverence, as the masterpiece of its Creator and the temple of his Spirit; shattered nationalities are cemented

together once more; concert of action is again possible; sanitary science again presses her claims; sanitary legislation is again ventured upon; until, at last, every country in Europe has its State Board of Health under one form or another, and one name or another. Under this new and happier order, the plague has ceased to be a terror, widespread epidemics are constantly becoming less frequent and less destructive, and the average human life has been actually doubled in duration. So that, whereas, even as late as the fifteenth century, the mean length of life was twenty years in the kingdom of Great Britain, it is now forty years. Is it any wonder that with these twenty added years of adult productive life, she has grown rich in a rapidly increasing ratio?

But it may be said, "Oh, of course we admit the value of sanitary science and hygienic precautions, but what has that to do with a State Board of Health? We have our city Board of Health which looks after our interests in this respect; other cities have theirs, even villages may have, there is no law to prevent them; why saddle ourselves with an additional expense and cumbrous machinery, when we have practically all that we need?"

A very simple answer to this question might be found in the fact that the most earnest mover in the effort to obtain the establishment of such a board in our own state, has been the Board of Health of the city of Philadelphia. Those who are engaged in the arduous task, the too often thankless and always unremunerative task, of caring for the health of a great city, know only too well their weakness in the eyes of municipal law. They crave the support, the assistance, the advice, of a body which looks to the highest power in the state for its existence and its authority. So far from regarding such an advance in sanitary legislation with jealousy or suspicion, they earnestly desire it, to enable them to accomplish needed reforms and to stem abuses which ignorance, prejudice and self-interest have made too strong for them.

But to answer the objection more in detail—It is desirable to have such a body in the state in order to organize local effort, and make acquired information available. The isolated sanitarians and local health boards, scattered here and there throughout the Commonwealth, are maintaining an unequal warfare against the common foe. However great their individual abilities, however earnest their aims, however unselfish and heroic their devotion, they are,

after all, but guerillas and half-drilled militia, too often dissipating their strength and wasting their ammunition in misguided and even antagonistic movements. A central, supervisory power and common head, would convert this chaotic body of stragglers into a compact, thoroughly trained, intelligently directed army, acting in harmony throughout the entire state, equipped with all the means of defence that modern science can furnish, and able to utilize the valuable information collected in every corner of its vast domain.

In the second place, humiliating as it may seem to a citizen to acknowledge the fact, the large majority of the inhabitants of the state do not live in cities or even in villages. They are agriculturists, living on their own domains. But their lives and health are as deserving of watchful care on the part of the authorities as though they dwelt cramped up between brick walls; and, moreover, they are so intimately connected with inhabitants of cities as food-producers, that it is greatly to the interest of the latter that they should at least provide that food free from all taint of contagion or disease. That it is not so, in many instances, is notorious. Numerous cases of typhoid fever have been traced to milk brought from dairies which have been exposed to infection, or which has been adulterated with polluted water. This class of the community, leading isolated lives away from the centres of information, are often surprisingly ignorant of the simplest laws of health. Hence arises the third function of the State Board, that of an instructor. This instruction it must convey to the adult population through intelligent agents, carefully selected from every township throughout the state, and by means of popular tracts upon health matters; and to the child, by placing elementary manuals of hygiene in all the public schools. In the fourth place, the rivers and streams of the state, which should be a source of health and wealth to the whole people, are often so polluted by the selfish misuse of a single small community as to prove only carriers of disease and contagion. It is for a State Board of Health carefully to supervise all streams of potable water, especially those thus used by large cities, and to see to it that no mere monied interest shall be allowed to jeopardize the lives of thousands.

Fifthly, six million acres of land throughout this immense empire are still clothed with forests. Which of these forests shall be preserved as equalizers of rain-fall, or to ward off the fury of

devastating gales, or the spread of deadly miasm, and which shall be removed to allow the ground which they cover to be reclaimed for agricultural purposes? These problems are too serious and too complex to be left to mere individual judgment, caprice or self-interest to solve.

In the sixth place, swamp lands exist in various localities. Are they a source of febrile disease among those whose habitations are near them? If so, can they be drained, and made sources of revenue, and what are the proper steps to take to accomplish this result? This is a question for a state organization alone to decide.

A new town is to be laid out, or a great public building, which will be the home of hundreds, is to be constructed. Advice is needed, that a healthy location may be selected, and all necessary preliminary arrangements for drainage, sewerage, and ventilation may be made at the outset, and thus the expenditure of thousands of dollars in subsequently remedying defects of plan and erection be avoided.

Finally, although I by no means wish to be understood as claiming that this rapid summary exhausts the subject, however much it may have exhausted your patience, there are many excellent laws on the statute book, protecting the public health in various directions, as in regard to adulterations both of food and medicines, transportation of passengers and of live stock, sale of explosives and burning fluids, sale of poisons, and so on, which are, practically, dead letters. It is for the State Board of Health to acquaint the proper authorities with their duties and powers in respect to the enforcement of these acts, to galvanize these dead laws into life and activity. Allow me briefly to show in what ways the law now before the legislature, approved by the State Medical Society at its last meeting, aims to accomplish those objects.

I claim, first, that its membership is such as to ensure efficient and intelligent action in every direction which I have indicated as demanded by the interests of the health of the people of the entire state. Section I reads as follows:

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania in General Assembly met, and it is hereby enacted by the authority of the same, That the Governor, with the advice and consent of the Senate, shall, as soon as possible after the passage of this act, appoint six persons, five of whom

shall be physicians, in the State, of good standing and not less than ten years' professional experience, and one of whom shall be a civil engineer of not less than ten years' professional experience, who, together with the Secretary of Internal affairs, the Superintendent of Public Instruction, and the President of the Board of Health of the City of Philadelphia, shall constitute a board of health for the State, which board shall be denominated the "State Board of Health of Pennsylvania."

Its majority, therefore, is made up of physicians, as that of every such board must be, from the singular fact that the very body of men who are most interested, from a selfish point of view, in having the community continue in a chronic state of ill health, is the only one which devotes its energies with any zeal or perseverance to the improvement of the public health. This is of course partially to be explained by the fact that no other class of men is brought so directly face to face with the causes of preventable disease and the misery which such disease entails. But this body can never be composed entirely from that profession, as the Massachusetts board might be for instance, inasmuch as the composition of the latter is not specified. One of its members is to be a civil-engineer of ripe experience. Hence, all problems brought before the board, in regard to drainage and sewerage, which are often difficult in their nature, and entirely beyond the province of medical men to decide, will be brought at once to a competent expert, whose connection with the Board will naturally lead him to especial study of such points in his own profession as have a bearing upon questions of this nature. Thus, much valuable time may be saved which would otherwise be consumed in seeking outside advice, and many unwise experiments be avoided. Another member is to be the Secretary of Internal Affairs of the Commonwealth, and a third the Superintendent of Public Instruction. The facilities of these two functionaries, both for obtaining and diffusing information throughout every nook and corner, every village and hamlet, of this wide domain, are very great, while the latter is the only one who has the means of ascertaining, and the ability to alleviate, the sufferings of children growing out of unhygienic conditions in our public schools, as well as the power and opportunity of placing within their reach instruction on such elementary principles of the care of health as will enable them to train up healthy families in

healthful homes, when they take upon themselves the duties of citizenship. Finally, the President of the Board of Health of the City of Philadelphia is also to be a member of this Board. His presence will afford the Board information at first hand, and with the least possible delay, of fluctuations in health of the largest city and only seaport of the State, thus giving warning of threatened invasion of disease from foreign ports, and will at the same time acquaint the city authorities of any risk of infection traveling from the interior. Especially is it important as harmonizing, in the most complete manner, the working of the Central Advisory Board with all the local, more strictly executive boards, ensuring the removal of every possibility of friction or jealousy between them, as well as the promotion of the ready interchange of information of importance to the public health, throughout every portion of the State. So long as he is on it, no action is likely to be taken by the Board, however innocently, which could in any way conflict with the interests or dignity of the Philadelphia Board or of that of any other city. The mutual relations and reciprocal responsibilities of these various bodies are thus summarized in Sections 7 and 8 :

“SECTION 7. It shall be the duty of all health officers and boards of health in the State, to communicate to said State Board of Health copies of all their reports and publications, also such sanitary information as may be useful, and said Board shall promptly cause all proper information in its possession to be sent to the local health authorities of any city, village, or town in the State which may request the same, and shall add thereto such useful suggestions as the experience of said Board may supply.”

“SECTION 8. It shall be the duty of the State Board to give all information that may be reasonably requested, concerning any threatened danger to the public health, to the health officer of the port of Philadelphia, quarantine physician and all other sanitary authorities in the State, who shall give the like information to said Board ; and said Board and said officer, said quarantine physician and said sanitary authorities, shall, so far as legal and practicable, co-operate together to prevent the spread of disease and for the protection of life and the promotion of health within the sphere of their respective duties.

I am confident, however, that no more convincing argument

could be offered to the intelligent audience which I have the honor to address, in support of the urgent necessity for such an organization, than the simple enumeration of its duties, as laid down in Section 5, which reads as follows:—

“SECTION 5. The State Board of Health shall have the general supervision of the interests of the health and life of the citizens of this State. They shall especially study the vital statistics of this State, and endeavor to make intelligent and profitable use of the collected records of deaths and of sickness among the people; they shall make sanitary investigations and inquiries respecting the causes of disease, and especially of epidemics; the causes of mortality, and the effects of localities, employments, conditions, ingesta, habits and circumstances on the health of the people. They shall, when required by the governor or the legislature, and at such other times as they deem it best, institute inspections of public institutions throughout the State, and advise officers of the State, county, or local government, in regard to the location, drainage, water supply, disposal of excreta, heating and ventilation of such public institutions or buildings. They shall from time to time recommend standard works on the subject of hygiene for the use of the schools of the State.”

In order that the jealousy of unfaithful officials, or incompetent architects and engineers may not interpose insuperable obstacles to the carrying out of such of these provisions as relate to public institutions and places of resort, Section 9 makes it “the duty of all boards, officers and agents having the control, charge or custody of any public structure, work, ground or erection, or of any plan, description, outlines, drawings or charts thereof, or relating thereto, made, kept, or controlled under any public authority, to permit and facilitate the examination and inspection, and the making of copies of the same by any officer or person by said Board authorized; and the members of said Board and such other officer or person as may at any time be by said Board authorized, may, without fee or hindrance, enter, examine, and survey all grounds, erections, vehicles, structures, apartments, buildings and places.” While by a portion of Section 7, the “Board is authorized to require reports and information (at such times, and of such facts, and generally of such nature and extent, relating to the safety of life and promotion of health, as its by-laws or rules may provide) from all

public dispensaries, hospitals, asylums, infirmaries, prisons and schools, and from the managers, principals and officers thereof, and from all other public institutions, their officers and managers, and from the proprietors, managers, lessees and occupants of all places of public resort in the State; but" with the proviso that "such reports and information shall only be required concerning matters or particulars in respect of which it may in its opinion need information for the proper discharge of its duties. Said Board shall, when requested by public authorities, or when they deem it best, advise officers of the State, county, or local government in regard to sanitary drainage, and the location, drainage, ventilation and sanitary provisions of any public institution, building, or public place."

The expenditures of the Board are expressly limited to \$5,000 *per annum*, and the salary of its secretary to \$3,000. Now when it is remembered that the average adult human life is worth \$2,000 to the State (many an able-bodied negro having been purchased at a higher figure in the *ante bellum* days), it will be evident that if the Board succeeds in saving only four such lives annually, it will pay for itself. The Massachusetts Board, during the last five years of its existence, has expended, independently of the salary of its secretary, \$21,180.64, a little more than \$4,000 a year. In return for this, it is estimated by the Hon. Mr. Plunkett, the eminent financier and economist, that in single villages the saving in consequence of improved health conditions, due to the efforts of the Board, has exceeded all its expenditures for the entire State. The Michigan Board, during the past three years, has expended, independently of the salary of its secretary, \$5,414.13, about \$1,800 yearly. It has been estimated that the saving to the State, in consequence of its existence, has amounted to a sufficient sum to build the new State Capitol, and leave a balance in the treasury to its credit of half as much more.

General Sanitary Legislation in England, beyond a few scattering enactments for particular local purposes, goes no further back than the Public Health Act of 1848. But during this interval of thirty years, so strong has been the impression made upon the public mind of the benefits resulting from the labors of its thoroughly organized health service, that in the year 1873, the loans authorized by the Local Government Board and the Secretary of

State, for the execution of sanitary improvements amounted to £980,153, or five million dollars.

The first State Board of Health in this country was established by the enlightened State of Massachusetts in 1869. During the following years, eight states: viz., Alabama, California, Georgia, Maryland, Michigan, Minnesota, Virginia and Wisconsin, cautiously followed her example; but by the expiration of that time, so valuable were the results already obtained in that state and in Michigan (which was but three years later in organizing its Health Bureau), in the diminution of disease and mortality and the consequent gain to the wealth-producing power of the people, so important and useful to the statistician, the economist and the legislator, was the information collected by their agents and published in their reports, that during the following year no less than eight more states wheeled into line, adding to the list Colorado, Illinois, Mississippi, New Jersey, North Carolina, Tennessee, and Louisiana.

The youngest born, as well as the oldest, of the sisterhood of states, have, therefore, seen the wisdom of adorning their statute book with such enactments, at once enlightened, sagacious and humane. Let Pennsylvania see to it that she does not lag behind until she loses her reputation as the home of an intelligent people, alive to the issues of the day and comprehending the necessities of an advancing civilization.

BENJAMIN LEE, A. M., M. D.

THE RELATION OF THE MOSAIC COSMOGONY TO SCIENCE.*

THERE is a spirit of inquiry abroad in the land, that finds nothing too sacred for investigation, and nothing too long accepted to be questioned. By delving in musty records, it has brought to light evidence which has often resulted in reversing popular estimates of the great dead, and done justice to those upon whose heads causeless obloquy had been heaped.

*Read before the New York Academy of Science, February 11th, 1878.

He who would devote himself to such researches, should cultivate a judicial temper, and hold himself ready to lay aside old opinions, however cherished, and to accept new ones, however contrary to previous beliefs, if the evidence so requires. If this be true in matters of merely physical or historical research, how much more in those about which personal interests and living passions centre? One of these questions I propose to consider in some of its bearings this evening. The pursuit of scientific truth, Prof. Huxley tells us, tends eminently to cultivate that judicial frame of mind which allows no prejudice or personal interests to sway it, but rises into the calm regions of truth, and bases its verdict solely upon the evidence. ' I think myself happy, therefore, in being this evening permitted to address those whose studies, tastes and inclinations tend to fit them to hear impartially what may be offered for their consideration.

That which I propose to examine, is the Mosaic Cosmogony in its Relations to Science. It is found, as all know, in the first two chapters of Genesis, and may be divided into two parts, the first relating to matters preceding the creation of man, the second to matters which came after that event. As the subject is far too large to be treated in an evening, I shall confine myself to the first part. Before going farther, I would say that I have no controversy with those who think some more ancient person than Moses wrote this account. Whether he did, or did not, is unimportant so far as the present discussion is concerned. For convenience, and as expressing my belief that Moses either wrote it, or incorporated it into his history, I shall speak of it as the Mosaic Account.

The first part of this narrative—the part preceding man—is found in the first twenty-seven verses of the opening chapter of Genesis. A cursory examination will suffice to show that it contains two distinct classes of statements, one pertaining to certain acts of God, as " God saw," and " God said ;" the other, pertaining to purely physical matters, as: *e. g.*, " the earth was without form," or, " darkness was upon the deep," or, " the waters were gathered unto one place." The former are outside of the domain of science, their consideration would be inappropriate here. The latter are strictly within the sphere of science, both as to the statements themselves and as to their order of arrangement. It is not necessary to tell me what are the opinions

which many eminent scientists hold in regard to this narrative, for I am well aware that those who claim for themselves, above all others, this honorable name, are almost unanimous in the belief that the story of creation in Genesis, whatever its value or character in other respects, is not a record of actual events; or, if it states truths, that their chronological arrangement is hopelessly wrong.

It may be presumptuous, in the eyes of the non-scientific world, for an individual like myself to question such men, but no one imbued with the spirit of scientific research would ask me to do otherwise.

This account of the creation, as recorded by Moses, sustains one of three relations to modern science. Its statements are of such a character that their truth or falsehood is a matter of indifference; or, secondly, its statements contradict facts which, unknown at the time it was written, have since been discovered; or, thirdly, its statements are in accordance with all the facts.

It will at once occur to you that the only satisfactory mode of determining which of these is the true relation of that story to science, is to compare its statements, one after the other, carefully and minutely with the facts of our earth's history. Those who deem it a fable must feel satisfied with such a test, since that would most readily make manifest its errors, while those who, for reasons satisfactory to themselves, accept it as true, must admit that the more we know of the facts of the ante-human world, the better able we shall be to see their agreement with what Moses wrote. The only statements in Geology and Astronomy, pertaining to our earth's early history, which we are at liberty to regard as facts, are those as to which all, or at least nearly all, scientists are agreed. It is with these only that I propose this evening to collate the Mosaic record.

I regret exceedingly that Huxley, or Tyndall, or Dr. Draper, or some other admitted authority in physical science, among those who have called this story a myth, has not aided us in forming a true estimate of its character, by clearly and distinctly setting forth, in simple language, their own version of the matter, placing each event in its proper order relative to the others. This was earnestly requested of Prof. Huxley, through the columns of the *N. Y. Tribune*, before he gave his lectures in New York. From his refusal

to comply with what seemed a reasonable request, I am obliged to present such a statement myself. It lacks the weight of their great authority, but I deem it fortunate that I address those who are familiar with the facts of which I shall speak, and to whose friendly criticisms I can trust to set me right if I err, either as to the facts themselves, or the order of their occurrence.

The following propositions are so generally admitted, that few who have considered the evidence upon which they are based, will refuse to assent to them:

First. The universe was not always as it is. It had a beginning in the Great First Cause.

Second. The earth was once a part of the nebulous mass from which the solar system was evolved, and,

Third. While it remained an integral part, it had no individuality, and, of course, no form, nor shape.

Fourth. Light is a mode of motion, and, consequently, before motion was imparted, darkness prevailed.

Fifth. Motion, in the last analysis, is due to the same source as matter: viz., the Great First Cause.

Sixth. At the earliest moment of the existence of matter, so far as science has any knowledge, it was not a solid, but it was a mobile substance, or, in other words, a fluid.

Seventh. The first visible effect following the impartation of motion, was the production of light.

Eighth. But it was not such light as we now enjoy. It was faint and feeble, identical in quality with that which now is emitted by true *nebulæ*. This, when examined through a spectroscope, presents three very narrow bright lines in the blue and green, and all others are missing. As cosmic condensation went on, the light improved in wealth of color until, as the nebulous matter passed from a gaseous to a liquid condition, and our globe had become a mass of melted lava—when this point had been reached—the light assumed all its present properties, and was good for all its present purposes.

Ninth. This perfecting of the light marks an important advance in the development of our planet. It was attained while the earth was yet self-luminous, and, consequently, before day and night began their alternations. The world had long turned upon its axis, but being, like the sun, self-luminous, there was no darkness upon it and, of course, no division of time into day and night.

Tenth. The earth continued to cool, and at length after many centuries reaching a temperature below $1,000^{\circ}$ F., ceased to be luminous. Then, for the first time, one side was illuminated as now by the sun, while the other was plunged in darkness. The earth itself formed the division between the two, and from this point day and night began their alternation.

Eleventh. By this reduction of temperature, oxygen and hydrogen were permitted to unite as water, not yet a fluid but covering the earth with dense vapor, whose extent may be imagined when we recollect that it contained the present oceans. It is hardly necessary to add that such a covering excluded the solar rays. The next great stage of development was the deposition of the water and the admission of light, and for this was needed a temperature not much above the present. Life could then be possible, unless prevented by some other conditions.

Twelfth. The descent of such a body of water as now fills the oceans, caused, while it continued, the most terrific uproar. There was not merely the falling of the waters of ten million Niagaras flung back again as steam, but the most violent earthquakes and electrical disturbance.

Thirteenth. The close of this period was marked by an open space, above which, as now, floated the clouds, and through which appeared the sun, moon and stars, while beneath it the waters of present seas rolled in one vast shoreless ocean.

Fourteenth. Although the atmosphere was clear enough for optical purposes, yet it was loaded with carbonic acid to a degree that rendered it unfit for its future inhabitants. No life, either vegetable or animal, except of the lowest orders, was then possible.

Fifteenth. The waters at first covered the land as a rind covers an orange.

Sixteenth. It is not known how long this condition continued; but towards the end of the Archæan time the continents began to appear. They slowly increased in area until, in the Tertiary, they attained their present outlines and surface arrangements.

Seventeenth. Sea-weeds, lycopods, equiseta, ferns, lepidodendra, cycads, pines, cypresses and other plants covered the land, or filled the waters from the Archæan time to the Cretaceous period, but among them were only the inferior orders. All were either spore-bearing or naked-seeded. In the Cretaceous, new orders were ad-

ded. The fossils henceforth present us with the remains of plants yielding true seeds, and trees bearing fruit which enclosed the seed, or, in the language of botany, angiosperms and palms. The appearance of these was the great event of that period.

Eighteenth. Such a flora, beginning in the Cretaceous, spread more widely, and became more numerous during the Tertiary, in the latter part of which they became, as now, the predominant vegetation.

Nineteenth. It is an interesting fact that the continents were completed, and this more advanced vegetation became dominant in the same geological period.

Twentieth. After this, a remarkable climatic change occurred. During the time of its continuance, known to geologists as the Glacial Epoch, intense cold took the place of the previous warmth. As to the cause of this change, scientists differ very widely. In a paper which I read before this society last winter, I gave the reasons which had induced in my own mind the belief that this period of cold was due to the combined effect of the increased diathermancy of the atmosphere, caused by the elimination of carbonic acid, and of circumpolar uplifts of the earth's crust, and that these last, under solar and lunar attraction, had caused the earth to tilt from a position in which its axis was parallel to the moon's, to its present inclination of $23\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$. As the moon's axis is now inclined $1\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ to the ecliptic, I conclude that the increase of obliquity was 22° . However this may be, it is certain that nothing approaching our present zones of climate is indicated by the fossils of the Paleozoic, Mesozoic or earlier Tertiary, while *after* the Glacial Epoch evidence of such zones abounds.

For the present then I shall pass over the Glacial Epoch and only note, in conclusion, the great biological fact that every *living* species of fish, bird, reptile and mammal made its appearance subsequently to that time, or as Professor Dana puts it, "every fish, bird, reptile and mammal of the Tertiary is now extinct," and with this I end my summary of our earth's early history. It is but an outline, but is it true, so far as it goes? Some perhaps may question the infinite existence of matter, choosing to regard it as eternal. These, however, will be but few. Others may raise the question whether matter existed prior to motion; whether it did or not, one thing is certain, light did not precede matter, and that, for present purposes, is all that need be admitted.

This much for the record as read in the rocks and sky. We turn now to that other record written on parchment nearly 4,000 years ago, and comparing its statements with the twenty propositions which have been enumerated, propose to test their quality.

Before doing this, it will be well to lay down certain principles for our guidance, certain rules of evidence which our good sense will approve.

As we are now inquiring as to the truth of this account, *all questions relating to other parts of the Bible are to be ruled out.* These statements are true or false in themselves, even were the remainder of the Bible blotted out of existence. Nor is there any question here as to whether there is a personal God, or whether he has made and given man a revelation, or whether miracles are possible. All these, interesting and important as they may be, are utterly irrelevant. Are the statements true in these few verses?—is all that we are now considering.

The account is responsible for its own words, and for nothing else. This is a principle so evidently just, that you may almost wonder why I mention it, but a close adherence to it will obviate most of the objections which have been urged against this narrative. I shall hold to it with the utmost possible closeness; as close as an astronomer would to a photograph of the late transit. It means what it says, is what I shall insist upon.

It will be well to mention some things popularly attributed to this account but which are not there.

We are told that these events occurred about 6,000 years ago, and on this physical falsehood have been based arguments against its character. The account nowhere gives any date. As far as that goes, the creation may have been 6,000,000 or 6,000,000,000 years ago.

It does not tell us the duration of the creative process, except so far as to let us know that it was not instantaneous, since it occupied a time in which were six days, on each of which a stage of progress was pronounced completed.

It does not say how much, or how little, time elapsed between any two events.

It does not speak of any vegetation except seed-yielding herbage and trees whose fruit encloses the seed.

It does not deny the existence of species coming down from more remote periods.

It does not deny that animal life preceded the vegetation of which it speaks.

Thus I might go on and speak of many other things charged to this narrative, but which its own words do not sustain. These must suffice.

Turning now to the narrative itself, we note in the first verse a clear and emphatic statement that the heavens and earth had a beginning, and that they were created by the Great First Cause, whom Moses styles Elohim, and we, in English, God.

In a few words, the writer describes our earth's condition. It was without form and void, a description in exact harmony with its once nebulous state. Hence, if science be a reliable witness, this clause is true. Reading on, we notice that before Moses says motion was imparted, we are told that darkness was upon the face of the abyss. If Moses errs here, it is a serious error, carrying with it the correlation of forces, for, according to that grand law, light cannot precede motion. In the next clause, we read that the same Power that created the heavens and earth imparted motion to the fluid mass. Here is agreement with our highest philosophy. But you will say, the text has it "upon the face of the waters." On turning to my Lexicon, I find that the Hebrew word for waters is literally "that which flows." It is the exact analogue of our word fluid. It describes something not solid, something moving easily on itself. In perfect applicability and philosophical fitness the Mosaic term, in this instance, far exceeds our own. Our word, nebula, means a mist, a vapor, or a cloud, is the effort of one who had but little knowledge of the constitution of these bodies, and in his ignorance was forced to give them a name from appearances only, while the Hebrew word is such a name as one might give who thoroughly knew what a nebula really was.

Motion having thus been imparted, Moses, or whoever is the responsible author of this account, immediately names one of its most important effects, and the first visible one. There was Light.

Had a scientist of fifty years ago been writing this account from the standpoint of his most advanced knowledge, he would not have said the light was good, until God had divided between the light and the darkness. Everybody then thought that in some way these were mingled and needed to be separated. But we have already seen that the light became good: *i. e.*, endowed with all its

present powers, long before our non-luminous earth divided between the light and the darkness. And, as if to fix his meaning, the writer adds that the light was called day, and the darkness was called night. The writer says, too, that this was the first day; and certainly there could have been no such alternation; no day in our common mode of speaking, before the earth divided between the solar rays upon the one side, and the darkness upon the other.

In the next verses, the narrator still follows that which we have seen to be the scientific order, for the next stage of progress was, he says, the causing *to be an open expanse* between the waters, as now, those above it in the clouds separating from those below it in the seas. Here I pause a moment to speak of that word which I have rendered "expanse," but which our English Bible, following the Septuagint, calls a firmament. The word in the original is *Rakiah*, from *Rak-a* or its cognate *Rak-kak*, the most misused word in the translation. From a personal and conscientious examination of every text in the Bible where this word, or any of its cognates, occurs, I am bold to say that the idea of solidity does not in any single case enter into it. I am well aware that in this I am opposed by many, but I appeal to the places where these words occur. It denotes first, and radically, the hammering thin of metals, a process well indicated by the sound of the word itself, *rak-ah*, or *rak-ak*; then, in general, any thinning out with violence and noise. Now what better word in any language than this, to describe the process as science has made it known? There was the dense vapor hundreds of miles in thickness, to be reduced to the present thin and transparent atmosphere, and there were the inconceivable violence and uproar attending the process.

The student of this account will note here an omission that has so perplexed translators that, to remove what they thought a difficulty, some of them have interpolated a sentence. The Septuagint reads that this work was also pronounced good, but in the Hebrew, there is no such verdict. The fact which Geology and Chemistry have of late established, and which I have pointed out: viz., that the atmosphere was then unfit for life, vindicates the minute accuracy of the author of this account. The phenomena which marked the close of this epoch were the transparency of the atmosphere and the visibility of the heavens. Moses states, as the last fact in reference to it, that this expanse was called Heaven.

We now pass to another stage, and here again we observe the identity of the account with the story of the world, as Geology has made it known. The dry land began to emerge. Evidently it had been under water. The waters were gathered into one place,—a remarkable statement to come from one who, living either in Egypt or Palestine, knew only of separate bodies of water and nothing of their real connection. We now know that the oceans are all one. How long the process of elevation, Moses gives no indication, but at last it came to an end, and physical geography admits that the present arrangement is “good.” Directly after this, we read of vegetation. The language is exact and peculiar. We are told that the earth produced herbs yielding seed, and trees whose seed is inside of the fruit. No other kinds are mentioned,* and when we turn to the geological record, we find such a flora appeared first in the Cretaceous. The account says that the fiat was obeyed; *i. e.*, the earth did bring forth such a flora; and then in the next verse, we are told, with apparent tautology, that the earth brought forth seed-yielding herbage, and trees with seeds enclosed in fruits, *i. e.*, angiosperms and palms, until they seem to have culminated and are pronounced good. The geological record makes this plain, for it tells us that, although these kinds appeared first in the Cretaceous, they increased in variety and number in the early Tertiary, and in the latter part became the dominant vegetation. Geology tells us that this event and the completion of the continents occurred in the Pliocene, and it is a matter for serious thought that the writer of this account also places both in one period. Geology and Genesis here also agree.

I have thus collated the two records, as far as scientists agree among themselves as to our world’s history. I would willingly go into the remaining periods, but the limits of a paper and of your patience forbid. I will now tabulate the statements in these thirteen verses and ask you, which of them science can deny without self-destruction.

1. God the Creator of all.
2. The earth was once without form and void.

* * This may be questioned by some, for our Bibles say, “the earth brought forth grass, the herb yielding seed,” etc. Literally it reads, “the earth sprouted sprouts (of what?) the herb yielding seed and the tree yielding fruit,” etc. It makes no difference in the present argument, if we adhere to our common version.

3. Before motion, darkness covered the deep.
4. God the origin of motion.
5. Light subsequent to motion.
6. Light "good" before day and night began.
7. A division between the light and the darkness.
8. And then the first day.
9. An expanse made dividing the waters above it from those below it.
10. The condition not yet fit for the use of higher orders. Not "good."
11. The present dry land was under water.
12. The seas and oceans are really one.
13. Their arrangement is good.
14. The earth produced herbs yielding seed, and fruit trees whose seed was inside of their fruit.
15. This was the culmination of vegetation; *i. e.* it was good.
16. These two completions: *viz.*, that of the dry land and that of vegetation, were in one period. I may add that this flora, according to Moses, preceded some great change which had to do with seasons, and that it also preceded, not *all* life, but all living species of water vertebrates, such as whales and other sea monsters, all living species of fowl, all living species of cattle, beasts and other brute vertebrates and man. I need tell no geologist how exactly this accords with the reading of the fossils.

The most remarkable thing by far about this account is not the character of its statements, but the truly scientific order in which they are arranged. Possibly, some profound thinker, meditating upon the wonders of the world about him, might have dreamed of a chaos, of an incumbent darkness, of a world beneath waters, and of some other of the matters here stated, although it is inconceivable that he alone of all writers should have uttered no falsehood, and put in the account no absurdities. But that he should have uttered even the fourteen propositions which I have enumerated, each exactly in its proper order, surpasses the wildest imagination.

It will be observed that the narrative readily divides itself into three divisions, each based in the nature of things, and hence strictly philosophical in character.

The first includes matter, motion and light, and extends to the

beginning of day and night. Nothing more has since been done to increase or diminish the first two, or to affect the third.

The second division begins when the reduced temperature permitted water to exist as vapor: *i. e.* at about 1,000° Fahrenheit, and continued until the water had been reduced to its present condition, filling the seas and floating in the clouds, but with a clear open atmosphere between. Nothing more has since been done in that direction.

The third division begins with the land under water. It includes the full development of the land and the culmination of vegetable life in the highest and best orders, and ends when these were pronounced good.

What then is the relation of the Mosaic Cosmogony to Science? It is not that of child to parent, for it antedates science by thousands of years. Nor is it that of parent to child, for science hitherto has derived nothing from it. The relation is that of brotherhood: every lineament shows their common origin. A question then arises of deep interest to every student of nature. Is it possible that a series of absolutely true statements as to the early history of our globe could be made, which shall not afford at least suggestions and clues which may lead to unexpected discoveries?

There was a time, not very distant, when to speak of the Bible as affording a clue to the history or geography of the East brought a smile of derision upon the face of the Scientists of that day, but experience has proved that no book is so good a guide. Possibly the time is not distant when some future writer shall record a like change of opinion as to this ancient record of our world's most ancient history.

It is not my purpose to make this a complete discussion of this narrative. Time forbids, but you would perhaps be justified in complaining if I said nothing of "the days," since their solution is to most the only serious problem in the account. How erroneous this belief you have seen.

There are two theories, each of which at the present day has numerous advocates.

The first supposes that six days before Adam, our solar system, if not the universe, existed only in God's decrees, and that during six common consecutive days he created and made all now existing.

The second is held by those who, overwhelmed by the diffi-

culties of such a theory and the infinite number of miracles needed by it, feel the necessity of more time and less miracles. These believe that "day" is merely a term for an indefinite period, or rather for a period of unknown length. They are, as I think, obliged somewhat to strain the meaning of words, they offer no satisfactory explanation of the fact that the evening is in each case named before the day, and they wholly ignore the peculiar wording in the Hebrew of the day clauses.

The consideration of these and some other facts induced me to seek to discover a third explanation which should take in all the peculiarities of the text, and be in accordance with the facts of astronomy and geology.

I will take your time only long enough to state the conclusion at which I arrived, leaving a fuller exposition for another occasion. To me it seems that these days are common days, each of which marks the close of a stage of progress which may have occupied thousands of years, and that they are numbered in the order of their occurrence: as first, second, third, &c., exactly as the 4th of July, 1876, marks the close of the colonial period and the beginning of national life.

I trust that I have said enough to prove that this grand old chapter is not the fable many would have us to believe, and that others may be incited to study it.

C. B. WARRING, Ph. D.

Note.—It has been suggested that angiosperms and palms may yet be found in formations older than the Cretaceous. Should this prove true, and should the beginning of such a flora prove to have been as remote even as Archæan Time, it would only add to the astonishing coincidences which have been mentioned, for it would put the Mosaic vegetation nearer to the time when the dry land began to appear. It would present a synchronism at the beginning of the development, instead of at its close alone.

The English version reads, "The evening and the morning were the second day;" and so for the others. The Hebrew says, "It was evening and it was morning, the second." In this, it is followed by the Septuagint.

POST OFFICE SAVINGS BANKS.¹

I.

THE subject of Savings Banks has already been so ably treated by an honored member of this Association, in an essay read at the Saratoga Convention, September 5th, 1877, that it will be necessary to confine this paper strictly to the subject—Post Office Savings Banks. In the paper above referred to the principle underlying all Savings Banks was admirably set forth, and it was shown that such accumulations, owned by various individuals, tend to produce comfort and pleasure, to encourage education, the arts and sciences, and to the enlightenment of the individual as well as the community where they exist. The doctrine of thrift did not begin with Jeremy Bentham's "Frugality Banks," but the first principles of prudent economy were clearly inculcated by Him who practiced it when He said: "Gather up the fragments, that nothing be lost." The important question now before the American people is, how best to encourage habits of prudent economy and thrift, especially among the vast masses of the people who either spend their entire income or hoard it in the secret drawer, the buried pot, the old stocking, or the bed-tick. To do this successfully, an absolutely safe place must be found for the deposit of money, and at the same time the depositor must reap a fair and reasonable interest for the use of it. The early history of the Savings Bank in England, and in this country, is almost identical. William Lewins, in his "History of Savings Banks in Great Britain and Ireland," informs us that as early as the year 1817 Savings Banks had become recognised institutions in England, and had become the subject of legislative enactment. Before that period, they had no state protection, and were merely the result of private influence and philanthropy. From the day the State took hold of the matter, the Savings Banks began to flourish. One year after the passage of the act to encourage them in England and Ireland, upward of 500 banks were opened in the United Kingdom. These continued to increase until in 1860, the year before Post-Office Savings Banks were established, there were no less than 1,585,778

¹ A paper read at Cincinnati, May 22d, 1878, in the Annual Session of the American Social Science Association.

depositors whose aggregate deposits in the Saving Banks of the United Kingdom amounted to \$206,295,725. Most of this money had been invested with the national debt commissioners, and was drawing from $3\frac{1}{4}$ to $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. interest. The men and women who established these banks deserve great credit. Upon the system which they founded, the Savings Banks of France, Germany Denmark and Italy are based. Added to this, Mr. Lewins says these banks fostered habits of thrift in the people; they called attention to the duty of providing for rainy days in the future; they were the source from which many kindred societies for the cultivation of saving habits had their origin; and they were, moreover, the stepping-stones to the establishment of Post-Office Savings Banks. But it must not be overlooked that these Savings Banks were very imperfect in their operation, and afforded but a limited accommodation for the working class. Certificates of moral character were demanded of the depositors and other ridiculous rules and regulations in a measure curtailed their usefulness. While the words "government security" were made prominent in the advertisements, the depositor was in reality at the mercy of the trustee, for the government only guaranteed to repay the money given it by the trustee, and the depositors had to look to the trustees for the repayment of their loans.

Returning to our own country, we learn from Key's History of Savings Banks, that a year earlier (1816), several benevolent gentlemen of Boston, who, after having tried unsuccessfully all sorts of plans for the temporary relief of the poor, determined to resort to the system to "help others to help themselves," by teaching the poor to acquire habits of economy and thrift, by laying aside some part of their earnings in the time of prosperity, to provide for the days of adversity, sickness, accident and old age. Accordingly, application was made to the Legislature of Massachusetts for an act of incorporation for a "Saving Bank." In the announcement of their intention, the following words were used: "It is not by the alms of the wealthy that the good of the lower classes can be generally promoted. By such donations, encouragement is far oftener given to idleness and hypocrisy than aid to suffering worth. He is the most effective benefactor to the poor, who encourages them in habits of industry, sobriety and frugality." Mr. Townsend has already told us that these were the ideas which

inspired the founders of the Savings Banks system of the United States. It has already been pointed out that the same ideas, though a year later, lay at the foundation of the Savings Bank system of Great Britain. In some states, the benevolent persons managed the institutions according to their own notions of prudence and safety; in others, they were limited by law to what was deemed the best class of security. So long as the deposits were small in the aggregate, little difficulty was experienced in investing the money safely and wisely; but when the system became popular and the deposits increased, other outlets had to be found for the money. In a country new and unsurpassed in natural resources, the population venturesome, ingenious, and industrious, and enterprises of all kinds undertaken by corporations and individuals, it was easy to obtain an extension of authorities, and we soon find the trustees of Savings Banks loaning money on county, city, and town bonds, railroad enterprises, mortgages, and on personal security with two sureties, these notes to run for twelve months.

We have now briefly traced the history of English and American Savings Banks from their inception to 1861, the year in which Post-Office Savings Banks were established. In England, we find the government guarantee was only given for the repayment of money placed in its keeping by the trustees, and it in no way insured the safety of the depositor, and, despite all the talk about "government security," they were not unfrequently defrauded out of their savings. "Frauds," says a writer on the subject of Savings Banks in the *British Review*, "were not uncommon, and the story of the gigantic swindling transactions at Hertford, Brighton, Bilston, Canterbury, Dublin, and elsewhere, is one of the saddest chapters in the history of the industrial classes. What added so materially to the bitterness of the misfortune, and gave such a serious check to the progress of education in thrift, was, that the people had been deluded into the belief that their money was deposited with the state, and was, therefore, as safe as the Bank." In America, at about this time, the latitude given to the trustees of Savings institutions was already beginning to bear disastrous results, and in the report of the Bank Commissioners of Massachusetts, in 1861, we find the following significant statement: "The result of loaning savings funds on notes to run twelve months is that a merchant, having

culled out of his 'bills receivable' all such notes as he can get discounted at bank, carries the remainder, which are either too long or too poor to be negotiated in the regular way, to a Savings Bank, where he gets a considerable loan upon them. He is enabled by this process, not only to expand his own credit to an unwarrantable degree, but also to indulge his customers in longer credits than it is either well for them to have, or for him to give." The same report also says: "We recall an instance last summer, when exchange in Western cities ruled at 10 per cent. and upwards, where all the collaterals held by a certain Savings Bank near Boston, for the notes of a respectable mercantile house were payable in Illinois, Wisconsin, and other Western states, of which not a single piece could then have been discounted at a bank in State Street. It is true that they were taken at a margin, and this is usually the case, but they ought not to have been taken by a Savings Bank at all. Mr. Townsend says that loans on these securities in New England banks amount at the present time to \$58,000,000. Before pointing out the imperfections and absolute insecurity of the Savings Bank system of the United States, attention is invited back to the result of the swindling transactions which had caused so much bitterness and misfortune in England. The serious check the progress of education in thrift had had in England, through the Savings Banks frauds, led those interested to look round for the establishment of a system of Savings Banks in which those who invest their hard gained savings as provision against a rainy day may find absolute security against loss. As a result of this, on the 17th of May, 1861, the Post Office Savings Banks Act, for "Affording additional facilities for depositing small savings at interest, with the security of the government for due repayment thereof," was "duly enacted by the Queen's most excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lord's Spiritual and Temporal and the Commons in Parliament assembled." Like all new schemes, objections were raised to it, both in and out of Parliament, and various discouraging prognostications to the effect that, if practicable at all, it could never be self-supporting; that the nation must always be at some loss in transacting Savings Banks business, and that such would be especially the case with the Post Office Savings Banks.

The London *Times*, however, of about that date, supported the

scheme, and said in an editorial: "The country will recognize at once the universal boon of a bank maintained at the public expense, secured by the public responsibility, with the whole empire for its capital, with a branch in every town, open at almost all hours, and, more than all, giving a fair amount of interest." The honor of originating the Post-Office Savings Bank System in England must be divided among several eminent gentlemen. The Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone, who, having clearly foreseen the immense benefits of Post-Office Savings Banks, introduced the bill which has now become the law, with one of his remarkable speeches, and carried it through Parliament.² The present Postal Savings Bank scheme, or a similar idea, was conceived as early as 1807, by Mr. Whitbred, a member of Parliament, who, in a speech recommended the establishment of a Government Savings Bank, to be managed by the aid of the Post-Office machinery; and the money received to be invested in government stocks. Like all new ideas, it was laughed down and nothing came of his suggestions. According to the documents, reports, minutes and memoranda explanatory of the origin and progress of the system of Post-Office Savings Banks in England,³ Mr. John Bullar suggested to the Post-Office authorities the employment of money-order offices as a means of extending the savings bank system; but his suggestions did not meet with approval at the time, and nothing came of it. Similar suggestions were made by other gentlemen—by Mr. Hume, Mr. M'Corquodale, Captain Strong, Mr. Ray Smee and others. But it was not until Mr. Sikes, of Huddersfield, took up the question, that these various suggestions were carried into effect. Assisted by Mr. Chetwynd, post-office official, and Mr. Scudamore, an expert accountant, Mr. Sikes succeeded in gathering the material and shaping it into the present practical form. It has been epigrammatically said, "In building and launching this new ship of state, Mr. Whitbred collected the raw material, the wood and iron, the planks and masts; Mr. Sikes put these into shape, and reared the ship upon the stocks; Mr. Chetwynd supplied the ropes and the sails, the rudder and the

²Through this same gentleman's kind interposal, the writer hereof obtained many important facts and figures in regard to the workings of the English system.

³The documents are all bound together in one stupendous volume, by the British government, for the purpose of more readily disseminating this useful information to countries desirous of starting similar banking systems. The writer is indebted to Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone, for a copy of this valuable work.

compass; and Mr. Scudamore marked out the vessel's course, and noted in the chart all rocks and reefs, and dangerous tides and eddies."

Before dismissing, for the present, the English system of Post-Office Savings Banks, it may be well to briefly call attention to the success which has attended their operation in that country. In order to do this accurately, it will be necessary to refer to the various reports of the Postmaster General of Great Britain, who has kindly forwarded these reports from London to aid in the preparation of this paper. September the 16th, 1861, the first Post-Office Savings Banks were opened in the United Kingdom. On that day 300 offices were opened for the receipt of deposits, and on that day 435 deposits, amounting to \$4,555 were received. Fifteen months from that date the system had been so successful, that 2,535 offices were open, and the deposits amounted to \$8,491,105. The reports of the Postmaster General are issued every year, and from these reports we have compiled the following table (p. 449) which exhibits at a glance the amount of business done during 1876, and, at the same time, the progress made by the Postal Savings Banks since their establishment fifteen years ago. The English pound sterling has been changed for the convenience of American readers into dollars, on a basis of \$5 to a pound.

The total amount of the balances to the credit of depositors, together with interest accrued at the end of 1876, was \$134,982,750, being an increase of \$9,046,025 on the total of the previous year. The total amount deposited in the Post-Office Savings Banks from the commencement, inclusive of interest credited to depositors, was in round figures \$454,995,000, and the amount withdrawn \$320,010,000, leaving a balance remaining in deposit on the 31st December, 1876, of \$134,980,000. The table (see page 449) gives us in brief the history of the Postal Savings Banks in England. The 300 offices that were opened on that September morning have now increased to 5,500, and the little band of 435 who deposited these few pounds on that day have increased to an immense army, of 1,702,374, whose aggregate deposits amount in round figures to \$135,000,000. But the cost of keeping in motion the stupendous machinery which enables one to have a banking account in every town in the kingdom, is something that must not be overlooked. By referring to the revenue estimates, we find the estimates for

TABLE COMPILED FROM THE POSTMASTER-GENERAL'S REPORTS, SHOWING THE PROGRESS MADE BY THE POSTAL SAVINGS BANKS SINCE THEIR ESTABLISHMENT IN ENGLAND.

Year.	Number of Post-Office Savings Banks.	Number of deposits.	Amount of deposits.	Amount of withdrawals.	Charges of management.	Number of accounts opened.	Number of accounts closed.	Number of accounts remaining open at close of the year.	Amount inclusive of interest, standing credit of all accounts at close of the year.	Percentage of cost of management to total fund possessed by the Post-Office Savings Bank.	Total sum standing to credit of Post-Office Savings Bank of National Debt Commission for outstaring war-rates at close of the year.	Balance in hands of Postmaster-General after making provision for outstaring war-rates at close of the year.	Total Balance in hand applicable to payments of depositors at close of the year.
From 16th Sept. '61 to 31 Dec. '62	2,535	659,216	\$10,573,345	\$ 1,193,185	\$ 102,955	205,928	27,433	178,495	\$ 8,491,106	1-5	8,295,160	178,460	8,473,620
1863	2,992	842,848	13,256,045	5,135,770	127,005	185,934	43,760	319,669	16,887,400	3/4	16,640,910	222,065	16,862,975
1864	3,082	1,110,762	16,750,000	9,174,245	229,280	226,153	74,964	470,858	24,965,615	9-10	24,978,315	27,610	25,005,925
1865	3,321	1,302,309	18,595,085	11,593,050	246,635	239,686	95,160	611,384	32,622,000	3/4	32,911,645	21,635	32,933,280
Average of 5 years 1866-70.	3,815	1,802,031	26,160,540	18,852,905	314,015	295,594	181,170	967,066	58,162,070	3/4	59,122,520	251,755	59,310,620
1871	4,335	2,362,621	33,323,145	25,577,335	347,135	370,745	259,406	1,303,492	85,125,020	Less than 1/2	86,519,075	832,280	87,351,255
1872	4,607	2,745,245	38,499,580	29,183,300	392,020	424,843	285,887	1,442,448	96,591,695	Less than 1/2	97,799,020	1,505,350	99,304,370
1873	4,853	2,917,698	39,778,700	32,920,905	420,800	433,478	319,281	1,556,647	105,838,745	Less than 1/2	108,727,210	414,250	109,141,460
1874	5,068	3,044,692	41,766,280	34,380,475	498,080	442,501	330,413	1,668,733	115,787,345	Less than 1/2	120,153,555	120,084,180
1875	5,260	3,132,433	43,919,460	36,627,800	611,695	438,896	330,466	1,777,103	125,926,795	Less than 1/2	130,649,835	472,590	131,122,425
1876	5,448	3,166,137	44,911,750	38,962,385	629,560	437,933	311,762	1,707,774	134,982,750	Less 1/2	140,023,660	534,165	140,557,825

* It will be seen that the total number of accounts open at the end of 1876, shows an apparent decrease of 74,729 in the accounts open to the end of 1875. This is due to a departmental arrangement by which small balances on accounts in which no transactions have taken place for a considerable period, have been transferred to what are technically called "dormant" ledgers. But for this, an increase would have been shown of 92,648.

carrying on this immense business for the year ending 31st March, to be as follows :

TABLE COMPILED FROM THE POSTMASTER GENERAL'S REPORT, SHOWING THE ANNUAL COST OF RUNNING THE POST-OFFICE SAVINGS BANK DEPARTMENT.

Salaries to 403 officers in Savings Bank Department, London,	\$308,230
Salaries to 90 Female Clerks in Savings Bank Department, London,	25,810
Salaries to Clerks for extra duty, etc., in Savings Bank Department,	25,000
Salaries to Writers, etc., in Savings Department, London,	20,000
Wages to 130 Sorters, Messengers, Porters, etc., in Savings Bank Department, London,	30,675
Wages to 130 Sorters, Messengers, Porters, etc., for extra duty,	5,250
Expense of Savings Bank work performed by other officers of the General Post-Office,	31,745
Allowance to Sub-Postmaster's and Receivers throughout the United Kingdom, for conducting Savings Banks business (rate of pay, \$25 for every 1,000 transactions),	72,745
Allowance to Head Officers (including General Post-Offices in London, Dublin and Edinburgh),	42,750
Total for Salaries,	<u>\$561,710</u>
Rent,	\$25,000
Maintenance and repairs of building and supply of fittings	19,500
Furniture and Repairs,	3,000
Water, Fire Insurance and Tithes,	800
Fuel and Light,	4,750
Stationery,	50,000
Law Charges,	2,250
Travelling,	3,500
Incidental Expenses,	100
Superannuation and other non-effective charges,	1,000
Losses by fraud and default (United Kingdom),	1,250
Grand Total,	<u>\$672,860</u>

The Postmaster General's report shows that the profits accruing upon savings bank business from the establishment of the system to the end of 1877 is upward of \$5,500,000, of which sum nearly \$750,000 accrued in the year 1876. A distinguishing feature of the management of these institutions in England is the absolute security to depositors, and the comparative small loss to the government in defalcations. The reports before us show that from the establishment of the system to the end of 1875, the total number of transactions, that is, deposits and withdrawals, was 40,706,092, amounting in the aggregate to \$688,027,965; yet the total loss, from all kinds of fraud, during the fifteen years was but a little over \$20,000.

Another benefit is that it affords to those who travel, the advantages of having a banking account in every town in the country. To show that the people are fully awake to this, it is only necessary to give the following statement from the Postmaster General's Report for 1876: "Of the total number of deposits and withdrawals last year, 28 per cent. were made at offices other than those at which the accounts were originally opened. In 1874, the proportion of such transactions was 26 per cent.; in 1868, 19 per cent.; and in the first year of the establishment of Post-Office Savings Banks, only a little over 4 per cent. "The facts and figures show that the Postal Savings Bank system has proved all that was anticipated—a bank maintained at the public expense, secured by the public responsibility, with the whole empire for its capital, and a branch in every town in the kingdom; and, more than all, we have shown that the assets belonging to this department exceed its liabilities by no less than \$5,520,000, and that for the year 1876, the net profit was nearly \$750,000. Besides this, it might be well to call attention to the fact that the average cost of each transaction,—*i. e.*, deposit or withdrawal,—for the whole period of the existence of the Post-Office Savings Banks has been $6\frac{1}{10}$ *d.*, which is $\frac{9}{10}$ of a penny less than the most sanguine estimate made by Parliament prior to the passage of the Savings Bank Act. Thus the financial state of the department undeniably fulfils the highest expectations of its prosperity and stability; and this result is only the more remarkable when regarded in contrast with the objections which we have already shown were raised to the scheme in 1861.

The thought naturally arises, what had the Post-Office system

of Saving Banks to contend against, in the shape of Savings Banks since 1861, in order to make such rapid progress and to thus fulfil the highest expectations of its projectors? Had it a loosely managed system, like that of the United States, in which the laxity of the State Savings Bank law generally corresponds with the demand for money? Or had the Post-Office Savings Bank to contend against savings banks properly managed and well hedged round by acts of Parliament? The comparative statements compiled from Parliamentary Returns relating to the old savings banks, afford interesting evidence of the vitality of many of those institutions, notwithstanding the attractions of Postal Banks. In 1860 there were 638 of the old banks in existence; at the close of 1877 there were only 466, showing a decrease of 172. But the decrease in the number of depositors is small in comparison. In 1860 there were 1,585,778 and there are now 1,493,401, a decrease of but 92,377. But the total amount of money on deposit is \$10,120,000 in excess of 1860. The total accumulated savings in these institutions is \$216,415,755 or \$81,433,005 more than the total amount of the balances at the credit of depositors in the savings branch of the Post-Office department. The reason for this continued vitality of the old system is the favorable legislation the old banks have received from Parliament, in regard to interest, and so long as the government continues to pay a higher rate of interest for old savings bank deposits than it does for the deposits of the postal banks, the latter will always be operated at a great disadvantage. Mr. Lewins, in his admirable work elsewhere mentioned in this paper, explains this. The old savings banks deposit funds with government, and are allowed interest on their money at the rate of $3\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. The Post-Office Banks, of course, deposit their money with the Government and are allowed interest at the rate of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. Out of the $\frac{3}{4}$ per cent. difference between the two rates, an average of half of it is given to the old banks or to their depositors. Now it is well known that the average cost of each transaction in the Post-Office banks is little more than half the average cost of a transaction in the ordinary savings banks.⁴ If the government can still afford to pay the old savings banks the higher rate of interest, it

⁴ The old banks, one shilling per transaction: Average cost in Post-Office Bank, $6\frac{1}{6}$ d.

might afford, at the lowest computation, to give half per cent. more to depositors in the Post-Office Savings Banks.

This unjust discrimination occasions a great disadvantage to the postal banks. Clearly, the government ought either to reduce the interest allowed the old savings banks, or raise the interest on postal deposits. Dr. W. Neilson Hancock, of Dublin, recently read a paper at the Glasgow meeting of the British Association upon this subject, and his address is quoted in the report of the Controller of the Post-Office Savings Banks. In it he shows that the continued maintenance of the Trustee Savings Banks is a waste of charitable effort, seeing that the Post-Office Savings Bank offers so many more facilities, and he recommends that the State should withdraw from its connection with them, since their maintenance involves an annual expense of \$1,250,000, since the security they offer is imperfect, and since it is bad teaching for the poor to offer them a bounty at the public expense to invest their savings in a less perfect security than the Post-Office Savings Banks. Dr. Hancock believes the closing of the Trustee's Savings Banks is at present delayed by the large number of paid officers having vested interests in those institutions, and he furnishes a statement showing that, after making the most liberal allowance for pensions to the present paid officers, the State would effect an immediate saving of \$700,000 a year, and an ultimate saving of \$1,400,000 a year by closing the Trustee Savings Banks altogether.

Returning again to the American System of Savings Banks, and picking up the thread where we left it in 1861, it will be necessary to rapidly review the progress made in the United States since the establishment, and rapid progress of the Postal Bank in England. We made no move in the same direction until Mr. Maynard introduced into Congress, December 18th, 1873, what is known as the Creswell bill to establish and maintain a national savings depository as a branch of the Post-Office Department. This bill was read twice, referred to the Committee on Banking and Currency, and has since slumbered peacefully with the slaughtered innocents of the Forty-third Congress. But while our government has ignored entirely the postal bank, it has been attracting great attention elsewhere. France, Germany, Spain, Austria, Belgium, the Netherlands, Denmark, Hungary and far off Japan have adopted systems of receiving deposits for the use of the govern-

ment through the aid of the post-office machinery. In Norway, Sweden, Brazil, Switzerland and many other countries, this postal scheme is now under discussion, and information in regard to the English system has been sought and obtained from the postal bank officials in London. In New Zealand, Australia, Canada and other British Colonies, the English system has been adopted and is in active and successful operation. At the risk of a digression, I shall give a few facts and figures in regard to the Canadian system, from a recently published report.⁵ On the 1st of April, 1867, the Postal Savings Bank System went into operation, and at the end of the first quarter, 81 offices had been established throughout the Dominion. On June 30, 1869, 213 offices had been opened, and that number has been increased gradually until on June 30th, 1877, there were 287 branches in existence. At the close of the last fiscal year (June, 1877), there had been 324,662 deposits made, and they amounted in all to \$16,504,252; of that amount, \$1,725,300 had been invested in Dominion five per cent. stock; \$12,998,334 had been withdrawn, and the balance standing to the credit of open accounts and drawing interest, was \$2,639,937. The average cost of each transaction—viz., of each deposit and withdrawal—was less than twenty-three cents, and the total expense of management, including salaries, compensation to postmasters, inspection, printing and other items, was \$117,563, or an average of about \$11,000.⁶

In France at the close of 1876, under legislative enactment, the old established savings banks were making use of 300 post-offices for the purpose of receiving and repaying deposits; and their business throughout the country has largely extended. In 1870, the total amount of the deposits in the French Savings Banks had, after fifty years, risen to \$144,000,000. After the war, the amount fell to \$103,000,000, but it has since increased, at first slowly, and in the last two years with extraordinary rapidity, having reached \$107,000,000 in 1873, and \$114,600,000 in 1874, while at the present time it is stated to be no less than \$160,000,000. "This remarkable increase," says Mr. Thomson, the Controller of the Post-Office Savings Banks, "which appears to have continued even

⁵ J. T. Stewart, etc.

⁶ For the many valuable facts about the working of the Canadian Post-Office Bank System, the writer is indebted to J. C. Stewart, Esq., Superintendent of the Savings Bank Branch of the Post-Office Department, Ottawa.

in a greater degree this year, although probably attributable in some measure to the material progress of the French nation, is no doubt mainly due to the extraordinary development, in the last three years, of Penny and School Savings Banks, brought about by the efforts of Auguste de Malarce." There are now no less than 4,000 School Savings Banks in France, 2,400 of which have been opened since the beginning of 1876. I particularly desire to call attention to this rapid increase of savings banks, and at the same time, recall the fact that between the years 1874 and 1876 the savings of the people increased nearly \$50,000,000. At the close of 1877 no less than 230,000 of the depositors in these banks had already deposited in excess of the total limit allowed, and their accounts had consequently been transferred to the ordinary savings banks.

From Controller Thomson's report, we learn in the National Savings Bank of Belgium the number of the depositors has rapidly increased since 1870, when its operations were extended to the post-offices, so as to include some features of the English system. In Holland, an Act similar to that in France came into force on the 1st May, 1876, when 1,225 post-offices were placed at the disposal of 49 private savings banks of that country. In Germany, the postal receiving houses in Berlin are now allowed to be used for savings bank business. In Italy, rapid progress has been made with a complete system of Post-Office Savings Banks under an Act of Parliament passed in 1875. Independently of 353 savings banks entirely worked by private societies, there were in February last, no less than 2,144 postal banks, the regulations of which are somewhat closely assimilated to the English system.

ROBERT P. PORTER.

(To be concluded in July Number.)

CERAMIC ART AND ART CULTURE.

II.

AS stated and explained in the previous article, there are but two distinct *genera* of earthenware: viz., porcelain, which includes chinaware, and pottery, so called, which includes all the varieties of ware known as ironstone-china, stoneware, delftware,

faience, maiolica, Palissy-, Wedgwood-, and Doulton-ware, and the innumerable other varieties that are given particular names but which may properly be classed under the same generic head.

Porcelain ware is of two species—hard and soft. The former—the kind now in almost universal use,—is composed of *kaolin* and *petuntse*, while the latter consists of a vitreous frit and a calcareous clay, *kaolin* not being required. Soft porcelain is more fusible and more translucent than the hard, but is not so white nor so strong; its manufacture is also more difficult and expensive, and it is more liable to breakage and other injuries during manufacture, so that very little of it is now made, and that little chiefly for ornamental articles.

It was not until the beginning of the 16th century that porcelain was introduced into Europe by the Portuguese and Dutch traders from the Orient, where the manufacture had been carried on from a period long anterior to the Christian era. The manufacture of pottery had, of course, been carried on in Europe, through all stages of development, from the rudest to the most finished, from the earliest ages, while the Chinese claim that they were masters of the potter's art nearly 3,000 B. C. The first porcelain made in Europe was made at Venice in the beginning of the 16th century, supposed to be from specimens introduced into Italy from Egypt, where the history of pottery is coeval with that of the Chinese. Few pieces were made there, however, the maker inconsiderately dying and carrying his secret into the grave with him. Fifty years later, the secret was again discovered at Ferrara, followed soon after (about 1580) at Florence, but in both these places the manufacture was small and short-lived, the secret being again lost to Europe for more than a century, when it was a fourth time discovered, and the manufacture permanently revived, at St. Cloud, France, in 1695. But all the porcelain thus far made was soft; the essential ingredient—*kaolin*—of hard porcelain had not yet been discovered, so that the manufacture was not yet complete. The long-sought-for ingredient was at last discovered by a singular chance in 1811 by Böttcher, or Böttger, in Saxony. The famous Dresden, or more properly Meissen, works were immediately established, and although every possible precaution was taken to guard the precious secret—the penalty of death being threatened any one who should divulge it,—it was finally obtained by inter-

ested parties through the bribery of a workman, and within the next fifty years the manufacture of hard porcelain became general throughout Europe.

Being the archetype, the porcelain of China and Japan should properly be considered first. So far as the *quality* of the ware is concerned, equally fine porcelain is now made in Europe, so that it is unnecessary to speak of the quality here. Very little Chinese or Japanese service porcelain is imported into the United States, the little that is brought here being purchased for display rather than for use, nearly all our service porcelain being imported from Europe. The vases and other ornamental ware now so familiar to all is, therefore, the only subject to be here considered.

Chinaware, proper, is merely the finest quality of porcelain, being exceedingly light, fragile and translucent. Perfection in this ware is attained in the famous "egg-shell" china, which is as thin and fragile as a glass watch crystal. Of almost the same delicacy is the beautiful "grains-of-rice" china. This is made by cutting designs, supposed to resemble grains of rice, through the "green" ware and filling them in with an extremely translucent glaze. When held up to the light, these "grains of rice" are much more translucent than the body of the ware, the effect being as peculiar as it is pleasing.

It is unnecessary, as it would be impossible, to attempt to describe in a brief article the difference between the porcelains of the various provinces of China. A few general remarks on the principal points of the subject must answer the present purpose.

The porcelains of China are generally divided into classes named after the predominant colors used in their decoration. Of these, the blue, if not the oldest, is the most common and at the same time the most admired and prized. The richest shades are the turquoise, the *lapis lazuli* and the "celestial blue," and these, with the several other shades used, are varied so as to produce an infinite variety of tints. Green is the next in importance, the two principal shades being the *famille vert*, a bright, attractive shade, and the *ccladon*, a bluish or sea-green, very delicate and very justly admired. Red and yellow, in an endless variety of shades, are also largely used, some of the rose shades being particularly effective. Another distinctive class of decoration is that of the *chrysanthemopæonienné*, which is the finest of the Chinese flower decoration. The

Chinese have always excelled in the delicacy and brilliancy of their colors, of which the four above named are the finest. Indeed, it may be said that these four monopolize all of the "ground work" decoration and all of the purely "color decorated" ware.

After the colors, they attain their highest excellence in the execution of all kinds of geometric figures and diaper work, the execution of which requires patience and mechanical skill rather than originality and artistic training. They also excel in *cloisonné* work, although *cloisonné* is now done in France almost, if not quite, equal to that of the Chinese and Japanese. This peculiar work is done by laying very fine wires in the desired figures on the body of the unglazed ware and filling in the spaces with enamel colors, as explained in the previous article. This requires extreme delicacy combined with great skill and patience, and these qualities the Chinese and Japanese exhibit in an eminent degree in all their work, and preëminently so in this *cloisonné* work, which is indisputably the most delicate and most marvellous accomplishment in ceramic art. But it is only in a country where the workmen are paid two cents a day that they could afford to devote the necessary time to the execution of such work and consequently arrive at the perfection the Chinese and Japanese have attained in these particular branches, and, under the circumstances, it is not at all a matter for very serious regret or envy that we are not so situated that we can successfully compete with them, when we can have the work done so cheaply for us.

"Crackled" ware is distinctively Chinese in its origin and characteristics. The "crackle" in nearly all the porcelain is only in the surface glaze, although it is produced in the body of some kinds of ware. It is caused by using steatite in the composition of the glaze. The ware is heated to a certain degree and is then plunged into cold water, the sudden contraction producing the "crackle," india ink or various colored pigments being rubbed in to give color to the lines. Local "crackle," leaving medallions or parts unaffected, is produced by heating and then suddenly cooling the local parts to be acted upon. How the size of the "crackle," from large to small, is regulated is still a mystery to western potters, and although the "crackle" itself has been produced in France, the imitation is not yet entirely successful. As for the artistic effect of the "crackle," it can only be said that it is of a negative

character. To speak plainly and unaffectedly, there is no more *beauty* about it than there is about the crackle that appears in common old table ware—and that is not generally believed to add much to the beauty or value of such ware—yet a certain class who will condemn the latter as being “cheap and common,” will go into hysterics of admiration over the “beauty and delicacy” of the former—simply because it happens to be foreign and “fashionable.”

The most striking characteristic of nearly all Chinese “art” decoration is the picture it presents of the impossible, the improbable, the incongruous, or the grotesque, or, as is the case in many specimens, all of these qualities combined. In flower and bird decoration they are very good, frequently most excellent, both in form and color, although rarely equalling either the Japanese or western artists in fidelity to nature and consequent completeness of effect. But it is in their houses, men, women, animals and symbolical figures that they are distinctively characteristic. No other people could conceive such a fantastic medley of the extravagant and the burlesque, or could produce such a menagerie of nondescripts and monstrosities, more wonderful than those described in the Apocalypse, more horrible than those in the *Inferno* and more repulsive than those in the *Faerie Queene*. *Chiaroscuro* is an element unknown in Chinese art; perspective is undreamed of; symmetry and proportion are not attempted; grace and harmony are minus quantities; and beauty or sublimity, according to all occidental canons of art, are rarely conceived and never executed.

Japanese porcelain, while very closely resembling the Chinese (from which it was originally copied), in all general features, is superior to the latter in the quality and finish of its decoration. The Japanese artist is an ardent lover and a close student of nature, and as one

“Who in the love of nature holds
Communion with her visible forms,”

he gives us some of the freest and most delightful studies from nature to be found within the realm of art. He does not indulge such an incomprehensible taste for incongruities and monstrosities as the Chinese do; being more of a true artist, he curbs his fancy more tightly with the restraints of propriety and possibility, while still giving his vivid imagination free rein in the conception and

elaboration of details. In faithfulness of form and splendor of plumage his birds are unequalled, and his insects and flowers are unsurpassed in delicacy and brilliancy. Like the Chinese, he is also preëminent in geometric figures and diaper work, as well as in the finer and more difficult *cloisonné*, it being an almost unanswerable question which of the two excels in these specialties. But, also like the Chinese, when he essays to depict the human figure, the lower animals or symbolical forms, he sinks at once into an atrocious malefactor who should be compelled to commit *hari-kari* for murder, for cruelty to animals and for the unnecessary suffering he inflicts on his fellow beings who are compelled to look upon his hideous creations.

A style of decoration characteristic of the Japanese is that of "dotting" small flowers and figures over the surface of the ware without regard to position or correspondence. The effect is *peculiar*—"only that and nothing more." It is not beautiful by any means—at least not according to all our accepted theories of art—and, if the reader will pardon a rather unpoetical comparison, it is altogether too suggestive of a ceramic small-pox to be even pleasing to the ordinary beholder. As the Japanese have copied almost everything in the ceramic art from the Chinese, in many cases improving upon the original, they have, perforce, copied the "crackle" and other styles of Chinese ware, so that it is unnecessary to detail the slight differences between the two or to repeat the general facts already stated.

In Europe, the porcelains of Sevres and Dresden have always been considered the finest and have been most highly prized—their exceptional reputation being due wholly to the artistic superiority of their form and decoration. While the quality of the body of the two named is unquestionably superior to that of most other porcelains, yet there is a great deal made elsewhere in Europe fully equal in texture and finish to that of Sevres and Dresden, so that these two factories cannot claim unrivalled superiority in quality. But from the foundation of these works—Dresden in 1712 and Sevres about 1750—under the fostering care of royal patronage, they took the positions which they still maintain as the producers of the finest porcelain, in form and decoration, in the world. The best sculptors were engaged to design vases and articles of every kind, which were decorated by the most distinguished artists obtainable.

Kings, courtiers and the higher classes generally vied with one another in their admiration and substantial patronage of the art, which soon obtained a degree of perfection never before known, and which cannot now be excelled.

It would be difficult, if not impossible, to decide the question of superiority between the porcelains of Sevres and Dresden, the question being purely one of artistic taste in form and decoration. The general preference, however, is in favor of the decoration of Sevres, although that of Dresden is so perfect in every respect, that if there were none of the former, the universal opinion would be that the latter could not be improved or surpassed. Little difference as there is in the relative merits of their decoration, there is still less difference in the relative merits of their forms; they both present the same variety and the same unrivalled beauty. As pieces of sculpture, many of the vases and other ornamental articles are "faultily faultless"—poetical in conception, and the perfection of elegance and beauty in form.

The one distinctive point of superiority of the Sevres decoration over that of Dresden, is in the chaste and delicate colors used for the ground work of most of the ware. These colors—but no, they are not *colors*; they are merely tints, or reflections of color, so rich, so mellow, so *spiritual*, that they seem to be fading away even while we are looking at them—these ethereal tints have never been equalled in their effects outside of Sevres, where the mystery of their composition is kept a profound and jealousy-guarded secret. The finest, and most familiar, are the violet, canary, *Bleu de Ciel*, *Bleu de Roi*, *Rose Pompadour*, and a couple of shades of red and green, and when the exquisite decoration in figure, flower or other work is put on over (?) one of these tints the effect is simply ravishing.

When the Sevres factory mark—two crossed swords—has a little line across the centre, it indicates that the ware has been sent out of the factory white and has been decorated elsewhere. This, however, does not necessarily lessen the artistic value of the decoration, as some of the ware decorated outside has been by artists of the highest distinction in this branch, and may be, therefore, fully equal to the decoration done inside the factory. Two marks across the swords indicate that there is some defect in the piece on which they are made.

No one conversant with the peculiarities and vicissitudes of ce-

ramic painting, and who sees the finer pieces of decorated work in the shop or the cabinet, can fail to be deeply impressed, not more with the beauty of the decoration itself than with a sense of the genius and skill which brought forth that beauty through such unfavorable conditions. It is a national loss, in an artistic sense, that so few pieces of the finer specimens of Sevres and Dresden are in this country, in either public or private collections, in which our people could see the exquisite productions of which the art is capable, and thus have their higher qualities aroused and cultivated to a full appreciation of all the æsthetics of life. The lovely flowers, figures, animals and birds on these masterpieces of the art—the delicate scroll, filagree and other ornamental work—the delicious colors and tints, so softly harmonizing with, and dissolving into, one another—the quintessence of art breathing forth in whispering melody in every line—these, combined with that enrapturing sculpture, produce within us as we stand entranced before the wondrous object a sensual intoxication that exalts us

“Above this sphere of earthliness,”

and excites within us those inexpressible longings for the enjoyment of the higher and purer in all branches of art, the influences of which tend directly to the refinement and the ennoblement of man. Those who are not deep students and ardent lovers of art will smile, perchance, at what they may consider the rhapsody of an enthusiast, but they must remember that the writer speaks in these fervid terms only of the highest productions of ceramic art,—comparatively few of which we have in this country, unfortunately,—and of the influences, not of that one branch of art alone, but also, by implication, of music, poetry and general painting and sculpture as well. He is not so blind an enthusiast as to claim these great beauties and influences for all degrees of ceramic art any more than for all degrees of any other branch of fine art, but as the lower degrees will have proportionate beauty and cultivating influence, they are, therefore, to be studied and admired until we shall have been educated up in successive planes to a knowledge and thorough appreciation of the highest and noblest examples, in the consideration of which the few preceding words would sound tamely impotent indeed.

Berlin and Vienna rank next in the importance of their porcelains. It would be difficult to describe the difference between their

ware and that of Sevres and Dresden, or between each other, the forms and decorations being of the same varied character, and being so nearly perfect in all. The two styles for which Vienna porcelain has been chiefly distinguished are its arabesque decorations, made for the Mohammedan markets, and its style of laying bright gold or colored figures over a dull gold ground, the effect being novel and very pleasing.

The porcelain of Herend, Hungary, is noted for its close imitations of Oriental and old European wares, the imitation being so perfect as to deceive even the best judges. French, German, Italian and Chinese artists are engaged at the works copying not only the old, but also the finer modern, productions of their respective countries, but as the mark of the factory is now always put on its productions no deception is intended in the work, the proud proprietor being fully satisfied with having so successfully imitated the oldest and rarest wares and with the immense sale which his productions have found.

Capo di Monti porcelain, made in Naples from 1736 to 1821, is unique in its specialty of colored relief work. The ware itself is a soft porcelain, the relief work including birds, flowers, animals, figures and historical and mythological scenes, all in the most delicate colors and tints, the flesh tints particularly being unrivalled. The ware that has come down to us is all purely ornamental and includes every variety of form, plaques being, perhaps, the most common. From its intrinsic beauty and excellence, *Capo di Monti* ware has always held the highest place in ceramic art and been most highly valued, some of the oldest and finest specimens being now held almost priceless. Besides the work in relief there was also much flat ware made, the painting being of the same supreme loveliness as that on the relief. At the close of the works in 1821 the moulds were transferred to Doccia, near Florence, where the ware is still made, although generally inferior in finish and color to the original, which latter may also be said of the imitation now, or lately, made at Dresden.

In England, the Royal Works at Worcester make the finest porcelain in quality and decoration, their wares being now fully equal to the finest made elsewhere. They make a specialty of reproducing the rarest and the best examples of Chinese, Japanese and Korean ware, with a success never before attained, it being

difficult, even for experts, to distinguish many of their pieces from the originals. "Many of their designs seem the embodiment of wild dreams, and gratify a taste for the grotesque and curious." They also produce large quantities of service and ornamental ware after home and other European designs, the decorations being generally of the highest artistic excellence.

For the Messrs. Minton & Co., of Stoke-upon-Trent, it is claimed that they employ a greater number of artists in decorating porcelain, pottery and tiles than any other establishment in the world. The firm makes a specialty of the manufacture and decoration of tiles, but their porcelain is of the greatest beauty and merit. A style of decoration in which they excel is the *paté sur paté* (paste on paste), similar to, but even more artistic than, the characteristic relief work of Wedgwood jasper ware, the relief and ground being in different colors. Many of the finer vases in *paté sur paté* by M. Solon, are simply perfect as works of art, and very justly command what might be considered by many the most extravagant prices.

Messrs. Copeland, successors to the old house of Spode, rank among the foremost potters of Europe in the quality of their porcelains, particularly service ware, and in the taste and delicacy of their decorations. Their designs are chiefly original or after the finest European patterns, their productions being more in the line of utility than of mere ornament. "Spode" and "Copeland" are synonyms for quality and refinement in ware and decoration.

The few porcelain potteries, already noticed, include all the principal ones now existing in Europe that have a universal reputation for excellence in their various specialties. There are, of course, innumerable other ones producing all grades and styles of porcelain, with good, bad and indifferent decoration, but it would be uninteresting here to give even their names. Among the more important of the lesser ones, however, may be mentioned those of Florence, Italy; St. Petersburg, Russia; Marieburg, Sweden; and Limoges and Choisy le Roi, France. Those who desire to see the various kinds of European pottery and porcelain, would do well to visit the "Arcade" of this city, where they can see productions of all the principal potteries of the past and present.

Of porcelain manufacture in the United States little can yet be said. Several attempts were made to establish the manufacture

in the past, but they never fully succeeded until within a few years, when Mr. James Tams, of the Greenwood Pottery, Trenton, N. J., and Mr. Thomas C. Smith, of the Union Porcelain Works, Greenpoint, N. Y., essayed it with complete success. The former is now making a coarse quality of porcelain for hotel and ordinary table use, with the promise of producing a finer quality when the demand shall arise for it. The latter, in 1865, began making service and ornamental porcelain of hard body and glaze of the very finest quality, fully equal to most of the imported, and claims the distinction of being the first one to successfully establish fine porcelain manufacture without royal or government protection or patronage. Now that the manufacture is an established fact, it is but a question of a few years when it will become general in this country, when we may look for a steady improvement in the quality, forms and decoration of the ware, and our people learn that our domestic ceramic ware, like nearly all our other manufactures, are fully equal to the finest imported. The lamentable lack of native artistic talent, and the consequent lack of artistic ceramic decoration, is, and will be for some years yet—until popular art education becomes a reality instead of a dream with us—the chief obstacle to the general appreciation and use of our domestic porcelains. It is true that all our domestic pottery and porcelain is already decorated here, and much of it decorated well (but chiefly by foreigners); it is true that much of the imported porcelain is also decorated here, being imported white, so that buyers who fondly imagine they are getting European decorated ware may really be getting home decoration (which, happily, does not seriously lessen its intrinsic value, whatever the buyer might be disposed to think of it); but it is also true that this simple style of decoration will never elevate our porcelain into artistic competition with the European, even at home, nor recommend it to those whose patronage it is most desirable to obtain—those of cultured tastes and ample means who desire, and are willing to pay for, artistic decorations.

Pottery, as distinct from porcelain, and as stated at the beginning of this article, includes all the varieties of ware known as ironstone china, stoneware, delftware, faience, maiolica, Palissy-, Wedgwood-, and Doulton-ware, and the innumerable other varieties that are given particular names, but which may properly be classed under the same generic head.

Of Chinese and Japanese pottery little more can be said than has already been said of their porcelain, at least as far as regards their decoration. Comparatively little Chinese pottery has ever been brought to this country, so that it is very little known here. What is made there is almost wholly for domestic use, possessing little noteworthy merit in either form or decoration; hence it is altogether inapplicable to the wants of the "western barbarians." The Japanese, however, greatly surpass the Chinese in both the form and decoration of their pottery, the consequence being that larger quantities of it, chiefly ornamental ware, are imported into the United States, much of what is supposed to be Japanese porcelain being in reality but a very fine quality of faience. The ware from the province of Hizen is considered the best in texture and finish. Its decoration is preëminent in originality and in the splendor of its effects. Some of the designs, particularly those in diaper work, are exquisite in color and delicacy of treatment. Besides its own distinctive styles, the Hizen ware also presents many examples of the finest styles of decoration of the wares of China and the other provinces of Japan. Satsuma ware, which ranks next, is of a firm body and most of it a delicate, creamy tint, with a very thin glaze, either plain or "crackled." It is made in the greatest variety of shapes, useful and ornamental, and is fully equal to the Hizen in its general decoration, and being imported in larger quantities than any other Japanese faience, is therefore much more familiar and more popular here. Kaga ware is noted for its firmness of quality, and Kioto ware for its resemblance to that of Satsuma. Besides these, the ware of Owari, in blue, and Banko, in light grey, are specially notable for quality and decoration.

Probably the most remarkable thing about Chinese and Japanese pottery and porcelain is the painful lack of originality, if not of beauty, in their forms. Leaving frightful monstrosities out of consideration, as being absolutely unworthy of notice from an artistic point of view, it will be found that there is a general sameness of form about their wares that is in striking contrast with the infinite variety of form of the wares of Europe and America. Take, for example, the vase, as being the most familiar article, and the one allowing the greatest diversity of shape and ornamentation. As a rule, it may be said that all Chinese and Japanese vases are alike in their general outlines; so much so that everybody knows

the familiar rotund, generally unornamented, oriental vases at sight, and even an inexperienced person will pick them out of a group of European vases quite as much by their form as by their decoration. Yet, if the Chinese and Japanese be a truly artistic people, why should there be such extreme poverty of art, and such painful lack of variety, in their designs? In the plenitude of their art, and the infinitude of their designs, the wares of the various nations of Europe cannot be distinguished from one another by the inexorable standard of fixed forms alone. True art is catholic and liberal, not local and arbitrary. Hence it is that the monotonous repetition of the same general shapes in Chinese and Japanese vases divests them of all claim to art or originality, and fails to afford us the incommunicable pleasure that the contemplation of the multiform and magnificently ornamented vases of Europe always gives us.

Italy, which may be regarded as the mother of modern pottery in Europe, is now of comparative insignificance in its ceramic productions. Its maiolica,* for which it became so justly famous, was preceded by the "mezza-maiolica," a coarser ware covered with the ordinary soft lead glaze. The principal characteristic of mezza-maiolica—which is generally very poor in quality and decoration—is its peculiar metallic lustre called *madreperla*; it changes its hues with every angle at which the light is reflected from its surface, the effect being pretty and brilliant. While there is much discussion as to the time and manner of the European discovery of the stanniferous glaze, or tin enamel, which had for centuries before been used by the Chinese, Egyptians and Saracens, the credit of improving it and bringing it into general use is universally conceded to Luca della Robbia, of Florence, in 1438. After this, the manufacture of enamelled ware, the real maiolica, became general throughout the Latin peninsula, the many and magnificent specimens of maiolica that were spread broadcast during the next century and

*The general term 'Maiolica,' also spelt 'Majolica,' has long been and is still erroneously applied to all varieties of glazed earthenware of Italian origin. We have seen that it was not so originally, but that the term was restricted to the lusted wares, which resemble in that respect those of the island from which they had long been imported into Italy. * * * Fabio Ferrari also, in his work upon the origin of the Italian language, states his belief 'that the use of majolica, as well as the name, came from Majorca, which the ancient Tuscan writers called Maiolica.'" Fortnum's *Maiolica*, Chap. II.

a half adding not a little to the splendor of the Italian *renaissance*—that brilliant period in her history when slumbering Italy awoke to a new art and literary life under the inspiration of the geni of her second “Augustan age”—an age ushered in by Dante, Petrarch and Boccaccio, and consummated in its effulgence by Michael Angelo, Raphael, Titian and Leo X., “Restorator of Letters” and art,—making it a bright and glorious isthmus of time between medieval darkness and modern degradation.

At the present day Italian maiolica manufactures are comparatively unimportant and are little known on this side of the Atlantic, what is made there now being chiefly copies, both in form and decoration, of the old ware. And in this connection, it may be well to state that so extensive and so entirely successful has been the copying of the old Italian maiolica, not only in modern Italy, but also in France and Germany, that it is next to impossible, even for the best judges, to distinguish the original from the copy, the marks, cracks and even the chippings being precisely alike, so that the purchaser who imagines he is buying old Italian maiolica may really be getting modern French faience. As a general thing, it may be said that Italian maiolica, past and present, was and is indifferent in form and decoration; while there were many magnificent and valuable pieces produced during the *renaissance*, as stated, they were the exception rather than the rule, even in that artistic age, so that the reader can easily infer the condition of the art in that country to-day.

The art history of faience* in France begins with Palissy ware, first made by its illustrious originator in the middle of the sixteenth century. Various kinds of pottery had been made in France long before this, of course, but it was of little artistic merit. It is to Palissy's genius and perseverance that we owe the matchless pro-

* “‘Faenza ware,’ doubtless, had its origin from the town of that name, [in Italy,] although its French equivalent, ‘faience,’ may either be a translation of the Italian, or may be derived from a town in Provence, called ‘Faience’ or ‘Fayence,’ a few miles from Cannes and Fréjus, where potteries are stated to have existed from an early period.” Fortnum's *Maiolica*, Chap. VII.

“Faience, Fayence, or Fayence, is the old French term, under which were comprised all descriptions of glazed earthenware, even inclusive of porcelain, and, to a certain extent, continues so, corresponding in its general use to the English word crockery. The name is commonly supposed to be derived from Faenza.” Marrayat's *History of Pottery and Porcelain*.

ductions which bear his name and which for three centuries have been the admiration of the world. But, excellent as was the work of his own hands and time, it is now not only equalled, but in some respects surpassed, by Barbizet of Paris, Minton of England and several others of lesser note. The chief distinction between the original ware and that made since and now, is in the fact that while Palissy confined his reliefs to the fossil shells, fish, reptiles and flowers, later and present productions also give the human figure and all living forms of animal and vegetable life.

Rouen has long been at the head of the faïence manufacture in France in quantity, quality and decoration. The variety of articles produced here, from a small plate to a large vase, fountain or fire-place, is innumerable. This faïence is preëminent in its decoration, the lace and arabesque work being especially beautiful in their design and finish. Flowers, medallions and figure scenes are also painted in the most finished style, the ground colors, while not so delicate nor brilliant as those on French porcelain, harmonizing well with the general decorations. In the early history of Rouen a great deal of the decoration was in imitation of the Chinese, and that imitation is still done here, though to a less extent than formerly.

It is only within a few years that the now famous "Limoges decoration" was given to the world, its novelty and wondrous power gaining for it at once universal attention and admiration. The ware, which is made and decorated at Limoges, and also at Bourg-la-Reine, near Paris, is a soft, unglazed faïence. The decoration is confined almost wholly to figures, flowers and foliage on a sombre, undecided, "cloud" ground; the distinctive feature of the decoration being that the colors, which are all of a dark or very subdued tone, are laid on in oil very thick and apparently very roughly. The first impression it produces upon the ordinary mind is that it is coarse, meaningless and inartistic, the colors looking as if they were "daubed" on at random and the objects of the decoration appearing dull, indistinct and unsatisfactory. But better acquaintance and a little study reverse the first, and false, impression completely. It will then be seen that it is its sombre indistinctness and daring freedom of treatment, which were at first condemned, that give it the weird charm and dreamy effect so peculiarly its own. If the two might be so compared, it might be

said that while Sevres decoration is beautiful in its delicacy and finish, that of Limoges is sublime in its power and freedom. To obtain the full meaning and effect of the latter it must be looked at with half closed eyes and in a dreamy sort of reverie. To a mind susceptible of delicate impressions, and of a poetical temperament, this "coarse, meaningless" decoration becomes pregnant with life and beauty: the leaves sway and rustle; the flowers bend on their stems and change their hues; the birds warble as they fly from branch to branch; unseen waters splash and murmur; the wind breathes in sighs and whispers; the storm clouds are gathering or breaking; the figures turn and seem to speak in some inaudible language; everything lives, moves *and grows* as we look upon the magical scene. Such is Limoges decoration. It is a style which, though appearing to be coarse and easy to do, is really one of the most difficult styles in the art, and there are yet very few artists who can do it with any marked degree of excellence, Chapelet, of Bourg-la-Reine, and Landorée, of Limoges, being the most eminent.

Gien faience is of recent introduction in this country. It is chiefly after the styles of the *renaissance*, its most distinctive feature being the predominance of ochre-yellow in its decoration. This color cannot be said to be particularly delicate or brilliant, so that the effect of its predominance is not specially pleasing, although it has many admirers. The decoration on the smaller articles is generally scroll and arabesque work, but on the tiles and plaques we find all styles of figure, landscape and marine painting in oil colors, in which the ugly ochre is not conspicuously noticeable. The scenes on these tiles and plaques are original and are usually very good, many of them being most excellent.

Nevers was formerly the rival of Rouen in the variety and quality of its faïences, but it has slowly degenerated until its productions to-day are confined almost wholly to articles of household use, the forms and decorations being merely copies of the old.

Choisy le Roi is now sending out some large plaques decorated by Dusson and Montereau, having for their subjects Arabian hunting scenes and studies of wild animal life. The first of these imported into this country have been received by Mr. Harrison of the Vatican of this city, and are well worthy of attention. The treatment is peculiarly free and effective, the coloring being es-

pecially fine, and they are unquestionably the best examples of their style that have yet been produced.

An original and quaint style of ware is now made at Dieppe. It consists of light, soft terra-cotta figures, generally of sailors and old men and women, made to fit into large mother-of-pearl shells. They are very neat and pretty ornaments for the mantel or what-not, and are deservedly popular.

In Paris, *Nacre*, an imitation of the Irish "Belleek," mother-of-pearl, ware is made by Brianchon, who has patented the process in France. It has a clear, lustrous enamel, many of the ornamental pieces being brilliantly iridescent. The ware is in the general variety and excellence of form and decoration of French wares and is becoming a great favorite.

Strange to say, Germany, so rich in all other branches of art, including porcelain, sends us very little pottery of conspicuous merit in form or decoration, if we except the *grès*, which cannot be considered as exclusively German. One style, however, worthy of special notice is the "Mettlach faïence," an unglazed ware having geometric figures and all kinds of scroll work laid on in various colored clays. These clays are laid on in strips as thin as paper and are all in subdued colors, generally light on a dark ground. The patterns on plates, vases, etc.; vary from the simplest to the most intricate and are always finished and pleasing.

The Dutch town of Delft was the first place in Europe where the modern style of ware—which with us goes under the general name of crockery—was made. Prior to its manufacture the table ware of the wealthy was made of gold and silver, of the middling classes of pewter, and of the poor of wood. But the porcelains imported into Holland from China by the early traders impelled the Dutch to imitate as nearly as possible the manufacture of a ware which they saw was so beautiful and so useful. Accordingly this new industry sprung up, first at Delft and soon after at Haarlem, the best authorities setting the date down at the beginning of the seventeenth century, although some kinds of fine ware are known to have been made long before that. The Dutch were at this period the greatest traders in the world, and their ships carried their new ware to all parts of Europe, America, and the colonies, creating an enormous demand for it in consequence of its vast utility and comparative cheapness. But it was not only useful and

cheap; it was good in quality, form and decoration as well, thus deserving the favor it so rapidly and generally received. The variety of articles made was limited only by the ingenuity of the artists in copying old shapes and designing new ones, and included everything that could be conceived for the kitchen, the dining room and the cabinet, always decorated in the best of taste and much of it in the highest art by the most distinguished artists. A happy and familiar style that originated here was that of moulding dish covers to represent animals, birds, fish, vegetables and fruits, painted after nature, to contain the articles thus represented, so that the parts of a dinner could be told by the covers of the dishes on the table. As is generally known, coffee was not used in Europe till about 1650, and tea was not introduced for some years after that, it being for many years after its introduction an expensive luxury that only the wealthy could enjoy. Tea and coffee pots, cups and saucers were not made until so recent a period as the latter part of the seventeenth century, so that the many simple folks who hug the sweet delusion to their souls that the old pots and cups they so carefully treasure and so proudly display were brought to this country by their "pilgrim fathers" are guilty, unconsciously or otherwise, of a pious fraud. The pottery manufacture of Delft, and of Holland generally, has now dwindled down to insignificance on account of the rise and progress of the manufacture in England, France, Germany and the United States, the wants of which were originally supplied by Holland but which are now supplied by home potteries. Excepting small lots of ornamental pieces, no Delft ware is now imported into this country.

The *Gres de Flandres* is the name of a species of salt-glazed stoneware that is now made in all the principal countries of Europe. Although bearing the name of Flanders, it is very questionable whether any of the ware was ever made in that country, the chief seat of its production, past and present, being the cities along the Rhine. The designs, however, are chiefly Flemish, so that the ware may properly be allowed to retain the name by which it is universally known, particularly as no one country can claim a monopoly of its manufacture. Its characteristics are a very thick, heavy, stone body of a grey color, cobalt blue decoration and relief ornamentation generally moulded with the body of the ware itself. Many of the reliefs have been modelled by hand but they

are comparatively few. While articles of every conceivable shape and for every conceivable purpose, useful and ornamental, were manufactured, most of the ware was made for the commoner domestic uses, such as jugs, crocks, drinking cups, etc. The ornamental designs were as various as the wares, the predominant ones being in panel and figure work, representing what might be called architectural designs and mouldings, enclosing figures of a religious as well as secular character. Much of the ware is also engraved or moulded in scroll work of incised lines. The greater part of the *Gres de Flandres* imported here comes from Cologne, but it is also made at numerous places along the Rhine and at other places in Germany and France and also now in England.

Denmark is at present making a very fine quality of soft pottery in buff and red, making a specialty of copying old Greek vases and other ornamental ware. The imitations are perfect—which is probably the highest compliment that could be paid them. The pleasing effect of the black decoration on the light clay, in the most finished scroll and scollop work and women, warriors and horses, characteristic of the ancient Greek style, and the peerless beauty of the forms of the vases, make them universally admired and command for them a large sale.

Sweden is also now claiming the attention of the lovers of pottery by the productions of Rörstrand and Stockholm. The wares are a soft faïence, generally of excellent form and of noteworthy merit in decoration, its vases and plaques being particularly fine. It also produces considerable quantities of Palissy ware, which is almost, if not quite, equal to the original.

Belgium, Switzerland and Russia manufacture considerable quantities of pottery and tiles, but their productions are rarely seen and little known in this country. A large proportion of the tiles are for stoves and fire-places, tile stoves being very common not only in the countries named but throughout Europe generally.

Of the other continental countries, little of interest can be said about their present condition in the art. While they all produce greater or smaller quantities of pottery, such as they make is almost all for common domestic use, possessing little artistic merit and rarely exported beyond their own borders.

In England, the pottery manufacture is to day one of her most extensive and valuable industries in the amount of capital and the

number of hands engaged in it and in the quantity of ware produced and exported. Soon after the introduction of Delft-ware, the English potters began to make ware resembling it, but it was not until the time of Josiah Wedgwood, one hundred and twenty five years ago, that English pottery became distinctly national or of special importance. To Wedgwood, more than to any other one man, does England owe the improvement and development of her ceramic manufactures, not only in the wares that bear his name but in the influence which these wares have had in improving all other kinds of ware made.

“Wedgwood ware” may be divided into four classes: (1) Queen’s ware; (2) Terra-cotta; (3) Jasper, and (4) Porcelain-bisque. These classes may be briefly described as follows: Queen’s ware (so called in 1762 after Queen Charlotte, who ordered a complete set of it for table use,) which is about the same as our ordinary white earthenware, is of a delicate cream color, either plain or decorated, and is wholly for domestic use. Terra-cotta ware, including the “Pebble-wares,” resembles agate, granite, porphyry and other silicious and crystallic stones. This class ranks next to the jasper ware in the variety and beauty of the articles made. Jasper-ware, which Wedgwood himself described as “a white porcelain-bisque of exquisite beauty and delicacy, possessing the general qualities of the basalt, together with that of receiving colors through its whole substance in a manner which no other *body*, ancient or modern, has been known to do,” is the ware which has given the inventor his greatest fame and which is commonly known to the world as the distinctive “Wedgwood-ware.” This ware is so familiar to all as to make a description of its qualities and beauties scarcely necessary. But a few words upon it may be interesting. It is of a white porcelain-bisque body burned once and left unglazed, like the terra-cotta. (It may be noticed here that this is the same as “Parian marble,” now so common in ornamental objects, which is simply a hard, white, once burned and unglazed terra-cotta.) In the commoner articles the relief work is moulded with the body of the ware; in the better articles it is moulded separately and laid on with “slip;” and in some of the very finest articles it is modelled by hand. It is this relief work that gives jasper-ware its chief value and beauty, it being the finest, most delicate, work of the kind ever attempted in the ceramic art.

Some of the cameos and plaques, in flower work and ancient Greek and mythological subjects, are works of the highest art in design and finish, and even the simpler specimens are worthy of admiring study for their beauty and completeness. As a rule, the relief work is always of a soft, liquid white on a blue ground, but the latter is occasionally black, green or purple. Vast quantities of cameos, intaglios, and medallions are made for buttons, articles of jewelry, ornaments for furniture and trinkets of various kinds. The fourth class of Wedgwood ware—"Porcelain bisque"—is subdivided into black (or basalt), white and bamboo colored, and an extremely hard variety for laboratory use.

The character and infinite variety of the articles produced at the Wedgwood potteries at Etruria, can be best learned from Wedgwood's catalogue, divided into twenty classes as follows: Class I. includes cameos and intaglios; Egyptian, Grecian and Roman mythology; ancient philosophers, sovereigns; fabulous age of Greece; war of Troy; Roman history; masks, chimæras; illustrious moderns and miscellaneous subjects. The number of cameos is 1764 and of intaglios 394. II. includes bas-reliefs, medallions, tablets, etc. III. IV. and V. include kings, illustrious persons and scenes in Grecian, Egyptian and Roman history down to the removal of the seat of empire to Constantinople. IX. includes kings of England and France. X. includes heads of illustrious moderns. XI. includes busts ranging in height from four to twenty-five inches. XII. includes lamps and candelabra. XIII. includes tea and coffee equipages, all in bamboo-ware, basaltes-ware and jasper-ware, polished (not glazed), within. XIV. includes flower and root pots. XV. includes ornamental vases of antique forms in the terra-cotta resembling agate, jasper, porphyry and other variegated stones of the crystalline kind. XVI. includes vases of black porcelain or artificial basaltes. XVII. includes vases, poteræ, tablets, etc., with encaustic paintings. XVIII. includes vases, tripods and other ornaments in the jasper. XIX. includes ink-stands, mortars, paint-chests, eye-cups and chemical vessels. XX. includes thermometers for measuring strong fires or the degrees of heat above ignition.

Next to Wedgwood, the name of Doulton stands conspicuous in the ceramic history of England for the improvements and inventions made in the art. The works were originally established

by John Doulton and John Watts in 1815, but it was not until the Paris Exhibition of 1867, when the first artistic display of "Doulton ware" was made, that the ware merited or received special attention, and it was not until so recent a date as 1872 that the now celebrated "Lambeth Faience" was perfected and given to the world. Doulton ware, properly so-called, is a heavy stoneware of the same nature and general characteristics as the *Gres de Flandres*, of which it is, what the makers call, "an English revival, upon perfectly independent principles." The *Gres* having been already described, nothing more need be said upon the subject than to state that, while the *Gres* are almost exclusively ornamented in relief work or incised lines and decorated in blue, Doulton-ware is also decorated in all kinds of flower, figure and animal work in the usual variety of colors. Two styles worthy of particular notice are the "jeweled work," having beads inlaid in scrolls, and the "sgraffiato work," copied from the Italian. "Sgraffiato" is the delineation of figures, flowers and animals by incised lines, without color decoration, the Messrs Barlow and Watts being preëminent in this specialty. Lambeth faience, resembling Italian maiolica more than any other ware, is the finest kind of pottery now made in the quality of its body and the smoothness of its surface, which enables it to take the most finished and elaborate decoration as delicately as porcelain. It would be simply impossible to enumerate here the countless number of articles and styles of decoration to be found in the stoneware and faience of the vast establishment at Lambeth. They embrace nearly all the varieties made elsewhere (exclusive of porcelain), and many originals not made elsewhere. The one great advantage the present Messrs. Doulton enjoy—and which may be accepted as the secret of their success—is the coöperation of the "Lambeth School of Art" in supplying trained designers and decorators of their ware. It is the students of this school of art who have given the Doulton ware and Lambeth faience such originality and variety of form and decoration. So boundless are their resources, and so inexhaustible are the conceptions of artistic minds that every piece of ware thus far produced is literally "unique"—all the decoration being by hand, and no two articles, of the many thousands sent out, being exactly alike in their decorations.

Messrs. Minton & Co., and Copeland & Sons, of Stoke-on-Trent, before noticed as excelling in porcelain, also excel in various kinds

of pottery, though their productions are not so extensive as those of Wedgwood or Doulton. Messrs. Minton are chiefly celebrated for their tiles, of which they are the foremost manufacturers, in quantity and decoration, in the world. They also manufacture immense quantities of Parian marble ware—more, probably, than any other house.

The potteries thus far noticed include all the principal ones now existing in Europe that, like the porcelain potteries named, have a universal reputation for excellence in their various specialties. There are of course innumerable other ones producing all grades and styles of pottery and porcelain, good, bad and indifferent, but few of them are known on this side of the Atlantic, and it would be uninteresting to give the names of even the more prominent of these lesser ones when there is little or nothing in their wares worthy of special notice—except, perhaps, the fidelity with which many of them copy the finer productions of other European and Oriental potteries.

The history of the growth of ceramic art in the United States is not a particularly brilliant one. Some of the coarsest grades of pottery were made here in the last century, and some even in the century before, but so slow, comparatively, has been the growth of the manufacture that it was not until within the past twenty-five years that it attained any considerable importance as a national industry. And even at the present day, notwithstanding the many European examples to copy from, if not to improve upon (and it is certainly better to make a good copy than a bad original),—notwithstanding the many advantages we enjoy for manufacturing in this country—notwithstanding the marvellous advances we have made in all other important manufactures, equalling nearly all, and surpassing most, of those of Europe—notwithstanding all this, our ceramic ware to-day, artistically considered, is relatively insignificant, there being not a single pottery in this country that will even remotely compare with the principal ones of Europe in the more ornamental wares. Can it be that our American potters have less brains, originality and enterprise than other American manufacturers, or than the European potters? That is the natural, and unflattering, inference from their failure to produce thus far anything distinctively national or worthy of special notice. The various kinds and vast quantities of pottery now pro-

duced at Trenton, N. J., East Liverpool, Ohio, and many other places, are very good in their way, and certainly are not surpassed by the ordinary domestic wares of Europe, in form or quality, but it is in the quality, forms and decorations of the finer service and ornamental wares that the deficiencies and omissions of our domestic potteries are so painfully evident to the critical eye and cultivated taste. But there are "signs and tokens" that the long reign of this absolute despotism of ugliness and mediocrity is approaching the fulness of its age; many potteries are at last awakening to the necessity of doing something more than they have done in the past in order to keep pace with the progress and culture of the age; among them may be noticed one at North Cambridge, Mass., making a very fair kind of Doulton ware, the Etruria Pottery of Messrs. Otto & Brewer, Trenton, N. J., making some very good ornamental work in Parian and other ware, and some really excellent vases and statuettes after original designs, and the pottery of Messrs. Laughlin Bros., East Liverpool, Ohio, using newly discovered materials for the composition of its wares, and promising well for the future in quality and originality.

But, as before stated, the lamentable lack of native artistic talent, both in designing and decorating our domestic wares, is the chief want to be deplored in the present and supplied in the future. What we most urgently require—and what we *must have* if we would have our ceramic and other manufactures artistically equal to those of Europe—are public collections and schools of art, such as they have in Europe, affording the necessary opportunities for the training of art students and for the cultivation of a popular art taste, and until these opportunities are provided by the state or by generous private endowment, it will be absurd for us to flatter ourselves that we are an artistic people in the present, and be inconsistent for us to promise that we will be artistic in the future. But of this, more anon.

JAMES JOSEPH TALBOT.

LECKY'S ENGLAND IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.*

THE title of this book claims for it a symmetrical character, which no impartial critic will concede to the work. It is, indeed, a history of England under Anne and the first two Georges, in which a place is found for every essential fact. But it is much more than this; it is by excess and not by defect that it fails to correspond to its title. Embedded in the history are long and valuable disquisitions upon points of especial interest to the author, which, to do him justice, he also succeeds in making of interest to his readers. It is a history written from an Irish point of view, and with a distinctly anti-Froudean tendency. Not content with the flaying and impalement administered to that unhappy author's *History of the English in Ireland* in his own *Leaders of Irish Public Opinion*, Mr. Lecky resurrects the dead that he may enjoy the worse than Turkish pleasure of repeating the punishment.

England, of course, occupies the central place in the Irish scholar's narrative. And very learned and wise must be the Englishman whom Mr. Lecky cannot tell something new about the history of his country. That wonderful wealth of unusual information, which imparts the element of surprise to every page of his *History of Christian Morals*, is not indeed possible in this less recondite field of study; but still there are passages without number in this book, which recall the pleasure we enjoyed in reading the earlier work. For instance, he casts much new light on the relation of parties during the struggle of Queen Anne's time. He gives quite conclusive proofs that the Whigs formed a minority which could at no time have commanded the support of the bulk of the nation, were it not that the Tories were at every point forced by a strange fatality to "put their worst foot foremost," to assume an unpatriotic and un-English attitude. It was this that not only saved the day for the House of Hanover, but compelled the earlier Georges to throw themselves into the arms of the Whigs, even when the less violent Tories would gladly have come to terms with the new dynasty. When the Whigs were once in the saddle, they were

*A HISTORY OF ENGLAND IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY. By William Edward Hartpole Lecky. In two volumes, pp. XIX., 626; XVI., 629. New York: D. Appleton & Co.

favored by all the tendencies of the country in that age,—by the decline of the love of kingship and of religious zeal, and by the growth of the industrial spirit and of the power of the mercantile and other middle classes.

Walpole is described with a warm appreciation of the real greatness of the man, and with an equally keen eye for his gross defects. The intermediate nobodies, who held the reins till Pitt was ready to take them, are vivified for us, as far as history can do it at this date and with such material to work on. But it is on Pitt that the author spends his best efforts, and Americans will very greatly enjoy the noble picture of one of our truest friends,—“this remarkable man, who, in spite of many glaring defects, was undoubtedly one of the noblest, as he was one of the greatest, who have appeared in English politics.” England has had no other statesman “whose fame has been so dazzling and so universal, or concerning whose genius and character there has been so little dispute.” There is in modern history no more striking instance of that strange and incalculable force called eloquence, in which force of character, force of intellect and force of speech are blended and fused into a something vaster and mightier than we should expect from a separate study of the capabilities of each. In two sentences, he could make the Parliament feel and act like a pack of whipped schoolboys under the eye of their dominie, or could send their blood whirling through their veins with such speed that the mere physical sensation was an acute pain. And he combined with these powers an insight into practical matters, such as the conduct of a great war or the adjustment of the finances, which no plodding common-sense master of business details ever surpassed. To use Goethe’s word of Napoleon, the daimonic in the man surpassed calculation and beggared foresight.

The portions of the work devoted to Ireland and Scotland, while out of proportion in point of bulk, are of very great value and interest. Mr. Lecky shows that Scotland and Ireland in the eighteenth century may be taken respectively as instances of the power of good laws to bless, and of bad laws to curse, the communities for which they are enacted. He has, of course, no belief in the omnipotence of legislation; but he thinks that in this instance the full extent of its power receives twofold illustration. We incline to think that in both instances he has overstated the case.

His picture of Scotland under the old regime of Presbytery, is drawn after the lines of Chambers and Buckle, and is essentially misleading. Just how far an ecclesiastical system *can* inflict misery upon the bulk of a people, and just how far the Presbyterian system was likely to do so for a people as stern and grave as the Scotch, neither of these historians ever set themselves to ask. Nor have they ever explained to us why the Scotch have clung to their Church system with an enthusiasm hardly paralleled in the annals of Protestantism; why the Kirk only alienated them when she seemed inclined to relax her strictness; and why this system of life, discipline and belief still holds fast the best educated and most intelligent nation of all who speak the English tongue. The truth is that no modern historians, except Mr. Carlyle, Mr. Burton, and perhaps Mr. Masson,—all three Scotchmen,—have succeeded in putting themselves in the old Scotchman's place and in seeing things with his eyes. They have never felt the fascination of the Presbyterian theocracy, and the witchery of its severity. And they are therefore quite incompetent to understand how it fitted into the *perferoïdum ingenium* of the covenanted nation, and what the world has lost in the disappearance of that type and its replacement by the mercantile type of the modern "cannie Scot."

As to Ireland, it is altogether a mistake to measure the miseries inflicted by a body of bad laws by the terms of those laws, without considering how far the existence of common humanity made them incapable of execution. If the penal laws had been executed fully, Ireland would have seen her people flying to every other land, in order to escape the armies needed to carry them into effect. As a matter of fact, it was not the Catholic population, but the Presbyterians, who fled from Ireland to America. The wretched legislation about marriages, which enabled the prosecution for concubinage, in a bishop's court, of those who had been married by Presbyterian ceremony, drove more people to America than did all the penal laws. The Revolution of 1775-83 found Ulster full of sympathy for the American cause, while the Catholic districts of Ireland poured in loyal addresses, praying that his Majesty's arms might be fully victorious over his rebellious subjects in the colonies. The first great lesson in discontent was taught to Catholic by Presbyterian Ireland. The Order of United Irishmen was first established in the Presbyterian head-quarters, which, within

the memory of people still living, was known as "rebelly Belfast," and Presbyterian clergymen and laymen were among the most prominent victims who mounted the scaffold for their share in "the '98."

Mr. Lecky sees the political side of Ireland's troubles more clearly than the economical. He has not yet come to appreciate the full greatness of this latter aspect of history; indeed he never will do so as long as he remains merely a pupil of the English Economists. It is the poverty of Ireland, thrust upon her first by bad and thoroughly enforced laws, and then perpetuated by the force of superior capital, that is the root of her perpetual discontent. It is this that makes "population a drug," in an underpopulated country, and that drives her people abroad from fertile and idle acres to enrich every other land by their toil,—

. quae regio
Nostri non plena laboris?

And it is this that, by the instance of Ireland, mocks before the world, the claim that the English are the true exponents of that science whose theme is "the nature and causes of the wealth of nations." If, indeed, they are the masters of the science, why has all their skill failed them in their attempts to apply their art to Ireland? To their various specious but superficial reasons for their failure, an answer has already been given in these pages in the article "The Economic Wrongs of Ireland."

The student of musical history will be struck by the account of Handel's popularity in Ireland, as contrasted with his utter failure to command the English ear. The King and Queen had the theatre almost to themselves when the oratorios of their favorite were performed, and Chesterfield withdrew from the Haymarket on one occasion, because he "did not wish to intrude on his sovereign's privacy." The great musician was twice made bankrupt; it was the fashion to decry his work, and to conspire for his injury. At last, in 1741, he went over to Dublin to meet with a warmth of welcome far beyond his expectation. It was in April, 1742, that the *Messiah* was sung for the first time, and in Dublin, by the Cathedral and Christ Church choirs and other native singers. It was a complete success, but when reproduced in London an equally complete failure. The tide only turned when the English Jews raised a great subscription for the performance of *Fudas Macca-*

beus, and when the *Dettingen Te Deum* forever associated his name with a great national victory. When the *Messiah* was brought out once more in 1750, it enjoyed the first of those great successes which have continued in England till our own time.

The nearly utter blank presented by the history of English pictorial art, prior to Hogarth's first success in 1731, does not escape Mr. Lecky. It was not that the English had absolutely no pictures and no artists. They imported both from the the continent. They were proud to entertain Holbein, Vandyck and Lely; they treasured Raphael's cartoons and other famous pictures. But the country of Reynolds, Blake, Gainsborough, Turner, Leighton and Hunt, produced simply nothing of its own, although in music it had some excellent names, and in poetry no rival. Hogarth marks an absolute beginning, and such a beginning! No charm of color, no sense of beauty, no breath of the ideal, ennobles his canvass. A homely realism, a vigor of caricature, an eye for every-day life, a taste for moralizing, and at times the outbreak of a sombre imagination, mark the true-born English painter. It is now Butler,—now Crabbe—transferred from verse to canvass, and all English life reproduced with the fidelity of a photograph.

Another branch of art which was greatly cultivated at this time was landscape-gardening. It was early in the century that the Dutch taste for stiffness and formality—patronized by Temple and by William III.—gave way to that for a really artistic treatment of the landscape. During the century, the number of foreign plants and flowers cultivated, rose from one to five thousand.

Mr. Lecky has included in his studies of English history many topics which throw much light on the moral and social conditions of the people, but which are commonly ignored by history. In this he shares Macaulay's great merit as a historian. The part played by gin in English history, for instance, and the spread of intemperate habits from the rich to the poor by means of its adoption, is not beneath the dignity of his historic muse. He quotes old English writers to show that the English learnt drunkenness from the Low Dutch and the Germans, but that the habit attained a universality without precedent in the Hanoverian period. Statesmen like Bolingbroke, and moralists like Addison, to say nothing of poor Dick Steele, were among its victims. And with the rise of gin-drinking, drunkenness became a cheap indulgence instead of an expensive luxury. The gin-shop signs offered to make their

customers "drunk for a penny, and dead drunk for two pence." Insanity, dropsy and crime increased rapidly, and in 1751 the first preventive legislation was adopted. It did much good, but the habit is still a national curse, and the source of much of the wickedness and misery of the English poor.

Mr. Lecky's second volume closes with a sketch of the rise of Methodism, which began to organize in 1738. The friends and representatives of Methodism are content with the accuracy of his picture; the less interested reader will search English literature in vain for any equal to it. He brings into due prominence those secondary personages, whom we are sometimes disposed to neglect or underrate in view of the greatness of the Wesleys and Whitfield. Such are Lady Huntingdon, the Pope Joan of Calvinistic Methodism, and her friends Berridge, Toplady, Romaine and Grimshaw. Readers who know Mr. Lecky only from his *History of Rationalism*, will perhaps be surprised to find him praising Methodism chiefly for its strong reaffirmation of the evangelical doctrine of justification and reconciliation, by which religious consolation is brought to men "in the twilight of the understanding, in the half-lucid intervals that precede death, when the imagination is enfeebled and discolored by disease, when all the faculties are confused and dislocated, when all the buoyancy and hopefulness of nature is crushed." "The doctrine of justification by faith, which divests the wandering mind from all painful and perplexing retrospect, concentrates the imagination on one Sacred Figure, and persuades the sinner that the sins of a life have in a moment been effaced, has enabled thousands to encounter death with perfect calm, or even with vivid joy, and has consoled innumerable mourners at a time when all the commonplaces of philosophy would appear the idlest of sounds." But he justly charges upon the Methodist movement many of the needless collisions between popular Christianity and the mature thought of the nineteenth century.

Is the work complete, or have we here but an instalment of it? There is nothing in the preface, or the conclusion, or any where else, to enable us to answer this question. That the actual history closes with the year 1760, seems to indicate that Mr. Lecky has not yet given us all that he means to write. We shall be glad if this conjecture be true, for, in spite of some faults, we have had no such recent addition to our historical literature.

JOHN DYER.

NEW BOOKS.

ON ACTORS AND THE ART OF ACTING, by George Henry Lewes, author of "The Story of Goethe's life," "Problems of Life and Mind," etc. New York, Henry Holt & Co., Amateur Series: pp. 237.

The publishers have made a curious selection of books for their new series, and the word 'amateur' is strikingly unsuited to such good books as those that discuss Turner the painter and Wagner the musician, to Moscheles' Diary, and Berlioz' Autobiography, for these men were all real artists and as little like amateurs as possible. So, too, this volume has to do with hard working professional actors, and barely mentions any play that would be of the slightest use to amateurs. Title apart, however, the book is a fairly good one,—that is, it would be noteworthy, if it were by anybody less known than Lewes, for his literary workmanship is always good, albeit at times a little heavy even in serious subjects. His tread is elephantine on the boards, and it is plain to see that he has carried his solemn contemplative philosophic mood with him to the theatre, and his criticisms are far above the heads of ordinary actors and audiences. Mr Lewes feels the want of some explanation for the publication of a book made up of old newspaper articles, and he gives his reason for publishing it, in a prefatory letter to Anthony Trollope, into which he puts a strong argument for improving the theatre, both behind and before the curtain, and says the object of reprinting his remarks 'is to call upon the reflective part of the public, to make some attempt at discriminating the sources of theatrical emotion', while he excuses the repetitions and asks to be forgiven for not giving an exhaustive criticism, in articles written in haste, during a period of dramatic degradation. As we are still living in that unhappy stage, it is to be regretted that Mr. Lewes has not made his book worthy of his subject; but even as it is, we may be thankful to him for so much sound criticism. The subjects of Mr. Lewes' articles are Edmund and Charles Kean, Rachel, Macready, Farren, Charles Mathews, Frederic Lemaitre, the two Keeleys, Shakspeare as Actor and Critic, Natural Acting, Foreign Actors on our Stage, The Drama in Paris, (1865), Germany (1867), Spain, (1867), and First Impressions of Salvini (1875). As Mr. Lewes first saw Kean in 1825, he may fairly be said to have covered half a century of theatre going, and as his article on Macready was published in 1851, he must have been a critic for over half that long period. He speaks, therefore, as one having authority and experience, and he speaks well,—his theories of the conditions of good acting are to be read with respect, even if they do not command entire assent, but it is to be regretted that he has not given re-

vision at least to the words, as well as to the ideas of his old publications,—such phrases as ‘languorous,’ ‘equanimous,’ and ‘flopulent,’ suggest hasty preparation that may have been incidental to rapid composition on the night of a performance that called for immediate newspaper notice, but after all this lapse of years Mr. Lewes might have found their equivalents in good English words. It is sad to see the praise given by Mr. Lewes to Fechter, when that actor was really great, and to look upon the man in his decay here in our own time, but Mr. Lewes’ criticism is fair and flattering, so that it may, perhaps, serve to warn others off the dangerous road down which Fechter has fallen to ruin. Mr. Lewes sets the German stage on a high level for thoroughness, and he has known it for thirty years; he reaffirms what was said when his article on the subject was first written, but he republishes it with no sign as to the time or place when it was printed; he does not give unqualified praise to the French, and he points out the great vice of all modern acting,—that the drama, from being an art, has passed into an amusement, and that, perhaps, explains all the faults he has so carefully noted. His book is a useful and sensible addition to our small stock of sound theatrical literature.

THE SARCASM OF DESTINY; OR NINA’S EXPERIENCE. A Novel, by
M. E. W. S. New York, D. Appleton & Co.

The Sarcasm of Destiny sets out with an energetic oburgation of the God Sham and his many worshippers, deals with life, fashionable and otherwise, in many quarters, the authoress moving her puppets, as occasion seems to require, from Urania—a rural paradise—to Washington, New York, Paris, New Orleans, Baden-Baden and various other points. There is a hurrying to and fro of a crowd of dramatis personæ, who are not always well enough individualized to be readily distinguishable from one another.

Dr. Wesselenyii, the hero, is one of those adroit, unprincipled creatures whose erratic movements lady novelists delight to speculate upon, and whom they would do far better to abandon to the police courts. In accordance with the features of the type, he is a marvel of skill in his profession, and an Admirable Crichton generally. His having a wife (Peggy) lying *perdu* around the corner, does not hinder him from making love to and gaining the affection of Nina, the heroine of the story. This untoward circumstance being discovered, their marriage is not rendered impossible—it is only postponed! The Doctor leaves Urania, and is next heard of as a surgeon in the Union army during the war of the Rebellion.

While attending to some wounded men late at night, he is captured by a company of Mosby’s guerillas, and is believed to be dead.

In the meanwhile, Nina, after travelling in the vain attempt to soothe her aching heart, marries her French cousin (Vigée) whom she does not love, and with whom she goes to France. In due course of time, he becomes absurdly jealous of her, while playing false himself. Discovering his treachery, Nina determines to leave him and return to the parental mansion at Urania. Before departing from Paris, she is summoned to the death-bed of the partner of his illicit love and finds her none other than Peggy, the wife of her first love. Assuming the charge of the child of Vigée and Peggy, she takes up her journey homeward, to find that her family has been ruined financially. She is now obliged to support herself as a music teacher.

Doctor Wesselenyii again comes upon the scene, as one of a number of Andersonville prisoners, and falls to the care of Clara Davenport, another of the Urania belles, who, with patriotic self-devotion, has become a hospital nurse. He comes to her a mere wreck, and almost imbecile in consequence of the suffering and privations to which he has been submitted. After many weeks of careful nursing, he is himself again, of which no further proof is needed than the fact of his engaging himself to marry Clara, who, it seems, has always been deeply in love with him. The man of many engagements, however, learns the story of his first—or, rather, his second—love, and incontinently turns his back upon Clara. After many difficulties, which to the ordinary mind would seem insuperable, but which the authoress kindly overcomes for him, he marries Nina.

The book cannot have been written with any intention of pointing a moral. Good novels never are, we should say. As far, however, as they are based on careful studies of life they should, in a lesser way, afford the reader the opportunity of drawing a moral for himself. In this case the writer would seem to show that the hero of a novel need have no character worth mentioning, and that an air of mystery and the possession of a due share of the graces (?) of life is all that is needed to gain the affection of a pure, maidenly, accomplished woman. Perhaps, however, M. E. W. S. does not mean to have us believe that this is as it should be; for does she not call her book "*The Sarcasm of Destiny*"? Still, the story is a harmless one, since it is too artificial to be accepted by any but the most careless reader as a truthful mirror of life anywhere. This, too, in spite of a certain facility and cleverness which makes us believe that, with a smaller canvass, and a more careful study of actual life, the author may some day give us a book which, if not more interesting, may yet be better worth the reading.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

- The Growth of the Steam Engine. By Prof. R. H. Thurston. 8vo. Paper. Pp. 94. New York: D. Appleton & Co.
- Literature Primers—Greek Literature. By R. C. Jebbs. New York: D. Appleton & Co. [Porter & Coates.
- Science Primers—Political Economy. By W. S. Jevons. New York: D. Appleton & Co. [Porter & Coates.
- Collection of Foreign Authors, No. IX. The Godson of a Marquis; from the French of André Theuriet. S'wd. Pp. 268. Price 50¢cents. New York: D. Appleton & Co. [Porter & Coates.
- Studies on the Creative Week. By George D. Boardman. Cloth. 12mo. Pp. 338. New York: D. Appleton & Co. [Porter & Coates.
- The American System—Latin. Charts with Text. By C. C. Schaffer. Cloth. 4to. Pp. 35. Philadelphia: Charles, Brother & Co.
- A General Catalogue of Choice Books for the Library. 12mo. Paper. Pp. 238. Price 25 cents. Cincinnati: Robert Clarke & Co.
- The Cincinnati Organ. With a brief description of the Cincinnati Music Hall. Edited by George Ward Nichols. S'wd. Pp. 82. Cincinnati: Robert Clarke & Co.
- Off on a Comet! From the French of Jules Verne. By Edward Roth. 12mo. Cloth. Pp. 472. Price \$1.50. Philadelphia: Claxton, Remsen & Haffelfinger.
- Pogonuc People—Their Loves and Lives. By Harriet Beecher Stowe. Illustrated. 12mo. Cloth. Pp. 375. New York: Fords, Howard & Hulbert.
- A Trip up the Volga to the Fair of Nijni-Novgorod. By H. A. Munro-Butler-Johnstone, M. P., with thirteen illustrations. 12mo. Cloth. Pp. 206. Price \$1.25. Philadelphia: Porter & Coates.
- Our Revenue System and the Civil Service; Shall they be Reformed? By Abraham L. Earle, with preface, by Prof. William G. Sumner. 12mo. S'wd. Pp. 52. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. Porter & Coates.
- France and the United States: Their Present Commercial Relations considered with Relation to a Treaty of Reciprocity. 12mo. S'wd. Pp. 44. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. [Porter & Coates,
- Suffrage in Cities. By Simon Sterne. 12mo. S'wd. Pp. 41. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. [Porter & Coates.
- The Art of Sketching from Nature. By Thomas Rowbotham. Illustrations by Thomas L. Rowbotham, Revised by Susan N. Carter. 16mo. Cloth. Pp. 74. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. [Porter & Coates.
- Current Discussion, Vol. II. Questions of Belief. 12mo. Cloth. Pp. 360. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. [Porter & Coates.
- Protection and Revenue in 1877. By William G. Sumner. 12mo. S'wd. Pp. 38. Price 25 cents. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. [Porter & Coates.
- Farming near Home; or Suggestions for State Legislation against Hard Times. Paper. Pp. 16. Philadelphia: R. J. Wright.
- Life after Death; or Post-Mortem Accountability. By Joseph A. Sciss, D. D. 16mo. S'wd. Pp. 39. Philadelphia: G. W. Frederick.
- Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione. Bolletino Ufficiale, III. Marzo 1878. Roma. Eredi Botta.
- Bulletin de L'Académie Royale de Belgique. Tome 45. No. 3. Bruxelles: F. Hayez.

CORRECTION.—A lady, who is a member of the Local Committee in charge of the Harvard Examinations for Women, writes to correct an error into which I have fallen in the article "The Use and Abuse of Examinations." She tells me that while the Harvard Catalogue for the current year is quite right in speaking of three ladies who passed the *preliminary* examinations in 1877, Professor Dunbar is equally right in speaking of three who had passed the *advanced* examination. They did so *previously* to 1877.

R. E. T.

THE
PENN. MONTHLY.

JULY.

THE MONTH.

THAT Congress has met after all, is chiefly notable as a comment on the Earl of Beaconsfield. Like other over-clever people who have sold their shadows to the Enemy, he has the gift of turning to naught the wisest prophecies about his career. But he defeats prediction only through the predominance of personal and small motives, where greater are expected. Being, indeed, a man without solid and earnest convictions and attachments, he has no role to play except that of astonishing the world and making himself current in the speech of men. He is a more vulgar Faust, running through the gamut of existence so far as it is accessible to him, and with the aim chiefly of filling the eyes and the attention of mankind. The indulgence of this sort of vanity is at first a servant we can tame; but, as the readers of the life of Dickens must have noticed, the appetite grows with the thing it feeds on, and the pleasure becomes the man's master. He must have it. Any step, however consistent with past utterances, which might remand the actor to a second place, is shunned; any which keeps him in the foremost is found reasonable and right, however it may clash with the man's professions. In case he had declared war, the public eye would have been fixed, of course, upon the field and its generals; and with all his versatility, "this man they call Dizzy," has never given us any reason to expect to see him under fire. But a great

conference of European chancellors and lesser statesmen—what a field for Vivian Grey that is. Yes, he will have a congress, and he will be his own ambassador, to the world's astonishment. He will sit among the Bismarcks and Gortschakoffs in the most august assembly of the world, among the *major-domos* who rule Europe in the name of its *faincant* kings. So, presto! the tone of European diplomacy changes; if Russia will concede this and that lesser point, we will leave the great results of the war untouched. She must promise to go no farther in Asia; she must relinquish to Europe the protectorate of Southern Bulgaria; she must concede the right of the Congress to provide for the future of the Danube, which is to flow into the sea between territory owned and territory protected by the Czar. And with this granted, she shall have Bessarabia and Batoum, and the Bulgarian protectorate. This outline was agreed on long before it was publicly announced, and its premature publication excited no little indignation among the English Mohammedans; but the man who educated the Tories into voting for Household Suffrage is not likely to be overborne by the convictions of his supporters on a question of foreign policy.

That Beaconsfield has some ulterior end in view, and that the whole of his plans are not covered by the agreement with Russia, seems likely enough, and it is more than hinted. Whether it be the annexation of Egypt by England, or an English protectorate of Asia Minor, it is in either case a blunder. The great bugbear in the English mind for the last twenty years, has been the gradual approach of the frontiers of the British and the Russian Empires. All England was startled to learn that on a clear day and with a good glass, an observer on the Himalayahs could see in the far north mountain peaks which lie within the Russian lines. But setting up a protectorate over the Levant would be going to meet the danger; it would be making the area of danger and responsibility infinitely larger than it is. The seizure of Egypt would be open to the same objection, though in a less degree, while it would be still more open to an objection which lies against both proposals. It would offend and alienate France, the one friend—not indeed a very zealous friend—whom England still has on the continent. French resistance has already been foreshadowed. M. Waddington avows that the Republic has in so far inherited the Eastern policy of the Empire, as to ask and insist that Egypt and Syria be left out of the

discussion. Nobody seems to ask whether the Turk likes or dislikes these proposals from his next of kin, and whatever be the outcome of the Congress, the one great result of the war has been secured. Europe will no longer tolerate the robbery and destruction of Christian populations by Moslem rulers.

It is a greatly excited Berlin in which the Congress is holding its secret sessions. The second attempt upon the life of the Emperor, made by a young man of good family and of education, has produced a far more profound impression upon the people and the governing class. It is not only that the Emperor was wounded, and for a man of his age very dangerously, but the notion of a wide-spread conspiracy of revolutionary communists has been fostered by this reiteration of the attack, and by the expressions of approval with which it was received in many quarters and even foretold in some. In the interval between the two attacks, the National Liberals in the Imperial Parliament had thrown out the restrictive legislation proposed in consequence of the first. Immediately after the second, Bismarck, in spite of their protest that they were now ready to adopt such legislation, declared his purpose to dissolve Parliament and to appeal to the nation against them. He may be right; but the result is by no means certain. Bismarck is more skilled in guessing what kings and cabinets will do, than in forecasting the decision of constituencies. He has been too much accustomed to having his own way in spite of the people, to have any inducement to study the drifts and tendencies of public opinion as more liberal statesmen do.

We do not hope for his success. Heartily as we detest the principles of enmity to the whole order of society, which have been sown broad-cast throughout Germany, we do not look to physical force as the right means for their repression. Mad as is the attempt to introduce a new Golden Age by murder and bloodshed, equally mad is it to retaliate by such means, (farther than is demanded by overt acts of violence,) in defence of the family and social life and the industrial freedom of society. Even if repression should succeed, which we think quite possible, an injury will have been done to those sacred interests in whose behalf it has been exerted. Men will be led to regard social order as resting on stacked bayonets or the gallows, instead of the hard-pan rock of God's will.

In the death of Lord John Russell this generation has lost a spectator whose activity belonged to those which preceded it. He was a prominent statesman and leader before most of us were born. He had led a forlorn hope to victory, in a time whose very ideas are of the past. His life would be worthy of detailed study, because of the light it casts on many things in English history. He was the most perfect exemplification England has had since John Locke, of the Whig temper, of the unenthusiastic, doctrinaire party. Theories, measures, plans, were everything to him; actual human beings were nothing, except they were possessed of a vote. Like our own Sumner, he was too much occupied with plans for the welfare of great masses of men, to have any time to waste on individuals; "a point not yet reached by the Maker of mankind," as Mrs. Howe caustically remarked. For this, among other reasons, Lord Russell could never be in the true sense a leader of his people, as Palmerston and Pitt were, because he could not understand their prejudices and their sympathies. Born and bred a monarchist, and leading for years the government of a monarchical country, he was far more utterly destitute of the imaginative sense of loyalty, than the average American republican. It was the law he worshipped, the abstract principle which underlay the national unity, and not the concrete kingship which embodied it. And yet he was an excellent instance of the great benefits which England derives from the possession of a recognized aristocracy. He had all the qualities of the Russells. Everybody knew where he was strong and what his weaknesses were. Every emergency found him cool and clear-headed; as Sydney Smith said of him, "he would take command of the Channel Fleet at an hour's notice." But it needed an emergency to draw him out. In the piping times of peace, he was a nuisance to his friends and the delight of his enemies,—certain to do more harm to the cause he was fighting for than that he fought against.

As Americans, we have little to thank him for. His conduct in the *Alabama* business, as he afterwards confessed, was dictated by the most selfish views as regards British interests. He would not stop her, because he wanted to retain to England the profitable business of building ships of war for neutrals. The unconscious Machiavellianism of British statesmanship, as De Tocqueville calls it, the conviction that whatever advances English interests

must be right, and *vice versa*, was never more amply illustrated. But he showed true English pluck in his resistance to our demands for compensation when first made, and still more in his downright confession that he had been wrong, when he came to see the matter in the true light.

THE historian of the American Congress will have his groan over the weary length of many an uninteresting session; but he will find that which has just closed lively enough for his purposes. It will lend itself to effective literary treatment and skilful grouping. At no time since the end of the war, with the possible exception of the struggle with President Johnson, has there been so much to excite the feeling that we were looking on while history was making. And this has been all the more true, in view of the comparative passivity of the Executive. The President has but once put forward his hand to control the course of legislation and then altogether in vain.

But when we come down to details, the result is less satisfactory. It was indeed a session free from those transactions in which members seek more direct advantages than are to be gained through the good will of their constituents. The unwise grants of the River and Harbor Bill, and the false economy of the reductions made or attempted in appropriations, might fairly be charged as specimens of demagogy, at the expense of the public service; and the management of the Doorkeeper's patronage was grossly discreditable to some members of the House. But still, this, like nearly all of our later Congresses, represented that gradual and steady advance toward decency and honesty, which has been going on ever since the time of that body, whose history was mercifully burnt by its own secretary, Charles Thomson, after he had spent years in honestly telling the story of its doings. Perhaps the hands of this Congress were all the cleaner for the close division of power in each house.

There was more folly shown in the proposal than the carrying of measures. Mr. Wood's Tariff Law, an ingenious attack on our manufacturing interests, in the interests of no theory of political economy, but simply of the importers of manufactured goods, was very properly disposed of by striking out all its enactments in the Committee of the Whole, and Congress proceeded to grant the re-

quest put forward in the Protectionist petitions, but opposed in those from the other side: *vis.*, that a commission of competent and impartial persons be appointed to investigate the subject and report at the next session.

The bill to put an end to the practical repudiation of our paper money in our Custom Houses, was passed in the House, but failed to get through the Senate. All the other financial measures which were delayed to the close of the session, met the same or a worse fate. For reasons repeatedly given in these pages, we regret the failure of Mr. Ewing to carry his Bill to Repeal the Resumption Law. Our reasons are not his, but we think his measure a wise one. This reduces the financial legislation to the one enactment that the Treasury shall purchase a quantity of silver bars and turn them into coin of a given standard, and then put them into circulation if the Secretary chooses. But, as the Secretary does not choose, and as he will only sell them for gold coin, the law remains practically inoperative. On the other hand, the silver using nations of Europe have very generally agreed to the proposals for an international conference, which the Senate tacked on to the Bill, and Messrs. Fenton, Groesbeck and Walker (of Yale), are to represent the nation in that matter. That the Senate confirmed a commission which is two-thirds hostile to the only purposes which the conference can serve, does not seem to indicate any great expectations from the measure.

On the questions of cutting down the army, reducing the appropriations and transferring the Indians to the War Department, the Senate offered a very proper resistance to the proposals of the House. False economy and false pretences had too much scope in this department of legislation in the previous session; and we thought that even Congressmen had learned how little glory was to be got by such obstructiveness. The President should show less consideration for the Congressional cuticle, and should bring them together under the Dog star if need be, when appropriations are found insufficient. We are not so sure that he was justified in his threat to call an extra session, in case the bill to authorize the payment of the Fisheries Award should not pass. That is a measure about which there was clearly a difference of opinion; and indeed the particular proposal embodied in the Bill, was liable to question as unconstitutional. Extra sessions should be confined to cases of

unforeseen emergency, or manifest omission of duty ; they are not a lawful agency for the enforcement of disputed views.

As to the Indian question, while very much might be said in favor of removing it from the control of a department so badly managed as the Interior now is, we have no faith in this plan for its transfer to the control of the army. The difficult and involved questions of the relation of these wards to their guardian, the nation, could hardly be referred to more incompetent arbiters than our officers and soldiers. It is true that they are not all Custers ; but that man was only the exaggeration of a type towards which the younger officers are steadily drawn by the bad influences of West Point education and the military life.

THE Potter investigation which was to destroy the President's title and to shatter the reputation of half the Republican leaders, has not yet left even a smudge upon any prominent name, except that of Senator Stanley Matthews. It has indeed unearthed a copy of a letter said to have been written by Mr. Sherman to the chief witness, and in which Mr. Sherman promises that if the witness (then a member of the Louisiana Returning Board), stand firm, he will see that he will be provided for elsewhere. As the letter stands by itself, it in no way impeaches Mr. Sherman's uprightness. It only bears an evil sense, when interpreted by this witness himself, and not only is he a confessed perjurer, but his story is inherently improbable. He says that Mr. Sherman wrote this letter in pursuance of a corrupt bargain made in a public restaurant, after a few minute's acquaintance and in the presence of another gentleman, but in tones too low for the other to hear what was said. He further alleges that Mr. Sherman, after putting himself with such unlikely simplicity into the power of a knave, proceeded to treat the claims and threats of this knave with silent contempt, although he had it in his power to silence them at no cost to himself. *Credat Judæus Apelles, non Ego.* On the other hand, the story of that letter's origin as told by Mrs. Jenks : viz., that she had written after volunteering to ask it from Mr. Sherman, seems at least as probably true as any statement made on the other side of the case.

As to Mr. Stanley Matthews, the case is shown to be distinctly worse, not by this knave's story, but by his own. It seems he was

not acquainted with this witness until the returns had been made. But after receiving from him a sworn protest, which declared that the Louisiana returns had been falsely made, he still used his influence to have him sent out of the country to a consular appointment. Mr. Matthews failed in this simply because Mr. Hayes and Mr. Evarts found out that the fellow was a black sheep, and withdrew his name. Mr. Matthews had not yet cut his wisdom teeth in politics, or he would have made no such effort to save the President from trouble in any such quarter. And he has learnt, what every hardened politician knows, that nothing is gained by any such Jesuitical policy. On the whole, the Republican party may fairly congratulate itself on the results of the investigation. Even after the Judases in its own camp have turned upon it and done their worst, it is seen that the party leaders, when placed in a position of great temptation, showed great circumspection, if not great probity, in all their acts.

Much interest was excited by the declaration on the part of a member of the Louisiana Electoral College, that he had been distinctly offered a large sum if he would vote for Tilden, and a smaller one if he would vote in blank. He gave names of the persons through whom the offer came, which may lead to a fuller investigation of the matter, but the Committee have shown no urgency in taking it up. If they wish to avoid the appearance of an utterly one-sided and unfair investigation, they will probe this to the depths. But it is quite possible that they will share in the ill-luck of some previous committees of investigation, and will bring to land only those fish they do not wish to catch.

The declaration made by the House of its own incompetency to re-open the question of the President's title, since that was settled by the only Congress which had any jurisdiction, would have come with more grace had it been made before the general outburst of public opinion on that subject. The House, be it remembered, distinctly refused to adopt a similar resolution at an earlier stage of the proceedings; and even this one was passed with an expression of dislike and an air of constraint on the part of the majority, which robs it of much of its moral value. A few representatives were staunch enough to resist any such declaration, although some changed their votes when they found how small the minority was to be. The truth seems to be that the House

was not averse to reopening the question, if it found the evidence would make a strong case.

In the death of Mr. William Cullen Bryant, America has lost one of her oldest and most honored men of letters. Mr. Bryant belonged in literature, as in most things, to a past generation. We, of this time, were taught as children to regard his name as among the foremost in our literature, and yet his productivity has continued until our own day. For more than sixty years school-boys have mouthed *Thanatopsis*; and yet his translation of Homer is a thing of but yesterday. It is indeed, seventy years since he began writing for the public, and not a year since he ceased. Such literary longevity is perhaps without a parallel, or rivalled only by Dr. Routh of Oxford, and by Goethe.

As to Mr. Bryant's place in our literary history, it is perhaps too soon to speak; but it is quite certain that the literary historian will speak of him in very different terms from those in which he has been described during the past few weeks. He was not a man of genius in any true sense; but he was a man of large and well used talent. He has had the misfortune to be best known by a poem which will not stand the test of thoughtful criticism, as he was himself perfectly well aware. He spent the greatest of his literary efforts upon a work of translation, which, although very well done, will certainly not hold a fixed place in literature. His Homer is, in its very form, unsuited to the popular ear and taste, while scholars will always have recourse to the divine original. Of all his literary work, we would predict the longest life for some very beautiful hymns which were written in his later years. One of these, beginning:—

“ Oh North, with all thy vales of green,
Oh South, with all thy palms.”

is among the best additions to sacred song made in our century.

As a man, he was better than his writings, and the wide circle of friends who lament his death, is a sufficient witness of his worth. But his was not the genial and effusive character, which belonged to his great rival and antagonist, Mr. Greeley. He was precise, methodical, and, at least in outward seeming, somewhat cold, a character which reappears in his writings. As Lowell said, the excitement they impart is

“ Like being stirred up with the very North Pole.”

He was once talked of as the greatest of American poets; and by some he is still put second, with Longfellow first, and followed by Whittier and Lowell. Posterity will no doubt exactly reverse the order.

Dr. Charles Hodge's death deprives the theological world of the best known representative of conservatism. He has sometimes been quoted as the only man in the Presbyterian Church who could subscribe to every statement of the Westminster Confession. He had retired from the work of teaching, and had been succeeded by his son, who, to our thinking, has a still clearer and more vigorous mind, while not a whit behind his father as a conservative. He had also given the world his *magnum opus*, his "*System of Theology*," the last great exposition of the Calvinistic theology. Rumor said it would have appeared much earlier, but for the fact that he and Professor Park, of Andover Seminary, life-long antagonists, were each waiting for the other to show his hand, each desiring to make his own system partly a criticism of that of the other. Dr. Hodge's life was the simple and quiet life of a scholar, such a life as Addison Alexander and others led in Princeton. But he was not a man of the vast scholarship with which he is sometimes credited; his rash statement that the older Calvinists never taught infant damnation, and his failure to meet Dr. Krauth's crushing reply, by an equally crushing *Tu quoque*, showed that he was not widely read in even the literature of his own school and subject. He was, however, fully up to the requirements of his own age; but the man who shall keep Princeton Seminary as prominent as he kept it, will need to know vastly more of what has been said and is now saying on dogmatic theology.

Dr. Hodge often wielded a sharp pen in theological controversy, and in some instances was very conspicuous on the wrong side of great public questions. But he was personally much endeared to his friends by his many excellencies of character. Men of other churches and other schools spoke of him with an enthusiastic affection, when they enjoyed his personal acquaintance. Over his pupils he exercised an influence which was often greater than was good for their intellectual independence and original growth. Hence the vast power which he exerted in the Church, through the many representatives of his own way of thinking whom he

trained for her ministry. That influence was no doubt weakened by the late war, and still more by the reunion of the two schools of Presbyterians. In both instances he took a very decided stand in opposition to the action finally adopted by his church.

A great experiment is now making in this city, in the direction of a wise regulation and a close coöperation of our civic charities. Last winter the soup societies felt the need of readjusting their relations to each other. Some of their representatives got together and began talking over the matter, but they were struck by the fact that they could do little or nothing without the coöperation of other charities. They agreed to call a meeting of citizens interested in the matter, and to come to it without any definite plan to urge on its adoption, but rather to wait and see what would come out of a large and full comparison of views. The call brought out the fact that these questions had been fermenting in many other minds. Some had been aroused by experience in church and charitable society work; others by observing the growth of pauperism and the tendency of thoughtless and unsystematic charity to foster it; others by the pressure of the tramp question; others still by the news of what was going forward in sister cities on this and the other side of the Atlantic. The meeting was large and "weighty in its concern" for these matters, and it appointed a committee of thirty-six persons to consider the subject, and to report a plan for the regulation of charitable relief and to put down begging in our streets.

The committee and its sub-committees have been in session all spring, meeting about twice a week for three months back. They have prepared a plan of action, not unlike that so successfully tried in Elberfeld, London, Harrisburg and other cities, but with differences suiting it to our own city. A considerable amount of opposition to this step was excited at the start, but it dwindled into almost nothing as time went on and a free comparison of views was obtained. Some had desired no new organization; others wanted only a union of all existing charitable societies under a central bureau. But it was felt that the methods employed by the present societies and the means at their disposal, were not sufficient to secure a proper knowledge of the merits of each case of supposed need; and that a more thorough system of visiting must be provided for that purpose. It was also seen that the vast amount of alms given, not

through societies, but directly by individuals and families, and generally without any proper inquiries, should be brought into some sort of system. For these two reasons especially, it was proposed to establish a society as large as the city, and designed to include in its membership every existing society, every hospital and dispensary, every church, every household and every individual, who either give or want to give, or in any other way to help the poor. The scheme of the organization contemplates local associations in each ward, together with a central board to be composed of delegates from each ward and of representatives from the general charitable relief societies. The method of operation in each ward is that so amply illustrated in Germantown and in Hestonville. A large corps of lady visitors will be entrusted with the work of visiting, and each will have but a small number of cases under her care, so that her visits can be frequent and useful. A board of directors will supervise the work and control the finances; and will provide, either in each ward or in coöperation with their neighbor wards, an office and a superintendent, to whom all applications can be referred. These officers will have a very large share of the responsibility of the work, and they will be in constant communication with a central superintendent, employed by the central board as its executive agent. It is expected that there will thus be formed a body of valuable experts, in complete mutual understanding, and possessed of the intelligence needed to keep the work within the proper lines of charitable activity. But an even more important body will be the corps of lady visitors, some four thousand in number if the plan be extended to the whole city. Their work will be to exert a good influence, at once sympathetic and disciplinary, upon the poor who need assistance, to keep the giving of help from producing a habit of relying upon help, and to instil hope and self-reliance into the disheartened and downcast classes of society. The women of this city have shown in past years that they are equal to every emergency. Their sex possesses especial capacities for this sort of work; they are more ready than men to take every case upon its individual merits, to avoid hasty generalization, and to deal with all questions in a spirit of sympathetic kindness. And one great merit of this plan is that it places so little confidence in mere machinery, and so much in the direct and personal intercourse between the classes who need help and the classes who give it.

The Committee laid this plan, together with an explanatory report, before a large meeting of citizens in St. George's Hall, June 19th. There was just enough of opposition and criticism to bring into clear light what could be said against it, together with the reasons for its adoption. It was approved with very great cordiality and unanimity, and the scheme was placed in the hands of a Commission of thirty-six persons, (most of them closely connected with our existing charitable societies,) that it may be seen whether or not Philadelphia is ripe and ready for this large effort to deal with some very troublesome questions.

POST OFFICE SAVINGS BANKS.

II.

BUT while the Postal Savings Bank has been making such amazing strides in other countries, it has been exceedingly slow in recommending itself to favor in the United States. On this point the New York *Herald* is exceedingly clear when it says, in a leader on this subject: "It is not creditable to the United States that, instead of being the first, it is among the last of the great states of Christendom to recognize the value of Postal Savings Banks. Why should the United States be so far behind? It has been the boast of this country that it is always in the van of progress; that, being fettered by no obsolete traditions, it takes the lead in improvements which benefit the democratic masses. Nothing could bring a more real advantage to the democratic masses than an opportunity to invest their savings where they would be absolutely secure, where they would receive a reasonable rate of interest and where the principal could be withdrawn at pleasure to meet the occasions of the depositors and save them from the tender mercies of extortioners. It is wonderful that the United States, claiming to be, *par excellence*, the nation of progress, should have lagged so far behind in the great and beneficent measure of Postal Savings Banks. The slowness of the United States may be explained by

the confidence felt in its ordinary Savings Banks until within the last two years. But the recent widespread failures in these institutions makes the establishment of postal savings banks, not merely a popular necessity, but a burning question."

With a venturesome, ingenious and industrious population, and a vast uncultivated and unimproved country, it is hardly to be wondered at that debt and credit should play such a prominent part in the affairs of the United States. In a previous paper,⁷ it has been shown that our cities are largely built up on long loans. Poor's Manual for 1877-78, states the share-capital of the railroads at \$2,198,000,000, and their debts at \$2,459,000,000, being a proportion of share-capital to debt of eighty-nine to one hundred. The financial condition of railroads and cities illustrates the condition of a large proportion of the corporate and individual property in the United States. And this is also true of the rural regions. Men often commence to farm with little else than their hands and their courage, generally with only some inadequate accumulation for a first crop. In short, they buy their land on credit and borrow the means for improvement. To use the words of the report of the Silver Commission, "debt and credit run through all the ramifications of permanent investment in the United States. Even the church edifices do not escape mortgages." And, according to Mr. Townsend, loans to church corporations on church plots and edifices are indifferent security. This tremendous demand for money has made the American economical system one vast network of debts and credits, and of long debts and long credits. Is it to be wondered at, then, with the tempting bait of high interest, that the managers of our savings banks have been induced in many to make an unsound and improper use of trust funds.

Mr. Townsend has already given, in his paper on Savings Banks, statements relative to the condition of the Savings Banks of New York and the New England States. These figures are readily obtained from the state authorities. But it is extremely difficult to obtain figures of this kind in some states. There are no less than ten states and eight territories in which no reports are required.⁸

⁷ Municipal Indebtedness, a paper read at Boston, January 10th, 1878, before the American Social Science Association, by R. P. Porter, of Chicago.

⁸ With a view of rendering this system of reports more complete and effective than at present, the Comptroller has prepared a bill which he recommends to Congress, making it compulsory for these institutions to report.

The result of this is that complete returns have only been received by Comptroller Knox of but ten states and partial returns from three, making in all thirteen states. The aggregate resources and liabilities of 675 savings banks of the United at the end of 1877 was as follows :

RESOURCES.	
Loans on Real Estate,	\$369,770,878
Loans on Personal and Collateral Security,	114,474,163
United States Bonds.	115,389,880
State Municipal and other Stocks and Bonds,	184,116,602
Railroad Bonds and Stocks,	24,586,503
Bank Stock,	34,571,531
Real Estate,	21,037,426
Other Investments,	18,135,673
Expenses,	1,629,238
Due from Banks,	23,522,572
Cash,	16,160,096
	Total, \$922,794,562
	Total, \$922,794,562
LIABILITIES.	
Deposits,	\$866,498,452
Surplus Funds	43,835,885
Undivided Profits,	9,200,778
Other Liabilities,	3,259,447
	Total, \$922,794,562
	Total, \$922,794,562

We find here that of a total deposit of \$866,498,452, no less than \$369,770,878 is invested in mortgages, or over one-half of the entire deposits are invested in mortgages and personal security. Now if we add to this the amount invested in railroad bonds, and state, municipal and county bonds, we have a total of \$692,948,146 of the people's money invested in loans the security of which is in many cases doubtful. A considerable share of the money loaned on real estate is in the shape of mortgages on land and buildings, vacant lots in cities, etc., made during the years of inflation that immediately followed the war. The amount loaned did not at the time, perhaps, exceed more than fifty per cent. of the market value of the property, but now that the value of such property all over

the country has decreased, many of these loans are extremely doubtful. The impossibility of realizing quickly on such security in a time of a trial, has been clearly shown in the recent failures of savings banks. Especially is this the case in the city of Chicago, where mortgages on unproductive real estate served to drag bank after bank into bankruptcy and ruin. The \$184,116,602 invested in state, municipal and county bonds is by no means absolutely safe. The municipal debt of 130 cities of this country has grown in the last ten years from \$221,312,009 to \$644,378,663, and many instances of late have come to hand in which the payment of interest has been stopped, and the payment of capital in some instances is an impossibility. The attraction of railroad bonds as safe investments is not great when we take into consideration the fact that the proportion of share capital to the debt of railroads is eighty-nine to one hundred, while we have already shown the result of loaning saving funds on notes to run twelve months can result in nothing short of disaster. Should an unusual demand come for money, bankruptcy and ruin would stare in the face every savings bank whose funds were invested in this way, unless the state legislature came to the rescue, as it has done in Massachusetts by the passage of the stay law. Let those capitalists and wealthy men invest their thousands and hundreds of thousands in this way, if they please, but the poor man who puts by a few hundreds for a rainy day, should not be induced to invest his hard-earned savings in any such doubtful and unwise securities. As this association has already been told, there are banks now doing business in every state in the Union which have no right to exist; they are in fact snares and pitfalls to the unwary, and they are injuriously affecting the reputation of others which are properly conducted. The reputation of the whole system suffers every time a lifeless concern rises to the surface. Many are still permitted to receive the money of trusting people, who rely on the laws in force, and the watchful care of those in authority over them, for the security of their funds, while it is patent to any one who reads the report given on page 503, that many of these banks are insolvent debtors. The plea that, if permitted to go on receiving deposits, something may turn up in the future which will enable them to retrieve their losses and make good their unwise investments, is puerile; for what, indeed, can galvanize into life dead-and-gone state bonds, or

the stocks and bonds of railroads which have been so copiously watered that the inflation of dropsy has almost burst them asunder, or when will real estate again advance to the nominal price at which it was once quoted and even sold, when paper dollars were of half the value they bear to-day. In this connection, the following table is presented, by states, of the aggregate deposits of savings banks, with the number of their depositors and the average amount due to each in 1877 :

STATES.	Number of Depositors	Amount of Deposits.	Average to each Depositor.
Maine,	90,621	\$26,662,150	\$294 21
New Hampshire,	98,683	30,963,047	313 76
Vermont,	*25,671	6,815,829	265 50
Massachusetts,	739,289	243,340,643	329 15
Rhode Island,	99,865	50,542,272	506 10
Connecticut,	203,514	78,524,172	385 84
New York,	861,603	319,716,864	371 07
New Jersey,	*84,026	29,318,543	348 92
Pennsylvania,	*67,660	17,577,468	259 79
Maryland,	*50,197	19,543,967	389 34
Ohio,	26,037	10,041,726	385 67
Indiana,	*5,548	1,986,025	358 00
California,	*42,600	31,185,600	732 05
Total,	2,395,314	\$866,218,306	\$361 63

* Estimated.

Before drawing our conclusions from the array of facts and figures already before us, it will be necessary briefly to call attention to the various propositions now before Congress and the Senate, looking to the establishment of a system of Post-Office Savings Banks in the United States. There are at this writing no less than nine different bills for the establishment of a National Savings Depository, to be worked in connection with the Post-Office Department. Considered in their order, the Creswell bill, introduced December 18th, 1873, by Mr. Maynard comes first. This bill was written by General M. La Rue Harrison and revised by Dr. C. F. Macdonald, the very able superintendent of the money-order system. This bill was modelled after the English plan, with a few changes to adapt it to the needs of this country. As before stated, nothing was done with this bill, and we hear nothing more of postal

savings banks until October 25th, 1877, when the bill known as the Tipton Bill, to establish and maintain a national savings depository as a branch of the Post-Office Department, was introduced by Mr. Tipton of Illinois. This bill was the Creswell or Maynard Bill, revised and improved by General Harrison. The following November, Mr. Philips of Kansas, introduced a bill which was evidently intended to supplant the postal savings banks. This bill provided for the deposit of savings in a popular loan and also for funding the national debt in home bonds convertible into currency. This bill provides for deposits of sums from 25 cents to \$10, which *do not bear interest, and cannot be withdrawn.* These small sums to be entered upon a pass-book, but the depositor gets no receipt from the central office, and has no guarantee of protection from dishonest officials. Whenever the balance due a depositor reaches \$10, *he is required* to receive a peculiar form of money-order, printed on bank note paper and transferrable by indorsement drawn on the United States Treasury. These orders at once become part of the circulation. They are not savings, and if lost by the owner or destroyed by the elements cannot be replaced. They are of no more value as a protection to the poor than ordinary bank notes. There is no limit to their issue, and no time set for their redemption, except the demand of the holder. A postmaster who has a book full of these bank orders may issue the whole at one time, exchange them for currency, and leave the country before detection would be possible. These postal orders bear no interest, but may be exchanged for United States bonds of the denominations of \$10, \$20, \$50 and \$100, bearing interest at the rate of 3.65 per cent., and the Secretary of the Treasury is required to issue to the value of one-tenth of the amount of these bonds and postal orders outstanding legal-tender notes for their redemption, but such legal-tender issue is not to exceed \$50,000,000. The postal orders are currency without interest and without limit as to amount of issue or time of redemption. The bonds are currency with interest, but without limit as to amount of issue or time of redemption. The legal-tenders are currency without interest or limit as to time of redemption, but are limited as to amount of issue. The pass-book deposits are not currency, they bear no interest, and cannot be withdrawn until they reach \$10. If a depositor dies or changes residence, they are a loss or a vexation.

Another provision in this bill is the giving to the Secretary of the Treasury, a joint jurisdiction with the Postmaster General over the money-order business. This savors of impracticability, as also does the keeping sets of accounts for two kinds of money-orders; the making interest coupons receivable for postage and for postage stamps, while at the same time prohibiting them from being detached from the bond, except at the time of payment of interest; the authorizing of the issue of bonds and currency by postmasters; the requirement that holders of postal orders can convert them into bonds at the office of issue only; and lastly, the making of the Treasury, and not the Treasurer, the payee of postal orders, must always be a source of trouble. The later part of November, 1877, the attention of Congress was called to another proposition, made by the Hon. Joseph C. Stone, to create postal savings banks, and for the investing the surplus deposits in the same in securities of the United States. This bill provided that there should be opened at post-offices, in cities of not less than 2,500 inhabitants, savings banks, where people may deposit sums not less than one dollar, and in amount not to exceed \$500, on account, from any one person. When a deposit reaches the sum of \$25, or some multiple of that sum, not exceeding \$500, it shall be entitled to draw interest at the rate of four per cent. This bill provides that no interest shall be allowed except on an even sum of \$25 or more. When the deposits thus made reached \$25,000,000, all sums exceeding this amount should be invested in bonds payable forty years from January 1st, 1878, and drawing four per cent. interest. No plan for putting this scheme in operation is suggested by Mr. Stone, but the matter is left entirely with the Postmaster General.

Actuated, perhaps, by the want of success of the former schemes, Mr. Saff, January 11th, 1878, introduced a bill to authorize the Secretary of the Treasury to issue coupon-bonds of the United States, of the denominations of \$15, \$25, \$50, and \$100, for the investment of savings and other purposes. The Saff scheme provides that, in lieu of that amount of four per cent bonds, the Treasury be authorized to issue a sum not exceeding \$100,000,000 of coupon-bonds of the United States, of the denominations as above stated. These bonds are to be redeemable in coin after sixty years from the date of issue, and to bear interest, payable semi-annually in coin, at the rate of four per cent. But the trouble with

Mr. Saff's proposition is that these bonds would be made transferrable by endorsement, and would hardly be savings after all, but in reality an interest bearing currency.

January 25th, 1878, the original Creswell-Tipton bill appeared completely revised, and in its new, or rather modified, form, was introduced by Mr. Waddell as House Bill No. 2,694. Since its introduction, Doctor Macdonald, Sixth Auditor, J. M. McGrew and General Harrison have devoted much time with the Post Office Committee of the House to the discussion of the measure, and several important modifications were suggested, the most of them in section five, to make it meet more directly the wants of those of the laboring classes who may desire to invest their surplus earnings in government securities. The wording of this bill was finally agreed upon March 21st, 1878. Its provisions, as amended by the Post-Office Committee, are briefly as follows:—

Deposits of any sum from 25 cents to \$300 may be received at designated money order post-offices, which deposits shall be entitled to 3 per cent. interest, and may be withdrawn at any time on demand of the depositor. Married women, and children above the age of twelve years may become depositors in their own right, and their deposits are protected from withdrawal or disturbance by husband, parent or guardian. Deposits are exempt from taxation and from seizure for debt. They are receivable and payable, with interest, in national bank notes and in United States notes and coin. The credit of the United States is irrevocably pledged for the repayment of these deposits, and no possible loss can occur to the depositor. Deposits and withdrawals are to be entered in a pass book, to be kept by the depositor; and, in addition to this, each deposit is to be acknowledged by a certificate from the Postmaster General. The account of each depositor is to be kept in a Ledger at the Central Office in Washington, so that in case a depositor loses his pass-book, it can be of no value to the finder or the thief; but a new book will be issued to the depositor containing a duplicate of each entry in the original. No loss to depositors can possibly happen from the dishonesty of officials. Such losses, if any occur, are to be sustained by the Government. Depositors cannot sell, loan or give away their pass books or certificates, or the deposits represented therein. If a depositor desires to make use of his balance, or of any part of it, he must do so by means of

a withdrawal in his own name or that of some person to whom he has given a legally executed power of attorney. After a depositor's balance on pass book has accumulated to \$100 or more, he may, if he so desires, have it invested by the Postmaster-General in any United States 4 per cent. bonds authorized by law (the Wallace bonds, if that bill should pass); or, if the depositor prefers it, he may have his money transferred to the books of the Treasury, into what is known as an "inscribed debt" or open book account, for which he receives a certificate as an acknowledgment, and such account will bear 4 per cent. interest, the same as a bond. The inscribed debt may be sold or transferred by application to the Treasurer, but it has this advantage over the bond; that it is perfectly safe from loss, and lost certificates of debt may be renewed to the loser; and, in case of sale of such debt, the old certificate is of no value, but the purchaser is entitled to a new one.

The next bill was introduced February 18th, 1878, by Mr. Burchard. It was entitled, "a bill to promote the deposit of savings in the Treasury, and the refunding of the National Debt." This bill virtually provides for an unlimited issue of money orders to depositors, free of fees, but does not provide for the payment of the unavoidable cost of the issue and payment of these orders at post offices, the clerk hire, printing, stationery, losses, etc., amounting in all cases to about $\frac{7}{8}$ of one per cent. on the aggregate amount of orders issued.

March 15th, Mr. Robbins, from the Committee of Ways and Means, reported a bill as a substitute for the bill of Mr. Burchard's. This bill is simply the Burchard bill embroidered. It is a funding scheme and does not provide for a legitimate savings-depository, and the expense of operating it by means of money orders will cost the Government $2\frac{3}{16}$ per cent. of all moneys received through the money order offices; as against $\frac{3}{4}$ of one per cent. if such funds are obtained through the machinery of a legitimate Postal Savings depository. Under the Robbins' Bill, depositors will have to pay fees on all withdrawals (the average of such fees will be $\frac{5}{8}$ to $\frac{7}{8}$ per cent. on the amounts withdrawn), a plan at once usurious and oppressive.

This comprises, so far as I have been able to ascertain, the various plans before Congress, looking toward investing the people's money in government securities. A careful perusal and considera-

tion of the various measures, somewhat similar in intent but diverse in detail, leads me to believe that all these measures, except that of the Post-Office Committee (Waddell's bill), are crude and impracticable schemes, the very expensiveness of which is an unanswerable argument against them. Mr. Waddell's bill covers all the ground of the Robbins' bill, and gives, in addition, all the machinery of a genuine Savings Bank. In simplicity of detail, the Waddell bill has the advantage over all other plans. As has been shown, it provides for everything. The other bills provide for nothing, but leave the details of the management to be provided by the heads of bureaus. Experts who have made careful computations, estimate that under the Burchard bill as a law, the cost of management cannot be less than 2 per cent. upon the gross amount of the deposits received, and under the Phillips' bill, at least as much. By the terms of Mr. Waddell's bill, the money received from the people, whether invested in bonds, inscribed debt or pass book account, is to be used exclusively by the Treasurer of the United States in redeeming bonds which now bear high rate of interest. Below is an estimate based upon a possible business with a current balance of \$20,000,000, due depositors on the books of 500 post-offices after the first or second year, and showing the probable cost of management, under the Waddell bill, should it become a law?

It will be seen from the table [see table p. 511] that during the first and second years, especially if the balance on interest should not reach \$20,000,000, the expenses might range at a higher percentage than named in the estimate. The expenses of management of the money-order business is about $\frac{7}{8}$ of one per cent. upon the aggregate amount of the orders sold to remitters. It is estimated in the above table that the cost of management of the postal savings business will be less. We have already shown that in England the cost is less than $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., or $\frac{4.7}{100}$ per cent. upon the total current balance due depositors. In Canada it is $\frac{5.7}{100}$ of one per cent. In the United States the difference in wages and other expenses would slightly increase this percentage. During the first and second year, especially if the balance on interest should not reach \$20,000,000, the expenses would range at a higher percentage than named in the table. On the other hand, it is fair to presume that by the second year, the amount on deposit will far exceed this. We have shown that when the postal savings banks

POSTAL SAVINGS DEPOSITORIES FOR ONE YEAR.

Estimate on business at 500 offices with possible current balance of \$20,000,000 due depositors.

	NUMBER.	AMOUNT.
Total Number of Depositories,	500	
“ “ “ Accounts,	200,000	
“ “ “ Transactions, { Deposits,	400,000	
“ “ “ “ { Withdrawals,	200,000	
“ Amount of Deposits drawing Interest,		\$20,000,000
Average Number of Accounts at each Depository,	400	
“ “ “ Transactions at each “	1,200	
“ Amount of each Account,		100
“ “ “ “ Deposit,		35
“ “ “ “ Withdrawal,		60
“ Cost of each Transaction,		29½
Estimated percentage of cost of management to balance due Depositors, ⅔ of one per cent.		

DR.	EXPENSES.	CR.	
Office Rent,	\$15,000	Allow for ⅓ of Funds to be in transit, or in the hands of Postmasters, Balance (\$17,500,000), to be drawing one per cent. interest from Treasury,	\$175,000
Fuel, Lights, etc.,	1,200		
Printing, Stationery, etc.,	20,000		
Clerk Hire, Central Office,	68,000		
“ at Depositories,	52,000		
Miscellaneous,	5,000		
Estimated Net Revenue,	13,300		
	<u>\$175,000</u>		<u>\$175,000</u>

began business in England, the deposits in savings banks amounted, in round figures, to \$200,000,000, against nearly \$900,000,000 held by the private savings banks of the United States at the end of 1877. The first year upward of \$10,000,000 was received, and yet the old savings banks of England are, comparatively speaking, far more secure than the private savings banks of this country. Should the Waddell bill become a law, the time is not far distant when there will be a standing balance of \$1,000,000,000—half the sum of the national debt—to the postal savings banks. Why should this not be the case when the private savings banks alone, despite their well known insecurity, show a balance of nearly \$900,000,000 due their depositors. If this balance appears under the present insecure system, what must it become when all depositors in private banks, who seek security in preference to the uncertain chances of larger gains, shall have added their hoardings to the contents of the old stockings, the hollow logs, the cabin crevices, and the buried crocks of the south and west.

Before wholly dismissing the subject of Post-office Savings Banks, it may not be uninteresting to acquaint the reader with a few of the details connected with the internal working of this scheme. As the Waddell bill, should it become a law, will operate very nearly the same as the Canadian Postal Bank system, we will briefly recapitulate a few of the general principles of the management.⁹ On making a first deposit, the depositor must give his name, occupation and residence, and sign a declaration that he is not directly entitled to any sum or sums standing in his own name, or in that of any other person, on the books of the Post-Office Savings Banks, and consenting to his deposits being governed by the regulations of the bank. A provision of the declaration is, that if any portion of it is untrue, the depositor shall forfeit all right and title to his deposit. The postmasters of Savings Bank offices send, at the close of each day on which they receive deposits, an account of the sums so deposited to the central office at Ottawa. These accounts are opened and partly treated on the day of receipt at the central office. On the day following the receipt of the postmaster's accounts, the deposits are placed to the credit of the depositors, and an acknowledgment is sent by post direct to each depositor. In the central office is kept a ledger for each Savings Bank office, containing a separate account for every depositor *who made his first deposit at that office*. Depositors have the privilege of making deposits at pleasure at any Post Office Savings Bank, without change of pass book, and as the deposits of that character represent a considerable percentage of the whole number of deposits, it follows that the deposits made at any one place and reported to the central office by the postmaster of that place, will, when credited to depositors in their ledger accounts, be found spread over a wide range of ledgers. The total deposits received and reported by the Postmaster of a Savings Bank office for any period, will consequently differ from the total deposits made during the same period by depositors, whose accounts are grouped in the ledger bearing the name of that office. By a simple system of adjustment by these transactions known as "cross deposits," the central office is able to bring into harmony, office by office, the

⁹ Post Office Savings Bank, Canada. Routine of the Central Office and Rules for the Guidance of the Staff, Ottawa. Printed by McLean, Roger & Co.

deposits as reported by postmasters, and the deposits as posted in the ledgers.

Where the depositor wishes to withdraw the whole or any part of his money, he is required to fill in a blank form, specifying the number of his pass book, the name of the office at which his deposit book was issued, the sum he wishes to withdraw, his occupation and address and the post-office at which he wishes to receive the money. His application is mailed to Ottawa, and on its receipt by the Postmaster-General a check for the amount required, payable at the office named, is sent the applicant by post. This check must be presented with the least possible delay, together with the depositor's book, in which the postmaster enters the amount repaid and attests the entry with his signature and the dated stamp of the office. The postmaster takes a receipt from the depositor on the check for the amount repaid to him. Payment of the check is made only to the depositor in person or to the bearer of a witnessed order from his hand. "Cross withdrawals" disturb the exact agreement which would otherwise exist between the withdrawal entries in the ledgers and the accounts of the postmasters at whose offices the cheques are made payable.

In a depositor's ledger account there are, in addition to the columns for deposits and withdrawals, two others, headed respectively, "Balance of Principal" and "Balance of Interest." On the following page is presented a copy of an account taken off a page of the Brookville ledger, and shows in a nutshell the plan. On each page of the ledgers there is room for nine separate accounts.

From the table it will at once be seen that when a deposit is entered in the deposit column, the necessary addition is made in Balance of Principal column, which thus shows, at a glance, the balance at any time to a depositor's credit. An entry is then made in the Balance of Interest column of the interest on the deposit from date up to the end of the current year (June 30th), and when further deposits are made, the interest on each, as posted, is in like manner inserted and added to the balance of interest immediately preceding. On the entry of a withdrawal in the ledgers, a deduction is made from the balance of principal, and the interest on the amount withdrawn, from date to the end of the year, is entered in the balance of interest column, and a deduction made.

BROOKVILLE LEDGER.

DATE.	With- drawals.	Deposits.	Balance.	Balance of Interest.	Balance Special Account.	Refer- ences.
561. HENRY BROWN, Farmer.						
1871.						
Dec. 20,		\$50.	\$50.	\$1. .06		67
29,		3.	53.	1.06		70
M'ch 11,		7.	60.	.07 1.13		103
April 9,	\$12.		48.	.12 1.01		51
1872.		<i>1.01</i>	<i>49.01</i>	<i>1.96</i> .90		
Sept. 14,		30.	79.01	2.86		170
Oct. 21,	31.		48.01	.93 1.93		51
1873.		<i>1.93</i>	<i>49.94</i>	<i>1.96</i> 1.24		
Dec. 9,		62.	111.94	1.24		320
1874.		<i>1.24</i>	<i>113.18</i>	<i>4.52</i> 4.68		
1875.		<i>4.52</i>	<i>117.70</i>	<i>4.68</i> .40		
Sept. 2,	12.		105.70	4.28		51

NOTE.—The italic figures represent entries made in red ink.

Thus every depositor's account shows, at any period of the year, the balance to his credit, also, the interest which will be due him (if not disturbed by further deposits or withdrawals) on the 30th June following, so that when the 30th June, the day on which accrued interest becomes principal in each year, arrives, the work of balancing the accounts of depositors and computing interest, consists in a mere transfer of the balance of interest, as appearing in that column to the deposit column, and the addition of the same amount to the balance of principal.

The stupendous growth of the Postal Savings Bank in England, has made it necessary to employ nearly a thousand clerks at the Central Depository in London. In the ledger section of the department there are no fewer than 2,578 ledgers, with about

1,800,000 current accounts; and it takes 100 expert book-keepers exclusively employed on these ledgers. The average number of deposits received daily during the year 1876 was 10,347. The average number of notices to withdraw, received daily during the year 1876, was 3,907. The largest number of deposits received in one day during the year 1876 was on the 31st January, when the total number was 25,063, amounting to \$348,725. The Controller's report shows that withdrawals are always heaviest towards Christmas and other public holidays. The greatest number of notices to withdraw acted upon in any one day in 1876 was 9,939, when warrants amounting to \$238,320 were issued. The correspondence of this department is something tremendous, and over 100,000 letters are annually received. Of course, this vast correspondence relates, in the main, to complicated and exceptional work relating to the accounts of deceased and insane depositors, and to those of minors, to books lost and destroyed, and so forth. But oftentimes questions are asked and requests made by persons both at home and abroad, indicating that the functions of the head of this department, are by some minds assumed to be of the most universal character. From the report of the Postmaster General before us, we learn that a depositor in the Post-Office Savings Bank wrote to the department as follows: "Having lost my parents, I am desirous of taking a housekeeper's situation where a domestic is kept. Must be a dissenting family, Baptist preferred. Thinking that such a case might come under your notice, I have therefore taken the liberty of sending you." Another depositor apprehensive lest some person might withdraw money from his account, proposed to send his likeness to be used for identification, and then made the following curious request: "There are some little articles I would like to get from London, and one of them is some natural leaf tobacco, which I would be glad if you sent an ounce of and charge me for it—it is only to be bought in the largest tobacco stores." In a further letter, the depositor expressed his surprise that his request had not been complied with, observing that—"the commonest person in America (my country), can speak to General Grant, and there is nothing said wrong about it." In another case, a woman forwarded her will, and requested to be informed whether it was "correct in case of death."

The Controller's report informs us that the correspondence of

this department is affected by accidents, involving loss of life, strikes, lock-outs, depressions in trade, increased rates of mortality, meteorological changes, the moral condition of the people, and various other causes that come within the range of its extensive relations.

There is another thought to encourage us in this matter of Post-Office Banks. It is a thought that looks above the mere financial success of the scheme, and it opens a larger meaning and a higher purpose to our public endeavor to inaugurate this system in America. This thought nerves our arm with boldness and strengthens our voice with deeper accents for the struggle that is sure to come before a savings depository, secured by the national responsibility, with the United States of America for its capital and a branch in every city in the country, can be established. This thought is embodied in a few simple words to be found in the late Archbishop Sumners's *Records of Creation*. "The only true secret of assisting the poor is to make them agents in bettering their own condition." These words, when read by Mr. Sikes of Huddersfield, are said to have become the key-note and the test to which he brought the various views and theories upon which he based his system of savings banks. He observed, at once, that if self-reliance and self-help, as Samuel Smiles puts it,—the columns of true majesty in man—could only be made characteristics of the working classes generally, nothing could retard their onward and upward progress. He likewise observed that until the working classes had more of the money power in their hands, they would still be periodically in poverty and distress. The same object, I am proud to say, underlies the movement for a popular savings bank in America. Figures prove that the patrons of savings banks in this country are not, as a rule, the vast masses of the people. David A. Wells has shown us that, out of the whole number of savings banks depositors in Massachusetts, the representatives of "wage labor," owned only about thirty per cent. of the deposits, and that less than one-tenth of the depositors owned more than one-half of the deposits. One bank in New York has a single account of \$90,000, another in Rhode Island has one of \$48,000, one in Connecticut \$33,000, and deposits of \$5,000 are common all over the United States. The proposed postal depository law precludes this sort of thing in section 2, when it says

“nor shall a depositor be entitled to deposit more than \$300 in one year, nor shall the aggregate amount to the credit of a depositor exceed \$1,500.” The statistics of the Post-Office Savings Bank Department, London, show that domestic servants come first; next, the women, married and single, and then the artisans, laborers, minors, and last in the category, tradesmen, professional men and public officials. But a still more significant comparison can be made between the post-office bank in England and the savings banks of the United States, which shows that it is more savings banks that we want, and that the practice of economy depends very much upon the facilities provided for the laying by of small sums of money.

The average amount standing to the credit of each depositor in the English Post-Office Savings Banks was at the close of last year about \$76. The table given elsewhere in this paper shows that the lowest average to each depositor in the United States Savings Banks, was in the state of Pennsylvania, and amounted to upward of \$259, while the highest, in the state of California, was \$732. Let a convenient and secure savings bank be established and savings will flow in. The old savings banks in England have over \$10,000,000 more savings on deposit to day than they had when the postal banks started. And the influence which has been exercised by the Post-Office banks on the saving habits of the people in England is strikingly proved by the fact that the total capital of savings banks, which in 1860 under the old systems was about \$205,000,000, now amounts to \$255,000,000, showing a total increase of actual savings of \$50,000,000. The gin shop is near at hand, its door is open by day and flaring by night; dissipation has her nets drawn across every street in every town and hamlet. Yet how many thousand cities and towns have no savings banks, no doors open to economy and thrift. And yet, in the language of an eminent statistical writer of France,—“It is the savings bank which has taught the workman how he can become a capitalist, in moderating his consumption below his production; and in amassing the excess called savings in a fruitful place in complete security; he learns how capital is formed and how it can be at first prudently employed. It is in fact a school which seems to be created for the apprenticeship of industrial business managing. It teaches man the habit to govern himself, to resist bad or useless impulses, and

so aids to build up a sound discretion, which is the first condition of success in undertakings." Let the United States no longer delay the adoption of this great boon to the people. Let the postal savings bank become an element of education, the bank books become the text books of thrift and the object lesson of economy.

What more fitting words could be found to close this paper than those used by Mr. Sikes himself, when predicting the success of the Post Office Savings Banks in England. Should the plan be carried out, it will soon be doing a glorious work, whenever a bank is opened, and a deposit received, self-reliance will, to some extent, be aroused, and, with many, a nobler life will be begun. They will gradually discern how ruthless an enemy is improvidence to workingmen; and how truly his friends are economy and forethought. Under their guidance, household purchases could be made on most favored terms, and the home enriched with comforts until it is enjoyed and prized by all. From such firesides go forth those inheriting the right spirit, loving industry, loving thrift, and loving home. Emulous of a good example, they, in their day and generation, would nobly endeavor to lay by a portion of their income. And if the plan were adopted in the United States, remembering that it would at once give us nearly 5,000 Savings Banks, I trust it is not taking too sanguine a view to anticipate that it would render aid in ultimately winning over the vast masses of the industrial classes of the United States—the loyal citizen and not the capitalist—to those habits of forethought and self-denial which bring enduring reward to the individual, and materially add to the safety of the state. We opened with the words uttered by our Saviour, we close with a fervent hope that the stupendous machinery of the post-office department of this great country may soon be used to gather up the fragments which are now being squandered throughout its vast territory, that nothing may be lost.

ROBERT P. PORTER.

LETTERS FROM PARIS.

BY FIELD MARSHAL COUNT MOLTKE.

I.

PARIS, TUILERIES, PAVILLON MARSAN,

December 13th, 1856.

I will at least try whether I can retain and describe some portion of the impressions following each other in such rapid succession.

On *Wednesday* afternoon, amid the most beautiful warm sunshine, I reached Calais, where General Count Bois le Comte and the Prefect Monsieur de Tauley were awaiting the Prince's arrival from London. Count Hatzfeld, General Schreckenstein and Major von Barner had arrived several days before. A hotel, that in the time of Edward IV. had probably been a monastery, and in which I too was allotted a cell, had been hired for us in the gloomy old city. At six o'clock, after the necessary visits of ceremony were paid and returned, dinner was served, which I relished the more when I thought of the probable condition of the travellers crossing the Channel. The day before, the sea had been so rough that the boat did not go out. The sub-marine telegraph announced "His Royal Highness left Dover at eight o'clock." Two battalions paraded on the Mole and "*une escorte de cavalerie précèdera l'équipage de son Altesse Royale le prince durant tout son séjour en France, à moins qu'elle ne donnera des ordres contraires.*" The latter were not given in time, for the Prince first learned in Dover that a grand reception awaited him in Calais. Soon the cannon thundered from the walls, and the "Vivid" slowly approached through the darkness. We sprang on board, and I was rejoiced to see that the distinguished gentleman looked none the worse for sea-sickness, and with the simple, natural ease and readiness of a real aristocrat found something cordial and appropriate to say, not only to the soldiers, but the clergy, municipal authorities, and all who felt called upon to present themselves. The company did not break up until after midnight. Early on *Thursday* morning we set out by special train for Paris. In the *Salon* car, besides the local authorities, were Colonel Count Toulangeon, the emperor's adjutant, and Count Riancourt, equerry, who with Chamberlain Labedoyère are ordered to attend the Prince.

La belle France is very tiresome in Picardy, and was only beautified at Amiens by an excellent breakfast. (You will remember that on the return from Boulogne we spent the night there and visited the Cathedral, where "St. Martin divided his cloak.")

The nearer you approach Paris, the more conspicuous become the limestone rocks. The road passes through the pretty valley of the Oise. At the right, on a steep cliff, rises the beautiful Cathedral of Pontoise, in the distance appears Montmartre with its houses and wind-mills, then Mont Valèrien, and, at the left, St. Denis with its magnificent Gothic church, which ought to contain the graves of the French kings, but really holds only a *pot pourri* of royal bones, since the revolution mingled the ashes of Saint Louis and Louis XIV. (who became a saint somewhat late in life) with all who came between. Through the enclosure the train passes into the magnificent *gare du Nord*. Here his Highness Prince Napoléon, who bears an indescribable resemblance to his great uncle, received the Prince. He has the Emperor's black hair, pale complexion and profile. Two battalions were parading in the station, and, of course, there were red carpets, imperial court equipages, and an escort of *guides à cheval*. The livery is green and gold, the harnesses are rich and tasteful, and the horses remarkably handsome and principally of English breed. The procession passed through the Faubourg St. Martin to the new and beautiful Boulevards de Strasbourg, du Montmartre, Poissonière (past our Hotel Rougement), across the Boulevard des Italiens, the Rue de la Paix, and the Rue Rivoli to the Tuileries. In driving through the Arc de Triomphe on the Place Carrousel, the guard gave the imperial salute. At the grand staircase, His Majesty the Emperor received the Prince and led him directly to the Empress. As this was mentioned in the printed programme and there was no time to make any change of dress on the way, we had all worn embroidered coats and orders since seven o'clock. While passing through the streets, just at the hour for the promenade, there was ample opportunity to see and be seen.

The Emperor wore the uniform of the French Marshals and the ribbon of the order of the Black Eagle. The Empress was simply and tastefully attired in a dark green and black dress, made high in the neck. The presentations took place directly after the first greeting, but without ceremony. Then the Emperor accompanied the Prince out of the hall in the central pavilion (*de l'horloge*),

through the long suite of staterooms and galleries to the apartments assigned him on the ground floor of the Pavillon Marsan, corner of the Rue Rivoli and the great square that extends to the Arc de Triomphe. We found here Herz von Rosenberg, the two Princes Reuss, Major von Treskow, von Romberg, in short, the Prussians in Paris. The Prince soon after called on *Oncle Jérôme* and Prince Napoléon in the Palais Royal, and afterwards on Princess Mathilde (Demidoff). The ex-king of Westphalia, who in spite of his advanced age is still very active, returned the visit almost immediately, and Prince Murat was also announced.

At seven o'clock dinner was served in the *Galerie de la Diane* to the Emperor's court. Cambacères, Rollin, Bassano, Bacciochi, Tascher, Princesse d'Esslingen are names that recall the First Empire. The ladies of the court were Madame de Marnézia, whom I escorted to the table, Madame Lourmel, widow of the brave general who fell before Sebastopol, Madame Labedoyère, who learned to speak German very well in Berlin, and Madame Reinwald, all very agreeable and entertaining. The Prince, who escorted the Empress, sat between her and the Emperor, my place was opposite. The well known portraits of the Emperor and Empress are good likenesses, but do not give precisely the right idea. I thought Louis Napoleon was a larger man; he looks very well on horseback, but smaller on foot. I noticed a certain immobility of feature and the, I might almost say, lifeless expression of his eyes. A pleasant, even good-humored, smile usually rests on his face, which has little of the Napoleonic cast. He usually sits quietly with his head bent a little on one side, and it may be this very quietness, which, as is well known, never deserts him even in dangerous crises, that awes the excitable French. Events have shown that his calmness is not apathy, but the result of a superior mind and firm will. In society he displays no haughtiness of manner, and in conversation even shows a certain degree of embarrassment. He is an *empereur*, but no king.

The Empress Eugenie is a wonderful person. She is beautiful and elegant. The resemblance to Frau von B., attracted my attention, but she is a brunette. Her neck and arms are incomparably beautiful, her figure slender, her toilette tasteful and rich, without being overloaded. She wore a white satin dress of such vast circumference that ladies will need several more yards of silk in future.

The Empress had on a scarlet head-dress and wore around her neck a double row of magnificent pearls. She talks a great deal, with much animation, and shows more vivacity than is usual in persons of such high rank.

We dined in the *Galerie de la Diane*, which has been altered into two halls. The table ornaments of unpolished silver are very beautiful, the cooking excellent, not too many but very choice dishes. The servants bring them in and mention their names. This is a little inconvenient, one is obliged to interrupt the conversation every minute to say whether he will take turbot or does not want whiting. The wine is choice; champagne is the real table wine and is served during the whole dinner, together with Bordeaux, Sauterne, Rhine wine, and lastly Sherry and Malmsey.

After dinner was over the royal personages conversed with us strangers. The Empress talks very easily and cordially, and has the talent *de vous mettre à votre aise*. Only she and Countess Hatzfeld were seated; the Emperor, the Prince and consequently all the others remained standing until eleven o'clock. The Lord High Chamberlain provided that the gentlemen approached Her Majesty's chair singly. The arrangements at the English court were more comfortable; I, at least, was glad when tea was at last served, and directly after that we retired.

I occupy a whole suite of apartments, looking out upon the Rue Rivoli, in the Pavillon Marsan, which formerly belonged to the Prince of Orleans. Heavy red damask hangings and window curtains, magnificent wall candelabras, buhl furniture, gilded armchairs, immense mirrors, beautiful paintings (by Poitevin). All these things you can imagine; they are more or less the same in all palaces. But genuine comfort, such as I had in my little turret in Windsor, is not to be had. A dozen lamps are burning, but if I want to get anything I light the wax candles. The most comfortable place is the seven feet deep window niche, where the writing table stands, only it is not very warm there, though piles of wood are burning on all the hearths. One can have no idea of the draughts everywhere in the Tuileries. The difference of temperature in these vast apartments often causes a perfect hurricane in the communicating doorways.

Very much wearied by the many things seen this day, I soon lay down in my wide and very excellent canopied bed, but it was

long before I could rest. Now a piece of wood on the hearth fell, so that a bright flame suddenly blazed up; now one of the numerous old-fashioned clocks rattled, as if it wanted to remind me that times change more quickly under this roof than elsewhere. Even the incredible stillness in the midst of the noisy city, which has been obtained, together with other objects, by removing the pavement of the streets, seemed strange. The heavy curtains and carpets stifled every sound, the doors moved noiselessly on their hinges, and so I did not hear the chamberlain, whom Louis XIV. had sent from the Louvre to ask me how he had obtained the honor of my visit to his palace. I tried to prove to the Marquis, from history, that many things had happened since the *ancien régime*, and he really had nothing more to say here. He haughtily shrugged his shoulders and left me to my own clever meditations, from which I first awoke the next morning.

It is very pleasantly arranged that the imperial family make no claim to the Prince until seven o'clock in the evening, and we thus have the whole day at our disposal. At nine o'clock, when in Paris the sun has scarcely risen, we set out, according to circumstances, incognito in *voitures de place*, or officially in the imperial equipages.

II.

Our next excursion was on *Friday*, across the Boulevards to the new Caserne Napoléon and the Hotel de Ville. The former is as beautiful and elegant externally as it is dirty within, the latter a palace whose equal in size and splendor few kings occupy. The Seine-Prefect, who received the Prince (for the programme of the excursion is arranged in advance), holds his court here and represents the good city of Paris. A revenue of, I believe, eighteen millions, allows a few entertainments and dinners to be given. Particularly beautiful is the court-yard of this magnificent building, with its imposing staircase, which, covered with an immense glass roof, forms a most extensive and beautiful *salon*, capable of accommodating ten thousand guests. The floor is covered with carpets, and numerous gas jets illumine the pillars and statues of the building. This city hall and the adjoining barracks form an admirable stronghold in the centre of the city, where, in a short time, two wide, almost straight streets will intersect beautiful, gay Paris at right angles. One has occasion to admire not only what Louis

Napoléon has created, but what he has destroyed. A number of crooked streets and a quantity of houses, probably equal to those of Breslau and Magdeburg, have been removed. The space thus obtained is now occupied with freestone palaces, behind which still stand many fragments of houses that look like designs of interiors in an architect's drawings, and which betray all the secrets of their chambers, kitchens, and staircases, besides waste-places and piles of rubbish, as if a bombardment had taken place. But these will soon vanish, where room is so much desired and the want of houses so great. Already from the lengthened Rue Rivoli can be seen the July-Column on the Place de Bastille, to which this magnificent street is to be extended. Many superb old buildings, formerly unnoticed in the labyrinth of streets, have been displayed, for instance the beautiful tower of Saint Jacques, which now stands insulated. What all this cost can probably be found in the books of the municipality. As the palaces crowd out the houses, the poorer classes must, of course, be accommodated elsewhere, and this the Emperor unquestionably does, and on a grand scale. The workmen, to be sure, are thereby pushed out into the suburbs. What influence this must have on a vigorous maintenance of public order and safety can be easily understood.

After breakfast, an excellent repast for twelve served in the Prince's rooms, we saw Notre Dame de Paris and the Jardin des Plantes, with the collections there. The beautiful cedar, one hundred and twenty years old, which you remember, pleased me best. I learned that it came from England as a slip in a flower-pot. Now, however, fine specimens of the children of Lebanon are found in the neighborhood.

In the evening, a small party, only about twenty in number, dined with the Emperor. Then we attended, in the Grand Opera House, a tiresome three act ballet, called the *Elves*, which lasted till midnight. The house seats two thousand people, but in splendor and taste cannot be compared with our Opera House. The Court uses the very unpretending proscenium boxes on the left; there is no large box in the centre. The Emperor was received with shouts of *vive l'empereur*. The Prince sat between him and the Empress; behind them were only the *dames du palais* and General Niel. We were provided for in small boxes. I notice that the spectators in the first row never applaud. This is the business of

about one hundred people in the centre of the parquet. It was amusing to go into the green room behind the stage, where the dancers were practising their pirouettes before a large mirror. The decorations are remarkably beautiful. The side scenes are entirely removed, the painting is admirable, and one would imagine himself to be gazing at a charming landscape, but I saw no special magnificence either in costumes or illumination.

III.

On *Saturday* we saw the paintings exhibited in the gallery eight hundred feet long, which extends along the Seine to the Louvre. This connection, which Napoleon I. planned, is now created on the Rue Rivoli side by Napoleon III. You probably remember the houses that stood along the way;—they are all removed; five magnificent pavilions and the vast connecting front are built. At one o'clock, twenty-two battalions, that is fifteen thousand men, were on parade in the court-yard of the palace. The Emperor rode along the front with the prince. We saw here Marshals Vaillant, Magnan, Pelissier (Duc de Malakoff), Canrobert, Baraguay d' Hilliers, etc. After this a distribution of orders took place. Those who were to be thus rewarded were called to the front, and the Emperor himself handed each one his decoration, and cordially shook hands with him. Then followed the marching past in divisions of fifty companies. The guns were carried according to the old fashion with the left arm, but very negligently, and the men scarcely kept step. No value is set upon this here; with us they would all have been ordered to drill afterwards. The divisions, as they approached the Emperor, shouted more or less unanimately *vive l'empereur*, and some individuals *vive l'impératrice*. The Empress, in spite of the rain, remained on the balcony of the Pavillion de l'horloge till the end. The Emperor, who had the Prince on his right, took no notice of the shouts. I wonder he does not entirely abolish them.

Towards the end of the parade, the imperial infant returned from a drive. The eight months old Imperial Highness then condescended to cast a glance at the troops from his windows, waddled with blue silk, on the ground floor; we rode up with the Emperor, whose face fairly beamed with delight, and indeed the child is a fine little fellow.

In the afternoon, we drove to the Hotel des Invalides, which lodges three thousand old warriors. The wounded from the Crimean war, however, are almost all provided for at their homes with a pension of six hundred francs. We saw here Napoléon's future tomb under the lofty magnificent dome. This mausoleum is certainly one fully worthy of the great commander, and executed on the grandest scale. A broad marble balustrade surrounds the colossal porphyry sarcophagus, which still stands open. The emperor's coffin of ebony is exhibited in one of the four beautiful side chapels. The whole idea emanated from the Orleans family (or rather Monsieur Thiers). The Emperor does not like to put his uncle here; he wants him to be in St. Denis, as the head of the future dynasty, and this is understood. Of course, he will not find such a hall there as here.

In the evening, a small party dined with the Emperor, then we went to the *théâtre du Gymnase*. We saw this morning at the Louvre, the large, impressive picture by Müller, which represents a prison in the days of terror of the Revolution. The next victims are being brought for the scaffold. This evening we saw a play of the same period, in which a wife saves her husband, and the republicans, of course, play no admirable part. The house was very crowded; it is, moreover, very ugly. The royal party has a very small side box.

IV.

Early on *Sunday* we visited the *Palais de Justice* on the island in the Seine, whose lower floor contains Marie Antoinette's prison, a narrow, frightful dungeon. These vaults are the remains of the old palace where the French kings resided, while the Normans roved over the land. Besides these, the *Chapelle sainte* is also preserved, a magnificent building, in which Saint Louis performed his devotions, and where his heart has been found in a case. The chapel is fully restored to its ancient splendor, with an infinite amount of ornamentation in gilding and colors.

Afterwards we saw the Hotel Clugny, a building that particularly interested me. There are plenty of mediæval churches, town halls and palaces, but real dwelling-houses dating from the fifteenth or sixteenth century are very rare, especially in Germany. Great expense and durable building materials were seldom bestowed on mere private houses. Many were destroyed by time, many sacri-

ficed to the petty needs of our own day. The old dwellings preserved in our country, especially in the Hanse cities, Dantzic, Elbing, Lubeck, Luneburg and even Nuremburg and Augsburg, bear the stamp of the burgher rule; they are principally high gable-roofed houses, whose lower story is occupied by large store rooms, that held the goods, over them the state apartments, and adjoining these the real living rooms, which were usually small. Here, not far from the Sorbonne, stands the well preserved and completely restored residence of a nobleman of the time of Francis I. Jean de Bourbon, my guide states, built the house in 1480. It is an extensive two story edifice, with several courtyards and beautiful turrets with winding stairs. The rooms extend across the house and have windows on both sides. These are sunk deeply in the thick walls, divided by a strong stone cross and closed by leaden cased panes. The whole building is comfortable and substantial. The Hotel Clugny was afterwards made a convent; during the Revolution, Murat lodged there; now it is the property of the government and contains a collection of the most interesting antiquities and art treasures. Besides, the square is otherwise memorable, for here stood the palace where the Roman Prefects of Gaul and the first French kings resided, till Saint Louis built the palace, whose vaults form the already mentioned Conciergerie in the Palais de Justice. From one of the courtyards of the Hotel Clugny you step directly into the Frigidarium of a Roman bath and imagine yourself suddenly transported to Rome. A lofty wide arch rests upon walls of immense thickness, built of flat bricks and hewn stone and filled with Roman, even ante-Roman, sculptures; for here the Suctiones held their Druid worship, when swamps and dense forests surrounded the islands of the Seine.

At twelve o'clock we drove to the Protestant church. M. Valette prayed for the Prince and his illustrious family, as the protectors of the true Evangelical church.

In the afternoon we took a very interesting drive in the imperial carriages. We first visited the *Chapelle Saint Ferdinand* in the Route de la Revolte, erected on the spot where the unfortunate Duc d' Orleans sprang from the carriage which was stopped very soon after. The world's history would have taken a different course if he had remained seated. Then we passed through the Bois de Boulogne, which lacks trees such as our Thiergarten can

boast. But the Emperor Napoleon has managed to make something out of these cospes. Beautiful highways, wide lawns, an entire lake and a magnificent waterfall are his creation. But the waterfall especially is astonishingly grand and beautiful. A perfect mountain of limestone has been erected, and one of the caves, which so often occur in the formation, imitated with great skill. A river rushes out of the darkness of the cave and then hurries through a beautiful open country, enclosed by the wooded heights at whose foot St. Cloud and Sévres are so picturesquely situated. We visited Napoléon's favorite palace, admired the magnificence and good taste with which it is furnished, and the wonderful view from the windows and terrace. Light carriages, drawn by four horses, stood waiting, and conveyed us at the most rapid pace, often at a gallop, through the park and over the mountains. Then we returned, through the throng of equipages, horsemen and pedestrians in the Bois de Boulogne, to the Tuileries.

In the evening, a party of eighty persons dined with the Emperor. All the Marshals were invited, but among the diplomats only Lord Cowley and Count Hatzfeld. The place of honor was assigned to us. I sat between Madame Bruat (widow of the admiral, and governess of the Prince Imperial) and Walewsky. All the gentlemen wore black dress coats, *pantalons collants*, and the ribbon of an order over the vest.

V.

Monday, the Prince drove with the Emperor to Fontainebleau, to shoot pheasants. I took advantage of the liberty to stroll around Paris. In the evening, a very small company gathered around the Empress. The conversation turned upon magnetism. The chamberlain, Monsieur B., was magnetized by a physician present. He must have played his part very well, or he really slept. He perspired and wept during the trance. "Do you suffer?" "Yes." "Where?" "In my heart." "You don't sleep well here?" "No." "Where would you like to be?" upon which the Empress interrupted:—"Oh! don't ask that question; he sometimes says very stupid things."

VI.

Thursday, there was a great hunting party in the forest of Fontainebleau. At ten o'clock we left the Tuileries. General Schreckenstein and I had the honor of driving to the railway station in the

same carriage with the Empress. Her majesty wore a round hat and a grey sack over her riding habit. We drove down the new Rue Rivoli to the Place de Bastille and then to the station of the Lyons railway, where a special train stood waiting. Municipal guards formed a line; the crowd shouted *vive l'impératrice*. In the Empress' *salon car* were Countess Hatzfeld, Mesdames Walewsky, de Contades (née Castellane), and St. Pierre, General Rollin, several gentlemen and ourselves. There had been a tolerably sharp frost during the night, the day was sunny and beautiful and the country looked magnificent. We travelled through the valley of the Seine, which flows in beautiful curves. At delightfully situated Melun the stream is crossed on a handsome bridge. Soon the road enters the wooded hill country, that surrounds the ancient, historically interesting Fontainebleau. All the officers of the mounted regiment of dragoons stationed there formed the escort through the pretty village to the grand staircase in the *Cour du Cheval blanc*, where the Emperor and Prince Frederick Wilhelm received Her Majesty. A light breakfast was quickly taken, and I had just time to go through the magnificent Francis I. gallery and Henri II. hall and cast a glance at the extensive courtyards, surrounded by buildings of the most various styles of architecture, erected here by the French sovereigns from the time of Saint Louis. The histories of Francis I., Henri IV., Louis XV. and Napoleon are connected with these walls. The complete restoration was made by Louis Philippe. The numerous pavilions with high steep roofs flattened on top, such as you remember at the Tuileries and Castle Eu, are very characteristic. The pavilions are then connected by long galleries. The extensive building is surrounded by gardens with ponds, groves and lawns, and, at a greater distance, by the forest thirty thousand acres in extent. A considerable number of hunting carriages, drawn by six horses, conveyed the whole party to the rendezvous, about half a mile distant, where the horses and hounds stood. Those who did not wish to ride could follow the hunt as far as possible in carriages. The way to the rendezvous led us first through a sandy plain, partly covered with ancient oaks or young beeches. Soon the road mounted a tolerably steep acclivity and we suddenly saw ourselves in a rocky region intersected with deep ravines. The large limestone rocks sometimes lay so close together, that scarcely any vegetation found room be-

tween them, and steep narrow foot-paths led down into the valleys. Then followed extensive tracts of woodland with star-shaped fields, whose sandy soil favored the heaviest strata of rock. It was evident that people must always keep in the roads and no progress could be made outside of them.

At the rendezvous we found fifty or sixty horses, almost all English thoroughbreds, whose beauty and elegant movements left nothing to be desired. I believe the Emperor's stable is the best stocked in the world; at least the English one is not to be compared with it. It is strange that in winter all the horses here are clipped, as in Italy, or rather the hair is singed off by means of some contrivance with a spirit lamp. A sort of mouse color therefore prevails, but the horses don't perspire so easily; in the stable they must, of course, be carefully blanketed.

I had not yet seen a stag hunted. The hounds are somewhat larger, but of the same breed as ours. I had learned that the pace was very rapid and the hunt rarely lasted less than an hour. In these surroundings, and over entirely unknown ground, it was by no means a matter of indifference to me whether I should be master of my horse. I therefore hastened to mount and rode down one of the fields, but returned perfectly satisfied, for with such a horse any hunt can be followed.

After every one who wished to hunt on horseback was mounted, we rode towards the spot, one-quarter of a mile away, where the stag had been tracked. The hounds were put on the scent, the horns sounded, and away we dashed down a long straight field till one's hair whizzed.

The chase was a magnificent sight. The French gentlemen all wore the court hunting costume, the little three-cornered hat trimmed with white ostrich feathers, green coats with red velvet collars and cuffs, all the seams trimmed with broad gold lace, *couteaux de chasse*, white breeches and top boots. The Emperor also wore the star of the order of the Black Eagle. It's a pity we Prussians did not have our scarlet hunting coats with us; we looked plain enough in our dress coats. The Prince at least had an elegant riding suit and looked very stately on a magnificent English chestnut horse. Of the ladies, only the Empress, Madame de Contades and Madame de St. Pierre rode, all in three-cornered plumed hats and green hunting uniform, with the necessary modifications.

The Empress led the whole hunt at the swiftest pace; she sits on her horse quietly and elegantly and looks very well. Madame de Contades rides, I might almost say, too well. She coquetted with her spirited brown hunter, which only moved in caracoles; any one else would have had great difficulty in remaining in the saddle.

As the hounds could not be followed through the thickets, luck depended upon always choosing the field that led back to the trail. There were therefore sharp turns, but also many little halts. The stag, however, had now been clever enough to fly to the rocky ground, where we could only advance one by one along the steep path. This afforded a beautiful picture. The sun shone brilliantly, the country was picturesquely wild, but we could not linger long, for it was necessary to overtake the chase on the next forest path by increased speed. With such horses this was soon accomplished, and it was a relief to let the beautiful animals, which, however, pulled somewhat hard, again go at full speed.

A stag runs differently from our boars, especially in the wide circuits one is compelled to make. We had already ridden fifty-five minutes, when the Empress and her ladies stopped and let us pass by. We had almost reached the point from which we started. The hounds seemed to have struck on a false scent and we again reached the rocky ground, then the dense woods and marshes. Soon the scattered pack once more assembled. All sprang from their horses to reach, over blocks of stone and morasses, a mound where the quarry was cut up. The stag, already dead, was dragged out of the water. The hunt had lasted an hour and three-quarters. All the Prussians who joined in the chase were at the curée, the Prince, both Princes Reuss, Barner, Romberg and I. (I had also had the good fortune to pick up the Emperor's hat, which at a turn in the road, remained hanging on a juniper bush). We were just mounting our horses, when it was said the Empress was there. The brave ladies had really succeeded in reaching, through rocks and marshes, the spot where the game was quartered, a lofty, open plateau, like a stony desert. A keen wind was blowing and, as our feet were thoroughly wet, I was very glad to be in motion again. There was some delay, for the horses were changed, but on a second, equally admirable one, I could overtake the others before they reached the rendezvous. I there found an overcoat and shawl, and soon the old palace, which has received so many hunting par-

ties, gleamed through the trees in the evening light. We warmed ourselves by the huge fires burning on the hearths, and after a pleasant hunting dinner drove back to Paris. Supper was served in the Prince's rooms, and in the evening I went to the little theatre in the Palais Royal.

VII.

To-day, *Wednesday*, we have seen the statues in the Louvre. The famous Venus de Milo (to be sure without arms), almost casts into the shade the rest of the art treasures collected here. It was interesting to me to find in one of the halls the large chimney-piece I saw in wood-carving at Bruges. We then drove to the Gobelins tapestry factory, where the most wonderful things are made. They are working at the portraits of famous Frenchmen, which are to be placed in the Louvre, and which resembled the finest pastel pictures. The artist has a whole year to execute such a portrait. At one o'clock the infantry, cavalry and artillery of the guard were drawn up on parade in the court-yard of the Tuileries. The review took place in the Place Carrousel.

After an excellent dinner at Count Hatzfeld's, we drove to the opera and saw the last two acts of Donizetti's *Favorita*. Roger and Madame Borghi-Mamo sang.

VIII.

Thursday, at half-past nine o'clock, we drove in two four-horse post-chaises to St. Denis. The postillions wear the imperial livery, green and gold, three-cornered hats, and powdered queues. The driving is done from the saddle, the horses are provided with tinkling bells, and the post horn is replaced with the cracking of the whip. The drivers wear a sort of leather apron made of goat skin, with the hairy side out. We crossed at a very rapid trot, the Place Vendôme, Boulevard des Italiens, Chaussée d'Antin through the Barrière de Clichy. It was very cold and wet, and nothing could be seen of the neighborhood. I will not describe the magnificent cathedral; you probably remember it. After breakfast, the Prince drove to Vincennes, but it rained incessantly. In the evening, the Empress gave a great ball. The company assembled at ten o'clock, the court in black dress coats, but some of the other gentlemen in uniform. The Empress was very simply and tastefully attired, entirely in white, the dress of the finest white muslin, with flounces,

very full and very much expanded; she wore in her hair a white veil of some silvery material and green, and a necklace and girde of large diamonds.

The magnificent large hall in the *Pavilion de l'horloge* was so arranged that, besides the platform along the walls, two rows of seats cushioned with red velvet enclosed the real space for dancing. The ladies were all seated, only a very few couples danced. The Prince opened the ball with the Empress in a contre-danse; opposite were the Emperor and his cousin, Princess Mathilde; then the Prince waltzed with the latter, the Empress with Prince Napoléon.

It was difficult to move about, although only five hundred persons were invited, because everybody crowded into one hall. The supper was served on small tables. Everything else was like any other ball.

IX.

Friday, at half-past nine o'clock, we drove with post horses past St. Cloud to Versailles. This palace is said to have cost 300,000,000 thalers. But Louis XIV. survived France's grandeur and his own; the court of none of his successors could fill the huge palace. In one of the great halls the assemblies of the Notables of the kingdom at different periods are represented, Francis I., who received them in Rouen, Henri IV. in Notre Dame, and finally Louis XVI., who received the Notables at Versailles. This was the beginning of the end. From here, he and the hapless Marie Antoinette were taken to the Conciergerie. Napoléon thought of moving into Versailles again, but the first furnishing would cost fifty millions. Louis Philippe really restored the palace, but the citizen king could not possibly revive the court of Louis XIV. Versailles was devoted "*à toutes les gloires de la France.*" Napoleon III. has also left it in its present state. The lodgings for three thousand court officials and the stables for one thousand horses, are occupied by two regiments of cuirassiers; the palace itself has become a museum for pictures and sculptures, which represent all the great epochs and events in French history. Of course, there are a great many mediocre paintings here, but also the masterpieces of David and Vernet. The best known is the attack on Abd-el-Kader's camp, which, I believe, is eighty feet long, and consists of a succession of the most interesting groups. We drove to the Petit Trianon, where an excellent breakfast was

served, whose principal elements, *dindon truffé*, *pâté de foie gras*, *homards*, pheasants and delicious fruit, I won't leave unmentioned.

Then the military school of St. Cyr was inspected. In this place, originally a school for young ladies, seven hundred young men are trained in a two year's course to be officers of cavalry and infantry. The institution is magnificent and supplied with four hundred saddle horses, fine collections, models etc. It did not look very neat. The pupils, as in the barracks, wash in a common lavatory in the corridors below. The stables were the cleanest. A battalion was drilling, and I noticed that the French, when they can obtain it, do value precision in holding their guns and keeping step, so utterly neglected on parade.

With us the butts cannot be pushed so far up, and only a worthless musket can rattle so in handling. The French weapon is firm, somewhat clumsy, but very well and substantially made. Not much is known here of sharp-shooting, and it promises little in the field. Only the *Chasseurs d'Afrique* and *Garde-Infanterie* have rifles. Experiments with the Minie gun are now making, it is not yet introduced, there is no unanimity of opinion about fire-arms. So delicate a weapon as our percussion gun ought not to be placed in the hands of the French infantry; it requires the infinite care and oversight bestowed by us on the men and their arms.

X.

PARIS, TUILERIES, *December 21st.*

You have probably wondered how the leaves of my journal reached you from here. I would not send anything by mail, though I wrote nothing captious. We have been kindly received everywhere and, with the utmost sincerity, I can say scarcely anything except in commendation and praise; yet you will have some things to read between the lines. The present conditions are no normal ones, but it might be difficult to say what, under the circumstances, could be improved. No one can be his own grandson, and the founder of a new dynasty has a different position from the heir of a line of legitimate ancestors. The latter goes on in the old ruts, the former has new paths to break, and infinitely greater demands are made on his personality.

Napoleon III. has none of the saturnine dignity, imperious bearing, deliberate manner of his great uncle. He is a perfectly

simple, rather small man, whose invariably calm face makes a decided impression of good-natured friendliness. "He is never angry, he is always polite and kind to us; it is only his good heart and confidence that may become dangerous to him," say those who surround him. That at this moment only one party rules, and the Emperor cannot surround himself with the most able men even of this party, is a matter of necessity. Louis Napoleon cannot use characters that want to go their own way, because the whole direction of affairs of state must remain concentrated in his hands. In settled circumstances, each individual can be allowed greater freedom; in the present condition of France only a strong, unit-like government can exist, and this is probably best suited to the French character. Freedom of the press is now as impossible here as it would be with an army in the field if it desired to discuss the measures of the commanding general. Louis Napoleon has shown prudence, audacity, firmness and self-confidence, but also moderation and mildness; everything is concealed under eternal calmness. Only when on horseback is the Emperor seen in him. Simple in his own tastes, he does not forget that the French desire to have their sovereign's court surrounded with splendor. So the little prince goes out to drive with a *piqueur* and three *guides à cheval* in front carrying pistols. Then comes an officer with a division of dragoons in front and another behind the carriage-and-four. All the guards present arms to the eight months old imperial infant.

XI.

CARLSRUHE, *December 23d.*

At the Emperor's pressing invitation, the Prince remained in Paris one day longer. Early in the morning we visited the models and magnificent collection of arms in the Ordnance Depot. Then I distributed innumerable snuff boxes and gave General Rollin twelve thousand francs for the servants.

In the evening the Emperor gave a large dinner party, and after it we took leave. At eleven o'clock we drove to the new and beautiful *Gare de Strasbourg*. The imperial cars are so arranged that one has every possible comfort, and I first awoke in Saverne, from whence the journey through the Vosges is very beautiful. It was sad to hear the people there speaking German, and yet they

are loyal Frenchmen. We have certainly left them in the lurch! At nine o'clock we perceived the Cathedral, but did not stop in Strasbourg, where any reception was deprecated, but on the 23d., left Kehl by special train to come here to Karlsruhe.

CERAMIC ART AND ART CULTURE.*

III.

IT is the saddest possible commentary upon their own intellectual and spiritual natures that those who so mistakenly pride themselves upon being so excessively "practical" in all their ideas and actions as to regard music, poetry, painting and all the divine productions of art as mere playthings for the weak and the childish, frequently ask: "Of what earthly use or value are these *things*? And why waste time and money upon such useless trifles when both might be so much more profitably devoted to objects of real value and *utility*?" How little is this word understood, and how sadly misapplied! "Utility," these worthies would say, "applies only to that which adds directly to our material comfort or interest; the pursuit of anything else is a foolish waste of time, money and energy." But man does not live by bread alone, nor for the gratification of the bodily senses only, to the neglect of all the qualities of the heart and mind. That which ministers to these higher qualities must have its utility as well as that which gratifies the lower senses; that which tends to accomplish the object of the mission of humanity, by elevating and ennobling our lives, must be of utility as well as that which conduces to mere bodily existence. "Utility," therefore, cannot properly be confined to the narrow meaning given it by those who insolently deem everything useless or extravagant that does not directly tend to the great object of money-making. Bentham, in the extreme of his *Utilitarianism*, did not dream of advocating such notions as the more narrow and more mercenary Utilitarians spoken of constantly advance and defend.

* CORRECTION. In speaking of the wares of Sévres and Dresden in the previous article, it was inadvertently stated that the two crossed swords are the mark of the Sévres factory; it should have been said that they are the mark of the Dresden factory.

Art, therefore, is not a useless ornament, nor a childish diversion; it finds its utility in the cultivation of the higher qualities of the heart and mind. And in this view of the subject, not only is a product of art as useful as is any household utensil, but it is of greater extrinsic value, because while the latter enables us merely to exist, the former helps to elevate existence to a higher and nobler plane. In discussing this question of the "useful" to man, Ruskin says:

"That is, to everything created, preëminently useful which enables it rightly and fully to perform the functions appointed to it by its Creator. Therefore, that we may determine what is chiefly useful to man, it is necessary first to determine the use of man himself.

"Man's use and function (and let him who will not grant me this follow me no farther, for this I purpose always to assume), are, to be the witness of the glory of God, and to advance that glory by his reasonable obedience and resultant happiness.

"Whatever enables us to fulfil this mission is, in the pure and first sense of the word, Useful to us; preëminently, therefore, whatever sets the glory of God more brightly before us. The things that help us only to exist are, in a secondary and mean sense, useful; or rather, if they be looked for alone, they are useless, and worse, for it would be better that we should not exist, than that we should guiltily disappoint the purposes of existence." *

Yet men are so accustomed to the pursuit of more material objects that they cannot think of subjects of art other than as subjects of idleness or profitless pleasure, to be considered only when they have absolutely nothing else to do, and then merely "to pass away the time," without any expectation of receiving any compensating benefit. Such is the general state of sentiment in this country to-day. And such will be the state of sentiment here until our people are taught that the products of art are not useless ornaments and idle pleasures, but that they are precious utilities, serving the purest and noblest purposes, and repaying a hundred-fold the time and money devoted to them, in the cultivating, humanizing influences they exert upon us, while the benefits of the more material utilities are but transient, passing away the moment the articles have outlived their immediate usefulness.

* *Modern Painters*. Part III., Chapter I.

But "practical people" are not alone in their condemnation or neglect of the study. There are those who pride themselves upon their artistic tastes, who will nevertheless ridicule and condemn the student's first lessons in art—his first steps in the pathway that leads to a correct knowledge and appreciation of the sublime and the beautiful. They speak of all amateur efforts as "childish and inartistic," and condemn all the simpler or ruder productions as "coarse and degrading to art." Thus it is that all the simpler examples of music, painting, sculpture and decoration are condemned by these censors, who would have no beginning, no middle, nothing but end, to art—an end of which their own appreciation is too often more fancied and fashionable than deep and sincere. With them,

"A man must serve his time to every trade
Save *culture*—*artists* all are ready made."

For this reason they can find no excuse for the want of culture shown in practicing or admiring its elementary principles. Popular music, chromos, scrap pictures, decalcomanie and pottery decoration, and all the "cheap" productions of art, are pronounced vulgar and inartistic, as tending to degrade art and to demoralize artistic taste. This contempt is as false as it is illogical. A correct appreciation of art is not an inherent quality in our nature; neither is it a product of chance, nor an acquirement of a day. It is acquired only by study, and by opportunities of seeing and hearing the various productions of art, from the simplest to the grandest. Just as we must read and study for years before we can fully understand and enjoy the higher works in prose or poetry, so of all branches of science and art. While everybody admits this truth in the case of literature and science, few have the sense or the candor to admit it in the case of art, because few will willingly confess to being deficient in artistic culture. They deceive themselves, and endeavor to deceive others, by saying that an understanding and appreciation of the true, the good and the beautiful is an inherent quality in human nature, appealing directly to the intellect, the will and the sensibility, and requiring no "education" of these faculties to perceive and enjoy their natural objects. They say with that eminent charlatan in art, Proudhon: "Nature has made us, as to ideas and sentiments, about equally artists. * * * It is enough for any man to consult himself to be

in a position to put forth a judgment on any work of art.”* Yet thousands of these self-constituted “judges” of art will frankly confess that they cannot appreciate,—while many of them will impudently condemn—some of the noblest productions in music, painting and sculpture, and will be deeply offended if it be even hinted that they are lacking in culture and require art education to enable them to understand what true art is. The fact is, it is a sheer waste of time for such persons to attempt to study the higher productions of art until they understand the principles of the lower ones.

Correct taste in art is *not* inherent but is acquired by education. It follows, therefore, that everything, however simple or trifling it may be in itself, which tends to this end, is to be commended by all true lovers of art who desire to see artistic culture acquired by the people, and who know that such culture is to be attained only through the medium of simple and popular lessons. As Colton has very truly said: “The profoundly wise do not declaim against superficial knowledge so much as the profoundly ignorant; on the contrary, they would rather assist it with their advice than overwhelm it with their contempt, for they know that there was a time when even a Bacon or a Newton were superficial, and that he who has a little knowledge is far more likely to get more than he who has none.” And so it might be said that even a Phidias, a Michel Angelo, or a Beethoven, were at one time superficial.

The writer does not hesitate to say that the much abused popular music, chromos, scrap pictures, decalcomanie materials, amateur attempts and young ladies' fancy work of every kind exert a much more decided and more wide-spread influence upon our people than the grander and more costly productions of art, because the former are universal and are understood by all, while the latter are confined to, and understood by, the few. It is a poor argument to say that chromos are coarse (and the common chromos are, most of them, very bad), that scrap pictures are cheap things printed on a press, that popular music is inharmonious, that musical instruments in the hands of learners are disagreeable to the cultivated ear, that all amateur attempts in art are indifferent, if not worse, and that all these things being inartistic in themselves cannot be productive of a correct art taste in those who cultivate them. It

* “*Du Principe de l'Art et de sa Destination Sociale,*” par P. J. Proudhon.

must be remembered that everything is "best" to one who knows no "better," the simple productions being as artistic and as cultivating in their degree to persons of simple tastes as are the classical productions to others whose taste is more educated. Familiarity with these simpler works will naturally conduce to a love of the beautiful in all things, and will lead to a gradual understanding and enjoyment of the higher works, as our tastes expand and the opportunities of indulging them increase. One of the earliest recollections of the writer was the purchase with his pocket money of two small pots of flowers—one of pansies and the other of verbenas—and in the love of flowers, thus early developed, the drooping pansies and delicate verbenas have maintained their sceptre as favorites even when more lovely and more fragrant flowers became their rivals. They are still fresh and fragrant in the conservatory of the heart, leading him to the admiration of flowers in general and thus to the admiration of all things beautiful in nature, art and childhood. And this is generally the case with all; an object or an incident, unnoticed by others, may exert upon the one directly affected the deepest influences through after life—may be the source of the noblest aspirations and the grandest accomplishments, as is illustrated in the lives of nearly all the poets, painters and musicians of the world.

We shall now speak of decorative art, particularly in its relation to the study of ceramics.

The difference between the fine arts, proper, and the decorative arts has excited the widest possible discussion among writers upon the subject, and it may still be considered an open question. One party claims that there is no essential difference, except such local difference as is rendered necessary by application to different objects, while the other claims that the difference is vast, and that it is an impropriety and an evidence of bad taste to substitute one for the other. The balance of authority, however, as well as the history of art it may be said, is in favor of those who uphold the universality of art in all its subjects, as opposed to the shallow and irrational theory of "conventionalism" in decorative art. This latter theory, which lays down the principle that decorative art should be "conventional" and not imitative, that it should merely "suggest" its story and not tell it, and that it should be severely simple in its general characteristics and not elaborate in its details,

is very plausible in itself, and will therefore make many converts. It was not until modern, and indeed quite recent, times that this question of the difference between the two arose; previously all art was fine art, even that intended for purely decorative purposes. Take for example the works of the master spirits of art: Michel Angelo's grandest work was the decoration of the Sistine Chapel and the ornamentation of St. Peter's; Raphael's was the decoration of the Vatican, and his noble cartoons were for tapestries; Correggio's was the decoration of two churches in Parma; Tintoretto's was the decoration of a charitable edifice in Venice; and Titian and Paul Veronese "threw out their noblest thoughts, not even on the inside, but on the outside of the common brick and plaster walls of Venice." Coming down to more recent times, we find that all the most eminent artists and sculptors, when they had any work to do, whether it was the decoration of a church, a private house, or even a small, portable object, did it in their best style. With them art was art and not a "suggestion" of it. "The only essential distinction between decorative and other art is the being fitted for a fixed place; and in that place, related, either in subordination or in command, to the effect of other pieces of art. * * * Get rid, then, at once of any idea of decorative art being a degraded or a separate kind of art. * * * The greatest decorative art is wholly unconventional—downright, pure, good painting and sculpture, but always fitted for its place; and subordinated to the purpose it has to serve in that place."*

Yet the conventionalists say that if we wish to decorate walls, ceilings, ceramic ware, furniture, etc., by painting, carving, or modelling, we must do it conventionally; that is, we must not take the human figure in any case, and the objects we do take we must not attempt to imitate closely; we must merely suggest them as the Chinese do, by giving a few straight lines, dots and dashes,—without pretending to give details, perspective or finish,—leaving the spectator to conceive the rest and admire the whole. This way of procedure is about as rational in art as it would be in literature for an author to write out his plot and then tell the reader to supply his own details of the story. That this theory of the conventional school is not exaggerated here, a few passages from one of its chief representatives may be quoted. Hear him:

* Ruskin. *The Two Paths*—Lecture 3.

“The key to Oriental decoration may be expressed by the word *individualism*. The artist did not draw from the ‘depths of his moral consciousness,’ and did not copy blindly. He seems to have expressed what he *felt*, rather than what he saw. His perception and arrangement of color seem to have been inspired, not learned. He is daring; he does not hesitate to hang his ladies in a balcony up in the air above a procession passing beneath, as may be seen in a very ancient vase belonging to Mrs. Gridley Bryant of Boston; he does not fear to put blue leaves to his trees, or to make a green horse; his butterfly is as large as a man, if he wishes to show a figure or a mass of color; his boats are smaller than the passengers, if that suits his fancy; he attempts little perspective, and it is, we may say, impossible on a china bowl; symmetry he abhors; pairs do not exist.

“I believe they had no schools of art; they were not *taught* to do what some one else had done, to copy a master or to copy nature, or to think symmetry beauty, or the circle the perfect line.

“The artist was, as he ought to be, a law to himself; he saw what *he* saw, and felt what *he* felt, and he expressed these in his own way; not in Titian’s way, or Rembrandt’s way, or Giorgione’s way. There is, therefore, a freedom, a freshness, an *abandon* about this work that we find nowhere else, and a charm which never tires.” *

Therefore our whole Occidental system of art education is wrong, and Titian, Rembrandt, Giorgione and all the other “imitators,” who were taught “to copy a master or to copy nature,” were not true artists after all, and we have been basely deceived in being taught to consider them such. On this point it will be interesting to quote one who may be considered an authority: “But to bring us entirely to reason and sobriety, let it be observed that a painter must not only be of necessity an imitator of the works of nature, which is alone sufficient to dispel this phantom of inspiration, but he must be as necessarily an imitator of the works of other painters.”† But then Sir Joshua was not a “conventionalist,” which will explain his prejudice.

* *Pottery and Porcelain*, by Charles Wyllys Elliott. New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1878. Chap. X., p. 206.

† *Discourses on Art*, by Sir Joshua Reynolds. Discourse VI.

That eminent and only true artist, the Chinese, has "no schools of art" to corrupt his natural good taste, but is "a law to himself!" Therefore, if we desire to reach this Oriental altitude of artistic purity, we must close our art schools and tell Young America that he is a "law unto himself" in art,—that he naturally knows a great deal more about art than he could ever possibly be taught (which most Young Americans already believe), and that when he can draw some impossible monster, or paint a green horse with a very small blue head, a very large yellow tail, and pink legs of different lengths and proportions, perspective, symmetry and pairs being vicious blemishes, to be ruled out,—he will have reached the dizzy heights of perfection, and can laugh at Landseer, Bonheur and all the other weak and servile imitators of nature.

Here is another paragraph from our conventionalist :

"The Oriental leads us away out of the region of the real and the common-place into a state of ideal and spiritual-sensuous art. He is never without body, the real part, the base of all life and art; but he has glorified it by a display of the fine and subtle essence which may be called its soul."*

If there be any one thing for which Oriental art may be considered remarkable, it is its entire lack of all "spiritual-sensuous" effect, as we understand and use the term. It is, indeed, impossible to conceive what could have less "spiritual-sensuous" effect upon us than the grotesques and monstrosities of Chinese art—and the statement that this style of art is "glorified by a display of the fine and suitable essence which may be called its soul," is simply meaningless.

But the climax is capped when our author, in speaking of a plain Chinese snuff-box, an inch and a half high, with a grasshopper in relief on one side, says: "It is so *complete* that it fills the mind with satisfaction, more thorough than the sight of St. Peter's can give."†

The only value of such a statement is, that it gives us an exact and authoritative measurement of the artistic capacity of a mind that a small, plain Chinese snuff-box can "completely fill!"

It would be improper to give so much space to this writer, if he

* *Pottery and Porcelain*, Chap. X. page 190.

† *Ibid.* Chap. X., page 184.

were singular in his opinions, but he represents a class who receive much more attention than they deserve. It is composed largely of young ladies who think it fashionable to affect a love of things they do not, and cannot, understand or sincerely admire, and of old ladies who have a passion for old china, and are pleased with Oriental decoration for about the same reason that children are pleased with it—because it is odd and striking. But the claim that Oriental art is “the highest type of art,”—that it is beautiful or impressive when judged by Occidental canons of taste,—is simply preposterous. It is no argument to say that it is the perfection of the sublime and the beautiful to the Orientalists, and that, therefore, it should be so to us; we are not Orientalists, and it is not more reasonable to ask that we shall become Oriental in our art tastes than that we shall become so in our social, political or religious opinions and customs.

Judging it, therefore, from the standpoint of western rules and western tastes, eastern art is but a representation of the impossible, the improbable, the incongruous and the grotesque, with a too frequent presence of the hideous and repulsive, all in, what Macaulay termed, “outrageous defiance of all the laws of perspective.” Such are the elements of which their art is composed—elements which no possible stretch of the imagination can convert into a truly beautiful whole. It unquestionably does possess a peculiar interest for us, but that interest cannot be ascribed to any inherent beauty or artistic finish in the objects; it is due simply to their novelty or grotesqueness, which naturally command attention in whatever objects seen. In the same way, children will be pleased with the rudest and most grotesque pictures and playthings, but it does not necessarily follow that they are objects of beauty. It would be quite as reasonable to say, that, because we admire the sublime and are amused by the ridiculous, the latter must possess some of the beauty of the former in order to give us the pleasure it does. In fact, the two are direct opposites, and cannot coëxist in the one object, so that the Chinamaniacs will have to find some other ground than that of beauty upon which to base their admiration of these incongruities and monstrosities.

It will be admitted that nearly all Chinese, and it may also be said Japanese, ornamental work consists of devils, dragons, lizards and hideous gods and frightful monsters of all kinds. These objects

may possess a certain interest for us, as already explained, but the things they suggest are generally either disagreeable or repulsive, and there can be no true art or beauty in disagreeable or repulsive objects. The true *object* of art is to please, to refine and to elevate, and these monsters and impossibilities cannot please the æsthetic tastes, and cannot refine or elevate our moral natures, else children and uncultured people generally, who take most delight in such things, would be the most artistic and most refined persons among us. In order to encourage true art, it is not necessary to encourage caricatures upon it, nor is it necessary to admire the ugly in order to obtain an appreciation of the beautiful. The writer recently saw a young lady on Chestnut Street, leading a diminutive black-faced, pug-nosed, stump-tailed "bull-pup." Other young ladies who would condemn that one for her "vulgar taste" would probably go into raptures over the same bull-pup done up into clay as a Chinese monster. The fact is, the æsthetic taste of one is to be condemned quite as much as of the other.

This may be thought an extreme and unjustified view of the subject; since the many unquestioned excellencies of the objects produced seem ignorantly unnoticed or deliberately concealed. Not so; but the writer makes a wide distinction between mechanical and artistic work. For instance: it may be but just to praise the quality, and perhaps the shapes, of a set of porcelain, and yet to condemn the decoration for the reasons given; to admire the diaper and scroll work, but characterize most of it as mechanical copying of fixed patterns; to extol the delicate and brilliant qualities of the colors used, but to question the artistic taste with which they are applied; and to fully appreciate the time, patience and skill required in making the bronze, and carving the wood and ivory, work, but to condemn unhesitatingly most of the work itself when it is viewed from an artistic, and not from a mechanical, point of view. Work which requires time, patience and skill in its execution is not necessarily artistic, and yet many persons seem to believe that these are enough to make Oriental work "artistic." In describing the various kinds of pottery and porcelain, full credit was given the Chinese and Japanese wares, where it was thought to be deserved, so that the writer cannot be charged with the absurdity of condemning these unqualifiedly, or of slighting or concealing their excellencies. He speaks of the work here from an artistic standpoint purely, judging it by the canons of our western art.

As for our western art, it is not claimed that it is, or ever will be, absolutely perfect. Indeed there is still waging the interminable discussion among men on the question: "What are the true principles and elements of Art," and as nothing is more pleasing to the ordinary lay mind than to hear the "doctors disagree," so nothing is more delightful than to read the conflicting statements and opinions of Hogarth, Reynolds, Hazlitt, Eastlake, Taine, Lübke, Ruskin and other authorities, who mutually expose and condemn each other's inconsistencies and false theories with the unction of common mortals discussing common subjects.

There are, however, certain principles upon which all are agreed. They are those which have come down to us from the earliest Greek and Italian Masters, having survived the lapse of centuries, the rise and fall of nations and the ceaseless change of popular taste and fashion. True art is immutable. Raphael and Michel Angelo, Phidias and Praxiteles, are the standards in painting and sculpture to-day as they were 300 and 2,000 years ago, and as they will be 300 and 2,000 years hence. They and their disciples essayed no conventionalism or else they would never have been the artists and masters they were; with them, every piece of work, whether intended for display or decoration, was finished in the details as far as the subject would permit; and since they have given us the highest examples of our art, of an art which has come down to us unchanged from the earliest Greek and Roman eras, it is fair to claim that the principles upon which it is based must be true and permanent, while all principles opposed to them must be false and transient.* In the light of their authority it is seen that the theory which finds a radical difference between fine art proper and decorative art—the theory that would reduce the latter to a combination of straight lines, angles and "suggestions"—is essentially false, and like all false theories and systems will perish of in-

* "On the whole, it seems to me that there is one presiding principle which regulates and gives stability to every art. The works, whether of poets, painters, moralists or historians, which are built upon general nature, live forever; while those which depend for their existence on particular customs and habits, a partial view of nature, or the fluctuation of fashion, can only be coeval with that which first raised them from obscurity. Present time and future may be considered as rivals, and he who solicits the one must expect to be discountenanced by the other." *Discourses on Art*, by Reynolds. Discourse IV.

anition when the fashion which gave it birth shall have passed away.

In painting and sculpture it is not necessary—indeed it is not true art—to make an absolute copy of nature, exact in every detail. This was the mistake of Denner and Vanderheyden, who attempted to show every blade of grass and every hair of the head. This “ridiculous excess” of faithfulness, indicates a weak copyist rather than an original creator. The duty, and the highest achievement of the artist is, not to copy nature in detail, but, in one view, to interpret her meaning and reproduce her life, and in another, not to give us nature as it is, but as it might be in its perfection.*

In ceramic decoration, the whole realm of art may be drawn upon for subjects proper to the various articles of ware. This decoration is seen in its perfection in the transcendent productions of Sévres, Dresden, Limoges and Capo di Monti, as described in the preceding articles. It is objected by many to the decoration of Sévres and Dresden for example, that it is too delicate, too finished, too Denner-like, to be true art; that it wearies the eye and satiates the mind by its minuteness and the variety of objects presented; and that it appeals to the masses by its “prettiness” rather than to the cultured by its general artistic qualities.

As for the first objection, it may be said that from the size and nature of the articles of ware, the decoration should be delicate and finished, though it need not be Denner-like in its exactness. It would be folly to attempt to paint a small article to be examined near by, or perhaps held in the hand, according to the same rules by which we would paint a large object to be looked at from a distance, just as it would be folly to paint the latter in the finished and delicate style of the former. For this reason the Limoges decoration is not suitable for articles of common use, because it must be looked at from a distance to be appreciated, being but a mass of paint at close view. The second objection has more foundation in fact, and it would be better for artists to acknowl-

*“He who takes for his model such forms as nature produces, and confines himself to the exact imitation of them, will never attain to what is perfectly beautiful: for the works of nature are full of disproportion, and fall very short of the true standard of beauty. So that Phidias, when he formed his ‘Jupiter’ did not copy any object ever presented to his sight; but contemplated only that image which he had conceived in his mind from Homer’s description.” Proclus, *Lib. 2 in Timæum Platonis*, as cited by Junius, *de Pictura Veterum*.

edge that fact and be guided accordingly. Very much of our ceramic decoration shows a desire to do too much in too small a space—an attempt to crowd in as many figures, flowers and “frilligigs” as possible, in order to display a great variety and produce a correspondingly great effect. But an artist should not need to be told that on a small object the fewer the subjects and the simpler the decoration the more pleasing will be the effect of the whole. A single flower or figure well conceived and finished will be much more effective than a bouquet or a group producing excess of subjects and details. This excess in decoration is not confined to cheap articles and poor artists; it will be found in many of the finest productions of the best artists of Sevres, Dresden and elsewhere, and not only in the decoration but in the sculptured ornamentation as well. Nor is it a vice confined to our western artists; it will be found quite as noticeable in much of the Oriental work. The third objection is a most trivial one. As reasonably might the objectors say of a popular air, like the *Last Rose of Summer*, of a popular poem, like Tennyson's *May Queen*, or of a popular story, like Goldsmith's *Vicar of Wakefield*, and the like, that because they appeal to the masses by their prettiness and simplicity, and require no study in their appreciation, they are not, therefore, truly artistic. As if there were not various classes of art, and the products of art named, are not as artistically beautiful as the grander works are artistically sublime! Anything may obtain fashion and popularity for a day, but if it have not the elements of permanence—truth and beauty—to sustain it, it cannot survive the transient sentiment that gave it being, but will descend to the limbo of things forgotten. Because a thing becomes “hackneyed” by repetition, it does not lose its original beauty in the least. If it did not possess popular interest or intrinsic beauty it could not be “hackneyed,” and when it is so it is generally an evidence that it is entirely deserving of ceaseless reproduction as being preëminently artistic in its class. It is the mature verdict of time—the most impartial and trustworthy of all verdicts.

Another objection of the conventionalists that may be noticed here, is to the use of the human figure in decoration. They say that, in the first place, it is only an egotistical glorification of ourselves, and that, in the second place, the human figure is not a

proper subject for decorative purposes because it tends to degrade humanity by putting it on a level with the brute and inanimate world, and by making it so common in placing it on all objects we fail to entertain for it that respect and admiration which we would have were it confined to "nobler" objects. If there be any "glorification" in representing the human figure, it is a glorification of Him who made us in His own image,—a glorification of His work, and not of our own. As to the human figure not being suitable for decorative purposes, it may be said that if,

"The proper study of mankind is Man," *

it is not less true of the artist and sculptor than of the philosopher. Figures of children are especially suitable for decorative purposes, a lovely child being certainly a nobler and more elevating study than an ugly toad, a frightful dragon or a geometric figure. And the same may be said of older subjects. Where the human figure is at all appropriate to the object, it is the most suitable subject we can get—the one capable of producing the greatest variety of expression and the highest degree of effect. That its common use will lessen our admiration of it is not more true than that the common representation of birds, flowers and animals will lessen our admiration of them. On the contrary, experience proves that the frequent contemplation of the artistic copies shows us beauties which we probably would never have noticed otherwise, and thus leads us directly to the study and admiration of the originals, so that the surest way for man to gain an admiration of humanity is to study its beauties and perfections in painting and sculpture. This whole objection is in spirit very much like the Mohammedan edict against any representation of "the human form divine."

Popular art education in its relation to the ceramic art and industrial pursuits generally, is best studied in connection with the experience of all the leading European countries.

In England, the subject was never seriously thought of until the first International Exhibition of 1851 showed her people how far they were behind nearly all the rest of Europe in matters of industrial art, and taught them that if they would retain or increase their commercial supremacy they would have to compete with the rest of Europe in the artistic qualities of their industrial productions. They acted at once and earnestly. Parliament appointed a

* Pope: *Essay on Man*, Epistle II.

committee to study the matter and decide upon the best methods of action. The Royal Committee of Council on Education assumed the duty of organizing and carrying on the adopted plan; and the result is that England, as far behind the rest of the world in art twenty-five years ago as the United States are to-day, has now the most perfect and most successful system of popular art education ever adopted by any nation. That plan includes the introduction of drawing, as the basis of all art education, into all the national schools of the kingdom; the establishment of public art schools and museums, wherever practicable, under government control, and of private schools under government patronage; a thoroughly graded system of art education divided into classes extending over a period of some years, from the simple linear drawing of the child to the finished course of art of the normal school graduate; evening classes for working people who cannot attend during the day; government rewards to schools, teachers and pupils for excellence in the various classes; and finally, travelling museums visiting the smaller towns, comprising government articles, and objects of art loaned for the occasion by private parties. The centre of this grand educational system is the now world-renowned South Kensington Museum and School, which was the immediate fruit of the Exhibition of 1851. Its foundation was the appropriation by Parliament of £10,000 for the purchase of examples of industrial art from the Exhibition to form the nucleus of a national collection, and from this small beginning the collection has been increased and the scope of the institution enlarged by private contributions and liberal government appropriations until the museum and school are now the largest and most perfect of their kind in the world. It is no exaggeration to say that the art museums and schools, of which South Kensington is the centre, have done more for the material advancement of Great Britain during the past twenty-five years than her army and navy combined have done.

In France, the art schools are not directly under government control, but they receive considerable aid from the state and are under the supervision of the semi-official *Union Centrale* of Paris. The *Ecole des Beaux Arts* of Paris alone receives a government subvention of about 400,000 francs a year. Until twenty years ago France led the world in art matters, particularly in industrial pur-

suits, but the rapid strides made by several other countries, and especially England, have taught the French that they could not rely upon their old prestige and exercise a blind confidence in their unsurpassable superiority, if they were to maintain their position in the art and industrial world. Accordingly the *Union Centrale* was formed in 1864 by artists, merchants and manufacturers who were at last thoroughly aroused to the national importance of the subject. They sought by organized effort to arrest the decline in their trade in the present, and to increase it in the future. But they were too late. Art education and art industry had received such an impetus in England from the admirable system adopted there that she has not only equalled but even exceeded France in the exportation of artistic industrial productions. From 1847 to 1856 France exported art industries to the amount of 418 million francs, or 35 per cent. of her total exports for that period, while from 1856 to 1868 she exported only 350 million francs worth, or not 16 per cent. of the total exports, a decrease of more than one-half. On the other hand, England during the same periods increased her exports of articles requiring art in their manufacture from 413 to 855 million francs, or 28 per cent. of her total exports. An eminent French writer says: "These figures have an eloquence which is beyond comment. We leave them to those who consider art as a fantasy without consequence, as a sort of pastime, a recreation of the *bon ton*, which interests only the people of fashion and the amateurs who make collections."

In Belgium, Prussia and Austria, the same national interest is now manifested in the subject. Their experience has been similar to that of England and France—showing them the imperative necessity of popular art education in order to enable them to compete with their neighbors in their industrial productions; and as the first means to that common end they have made drawing a compulsory study in all the public schools, with special art schools for the more advanced pupils.

What experience has proven to be at first so wise and now so necessary on the other side of the Atlantic, reason will prove to be equally wise and necessary on this side. If we are to compete with the products of European countries in the markets of the world, we must at least equal, if we cannot surpass, them in the artistic quality of our manufactures, and this we can do only

through the adoption of some systematic course of popular art education such as they have found so successful in Europe. It is said by many that we are "too young" as a people to devote our time to matters of art; that we have not yet wholly accomplished our national mission in our struggle with the forces of nature; that the work of developing the natural resources of the country and of supplying the physical necessities of its people, are all-important yet; and that when we shall have accomplished all this it will be quite time enough to devote our attention to art, as Europe is now doing. But those who say this are ignorant or forgetful of the fact that if we are too young to indulge in art manufactures ourselves we are not too young to send *over a hundred million dollars a year* to Europe for manufactures into which art enters. Let them go into any well furnished private house and they will see that nearly everything in it of artistic value comes from Europe; or let them go into any shop or factory and they will see that all, or nearly all, the designers and decorators that may be employed therein are Europeans. Why should this be so? Why should we pay such enormous tribute to Europe for articles of art—which our people want and must have—when we can, by adopting proper means, produce the same article at home, and thus spend the money in our own midst and for the benefit of our own people and country, instead of impoverishing both by sending such vast sums abroad to enrich Europeans and keep them employed, while our own working people are standing idle and hungry around us? And why should we pay foreign designers and decorators handsome salaries here, while our native Americans are left to do the mechanical drudgery at lower wages? It is difficult to conceive of anything more humiliating to our national pride than the recent importation of an English artist to make a design for our new silver dollar!—an official proclamation to the world that there was not in all these broad United States artistic talent enough to produce a worthy design for our national coin. Popular art education is not a subject of superficial sentiment to the few, but is one of the deepest practical importance to the whole community—and to none more so than to the working classes, who would receive the greatest benefits from it.

Very little as yet has been done in this country in this designed direction, but that little has been fairly well done and happily gives

great promise for the future. Massachusetts was the first to take public action in the matter. In 1870 wise laws went into effect there making liberal provision for a systematic course of drawing in all the public schools of the commonwealth, and the superb display of industrial art designs made by those schools at the Centennial Exhibition bore the most flattering testimony to the completeness and entire success of the system. The School of Industrial Design connected with the Massachusetts Institute of Technology enjoys facilities unrivalled in this country for instruction in industrial art branches, and is doing a noble work in sending out skilled designers, most of whom find ready employment in the mills and factories of New England. The "Boston Museum of Fine Arts" proposes to establish itself more particularly as a normal training school of industrial art.

"The Metropolitan Museum of Art" of New York was incorporated in 1870, "for the purpose of establishing and maintaining a Museum and Library of Art, of encouraging and developing the study of the Fine Arts, and the application of art to manufactures and practical life, of advancing the general knowledge of kindred subjects, to the end of furnishing popular instruction and recreation." Five hundred thousand dollars were appropriated by the Legislature for the erection in Central Park of a suitable building which is now approaching completion. No definite plan has yet been formulated for the direction of the classes to be opened in connection with the Museum, which is already quite extensive and occupies a rented building, but there is no doubt that the plan when adopted will be fully in keeping with the original purpose of organization, and a credit to the city of which it is destined to become a prominent institution. The art school of the Cooper Institute has been doing quiet, but effective, work in industrial art education for some years past, and may be considered as one of the pioneers in this branch of study.

Cincinnati—"Porkopolis," at which we are disposed to turn up our æsthetic noses—is rapidly assuming a foremost place as an art centre, in music, painting and the industrial arts. It has an admirable system of drawing classes in its public schools—ranking next to Massachusetts in this respect—and the art school connected with the University of Cincinnati is one of the most complete, and is the most liberally endowed one, in the country.

In Philadelphia, much has already been done, but much more should be, and must be, done if the city would maintain its reputation and compare favorably with other cities in art matters. There is, it must be confessed, an inexplicable lack of interest manifested in this city in music, painting, sculpture, architecture and the fine arts generally, which languish and die here for want of proper encouragement and support. This is a fact not noticeable to Philadelphians themselves, who grow up unconscious of it, but is painfully evident to strangers who visit the city. As one of our newspapers has said: "We have a sort of pinchback provincial loyalty which bristles up when any of our institutions are attacked, but the institutions themselves we care little for, and if anybody here does any earnest work he must wait until his fame come back from abroad before his neighbors will notice him. The inevitable result of this peculiar phase of provincialism is to hinder all real development in the arts or in liberal culture of any kind, and mainly through the wealthy and well educated, who, accustomed to look abroad for the gratification of their own desires and tastes, forget that the only art or culture that can benefit and elevate a community as a whole is that which grows from within and is indigenous to its own soil."* "The moral of this lies in its application"—and that application must be practical, not sentimental. The encouragement of art and artists in our own midst must be more hearty and more substantial in the future than it has been in the past if we would make Philadelphia what the wealth and general culture of her people demand that she should be—a grand centre and munificent patron of the fine and industrial arts.

Of the schools already established here, the principal one is the "Pennsylvania Museum and School of Industrial Art," organized in 1876. The plan of organization declares the objects to be: "To establish in Philadelphia, for the State of Pennsylvania, a Museum of Art in all its branches as applied to Industry, and in all its technical applications, and to provide in connection therewith, with a special view to the development of the Art Industries of the State of Pennsylvania, opportunities and means of giving instruction in Drawing, Painting, Modelling and Designing, in their industrial applications, through Lectures, Practical Schools, and Special Libra-

* Philadelphia Daily *Times*, April 6th, 1878.

ries," and the character and general scope, "to be in all respects similar to that of the South Kensington Museum of London." Among the various classes already found may be particularly noticed the classes in art needlework, which were at once filled on their formation and have proved successful beyond anticipation. Excepting a few niggardly appropriations from the Legislature, this excellent institution is entirely dependent upon private subscriptions for its maintenance and extension, the classes of instruction being all free. In order to fully accomplish its mission, and confer its intended benefits upon the community, it should receive that substantial aid from the the state which its economic claims entitle it to.

"The School of Design for Women" has for its object, "the instruction of women in decorative art, and the various applications thereof to industrial pursuits." It is one of the oldest and largest schools of art in the country, has an extensive collection of plaster casts and a large catalogue of prints and drawings. Its present accommodations are sadly inadequate for its growing wants, and as it does not receive one dollar from the state it has to rely for its support wholly upon private subscriptions and the amounts received from the pupils for instruction. As a simple matter of financial necessity the terms of instruction, while really very moderate, are much higher than the directors would wish to have them, could they rule it otherwise, as they virtually shut out hundreds of deserving young women who would gladly avail themselves of the advantages of this school if the terms were nominal or free.

The art school connected with the Franklin Institute, the School of Design at Tenth and Walnut Streets, and the Arcade School of Decorative Art on Chestnut Street, are all excellent schools of their class and deserve much more encouragement than they receive.

Besides the schools noticed, the various Academies of Fine Art and Schools of Design of all the principal cities in the Union might be cited as so many centres for the dissemination of the principles of fine and industrial art. But the length to which this article has already extended, forbids more than a few concluding remarks.

The subject of popular art education has now become one of too widespread interest and too deep importance to be longer pool-

poohed or neglected in this country. The experience of Europe during the past quarter of a century has shown how great is its influence in developing national industries, and how essential it is to maintain those industries against foreign competition. The experience of England and France alone should be sufficient lesson to us. What the English *have* done, Americans *can* do. But to do this we must have an art educational system as wise and as liberal as the English. Our Congress and State Legislatures must recognize the principle which the British Parliament recognized in founding the South Kensington Museum—the principle that, “it is as much a part of good government to increase the value of its industries as to keep an open market for them, when the steps required for such an improvement cannot be taken by private enterprise, and can be successfully accomplished by public action.” The value of a nation’s industries can be increased vastly by increasing their artistic excellence; this excellence is to be attained only through the art education of its industrial classes; and this education is to be obtained only through the medium of public art museums and art schools. To accomplish our object, therefore, these must be provided, either by the State or by generous private endowment. And when they are provided, let us beware that we do not blind ourselves to the object of their creation—that we do not destroy the usefulness of their mission by shutting out from their enjoyment the very classes for whose especial benefit they were founded. Admitting, as all will, the moral and ennobling influences of art, it is but simple logic and truth to declare that its study is as moral and as ennobling on Sunday as on any other day. “The neglect of art as an interpreter of divine things, has been of evil consequence to the Christian world,”* and the Christian Church has done incalculable harm to itself and to humanity by denying this study to the workingman on the only day on which he has the opportunity of enjoying it. Man, condemned to earn his bread in the sweat of his face, from Monday morning till Saturday night, must have some recreation on Sunday, for the mind not less than for the body—that he may forget for one day in the week his wearisome toilings and cheerless ploddings, in the happy contemplation of the glorious works of God and man, which his more fortun-

* Ruskin. *Modern Painters*, Part III., chap. XV.

ate brother can enjoy at all times—and if he cannot find that recreation with his family in some pure and wholesome place, he will be tempted to seek it alone in some of the vile haunts that pollute the face of this fair earth, and his lost soul go crying up to heaven for vengeance upon the bigotry that sent him to his destruction. Let us ask ourselves whether it is not better to guide this popular demand for Sunday recreation into safe and innocent channels instead of, by blindly opposing it, driving it into sources of vice and social danger—whether it is not better to

" Ride in the whirlwind, and direct the storm,"

of popular discontent by granting just concessions and exerting soothing influences than, by attempting to govern the personal actions of the liberty-loving many by the conscience of the illiberal few, awaken a tempest of popular passion and be overwhelmed in a seething maelstrom of anarchy and communism, dying, like Burke, " protesting against the inevitable," when the exercise of wisdom in accepting and guiding that inevitable would have saved us!

JAMES JOSEPH TALBOT.

DAUDET'S "NABOB." ¹

THIS is the story of the son of a provincial French shop-keeper, Francois Jansoulet, who having endured all the privations of abject poverty, acquires late in life a fabulous fortune in Tunis and comes to reside in Paris where he goes by the name of the Nabob. " And yet his low birth betrayed itself in another fashion by the voice, the voice of a Rhone boatman, hoarse and gruff, whose Southern accent was coarse rather than harsh, and two broad short hands with hairy backs and square, nailless fingers which, spread out on the whiteness of the table-cloth, spoke of their past with an

¹ THE NABOB. From the French of Alphonse Daudet. By Lucy H. Hooper. Boston: Estes & Lauriat. 1878.

annoying eloquence." His chief and undisguised ambitions are to be a deputy in the Corps Legislatif and a member of the Legion of Honor, with the fashionable surroundings such distinctions will bring. For these things he is willing to spend money without stint, founding, at the advice of his friend Dr. Jenkins, the Bethlehem Infant Asylum to draw the red ribbon, and becoming the principal stockholder of the Territorial Fund for the development of Corsica, in the expectation that the grateful island will seat him as her deputy. He is as simple as he is strong, as generous as he is ostentatious, as thoroughly cheated and deceived as he is incapable of deceiving.

"Ah! my friends, my dear friends, if you knew how happy I am, how proud I feel!—"

It was scarcely six weeks since he had landed. With the exception of one or two of his fellow-countrymen, he had barely known since yesterday, and from having lent them money, the men whom he called his friends, so this sudden outbreak seemed rather extraordinary; but Jansoulet, too deeply moved to notice anything, continued:

"After what I have just heard, when I see myself here in this great Paris, surrounded by all that it contains of illustrious names and distinguished minds, and then I think of the paternal stall—for I was born in a stall. My father sold old nails at the corner of a street in Bourg Saint Audeol. We scarcely had bread in the house for every day and a stew for Sundays. Ask Cabassu, he knew me at that time, he can tell if I lie. Oh, yes, I have had to do with misery.' He raised his head with a thrill of pride inhaling the odor of truffles wherewith the close atmosphere was loaded. 'Yes, I have had to do with it and the real sort, and for a long time too. I have been cold, I have been hungry, but real hunger, you know, the kind that makes you drunken, that gnaws your stomach, that makes your head whirl, that hinders you from seeing, as if the inside of your eyes was being scooped out with an oyster knife. I have passed days in bed for lack of a coat to go out in, lucky when I had a bed; it was lacking sometimes. I have asked my bread from all kinds of trades and that bread has cost me so much trouble, it was so black, so tough, that I still have the bitter, mouldy taste of it in my mouth. And yet it was all like that till I was thirty—yes, my friends, thirty, and I am not yet fifty. I was still a beggar, penniless, without a future, full of anxiety for my poor mother, who was now a widow, who was dying of starvation over yonder in her stall, and to whom I could give nothing.'"

The cruel disappointments, the offensive thrusts, the shameful ridicule, the undeserved reproach that this great, strong, mistaken baby sustains at the hands of those who have fattened on him, deprived of the dramatic interest of the story, would be painful to recite. All ranks and conditions of men conspire to rob him. After he has bought at fabulous prices horses from one, pictures from another, a theatre from another, and has saved others from bankruptcy, in six short months the happy Nabob, plucked to the skin, Dr. Jenkins decorated in his place, his election as deputy from Corsica publicly annulled, deserted by this shoal of land sharks, like an animal at bay, choked, stupefied, helpless, dies in the box of his own theatre. Is not this a programme to make one's blood boil?

Around this great cord of the fabric, hiding it, now and then taking off the reader's eye, are other threads; that of M. Joyeuse, an imaginative little accountant and his four daughters, a group of pure and amusing domesticity after the manner of Dickens; that of Felicia Ruys, a sculptress whose genius is as great, as irregular, as dependent for good or evil upon trivial circumstances as the most thorough Gaul would demand; finally, the woolly thread of Jenkins, the humanitarian, the apologist, the smiling beneficent doctor, weaving and interweaving everywhere through the pattern, disgusting for prominence and dead whiteness.

This is a full book, an objective book, that lets you into the hearts of men, not by metaphysics and monologues, but by actions, as you yourself arrive at intentions by what men do and not by what they say. The characters are boldly drawn, with here and there a nice touch of observation which convinces you right or wrong that they are true to nature. You lay the story down and recall with approval the fulsome, hypocritical Jenkins, the straightforward provincial de Géry, the artificial, old specimen of dandy deportment, Monpavon, the perfect man of the world, de Mora, of each and all *si non e vero e ben trovato*. Here is a paragraph describing de Géry's first appearance in French society.

"All you Parisians of Paris, who from the age of sixteen, in your first dress coat,—and crush hat in hand, have carried your youth through the receptions of all classes of society, you do not know that anguish of vanity, of timidity, of recollections of romantic reading, that rivets our teeth against each other, paralyses our

gestures, that makes us for an entire evening a supporter of door posts, a piece of furniture for a recess, a poor wandering and lamentable creature, incapable of manifesting his existence in any other way than by occasionally changing his place, perishing of thirst rather than approach the refreshment-room, and going away without having uttered a word unless he has stammered out one of those wildly idiotic speeches that he remembers for months afterwards, and that causes him at night, when he thinks of it, to utter an 'ah!' of angry shame and bury his face in the pillow."

After an exuberant self-congratulation of the Nabob as he walks home with de Gery from a ball, follows this exquisite thrust at the Empire.

"The naif Southerner thus flung out his project to the night with many expressive gestures, and from time to time, pacing the wide deserted Place Vendôme, majestically surrounded by its silent, close-shut palaces, he raised his head towards the man of bronze at the top of the column, as if he took as a witness that great parvenu whose presence in the midst of Paris authorizes all ambitions, makes all chimeras possible."

Mr. Joyeuse is a clerk of the banker Hemerlingue, the Nabob's old partner and now enemy and rival. See how Daudet takes us into that little home where the banker had never been and of whose existence he never even thought.

"In humble homes there is always a name that is mentioned oftener than any other, that is invoked amid all the storms, that is blended with all the wishes, all the hopes, even with all the games of the children, penetrated with a sense of its importance, a name that holds in the house the role of an under-Providence, or rather that of a Sar, a familiar and supernatural household divinity. It is that of the chief, the director of the factory, the owner, the minister, that of the man, in fact, who holds in his powerful hands the happiness, the existence of the house. With the Joyeuse family it was Hemerlingue, always Hemerlingue; that name occurred ten or twenty times a day in the conversation of the girls, who associated it with all their plans with the slightest details of their feminine ambition. 'If Hemerlingue chose. All that depends upon Hemerlingue.' And nothing could be more charming than the familiarity wherewith those young things talked about the fat banker whom they had never seen. They asked for news of him. Had the father spoken to him? Was he in a good humor? And to think that all of us, whatever we may be, no matter how humble or how bowed down we are kept by fate, we have ever beneath us some poor creatures, more humble, more bowed than we, for whom

we are great, for whom we are Gods, and for whom in our station as Gods we are indifferent, contemptuous, cruel!"

The description of the Bethlehem Asylum, a magnificently delusive institution founded by Dr. Jenkins with the Nabob's money to bring up the children of the poor on goat's milk, is worthy of Dickens. How like him is this passage, taken from the account of the visit of the official secretary, which unexpectedly results in the Doctor's being decorated instead of the founder.

"Jenkins gives a hearty hand shake to the superintendent.

'Well, Madame Polge, are our little charges progressing nicely?'

'You can see for yourself, Doctor,' she replies, pointing to the beds. She is funereal in her green dress, this tall Madame Polge, the ideal of dry nurses; she completes the picture. But whither has the Secretary of the Commandery gone? He has stopped in front of a cradle which he examined sadly, standing and nodding his head.

'Deuce take it,' whispers Pompon to Madame Polge, 'it is the Wallachian.' The little blue ticket hung at the head of the bed, does announce the nationality of the child—Moldo-Wallachian. How unlucky, that the Secretary's attention should have been attracted by that one. Oh! the poor little head lying on one side on the pillow; its cap crooked, its nostrils contracted, its mouth open with a short panting breath, the breath of those who are newly born, but also of those who are about to die.

'Is he ill?' asks the Secretary softly of the Director, who has approached him.

'Why not the least bit in the world,' answers the shameless Pompon, and going up to the cradle, he tickles the little one with his finger, beats up the pillow, and says, in a manly tone full of tenderness, 'Well, old boy!' Shaken from his stupor, emerging from the shadow that already envelopes him, the baby opens his eyes upon the faces leaning over him, looks at them with a glowing indifference, then returning to his dream which he likes better, clenches his wrinkled little hands and draws an imperceptible sigh. Mystery! what had he come into life for? To suffer for two months, and then to depart, having seen nothing, understanding nothing, without ever having known the sound of his own voice.

'How pale he is!' murmurs M. de la Perriere, himself very pale. The Nabob, too, is livid as if a cold breath had passed by. The director assumes an off-hand air.

'It is the reflection. We are all green here.'

'Yes, yes,' says Jenkins, 'it is the reflection from the lake. Come and see it, M. de la Perriere.' and he draws him toward the window to show him the great sheet of water into which the

willows dip, whilst Madame Polge hastens to draw over the little Wallachian's eternal dream the ample curtains of his little cradle."

So the description of the evening at home, which any man might do with some degree of pleasing power. Daudet makes it exquisite by one or two observations familiar to us all.

"Tea once served, while the gentlemen finished their cups and their conversation (father Joyeuse was always very long about anything that he did, on account of his frequent flights to the moon), the young girls drew up their work, and the table became covered with work-baskets, embroideries, gay worsteds, refreshing with their brilliant tints the faded flowers on the old table-cover. And the group of the other evening was formed anew within the luminous circle of the other day, to the great delight of Paul de Géry. It was the first evening of this kind that he had spent in Paris; it recalled to him others long past, lulled by the same innocent laughter, the gentle noise of scissors replaced upon the table, of a needle passing through linen, of the rustling of turning leaves, and he was reminded, too, of dear faces forever vanished, clustered, too, like these, around the family lamp, alas! so suddenly extinguished."

Or what could be a more vigorous picture of the unexampled successes of the Nabob than this?

"And as the life of this man seemed the realization of a tale from the Thousand and One Nights, as all his desires were fulfilled even to the most disproportioned, as all his wildest chimeras came to stretch themselves out before his feet and to lick his hands like tamed and submissive spaniels, he had bought St. Romans to give it to his mother, newly furnished and restored.

Monpavon, whose passion for play has induced him to misappropriate public funds, comes to the death bed of the Duke de Mora, the only man in France who can save him, to ask for aid.

"At the moment of entering, the sounds of a dispute caused him to pause behind the lowered hangings. It was the voice of Louis, whining like that of a beggar under a porch, striving to move his master to pity respecting the terrible distress which awaited him, and asking permission to take a few rouleaux of gold which were lying in a drawer. Ah! how hoarse, how exhausted, how scarce intelligible was the reply, wherein was apparent the effort of the invalid, forced to turn in his bed and to withdraw his eyes from a glimpse of the far away. 'Yes, yes, take all! But in Heaven's name let me sleep—let me sleep!'

"The drawers opened and closed in short and panting respiration. Monpavon heard nothing more, and turned back without entering.

The brutal rapacity of the servant had aroused his pride. Anything rather than degrade himself to such a point."

The Nabob's mother comes to Paris on the very day when the validity of her son's election is before the Corps Legislatif, and, without knowing or understanding the question, gains admission to the gallery. This is the picture of her after the defeat as she leaves the house.

"And whilst she thus struggled in her agitation, bewildered, her cap in disorder, at once grotesque and sublime, like all beings of nature in full civilized tragedy, testifying to her son's honesty and the injustice of mankind, even to the liveried lackeys, whose disdainful impassibility was more cruel than all, Jansoulet, who had come to meet her, uneasy at seeing her, suddenly appeared at her side.

'Take my arm, mother; you must not stay here.' He said this aloud, in so calm and firm a tone that all the laughter ceased, and the old woman suddenly appeased, supported by that strong clasp on which leaned the last tremors of her anger, was enabled to leave the palace between two respectful ranks. A grand and rustic pair, the millions of the son lighting up the peasant manners of the mother like those holy rays that are surrounded by a golden frame, they disappeared into the brilliant sunlight outside, into the splendor of their sparkling coach, a fierce irony in the presence of that great misery, a striking symbol of the terrible woes of the rich.

Both seated far back, for they were afraid of being seen, they did not speak to each other at first. But, as soon as the carriage was under way, when he saw receding behind him the gloomy Calvary on which his honor remained crucified, Jansoulet, worn out, laid his head against the maternal shoulder, hid it in a fold of the old green shawl, and there giving free course to his burning tears, his whole strong frame shaken by sobs, there returned to him the cry of his infancy, his wail as a little child, 'Mamma—mamma!'

Some Americans, who love to think we have a monopoly of such things, would profit by an attentive consideration of the life-like pictures of corporate and individual, official and private dishonesty and incompetency in so great and so distant a city as Paris.

Other passages, perhaps more distinguished for penetration, vigor and eloquence, might be added to those we have quoted, but they are chosen as easy to understand and admire without the context. *The Nabob* is a work of the highest order of merit and another proof that the gift of novel writing is not confined to

England. Daudet has not made, as many French authors—to avoid a generalization, which the reader, better, worse or differently informed, might contradict—have made, a logical study of some passion, a painful dissection of abnormal and immoral conditions. Such books we all know, with a small *dramatis personæ*, an ingenious preliminary of things common to the reader and then by nicely calculated steps, a phantasm which seems to say, “Aha! aha! you never dreamed you had that in you.” After following a train of figures contradicting, astonishing and outraging themselves, the mental accommodation of the reader is as much disturbed for all sublunary things as his eye would be after gazing at an electric light. He has been puzzled by subjectivity run mad. *The Nabob* is more like the novels of our own tongue. Daudet fills up the back-ground of his pictures with a goodly number of characters, as we meet them every day, with the inevitable exaggeration which follows the compression of many years and lives into a few hour’s reading, whose interests and occupations crossing and inter-crossing, present life as it is, composite, complicated and influenced from many sides. Without picking up, as Dickens does in his great hand, a dozen threads at once, with a detail and exactness which is in danger of being too perfect, he gives now and then an interior, a country view, a side light of one kind or another, which reminds us that we are in the world, the world of banks and politics, of doctors and lawyers, where the most violent of emotions cannot last forever, and where the greatest elations and distortions must rub against and be qualified by the insignificant routine and incidents of daily life. There is hypocrisy, vice and courage in the book, simplicity, ruin and suicide, not riding on high horses, or blowing trumpets, or darkly intimated from impossible eyes, but, as we know them, unobtrusive, developing with events, sometimes taking us by surprise. The method recognises and respects the all-pervading principles of social gravitation, which would prevent, if nothing else did, Love, Revenge, Ambition, Vice and other human incidents (to be spelled with capitals), from riding, as they do in books, in a bee line into an insane asylum.

A STRUGGLE. By Barnet Phillips. New York : D. Appleton & Co., 1878.

This is the first of a new series of short stories, called the Handy Volume series, published by Appleton & Co., and evidencing, among other things, how much the public taste has been elevated since cheap literature, abandoning the happy hunting grounds of the Dime Novel, has begun to draw upon natural and respectable sources for its interest. Here we have at St. Eloi a *chateau* and a *usine*; in the former a wealthy French iron-founder, and the heroine—his beautiful, impetuous, but haughty daughter, about to be betrothed to a French man of the world, de Valbois. At the *usine*, as *contre-maitre*, a one-armed Yankee, the hero, ex-Colonel from the war of the rebellion, quiet, imperturbable, but valued by his employer as an admirable mechanic, a ready suggestor of the right thing to make the iron quicker and better and the machinery to go when it is out of order. Then comes the Franco-German war, the master is struck down with sickness, de Valbois withdraws, Mr. Yankee runs the *usine*, advises everybody, cares for his employer, protects his daughter, whose respect and gratitude gradually deepen into love. But this man of perfect judgment gives no sign of his own affection until haughty Mademoiselle is quite *bcudense* that it has not shown itself, and then the victory is complete.

The undercurrent of all this is that here were living side by side, in the time of ordinary social conditions, two people admirably suited to and mutually worthy of each other, and capable of the highest devotion, who would have lived on forever without a consciousness of sympathy, she feeling, if anything, a distant superiority to him, and he a self-complacent and real indifference about her. But the usual conventionalities once disturbed, character and temper once able to show themselves normally, the true and natural combination takes place. He and she are made supremely happy.

Miss Smith, as she reads with regret that it takes a Franco-German War to produce such a result, and Mr. Jones, as he glances at her from the *fautcuil*, feels that, though this be really his affinity, the unalterable routine of his and of her life may prevent that fact from ever disclosing itself. Miss Smith and Mrs. Jones, this is quite true. By a very simple law of the physical world, a bucket of water thrown into the ocean on the Atlantic seaboard will cause a re-arrangement of its particles to the rock of Gibraltar, and dear knows how much further, but there is only one day and one hour and one way in which the bucket of Mr. Jones's out-poured affections can send a ripple into Miss Smith's heart. At that critical moment, a thousand to one, Mr. Jones will be eating a

heartly lunch in town, and Miss Smith at the sea-side, with the proper electrical condition rapidly passing away, will be conforming herself to other relations. The chance is gone forever, and the worst of it all is they do not care: and the good, the true and the beautiful go wandering around the earth, mis-mated or not mated at all.

CURRENT DISCUSSION. A Collection from the Chief English Essays on Questions of the Time. Edited by Edward L. Burlingame. Vol. I., International Politics. Vol. II., Questions of Belief. Pp. XII., 368; XI., 360. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons.

These volumes are the excellent execution of an idea equally good. The two greatest topics of human interest have been treated in the leading English periodicals during the past two years, with a vigor and an earnestness which is quite unusual, and its possible loss out of permanent literature should be avoided. Mr. Burlingame has made an excellent choice. Nine papers by Gladstone, Goldwin Smith, Freeman, Owen, Dicey and Forbes fill the first volume. Mr. Smith's paper on Canada is of the greatest interest to Americans. That of Mr. Dicey, on Egypt, is a fair type of the literary work done by the new Machiavellian school of English politicians.

The second volume very properly contains the two great Symposia, the first, on "The Soul and a Future Life," being preceded by Mr. F. Harrison's article on that topic, which led to the discussion. Three other papers are by G. H. Lewes, Thomas Hughes and W. H. Mallock. The paper by the last, "Is Life Worth Living," is one of the most brilliant *reductions ad absurdum* ever attempted, and its author, though quite a young man, has taken high rank among the controversial champions of Theism and Christianity.

We are puzzled to know where Mr. Burlingame will find the materials for a third volume. The two things Dr. Johnson thought worth talking about are covered by these. It is true that politics are treated only on the international side, and religion only in its controversy with those who reject it. But without in some sort reduplicating these volumes, we think he will find it hard to collect others which shall equal them in interest.

WARRINGTON PEN PICTURES: A Collection of Personal and Political Reminiscences, from 1848, to 1876, from the Writings of William S. Robinson. Edited by his Widow. Pp. XX. 587. Boston: Lee & Shepard.

Mr. Robinson was something of a power in Massachusetts politics from the days of the Free Soil movement onward. A keen, incisive writer, capable of broad, popular humor, and thoroughly

disinterested in his aims, he commanded much regard as a newspaper writer. Refined critics will perhaps sneer at this volume as a specimen of book-making; for ourselves, we have gone through its pages with a very genuine liking for the man. Even the very brief articles which fill up a large portion of the earlier part of the volume, after the biographical sketch, have their interest and value as depicting the leading features of the old pro-slavery conflict, and, in less elaboration, the dominant mood of the country in War Times. The latter part is made up of articles and papers which better correspond to the title of the book. There are brief biographies of public men, beginning with the Free Soil leaders. This part of the book provokes a comparison with the *Biographical Sketches* of Miss Martineau. But Mr. Robinson confines himself more closely to politics, and is not her equal in literary skill, while far beyond her in good temper, although not less earnest. We do not share his unqualified admiration of Charles Sumner; but we think he deserves national honors for his unyielding opposition to the Essex statesman.

THE UNITED STATES AS A NATION. Lectures on the Centennial of American Independence, given at Berlin, Dresden, Florence, Paris and London, By Rev. Dr. Joseph P. Thompson. Pp. XXVII, 323. Boston, J. R. Osgood & Co.

Dr. Thompson has been for some years past an American resident in Europe, and, like the best of our absentees, he has kept his patriotic attachments fresh and vigorous. He has had to face the usual fire of foreign criticism upon our character and our institutions, and being a man given to free speech and plenty of it, he has repaid it in kind in these lectures. Finding occasion in the attention excited by the Centennial Year, he undertook to give our European Friends a chance to take a look at American History through American eyes, and to correct some of their wrong impressions, and even to put his foot on a few "false facts," as Cullen calls them. He begins with the foundation of the Republic, but dwells largely on the War of Independence, the Declaration and the Constitution, and then devotes chapters to the trials, the development, and the dangers of the nation. •

LANDOLIN. By Berthold Auerbach. Translated by Annie B. Irish New York. Henry Holt & Co.

In this, the latest of the Auerbach stories, we have a study of peasant life. Of the charming idyllic treatment which in some of his earlier work he has devoted to such subjects, there is but little in *Landolin*. Notable instances of the style to which we refer may be found in some of the *Dorfgeschichten* and in all that portion of *Auf der Höhe* that relates to Walpurga and Hansei. The story

is simply told and deals chiefly with the hard, matter-of-fact side of life. Interspersed with numerous clever bits of character painting, there is no lack of that home-spun, commonplace, worldly wisdom with which the reader of Auerbach is already familiar.

The English version reads smoothly and seems to have been carefully done. We cannot, however, avoid taking exception to the term "living room" (*Wohnzimmer?*), which, if English at all, is but a localism, infinitely less acceptable than the more idiomatic "sitting room".

BOOKS RECEIVED.

- Bonny Kate. A Novel. By Christian Reid. 8vo. S'wd. Pp. 222. Price 75 Cents. New York: Appleton & Co. [Porter & Coates.
- Literature Primers—English Grammar and Exercises. By Rev. Richard Morris and H. Courthope Bowen. New York: D. Appleton & Co.
- Jet: Her Face or Her Fortune? By Mrs. Annie Edwards. S'wd. 16mo. Pp. 227. Price 25 cents. New York: D. Appleton & Co. [Porter & Coates.
- A Struggle. By Barnet Phillips. 16mo. S'wd. Pp. 171. Price 25 cents. New York: D. Appleton & Co. [Porter & Coates.
- Misericordia. By Ethel Lynn Linton. S'wd. Pp. 130. Price 20 cents. New York: D. Appleton & Co. [Porter & Coates.
- Gordon Baldwin. Philosopher's Pendulum. By Rudolph Lindau. S'wd. Pp. 163. Price 25 cents. New York: D. Appleton & Co. [Porter & Coates.
- The Fisherman of Auge. By Katherine S. Macquoid. S'wd. Pp. 131. Price 20 cents. New York: D. Appleton & Co. [Porter & Coates.
- Ariadne. From the French of Henry Greville. S'wd. Pp. 229. New York: D. Appleton & Co. [Porter & Coates.
- Dosia; a Russian Story, from the French of Henry Greville. Translated by Mary Neal Sherwood. Cloth. 12mo. Pp. 260. Boston: Estes & Lauriat. [J. B. Lippincott & Co.
- Around the World in the Yacht "Sunbeam." By Mrs. Brassey. 8vo. Cloth. Pp. 470. Price \$3.50. New York: Henry Holt & Co. [Porter & Coates.
- Leisure Hour Series—Maid Ellice. By Theo. Gift. Price \$1.00. New York: Henry Holt & Co. [Porter & Coates.
- Leisure Hour Series—Heathercourt. By Mrs. Molesworth. Price \$1.00. New York: Henry Holt & Co. [Porter & Coates.
- Sensible Etiquette of the Best Society. By Mrs. H. O. Ward. Cloth. 12mo. Pp. 567. Price \$2.00. Philadelphia: Porter & Coates.
- Shooting Stars as observed from the "Sixth Column" of *The Times*. By W. L. Alden. Cloth. 16mo. Pp. 224. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons.
- Course in Arithmetic. By F. W. Bardwell. 12mo. Cloth. Pp. 154. Price \$1.25. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. [Claxton, Remsen & Haffelfinger.
- The Philosophy of Arithmetic. By Edward Brooks, Ph.D. Cloth. 8vo. Pp. 570. Philadelphia: Sower, Potts & Co.
- How to Spend the Summer—Where to Go; How to Go; How to Save Money. S'wd. Pp. 105. Price 25 cents. New York: Christian Union Print.
- The Army of the Republic. By Henry Ward Beecher. S'wd. Pp. 23. Price 10 cents. New York: Christian Union Print.
- Uniform Non-Local Time. By Sanford Fleming, Engineer-in-Chief Canadian Pacific Railway. S'wd. Pp. 32.
- Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione. Bolletino Ufficiale, IV. Aprile 1878. Roma. Eredi Botta.
- Stato del Personale addetto alla Pubblica Istruzione del Regno Italia al 31 Dicembre, 1877.

THE
PENN MONTHLY.

AUGUST.

THE MONTH.

HOWEVER little we may respect the English Premier as a statesman, we are forced to admire the audacious smartness of his play in the game of diplomacy. That he should be at this moment the most popular man in the United Kingdom, is a thing of course. He has made the English people feel better satisfied with their place in Europe and in the world, than they have felt since Waterloo. It used to be said that at the close of every war England lost in the council what she had won in the field, and that, whoever danced, John Bull must pay the piper. But here is the end of a war which has not cost her a life (although her bill for transportation of troops will be a large one), and England comes out of it with increase of prestige, with gains of territory, and with such a position in European politics as she has not had since 1815. She has frustrated the Triple Alliance of Emperors and Chancellors; she has given Constantinople the Balkans as a northern line of defence; she has been publicly accepted by Turkey as her friend and protector; she has obliged other powers to await her initiative as regards any little arrangements they thought best for the peace of the continent.

But when we remember that England's place in this controversy is distinctly that of attorney or next of kin, and not that of principal, and when we weigh the result of the Congress in the scales of justice and honor—which John Bull always mistakes for those on

his own counter—the glory of Beaconsfield's pyrotechnic diplomacy is much less brilliant. It was his opposition to the terms imposed upon Turkey by the Treaty of San Stefano, which endangered the peace of Europe, and delayed the meeting of the Congress. Now the Congress has left Turkey in a worse plight than that treaty did. It is true that the southern section of Bulgaria, up to the Balkan line, has been isolated from the new province which is under Russian protection; but Roumelia and its Greek populations have been granted a sort of autonomy, which will be the first step toward their independence. Bosnia and Herzegovina, which the treaty did not call in question, have been virtually ceded to Austria, by the request of Europe that the Hapsburgers will occupy them and restore order. Even Asia Minor, by a separate arrangement made to secure England's services as attorney in the Congress, is placed under an undefined English protectorate, whose limits are to be fixed by the Pachas' resistance to British urgency. And last of all, as part of the retaining fee, Cyprus passes under the English flag.

The net result has been to change certainty into uncertainty in every part of the Turkish Empire, except the three provinces which are cut loose from it. In Bosnia and Herzegovina there is the uncertainty of an unlimited occupation, with the certainty of unlimited disputes between the Porte and Austria as to its termination. And if we may judge from the annals of the House of Hapsburg, those fair lands will never pass under the Turkish power until the Ottoman can take them back by force. In Roumelia there is the uncertainty of an imperfect autonomy, with the certainty of ceaseless collisions between the military administration of the Pachas and the civil rule of the new government. In the Levant, the imperfect right of interference, capable of a thousand constructions, and nearly certain to be construed as in similar cases in India. The Congress has elaborately constructed three great land-slides, and Beaconsfield bids a delighted and happy England to admire the solidity and the carefulness of its work.

On the whole, we may set down the Congress as a gain to the interests of humanity. It has laid more mines under the iniquitous structure of Ottoman rule, than Russia herself could have constructed. It has made sure that the Eastern Question is to remain an open one, and that it will not be closed while there is a Turkish

pacha in Europe, Armenia or the Levant. And it has done excellently well in coupling with the recognition of the independence of Servia and Roumelia, a provision securing religious liberty in those principalities. It is to be hoped that this will put an end to those disgraceful and worse than mediæval persecutions of the Jews, against which Western Europe and our own government have repeatedly but vainly protested, and which have rallied the whole Jewish interest in Europe against the claims of the Slavonic Christians. This provision is the one good thing which we owe to Earl Beaconsfield, and it is just that he should have full credit for it.

RUSSIA is distinctly better off for the results of the Congress. Her new Bulgarian dependency has been retrenched of its Southern portion, but that portion is largely Greek, and opposed to a union with the Slavic or half-Slavic Bulgarians. Her one troublesome dispute, the demand on Roumelia for the retrocession of Bessarabia, has been settled for her by the voice of united Europe, and Roumelia has been in part compensated by the cession of Dobrudja. The lesser power is of course offended, but less so than if Russia had done the deed herself; while three other lesser powers, Servia, Montenegro and Greece have been bound more closely to Russia by the unwise and ungenerous treatment to which they were subjected by the anti-Russian majority in the Congress, who were ready to do anything for Austria, but nothing for them. The Czar also retains Eastern Armenia with Batoum and Kars, the former being, Beaconsfield says, a place of no importance, as its port will hold but half a dozen ships, while the latter, having fallen thrice already into Russia's hands, was certain to be taken again in any future war. It is strange that this latter consideration did not occur to him in estimating the value of the Balkan range as a defence for Constantinople, since the Russians have forced their way three times across that rangé. As for Batoum, it is of slight commercial value, but it is none the less a military post which cannot be wrested from a garrison of disciplined and well-officered soldiers.

Beaconsfield's reception at home has been so enthusiastic that now seems the time for a dissolution of Parliament, and a general election. The present House has still two years to run, but a disso-

lution would secure a Tory majority for the next six or seven years. The only obstacle is that there is no better reason for a general election, and that many of his friends will not relish being put to the expense at the present moment.

The Liberals in general have the candor to confess that they have no chance of reducing the Tory majority. Some of them point to the unexpected Liberal victories in the recent elections, and to the greatly changed temper of the Dissenters, who gave Mr. Gladstone but a half hearted support in the last election. They claim that the new Tory element, which has been so loud of late among the lower classes, is confined to London and a few large towns, and they hope that the continued pressure of Hard Times will give popularity to the cry for retrenchment. But they confess that Household Suffrage has brought into English politics a class less intelligent, less open to ideas, and more easily led by clap-trap and jugglery, than the old body of voters. They look on Beaconsfield as the type of the future politician,—the man who makes his successful appeal to the thoughtless, frivolous, snobbish and conceited elements in English society.

The average English voter in the towns is at present distinctly inferior to the American. He is deficient not merely in political experience and insight, but also in education, social intelligence, and seriousness. He is closely akin to the great substratum of English Society, which is the most sordid, brutal and least civilized section of the Anglo-Saxon race. And it is upon him that the Tories depend for their political support.

The more far-seeing and cautious elements in English society, will not be dazzled by the recent diplomatic exploits, when the first enthusiasm has given way to sober reflection. The solution reached by Beaconsfield may seem both bloodless and brilliant; but no victories are so dearly bought as those which are got by a mortgage on a people's future. And this is the price in this case. England has assumed a vast responsibility in regard to the internal administration of what is left of Turkey, and also the Porte's relation to its Northern neighbors. She has pushed her real frontier a thousands miles nearer to that of the Empire whose contiguity she fears. She has assumed the responsibility of a hopelessly bad government, and will be forced by public opinion at home and abroad to meddle with the iniquities of the pachas, and every in-

terference will be the precedent for still further interference. She has opened a long vista of disputes, negotiations, wars, taxes, debt and suffering; and all that an unscrupulous statesman might have the opportunity to shine among European chancellors and London roughs.

THE Paris Exposition has been unfortunate in coinciding with the session of the Congress, but it seems to have been quite successful in attracting a great multitude of visitors from the thickly placed populations which lie within easy reach of Paris. The great *fête* days have been especially brilliant, and the Republic has shown the Parisians that it understands the secret of pleasing the eye at least as well as the Empire.

The American exhibit is better and larger than might have been expected, but of course it looks tame in comparison with the splendid display at home two years ago. The articles sent are largely those which it is worth while to present to the attention of European customers, but which are not too bulky for transmission across the ocean. Such an exhibit as that of William Sellers & Co.—pronounced by Professor Walker of Yale to be one of the two especial glories of our Exhibition—could not well be sent to Paris. We must, therefore, suffer somewhat by comparison with peoples who devote more time to *bric-a-brac* and trinkets. But we are said to have received a very fair share of the medals and diplomas which have been awarded by the juries.

We believe, however, that most Americans have felt a much keener interest in the boat-races on the Thames, in which the Columbia College crew won the chief prize. Since the defeat of Harvard, Americans were disposed to yield the palm in this branch of Athletics, and the surprise was all the more pleasant since nothing of the sort was expected. We think it notable that a city college has succeeded, where a dormitory college, with its more vigorous academic life, had failed; and we hope it will encourage the students in institutions similarly placed to show themselves no laggards in the gymnastic disciplines.

THE present summer bids fair to surpass even the July of the Centennial year, if not in sustained and prolonged heat, yet in the intensity and severity of briefer periods. The hot wave which

swept across the country from the West, reaching St. Louis on the 13th and lasting nearly a week before its force was spent on our coast, has been accompanied by loss of life and prostration of health without a parallel in recent years. The greatest suffering was in St. Louis, whose splendid business site is climatically unfortunate. The late Professor Frazer used to say that "there *may* be places in the Sahara hotter than St. Louis." Some branches of business were altogether suspended in the West; work in the fields was carried on by moonlight; and the people were accommodating themselves to tropical heat. If this were the only extreme we had to suffer, we might bear it with more equanimity. But we cannot forget that in the very places where the thermometer stood for days at 103° in the shade and 130° in the sun, men are often frozen to death in going less than a hundred yards from house to barn to fodder their cattle. The United States, as an old Bethlehem doctor used to say, lie in the intemperate zone, and the strain put upon human endurance by the weather surpasses that borne in any other civilized country. It is no wonder that physical beauty is not general among our people,—that it is very largely confined to those who can escape to the sanitarium on the seashore, or in the mountains. The importance of such places of refuge, if the Anglo-Saxon race is to have permanence on this continent, must be better appreciated, and they must be made easier of access to our poorer classes than they are. New York is fortunate in having Coney Island, and in having reclaimed it from evil associations. But it is now hardly as cheap and democratic as it should be. Both cities have sea-side hospitals for sick children, which deserve more generous support. Our own has, at Atlantic City, a very cheap boarding house for women in poor health; and last, and perhaps best of all, is the sanitarium for sick children, in the Delaware, where as many as a thousand a day are fed and treated, and allowed to enjoy the recuperative influences of the river air. In 1876 our death rate in Philadelphia greatly exceeded the (reported) birth-rate, while last year a cooler summer turned the balance the other way. We must be ready for hot summers, and save the lives which are lost through the neglect of society to aid the poor in their self-sacrifices.

We may say, in this connection, that we hope the activity of the newly reorganized Board of Health will not prove another il-

illustration of the old maxim about the new broom. The Board has certainly done a great deal in the last few weeks, and some of us begin to hope that the health and comfort of the city are no longer to be sacrificed to the convenience of bone-boilers, pou-drette factories and the like. The south-western part of the city has suffered dreadfully from such nuisances, and its people have been obliged more than once to sit with shut windows on hot evenings, in order to avoid the unutterable stench of the Gray's Ferry Road. We would be glad to see the Board vested with power to expel all four-footed beasts, except horses, from the limits of the city. We have high scientific authority for the opinion that the air of the city would be far purer, more vitalizing and more refreshing, if it were not breathed night and day by a vast multitude of unwholesome and dangerous curs, kept as pets within the city limits. In these hot, still nights, they absorb and consume great quantities of oxygen and ozone, of which there is little enough, from their human competitors.

THERE is no end to the Hard Times, although Congress has adjourned. The business failures for the year, thus far, are greater than for any previous one. Only the whisky and tobacco trades have been more busy, simply because the prospect of a reduction in the taxes they pay had caused a temporary suspense. A similar suspense was said to have been laid upon importing, by expectations of a new Tariff; but the increase in value of imported goods has not been great, and the facilities for waiting a turn in the market, presented by the warehouse system, makes any delay in bringing in goods quite improbable. Our exports have been large, and there has been the greatest balance of trade in our favor ever known.

As for the return of prosperity, it is quite too far off for prophecy even. In *Past and Present*, Carlyle tells his Methodist to make up his mind to damnation, that he may stop thinking of it and find something better worth doing. So we may make up our minds to bad times, for they are going to last so long that we will be surprised and somewhat frightened when we get any better. The truth is that iron and textile production have been, by aid of machinery, brought up to a point far beyond the world's needs; the monopoly exercised by England is about to pass away, and

until she has succumbed and accepts her natural position, there will be two sellers for every buyer the world over. And as long as that lasts, we must either have a factitious inflation in which every buyer takes twice as much as he ought, or hard times, in which every seller has but half a market.

In our country, the people who have a small sum to go upon are taking to agriculture. Unhappily, most of them are running to the West to buy land, instead of staying East to hire it. The sales and preëmptions of lands have been greater this spring than for years back, and even the tide of emigration has begun to flow again from Germany. The *bauer* seems to think that American Hard Times are nearly as good as Old World prosperity.

The honest but narrow Scotch woman, who defined down the true Kirk till it consisted of herself and her husband, "but was not sure o' John", reminds us of the efforts of this Administration to define its Civil Service Reform. The brilliant order, credited to Carl Schurz, requiring office-holders to abstain from taking part in party organizations and conventions, has been whittled down to a request (or desire) that the part taken shall not be prominent. The order that no office-holder shall be assessed for campaign expenses, is now made to mean that they may be requested by circular to contribute, but shall not be approached personally. The whole matter, indeed, has very rapidly degenerated into a parcel of official humbug, and the humbug is not the less offensive because it wears a virtuous air and calls itself fine names.

On the other hand, the acts of the Administration furnish a running commentary on its rules. In any decent Civil Service, a public official who had not been accused of either incompetency or malfeasance, or who, after such accusations had been made, had been fully acquitted of them, might fairly count on permanence in office. But Mr. Schurz, as we have seen, thought he had a right to turn out a St. Louis postmaster and put in a man of his personal following; and now Mr. Hayes has superseded Messrs. Arthur and Cornell of the New York Custom House, for no other than political reasons. The investigation of the affairs in that Custom House, some time ago, brought nothing to light which would justify such a step. The Senate of the United States, by whose coöperation such appointments must be made, refused to assist in superseding

them. But simply as the friends of Senator Conkling, and of a section of Republicans who are not over friendly to the Administration and its reforms, they have been dismissed from office. This is what we used to called Grantism.

We are no admirers of Senator Conkling and his friends, nor have we any special preference for the dismissed officials, as compared with their successors. We think it probable that the latter are the better men. But we feel very strongly that the cause of Civil Service Reform has been wounded in the house of its professed friends and champions. We will never have the honest and able body of public officers we might have, so long as the *beneficium* of the Executive limits the term of office, nor until every man who is in place knows that he is to stay there "for life or good behavior". And while we deprecate removals from office for merely party motives, we think these less than party motives for removal far more contemptible. The very essence of Gen. Grant's bad policy was this, that he required every man in office to belong not merely to the party which elected him, but to that particular section of it with which he felt most at home. If we must have Grantism, let it be of the genuine unvarnished sort, and not of the hypocritical type, which calls itself Reform.

The small fraction of the party which still desires a third term for the General, has won some distinguished adherents this summer. Of course, Mr. Conkling always thought Mr. Grant the second best candidate in the field, and some others of the old set, such as Mr. Robeson, are even more pronounced in his favor. But it does begin to look like something ahead, when Secretary Sherman gives even a half-adherence to the proposal, by declaring that, if nominated, the General would sweep the country. We do not agree with that opinion. It was only by the vigorous swing of the official lash that his second nomination was secured, and although people have begun to love his opponents; the Reformers, far less than they loved him at his worst, they have obtained too keen an insight into his incorrigible faults, for them ever to accept him again as a president. Mr. Blaine, we think, will be the next Republican nominee, for, whatever New York may do, Pennsylvania will never again throw away her vote on a "dark horse" to gratify the Cameron spite.

MR. RANDALL has done well to spend some time in apologizing for the last session of Congress and for his own part in it. He is looking, it is said, for a presidential nomination in 1880, and needs to ingratiate himself with all sections of the party, as well as to put himself forward as its spokesman as often as possible. He is one more instance of the mischief done by the fatal magnet in the White House, which helps to turn the needle away from its true pole, and to make it vibrate and quiver all around the card. He has unhappily made a bad beginning in getting the Democracy of his own State solidly and heartily against him, for while it may be the mark of a prophet to be without honor in his own country, it is not that of a successful candidate.

His defence of Congress was weak and incoherent, not to say grossly inaccurate. It was not a survey of the whole work of the session, but a selection of the parts of it which he thought would look well. He would have reached the hearts of his audience much more directly if he had taken bolder ground, and said, "Congresses are nuisances at any rate, but they must meet under the Constitution, and I don't think we did much more harm than other Congresses, while I do believe there were fewer jobs." And he might have alleged in this behalf the opinion of Emile de Laveleye: "Almost everywhere deliberative assemblies remain too long together: they irritate and weary the country, sometimes communicating to it the passions by which they are themselves animated, and sometimes arousing an extreme movement in opposition when they have ceased to represent public opinion. When the assemblies are protracted, the country is at rest and devotes itself to business, to art, literature, industry or commerce. Scarcely, however, have parliamentary discussions commenced, when everything is once more called in question, exasperated parties are at issue, and the government, compelled to devote its whole power to warding off the attacks of its adversaries, has no time to consider questions of general interest. The passions of the nation are aroused over contests in which a portfolio is the prize. The parliamentary system thus degenerates into contests of intrigue in the chambers, and contests of influence, too often corrupt, in the elections." He goes on to say that he does not apply this to Germany, England, or the United States, but it does read as if he had Congress in view.

As to Mr. Randall's personal defence, it is not so easy to speak. The acts of Congress are open and public; those of a member are in great part private, and no one has any right to speak positively of what is not positively known. But we must say that he has shaken the confidence which many, both outside and inside his party, felt in him. He talks like a staunch Protectionist in Philadelphia, but how could any man who had that cause at heart give the chairmanship of the Committee of Ways and Means to Mr. Wood? Or was that appointment the result of a bargain by which Mr. Randall received the New York vote for the speakership? His letter about American industries being strong enough to do without a protective tariff, seems to indicate some such negotiation. A man who had the industrial interests of his country as near his heart as his own, could not have stooped to such negotiation. But he pleads that the Wood Tariff, as finally shaped, would not have hurt Pennsylvania, and that he sent copies of the document to Mr. Swank and the representatives of other manufacturing interests in the State. Suppose all this true. Has Mr. Randall been learning of the Free Traders what Protection means, or supposing that our State will vote ruin to the industries of other States, if so be that her own are guarded? Her Protectionist representatives have never separated her interests from those of her sister States; they have never voted a tariff merely because it suited her, nor refused to vote for one because it did not concern her. They have voted for Protection on principle, but Mr. Randall's defence shows with him, as with the enemies of our industrial system, Protection is not a principle, but a selfish, local expedient to flourish at the expense of others.

Mr. Randall's conduct in the speaker's chair was unworthy of that high place. Bent on currying favor with his own party, he repeatedly indulged in manifestations of a partisan temper, which could not but shake confidence in the fairness of his rulings. He has made the speakership a lower and a less dignified thing than he found it, in his eagerness to find in it a stepping-stone to a higher place.

THE trial of Benjamin Hunter for the murder of his business associate, has attracted more attention in this city than any similar case, since that of Smith for the murder of Carter. There was not

in this instance any of the interest which is so often associated with murders in which, in the previous relations of the parties, there was some personal provocation to account for the crime. The hard times had reduced the criminal's income to such a point that he could no longer maintain his social position and that of his family; his victim owed him large sums, which had been sunk in an unsuccessful business enterprise. He effected a heavy insurance on the life of the latter, and hired a poor drunken wretch to put him out of the way; and only the confession of this accomplice made his conviction possible.

The interest felt in the case is mainly due to the peculiar position of the murderer. Such crimes are very rarely committed by men of his years,—so rarely that when a man passes the line of fifty, he is regarded by sociologists as having ceased to be under the control of those passions which lead to this crime; and it is equally rare to find a man of Hunter's social position guilty of murder, unless under the strongest personal provocation. The social imagination, in the absence of any higher principle, is enough to deter them. It is the poverty-stricken foreigner, and not the respectable native American, who commonly gives way to such temptation. Every indirect motive which might seem likely to make the crime impossible to him,—a family whom he loved, neighborly connections with his victim, and the like,—was present in the case, and yet there remains no doubt in any person's mind that he was guilty.

We cannot, however, regard Hunter as a man of exceptional or enigmatic nature, whose fall contains no lessons or warnings for other men. On the contrary, his is a type of character which bids fair to become every day more common among us. He was a common-place fellow, of just such instincts and capacities as other men, and moved in this case by no motive which may not address itself to hundreds of thousands. It is this which imparts to his crime a fascination which thousands have felt. He plunged over a precipice, which they have looked over. The love of money, and of what money will get a man, had become the ruling motive of a life which was not without some sparks of better and more generous impulse. His wealth—no great amount—and his social position—no very high one—formed the end to which all things else were subordinated. And when a human life had the misfortune to

stand between him and them, there were in his heart none of the considerations which should have made that life sacred to him. He had served too long the master who will brook no half service, and Mammon had led him on to murder. The passion which grows with the growth of years, and is all the more powerful when others have ceased to rule, had become his master. In one sense he had been a murderer long before he hired Graham to take his neighbor's life; the best and truest life of Benjamin Hunter had been destroyed by him before he sought that of Armstrong.

This middle-aged murderer went about his work with a coolness and a deliberation, characteristic of his years. He planned to be away in Virginia, when the blow was struck. He planned to throw the suspicion on an innocent man, by having his victim killed in the vicinity of that man's house, and with a weapon he had purposely marked with his initials. When the hired assassin's heart failed him, he took up the weapon he had thrown down and finished the work. It was even charged, but not, we think, proved, that after managing to be alone with the dying man in his room, he tampered with the wounds and bandages to make sure work of it. Men of his age, as we said, are but rarely guilty of such crimes, but we might fairly expect from such a murderer just such calm and unimpassioned calculation.

REMINISCENCES OF AN INDIAN CAMPAIGN.

IT may be stated as a remarkable fact, that the greatest Indian missionaries are those who have never seen an Indian and know nothing of his habits and instincts, and the most successful Indian fighters are those who have never been in the Indian country and know nothing of the peculiar conditions and requirements of Indian warfare. Wendell Phillips, for example, is a much greater missionary (at a safe distance), in the cause of Indian civilization and evangelization than old Father De Smet was, and every newspaper editor in the country is a much more successful Indian fighter (at an equally safe distance), than General Crook is. This assertion, paradoxical as it is, and doubted as it may be by the

unreasoning part of the community, is explained by the fact that the latter, in spite of their intimate knowledge of the subject, and their long experience in dealing with it, occasionally have failed in their plans and expectations, while the former, gifted with the vision and sagacity which only ignorance and inexperience can give, never by any possibility fail to carry their brilliant theories to a speedy and successful consummation. The cause of their gratifying and invariable success is obvious. Being profoundly ignorant of the Indian's true character, of his habits of life and methods of warfare, they bring forth an ideal creation from out the depths of a lively imagination. Having thus obtained their ideal, they have no difficulty in getting up a theory of treatment to fit him and carry out their own ideas of "the eternal fitness of things," as far as their ideal is concerned, so that it is not at all surprising that the theory so formed (which, strangely enough, always leaves out of consideration the many disagreeable facts of the reality, which would inevitably send the pretty little theory to destruction the moment they essayed putting it into practice), should prove entirely successful and "productive of the happiest results"—in the minds of the poetical thinkers, if not in the opinions of the practical workers, whose opinions are not of much account upon the subject, anyhow. "But," some unreasonable critic may say, "as these theories are only chimerical, being based upon ignorance and fallacy and unable to stand the test of practice, wherein lies their greatness or success?" Unreasonable critic! you must take a fact at its face value and ask no impertinent questions about it.

Speaking seriously, it may be said that the popular discussion of the interminable Indian Question, in its military and missionary aspects, would be more amusing to those in charge of, and conversant with, Indian affairs, if it were not generally so grave in its results upon the public mind and, worse still, the public policy. People whose only conception of the Indians is that derived from the rose-tinted pages of poetry and romance, who have as little practical knowledge of their heroes as they have of the Patagonians, and who on other subjects will confess their ignorance and remain silent, will gravely discuss "the proper management of the Indians," condemn the policy adopted or advocated by army officers or others directly interested who have made the subject the

study and labor of their lives, and wind up with one of those brilliant and impracticable theories before alluded to. They do not consider, for a moment, the impropriety of their discussing a subject about which most of them know absolutely nothing, or the great danger that might, and does occasionally, result from ignorant public discussion of it, leading to the adoption of public measures that are condemned by all who are qualified to pass judgment upon them, and whose judgment is afterwards sustained by the dearly bought experience of the failure of all such measures. The object of this article is not to attempt to "solve" this vexed question by setting forth a theory for its settlement; it does not even propose to discuss the question from a missionary outlook; its only purpose is, in view of the present campaign and the general criticisms which the conduct of every campaign calls forth, to treat it from a purely military standpoint as seen by a disinterested participant. In order to give the result of personal observation and experience, which will be necessary from the nature of the article, as well as to confine responsibility for everything said, the writer will take the liberty of obtruding his personality so far as to speak in the first person, singular.

It may be well to premise by saying that my knowledge of the Indians, of the Indian country and of Indian campaigning, is derived from various journeyings as a correspondent through nearly all the western states and territories, extending over a period of five years, and from experience in the Sioux campaign from July, 1876 to February, 1877. This much stated, it may be granted me that I am qualified to speak knowingly and disinterestedly upon the subject. As the best method of giving the reader a definite idea of the pleasures and peculiarities of Indian campaigning, I will briefly give reminiscences of the one in which I participated, which may be taken as a fair representative of all.

When I saw General Sherman in Washington just previous to my going out to the field of operations, and informed him of my purpose, he very kindly told me that I was not wanted out there, and warned me that if I attempted to accompany any of the commands, I would be arrested and sent to the nearest lock-up. Not waiting to inquire whether I was wanted or not, and taking my chances of obtaining the hospitalities of the lock-up, I set out for Cheyenne, where I expected to meet reinforcements going up to General

Crook. I arrived at Cheyenne in time to learn that the reinforcements, consisting of four companies of the Fifth Cavalry, had already left on their march northward. I immediately obtained a guide and horses and set out to overtake them, reaching their camp the next evening. Space forbids my giving the details of the march northward or of the succeeding campaign; I can only generalize.

Our march was a forced one, as there was an urgent necessity for reinforcing General Crook at the earliest possible moment, he awaiting the coming of the Fifth before starting out on the war-path against the hostile Sioux, who were in his vicinity and continually threatening his camp. The third day of our march, two of the four companies received orders by courier to turn off to the right to garrison Fort Laramie, the other two to hurry on to join the remaining eight companies of the regiment, which were one or two day's march in advance. We hurried on. Morning, noon and night we rode, fording the Platte River at midnight, fires being built on the opposite shore to guide our way across, the pale quarter moon shedding a dim light upon the spectral host that rode and stumbled and swore over the rocks, across the river and through the succeeding forest. Bivouacking for a few hours without unsaddling, we again took up the line of march at daylight and continued, with a few short intermissions, until midnight again, when we reached the place where we had expected to find the main part of the regiment under General Merritt. But he was not there. The bugle-call was sounded, but no welcome response was echoed back from the dark and silent wood before us. For aught we knew to the contrary, that wood might have been swarming with the warriors of the dreaded Sitting Bull, who, we had every reason to believe, was in our immediate vicinity, as he was well aware of the approach of the Fifth Cavalry and it was to his interest to intercept it and destroy it if he could before it could reach General Crook. But there was no alternative for us but to accept the risk and ride on. On we rode, hungry, sleepy and exhausted, winding through the thick forest, which was so dark that we could scarcely see the ground under the horses' feet. Thus we rode for several miles, sounding the bugle occasionally but receiving no reply until we cleared the edge of the forest, when, like an echo to the long and plaintive call of our bugler, there came back "a still.

small voice" of music as if it were a melody from the uttermost star above us. How our hearts leaped into our mouths. How our spirits rose, and even the jaded animals pricked up their ears and quickened their step! This was not a result of the consciousness of safety; I do not think I exaggerate in saying that there was not a man in the command who entertained any personal fear on the occasion; it was the effect upon utterly exhausted men of the consciousness that their immediate goal was nearly reached and that rest, however brief, would soon be their's. Following the direction of the bugle sounds ahead, which slowly grew nearer and more distinct in response to our signals, we soon rode into the half-sleeping camp, most of the officers being assembled to greet us and being thoughtful enough to have hot coffee and other "delicacies" ready for us. Our rest was short. Early in the morning, the united companies again started forward, continuing our forced marching as rapidly as the jaded condition of the horses would permit. General Merritt expected to find General Crook in camp on Goose Creek, so he sent two scouts forward to announce his approach, with orders that if they did not find General Crook at the place expected they should follow up his trail and find out where he was camped. Two or three days after they left, I was riding some miles in advance of the command in company with half a dozen scouts under the celebrated Buffalo Bill, who was chief of scouts, when we saw "a solitary horseman ascending a hill" ahead of us. Concealing ourselves behind the top of a hill to watch his approach and see whether he was an Indian or a white man, we soon discovered he was one of the two scouts we had sent ahead some days before. Advancing to meet him, he told us that one of their two horses had "given out" the day after they left us, so that they were both compelled to ride on the same horse; they did not find General Crook on Goose Creek, and after following up his trail for some distance were compelled to turn back; from sheer exhaustion, to meet our command; they had not had a morsel to eat for over two days, and the other scout was then lying exhausted and probably dying by the side of Goose Creek, the speaker coming back alone as best he could to hurry up help. Leaving a couple of the scouts to take care of their returned comrade, the rest of our little party galloped forward to find the lost one. We reached the Creek in about an hour, and then scattered up an

down its banks to find the unfortunate, who was soon found, in an almost unconscious condition. A little whiskey, which I was fortunate enough to have with me, revived him sufficiently to be able to eat some hard tack and bacon, which was the only food we had to give and which the poor fellow devoured with the greediness of a famished wolf. He was as well as ever in a day or two.

Soon after this, a courier arrived from General Crook, announcing his encampment over on Tongue River, one days' march beyond. The next day I trotted on ahead of the regiment in order to reach the camp as early as possible to have time to write my letters, the trail being sufficiently plain for me to follow without fear of losing it. Riding alone into camp early in the afternoon, I directed my horse's steps to a group of men whom I supposed to be officers, quite as much from their general bearing as from any display of uniform by them. Standing a few feet apart from the rest was an individual dressed in a soft felt hat that looked as if it had gone through several campaigns and got the worst of every one of them, a grey flannel shirt, a pair of dirty reddish pants stuck into a rough pair of boots, a cartridge belt suspended around his waist and with his beard divided and tied with two pieces of cord. Altogether, he was a pretty hard looking character, who I supposed might be an indifferent sort of a teamster. Dismounting in front of this group, I inquired for General Crook. My teamster friend stepped forward. He was no less distinguished a personage than Brigadier General George Crook, U. S. A., commanding the Department of the Platte. And in this connection I may as well state a fact that will disabuse the popular mind of the idea that army officers and the soldiers start out on an Indian campaign as if on a grand pleasure tour, in full dress uniform and with all the accompaniments of easy comfort, if not of luxury. The pen picture I have given of General Crook, is from life, and such might be the pen picture I could draw of most of the officers in active Indian service. The troops on a campaign form a veritable Falstaff's army in their dress, and at a short distance it is generally impossible to distinguish officers from men. This is inevitable from the nature of the service. I had some considerable "roughing" experience before, but I never realized how utterly regardless of my personal appearance I could be until I went on that campaign, and I seriously question whether my own brother could have readily recognized me in the roughly

dressed, sun-burned, unshaven and generally demoralized being into which I soon degenerated after going into the field. Indian campaigning is not a full dress parade affair by any means, much as the growlers at the army would like to have the public believe it to be.

The Fifth Cavalry entered the camp August 3d, after an unusually hard and continuous march of twelve days. August 4th, was a day of rest for the horses, but of work for the officers and men in preparing for the actual campaign, which was to begin on the morrow. General Crook's total command now numbered, as nearly as I can recollect, about 700 cavalry, 400 infantry and 250 Indian scouts. Leaving some of the infantry to guard the baggage wagons, Cæsar's *impedimenta*, which were all to be left behind, we left the camp on Tongue River, Northern Wyoming, at seven o'clock on the morning of August 5th, the men carrying four days' rations on their horses, eleven days' rations additional being carried by a pack train of mules. Then followed days of toilsome marching and more or less suffering to both horses and men. Over bare and sandy hills, through deep and rocky cañons, now fording a river, now threading a wood, anon crossing a welcome level, presently ascending or descending a tortuous steep, one day suffering under the withering effects of a torrid August sun, the next day soaked in a furious thunder storm of rain, suffering, exhausted, yet uncomplaining, onward the brave fellows ride and plod, onward, onward, day after day, morning, noon and frequently at night, sometimes being for days without obtaining a drop of water fit to drink,—and only those who have passed through such an experience can even faintly realize what these few words so feebly seek to express. At one stage of our march we had torrents of rain for three days and six nights in succession; we had no tents for shelter, and so were compelled to march, eat and sleep in the rain and slush and in our dripping clothes. Our bill of fare consisted of hard tack, bacon and coffee for breakfast, bacon, coffee and hard tack for dinner and coffee, hard tack and bacon for supper. It is true that many of the officers' messes on a campaign have extras in the way of canned goods, but they do not all have them, and those who have cannot always get them when far from the depots of supplies. I was for a short time in General Crook's mess, and it was quite an affecting sight to see the General and his staff squatting

on the ground under a tree with a tin cup of black coffee in one hand and a piece of hard tack and dirty bacon in the other, the holder taking alternate mouthfuls of each. The General having made some remark about the impropriety or the extravagance of taking a second cup of coffee, some of the members of his staff observed the letter of the remark by getting extra large cups. I was unfortunate in having only a small cup; hence, alarming consumption of hard tack and dirty bacon.

We were of course constantly receiving the wildest and most contradictory reports from the scouts of the number and movements of the hostile Indians whom we were now pursuing. One day the freshness of the trail and other signs would indicate that we were close upon the enemy, and the next day the signs would appear to be a few days or a week old. In short, the hostiles were always threateningly near and yet provokingly far. They were determined to keep beyond our reach, and even if we had by chance caught up with them, there is no doubt that they would have immediately broken up into small parties and scattered in order to avoid conflict with us. As it was, it was simply a physical impossibility for us to catch up to them. Our horses were so thoroughly worn out by the hard, continuous marching and the total want of forage that they could not travel faster nor farther. Our trail could be followed up by the number of horses abandoned on the road. The infantry were about the same; the poor fellows had a hard time of it indeed. Plodding along, burdened with the weight of their arms and uniforms, under the broiling sun, through the drenching rain and over the wild country we were traversing, it seemed little less than positive cruelty to subject officers and men to such suffering. One day we had to ford a single stream *eleven* times in its serpentine course down the valley. The infantry, as usual, had to take off their shoes and roll up or take off their pants preparatory to fording. They did it several times that day, but becoming disgusted with the stream, most of them afterwards plunged boldly into it at the fords without the usual preliminary. The reader may conceive the delights of rough travelling under such conditions.

On the 10th of August we met General Terry's command coming up the valley of the Rosebud, which we were descending, the meeting being entirely unexpected on both sides. The follow-

ing morning the united commands struck off for Tongue River, following up the trail which now turned off in that direction. That the whole body of hostile Indians was ahead of us was evident from the size of the trail and of the camping places which we came upon, the number of Indians altogether being estimated at from 3,000 to 4,000. This stern chase continued for another week, when the trail struck off abruptly from Powder River southeast toward the Bad Lands of the Little Missouri. Finding that we were not gaining perceptibly upon the Indians, and that neither the men nor the horses were in a condition to follow them up in the region the Indians were now making for, the two generals determined to leave the trail and follow the Powder River down to the Yellowstone, where they could obtain the rest and supplies which were necessary for General Crook's command.

After a rest of five days, the two commands again left camp at the mouth of Powder River, Montana, and separated, General Crook's to take up the old trail and General Terry's to keep along the Yellowstone, to prevent the crossing of the Indians to the north side and thence into Canada, which, it was feared, they would attempt—a fear which subsequent events proved too well founded. Thinking that I would be more likely to see fighting along the Yellowstone, if there were to be any at all, than by following the old trail, I transferred my affections and my base of observation to General Terry's command. To describe the general movements that followed would be only to repeat what I have already said. The Indians were reported to be approaching and crossing the river at half a dozen different points and at as many different times, but always falsely. The command was transferred to the north side of the river by steamboat, and made a wide sweep around in search of hostiles that were reported to have crossed, but not a hostile was to be found. We came across an immense herd of buffalo, which was a veritable shower of manna to us, as we had had no fresh beef for some time. A large hunting party was detailed and enough buffalo meat secured to last the command for some days. Various scouting parties were sent out in different directions, but still no hostile Indians were visible nor any distinct signs of them. The river closing to the supply boats, owing to the lateness of the season, and there being little or no prospect of our meeting any Indians, General Terry ordered the various parts

of his command to their respective posts for the winter, and thus brought his part of the summer campaign to a close. General Crook followed up the old trail until his rations gave out totally, when he was compelled to kill the mules of his pack train for food. Soon after he met a large party of the hostiles, who were separated from the main body, and after a short, but severe fight, completely routed them, killing many and capturing a quantity of Indian supplies and a number of ponies. After this fight all the hostile Indians fled north, and the troops being withdrawn from the Yellowstone, they crossed that river and thence into the British Possessions. While at Fort Lincoln, a few months afterwards (in December), when we definitely learned the location of the hostiles, who remained together, I volunteered to seek the Indian camp and "interview" Sitting Bull and the other chiefs—an undertaking that would have involved a journey of 700 miles through snow and ice, with the thermometer at 20 or 30 degrees below zero, besides the chance of being scalped on the road—but the editors (of the *New York World*) thought the risks were too many and too great, and so I abandoned the project, for which I was already making preparations.

On the 20th of October, General Terry again took the field from Fort A. Lincoln, Dakota, with the Seventh Cavalry, commanded by General S. D. Sturgis, and a few companies of infantry, on a march down the Missouri to the various Indian agencies to take the arms and ponies from the Indians, as the most effective method of preventing them from going out on the war-path and giving trouble, an Indian without a rifle or pony being a very peaceful animal. I cannot attempt to give the details of that expedition, however interesting they might be; a few general facts must suffice. We started out in the midst of a pouring rain, which seemed to be a gentle suggestion of what we had to expect on the march. We reached Standing Rock Agency the third day, after a weary march over a broken country, the worn out farm horses that were drawing the motley string of baggage wagons suffering particularly. The Indians of the Agency were all gathered in a wood awaiting our approach. Not knowing what their intentions might be, it was deemed best to be prepared for emergencies, so the troops were drawn up in line forming three sides of a square commanding the wood, with two small field pieces in the centre, the Missouri form-

ing the fourth side. One troop of cavalry was then sent forward to announce the object of the visit and to demand the arms and ponies. I accompanied the troop to the wood to watch developments. After some hesitation and repeated demands, half a dozen guns were brought out—old muskets and flint locks of a long past age. This result was rather farcical, and the assembled Indians enjoyed the joke as hugely as the soldiers did. The ponies were then demanded. The head chief turned to his daughter, who was standing at his side—one of the “beautiful Indian Princesses” we read of in poetry and romance; she was, indeed, one of the very few passably good-looking Indian girls I have seen—and said something to her. She entered the wood, and presently returned leading three ponies, which she led up to the captain commanding the troop. The expression on her face as she did so was one of the most piteous I have ever seen; the poor thing looked as if she were surrendering up herself, her people and all their worldly goods in those three ponies. The feeling of the Indians upon the subject may be understood, when it is known that an Indian’s horse and gun are the only worldly goods he has that he values, and he who robs him of these, if it does not greatly enrich the taker, at least makes the Indian poor indeed. And yet, much as those who are ignorant of the true situation, may question the utility or justice of such a measure, it was an eminently wise and proper one under all the circumstances; the great difficulty was to make the measure entirely successful. It was evident from the result of the demands that the Indians were forewarned of the object of our visit (which we afterwards learned to be a fact), and were prepared accordingly, although the movement had been kept so profound a secret that the members of the command did not definitely know the direction or object of the proposed march until we set out upon it. Finding that little could be obtained from the Indians voluntarily, a second troop were ordered to the wood to assist the first in searching the Indian camp, a search that resulted in finding a few more old muskets and revolvers, and about a hundred ponies, which were found corraled in the centre of the wood and almost entirely concealed by the dense thicket. All the fine arms had been successfully hidden, and nearly all the ponies had been sent into the mountains beyond our reach. On the other side of the river where the Agency buildings were, about the same

scenes took place. But when the Indians saw that no personal harm was done to them and no other property taken, and were informed that the value of their arms and ponies would be returned to them in cattle, they appeared satisfied, and for the next two days the arms and ponies were brought in, the former in small, the latter in large, numbers. To make them completely happy, quantities of flour, coffee, sugar and beef were served out to them, and for these two days and nights they had a grand, continuous feast, the Indians coming in from all the surrounding country and treating us to various amusements.

Leaving Standing Rock, we took up the line of march down the river to the other agencies. It is unnecessary to describe the scenes that followed. The experience at Standing Rock had a good effect upon the Indians elsewhere, so that they surrendered their ponies in large numbers, but the arms being much more valuable to them, very few were given up. We received about 1,400 ponies altogether, which were taken in charge by the Indian scouts accompanying us. Having thus accomplished the object of the expedition peacefully and with fair success, the return march was taken up. The ponies, under the guard of two troops of cavalry and the scouts, were sent across Dakota to Fort Abercrombie, to be sent thence to St. Paul, Minnesota, where they were to be sold for the benefit of the Indians.

It was now November—a fact of which we soon became painfully conscious as we marched across that wild, bleak country, over the frozen ground, through the snow and against the bitter northern blasts, which now came down in all their terrific fury. A slight conception of the nature of the Dakota storms may be gained from the fact that almost one-third of the number of ponies sent out perished or were lost in one way or another on the trip across the country; the sufferings of the officers and men can therefore be imagined. Although the baggage wagons of the main command were so greatly lightened by the consumption of the rations, and by leaving nearly all the ammunition at one of the posts on the road, it was still painful to see the sufferings of the poor brutes drawing them, a number of them succumbing to their hard fate on the way. Nor was fate much more kindly to the human portion of the command. It was not pleasant to get up before daybreak from a bed in the snow, to find the water frozen,

and to stand shivering around a consumptive little fire that some kind soul had made! And then ride along at a dead march until the delightful sensation of becoming petrified with the cold compelled one to dismount and walk beside his horse in order to keep aglow the faint spark of life struggling for existence within him! But as all things earthly must have an end, so our expedition had one. We at last reached our starting point and settled down for a brief rest, not knowing when the next orders would call us out or whither they would send us.

Then came the winter—"Oh, the long and dreary winter!"—with its snow and ice and bitter, cutting winds and all the miseries incident to life at a northern Indian post. Think, oh, ye happy ones sitting before comfortable fires in cheerful rooms! think of having to burn wood for cooking and heating so green that a blazing fire would suddenly go out under it, quenched by the moisture exuding from the wood, and with the thermometer at 25, 30 and 35 degrees *below zero*! Yet that was our experience at Fort A. Lincoln during the winter of 1876-7. The officers' and soldiers' quarters were tolerably comfortable frame buildings, but I was housed in a little log cabin which was about as comfortable as a hen-coop and afforded about as much protection from the wind, so that the rather monotonous repetition of lying awake shivering half the night and of getting up in the morning congealed into a double bow-knot was decidedly refreshing, if not particularly romantic.

Such was my experience of an Indian campaign. I relate that experience as briefly and as simply as possible, without any attempt at coloring or exaggeration; indeed, so far from exaggerating, I can truly say that I have not told one half I might have told in describing the hardships and sufferings, not of that campaign alone, but of any important one. My object in writing this article is two-fold. First, to give the reader, as I have endeavored to give, an intelligent, though necessarily incomplete, knowledge of the conditions of Indian campaigning, that he may appreciate at their full value popular criticisms upon it; and second, to answer a few of the criticisms thus made by many who are most profoundly ignorant of the practical features and all-important details of the subject they so wildly discuss.

The first point to notice is the charge, so frequently and so seriously made, that army officers deliberately create trouble with

the Indians merely for the "fun" of having a campaign and to show the country the necessity of keeping up a large standing army. The account of the campaign I have just given is about the best answer that could be made to such a charge. If it prove nothing else, it will at least prove that there is no "fun" in Indian campaigning; and it should also prove that army officers are the last ones in the world to create such troubles when they have to pass through such hardships and sufferings in suppressing them. And little fun as there is in it, there is even less glory to be obtained from it. Even the paltry recognition by brevet rank for distinguished service is generally denied them. Upon a proposition to confer brevets upon several officers for distinguished services against the Indians, "general" John A. Logan stood up in the United States Senate, if I remember aright, and declared that fighting Indians was not fighting, in the military sense of the word, and did not deserve official recognition as such. Perhaps not, but "general" John A. Logan ought to know that fighting Indians requires much more coolness, courage, sagacity and endurance than fighting a civilized enemy, and that many a general who was brilliantly successful in the latter proved a disastrous failure in the former. Why should the officers seek to create troubles, therefore, when they have nothing to gain, but everything to suffer, and perhaps lose, by them? An Indian campaign is but a long experience of weary marching, ceaseless watching, hard living, constant exposure and every form of sickness, suffering and death. I could fill every page in this magazine with incidents of campaign life in sun and rain, snow and ice, hunger and thirst, exposure and fever, danger and death that have come under my personal observation throughout the far west, or that have been told me by participants, which would make the reader hold his breath and doubt the possibility of what he read. And when they are passing through such an experience as this, is it not the commonest charity that, if we cannot commend them, we at least shall not condemn them? God knows they suffer enough already, without having the contemptible Snarleyows in Congress, in editorial rooms and in private circles barking complaints and falsehoods at them. And when they return—if, alas, they ever do return!—from such an experience, it is the least return that could be given them that they should receive their hardly earned and sadly needed pay. But even this unquestioned right

is not always granted them. After the return from the campaign I write of, there was no money for either officers and men, and so, with their pay months in arrears, the former had to get their warrants cashed at a heavy discount, and the latter had to get whatever they wanted from the post traders, to be charged against them at exorbitant prices. Thus it is that men who have grown grey in the faithful and perilous service of the country in the Army and Navy are compelled to suffer by having their small pay cut down and occasionally stopped altogether, while the demagogues in Congress—the patriots of a day—leave their own magnificent pay and “contingencies” untouched, and are always particularly careful to make the appropriations for them, so that they shall not suffer as they compel others to do!

As to the plan of conducting an Indian campaign, it is safest to leave that to those who are responsible for it and who are best qualified, from practical experience, to decide upon it. It is simply impossible for one far from the scene of action, unacquainted with the physical nature of the country, ignorant of the peculiar exigencies of Indian warfare and leaving out of consideration the distances to be traversed, the difficulties of transportation and the insufficiency of supplies and men, to say what should or should not be done, or to justly criticize what has been done. Even an Aulic Council in Washington or elsewhere is very apt to do more harm than good by interfering with the plans of the officers in the field. The officers carry their lives in their hands; they must bear all the suffering and all the responsibility; they have been trained to the Indian service and know by experience and by the existing condition of affairs the best plan to pursue; and the public may rest assured, therefore, that for personal, if for no higher, reasons, the officers will adopt the best plan possible under the circumstances. If their plan fail occasionally, it may safely be ascribed to adverse circumstances of which the public are ignorant. We must not expect men to accomplish impossibilities; we must not expect a few hundred exhausted troops to surround and overpower a few thousand fresh Indians; nor expect a few thousand soldiers to maintain peace and safety in a troublesome country of 550,000 square miles, including only the territories of Dakota, Montana, Wyoming, Idaho and Washington. This is indeed a country of “magnificent distances,” with very few roads, with the settlements as few as they

are far between, with little produce from which an army could draw its subsistence and with all the other disadvantages which a wild, barren and hostile country could present. It is very easy for men who are too cowardly to face the suffering and danger of such a campaign in such a country to criticise and condemn those who do face it all. And it is rare fun for men enjoying ease and safety in our cities to speak jestingly of the movements and accomplishments of General Howard's command in Oregon and Washington, and General Sturgis' command in Dakota, but it is very serious fun for the poor fellows engaged. As for Howard personally, there is really no doubt of his incapacity in Indian fighting, which proves the truth of the statement I made on a preceding page in reference to the qualifications necessary for this work, and shows the folly of placing a quondam missionary in command of an Indian campaign, which some very good people would advocate. General Howard's personal character, however, does not affect the impersonal phases of the subject in the least. The general nature of the campaign, under all the disadvantages against which the troops have to contend, would be about the same under any commander, so that even Howard cannot justly be held wholly and personally responsible for any failure to accomplish brilliant successes in the face of almost insuperable obstacles. Let those who think they could do better than the officers in the field generally do, try it. Of the noble band of correspondents (about a dozen altogether), who went into the Sioux campaign, I was the only one who remained in the field to the end and through the following winter, in anticipation of renewed troubles. One, two, or at most three, months was quite long enough for the rest of them. Even the New York *Herald* regular correspondent, the last of the Mohicans, left in September. I mention this fact simply to show that, in the opinions of these civilians who have tried it, a very little Indian campaigning goes a very long way in satisfying one's thirst for that particular kind of fun and glory. Newspaper correspondents, as a class, are not an exceptionally delicate set, and when they find, after a short experience, that the hardships, sufferings and dangers of a campaign are greater than they care to endure, even in the performance of a duty, it is reasonable to assume that the rest of the community would find the experience at least equally severe and disagreeable. Hence, those veteran campaigners and invinci-

ble warriors who frighten women and children and make the country at large resound, through the press and in private discussion, with the declaration of the wonderful things they would do and accomplish if they were in the field, may be safely assured that they would do nothing of the kind so valiantly threatened—that, like many other invincible veterans who started out with equally high hopes and brave resolves, they would throw up their unfulfilled contract in a very short time and leave Indian campaigning to the dogs and to those who are compelled by their profession to engage in it and who are best qualified by experience to carry it on.

As for the general policy of the government towards the Indians, that is a subject rather too comprehensive for me to attempt to discuss it here. That the Indians have been deeply wronged and outrageously treated by the whites is true; that they have committed the deepest wrongs and the greatest outrages upon the whites, in provocation as well as retaliation, is equally true. In any consideration of the subject, one paramount fact must be kept prominently in view: that fact is, that the Indians, like all barbarous people, even like the Europeans in the middle and early ages, are naturally wild and warlike, and must be treated accordingly. It must be remembered that they are almost continually at enmity and war, not only with the whites, by whom they may or may not be wronged, but also with the surrounding tribes of Indians, by whom they are not similarly "wronged." The simple and only reason is that warfare is their natural occupation—their only source of pleasure and distinction—the young bucks looking forward to the time when they can go upon the war path, obtain a scalp, win a feather and be hailed as a "warrior," as the realization of all they have to live for. Hence it is that the "friendly Indians" who fight with the troops one year—not because they love the whites more but because they love the rival Indians less—may be fighting against the same troops the next year. War they want and war they must have, and if they cannot have it with one party they will have it with another. A vast deal of sentiment is annually wasted upon these "untutored children of Nature" by persons who have never seen them in their wild state, and who know nothing of their real nature. When they speak of the *Noble Red Man*, they simply speak of a being that does not exist. I will say no

more upon this subject further than to state that I entertained the average amount of sentiment for the Indians until I became intimately acquainted with them, when all my sentiment and admiration vanished, never to return—a result that will be found repeated in the experience of every one having equal opportunities of observation.

In concluding, I may be permitted to make a single suggestion in reference to the Indian Policy, based upon close observation and intimate knowledge of all the facts bearing upon the subject. It is, to shoot every Indian Agent in the country and turn the management of the Indians over to the army, where it properly belongs. As a class, the Indian Agents are the vilest set of scoundrels that roam at large unwhipt of justice. I know whereof I speak, having personal cognizance of very many instances of their double-entry style of book-keeping—swindling the government on one side and the Indians on the other. Along with the Indian Agents, proper, the Indian traders, improper, should also be shot. Besides the wrongs they commit in general, they are constantly selling whisky, arms and ammunition to all the Indians who can buy them. If necessary to specify, I can name the Agency at Fort Peck, Montana, as being the most flagrant case I know of where this infernal traffic was carried on in 1876, the agents of the hostile Indians we were then pursuing purchasing arms and ammunition there almost openly. With the transfer to the army, all this would be changed. The army officers being then held directly responsible, would not permit the wrongs to continue which they are now cognizant of but are powerless to prevent, the agents and traders being under the control of a different Department and the officers' protests falling still-born in the Indian Bureau. Besides this, the Indians would have more respect for the officers' counsels and commands, because they know well that the officers are men of honor and integrity, who have too much at stake to act dishonestly or with any duplicity; they know that they are men accustomed to receive the most implicit obedience to their orders, and that they have a force at their immediate command to compel obedience from the Indians, if necessary; and it may be said that force is the only argument the Indian will heed. It is for this latter reason that the force in the Indian country should be increased sufficiently to *overawe* the Indians into subjection, the present skeleton force being too widely scattered to

prevent troubles and too small to speedily suppress them when they arise. The resulting expense to the government would be much less in the end. As a warrior himself, the Indian instinctively looks up to the white warrior as a superior in all noble qualities to his fellows, and he is therefore more willing to submit to one who he feels has a right to command by virtue of his position and personal qualities, than to one whom he has been taught by experience to regard only as a liar and a rogue. It is but simple truth to declare that army officers are the Indians' best friends—a fact which the Indians themselves are conscious of and acknowledge. With the two brought into direct relationship and mutual interest, and with the army officers held directly responsible for the care and good conduct of the Indians, with full power to prevent or punish all wrongs on whichever side contemplated or committed,—if we would not have complete peace in the Indian country (which would be hoping for too much in view of the exciting causes that are always more or less actively at work in the development of a new country), we would at least have fewer wrongs committed and much less trouble to suppress—consequently have fewer lives lost and less money spent—than we have at present, and which we always will have while the present Indian Policy remains in operation.

JAMES JOSEPH TALBOT.

REPUBLICANISM IN CHILI.

ALL monarchies have not developed into the same constitutional form, nor have republics been all manufactured on one model. But whatever differences may exist elsewhere, there is supposed to be an intimate resemblance among the republics which resulted from the successful revolt of the Spanish-American Colonies, and to be a sad similarity in their histories and present condition. To most, the mention of a South American Republic is suggestive only of anarchy and misrule, of military leadership and popular turbulence, of anything rather than of order and good government; while those best instructed in the recent history of Spanish America, can point to but few facts in rebuttal of the

popular judgment, and can at most endeavor to mitigate the severity of hostile criticism, by showing how adverse to success were the conditions under which the institution of free government was attempted. Within the past few years, Mexico has been in a state of uninterrupted revolution. Honduras and Nicaragua have been at strife. Panama and the States of Columbia have been the scene of repeated insurrection. The President of Equador has been assassinated. Peru has lately emerged from a revolution which fortunately was sanguinary only to the chief culprits engaged, though marked by some of the most revolting phases of such intestinal struggles. Bolivia has seen one military president supplant another without resort to the ballot-box, and the usurping president pay the penalty of his ambition by a violent death at the hands of a disappointed relation. The states which compose the confederacy of the Argentine Republic have been at strife among themselves, and Venezuela has maintained its character for turbulence. Making, thus, the tour of the Spanish Republics, we find Chili alone free from revolutionary agitation. But for the recent assassination of its president, Equador might have taken rank with Chili. The cause of its tranquility is patent.

This so-called republic began its independent political existence under a military despot, General Flores, and it has ever since been subject to one dictator or another, either military or civil. Till recently, and for some years past, Garcia Moreno, a large land owner, ruled as autocrat over its population of a million, more or less, for it was not possible to estimate precisely the number of his Indian subjects. By means of a large army and an efficient system of espionage, he managed to keep down revolution and maintain public order and a show of public morality. He insisted on his officers not only fulfilling their official functions, but exhibiting a decent, moral character before the public. He, on one occasion, threatened a judge with dismissal from the bench unless he married; and about the same time he banished a whole ship load of disreputable characters from Guayaquil to the Galapagos. He was wealthy, and had the good of his country, not private enrichment, at heart, and, although therefore on theoretical grounds his mode of government was not commendable, the result was conducive to peace and material prosperity. He necessarily made enemies, and they killed him at last.

The causes of Chili's quietness amidst prevailing revolution are a more involved study, and yet one fraught with much instruction, and which may be pursued with some hope of arriving at a correct conclusion. For in small countries one can often trace effects to their causes and analyze results more clearly than in large communities, where complicating influences are so much more numerous and entangled. Moreover, any constitution which diverges from the normal type is particularly worthy of being studied, and Chili is certainly one of those republics not fashioned on the recognized republican model. This being the case, one is naturally inclined to attribute the favorable contrast which she offers to other Spanish-American republics to the peculiarities in which her constitution differs from theirs. But due importance must be allowed this and more remote influences, which have helped to give her a happy preëminence. To enumerate some of these, and then describe the combination of real, personal freedom and security with undue governmental interference, will be our endeavor.

Chili was the most remote, and was looked upon as the least valuable of the old Spanish Colonial possessions. Hence she was furthest removed from the corruption, private and public,—in morals, politics and finance,—which fostered at the head-quarters of the colonial despotism, Peru. Chili produced a little gold and silver, on which the crown levied its 5 per cent., and it supplied Peru with cereals, but its possession involved Spain in ceaseless war with the Araucanian Indians, the expense of which, added to that of administering government over a very sparsely scattered population, left an annual deficit of \$700,000 in the colonial accounts. This had to be borne by the Imperial Treasury. Under such circumstances government money was not lavishly spent, nor the colonial morality consequently endangered. Santiago is rapidly gaining on Lima in wealth and too rapidly in luxury, but the good effects of early poverty are still apparent.

Chili lies without the tropics; its European population was always moderately industrious and thrifty, and its Indians, though half enslaved under a system of serfdom, were not so barbarously treated as in Peru. As they were numerous enough to till the narrow strips of cultivatable soil that borders its snow-fed mountain streams, and to work its ill-developed mines of gold and copper, there was not the same inducement to introduce the negro

as existed in Peru and Spain's northern dependencies, for there the partial extirpation of the native population by cruelty was early effected, and the climate, even where not deadly to the white, was everywhere so enervating that the Spaniard, disinclined to labor under the most favorable surroundings, did not attempt to work, and was, therefore, driven to fill the place left vacant by his murdered Indians with savages from the same latitude on the African continent. Chili has, therefore, escaped that deplorable intermixture of race which has undoubtedly hindered the progress of constitutional government in Peru. There you find emancipated negroes and mulattoes, with the hatreds and traditions of slavery as their guiding and impelling principles; an Indian population, with the memories of Spanish brutality and an innate love of war, making them willing soldiers of any leader who will promise them an opportunity of wreaking their vengeance on the whites; the passionate but indolent breeds which result from the mixture of these inauspicious materials; Spaniards, incapable of governing themselves well at the best of times, but rendered doubly so by a long training under a colonial regime, which forbade them exercising the simplest functions, legislative, executive or judicial; and, latterly, a considerable infusion of Chinese. These are the elements of Peruvian society, out of which the revolutionary leader draws his material. What wonder that revolution is chronic, and that during the first forty-four years of Peruvian "independence" the old vice-regal palace in Lima was occupied by fifty-three chiefs of the state, six only of whom owed their office to popular election!

The Chilian aborigines, once conquered, evinced sufficient independence and intelligence to make a valuable laboring class; and the Spaniard, who chose the sterile hills of Northern Chili, or the cold and rainy forests of the South, if he was not before of hardier stuff, was sure to soon become a better settler than he who made his home amidst the tropical luxury of Quito and Peru. And as beside the Spaniard, and the mixed Spaniard and Indian, there are in Chili no other races, there is a corresponding immunity from the complications which incongruous races, with their incompatible habits and ideas, introduce into government.

Again, the physical nature of the country has, to a certain extent, determined its social condition, by favoring the system of large proprietorships, originally introduced. The prominent Spaniards

who settled in Chili received from the government immense tracts of country, including generally ninety per cent. of mountain side and ten per cent. of rich valley land. The mountains were and are, even in Central Chili, almost sterile, producing only a scanty crop of herbage and evergreen shrubs, and therefore utterly valueless to their proprietor, unless he possesses vast herds of cattle, which roam over them in an almost savage state. Under these circumstances, the grants were valuable only to the wealthy. They have not, as a rule, been cut up into small holdings, nor are they likely to be. Their owners, though not entrusted with power in the colonial days, prided themselves on their Spanish descent and were thoroughly saturated with Spanish notions of government; thus, when the revolution occurred, and they reluctantly threw off allegiance to the Spanish crown, their wealth gave them supreme prominence in the councils of the new nation. and this they used to shape the constitution of their country as nearly as possible on a Spanish model. As the model was not democratic, the new constitution was as little so.

With the details of the Chilian war of independence we have not to do—suffice it to say, that so tenacious were the upper classes of their connection with old Spain, that the revolution had lasted for eight years, and Spain had, by the brutality of her agents, done her best to alienate her friends, before the patriots dared to avow, without fear of losing the sympathy of the most influential section of the people, that their object was entire independence. During those eight years they had pretended to be fighting for the rightful sovereign of the Peninsula, Ferdinand the Seventh; but Spanish officials, military and civil, regarded any arrogation of independence on the part of colonists, no matter on whose behalf they exercised it, as rank rebellion, and treated it as such. After the declaration of independence, followed fourteen years of dictatorships, constitution-making and revolutions till, in 1832, the existing constitution was adopted.

From the first there have been a liberal party, anxious to make a republic on ultra-theoretical republican principles; a conservative party, determined, if there must be a republic, to fashion it as unlike a republic as may be; and a powerful church party, sympathizing, of course, with the conservatives, but not averse to uniting with the radicals to gain a purpose.

The earliest constitutions were so conservative that the Senate was virtually a House of Lords. But in 1828 the liberals were in power and framed a constitution on liberal theories, subject, however, to revision. Their reign was short, for before the revision was effected the conservatives had recovered office, impressed their ideas on the constitution as finally accepted, and have used its provisions to maintain themselves in power ever since.

With the passage of the constitution of 1832, the stable history of the Chilian republic begins. No dictator has since then occupied the presidential chair; no presidential election has been carried by force of arms, although twice, in 1851 and again in 1859, revolutionary attempts were made to overthrow the constituted government; congress has never been intimidated nor the choice of the people overtly interfered with. These results, so exceptional in the history of South American republics, are due to the general influences above enumerated, combined with the fact that, almost contemporaneously with the passage of the constitution, a national guard was created to take the place of a large standing army; and further, to the fact, that the influential men of Chili have generally been civilians, not military men as in Peru, the headquarters of the old Spanish military force.

The conservative tendencies of those who framed the constitution are emphatically expressed in the address with which President Prieto presented it to the people. He says, of those who were entrusted with the task, "They had no other aim than your interests, and to advance them they endeavored to lay down rules for the administration of government adapted to your special circumstances. *Setting aside theories, which are as visionary as they are impracticable*, they have fixed their attention on discovering the best means of securing forever public order and tranquility against the risks of party strife, to which heretofore they have been exposed." These visionary and impracticable theories were, of course, the democratic constitutions in vogue elsewhere. The Chilian constitution is therefore avowedly of a different stamp.

The supreme executive office is the President's. Should he die during his term of office, or be unavoidably absent from the country, the Minister of the Interior fills his post. The President is assisted by Ministers of the Interior, Foreign Affairs, War, Marine, Finance and Justice, who have seats in the House by virtue

of their office, whether members or not, and may take part in the debates, but may not vote—a kind of compromise between the dependent relation of the English cabinet officers to the House, and the complete independence of the American. The members of council having seats in the House, though not responsible to it, are more under the influence of its opinion, its favor or disfavor, than are the American Secretaries, and therefore the changes in the Cabinet are much more frequent than in the United States. The President addresses the House through his ministers, except at the opening of Congress, when he delivers his message in person. He also must consult a council of state on certain questions, and may consult it on all. In making appointments he chooses whom he will for all important posts, such as ministers, plenipotentiaries, *intendentes* and Governors; but must submit all inferior nominations to the Senate. One would think, if the intention were to limit his power, the orders would have been reversed. Then, again, his power of veto is even more effectual than that of the President of the United States. If a measure passed by both houses does not meet with his approval, it cannot come up at all for discussion again the same session, but it may, within two years following, be passed over his veto by a two-third vote. His powers are therefore very analogous to those of the President of the United States, and, though somewhat more extensive and absolute, not essentially greater than those of the British executive.

The functions of the House of Deputies are to all intents and purposes the same as those of the United States House of Representatives, and the Senate, as in the United States, is intended to act as a check on the executive, by sharing with it certain of its executive powers. The Houses are divided into government and opposition sections, who vote under party leadership, and as small an infusion of independent members as in other legislative bodies. But party tactics vary sometimes from those adopted in other deliberative assemblies. For instance, in 1871, when the writer was in Chili, the Houses met according to law on June 1st. On July 25th, the election for President, or rather for members to compose the electoral college, was to take place; it was consequently inconvenient to government that questions should be put by the opposition either as to the part government officials were taking in the canvass or in any matters, the answer to which might be turned to the dis-

advantage of the official candidate. The government therefore adopted a method, worthy of being classed among the means, not less objectionable, in vogue elsewhere, of quashing disagreeable enquiries. They kept so many of their adherents out of the House, each sitting, that there rarely was a quorum.

So far there is considerable likeness between the institutions of Chili and those of England or the United States, but in the internal government of the country this resemblance entirely ceases. By a thorough system of centralization, government, if it does not manage the municipal affairs of the country, so effectually controls them in their minutest details, as to be cognizant of and influence all that goes on from end to end of the land. The Spanish system of internal politics is more retained in all its purity and stands in glaring contrast to so much else which is the reverse of Spanish.

According to Chap. IX., Art. 115 of the Constitution, the territory of Chili is divided into Provinces, the Provinces into Departments, the Departments into Sub-delegations and the Sub-delegations into districts. (1.) The superior government of each Province in all branches of the administration, resides in an *Intendente*, who is to exercise the government in accordance with the laws and in obedience to the orders and instructions of the President of the Republic, of whom he is the natural and immediate agent. (2.) The government of each Department resides in a Governor, subordinate to the *Intendente* of the Province. (3.) The Sub-delegations are ruled by *Sub-delegados*, subordinate to the Governor of the Department and nominated by him. (4.) Each District is under an Inspector, nominated by and receiving his instructions through the *Sub-delegados*.

There is thus a series of government officials, centering in the President and distributed to the smallest division of the country,—sitting as presiding officers of all municipal councils,—without whose sanction the simplest municipal act cannot be performed nor a municipal tax levied; whose duty it is to watch over the judges and report any irregularity in their conduct, and to inform their superiors of all that comes before the courts of any public interest; whose first care, one may well believe though the law does not prescribe it, must be to note the political proclivities of every influential man within their ken, and to take such steps as are deemed best to frustrate his plans if adverse, or further them if the reverse.

Instances often occur, in the nature of things, of fussy officials transgressing the law and infringing on private rights. Some years ago the small-pox was raging in the Province of Atacama in the extreme north of Chili, and there was a scarcity of vaccine. The *Intendente* of Valparaiso—three hundred miles away—supplied the deficiency by sending a cargo of newly vaccinated children with their mothers to the infected district, without the slightest regard to the convenience of the mothers or the welfare of the babies. He thought he was justified in sacrificing the comfort and perhaps safety of the few, when by doing so he served the many. Usually, the victim of such officialism submits rather than assert his rights by law, which undoubtedly is framed to protect the personal rights of the individual and is generally fairly administered.

However much control the law allows the *Intendente* and his subordinates in the administration of municipal affairs, the law of elections has most stringent provisions against official interference; but it is amusing to note the precision with which the law forbids the *Intendente* or governor even entering the municipal hall while the election boards are consulting, and yet watch the thousand and one ways in which the officials, unofficially and even officially, support their favorites.

Such an army of government officers, each grade, as it approaches more intimately to the people, increasing in number, and each so completely subservient to the grade above for appointment and maintenance in office, of course makes the central government supreme. The President of the country, the 15 *Intendentes* of Provinces, the 53 governors of Departments, the host of *Sub-delegados* and the swarm of Inspectors, all acting under one impulse and with the same aim, with supreme control over the municipalities, holding the judges of all but the supreme court in awe, render the central government so powerful, especially in election times, that opposition to its candidate is almost hopeless. Of course, government repudiates bringing forward any candidate, and in the most positive manner forbids its servants directly or indirectly using their position to influence the election; but, supposing the government to be sincere, its officers have too great an interest in the result to be obedient.

The framers of the constitution looked upon universal suffrage as one of those visionary and impracticable theories to be avoided,

and therefore imposed as qualifications, that voters should be able to read and write, and should possess a certain income or quantity of property, the amount to be fixed anew every ten years. In 1871, the rate was fixed for the northern provinces, where wages were high, at a revenue of \$200 a year, or the possession of immovable property worth \$1,000, and for the southern provinces, where wages were low, at one-half the above amounts. An education qualification is unquestionably a wise one, and the property qualification is high enough to exclude from the suffrage the ignorant farm and mine laborers, but to admit the artisan classes. The result is that, in a population of 1,782,599, there are only 41,208 voters, or 1 in 43. If no other good resulted, at least greater economy and certainty attends elections by this curtailment of the popular vote, for, inasmuch as almost every voter below the condition of a professional man sells his vote for a cash payment, it is cheaper to buy 20,000 than 200,000 votes, and the issue can, with somewhat greater certainty, be counted on. But only with somewhat greater certainty, by no means with assured certainty! For even if the briber had the 41,200 qualification tickets in his pocket, it would by no means follow that when he handed them back to the owners for use they could vote as they had been paid for doing. The utter venality of the lower class of voters shows only too clearly how insensible they are of the duties attaching to their privilege, and explains only too palpably the utter failure of democratic institutions in other Spanish-American republics, where through universal suffrage, the masses have had control. Questionable as the system is anywhere—its evils may be mitigated, as in the United States, by the general intelligence and honesty of so many of those who exercise it, but to confer the suffrage, as in Peru, on nations of Indians and liberated blacks who have never even seen others in the practice and enjoyment of liberty and liberal institutions, the wise men who framed the Chilian Constitution might well call a yielding to visionary and *impracticable theories*.

Six months before an election, boards are formed in every municipality to examine the qualifications of electors and give them tickets, and then and subsequently every possible precaution is prescribed to ensure purity and fairness. All which checks and counter-checks may be read of in the law of elections; but how they work can only be judged of by watching the progress of a contest.

For President, in 1871, there were brought forward by the Conservatives, Senor Errasuriz, and by the Liberals, Senor Urmeneta; the former an unflinching, stern politician of the ultra Conservative party, who, when in office under the previous administration, had shown himself tyrannical and in every sense illiberal; the latter, the richest man in Chili, who had never taken any part in politics, but was flattered by the Liberals into running and paying for the honor of doing so. Senor Errasuriz, if not the government candidate, was at any rate the candidate supported by all, whether in office or out, who supported the government, and therefore every *Intendente*, Governor, *Subdelegado* and Inspector, in his private capacity, wished him well, and did his best to serve him. The Chilian fleet, whose officers were known to be tainted with liberalism, was sent to sea. The superintendent of the Government Railway gave his employees a very strong hint of how they ought to vote, and even the collector of customs in Valparaiso was so indiscreet as to threaten his officers with dismissal if they opposed his choice, an act no papers reprehended more strenuously than the Conservative organs. All through the country cases occurred, even of the imprisonment of opponents under charges which could not be looked into till after election day; and when election day came round, the last act of the farce was played. As a rule, at the polls the government candidate was carrying the day, but when there was a doubt, for the ballot does not there prevent the returning officers having a very shrewd suspicion of how the vote is being cast, most ingenious shifts were resorted to for closing the poll. At one place a friend fired a gun, and the officer avowing his life to be in danger, shut the register; at another, when at three o'clock (the hours for voting are from 9 A. M. to 4 P. M.), he saw matters becoming critical, he was suddenly doubled up by a violent colic, and rendered utterly unable to examine another ticket. But these petty devices for swelling the Conservative majority were needless, for, as the result showed, the Liberals, after all their pretences and promises, and after making all allowances for the unfair advantage accruing to the Conservative candidate from official interference, had not strength enough to make themselves respected, far less feared. Senor Errasuriz was duly installed President, and that peaceably, despite the bitter feelings that the contest had excited. The Liberal leaders,—like true men—while

protesting in Congress against the unfair official aid which had helped to swell Errasuriz's majority, admitted that they were beaten.

The church, as we have before remarked, is an important element in all political calculations. Monti, who was President from 1851 to 1861, tried to free himself from its trammels, but it immediately and without scruple allied itself with its natural enemies and obliged him to come to terms. Errasuriz used it to carry his election, and it used all its manifold influences and machinery to help him, machinery such as it brings into play amongst still freer peoples to work its purposes, and other appliances which it reserves for more docile flocks than are found on the Northern hemisphere. For instance, the *Rivista Catolica*, the clerical organ, could not content itself with giving a very bad character to all the leading Liberals, but did not hesitate to publish on the eve of Errasuriz's elections, the details of a Liberal conspiracy to murder the Archbishop of Santiago, and other prominent ecclesiastics, a charge too ridiculous to influence the intelligent, but well calculated to inflame the large class in whose minds bigotry fills the place of reason and of every other faculty. The influence of the church is, however, waning with the diffusion of higher education and under the real liberty which is enjoyed, and it was the opinion of all Errasuriz's more enlightened supporters that he would throw over the clergy as soon as they had served his turn, for they believed he had too much decision of character to be their willing tool, and too much courage ever to sue for peace, once the war should be declared. Events have justified anticipation. He had not been long in power before an occasion of difference arose. The clergy refused to bury one of his generals, who had neither lived nor died in the odor of sanctity. He commanded them to forego their scruples. As they still refused, he compelled them by force of arms to obey.

A good deal of ground has been won from the church in the past, but more will have to be yielded. The fifth article of the Constitution reads as follows: "The religion of the Republic of Chili is the Roman Catholic Apostolic, to the exclusion of the public exercise of any others." Nothing could be more explicit. Nevertheless, the American Presbyterian Church sent out a clever active man to Valparaiso, a Mr. Trumbull, of Connecticut, who soon gathered a congregation and proceeded to build a church. The

clergy thereupon memorialized Government, Government referred it to the *Intendente*, and the *Intendente* had an interview with Mr. Trumbull. But it was evident to all but the clergy that, mean the fifth article what it may, Protestant worship, as being that of all the great commercial powers on whose friendship Chili depended for prosperity, must not be interfered with. So the *Intendente* reported Mr. Trumbull's church to be private property inviolate. The Episcopalians then took courage and built a very pretty church in a very conspicuous position on a hill. Again the church was scandalized and remonstrated with government, and memorials followed in due course and number. The *Intendente* this time sent his secretary to reconnoitre and see whether there was a church at all. After wandering over the hill, he reported that he had seen no building with a steeple, after the recognised likeness of a church; and with this answer all parties but the impracticable clergy were fully satisfied. Now, Protestant services in Spanish are held in Santiago and Copiopo. After a long struggle for the severance of church and state, the Liberals had the fifth article declared by law to mean what it did not mean, but the privilege had already been taken by those who wanted it, and its concession was therefore superfluous.

At present, the aims of the liberals in this direction are to obtain the disestablishment of the Church and the right of civil marriage. The former it is hardly to be hoped they will achieve; for, whatever private ecclesiastical enterprise there may be in Protestant countries to take the place of State assistance, there is none certainly in Chili, and the result of the withdrawal of State aid would therefore be the lapse of the bulk of the population into deeper barbarism than that they now are plunged in. But the civil marriage agitation, it is to be hoped, will be successful. At present the Church licenses, enregisters and marries. If a Protestant wishes to marry a Catholic, he must obtain a dispensation, not to make his marriage ecclesiastically valid, but civilly legal. As the present Archbishop of Santiago will neither grant dispensations himself nor allow his subordinate bishops to do so, the unhappy couple has to wait till the Papal Legate in Rio, is heard from. Formerly the facilities were greater, as the archbishop granted dispensations for \$2,000, but as his Lordship of Serena married for half that price, Serena became the trysting place of all who, des-

pite the apostle's wise warning, determined on being "unequally yoked."

A significant instance occurred in 1871, of the extremities to which the clergy will drive matters. They were jubilant over Errasuriz's success, when a deputy of the House applied for a dispensation to marry his cousin. He was informed that there was no objection to giving him the customary dispensation to marry within the forbidden degree, but that they would not grant a license to marry any one till he publicly retracted irreverent expressions he had used in the House against the Christian religion.

He appealed from one ecclesiastical authority to another, producing his certificate of baptism; but he was always met with the unanswerable argument, that, as marriage is a sacrament of the Church, it can only be administered to believers, and therefore not to him. At length he called his kinsfolk and political friends together, and before them all, and calling Heaven to witness, he and his cousin declared their intention of being man and wife and promised mutual fidelity.

The Liberal party, though small, is far from powerless. It is composed principally of professional men, some of them highly educated and well versed in foreign politics; but, as might be expected, driven to entertain extreme views by the obstinate resistance of their opponents to all changes. Among their victories they have carried an amendment of the constitution by which the presidential term of office is extended to six years, (it was five years), and the President is ineligible for reelection. The second election has always been such a travesty that the change was highly desirable. Were there a responsible ministry, it would be well that the presidential term should be extended indefinitely, but it is decidedly detrimental to political morality that periodical recurrences should take place of such a burlesque of a free election as these reelections generally are, both in North and South America.

But although the Liberal party acts as a wholesome stimulus and corrective on the Conservative, it is, perhaps, as well it should not attain power. Considering the means the governing party has of maintaining itself, there is little reason to apprehend that it will; but, once in office, its ranks would be swelled by many who now stand aloof and who would be unworthy allies. The large flock of penniless lawyers and notaries, who, there as elsewhere,

have no interests at stake which the prosperity of the country enhances, care not whom they join, what measures they support, nor to what devices they descend, provided only there be spoil to plunder, and this is found only in the wreck of badly governed countries. In contra-distinction to this class of political freebooters, it must be said for the men who have ruled Chili for over forty years and rule her still, that they have not sought office for the sake of its emoluments, lawful or unlawful. They consider themselves as endowed with a divine right to rule; they call themselves an aristocracy and do not pretend that Chili is other than an oligarchy; they use, it must be confessed, improper means to maintain themselves in power, but the wrong they commit is, in part, expiated by the use they make of the power when they hold it. Perhaps their very faults have helped to save their country; for while the Conservatives have thus held power despotically, the injustice done their opponents has tended to swell the opposition ranks. But, what is better still, the long enforced restraint the Liberal party has had to impose upon itself, has taught its leaders some habits of self-government and of honor, the most valuable endowments a party, whether in opposition or in power, can possess.

How far the material prosperity of the country is due to its political institutions, how far to other causes, it is difficult to determine, But certain it is that great advancement in population, wealth, refinement and education has been made, not in Chili only, but throughout South America. Take the following statistics, as indicative of Chili's condition at the commencement of the present decade, socially and commercially. There were 32 public hospitals and numerous dispensaries, at which 283,327 sick received aid; a lunatic asylum, a well conducted penitentiary and 16 asylums for orphans and the destitute. Government supports a university, having on its staff of professors men famous the world over in science and literature, and two lyceums, which give a higher education to 3,581 students; a normal school, a school of *arts et metiers*, for the education of mechanics, and 1,000 public schools, giving elementary instruction to about 50,000 children, at a cost to government of nearly \$400,000 yearly. Chili maintains 55 newspapers and literary periodicals, conducted with remarkable literary skill and able to pay well for contributions. The famous Spanish orator Castelar, was a special correspondent of the Santiago *Ferrocarril*.

In 1867 the imports were valued at . . .	\$24,863,478
“ “ exports “ “ . . .	30,686,930
Of the exports, agricultural products yielded . . .	11,347,599
“ “ mine “ “ . . .	18,724,587
“ “ sundries “ “ . . .	616,745

A country cannot be badly governed which in five years has increased its agricultural exports from \$3,604,685 to \$11,347,599; whose taxes amount to only \$7.22 per head of the population, and whose public debt reaches only \$31,389,492, a great part of which is represented by railroads and telegraph lines, owned by government.

As already remarked, it has been customary to class all the Spanish-American Republics in one category, and to look on one and all as given over to irremediable turbulency and as sinking into barbarism, and it is in some quarters customary to attribute all the evils which have befallen these naturally favored lands to the premature adoption of a republican form of government. It is, however, unfair to the South American people to refuse to look beyond the broils of the professional politician—broils that there take more serious shape than they do elsewhere, but which are, nevertheless, but commotions confined to politicians, the army and the large vagrant class, and which, though they affect trade and all the interests of the nation, are not shared in by the people at large. And it is as unfair to attribute to republicanism all the evils which have resulted from independence, but to overlook the progress which every one of these new nations has made under free, call them even sometimes licentiously liberal, institutions.

Spain ruled South America for nearly three hundred years. Her policy was to use her dependencies for the enrichment solely of the mother country, and, by bestowing all government appointments of any value or importance on nominees from Old Spain, to keep the colonists in a condition of political childhood. No foreign ships might trade with her colonial ports; a native born colonist rarely held the post even of a judge. How then could people brought up in such political ignorance and helplessness, be expected to attain to the position, at one stride, of orderly, law-abiding nations? Even supposing there had been the homogeneity of race which there was in the revolting united colonies of North America, instead of the ill-assorted ingredients we have described as existing,

for instance, in Peru, how expect the South Americans, who had never known liberty, to exercise the restraints of self-government, as did the people of the United States, born, bred and brought up in the exercise of freedom?

Spain ruled South America for about 300 years, and at the expiring of her rule:

New Granada had a population of 1,400,000; 50 years of freedom has increased this to 2,750,000.

Quito (now Equador), had a population of 585,000; 50 years of freedom has increased this to 1,000,000.

Bajo and Alto Peru (now Peru and Bolivia), had a population of 2,600,000; 50 years of freedom has increased this to 5,550,000.

Buenos Ayres had a population of 600,000; 50 years of freedom has increased this to 1,410,000.

Chili had a population of 500,000; 50 years of freedom has increased this to 2,000,000.

Paraguay had a population of 400,000; 50 years of freedom has increased this to 1,337,000.

During the same period, Spain has hardly increased in population at all.

Nor is it only in increase of population that progress has been made. Railroads now connect every important sea port of Peru, Chili and Buenos Ayres with the interior, and a line has been surveyed across the Chilian Andes and unites by rail the South Atlantic with the South Pacific. The telegraph long ago brought Montevideo into speaking distance with Valparaiso; nearly everywhere life and property are safe—everywhere more so than in Spain, Southern Italy and Greece. A comparison in these respects with the mother country, shows that while the Spaniards in Spain, under the retrogressive influence of the old monarchical institutions, sunk lower and lower, Spaniards, in South America, under the impulse of free institutions, if they have not set the world an example of good government, have at least shown how freedom, even when degenerating into license, is on the whole better than political slavery. The removal of all restrictions on trade gave free scope to native and foreign enterprise, and the establishment of parliamentary government has tended to create among the thinking classes a real interest in the welfare of the country, and to excite that feeling of individual importance, to

which no doubt the United States of North America owes its unparalleled progress. While, in both North and South America, there has been bad and corrupt government, almost without parallel, there has been something in the form of government which has not only left room for individual exertion, but encouraged it.

The interest then attaching to the study of the Republican Institutions of Chili centres in the fact that there an attempt was made to limit the reaction certain to follow the removal of all political disabilities of Spanish colonial rule, and the bestowal suddenly of political freedom on whilom political slaves. The means adopted to do so, namely the contraction of the suffrage and the retention of the centralizing system of Old Spain, may not have been the best that could have been chosen. But the preëminent tranquility of Chili, amidst the revolutionary turmoil of the other Spanish republics, favors the conclusion that she owes her prosperity, in part if not altogether, to the constitutional peculiarities which distinguish her from them.

J. DOUGLAS, JR.

THE DOCTRINE OF PERSISTENCE OF INDIVIDUAL CONSCIOUSNESS.

A RECENT argument in favor of the independent existence of a soul and its immortality, based on the principles of modern science,* amounts to an attack on the doctrine rather than a vindication of it; for, resting the hypothesis of the persistence of consciousness on the evidences of the persistence of matter and force, the advocate of personal or individual immortality necessarily refutes his own theory.

If consciousness is persistent only in the sense in which matter and energy are believed to be persistent, what becomes of *individual* consciousness? The constant production of new forms in nature results from the continuous reërrangement of the same molecules of matter which have constituted preëxisting forms.

“Imperial Cæsar, dead and turned to clay,
Might stop a hole to keep the wind away.”

* Radical Fallacy of Materialism : Popular Science Monthly, July, 1878.

The principle of the indestructibility of matter involves that of its uncreatableness, while the doctrine of the conservation of energy, as well as that of its inseparableness from matter, also excludes the idea of the creation of force.

If these principles are to be applied to consciousness, we must infer an unvarying quantity of "the substance of consciousness"*** coming and going, appearing and reappearing, in an endless succession of individual organisms; just as the sum of the energies in the universe is constant and unvarying, though its manifestations are as changing as the lights and shades on a grass-covered lawn under the wind-tossed, sun-bathed foliage above.

Such a proposition is not only undemonstrable and even unthinkable, but it has no advantage over so called materialism, since it is equally opposed to the idea of immortality, or the persistence of individual consciousness.

The individuality of an organism is like that of a fountain; it is preserved so long as the various parts concerned in its production maintain certain relations to each other. The molecules of water, rising and falling in continuous flow, are never the same for two consecutive moments; the play of the sunlight on the spray is ever shifting, and its manifestations of beauty are modified by the passing cloud, by the push of the breeze—in short, by every change in environment to which its nature renders it capable of responding; but so long as the water continues to rise and fall, so long as the conditions essential to its existence are maintained, it is recognized as the same fountain—as having a certain sort of individuality. The intricacy in which the author of the article referred to attempts to involve the relations of matter, energy and consciousness, is easily resolvable; for, in saying that "no one of these can be known without the other," it is admitted that we have to deal with matter and its properties only; and the previous remarkable statements that "the self-existence of energy has been substantiated," and that "motion is no longer considered a condition or state of matter," are therein flatly contradicted.

While the various modes of motion are regarded as manifestations of the various kinds and conditions of matter, the converse of this proposition is also true; and the existence of matter may, with equal correctness, be regarded as an inference from force—

*** Loc. Cit.

force being a general expression for *all those properties of matter by which it acts on matter outside itself*; action implies an agent—force implies matter; neither matter nor force can be described except in terms of the other; and consciousness (as convincingly argued by Lewes*) can be characterized only as the subjective aspect of force, recognizable by the conscious subject alone—the individual animal or man who experiences it.

No person can pronounce as to the existence of consciousness in another; by certain signs we judge of its presence or absence, but not infallably, since, as in catalepsy, the subject of it may be conscious, but incapable of manifesting to others the signs of consciousness.

This manifestation of matter differs from other kinds of force, only in the experience of the conscious subject. The accepted signs of consciousness are, to the observer, simply reactions of matter—the response of the organism under the stimulus of some force.

From the point of view of the conscious subject, consciousness may perhaps be said to have “an independent existence,” if by this it be meant that consciousness is *sui generis*, and distinct from other properties of matter; but if it be meant that consciousness is independent of the organism which experiences it, then the proposition is a pure assumption—without illustration in fact, and undemonstrable even by argument.

The declaration that “matter, energy and consciousness are distinct but incomprehensible existences,” negatives itself. If incomprehensible, we are not warranted in pronouncing them distinct; since, in that incomprehensible region which lies beyond the comprehensible limit, they may for all we know blend into unity.

This subject is put in as clear a light as its obscure nature will permit in the work of Lewes, referred to above. He says: “A nervous excitation is not transformed into a sensation; the neural process and the feeling are one and the same process, viewed under different aspects. From the physical and objective side, it is a neural process; from the psychological or subjective side, it is a sentient process. * * * What we call the conditions, are the factors.”

* *Problems of Life and Mind*, by G. H. Lewes.

All phenomena which come within the sphere of knowledge, whether phenomena of consciousness or otherwise, must be comprehended in the expression—matter and its manifestations—since knowledge is inexorably limited by these boundaries; and if this be “materialism,” the radical mistake lies in attempting to prove anything else. Such a doctrine is not, however, properly designated as an *ism*; it is only a recognition of the limits of knowledge.

While it may be true that “we can not conceive of a motion as a passion or a sensation,” we nevertheless have no knowledge of motion except as a sensation; and whether we talk of “feeling *coming in* when certain forms of matter and modes of energy are present,” or whether we speak of consciousness as “a product of organization,” the facts remain the same: viz., that certain combinations of matter manifest consciousness, and certain others do not; that the degree and kind of consciousness vary with the varying conditions of the organism; that consciousness may be suspended or destroyed by apparently slight modifications of the conditions on which it is thus shown to depend.

The terms ‘conscious’ and ‘unconscious’ are loosely employed in common life, and the so-called unconsciouness of sleep is only a lower grade of consciousness, which may depend either upon a condition of diminished sensitiveness of brain tissue, or merely upon the absence of those stimuli which serve to keep the brain up to a certain degree of activity. This condition, so far from proving the independent nature of consciousness, shows it to be the contingent of a neural process—the subjective expression of a physical condition of the matter of the organism. This two-sided nature of what may be called psycho-physical phenomena has been proved by repeated experiments; the slightest production of consciousness, as the recognition of a person entering the presence of the subject of the experiment, being accompanied by increased blood-supply to the brain (as indicated by the plethysmograph) and by increased production of heat, as shown in the experiments of Dr. Lombard.*

Although the manifestations which belong to the waking state—the signs of consciousness—are wanting during sleep, a stimulus of sufficient power at once calls out a reaction which is recognizable by the observer as an evidence of consciousness; and there is

* New York Med. Journal; June, 1867.

neither fallacy nor inaccuracy in saying that a sleeper is awakened,—that is, that consciousness is excited—by a stimulus which may arise outside the body, as an alarm of fire, or within the body, as a sensation of hunger, pain, etc. The stimulus calls out a neural reaction, the obverse of which reaction is conscious sensation.

Consciousness is a present experience of the individual subject. The weaving of a life-long series of separate states of consciousness into a continued experience—the life-history—depends on a single faculty, memory, which may be destroyed by accident or disease, without interfering with consciousness.

The ideas expressed by the terms “matter” and “force” are abstractions. Certain forms of matter we know, and certain manifestations of energy we know. We classify forms and generalize modes of action; but it is only individuals—whether molecules or suns, specs of protoplasm or philosophers—that have an actual existence; while the only consciousness that either fool or philosopher knows anything about is that which he himself experiences; even this he can scarcely be said to know—he only feels; and the religious convert who, though feeble of speech, bravely attempted to tell his “experience,” unconsciously expressed all that is known of the philosophy of consciousness, in these few, hesitating words: “Brethren, I feel—I feel; brethren, I don’t know *how* I feel!”

FRANCES EMILY WHITE, M. D.

DE LAVELEYE'S PRIMITIVE PROPERTY.*

OUR readers will recall the article which we published not so long ago, in which Prof. De Laveleye of Liege discussed, with sympathy and some measure of agreement, the new school of Political Economists which has arisen in Europe, and has even won adherents in England and America. And perhaps they will not have

* PRIMITIVE PROPERTY. Translated from the French of Emile De Laveleye, (Member of the Royal Academies of Belgium, Madrid and Lisbon, Corresponding Member of the Institute of France, of the Institute of Geneva, of the Academy *Dei Lincei* of Rome, etc.), by G. R. L. Marriott, B. A., LL. B., with an introduction by T. E. Cliffe Leslie, LL. B., of Lincoln's Inn, Barrister at Law. Pp. XLVII., 356. Gr. 8vo. London and New York: Macmillan & Co.

forgotten the paper by the editor of this magazine, on "Laveleye and the Kathedersocialisten," in which the views advanced by the learned Belgian were submitted to examination. We recall those articles partly for the sake of what we have to say in the following review; but also partly to avoid repeating what we then said of our personal obligations to Emile de Laveleye. Whatever dissent may be excited by any of his opinions, however widely we may differ from his convictions on economic questions, we can never forget that it is the author of *L'Economie Rurale de Belgique* and of *La Marche Monétaire*, whose work is before us, and that he is entitled to the most respectful and grateful attention as an author and a man.

Nor is the present work one which allows us to forget past obligations. Rather, it adds to their magnitude. It is one of those comprehensive surveys of a whole field of freshly pursued investigations, in which the author has summarized the results reached by other scholars in their special minor departments, besides adding vastly from the resources of his independent and personal investigations. What Von Maurer has brought to light as regards the nature of landed property in the early history of German institutions, Nasse in that of England, Von Harthausen in Russia, Bojsic in Southern Slavonia, Maine in Ireland and India, and Dutch students in Java,—all this and much more M. de Laveleye has collected with much painstaking. But he has given us large additions to this knowledge, from less known and accessible sources, and also from a personal and local study of the *allmends* of Switzerland, to which Mr. E. A. Freeman had already called attention in his *Growth of the English Constitution*; and he has brought this huge congeries of facts in proper correlation, so that the resemblances and the contrasts which exist between the institutions of *different* countries are made intelligible by running references from chapter to chapter.

In point of form, however, the book is somewhat defective. Its chapters have the air of being independent studies, written for separate publication, and collected without undergoing the changes needed to make the book homogeneous. Nor is it easy to say on what principle they have been arranged, unless it be that of the chronological order in which they were written. First comes the Russian *mir*, then Java and India, then the *allmends* of Switzer-

land, then the Teutonic *mark*, then the Arabs and other people, then the peoples of antiquity, and so on. An orderly arrangement of all these topics would be difficult, and in a very strict sense not possible. But, by a very little effort, something nearer to an orderly arrangement might have been secured. When we find "the Germanic Mark" occupying the seventh chapter, and "the Mark in Holland" taking up the twenty-third, we are at a loss to account for the wide separation.

The motive of the book is like most of Prof. Laveleye's writing; it is a criticism of the favorite positions of orthodox political economy. The subject furnishes excellent material for such a criticism, as even those must feel who are not prepared to go all the lengths that Prof. Laveleye goes in his criticism. The school of Adam Smith have always assumed that free individual competition is and from the beginning has been the natural condition of society; that where anything has interfered with this, it has been a wrongful and unnatural interruption of the proper course of things, and generally in the nature of a monopoly for the benefit of a few persons at the expense of society at large. They have treated such interferences as evils to be got rid of summarily,—innovations to be cast out as usurpations of natural right. The theory of rent upon which they proceed, assumes, at every step, that there has been from the beginning a generally free and unrestricted competition for land, and that rent is and always has been the effect of that competition.

The investigations of juristic antiquarians have cast these economical speculations into the shade. They have brought to light a mass of facts in regard to the most distant countries, which go to show that individual ownership of land is a thing of very modern origin throughout Christendom; that it can hardly be said to exist in most of the countries of the old world; and that traces and remnants of the earlier or communistic system of land tenure are found everywhere among those peoples who have rejected it. And when they enter upon the history of the measures by which it was abolished, in England especially, they find it to have been effected most commonly by a great series of usurpations on the part of the wealthier classes, and generally under cover of two false and mischievous assumptions. These are the assumption of the lawyers that all the imperfect rights of the tenants are innova-

tions upon the rights of the land-lord; and the assumption of the economists that a competitive rent is the only natural form of rent, and every other is a freak, unworthy of respect or attention.

It is but a few years since attention was first directed to this subject, and the accumulation of facts in regard to it has been made with wonderful rapidity. They concern the most distant countries; the most developed and the least advanced nations. The Javanese under a tropical climate, and the Esquimaux under the pole, are alike communists in social organization; and, while there are countries from which we have heard nothing as yet, the evidence is now so strong as to warrant the assertion, that in every land and every people under the sun, communism is either still in existence, or has formerly been so. Our own is no exception, for the Red Man who preceded us on this soil, like his former neighbors of Arizona, Mexico, Guatemala and Peru, is a communist. The vast edifices which Stephens supposed to be the royal palaces of some ancient but extinct race, are now known to have been the *pueblos* of the Indians whom the Spaniards found in possession. The village-house of the more northern Indian was but an inferior structure of the same type. And even the European settlers brought with them traces and reminiscences of European communism. The first towns in New England were organized after the model of the English manor, with allotments of plough land and wood to each settler, but with pasture lands in common, and with the right reserved to the community to forbid the sale of any part of the land to any person whom they did not approve. In our neighbor state of Delaware, there still exist common lands, owned by the community and cultivated for its behoof. And were a careful study made of the usages and customs connected with land tenure which linger in different parts of our country, these sparse instances would no doubt be supplemented by many others.

The facts in regard to several of the most important of these new discoveries in sociology, have been placed from time to time before our readers. The Swiss *allmends* furnish perhaps the most important instance of which we have not spoken, and M. de Laveleye's description of them deserves special attention as based in part upon personal observation. It is in the primitive cantons of the Swiss Republic, and in the Oberland of Bern, that this primi-

tive type of land tenure exists to the present day. Very large portions of those Cantons—not by any means the whole arable soil, however—continued to be owned by the whole community, and to be apportioned among its members according to certain traditional rules. These rules differ very greatly in different districts, and to an extent which makes anything like a clear description of them quite difficult. The cause of the difference is in some cases the local peculiarity of the district, which furnishes a larger or smaller share of each sort of land. In others, it is the denseness of the population which has made things impossible which were formerly found possible and are still so in other places. In other instances, it is the different solution which has been reached for the questions which must be answered by every community of this sort.

The land which belongs to the Canton, or to the commune within the Canton, is of three sorts—plough land, grazing land and forest. The second sort is generally *alp* rather than meadow, and of course is available only for summer use. The shares of each sort are made in the most various ways, but the principle that “each shall receive according to his needs,” seems to be applied most strictly to the forest land, and least so to the plough land. A member of the community ordinarily receives so much timber as he needs for the construction and repairs of his farm and outhouses; free grazing for all the cattle he has, or for a given number, or for as many as he will pay for at a low rate, the proceeds in this last case being for the benefit of those who have no cattle. The plough land is divided into shares, either equal for each household, or proportional to the needs of each, or larger for one class of holders and smaller for another. It is claimed that these lands are as well cultivated as any in the country.

Two points need to be especially noted, neither of which are emphasized by Prof. Laveleye. The first is that the Swiss *allmends* do not, like the old Teutonic *mark*, present us with an instance of complete communism. The benefits derived from holding a share in them are not adequate for the support of a family. They are in some cases—and this is the utmost that is claimed—sufficient to furnish the bare necessities of living; but, in even the most favorable case, they do not furnish what is needed according to the conventional standard of what is necessary in that primitive and simple-minded community. The deficit is supplied either from the

yield of private property, or from the results of individual labor. The advantage therefore resulting from the system is found in this, that the workman is never left absolutely destitute of support, nor without a stake in the common welfare. He cannot sink to the level of the landless, homeless and penniless "proletariat."

The second point is that the conflict of the poor and the rich, of the have-noughts with the have-aughts, is by no means unknown in this communistic system of land tenure, and the tendency towards such conflict grows with the growth of society in density of numbers. The community of owners, of course, cannot be any larger than the population of the district occupied by its lands; but is it always to be as large? What is to be the position of the new-comers, of persons whose rights have been forfeited under the laws in force, or of those for whom the laws have made no adequate provision, in many such ways in which a *plébs* may grow up alongside the original *populus* in the commune? "Mere residence within the commune, or even the exercise of political membership, is not sufficient to constitute a title to the enjoyment of the communal domain; descent from a family which has possessed the right from time immemorial, or at least from the commencement of the present century, being necessary. Collective succession is based on the family; that is to say, descent in a privileged family gives the right to a share in the collective inheritance. In theory, it is the association of descendants of the original occupants of the *mark* continuing to enjoy what remains of its domain. Thus, in the same village, side by side with a group of persons using the commonable land, may be found inhabitants excluded from all the advantages which so materially improve the position of the former, and there are thus, as it were, two distinct communes involved one within the other. The *Beisassen*, or mere 'residents' as they are called, have often complained of this distinction, which has given rise to violent struggles between the reformers, who demand equal rights for all, and the conservatives, who endeavor to maintain the old exclusion. . . . As there is no general law on the subject, the results of the struggle have not been everywhere the same, but generally arrangements have been adopted securing certain rights to the mere residents or *Beisassen*. Thus they may have firewood from the forest, but not timber. They may only send the young cattle, and, in some cases, one or

two milking cows, but no more, on the *alps*. In the *allmends* of the plain they are allowed even less; they are often entirely excluded; in some cases they only participate in the drawing of lots for the plots of cultivated land or gardens." We see, therefore, in this case as in every other, the tendency of communistic societies—however democratic in their inception—to develop a sharply marked distinction between rich and poor,—between the original burgess who have rights, and the new-comers who have none. But even within the commune itself, at least in a wide-awake business-like country such as Switzerland, where men's wits have been sharpened by a secular struggle with nature in her sternest and stingiest moods, it has been found impossible to preserve equality of possession. The different classes of proprietors are sharply defined, and where there is a sufficient supply of any article of common possession, the distribution is made according to the need of each participant. The rich man who has a large house, fine out-houses, and chalets on the Alps, gets a much larger share of timber from the forest, than does the poorer man who has a lesser house and one poor shed to keep in repairs. Where pasturage is plenty, each may send out in spring all the cattle he is able to support during the winter, or perhaps as many as thirty, and where a tax is levied on the cows sent, it is far below the value of the grazing. We have, therefore, ample evidence of the fact that this communistic land tenure furnishes no solution for the economic difficulties of this later age. It does not put a stop to the distinction between rich and poor; it does not even put a check to the instinct which leads men to aggrandize themselves, or rather their families, by the exercise of accumulation. It rather makes more certain the struggle between the two classes, and gives to the poor a certain prescriptive claim upon the savings of the rich, by seeming to sanction the principle that landed property is the rightful possession of society only, and is generally different from property of other sorts.

Chapters XIII to XVI are devoted to the description of family communities, which Prof. Laveleye shows to have grown out of village communities. As we have so recently had a description of this type as it exists among the Southern Slavs,* we

*See Madame d'Istria's paper: "The Position of Women among the Southern Slavs," in the PENN MONTHLY for January, 1878.

need only say that our author, after discussing the genesis of the family community, describes it as existing among the Slavs in the Middle Ages, in Italy, in Germany, among the Esquimaux, and elsewhere.

The subsequent chapters of the book are chiefly taken up with the history and the theory of property, as M. de Laveleye understands these. These subjects are indeed treated at some length in the earlier chapters, but it is in these later that they are most fully and directly discussed. M. de Laveleye has to show what social forces were at work to break up the primitive equality and copartnership in land; to show how the communistic was succeeded by the feudal, and this again by the industrial tenure of land. In tracing this development, he brings before his reader a vast multitude of facts which strike us by their novelty, and many equally novel opinions, which do not equally command assent.

M. de Laveleye praises the communistic tenure as a means to secure equality, and discusses its abolition under the heading, "the origin of inequality in landed property." But he has not alleged any case of equality in possession within the commune. Switzerland, as we have seen, is no instance. Tacitus found inequality already characteristic of the Teutonic *mark*. Everywhere throughout the world, we find communism and inequality coexisting, and an aristocracy growing up or already well established. Take a crucial instance. The *ukase* for the abolition of Russian serfdom swept away the whole body of superiors, which had grown into mastership during the lapse of centuries. It vested the local authority in a *startchina* and *starostas* (mayor and aldermen) to be chosen annually by the free votes of the *mujiks* (peasants) of the *mir* (village). But it is found that these officials already constitute a village aristocracy, which enriches itself by every means, and buys votes enough to secure continuous reëlection. Their "handsome cottages, built of red brick, with substantial doors and windows," stand in sharp contrast to the battered huts of the ordinary *mujiks*, and show once more that equality and liberty are not of kin to communism.*

In showing how an aristocratic class might arise, even without foreign conquest, in a communistic country like Germany, M. de

* See *The Russians of To-day*, a book full of prejudice, but not without its value, on the principle *Fas est doceri ab hoste*.

Laveleye lays less stress upon the oldest method of agriculture, of which specimens may still be seen in the Ardennes region of Belgium and in Southern Siberia. A community holding in possession a large area of soil, brings about a twentieth of it under cultivation each year, without either manuring the soil or expending capital on it in any other way. They simply raise the surface layer of the piece to be cultivated and burn the organic matter contained in it, together with the natural vegetation, and next year they take up another part of their land.* It was only in later times, and with greater density of population, that they even got so far as the wasteful three field system, in which but a third of the land, instead of all but a twentieth lay fallow every year. But in ancient France and Germany, as in modern Russia, the persons who with the consent of the community reclaimed any portion of the wood or waste, acquired thereby absolute possession. There are special terms to designate such lands in later Latin, in old French, in German and in Anglo-Saxon; while in the charters it is often expressly described as *in eremo*. Such acquisitions would be made most naturally by members of the *mark* who had already attained more wealth than their neighbors, and who could command the labor of slaves or hired servants. The beginnings of this aristocracy and its inequality, as our author admits, were within the *mark* itself, but he thinks it received a great acceleration in development from this permission to acquire private property outside the *mark's* limits, especially as these newly reclaimed lands would be much less extensive, and would have to be cultivated by some less wasteful method than that of the *mark*. It was in them, he thinks, that the three-field system originated, and the first real improvements in agriculture were begun. And he ascribes a parallel influence to the practice of granting lands to the Church, which in the ninth century owned fully a third of the soil of France. We think he lays too much stress on this last point. The grants of land made to the Church were more commonly of waste lands as the site of monasteries, or else of the seigniorial rights

* Tacitus has described the operation very accurately in the GERMANIA: *Agri pro numero cultorum ab universis per vices occupantur, quos mox inter se secundum dignationem partiuntur; facilitatem partiendi camporum spatia prestant. Arva per annos mutant et superest ager; nec enim cum ubertate et amplitudine soli labore contendunt, ut pomaria conserant et prata separent et hortos rigent: sola terre seges imperatur.*

established by the Frankish conquest over whole communes of Romanized Celts. The power of an individual holder in the *mark* to alienate his holding to the prejudice of his natural heirs, and indirectly of the whole community, did not exist among the Teutonic peoples, who on the one hand had no law of testament, and on the other regarded such holdings as inalienable by individual action. It was only as the Civil Law, and its daughter the Canon Law, brought new ideas into currency, that the Church grew rich by playing upon the terrors of the deathbed.

But to return to the rise of Teutonic aristocracies through the creation of individual property by new enclosures, we think M. de Laveleye lays too much stress upon this point. No doubt it did contribute in some degree to the rise of such an aristocracy, but it seems to us equally plain that it would have arisen without it. There must have been some districts in which such enclosures were impossible; but we find the aristocratic constitution of society established everywhere. We find it beginning to exist long before the enclosures began; we find it adding to its numbers by other means, after the privilege of enclosure had become a royal prerogative, granted only to the thegns of the king's court. The truth is that the weak place in the political system of our Teutonic and Scandinavian forefathers was exactly their communism; this continual submission to the will of the majority, and to the unreasoning customs into which that will had crystallized, was the best preparation for submitting to the will of a lord of the manor. The process of transition to a feudal system, as elsewhere described by our author, exactly corresponds to what we might have expected in the circumstances. "This transformation, which gave birth to a landed aristocracy and to political royalty, was accomplished slowly and imperceptibly, by a series of insensible changes, which varied in detail in different countries, but everywhere followed the same general lines. . . . In primitive societies the soil was regarded as the collective property of the tribe. The chief exercised certain administrative functions; he led his men to battle, and received, as reward, the enjoyment of a domain near his house, and some vaguely-determined rights over the communal land or waste. The free men of the tribe were all proprietors on the same title as himself, and were completely independent of any authority vested in him. . . . Next we see the authority of the chief in-

creasing; the free cultivators, his equals, seek his protection and become his liege-men; a certain dependence is established, and in this dependence there are various degrees. The chief increases the number of his followers, as he grows rich. He takes advantage of the rights he has acquired over the waste lands of the tribe, to establish a new class of tenants in them, who are entirely dependent upon him." "Moreover, in his capacity as military leader, he obtained a larger share in the spoil, which chiefly consisted of herds, the only capital they could take from the vanquished. Thus the chief often had more cattle than he required, while the rest were in want of them; and to attach his companions to himself, he granted them beasts under certain conditions. Thus the free man became the vassal of the chief, to whom he owed homage, service and payments." This picture he takes, point by point, from Sir Henry S. Maine's analysis of the Irish Brehon Laws, which furnish a complete account of the growth of society through these stages.

M. de Laveleye, as will be seen, regards with very great liking these remnants of primitive land tenure. He would deplore the dissolution of the Russian *mir* or the Swiss *allmends*. He emphasizes everything which tells in their favor. And while he would not propose that private property in land be abolished, where it now exists, and communism be set up by law, he does regret the changes by which Europe passed from primitive to feudal tenures. He regards those changes as abnormal, as on the whole detrimental to the best interests of mankind, and as productive of the proletariat class, whose uprising threatens the peace and good order of society. And he also looks for the permanent amelioration of the condition of the poor, to some plan of associating them in voluntary communities, under the protection of law, and with equality and partnership in the soil they till. He sees in the Swiss *allmnd*, the germ and type of a free community, and he would rejoice to see its peaceful extension to other lands.

He looks to new countries like America and Australia, to take preventive measures in this direction. He hopes that they "will not adopt the strict and severe right of property we have borrowed from Rome, and which is leading us to social strife. They should rather return to the traditions of their ancestors. If Western [European] societies had preserved equality by consecrating the

natural right of property, their normal development would have been similar to that of Switzerland. They would have escaped the feudal aristocracy, the absolute monarchy, and the demagogic democracy, with which we are threatened. The communes, inhabited by free men, property-holders and equals, would have been allied by a federal bond to form the state, and the states, in their turn, would have been able to form a federal union, such as the United States. . . . Democracies which fail to preserve equality of conditions, and in which two hostile classes, the rich and the poor, find themselves face to face, are doomed to anarchy and subsequent despotism. The recent strikes in the United States show that the danger there is already near the surface."

To part of this appeal, we have already made answer. We have shown that Prof. de Laveleye has no authority for identifying communism with either liberty or equality, that it is nowhere synonymous for equality, except in the brain of an abstract thinker like Fourier, and even such as he make no pretence of identifying it with liberty. And Prof. de Laveleye himself has shown that it gives no safeguard against the conflict of the rich with the poor; that even in his model Switzerland that conflict has gone on for centuries past. The difference is, that under communism the rights of property are often set at naught, while in its absence they make themselves respected. And as for the danger in the United States, society possesses in this country exactly the same as in a Swiss Canton. There, the property holders are generally in a small majority; with us, they are at least two to one.

As to saving Europe from Feudalism and all the rest of the historical evils, it might be worth while to ask whether that would have been a service to mankind. The great end of human history is not to secure a potato patch to whoso needs potatoes. Human comfort and fulness of stomach is a very good thing, but it is not the grandest thing on this planet. And when we measure the results of feudalism, the conception of character, the refinement of manners, the embodiment of the human spirit in edifice and in enterprise, which that word represents, we are impressed by the fact that it would take quite an area of potato-patches to outweigh them in the estimate of intelligent and thoughtful people.

Nor can we see Switzerland through the rose-colored spectacles which our Belgian seems to wear. To test her by results, she has

produced some excellent men, indeed, but not one of the first order. We cannot see that the world would have been very different if she had not existed. She has been a nation of provincials, and often as full of narrowmindedness and intolerance as Italy herself. It was her own J. G. Zimmerman who wrote that a stranger had recently come to Berne in search of a tolerant and enlightened community, and, after staying ten days, had gone to Lisbon. Nor can we unite in holding up her normal course of development in glorious contrast to the abnormal history of Europe, filled as it is with St. Louis and Henri Quatres, Luthers and Bossuets, Shakespeares and Calderons. But the climax is capped when the most demagogic democracy of the world is contrasted with the rest of the world as now in danger of demagogic democracy.

But, even supposing that this primitive type of property could do all that is claimed for it, in ensuring present comfort to the many and safety to society, it would be still wise for Americans to reject it and folly for anybody to accept it. The great end of history, as Hegel said in an inspired moment, is human liberty, the liberty of the spirit. Every step in the world's history has led into that. Every temporary form of oppression, feudalism and despotism not excepted, were stepping stones to it,—were themselves, indeed, a sort of deliverance from worse though less obvious despotisms. Are we to seek liberty by going back to an early, a *primitive* stage of a great process, and thus necessitate our own passage through the same stages of distress and difficulty? Or are we to, count ourselves the heirs of all the ages, and read our names in every charter of human rights which has already been won by suffering and blood? This is our choice; and one of these charters is that great utterance of the Civil Law, worthy to be written beside the Ten given at Sinai—*Nemo in communione invitatus detineri potest.*

Nor can we concede to the advocates of communism that it is selfish individualism merely which is at war with the communistic society or association. It is not the individual, but the family, which rends it asunder. We have had communistic associations without number established on our own soil. They have had all the motives which Prof. de Laveleye depends on for their success. But, of all that thus arose, one type and only one remains, the communism which rejects the family relationship. All those which

allowed people to call each other by the names of parent and child, brother and sister, husband and wife have been rent into pieces by those names, just as the banyan seed dropped into the chinks of some massive Hindoo temple, if it sprouts and strikes root, will finally hurl those massive blocks to the ground. It is only the celibate monks, the celibate Shakers, and—strange juxtaposition!—the Free Lovers of Oneida and Wallingford. We have faith in the natural society; we have none in the artificial one.

ROBERT ELLIS THOMPSON.

ON THE READING OF HOMER IN SCHOOL.

II.

THE paper of this title, in the PENN MONTHLY for October of last year, was actuated by only one motive—a desire to call attention to a practice that the writer believed mistaken in principle. Copies of the Magazine were therefore sent to a number of college professors, and other persons engaged in teaching Greek, or interested in the questions involved, with the request that they would criticise freely the opinions of the paper. Of the replies, not a few expressed the most unqualified approval of the judgment that Homer was out of place; while others either conceded the main allegation that there was some incongruity in “dovetailing” Homer between the Attic authors usually read, while they doubted whether the mischief was as great as the paper made it appear, or else suggested considerations that apparently had not entered into the discussion. It seemed proper, therefore, in order to lay the whole case before the public, to append here such letters of the latter kinds as I knew would prove of interest. It would, of course, be beside my present purpose to include the letters that “endorsed” my opinions; but I should show myself quite insensible, and do great violence to my own feelings, did I not say to all who have either written to me or conversed with me about the Homer-paper, how truly grateful I am for the patient hearing and kind attention they have accorded me, in the midst of the laborious duties of their professions, and for the unvarying kindness and courtesy that have marked their criticisms. By permission of the writers, therefore, I quote here extracts from several letters received:—

Harvard College,

Cambridge, Nov. 2d, 1877.

“ MY DEAR SIR: I have also read with interest your views
 “ on the study of Homer in School. I am not sure that I should
 “ not agree with you if I assumed that no more Greek was to be
 “ studied in our schools than is now required for admission to *most*
 “ American Colleges, and further that Greek should be required of
 “ all students during three years in college. With our system of not
 “ requiring Greek after the first year in college, I fear too many
 “ would never know what Homer means. We have just devised a
 “ new scheme of examinations for admission, in which we
 “ are to have a *minimum* requisition in each department of Greek,
 “ Latin, Mathematics, and Physics, enforced upon all candidates;
 “ and a *maximum* in each, which must be taken in at least two of
 “ the four departments. Those who follow our wishes in
 “ this will read no Homer before they can translate easy
 “ Attic prose at sight; and unless they take the maximum course
 “ also, they will read no Homer until they are in College.

“ At all events, I agree fully with your concluding sentence. I
 “ remain,

Most truly yours,

“ Professor McElroy,
 Philadelphia.

W. W. GOODWIN.

In reply to this, I ventured to ask whether it was not all the more important, if the course was to be shortened by an early election, to confine the pupil's attention during that shorter course to Attic Greek, in order to secure the greater concentration of thought and therefore the more perfect mental discipline. Dr. Goodwin answered:—

Cambridge, Mass., Nov. 9th, 1877.

“ DEAR SIR: In reply to your question, I should say that
 “ I have no doubt a boy would become a better scholar in Greek
 “ syntax and write Greek better at the end of his Freshman year,
 “ if he confined his studies to Attic Greek. But I confess I think
 “ much more of inducing him to go on with Greek through College
 “ (or at least beyond the first year) than I do of making him a little
 “ more accurate grammarian at the early state at which he is allowed
 “ to run off into Chemistry and Natural History, etc. And I find

“that an interest in Homer, and the love of classic poetry which acquaintance with Homer gives, do more to make scholars fond of Greek and desirous to know more of it than any study of Attic Greek can do at *this early stage*. It is a serious trouble that the Attic Greek which does the most to inspire love and enthusiasm, such as Plato, Demosthenes, and the dramatists, is too hard for the majority of Freshmen; while Homer is always popular with boys. Xenophon is too common-place (in my judgment) to be depended on to rouse enthusiasm for Greek; and even Lysias seems dull to boys, compared with Herodotus. The elective system brings up new views of all these questions, which were out of sight when a regular course in Greek was marked out for every student, and none, except a few of the best, ever went beyond this. . . .

Yours very truly,

W. W. GOODWIN.

Amherst College, Nov. 30th, 1877.

“PROF. J. G. R. McELROY,

“DEAR SIR:—I have read your article in the PENN MONTHLY with very great interest. . . . It seems to me you exaggerate a little the difficulties of preparatory students in Homer and their want of interest in the study. I should hardly think we had found in our experience quite as much difference as you describe between our entrance examinations in Homer and those in Attic authors. But I do think that your objections are entirely valid against the study of Homer in preparation for college, and your remarks are perfectly just in favor of deferring it to a late period in the College course. I set Homer's Iliad down as the last Greek to be read by our students when I entered on my professorship more than forty years ago, and my conviction of the wisdom of that arrangement has grown with every year's experience.

“My chief motive for reading it last was, that it might not be soiled and spoiled by students who were too immature in mind and taste as well as too little acquainted with the language to appreciate it. Most of them have indeed read two or three books before entering. But they often express their astonishment at seeing how different a book it now seems to them. And I am persuaded, it would be a great saving of time and toil and vexation, if students should confine their attention to Attic Greek in

“ the preparatory school, and take up Homer fresh and unsoiled
 “ when they are already familiar with the grammar, the idioms and
 “ the prose construction of the language, and especially when they
 “ have reached such a degree of maturity and culture that they
 “ can appreciate and enjoy poetry, and poetry so unlike their own.

Yours, very truly,

W. S. TYLER.

Yale College, New Haven, Conn.,

19th November, 1877.

PROFESSOR J. G. R. McELROY,

DEAR SIR:— The article on Homer also interested me very
 “ much, and I am always glad to see anything on classical subjects,
 “ written with an end in view and not as mere declamation, in the
 “ popular magazines. I do not think I altogether agree in the views
 “ it presents. I hardly suppose that errors in grammar would be
 “ banished from our recitation rooms in any considerable measure
 “ by reading only Attic Greek in the preparatory schools. It does
 “ seem to me that Homer holds a position in reference to later
 “ Greek literature which neither Chaucer holds to English litera-
 “ ture nor the *Nibelungenlied* to German. He was not only the
 “ earliest poet, but what went by his name was the daily text-book
 “ of Greek boys, the source of familiar quotation by all Greeks,
 “ the spring of poetry in many subsequent poets, and the earliest
 “ monument of supposed history. The subsequent literature and
 “ life of Greece was, it seems to me, shaped by him in a measure
 “ in which that is true of no other poet in reference to no other
 “ nation. If any one wants to read widely in Greek literature with
 “ understanding, he must begin with Homer. This I think is a
 “ reason why boys, at the age when their memory can grasp a
 “ burden of forms and lift it with comparative ease, should make
 “ an attack upon the Homeric language and get a start in it. At
 “ a later time, if they study at all, they can go on from that begin-
 “ ning and learn to enjoy. I should like to read Homer with Ju-
 “ niors or Seniors, as Prof. Tyler has done at Amherst, but not
 “ unless they had been grounded in his vocabulary and syntax
 “ earlier. The repulsion of boys from Homer, by this early read-
 “ ing, is part of our unfortunate system, and would probably extend
 “ to whatever was put in that place. Many teachers have got tired

“of the Anabasis, and hence in part the number of *Readers* that we have offered us. Lysias and Euripides seem to me to be “likely to repel the young mind much more than Homer in himself need, if rightly taught. . . .

Very truly yours,

LEWIS R. PACKARD.

A friend to whom I showed Prof. Packard's letter, suggested that he would not have stated the case too strongly, had he said that Homer was the Greek Bible, influencing the classic Greek people and literature as the Scriptures have influenced the literature and the nations of Christendom.

Another friend, educated in the Gymnasium and University of Göttingen, and still an enthusiastic classicist and philologist, tells me that, in preparing a private pupil for the Sophomore class, he has deferred reading Homer till the last moment, and has even read first the Greek of the Freshman year. *Per contra*, he says that Homer was the very first Greek he ever read, it having followed immediately the elementary Lessons.

It may not be improper for me to state in a few words the effect of these criticisms on my own mind.

Prof. Goodwin's conviction that it is far better to inculcate a love of Greek literature than to make accurate grammarians, had already been expressed in my paper. His estimate of the depth of interest that Homer kindles in the young mind exceeds my own; but his greater experience gives him a vantage-ground from which I cannot speak, for I have never read Homer in College. I do know that Herodotus is an attractive book to boys, but I have also seen the Hellenica of Xenophon elicit as positive an enthusiasm. Of Lysias I spoke without any experience in class, but the Hecuba and the Medea I have found most excellent selections for Freshmen, and I concluded, therefore, might be attractive to boys in their last year at school. I confess, however, that the idea of an early election was not present to my mind, nor indeed of any elective-system that would carry off from Greek more than a small percentage of each class.

It is not impossible either that I have exaggerated (as Prof. Tyler thinks) the difficulties and want of interest of preparatory

students in Homer ; but my induction was from a very large number of cases, and echoed, moreover, a cry that I have heard from many different quarters.

Prof. Packard's two points, (1) that Homer requires a fresh, strong memory, and (2) that it was the everyday-book of the later Greeks, made a deep impression upon me ; and, combined with Prof. Tyler's statement, that his success in reading Homer with Seniors had been with classes that had read some Homer at school, cried me halt. I know how easily the memory loses that tenacious hold on mere words which it easily gets and as easily keeps in youth ; and I am certainly not prepared to say that a Junior who had never read any Homer, would find no difficulty in remembering the Homeric forms. But, if Prof. Packard is right, we are to choose between two evils—the loss of consistency in the preparatory course, and the difficulty which the memory would find with Homer at an advanced stage of study. It will help us, perhaps, to estimate the amount of this difficulty to compare a parallel case. Theocritus is read with Juniors, who know nothing (or next to nothing) of the Doric dialect in which it is written ; and I have never known them to complain of the dialect as an unsurmountable obstacle. But the dialect of Theocritus is not so hard as that of Homer. Moreover, if the question of memory be so important, does it not seem that the Göttingen plan of beginning with Homer is the best? On the other point it must be remembered that, whether Homer be read early or late, the student will have made his acquaintance before post-graduate studies begin, and therefore before his widest readings in Greek literature can be entered upon. For, after all, all the Greek that a man reads in College is but a fractional part of the literature ; and it may therefore be a comparatively unimportant question to how late a point he postpones "the Greek Bible."

With these considerations, then, which would seem to present sufficiently the pro's and con's of the question, we may leave the paper to fulfil its mission. Until both sides were before my readers, I could not feel satisfied to quit the subject. McE.

NEW BOOKS.

A TRIP UP THE VOLGA, to the Fair of Nijni-Novgorod, by H. A. Munro-Butler-Johnstone, M. P. Philadelphia : Porter & Coates, pp. 206. (Without date.)

The recent events in the East have naturally attracted the attention of publishers to books on the subject of travel in the various countries now emerging from the shock of arms to take a trial at their skill of fence with words. Here we have a pleasant little account of a journey up the Volga, in 1874 presumably,—at least it was first printed in letters to the *Daily News*, in the autumn months of that year, and the author's preface is dated London, 1875, while the title page directly sinks the question and gives no date at all. However, it is characteristic of the inquiring and rather sympathetic tone of the English traveller in Russia in those *ante-bellum* days, and it gives, perhaps on that account, a truer and better description than usual of the great unknown country and its still more unknown population, as well as of the successive growths of the Empire. It is a little suspicious of somebody's carelessness or worse—author's, proof-reader's, or printer's,—that so well known a German word as Jahrmakt, Fair, should be persistently printed Yarmark, as if it had some relation to the much discussed local mark or territorial subdivision, instead of being an old familiar yearly market. However, Mr. Johnstone seems to look at the serious side of the country and he finds in its enormous extent, its universal conscription, its absolute government, its regenerate administration, its internal improvements, its political progress, its growing popular opinion as a factor in public business, a Russia now tenfold stronger than she was during the Crimean War, and in his respect for her resources in peace and in war, he is in strong contrast to the tone lately in fashion in England and its war press. In the few short years that have elapsed since these letters were printed, official England has changed its opinion and is now hard at work trying to convince itself first, and then the rest of the world, that Russia is the common enemy of all good government. The small following of Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Bright contents itself with proclaiming the short-comings of Turkey and its rulers as a reason for abstaining from war, but the party in power goes all lengths in its endeavor to blacken Russia, and such hireling writers as the author of *The Russia of To-day*, with his uniform abuse of everything and everybody Russian, may be fairly put in the scales against Mr. Butler-Johnstone's temperate account of the growing development of Russia in every direction, trade and commerce, local government and administration, personal independence, church and school, all,

in short, that marks the sound establishment of a great Empire on the right basis. As he wisely points out, the touch of wire makes all wares kin, and the rise and fall of cotton and tea throughout the world make themselves known and felt by telegraph throughout the Russian markets. There is a shrewd suggestion of the small effect of a warlike attack on Russia. When we consider that Moscow is to-day the capital of the Empire, whence it is largely governed by the liberal public opinion of the great Russian party and its able leaders, and as St. Petersburg is the northern port, so all concur in looking on Constantinople as the indispensable Southern port of the great continent over which the Czar rules. Then, too, a salient truth is stated in the importance to other countries of open ports, while Russia scarcely feels the injury of being closed to the rest of the world. Apart from these broad conclusions, there is much in the actual facts and observations reported in this little volume that is of interest and importance, too, as throwing light on the growth of Russia. There is for example, the sharp contrast between the great fair of to-day, well regulated and well policed, and the excesses told of it in earlier years. Then the local self-government by the merchants who are the dealers at this fair, shows that they, as well as the government, have made progress in the right direction, and the improvement in the character, training and honesty of the public employees, is a reflex of the better spirit of the people at large. Mr. Butler-Johnstone's little book is in the main an unaffected and simple statement of what he saw and learned in his short journey up the Volga and through the heart of the Empire, and it is therefore more instructive and more agreeable than many of the later books written, as the Germans say, with a tendency, that is to prove some conclusions that were foregone in the author's mind before he ever saw the country. The English original, published by Parkers, at Oxford and London, in 1875, has a map and a dozen photographs, from actual life, of the scenes and subjects of the text, that serve to illustrate it more effectually than the wood cuts of the American reprint, which are furnished to order by the photo-lithographic or other process for cheap reproduction. How far the author is responsible for this change, of course we are nowhere told, but this is only another example of the necessity for a greater degree of candor on the part of our publishers. They ought to be obliged to tell the public exactly where they get their books, when they first appeared, and what changes they have made, either in text or illustration. That done, we could give them more credit for their enterprise in supplying us with the latest and best of foreign works in any fashion and at any price they like.

THE CYCLOPEDIA OF BIOGRAPHY: a Record of the Lives of Eminent Persons. By Parke Godwin. New Edition. With a Supplement brought down to August 1877. (Pp. 821 and 332, large 8vo, double columns.) New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons.

Dictionaries of biography have the defect common to all dictionaries:—they tell you all the things you know or could easily find out, and omit what you most want to know. Even the huge *Biographie Universelle* has *lacunæ* without number, and Œttinger in his *Moniteur des Dates*, could find space for only 100,000 names, when it is just the other hundred thousand that we need to be told about. Jenkins had a good idea in compiling a "Dictionary of Hard Words", and if somebody will supplement Œttinger by an equally large work on the semi-eminent people, he will make his memory blessed.

Another defect peculiar to biographical dictionaries is their transmission of endless mistakes from hand to hand. No compiler can undertake original investigations. He reads what other compilers have said, and makes his selection, and he is even apt to originate new errors, instead of correcting the old, through misreading some ambiguous statement into a pronounced error. Take for instance, the biography of William Law, in the work before us. We are told he published Behmen's works; every other dictionary of biography says the same and Mr Godwin follows them. But he was, in Irish phrase, "looking up at the roots of the daisies" for several years before that publication was begun, and not a scrap of his, except a few emendations of the old text, appeared in it. So again, Mr. Godwin says he became a disciple of Boelime "in his latter days". It was before 1737, probably in 1733, he made the change, and he lived till 1761.

Lastly, such works are generally compiled by incompetent persons, who have no judgment, no care for accuracy and no literary gifts. The especial merit of this work is that it is from the pen of a conscientious scholar, who has not indeed escaped all the pitfalls which beset him, but who has none the less given the best brief book of the sort that we have seen. We have looked through it with the jealous eye of a specialist, and are still compelled to praise.

The newer part of the work, consisting chiefly of the biographies of men who died since the first appeared, is much fuller and more satisfactory. But even there we notice some omissions. Soren Kirkegaard, Wilhelm Löhe, C. F. Goeschel, Karl Lachmann, Ludwig Harms, are wanting. In the earlier part we miss Auberlen, Bengel, Claus Harms, Henry Hammond, Anne Lee, Jane Leade, John Pordage, Thomas Wizenman and others. No one would guess from the biography of P. M. Hahn that he was a clergyman and a prolific theological writer of the mystical school;

nor from that of J. F. D. Maurice that he was a zealous friend of the working classes, a promoter of coöperation, and the founder of Workingmen's College. Alex. Hamilton's early pamphlets are praised for showing "soundness of judgment", which we had hardly hoped for from Mr. Godwin, since they already advocate Protection. The article on that able and brilliant scholar, Legaree, should, we think, have mentioned those physical disadvantages which it was his glory to have overcome. It is said of Lamennais's *Esquisse d'une Philosophie*, that it fills four volumes. We have seen this stated elsewhere, and even a fourth volume offered for sale. But those who should know best speak of only three, and we have never been able to put our hand on the fourth. There seems to be some mystery about it. It is not quite correct to speak of Grundvigt as founding a sect. The *Grundvigtianer* have never withdrawn from the Danish State Church, in which they form a large party. Zinzendorf cannot be called with propriety "the restorer of the Moravian Sect".

Finally, such works should be prepared by the coöperation of specialists, rather than by a single scholar.

IS RUSSIA WRONG? A Series of Letters by a Russian Lady [*Madame Novikoff*], with a Preface, by J. A. Froude, London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1877. Pp. 136.

The Russians, in their struggle to secure civilization from the further inroads of the Turk, have met very much the same sort of manufactured public opinion that was spread broadcast in England and France, during our own civil war, all in favor of the South. Wallace and the rest of the book-makers on the subject, have gone in for the English popular side, and as Wallace is the St. Petersburg correspondent of the *London Times*, his opinions of current events are foregone conclusions, and mainly tend to maintain the views set forth in his elaborate volume. Naturally, the Russians seek some means of setting themselves right with the English minority that has steadfastly opposed the renewal of a close alliance with Turkey, and in this unpretending little volume we have the plain talk of an earnest Russian woman, eager in defence of her country and zealous in maintaining its cause and course. She defends the loyalty and good faith of the Slav Party and its leader, Akasakoff, and points out that the agitation started by them in support of the great revolt of the Southern Slavs against their Turkish despots, has grown until now all Russia is engaged in the same cause, and the liberation of their brethren in blood and faith will complete the benefits conferred by the Czar in emancipating the serfs at home.

The protest against the public opinion of St. Petersburg, as that merely of an official and mercantile world, while that of Moscow represents real Russia, is of itself a suggestion of the wide distance that separates bureaucratic and trading Russians from the patriotic aspirations of the people, best represented by the leaders of the movement in Moscow, itself the heart and capital of Holy Russia, proud of its pure and unmixed lineage, and bent upon spreading its protection to all who share the faith and language of the Slavs. Their assertion is earnest and repeated, that the war just ended was fought for no territorial aggrandizement or any selfish object, but simply to disarm the Turks, and thus prevent the dreadful injury inflicted on its subject Slavs,—in freeing them, Russia has accomplished her purpose, and the terms of peace imposed on Turkey are only meant to keep her out of the way of doing further mischief. Having made war only to compel Turkey to listen to the voice of justice, there can be no peace until the Christian Slavs are completely free,—to do that, the Zaptieh and the Pasha must be driven from the Balkans, and when the barbarian is swept away, the task of reorganizing the land will be simplified. Armenia would be better in Russian hands than in those of its old masters, and Batoum is the natural port of Russian Armenia, so that having once been secured, they are not likely to be given up.

Then as to the broader question, Why do the Russians hate the Turks?, the answer points to the old experience of the two nations, when the Tartar wrote his character across Russia in letters of flame, and to this day Russians sympathize with those who are crushed beneath an Asiatic yoke, remembering their own centuries of anguish. The Tartar invasion of Russia in the Thirteenth century destroyed the freedom, prosperity and progress of the nation, and held it in bondage until the close of the sixteenth century, although the Tartar domination did not last more than two hundred years. Long after the Russians had ceased to pay tribute, and broken the power of their conquerors, the Tartars spread desolation and death throughout the land, and Moscow, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, was burnt to the ground by a wandering host of Asiatics. Five generations of Russians lived and died under the same degrading yoke as that which has crushed the manhood out of the Bulgarians. The injuries inflicted on the Southern Slavs by the Turks is but a repetition of horrors with which their ancestors afflicted those of the people of Russia.

For at least three centuries the national history of Russia is little more than a record of the struggle for liberty to live,—the Russian national heroes are the warriors who did battle with the Asiatic intruder, and to this hour, in Russian churches, the pictures of St. Alexander Nevsky fighting the Tartars, stir the patriotism and excite the imagination of the youthful Russian. Russia

slowly and gradually shook off the yoke of her oppressors, just as Servia and Roumania are doing, and the Russian people have never forgotten the dreadful lesson of the past, the fearful nature of Asiatic rule,—the awful scourge of the Ottoman over Christian races. On the other hand, the Russians find it difficult to account for the hostility of England, and attribute it to pure, sheer, downright ignorance of the actual condition of the Russia of to-day. Not only does Russia claim protection for the Christian population of the Turkish Government, but it gives ample liberty to its own large number of Mohammedan subjects, it secures to its Baltic Provinces many local municipal institutions, it gives to its German subjects a large share of the administration of the Empire, it opens the highest branches of its service to all its subject races, it gives the Finns a large measure of administrative independence, they have their own language and their own church, their own laws, legislature, coinage, budget and national debt. In return, Finland has furnished, by volunteers, far more than its proportion of men for service in the war just waged against Turkey, although strangers both in race and religion to the Slavs for whose protection they fought.

On the other hand, the progress made by Russia, ought to be the all-sufficient reason for a change in the traditional policy of England in its support of Turkey and its hostility to Russia. The Turks have not even stood still, they have simply retrograded, and their possession, even of Constantinople, is no longer a guarantee of peace in the East, for that rests with Russia and its allies. Now Russia in Central Asia is without a rival as she is without an ally; she is there to maintain and protect the legitimate channels of commerce, to establish an authority more respectable than the nomadic tribes which hitherto have swept over that region, she makes it safe and does so out of her national purse in the interest of peace, order and tranquility. But England has made itself mistress of India only by ejecting the Dutch, Portuguese and French, by making its subject races pay the expenses of their conquest and the whole charge of the administration maintained by English bayonets. Even Schuyler, no friendly critic, declares that the rule of Russia is, on the whole, beneficial to the natives of Central Asia, and to withdraw it, would be to leave them to the unbridled rule of fanatical despots and anarchy. Why then should England complain of Russian advance in Asia, when its own limits are gradually spreading and extending, with no good will on the part of the people who are slowly swept within its all-powerful embrace? Why should Englishmen be angry with the Russians for helping the Bulgarians and with the Bulgarians for showing in their conduct on the battle-field and elsewhere, the results of the long years of Turkish misrule, making them a brutalized and degraded race?

Does not England justify its own interposition in the affairs of foreign countries, by the good it does in raising its unwilling subjects in the scale of humanity and civilization? Why should dishonesty in army contractors, favoritism in army appointments, corruption in civil servants, be made a reproach to the Russian government if its purpose now is to do right? Are these charges unknown in England or in other countries, and, true or false, did they make it less creditable to the loyal soldiers of the United States who fought in defence of the Union, or to the French who gallantly struggled to resist the German invasion?

But most interesting of all is the author's sturdy defence of Katkoff and his organ, the *Moscow Gazette*, the leader of public opinion, the sturdy advocate and representative of the party now dominant in Russia. He first stood forward as the impersonation of independent Russia in 1863, when he gave voice and utterance to the patriotic enthusiasm of every Russian and upheld and strengthened the government in its vindication of national independence against the threatened interference of other European powers in the Polish question. Next, as the successful leader in the establishment of national education, after a long struggle, Katkoff gained a victory and universal recognition of his services. Finally, in his management of the Slavophile movement in support of the Servian war, he, more than any other man, guided, directed and sustained the tumultuous current of Russian opinion, made his *Gazette* the exponent of the national conviction, and gave it the position it now holds as the leading journal of Russia. Yet this man was looked on by his own countrymen as an anglo-maniac, and even to this day, his journal does most justice to the English nation in relation to the war in the East, strives to account for the action of English statesmen, to explain the reasons of those who oppose Russia, and to show the sound foundation for the faith of those who seek to reconcile English public opinion to the steps taken by Russia to secure peace to the Christian subjects of the Porte. It is the very strength of Russian belief in the honesty of England and in the soundness of English sense, that leads Katkoff and his friends to put the action of Russia towards Turkey fairly before them, that the world at large may do Russia justice. It is in this view that M'me Novikoff writes her letters and answers her own question, "Is Russia wrong?" Her book has the interest of speaking for her country, not like most of the literature of the subject, done to order by correspondents to meet the views of readers who want reasons for their prejudices, rather than such a statement of facts as will best serve to show the whole truth. This it is that we all want on the questions lately under discussion in Berlin, and, be the issue of the peace made there what it may, we must give Russia credit for having shown the world the reasons

for the faith that led it to war in defense of the Christian subjects of Turkey, and an honest belief that its course has been justified by the action of the representatives of Europe gathered at the council that has just concluded its labors. It is too soon yet to pronounce upon the results there secured or promised to the nations that met there, but surely Russia has lost nothing of glory or honor by cheerfully surrendering control of conquered territory to secure to an oppressed people, self-government, protection, safety, and a fair trial of their capacity to sustain themselves in the despite of Turkish misrule and English interference,—the relief from one is also a release from the other,—and for these blessings Russia has earned the gratitude of the restored provinces.

BONNY KATE. By Christian Reid. D. Appleton & Co., New York.

This is a story of Southern life, in which the improbable twistings of the heroine's troubles will be more readily forgiven than the poetical quotations and frequent flights into high language that destroy the freedom of chat in which Christian Reid at times excels. It is not as spirited as the *Daughter of Bohemia*, nor are these faults redeemed, as in the *Land of Sky*, by the opening of a new country to summer roamers, but in this, as in all her books, the tone is healthy and cheerful.

MAID ELLICE. By Theodore Gift. New York: Henry Holt & Co.

The announcement of a new book in the Leisure Hour Series, which has given such excellent entertainment, leads novel-readers to look with interest to a promised feast, an interest which *Maid Ellice* will hardly justify. *Maid Ellice* is a South American Orphan sent to an English cousin, Squire Herne, the strong character of the book, a man of prejudice and principle, a good typical Englishman of his class, with great love of the Saxon and distrust of the Norman blood and qualities. The Saxon drop in *Maid Ellice* and her winning ways, after many troubles, reconcile the Squire to his son's choice of the "maid from over seas to be mistress of the old place." The characters are distinctly drawn, and the frequent descriptions of English rural landscape are always interesting, but the movement of the story is somewhat languid, and the book, it seems to us, would be a better one, if there were less of it.

Messrs. Holt & Co., the publishers, request us to say that they will be glad to exchange corrected copies of *Maid Ellice* for those of the earlier issue.

MY INTIMATE ENEMY. Philadelphia: Claxton, Remsen & Haffelfinger.

If in a recent issue we dwelt upon *The Sarcasm of Destiny* at greater length than the importance of the subject would seem to deserve, it was simply because of a perhaps graceless desire to direct attention to a class of novels, rather than to a single specimen of that class.

Of books of this sort there seems to be no end, and as the supply is probably based upon an active demand, the steady stream of weakly effusions will doubtless continue, to the great profit of the paper maker and the printer, and the delectation of the sofa-bound *malade imaginaire* who devours her novel each day.—Would that we might look upon the stream as a freshet, for then there would be some hope of its subsiding before long.

Although but slightly endowed with more than ephemeral interest, *My Intimate Enemy* is the old story told once more, and told quite prettily, too, with more than ordinary grace and spirit. It deals with conventional types, and much in the usual way, but its tone is pure and its lesson one that men and women never tire of repeating.

THE GODSON OF A MARQUIS. From the French of André Theuriet. New York. D. Appleton & Co.

Although this story is told with a certain charm of style, it is, in one sense, a mere revamping and re-arranging of the well-worn material which has done service so often and with which we were long ago surfeited. The stock of characters and incidents dealt with by this class of writers is so limited, and yet so often drawn upon, that, were it not for the need of changing the scene of action and the names of the actors, a recourse to stencil work, in this age of labor-saving expedients, might prove a useful economy in the manufacture of novels.

Perhaps the book is most fitly described by the terms which its author applies to Verdi's music:—"sensual, passionate and unwholesome."

BOOKS RECEIVED.

The Bird of Passage. By J. Sheridan Le Fanu. Handy-Volume Series. S'wd. Pp. 178. Price 25 cents. New York: D. Appleton & Co. [Porter & Coates.
The Essays of Elia; First Series. By Charles Lamb. Handy-Volume Series. S'wd. Pp. 238. Price 30 Cents. New York: D. Appleton & Co. [Porter & Coates.

- The House of the Two Barbels. Handy Volume Series. 16mo. S'wd. Pp. 140. Price 25 cents. New York: J. Appleton & Co. [Porter & Coates.
- Lights of the Old English Stage. Handy-Volume Series. 16mo. S'wd. Pp. 225. Price 30 cents. New York: D. Appleton & Co. [Porter & Coates.
- Old Martin Boscawen's Jest. By Marian C. L. Reeves and Emily Read. S'wd. 8vo. Pp. 98. Price 50 cents. New York: D. Appleton & Co. [Porter & Coates.
- Leisure Hour Series—Play-Day Poems. Collected and Edited by Rossiter Johnson. Price \$1.00. New York: Henry Holt & Co. [Porter & Coates.
- Leisure Hour Series—Gaddings with a Primitive People. By W. A. Baillie Grohman. Price \$1.00. New York: Henry Holt & Co. [Porter & Coates.
- The Political Economy of Great Britain, the United States and France, in the Use of Money. A New Science of Production and Exchange. By J. B. Howe. Cloth. 8vo. Pp. XXIV., 592. Price \$3.50. Boston: Houghton, Osgood & Co. [Porter & Coates.
- Monetary and Industrial Fallacies. A Dialogue. Cloth. 8vo. Pp. 248. Price \$1.50. Boston: Houghton, Osgood & Co. [Porter & Coates.
- The Ring of Amethyst. By Alice Wellington Rollins. Bevelled Cloth. Sq. 16mo. Pp. 108. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. [Porter & Coates.
- Six to One; A Nantucket Idyl. Cloth. 16mo. Pp. 176. Price 75 cents. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. [Porter & Coates.
- The Crew of the Sam Weller. By John Habberton. Cloth. Sq. 16mo. Pp. 161. Price 75 cents. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. [Porter & Coates.
- The Cossacks; A Tale of the Caucasus in 1852. By Count Leo Tolstoy. Translated from the Russian by Eugene Schuyler. Cloth. 16mo. Pp. 313. Price \$1.25. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. [Porter & Coates.
- Académie Royale de Belgique. 2 serie. Tome 45, Nos. 4 and 5. Bruxelles: F. Hayez.
- Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione. Bolletino Ufficiale. Maggio, 1878. Roma. Tipografia, Eredi Botta.

THE
PENN MONTHLY.

SEPTEMBER.

THE MONTH.

THE seeds planted by the Berlin Congress are already beginning to germinate, and to produce the growths foretold by its hostile critics. In Italy national dissatisfaction has risen almost to revolutionary heat. Greece is dinning her claims into the ears of every Christian court, and England exhibits an uneasy conscience in remembering by what sort of talk the Hellenes were kept from striking for Roumelia when the Russians were in Bulgaria. The prolonged dispute about administrative reforms in what is left of Turkey, has already begun between the Pachas and Great Britain, the former remarking that the English plan of reforming the Turkish courts of justice, and appointing English assessors in every court of appeal, is most excellent, but would cost a great deal of money, and money is just the thing which the Porte has not to spare.

But the worst failure has been in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Those two great provinces were to be Austria's reward for sitting still while Russia fought with Turkey. Their temporary cession to Austria was the boldest and most characteristic act of the Congress, and was voted on motion of Beaconsfield, the author of the Congress itself. But it was also its least statesmanlike act, to assign to Austria a country which she would only take with the expectation of keeping it, and Turkey would only grant under promise of getting it back again. It was also unstatesmanlike to transfer

millions of people to a rule of which no one could say whether they hated or would so much as endure it. It now seems that these people hate the Hapsburg rule as Lombardy and Venice hated it. They will make any sacrifices to escape from it, and, while their resistance to the Austrians may prove futile, they have already inflicted one solid defeat and several lesser reverses on the army of occupation.

The history of these two provinces partly explains this. As far back as the twelfth century, Bosnia, in particular, was the centre of a religious movement which had spread westward into Germany, France and Italy, and had at one time the major part of the people of Provence and of the lands drained by the Po among its adherents. These "Cathari," or Puritans, held a creed which was one of the many combinations of Zoroaster's dualism with Christianity. Their organization was secret; their elaborate hierarchy of priests, bishops, and metropolitans, conducted their elaborate worship at hours different from those of the Catholic Church, and the members of the sect were as regular in their parish churches as were their neighbors. The rise of the mendicant orders, the establishment of the Inquisition, the crusade against the Albigenses, crushed the sect in the thirteenth century wherever it existed on Latin soil, and a series of efforts, not less severe in intention, but much less effective in result, was launched against it in the East. The struggle lasted in Bosnia and the Herzegovina until the Mohammedan invasion in 1522. But by that time religious differences had lost all significance in comparison with the hatred of races. These adherents of the dualistic creed of Zoroaster in great numbers adopted Islam, the most anti-dualistic faith in the world, and the one which, for that reason, had crushed out the Zoroastrian religion in its native home.

Hence the existence of a native aristocracy in these provinces, Slavic in blood and in customs, even to the preservation of the household community—but intensely Moslem in belief, and full of hatred for Latin and Greek Christianity. And hence also the certainty of a bitter resistance to their hereditary foes on the Danube. With this native Mohammedan element the Turkish troops very naturally are in vigorous sympathy. Both regulars and irregulars have joined them in great force, and it seems as if even the Slavic Christian element had made common cause with

them. This is more probably true of the Orthodox than the Latin Christians among them; yet stories are current of frightful punishment inflicted upon Slavic regiments in the Austrian service, for refusing to fight the insurgents.

It is natural that Austria lays all the blame of this upon the Porte, while it is equally probable that the Sultan has had little or no share in it, while not displeased at Austria's failure, where he was pronounced by Europe incapable of success. Meanwhile, the Hapsburgers, with their traditional eye to "the main chance," are trying to make profit out of their difficulties, by declaring that, if they experience farther resistance, they will cancel their promises to Turkey and definitely annex the country. And it seems not unlikely that England will sanction this step. She is already mortified by the bad behavior of her protégé at every point, including her refusal to cede to Montenegro the territory granted by the Congress.

IF Beaconsfield has earned his success by anything, it is by his thorough understanding of the classes whom his Reform Bill of 1869 made dominant in the English cities, and in great measure in English politics. It is pitiful to hear Liberal statesmen and papers protesting and denouncing, as if the traditions of the great English middle class were shared by the new voters. The profound respect of the former, and of the aristocracy, for traditional usages, especially as regards the distribution of power, is the political force which has enabled England to dispense with a written constitution. But the newly enfranchised classes have never been taught any such lesson. Traditional usage, as they know it, has always been alleged against them, rather in their favor. English lawyers and economists long ago uprooted all the traditions by which the lower orders were protected in the enjoyment of half defined rights, such as customary rents and rights of common. The middle class enthusiasm for "our glorious constitution" they know nothing of. They care, as is the tendency of democracy, directly for the country more than for the particular form of its order, and next of all, for the man who will make it strong, respected and powerful, either really or in appearance. He may trample upon constitutional restraints, if he find them in his way to these ends; they will sustain him in so doing against all comers.

Hence the drift, which history so often illustrates, from pure democracy to personal government. Despotism and democracy are nearest of kin in political evolution; and as every autocrat aims at bringing his subjects to equality—like Tarquin striking down the highest heads of wheat in the field,—so a purely popular government tends to take shape in some “armed soldier of democracy,” as Alison, with sound Tory instinct, called the first Napoleon.

Beaconsfield's present administration shows these tendencies at work in England, resisted only by the middle class, and helped on by a constitutional Queen and a Tory aristocracy. Again and again he has stretched to the utmost the power vested in the executive, without taking Parliament into his counsels; and worse breaches of traditional usage have only been prevented by the vigorous agitation of which Mr. Gladstone is the representative. Nor has this way of proceeding been confined to foreign politics and secret treaties. It has been extended to the department of administration in which Parliament has guarded its prerogatives with most jealousy—the finances. The House of Commons has been kept in the dark as to the actual state of affairs. Methods of throwing dust in people's eyes, long ago abandoned by the English exchequer, have been revived. This man's maxim seems to have been to do whatever he thought suitable or convenient, and then dare anybody to find fault with what was done, as being unconstitutional.

The one efficient safeguard against democratic indifference to constitutional usage, is found in a written constitution carefully adapted to the people, capable of alteration by a slow but efficient method, and elevated into an object of popular regard. The idolatry of their Constitution with which English politicians often tax Americans, is no doubt at times rather ridiculous, but it is the price they pay for a steadfastness in political method which could be secured in no other way. And now that England has come down to a suffrage virtually universal, and to vote by ballot, she will find her advantage in calling into existence something of the same sort for her own people.

THE Irish Land Law of Messrs. Gladstone and Fortescue, passed in 1868, has not been a success in the sense of putting any large quantity of Irish soil into the possession of the actual cultiva-

tors. A very great quantity of encumbered land is sold every year, and government aid is furnished to enable the tenants to buy on easy terms. But the people do not buy, and while Ireland is a country of small farms, it has fewer small land owners than even England. What it has are confined largely to a single county, Downshire, where there are more than in all the rest of the island.

The reasons for this are not far to seek. The first is, that the average tenant cannot raise even the small proportion needed to enable him to accept of the government's offer. Farming with no local market keeps him permanently poor, and if he is able to "make both ends meet," he has done very well indeed. He will never come into a position of independence and competence so long as agriculture is nearly the only Irish industry, and everything is produced to go abroad.

Another reason is that the land-law rather takes away the motive to own land, than furnishes any inducement. The tenant is now as well off as the landlord, or even better. The land-owner cannot rent his land at the best rate he can get, unless that is found a fair rate by the "assistant barristers" who preside at "quarter sessions." He must pay for the good will of the tenant and all unexhausted improvements, when a lease expires. If he eject, as the wicked Earl of Tyrone did, he has to pay dear for the indulgence of his self-will. In other words, the tenant's present rent is but slightly in excess of the money he would have to pay as interest, if he purchased the land; and he finds it pleasanter to avoid making the effort needed before he can purchase. The one advantage he would prize as a landowner, is the right to sublet his land in parcels to people poorer than himself, and thus become a landlord of leisure. But this he cannot do if he buys by aid of the government, for all subletting is forbidden until the purchase is complete.

The right way out of the difficulty is to create other industries in Ireland by a protective tariff, so that the people will no longer be bidding over each other's heads for a bit of land. Rents would then rise instead of falling, but this would be trebly compensated by the improved condition of the whole farming population. And the result of this would be such an accumulation of money in the farmers, hands as would make them able and ready to become land-owners.

MR. HAYES's experiment with the South must be pronounced a failure. He has not established an "era of good feeling" in that section, and the action of the last Congress, in forbidding the use of United States troops as a *posse comitatus*, has practically tied his hands from undoing any of the mischief done by his excessive leniency. With the approach of another political campaign, the old measures of terrorism and outrage have already begun in some quarters, while visible preparations are making in others. The whole area of the Southern Confederacy is now united to undo, so far as it can, the results of the war. And they are actually stronger politically for the elevation of the negro to a mock citizenship. He once counted against three-fifths of a Northern white voter in the apportionment of representatives; he now counts five-fifths, but votes, in reality, no more than before.

The people who fought through the old struggle with slavery, are beginning to feel as if the work had all to be done over again. The terrible blunder made by the Republican party, in reconstructing the South and depending upon the votes of a class devoid of political cohesion and experience, seems to them to involve another era of anti-Republican government, under Republican forms, in the South, ending in another great struggle for the destruction of the anomaly. But we do not share in these forebodings. The steady drift of population westward, and the great preponderance which the upper valley of the Mississippi and the Pacific coast are to possess in our political system, will ultimately place the South, even with all the Northern allies it can count on, in a position of political subordination. The result of the next census, if we mistake not, will be to shift the balance of political power to the new and better quarter.

THE political horoscope is perplexed and uncertain through the rise of the new National party into a real importance, and the uncertainty as to which of the old parties furnishes the more recruits to its ranks. While there is no likelihood that it will command a majority of votes in any large number of constituencies, yet it is evidently going to command enough to disturb the majorities heretofore controlled. All the indications point to severe losses from this source to the Republicans, and we must say that they have very richly deserved it. They have earned it by the intoler-

ance which their leaders and organs have shown towards all dissent,—by the abuse they have heaped upon men who are suffering terribly from the present depression, and who could be put right only through kindly sympathy,—and by their Pharisaic assumption that they, as the advocates of hard money, of the single standard, of national bank notes, and of contraction, have a monopoly of the national honesty. It is not easy to keep up loyalty for a party whose dominant sentiment brands you as a scoundrel, and the Republicans have spent much of their force during the last five years in developing such a sentiment in their ranks, and in driving out those who would not succumb to it.

The new party has manifestly no internal coherence and no promise of perpetuity. The advice given by the Californian Kearney, to “pool all their issues into one pot,” is the real working platform of the party. It is the aggregate of discontents rallied to the support of a common ticket, with many practical questions left out of sight. The “labor” element and the “greenback” element are the two chief wings, but these would not hold together for a month if they met with success. Meanwhile, both wings are agreed on keeping clear of Communism, and citizen Schwab, to the great delight of the respectables, denounces the Nationals as a middle-class movement, which will do the workingmen no good in the long run.

The Communists themselves are making very few efforts at political action. Following European precedent, without its reasons, they are organizing in secret societies, one such at least being the “Knights of Labor.” Such a step is a confession of the powerlessness of the movement. If they were strong enough, they would never organize “behind the door,” but would come out into daylight and ask to be counted.

THE TRIBUNE admits that one part of the Greenback party's platform looks plausible to a great many people who do not agree with anything else in that statement of principles. This is the proposal to replace national bank-notes by Treasury notes. In view of the fact that the principle of this proposal is accepted by nearly every European economist, and especially by all in England as well as by a majority of the English Boards of Trade,—that it is indeed the declared purpose of the English government to put it into practice

in England—we can hardly wonder that it finds adherents in America, even among those who do not desire any great or indefinite increase in the volume of our paper money, and do not accept the principle that keeping the money-market “easy” is one of the first duties of a national treasury. A piece of paper-money represents a debt owed by the issuer, upon which he pays no interest. If the privilege of creating such a debt be vested anywhere it should be in the government, and for the direct benefit of the whole community, but of course under such guarantees as will make it impossible for short-sighted or reckless financiers to abuse the power. That any private corporation should exercise this right, is a thing in itself monstrous,—an anomaly which has grown up among us because of “the littleness of the wisdom with which the world is governed.”

The strength of the case against bank-notes, as the issues of private corporations, was abundantly shown by the exceeding weakness of the *Tribune's* defence of them. That defence provoked and suggested such pertinent answers, by the shabby way in which it shirked the main issue, that the paper was obliged to shift its position, and to fall back upon the impossibility of effecting the change. It could only be done, we were told, by withdrawing all the national banks' circulation, and thus crushing everything by a tremendous contraction, while the government, not being in the banking business, would have no means of getting the new paper off its hands. The same difficulty seems to have been felt by some of the advocates of the measure, and to have led to proposals of a very impracticable character.

The right way out of the difficulty seems to us a very simple one, and it would occasion no disturbance in any quarter. (1.) Let the Treasury assume the redemption of every note now in circulation, or even in possession of the banks. That is, by law relieve the banks from the responsibility of their own notes, and convert all our paper money, whatever be engraved or written on its face, into Treasury notes. (2.) Let so many of the bonds (now held by the Treasury as security for the national banks' notes), as represent at their exact market value the amount of those notes, be covered into the Treasury, and the balance be paid over to the banks. This would at once convert a vast amount of debt which bears interest into debt which bears no interest, without injustice

to anybody. It is substantially the process by which the circulation of an insolvent bank is disposed of. (3.) Make the Treasury notes convertible into four-and-a-half-per-cent bonds at par at the counter of every Sub-Treasury. This would not only make our irredeemable currency a redeemable one, but it would also make sure that the paper money in circulation was not in excess of the real needs of the nation. To prevent its falling below those needs, the Secretary of the Treasury might be vested with the discretionary power to buy back the same class of bonds with Treasury notes, when they were offered. (4.) Repeal the Resumption Act, the law which will destroy the present virtual equality of paper and gold, by creating a needless demand for the latter and thus raising its price.

THE friends of Secretary Sherman's resumption policy have been pointing with a good deal of satisfaction to his success in disposing of the four per cent. bonds to American investors. The sales have certainly been surprisingly large, and the surprise has not been any the less in view of the fact that the same class of bonds finds no purchasers in Europe. Here in America, where money commands a high rate of interest, people seem to be rushing to invest large sums at a rate never before taken, while over in Europe, where they are used to take much lower rates than in America, where the credit of our government is exceptionally good, and where our bonds are the only foreign securities which have not been injured by the Hard Times, nobody will touch this same form of investment. It is surprising, very. Has Secretary Sherman the gift of miracles? Can he make water run up hill?

Those who have looked closely at the Secretary's statement of Debt and Assets, issued July 31st, will have perceived the wonder is only on the surface after all. They will find that it is explained by the policy adopted last spring by the Treasury, and pursued with great vigor during the whole of the present summer. It was in the interest of the Resumption policy that the money-market should be "easy" this year, and if it would not become so of itself, then a paternal government must help to make it so. The various and complicated relations of the Treasury to Wall street, make this a very simple matter to a Treasurer who has no scruples; and the statement in question shows that sixty millions of dollars of government money, five-sixths of it gold, have been left on deposit with the national banks, with the natural effect of keeping Wall

street in such a condition as tempts everybody to take the four per cents. The Secretary's own friends put this construction upon his action so far as to say that "by leaving the gold with banks which deposit United States bonds as security, the market is relieved, and an advance in the premium is prevented." But they take care not to point out that only through this virtual loan of government money, was the large sale of four per cent. bonds made at all possible.

Now this may seem very clever financiering, and it is so if the chief end of government finance be to get Secretary Sherman's pet bonds off his hands, and keep up a show which will make people believe in Resumption. But it is a little strange to find such measures originating with the head of that party whose organs remind us that every violent interference with the natural order of things is sure to bring on a violent reaction; that it can, therefore, never be the duty of government to make money cheap and plenty; and that the less government interference we have with the money-market, as with every other market, the better for everybody. We hope that all the "sound" Resumptionist organs will make up for their prolonged blindness to this bad policy by a vigorous denunciation of it; but also that they will not pour down on the Secretary's head the sort of abuse they have on hand for everybody else who calls in question any of their favorite dogmas.

Supposing that by any chance the Secretary should not be able to keep this artificial "easiness" for an indefinite period, what will be the result? The fact that we have already begun to export gold to Europe, points to a change in the situation as anything but distant. In that event, the purchases of four per cents. made on account of Savings Banks and the like, would put their authors in a very awkward position. They could not return the bonds by way of cancelling the *virtual* loans from the Sub-Treasury by which they were purchased; they would have to throw them in vast quantities "on the street," and the bonds would speedily be purchasable at a price more near to their genuine market value than that at which they are now disposed of. If anybody is badly in want of the four per cents., he will find that it will pay to wait till then.

IF an old Puritan divine were recalled to life among us, he would certainly find in the yellow-fever, which is now scourging the far South, a "judgment" on the state of its political morality as disclosed before the Potter Committee. But we have got a clearer insight into the world's order than the Puritan had, and we very properly see in such a pestilence a judgment on the way in which great cities keep or break the laws of health and cleanliness, and that of brotherly regard for the physical welfare of the lowest and least educated masses of every great community. It may indeed be true that political recklessness and unscrupulousness have the same moral root as the recklessness of physical law, which plunges a whole city into such danger; and, therefore, the old Puritan's opinion might be not so far wrong after all. And as General Butler is "a man mighty on the Scriptures," and one who has studied Louisiana closely on both these sides, it would be well to have his opinion on this point. It might indeed be alleged that yellow fever is no novelty in New Orleans; but neither is this the first presidential election with which the name of the state was connected to her discredit.

The closeness of the commercial and other ties which bind our cities together, has been well illustrated by the futility of the attempts made to establish an effective quarantine. The disease, in spite of precaution, was carried to Memphis almost immediately, to Cincinnati in baggage, and even to Philadelphia and New York in the persons of victims. Louisville, with courageous pride in her immunity from the pestilence, has thrown open her hotels and homes to the refugees from the South, as did Wilmington when Philadelphia was suffering still more severely at the close of the last century, and our other cities have come forward to give assistance in the shape of money.

In our own city, repeated experience has shown that the district most in danger is that which constituted the city in 1793,—the long strip of closely built, high houses along the Delaware,—a district honeycombed by courts, and now given up to business and to tenement houses and cheap boarding places. The garbage thrown into the adjacent docks, and left to rot in their all but stagnant water, is a powerful promoter of the pestilence, and the inhabitants of this district are nearly as ignorant of the laws of hygiene, and as fond of good rum, as were the city aristocracy who

preceded them eighty years ago in this post of danger. It must be admitted that the city authorities are wide awake in the matter, and the Board of Health continue to take every precaution, and to wage their war on the manifold nuisances which afflict the noses and the health of the citizens of Philadelphia.

We see no great reason to anticipate the coming of the disease ; nor do we suppose that, if it should come, it would be either widely spread or malignant. But "the streets of Jerusalem were kept clean by every man's sweeping before his own door," and our escape may depend on the earnestness with which each of us, in his place, does his utmost to see that our city is not such a place as the pestilence naturally seeks.

THE Public schools of Philadelphia cost the city so much that it is everybody's right to insist that they shall be first class institutions. But nobody who knows their merits as compared with those of other localities,—let us say even as compared with what are found on the left bank of the Delaware,—would think of claiming for them any preëminence except that of architecture. They occupy the handsomest structures and the best locations imaginable, and they do command the services of a great many teachers who are much better and more competent than their bad training system gives us any right to expect. But they are not what the public schools of a great city ought to be.

Nor are the changes recently introduced likely to make them much better. The mania for "practical education,"—as some people call the teaching of the physical sciences, for reasons not yet discovered—has seized upon them, and a violent revolution has been effected in the course of study. Now there is trash enough taught in our public schools to make room, if it were turned out, for a good many sensible studies. Such trash is geography and commercial arithmetic. But nothing will ever be gained by pouring a lot of popularized and simplified science out of books down children's throats, instead of training them to use eyes and ears about the actual subjects of scientific study. And even if this change had been the best possible, it should have been introduced very slowly, by changing the course of instruction in the normal school, first of all, and introducing the new studies as fast as the newly trained teachers came into service. Instead of this,

the present staff of teachers, already required to work an excessive number of hours for five days of the week, were required to take up the new course and exhibit satisfactory results at the end of the year,—just as though the Trustees of the University should issue an order to the Faculty of Arts to become forthwith a Faculty of Science, or to the Law Faculty, directing them to teach medicine. The effect of this treatment of their human material may be easily imagined. One very able and conscientious teacher was so worn out in the half year, that her room-mate at the sea-shore was used to turn over every morning for weeks, to see if she were still alive!

Another gross absurdity is to be perpetrated at the opening of the next school year, in the introduction of phonetic spelling. If phonetic spelling mean anything, it is the spelling words as they are pronounced, and this needs no teaching. It is the habit of every uneducated person to spell by ear; it is the mark of an educated person to spell by eye. Josh Billings' *Allmanax* is, we suppose, the type of the new literature we are to have under this public school culture. But of course the phonetic spelling taught in Philadelphia will reproduce the pronunciation of the English language current in this city, which is nearly the worst known. By no amount of effort can the average native be brought to pronounce with accuracy so simple a word as *man*, so that an ear not "to the manner born" can tell whether that word or *men* be meant. The local tendency to clip and shorten the pronunciation of the language is proverbial. Nowhere else do people say "Gimme m'hat," instead of "Give me my hat." And should the phonetic spelling faithfully reproduce our real utterance of English words, it will enable us to take the first step towards a vigorous development of dialectical differences on this continent.

Far wiser would it be, after purging our language of a few monstrous spellings, like *sovereign*, which grew out of false etymologies, to introduce a restoration of the historical pronunciation of words as preserved to us in their spelling. *Knowledge*, for instance, should have the first syllable lengthened, as Dubliners pronounce it; *door* should be pronounced as the uneducated in some places still do; and so of others. Such reforms are quite feasible; they have actually been effected. A hundred years ago, everybody said *Lunnon* for *London*, *Chancy* for *China*, *yis* for *yes*, and the

like. But to wipe off the face of English literature the traces of its verbal history, and to compel the reprinting of the body of that literature in *Billingsese*, is an undertaking too vast for even the public schools in Philadelphia.

The fundamental trouble with our public schools, is their want of a competent inspector, expert in all educational questions, and responsible for all changes in our methods, as well as for the efficiency and the harmony with which methods are carried out. Until we get such a man, we shall be at the mercy of Professor This and Mr. That, and their wearisome vagaries.

THUCYDIDES describes Pericles pronouncing a funeral oration over young Athenian soldiers who had fallen in battle, and lamenting that "spring had been taken away from the year" by their death. It is with some such feeling that our readers must have heard of the death of Mr. Henry Armit Brown. He was still in the full vigor of manly youth; his great abilities as a public speaker, though but recently disclosed to popularity, had already won him a national reputation; thousands of his fellow citizens looked forward to a brilliant future opening upon his path in life. He excited the sort of interest that belongs to young men of fine capacity, high principle and irreproachable character. He was watched to see to what he might come, and whatever height of success he might have obtained, he would have been followed only by friendly and admiring eyes. For he was so thoroughly a gentleman, so incapable of the small tricks and mean ways which irritate us in the mere politician, that he earned affection and respect where another man would have aroused rivalry and hostility. "Even his failings leaned to virtue's side." If he had a weakness, it was that, although by no means deficient in judgment, he was too ready to accept as genuine the professions of hardened politicians, and to look with modest expectation to disappointed and worn-out "statesmen" as the pillars of our hopes, and the elect champions of political purity and reform. But while we never shared in his admiration for such men as Bristow and Schurz, to say nothing of others nearer home, we have always respected his downrightness and independence, and his unwillingness to put on any party yoke.

Mr. Brown, although a member of the bar, engaged but little in the duties of the legal profession. His repute as a fine speaker led to frequent calls upon his time as the orator of our local Centennial Celebrations. It was in fulfilling at Valley Forge the third engagement of this sort, that he contracted the illness which prevented his discharging a fourth at Monmouth, and which finally led to his death. He also took an active part in local politics as a leading member of the Municipal Reform Association, and in the Hayes campaign of 1876. He twice refused office, but we have understood that he looked forward to taking a seat in Congress at no distant date. His capacity as a speaker had hardly reached its full development; he excelled in grace of form, in elegance of manner, rather than in force. But he gave promise of a growth in power, which might have caused him to take rank among our greatest speakers.

It was our great pleasure, as our readers are aware, to have had Mr. Brown for a time on the staff of this magazine. He wrote this department of our monthly up to the time of the Fifth Avenue Conference, when a decided difference of views was developed as regards Mr. Bristow's pretensions to the presidency, and led to a very courteous termination of our relations in this regard. As we said at that time, it was with very sincere regret that we saw Mr. Brown withdraw, but, of course, no difference of opinion could affect either his kind friendliness, or our warm regard for him.

WE think it about time for American society to recover its sanity on the Tramp question, and to ask itself whether it is worth while to abolish the ordinary liberties of Anglo-Saxondom, and to exhaust the English language in paroxysms of abuse, because a great number of our fellow men have been driven by want into vagrancy, and because a very small percentage of the number have added crime to vagrancy. We are fully aware that, in a few instances, atrocious crimes have been perpetrated by these wanderers; and we deplore the fact. But we must protest against holding the whole multitude responsible for the acts of a few, even while we admit the propriety of throwing every possible safeguard around personal safety.

This word *tramp*, like a good many others, such as *politician*, is often misused to hide from us the fact that it is human beings we

are thinking of and dealing with. And we owe very much to any one who will break through the artificial envelope and show us the man. A physician of this city, who had some suspicion of this fact, caused it to be made known that he would like to see some of them, not in order to give them assistance, but simply to make their acquaintance. They came to his office, one or two at a time, and those who came sent others. The simple fact that a man was known to be ready to talk with them as men, and to give them, not help, but genuine sympathy and advice, drew them in great numbers. And as he talked with them, he says, his pity for their condition was very greatly excited. He found they were mostly people who started out to find work, but got none, and had acquired the habit of tramping while on the search for it, and now kept it up because they had nothing else to do. They were very largely the superfluous workmen, of whom the mining and iron-working regions had disburdened themselves at the coming of hard times. Of course, some of the class have not this nor any other excuse for their mode of life. A minority prefer to live in idleness, since they find that way of living possible and not too hard. And the best of them cannot but be greatly deteriorated in mind and character by such a method of getting their living. But, after all, they are human beings, with the springs of right action in them somewhere, if we could but reach these.

That there are plenty of them ready to work was shown by the experiment made by a gentleman of this city, who has a fine, large country place not far from the city. He was one day accosted by a tramp who asked assistance, and, having read in the newspapers that they would not earn their living, he offered the man employment at ten cents an hour. Somewhat to his surprise, it was accepted, and the man worked quite fairly at the job given him. Wishing to test the matter further, he told the "tramp" to come back next day and bring with him any others of his class who would accept the same terms. On the morrow, the man brought several more, and in a day or two the number of "tramps" who were willing to work for him at ten cents an hour was so great that he could not possibly employ them.

Similarly, an association of the citizens of Harrisburg last winter adopted the principle of "employment as the basis of relief," in dealing with the dependent poor of that city. They quarried stone

and repaved the streets of the city, to the great benefit of the whole community. It is criminal in a great city to have so managed its finances in good times, as to make it impossible to open public works and extend employment to the poor in times of general distress. There are a thousand things which every city ought to do for itself, and which it would do most cheaply in such times as these, if it had shown any sort of forethought. But even as it is, it is certainly cheaper to employ men in working, as Harrisburg did, than to support them in idleness, as we are doing in Philadelphia.

It is hoped that our Charity Organization Society will see its way to some solution of this problem. We ask attention to the paper in this number from the pen of its General Secretary, the Rev. Dr. Kellogg, to whose unselfish labors the friends of this movement owe much.

HENRY ARMITT BROWN.

HENRY ARMITT BROWN was born in the City of Philadelphia, December 1st, 1844. He was the second son of the late Frederick Brown, whose ancestor James Browne was one of the passengers of the good ship Kent, who founded the City of Burlington. In the oration delivered in that city, December 6th, 1877, in commemoration of the two hundredth anniversary of its settlement, the speaker thus refers to him :

“Among its founders, was a youth of one and twenty. The first of his race to be born in the Quaker faith, he had grown up amid persecution and been familiar with suffering from his boyhood. A child of tender years, he had, wonderingly, followed his family, driven from their old home for conscience' sake, and among his earliest recollections was the admonition of his dying father to seek a refuge beyond the sea. Beside him was the English maiden, who, in a short time, in the primitive meeting-house made of a sail taken from the Kent, was to become his wife. Little did that youthful pair imagine, as they gazed for the first time on Jegon's Island, that at the end of two centuries, one of their name and lineage, looking back to them across the graves of five generations of their children, would stand here in old Burlington to-day, and lift his voice in commemoration of an event in which they were then taking an humble, but honorable part.”

His mother, Charlotte Augusta Hoppin, of Rhode Island, was a descendant of one of those who came over in the *Mayflower*, and from her he inherited his taste and talent for literature. He was a bright child, and may almost be said to have lisped in numbers. He continued to write verses during his college days and was the class poet. He pursued his preparatory studies under the direction of that excellent teacher, Dr. Lyons of West Haverford, entered Yale College in 1861 and graduated in 1865.

After leaving college he spent more than a year in travel through Europe and the East. He appreciated everything, enjoyed everything, and forgot nothing. It was not a mere pleasure trip, and he brought back a large fund of information which was afterwards turned to good account. Upon his return, he entered the office of Daniel Dougherty, Esq., as a student at law, and was admitted to the bar December 18th, 1869. Shortly afterwards, he took part in several capital cases in the Court of Oyer and Terminer, and made a strong impression upon those who heard him by the force and eloquence of his speeches; but he remained comparatively unknown to the members of the profession, until named as one of the speakers at the dinner given to the late Chief Justice Thompson, December 19th, 1872. His selection occasioned some comment, and his audience was, to some extent, an unfriendly one. He was the last speaker, the hour was late, and he had to follow one long celebrated for his skill in that style of address. As he arose, there were some calls for another, but he retained his composure, and, his voice ringing out clear and full, he gained the attention of all before the close of his first sentence. As he went on, his hearers listened with surprise and delight, and when he took his seat there was a tumult of applause. Those who had questioned his right to speak on behalf of the junior bar were the most generous and hearty in their congratulations; and like Byron, he woke up the next morning to find himself famous. Of its kind, his little speech was quite perfect. The humor was graceful, the style polished, and the closing sentences eloquent. It was largely copied in the legal journals of this country and England, and may be still read with pleasure. But it owed its success, at the time, quite as much to the manner of delivery as to any intrinsic merit. He was, without question, a born orator. His voice was resonant and melodious, and his elocution and manner had more than the finish and grace

of an accomplished actor, for every word and gesture made manifest that the speaker was a high bred and courtly gentleman. His position was at once established, and from that time onward to his death, he was constantly sought after on every public occasion.

He pronounced a brief eulogy upon General Meade at the Lincoln Institute the next month, and in the following April he spoke in behalf of the Women's Centennial Commission, at the Academy of Music. His interest having become enlisted in behalf of the Centennial, he prepared some lectures, which he delivered in Philadelphia and other cities; and in December, 1873, he spoke in Faneuil Hall, at the Boston Tea Party. Each of these efforts added to his reputation, and would have been considered of a high order of eloquence, had it not been for the superiority of his later productions.

In the winter of 1873-4, the Carpenters' Company of Philadelphia tendered to Congress the use of the old hall, for the celebration of the 100th anniversary of the meeting of the first Centennial Congress; but the offer not having been accepted, the Company determined to celebrate the occasion on its own account, and invited Mr. Brown to make the oration. Of all the addresses called forth by the recurrence of our several centennial anniversaries, none worthy to be compared to this has yet been made, excepting the one which he himself delivered at Valley Forge. His style was by this time formed and had become one of singular beauty and force. Macaulay said that every man insensibly makes a distinction between that which is to be spoken, and that which is meant to be read; but he certainly did not himself always preserve the distinction; and the speech written out in advance is apt to betray the manner of its preparation. The orations of Mr. Brown, however, not only had the effect, in delivery, of unpremeditated speech, but in reading them, one involuntarily marks the cadence and rhythm with which they were spoken.

He had, too, kept in mind Goethe's first rule of rhetoric: he always began by having something to say. In collecting his materials for his oration on the Congress of 1774, he not only made himself familiar with its official acts, but with the biography and even the personal appearance of every prominent member. Such minute knowledge might well have embarrassed one of greater experience; but he only used it to give life to the picture, and dealt with his theme as a whole, with a breadth and vigor of treatment

which showed the hand of a master. The general course of discussion and the conclusions reached, are concisely summed up, and the precise part which the work of that Congress bore to the subsequent struggle, is made clear. What is done in the way of individual portraiture is made to contribute to the picture as a whole : and brilliant as are some of the passages, it cannot be said that anything is put in which had better been left out. But the most striking characteristic of this and his latter addresses, is the tone of fervent patriotism which distinguishes them. He loved his country with a passion almost like that which glows in the words that Shakespere puts into the mouth of John of Gaunt, or in the Thanksgiving Ode of Wordsworth. In his eyes there was nothing unnatural in the lines—*this dear, dear land—dearer far than life is dear*. Such devotion, upon the part of a young American who had spent years abroad and had enjoyed the delights of foreign life, is not quite common ; but he had not been content to remain ignorant of the history of his own country, and it was his familiarity with the lives of the founders of the republic, which led him to preface this oration with the words of Demosthenes, “It is a tale brief and familiar to all, for the examples, by which you may still be happy, are to be found, not abroad, men of Athens, but at home.”

The next important oration delivered by Mr. Brown, was one in which he took special interest. It was that already mentioned as having been delivered in Burlington, December 6th, 1877, in commemoration of the 200th anniversary of its settlement. In his closing sentence, referring to his recollections of boyhood, he had alluded to “the splendid countenance and manly form of him, the friend of many here, whose name I dare not trust myself to speak ;” and in a foot note he adds an explanation which will be read with greater interest now than more ambitious passages.*

* “Frederick Brown of Philadelphia built his house called ‘Summer Home’ in 1847, and made it a place of refuge from the cares of an active life, as laborious as it was singularly useful, until his death in 1864. Here were the extensive graperies filled with well selected vines, the orchards of dwarf pears, the rare plants and flowers, and the choice trees in which he took such genuine delight, and which must ever be associated in his children’s minds with the memories of a perfectly happy childhood.

‘Ille te mecum locus et beatæ
Postulant arces ; ibi tu calentem
Debita sparges lacrimâ favillam
Patris amici.”

Meanwhile, Mr. Brown had taken a leading part in the effort to bring about a reform in the administration of the municipal affairs of Philadelphia; and by many his exertions in that cause will be regarded as the most important of his life. He also went to Ohio in the Hayes-Allen campaign, chiefly because of his interest in the currency question; and was an earnest supporter of Mr. Hayes in the campaign of 1876.

In addition to meeting these constant calls upon his time, he prepared several lectures based upon his recollections of eastern travel, and, as mentioned elsewhere, he was for a long time a contributor to the pages of this magazine. Finally, in the spring of this year, he began to prepare for his Valley Forge oration; the subject was of a wider scope than any he had yet undertaken; and the work grew upon his hands. He was not content to take his authorities at second-hand, but went to the original journals, diaries and letters. He visited the ground and made himself familiar with its topography, and he so mastered the history of the campaigns of the previous and succeeding years, that when asked to speak at Monmouth, he needed but little additional study, and between the anniversary at Valley Forge, on the 19th June, and that of the battle of Monmouth, on the 28th of the same month, he was able to write a history of that fight, which in the way of description is equal to his best work. Thackeray speaks of the wonderful industry, the honest, humble, previous toil of Macaulay, who read twenty books to write a sentence, and travelled a hundred miles to make a line of description. Mr. Brown was equally conscientious: he would read a volume for an epithet, and none was used for which he had not warrant of authority.—Another point of likeness to the great historian, was in his ability to bring before his mind's eye the events of the past as if they were happening before him. Whateley has pointed out the value of this power of imagination in the reading and writing of history, as adding to the truthfulness, as well as the vividness, of our conceptions of the past. Mr. Brown's descriptions of the delegates marching on foot from the City Tavern to the Carpenters' Hall; of the meeting of the Barge of Charles II. and of the good ship Kent, as the latter was about starting down the Thames on her voyage to America; of the entry of the British Army into Philadelphia;—are as vivid and picturesque as if written by an eye witness. It was, however, in describing the battle of

Monmouth, that he found the best field for the exercise of this faculty. The story is told with as much freshness and fire as if he had been an actual participant. Fortunately, the manuscript is complete, and it is to be hoped that it may be published at an early day.—Describing the village of Monmouth on the night of the 27th June, 1778, he says :

“ Imagine, if you can, the scene : The little village about the Court House—full of soldiers in scarlet, the baggage wagons drawn together in the open ground to the southward, the crackling of the fires as the troops get supper, the neighing of many horses picketed along the road, here an officer riding by, there a guard marching to its post, the hum of voices, the innumerable noises of the camp growing fainter as the evening draws on ; and at last the quiet of the summer night broken only by the steady foot-falls of the sentinels and the barking of a dog at some distant farm house, or the stamping of some restless horse. Who can foresee that to-morrow a deed shall be done that shall consecrate for all time this quiet Jersey village, and that the benedictions of a grateful people shall descend forever upon Monmouth Court House. By ten o'clock all is hushed. It is a hot night, without a breath of wind. The woods in the northwest are as still as death. Their leaves drooping and motionless, and the summer sky is unobscured by a single cloud. A sharp lookout is kept down the road, and on the edge of the woods towards Englishtown, for in the afternoon a deserter has come in with the information that ‘ the rebels are extended along the left flank, very numerous.’ But the darkness passes without the sight of an enemy.

“ At the early dawn there is bustle and noise in the camp about the Court House. The reveille sounds and Hessians are astir. The air is full of the noise of neighing horses and chattering men. The baggage wagons begin to move into the road to Middletown, the line of march is formed, and as the sun rises about half-past four, Knyphausen's division has begun to move. Five o'clock comes, and with it daylight. The fresh breath of the morning is pleasant after the hot night, but the cloudless sky and the heavy air promise a trying day. All along the road the camp is stirring, the different regiments forming into line, the Light Infantry and Hessian Grenadiers on the right, the Guards, the First and Second Grenadiers, the Highlanders, the loyal battalions, and the Queen's rangers, each in turn. At six the hot day has begun, but it is nearly eight before the column has started. It is a splendid sight, and one that this quiet county will never see again: this perfectly appointed army, moving with its long train of artillery and baggage along the road.

“ Here is the Hessian: ‘ a towering brass-fronted cap, mous-

taches covered with the same material that colors his shoes, his hair plastered with tallow and flour, tightly drawn into a long appendage reaching to his waist, his blue uniform almost covered by the broad belts sustaining his cartouch box, his brass-hilted sword, and his bayonet; a yellow waistcoat with flaps, and yellow breeches met at the knee by black garters. Thus heavily equipped, he moves like an automaton 'down the road.' See the British Grenadier, tall and stalwart, with smooth shaven face and powdered hair, on his head a pointed cap of red tipped with a white ball and fronted with a silver star and crown, his coat of scarlet, with collar and cuffs of blue trimmed with white, a broad white leather strap over the left shoulder, carrying his cartridge box, a sword with hilt of twisted brass on his left thigh, and breeches of blue, protected by long leggings of spotless white.

"The accoutrements of all are in perfect order, their equipment complete, and one after another the regiments break into column and march towards the East. The sun has already risen above the high ground near the sea, the birds that have been twittering in the branches have ceased to sing. Knyphausen, with the long train of heavily lumbering baggage has crossed the open plain, and still the lines of scarlet are passing by the White Court House."

The sight presented twenty-four hours later, is thus pictured:

"And there through the sultry twilight the two armies lie watching each other panting and exhausted, with only the defile between them. The fields are strewn with coats, cartouch boxes and guns—the ground torn up with shot—the trees shattered with the marks of cannon balls. The Americans hold the field of battle, but the British present a sullen and threatening front. The shadows creep out of the west—the steam rises from the hollows—the sun like a ball of fire has disappeared—the sultry twilight has faded—the hot night has begun. The dead lie where they fell—the wounded groan and gasp for air—in the woods, by the hedgerow, in the marsh on the trodden field—and the tired living sink on their arms to sleep. Poor's sentinels, close to the enemy, are watching their right—Woodford's guarding their left. Beneath a tall tree, Washington and Lafayette, wrapped in a single cloak, lie down to rest. A solemn silence has followed the tumult of the day—and so the long hours of the night pass by."

But to fit himself to do this work, Mr. Brown overtaxed his strength.

The day at Valley Forge proved a most exhausting one, and before the Anniversary of Monmouth had come around, he was stricken down with a fever which resulted in his death on the 24th

of August, in the thirty-fourth year of his age. The news was received as a public calamity; and the public press, his fellow-members of the bar, and the public organizations with which he was connected, have united in paying tribute to his memory. Only words of eulogy could be spoken of him. There was no difficulty in understanding his character. His sincerity was as transparent as the clear honey. To his friends he seemed to realize Matthew Arnold's ideal of Sweetness and Light, and for them it is natural to dwell upon the winning and gracious virtues which made him the charm of every circle, and captivated the affections of all who had the privilege of knowing him. Touching life at almost every point, no one ever wearied of his society. A brilliant and vivacious talker; a patient and sympathetic listener; an excellent mimic and amateur actor; an enthusiastic sportsman; something of an antiquarian; a collector of bric-a-brac; keenly alive to the beauties of nature and art; an omnivorous reader, remembering the best of all that he read, so that, as Sydney Smith said of Mackintosh, "the great thoughts and fine sayings of the great men of all ages were intimately present to his recollection:"—he had something in common with every one he met, and treated all, of whatever station in life, with the same cordial courtesy.

It is true that these are, in a measure, the private traits of his character, but they helped to give direction to his public conduct.

In the contests connected with local politics, where the character of the candidate constituted the real issue, he never stooped to personal abuse, and always gained the good-will and respect of those whom he opposed.

In taking so active a part in public matters, he had no thought of self-advancement, and nothing could have tempted him to speak other than as he thought. While absolutely unspoiled by his sudden success, he was conscious of the possession of peculiar powers and looked forward to public life as the natural sphere for their exercise. That which excited his ambition and led him to scorn delights and live laborious days, was not the love of fame, nor the hope of reward, but the desire to do his part in overthrowing abuses and redressing wrongs, and upholding the cause of justice and truth. He revealed his own ideal in his definition of the term "politician, in its nobler, better sense." "To devote great talents," he once said in a public speech, "and

lofty character to the service of the State; to stand up in her defence, unmoved by the winds of favor or the tempests of adversity; to act from no motive but love of the common weal:—this is to be a politician and statesman.” Had he lived, he would assuredly have become all this—a leader of men—the pillar of a people’s hope—whether in or out of cabinets; but the loss is ours, and not his.

S. D.

THE POETRY OF THE TURKISH PEOPLES.

I. IRAN AND TURAN.

[Translated from the Author's French Manuscript.]

WESTERN Europe is beginning to see that it has hitherto paid too little attention to the nations of central Asia, whose possible destiny it is to play a great part in the contentions of the two European powers which are striving for the foremost place in the vast continent of Asia, with its eight hundred millions of human beings. Among the peoples of that part of Asia, Persia is especially worthy of study. It owes its civilization, whose beginnings are lost in the night of prehistoric time, to the Aryan family, to which we belong. Its genius is strikingly manifested in its arts as in its literature. Its vitality is so great, and it has outlived so many disasters and conquests, that we might be tempted to believe its poets not mistaken in promising an immovable stability to “the everlasting throne.” But the crises through which Persia has passed, since the fall of the powerful dynasty of the Sofewich (the “Sophis” of Western authors), have so weakened its prestige that the world has all but forgotten it, and the chiefs of Turkish race who bear rule over it, have never yet succeeded in restoring it to the place it filled at the period so well described by an eminent French traveller, M. Chardin, when the name of Abbas the Great filled all Europe, and the Tsars of Russia disputed with the English Tudors, the friendship of the “King of Kings.”

The Greeks who fought in Persia under Xenophon, observed that the inhabitants, in their popular songs, celebrated the ex-

plots of Cyrus and the other heroes of Iran. The loss of those songs would be the occasion of ceaseless regret, if we did not know that their substance still survives in the national epic, the *Shah-Namch*. Firdusi, in choosing for the theme of his gigantic poem his country itself, has not allowed it to escape us, that he has taken for his guide the old traditions preserved in the people's songs until even the disastrous period of the Musselman domination. But even if he had been less explicit on this point, an examination of his work would have left no doubt as to the popular source of his inspirations. So much is he under the influence of old tradition, that he is forced to paint in an ideal light the heroes of the Mazdeism which Islam had overthrown. Being charged with favoring the old religion, the illustrious author of the *Shah-Namch* was obliged to write a poem of strict Moslem orthodoxy.¹

The imitators of the Persian Homer, the Azelis, the Jemalis, the Azedis, have followed in the same direction. They seem continually to take sides with the worshippers of Ahura-Mazda (Ormuzd); they exalt the saints of the Mazdean religion; they search with a sort of piety for traces of the past. We are inclined to explain in the same way Firdusi's taking up his time everywhere with matters which seem to us comparatively of slight importance, while he leaves in the shade occurrences which we would regard as principal. In the eyes of the old Aryan poets, in India, as well as in Iran, the conflict of races was the chief concern. The Asiatic peoples of our blood, threatened, the one by the black tribes of Dravidians, the Aborigines of the India peninsula, the others by the nomads of the yellow race, regarded the conflicts they underwent with these representatives of the primitive and barbarous world, as the essential fact of their history. That notion was far from wrong, for the Aryan race, as the world's history shows, is possessed of capabilities which are utterly wanting to the other races, not excepting even the Shemitic.

The battles which the Aryans and Iran fought with nature to subdue her, and with the Shemites in defence of the old Iranian empire, form the opening of their national legend. Iran, which is represented as having attained a high degree of prosperity at the

¹ I take the liberty of referring the reader to the complete study of the *Shah-Nameh*, which I have published in the Italian Magazine, *La Nuova Antologia*.

period to which Djemschid has given his name, is afterwards in danger of foreign conquest through the proud humors of its chiefs and the factions among their subjects. After a time of subjection to the Shemites, who are personified in Vimpie and the cruel Zohak, it successfully revolts under Feridun, its heroic deliverer, and under Kei-Khosru (Cyrus), it becomes the mistress of Asia.

Thanks to the beautiful translation of Mohl,—a translation whose publication has twice been interrupted by revolutions and is unhappily still unfinished—the *Book of the Kings* is known in France to all cultivated people. Although Mohl has not published his interpretation of the *Book of Kings*, his prefaces and many of his notes indicate that he shares in the opinion of Count de Gobineau, which is generally adopted in France, and is inclined, like the author of *Les Perses*, to look on the songs which contained the first rough sketch of the national legend, as an echo of historical events. The Germans, more reckless in their handling of old traditions, seem less inclined to this view, and Herr von Schack has set forth, in the long, learned but everywhere conjectural introduction to his *Heldensagen von Firdusi* an essentially different system of explanation of the *Shah-Namch*. In his opinion, the poets of primitive Iran, like those of so many other Aryan peoples, have personified the phenomena of the sky. The solar hero is presented to us under many and splendid forms in the poetry of Iran. Feridun, who slays the serpent, is nothing but the Trita or Trâitana of India. The sons of the deliverer of Iran, Selm Tûr and Tregh, who share the world among them, recall the Vedic myth of the Three Brothers. The type merely sketched in Feridun, is completed in Rustem, the national hero, armed with the mighty club, the conqueror of Gloomy Turan, the successful fighter with the dragons and with the demons, children of night. The type reappears even in Kei-Khosru, who puts the Turanians to flight, and disappears, like Romulus, during a storm.

The *Book of the Kings*, in spite of the devotion to Iranian traditions exhibited by its famous author, was composed at a period when the triumph of Islam tended ever more and more to displace these by other opinions and objects of admiration. I am inclined to think, with Count de Gobineau, that this decomposition of ancient beliefs has been very slow, and to believe, with the author of the *Religions Persanes*, that the Aryan has sustained a long con-

fict with the Shemitic genius, transplanted to the soil of Iran by Arab conquest. Unhappily, we have but a very imperfect knowledge of the Guebres, whose convictions have withstood that conflict of ages, and who form a very interesting fragment of the peoples of Persia, whose ethnography M. de Khanikof has been studying.²

The Mussulmans give the name of Guebres (infidels) to those Persians who have remained faithful to the old national religion, in spite of so many persecutions and trials. Kirman, where this Mazdean element is still the chief one, in the time of the terrible struggle of the Khajars and the Zindhys, was treated with pitiless severity by the founder of the present dynasty,³ the violent Agha-Mohammed-Khan-Khajar. The stern eunuch inflicted such pillage by his victorious troops upon this ancient city, (of which the great Venetian traveller Marco Polo has left us a description,) that it was transformed into a heap of ruins, like so many other Persian cities, which have suffered from invasions or civil wars. Under the present Shah,⁴ and under his predecessor, it has begun to revive, being favored at once by a more moderate government, by its wonderful climate, and by its excellent position.

The Luristan, protected by its mountains and by the length of its winter, resisted the Mussulman propaganda longer than the rest of Persia. In the neighborhood of Ask are still shown a great number of caves where the worshippers of "the exiled Gods" took refuge during the seven months of the bad season. It is much to be wished that special studies be made of the Guebres of Persia, and their brethren, the Parsees of India, who have preserved the love of agriculture and some of the qualities of their ancestors. Their poetry and their traditions would, it may be, cast some light upon the older national memorials of Iran, and on the memorable period when they held the foremost place in Asia.

Although the Lurs have given up Mazdeism, they are representatives of a social state older than the conquests of "the great kings," of the time when the Iranian clan hardly differed in point of

² *Mémoire sur l'Ethnographie de la Perse*, in the *Publications de la Société de Géographie de France*.

³ Herford Jones Bridges: *The Dynasty of the Khajars*.

⁴ We owe to Dr. Polak, who knows Persia so well, a biography of this sovereign. See "Nasreddin-Shah, der Kadscharé" in the *Neue Freie Presse*, Vienna, July 15, 1873.

organization from that of the Turanians. The leading clans are those of the Bakhtiaris and the Mamasseni. These handsome and warlike peoples have no share in the faults with which the Tajiks are charged. They are rather vassals than subjects of the Shah, and, notwithstanding their professions of respect for the head of the empire of the Shiites, they are rather disposed to put on the air of independence than to show themselves submissive. It is probable that were their songs collected, we would no longer hear the charge of effeminate softness brought with any justice against the Iranian poetry of our times.

The history of Persia in the Middle Ages seems like a repetition of the national legend. The period of Zohâk and Afrasiab begins anew; Shemites and Turanians throw themselves once more upon the soil of Iran. The Arabs annihilate the empire of the Sassanides; the Turks rend asunder that of the Caliphs, and are conquered in their turn by the Mongol Khakans. When the hordes of Mongolia have withdrawn from the stage, the Turkish peoples reoccupy it, until the time when the posterity of Sofy-eddin (the Sofêwîeh) present Iran with a Shiite sovereign,—Ismael Shah, surnamed Shahi-Chyiaun—the decided adversary of the Moslem orthodoxy represented by the Ottoman Turks.

Just as the French Renaissance follows the disturbed epochs of the Middle Ages (the twelfth and thirteenth centuries) so this period of ceaseless warfare is in Persia an era of intellectual fertility. The disturbances which agitated the Greek and the Italian republics did none the more put a stop to the activity of the human mind. Between the eleventh and the fifteenth centuries, the Firdusis, the Nisamis, the Saadis, the Hafiz, the Jamis and their many rivals, gave evidence of the lofty poetical faculties of that Iranian genius, whose great productions have been made known to us by the Freiherr von Hammer.⁵ The historical epic, the *naméh*, a true tale of adventure, of which Firdusi furnished his imitators a model which has never been equalled, saw itself eclipsed somewhat later by the romantic epic. Nisami, the creator of this species of epic, had no more contempt for the popular poetry than had his predecessors. Hence the popularity of his own poetry, for the

⁵ Hammer-Purgstall: *Die Schoenen Redekuenste Persiens*; Wien, 1818. This history of Persian literature extends from the epoch of the Samanides to that of the Sofewieh. See also the same author's *Duft-Kümmier aus persischer Dichter*, 2d Ed. 1860.

people adopts only those heroes whom itself has created,—the Rustems, the Ramas, the Achilles who have been given back to it transfigured by the genius of great poets, but always recognizable as its own. Khosru and Chirin, Yusuf and Zuleika, Leila and Meijnun, Ferhad and Chirin are still the subjects which the Persian painter loves to borrow from poetry, and their loves furnish terms of comparison for the poets of the people. "Come," says a lover to a young maiden, "and tell me of the fate of Chirin, and what became of her lover Ferhad." The popularity attained in Asia by the heroes of the Persian tales can only be compared to that of the characters whom the French poets of the Middle Ages brought to the knowledge and affection of all Europe.

Intellectual life seemed so fully developed in Persia, prior to the inundation of every sort of misfortune upon that celebrated country, that it appeared as if no human power were able to destroy it. But it might be said that civilization has only a provisory existence in communities, and that tragic events, such as war and anarchy, continually threaten it with danger. The decline and fall of the dynasty of the Sofewieh were for Persia the beginning of a series of calamities which have lasted till our own days. The invasion of the Afghans, a brigand and cruel race, was the beginning of disasters. The conquests of Nadir-Shah, who overran India and fought battles on the scale of Napoleon's, finished the exhaustion of a country already sorely tried by revolutions and wars. The bloody conflicts of the Zindhys and the Khajars, the massacres which followed the establishment of the latter upon the throne, have made Persia "a desert shut in by salt deserts," as some one has said without much exaggeration. Countries which, like Iran and Spain, require great and continuous effort for their irrigation, suffer much more than others when, through any circumstance, a great number of indispensable hands are withdrawn from agriculture. Feth-Ali, the nephew of the eunuch who founded the present Turkish dynasty—a sort of Asiatic Narses—was obliged to cede Derbend and a portion of the coast lands of the Kur to Russia in 1797. In 1802 Georgia was declared a Russian province. Some years later the Shah lost, by the Treaty of Gulistan in 1813, all that was left to him in the Caucasus, to the North of Armenia, and allowed the Russian flag to be displayed on the Caspian. The Treaty of Turkmanchai, February 22d, 1828, deprived him of all

that still belonged to him in Armenia, together with Erivan. In 1846 Mohammed, the successor of Feth-Ali, allowed the ports of Rescht and even that of Asterabad, the cradle of his dynasty, to become naval stations for Russian ships of war. Although the Sunnite Ottomans have ceased to be dangerous neighbors to Persia, its situation is hardly more secure, and the progress of the Russians in Turkestan is not likely to improve it.

The appearance of the English in the Persian Gulf, and the landing of British troops at Buschir (1837, 1852) shows that Persia must also take account of the wealthy rulers of Southern Asia, with the powerful sovereign of more than two hundred millions of subjects.

As among the Eastern Turks and in the Ottoman Empire, intellectual decay was the forerunner of the downfall of political order. If it is so difficult to recognize in Turkestan and in the Empire of the Sultans, the countries of the Névais and the Bakis, it is hardly more easy to realize that Persia was the native land of the Firdusis and the Jamis. Unhappily, there is no need to go to Asia to witness such melancholy spectacles! But among the peoples who owe their civilization to the glorious Aryan race, the traces of a once memorable past are more plentiful than elsewhere. While nothing remains of the prosperity of the Shemitic nations except a recollection, so obscure that only scholars of rare erudition have any idea of it, it is easier to refind ancient Iran under the massive ruins which smother it. The *Shahinshah* is still "the king of kings;" the aristocracy at the head of the clans are no more disposed, than were the great vassals depicted in the *Shah-Namch*, to become the tools of a despotic power, such as has fallen upon Turkey and on China. The man of Aryan race, the Tajik, if he have lost the courage, the energy, the uprightness, the freedom of the followers of Zoroaster, is by no means, as some one has alleged, destitute of character. He has the sobriety of noble races; he is naturally intelligent; he is not so destitute of all intellectual culture as some are inclined to suppose. The schools are so plenty,—there being unlimited freedom of instruction—that primary education is far less rare than in some Christian countries. In these schools mere instruction in reading is not thought of; the national legends as embodied in poetry are explained to the scholars, and the children are given some idea of the poets, who are the undying

glory of the nation. Therefore it is that poetry is still cultivated, even among the working classes. The Persian workman, who is neither coarse nor brutal, nor a drunkard, nor open to the childish dreams which elsewhere pass current in the workshops as the last word of "social science," is fond of reciting, in his evening pastimes, passages from the poets. This taste also exists among the Dervishes, who more easily become the popular rhapsodists, since the theological preferences, so general among the Aryans, reappear even in the songs of the people.

This people is not, any more than others, made up of the same elements. The clans, which will claim our attention more particularly, since poetry of the spontaneous sort is more abundant among them than in the rest of the country, belong either to the Aryan, the Turanian or the Shemitic race. Under the first head must be reckoned the Lurs, who lead the same sort of life as the nomad hordes, under whose supremacy the Iranian Empire has at last passed.

The Turkish clans, which have subjected Iran to those Turanians who are so frequently cursed in the *Shah-Namch*, do not seem to have all come from Turkestan. The greater part must have left the territories of the Sultan, in order to escape from the rule of the Ottomans, whose Sultans wished to impose upon them a system of government alien to their traditions and their habits.

However, these Turkish tribes have settled in Ajerbaian, in Khorassan, in Irak, in Mazanderan. Some have spread southward, in Kirman, for instance, and in Farsistan. It might be said that they are found everywhere, but it is not easy to form precise notions on this point. The Persian government, partly through indifference,—the great disease of the East—partly from policy, never dreams of publishing any information which would give the clans an idea of their strength—not a comfortable subject for itself to contemplate. The Khajar Shahs, although they themselves sprang from a Turkish clan, like better to work under cover and to diminish the power of their rivals, the chiefs. They have succeeded to some extent, thanks to a Democratic system of rule, whose heads, M. de Rochechouart says, "deserve hanging ten times a day." The political drift of this system is not unlike that which in France helped the Bourbons to overthrow the aristocracy, and which in Russia has aided the two German dynasties in their persist-

ent efforts to reduce all classes to a common level. Several clans have lost so much of their former importance, that their chiefs have taken up their abode in the cities, and think themselves happy to get an office under the government.

These officials must look with an envious eye on those Khans or hereditary chiefs, whose power, while it always avoids being oppressive and is exercised in patriarchal fashion, is hardly less in extent than those of the great vassals of mediæval Europe. They have, in fact, the power of life and death over the members of the clan, who pay them a tribute and are obliged to follow them in war. Like feudal society, the clan is made up of nobles, who are mounted horsemen—the cavaliers or knights of the West—and of plebeians, who are foot soldiers and bound to render menial services. Count de Boulainvilliers claimed that the French aristocracy were the descendants of the Germans who conquered Gaul, and the common people were those of the Latinized Gauls. If that supposition were applied to France, it would be met by grave difficulties; but it seems to explain the organization of these clans.

Two considerations oblige the Shah to treat them well. Ardent hunters, fearless horseman, born soldiers, they constitute the military force of the Empire. Western writers claim that in the presence of the enemy he would sorely miss a class whose training, manners and traditions are eminently warlike—a turbulent class, indeed, capable of making unreasonable claims, and of committing faults, but also of repaying them at some Denain or Fontenoy,—which knows nothing of Waterloos or Sedans, and which escapes irreparable disaster by some piece of heroic audacity, of which peaceful classes are incapable. As in military castes, we find in the clans more imagination than practical spirit, more fondness for the ideas of the poets than political foresight, more taste for a life of adventure than for work, more respect for the might which makes right, than for the lawful rights of possession. Yet, withal, their nomadic disposition is often exaggerated. In a country where the level country is, throughout the summer, a parched and burning desert, they must needs in winter betake themselves to mountains,—in those beautiful valleys, for instance, of the Elburz, so well described by the French ambassador Count de Gobineau, in *Les Perses*—to seek refreshment for the men and grass for their cattle. But whether in *khish-lakh* or winter quarters, when agricultural

labors are performed, or in *yekhl-lakh* or summer quarters, the women, for whom the idle and vacant life of our western nations would be altogether impossible, must devote themselves to toilsome occupations. Besides their household duties, they weave stuffs, especially carpets. The feeling for artistic beauty is never quite wanting to the Asiatic; the Indo-persian art, as everybody knows, accomplishes wonders. But their industry is confined to the needs of the family circle.

The community of interests which exists among this class compels the Shah to respect their courage at the least. They form within his Empire a Persian aristocracy, whose independent mood stands in marked contrast to the too frequently servile submissiveness of the Aryan population. Similarly in Austria, the German absolutism has found its principal obstacle in a warlike and Turanian aristocracy, the Magyar nobility. With or without his will, the successor of Cyrus and of Xerxes is anything but an autocrat as regards one part of his subjects, and the Khans are as hard to manage as were Rustem and his comrades, whose indomitable character is depicted so happily, and vividly by that Firdusi, who himself showed such resolution in braving Mahmud the Ghaznevide, the terror of India.

The Arabs, representatives of the armies who conquered Persia and overthrew the throne of the Sassanides, inhabit Arabistan, which bears their name, and also extend into Ghermsis, Laristan, (the ancient Parthenia), and the neighborhood of Shiraz. The Arab clans betake themselves more and more to an agricultural life, and the great plains of Farsistan owe their fertility to them.

The Beloochees, whose blood seems a good deal mixed, dwell in Beloochistan, and in Persia in Seistan, Ghermier and Kirman. They are as devoid of religious unity as they are of unity of race and speech, since they are divided into Sunnites and Shiites, and the nobles speak Afghan and Persian, while the common people use a Persian dialect.

In this country, which is so little centralized, the peasants themselves enjoy a sort of autonomy, and it would not be easy for the *Ket Kouda* or mayor to manage the community, if he were too much out of harmony with those who compose it.

The written literature of the Persians is infinitely better than that of the Turks. But while the greatest poets of the Turkish

race have never succeeded, even in making use of the models which Persia furnished them, in producing anything so fine as the works of the poetical pleiad of that country, yet the Turks unquestionably recover the advantage when it is a question of the merits of their popular poetry. To perceive this we need only compare the Turkish⁶ with the Iranian songs⁷ in the collection made by Mr. A. Chodzko during his long residence in Persia, and which was printed at the expense of the "Committee of the Oriental Translation Fund of Great Britain and Ireland."

We will make the attempt to give some notion of this poetry, which is of a character to give completeness to the studies of the physiology of the human race—studies but recently begun, but with a great future before them. "Man," as the Metaphysicians so carefully describe him and his faculties, is as much a pure abstraction as was "Man," whose rights the Constituent Assembly of 1789 set forth. For races and peoples are living realities, which we have too often failed to study with the attention and the interest which they deserve.

II. THE POPULAR POETRY OF THE TURKS.—WAR AND LOVE.

THE taste for religious discussion is so general in Persia, that even the popular poetry presents traces of it. In an interview of Mohammed Ghergher, from the Araxes River, with a young maiden named Schazade, we find a novel mingling of religion and love, which is quite characteristic of the southern nations. The song would be not unlike a catechism in verse, were it not that there slip in sundry worldly questions and worldly answers: "What can one fill himself with, without eating?" "One can feed his eyes with the sight of a beautiful face." But the poet is always thinking to explain nature, God and Satan; the origin, the chief duty and the end of man. If we would shun the fate of Nassim, whom the mollahs had roasted alive,—[just as Schapur in the *Shah-Namuh* has Mani, the founder of Manicheism, roasted]—and

⁶ "Songs of the Persian Turks; Turkoman Songs; Adventures and Improvisations of Kurroglou, the Bandit Minstrel of Northern Persia."

⁷ "Persian Songs," in the same collection.

that of Mansur whom the Muftis of Aleppo sent to the scaffold, it does not do to cry "I am God," but to form a right idea of the incommunicable nature of Him who has made us "to know His will [according to the dispensation of the ages,] in the Gospels, in the Bible, in the Psalms and in the Koran." Man is composed of the four elements; he was expelled from Paradise, and exiled to Ceylon. The enemy of Allah, the serpent, "will go round the world till he comes back." Here we have a conception of Mazdeism, based on the doctrine of two principles which contend for the possession of the world. To resist the principle of evil, we have faith, which is "able to strengthen the dike at the confluence of two rivers" (to "remove mountains.") "Whoever does not follow the faith of Imam Jaffir, wishes to fall the victim of Aly's sword. . . . Whoever will not embrace Islam, will be thrown into the fire on the Day of the dreadful Judgment." But he who strives to obtain the grace of Mohammed and of Ali, shall inhabit Paradise forever. When we learn that Shazade congratulates herself that her "soul passed from the hell of unbelievers to the paradise of the blessed", we remember how hard it is to imprison in formulas the genius of the nations which have been formed by the Aryan civilization.

In Persia there has been a constant and irresistible tendency to react against the arid dogmatism of Islam, and it has been promoted by the tendency of the Shiite sects to bring the theory of incarnations into full currency. The Gholaites, as the English writer George Sale has remarked, have shown such zeal for the honor of their Imams, as to elevate them above the level of created beings, and to attribute to them divine attributes. These schools of thought, bearing names which vary with the country they are found in, do not shrink from the logical consequences of such ideas. The Nusairians and the Ts'kahiens tell us that God appeared in the form of certain men. In their opinion Ali existed before heaven and earth, and Allah created all things by his hands, and gave his commands through his mouth. We find here the doctrine of the Fourth Gospel, and the Prophet's son-in-law takes the part of the Incarnate Word,—a common effort of the Aryans to burst the narrow Shemitic wrappings, which are unable to give space to their own religious aspirations. When the Shiites with Ismail Shah mounted the throne of Persia in 1499, the unity of Islam was finally ruptured. The time was not far off when Catholicism was like-

wise to part asunder into two camps, which have remained as hostile as the Sonnites and the Shiites. Once more the invincible instinct of race was to array in hostile camps the majority of the Latins and that of the Germans.

"The Shiite heresy" adopted in these songs is very far from being the utmost limit of the audacities of Persian thought. "It would be exceedingly interesting," says a sagacious observer, the Count de Rochechouart, "to inquire into the condition of religious belief in Persia. I am sure results would be reached, which are very far from what would be suspected in Europe, where people persist in regarding Central Asia as the focus of Mohammedan fanaticism, whereas, on the contrary, there is no country where the stronghold of Islam has sustained so many breaches." These assertions are confirmed by an examination of their mystical poetry, whose character is less popular than philosophic. Sufiism, whose audacious pantheistical tendencies have been brought to the attention of Europe, and which has greatly occupied German scholars,⁸ has found more than once zealous auxiliaries in the poets, who, by virtue of the popularity which Persian poetry has always enjoyed in the East, have succeeded in spreading Sufi theories among the disciples of the Prophet.

In the popular poetry of the Turks, who have less fondness for speculation than the Aryans, love plays a far greater part than religion. Love, however, is among them as different as is their religion from what we find among primitive peoples. Religious zeal and amorous passion are two emotions quite incompatible with the indifference, more or less sceptical, of old nations, which, as time passes, abandon poetical tales of adventure for the misogynist *Roman de la Rose*, and know how to distinguish very exactly between love the ideal, and "woman the reality."

We would therefore seek in vain in the modern poetry of Per-

⁸ Dr. Augustus Tholuck's *Sufismus, sive Theosophia Persarum Pantheistica*; Berlin, 1821. His *Blüthensammlung aus der Morgenländischen Mystik*; Berlin, 1825. Hammer-Purgstall's edition of the *Guichen i Ras* ("Rosegarden of Mystery"); Pesth, 1838. Compare Sylvester de Sacy's edition of the *Pend Namch*, etc. [George Rosen's *Mesnevi oder Doppelverse des Scheich Mevlânâ Dschelâl-ed-dön-Rümi*; Leipzig, 1849, Garcin de Tassy's *Le Mantic Uttair, ou le Langue des Oiseaux de Farid-Uddin Attar*. The English reader will find many re-translations of Sufi poetry from the German of Tholuck and others, in W. R. Alger's *Poetry of the Orient*, and in Trench's *Poems from Eastern Sources*, London, 1851.]

sia, for the beautiful feminine types of the *Shah Namah*, and for poets capable of appreciating them. The Persian has no desire, like that of the other Asiatic peoples, to degrade woman. She is not now-a-days left in deliberate ignorance; she is no more unacquainted with poetry than with music. The laws, as a French traveller of the reign of Louis Philippe has remarked, secure her rights which are denied for the most part to European women,⁹ but it does not inspire those devoted and lofty sentiments to which the heart of the Persian of our days has become insensible. Mr. A. Chodzko believes that the Persian women are so like their husbands that they are very easily consoled for this want, and that their imaginations and their sensibilities are quite as easily satisfied. The predominance of the Turanian element in Persia, is not calculated to raise their ideas and sentiments to a higher level in this regard. In fact, the Turkish songs show that the peoples whose drift of thought and feeling they express, are not, as a rule, awake to any but sensual impressions, whose nature is not entirely veiled by the Asiatic extravagance. "I fell in love," says the song of Batyr, "with a turkman daughter, she is asleep, she does not awake. A scarlet turban covers her head. She sleeps and does not wake. My eyes are red from crying. The smoke of my burning heart reached the seventh heaven. The happiness of the world awoke; mine does not awake, she sleeps soundly. I came, and saw her asleep. I clasped my arms round her slender waist." The amorous passion, according to Oriental usage, has recourse to similes. For example, a sweetheart is called a "sun-flower," or is likened to "a red rose," to "a flower of K'onsar;" her eyebrows to "a bow;" her eyes to "the beautiful eyes of the she-camel;" her graceful head to "the emerald head of the drake;" her slender waist to "a mulberry tree." "I am your victim, my sweetheart, with hands stained with hennah. Let your waist be compassed with a shawl of cashmere. You are stately as a mulberry tree." "Do not put on your slippers," says another, "I will die. Do not take you veil, oh, my beloved. Do not leave us so soon. Sweet is your conversation, oh, my beloved; do not go; stop a moment.

⁹ Thus they retain the management of their own property after marriage. It is the same in the Ottoman Empire (Osman-Bey: *Les Femmes en Turquie*). It is possible that the Russians, who have the same law (see Spiridion Zeras: *La Législation Russe*) borrowed it from the Moslems during the Mongol domination.

You are a rose, my darling. The time is the best time for a chat, my sweet. See the painted ceiling of this room, my blushing rose. My sunflower, my beloved; I lose all patience, my dearest. There is a solitary room, my sweet. You are a flower of Khonsar, my sweetheart. You smell like amber, my dear. Oh, hasten our wedding. I am dying; I am dead, my well beloved. Oh my sweetheart, with the brows bent like a bow, with eyes sparkling with delight, do not go; stay a moment."

The song of Bayat seems to disclose less superficial feelings: "Oh my *auslik*, when I was with her, a hundred days seemed to me as the twinkling of an eye. I used to see my beloved a hundred times a day. One day I saw her not; it was the same to me as a hundred days of sorrow."

"*Auslik*! the flowers are for you, the nightingale for you; for you is the rose. When you are abroad, I will send you our native flowers."

"Oh my *auslik*, do not take away my sweetheart. I will pray to God for you. Take my soul, but do not take my sweetheart away."

"There is only one pearl in the oyster shell. Although there are many beautiful persons, I love but one."

It must not be expected that we will always find the same simplicity in expression of sentiment. The Asiatic is at once extravagant and subtle, and French literature of the period before Boileau exhibits the same temper of mind, to which even Malherbe yielded in writing *Les Larmes de Saint Pierre*. The conversation of an *auslik* with a maiden gives a clear enough notion of the subtlety to which the popular poets at times condescend, "The contest between a Gardener and a Shepherd," on the other hand, is characterized by a noble simplicity. It discusses a vital question, with which the oldest Persian poetry is very properly occupied. The *Shah-Namch* especially admires in Persia the civilization of which the agricultural life is the foundation and triumphantly contrasts it with the nomad life of barbarous and sterile Turan. Such was the masculine spirit of the disciples of Zoroaster. But in Central Asia such a spirit would always find dissenters. The slothful creed of the Moslem was hardly calculated to sustain it. The Turanian family was as destitute as were the Arabs of any enthusiasm for it. The balance which existed between the agricultural and the nomad

life has at last been completely broken, and Persia is drifting more and more into the desert state. We have too many instances of such a transformation in Europe. The *Ager Romanus*, once made productive by the warlike workmen, who played as grand a part in the history of Europe as did the soldiers of Cyrus in Asia, is it not now given up to the priests and to malaria?

“The Contest between a Gardener and a Shepherd” shows the direction in which Persia has gone, since the all but annihilation of the old national religion. The nomad is no longer accursed as the representative of the Dark Principle of Evil, as the enemy of the life which must manifest itself in all nature. He discusses matters with the cultivator of the soil on a footing of equality, or rather he thinks himself decidedly the better man. His manner of life seems to him more conformable to man’s natural instincts. He lives near by the cool springs in the mountains; he “plucks the buds of red roses;” his milk and cream are “sweet as honey;” he “sends butter from west to east, sufficient for Russia, Europe, as well as Turkestan.” The gardener, on the contrary, is a vine grower and a wine drinker, and deserves “the eternal fire of hell,” for “a man ought to live according to the commandments of God.” The winter time, so severe in Central Asia, has no terrors for the shepherd. Warmly wrapped in his furs, he “could go and defy the Sultan himself.” He knows how to make of his wool the cloaks which protect the warrior against the falling mist, and “the carpets embroidered with flowers” which are the wonder of Europe, while in Cashmere they convert it into “shawls, yellow, green and scarlet.”

The arguments employed by the Gardener in defence of his profession, are, it must be said, very unlike those which the disciples of Zoroaster would have employed. For the latter, agriculture was a manly struggle with evil, as represented by barrenness, by baneful growths, and by the evil things which the soil brought forth, when abandoned by human sloth to the blind forces of nature. The gardener of modern times says, indeed, that his soil produces “material for bows,” and “wood for spears, necessary to a valiant man in the day of battle.” But his thought, which is evidently more voluptuous than warlike, hardly dwells on these ideas. His garden produces the fruits he loves, “figs, grapes and dried raisins,” the wine which gives him a “high flow of spirits,”

when he "drinks, with a beauty by his side." If he thinks of his pomegranates, his poplars, his planes, he sees "a beautiful maid" seeking their shade and making his "walks more pleasant." If he dreams of "the buds which open every morning in his garden," he knows that "the young beauties come and see them and gather nosegays," and "walk amidst the flowers." The silk that his mulberry trees yield, recalls to him "the heads of black hair which float upon beautiful shoulders." The sensual "good for nothing" Tajik, as the shepherd calls him, is not man enough to make headway against the proud nomad, who for so many centuries has put in practice the Albanian proverb, "He who has steel, has bread."

But in a country where the sword of Brennus falls so heavily into the scale, there is hardly safety for the fireside where the mother toils, or the cradle where her infant sleeps. The golden songs, with which the Greek women entertain "the little *palticaro*," to whom, with unshaken patriotic faith, they show in the distance, as promised to his race, the great and famous cities now subject to the Ottoman, are very unlike those of the Persian women. The fatal disheartenment which seems to have infected their people, once so proud, appears to have overwhelmed their whole soul. The voice of the child which they hear in the night time, awakens those maternal fears of which the pathetic Simonides speaks in depicting the anguish of Danaë. "May God save thee from the small pox and the measles. My menzil is far off. . . . I mounted a headless (hard-mouthed) horse; I crossed a river. . . . I passed a spot where a stranger died forsaken by his companions." The scourges of nature and the selfishness of man being equally sources of terror, it only remains to seek a support outside this world. "Sleep, my child! and talk with God. God be always with thee."

If popular poetry is the expression of contemporary sentiment, the works and the life of the old Turkish poets of the Persian Empire give us the clearest notion of the beliefs and manners of the generations which preceded them on the stage of history. The Turkish pride, as Nevaï says, is in the ideal of a past, whose memorials are becoming more and more obliterated.

DORA, COUNTESS D'ISTRIA.

THE JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY.

IT is auspicious for the country that university-building has set in with increased activity in the south. Hitherto higher education has been mostly confined to the north. Southern men sent away for their schooling as for their manufactures. They sent to northern colleges, which grew wealthy and influential through their patronage, or else to foreign universities, which, particularly in Germany, drew out of the country, much of our money appropriated to education. This operated largely against the development of universities on southern soil, and against the realization of the highest university ideal in America. We are now, however, seeing the mistake, and, with something of a protective spirit, we are demanding more and higher universities in the south, as we are also demanding manufactures like those which have built up the north. The south, having been under its temporizing policy too much drained for the advantage of other parts of the world, is beginning to do more for its permanent good, though sacrificing something of its immediate convenience. The Johns Hopkins University, with the Vanderbilt University at Nashville, and the Washington and Lee University as reorganized at Lexington, are the pioneer movements in this direction, although the University of Virginia had long maintained, for the special demands of the south, some distinctive features of the continental universities, with which its sons had become familiar when abroad. Of the Johns Hopkins University, I shall speak at present, as likely to wrestle with several important problems, both of university education in the south, and of higher university culture in the country generally.

And first, touching circumstantial and economic matters, I observe that the Johns Hopkins University is to be a city, instead of a country university. Formerly universities were more generally established in small towns, both in Europe and America. In Europe we had them at Tübingen, Göttingen, Heidelberg, Halle, Oxford and Cambridge, and in America at Cambridge, New Haven, Charlotteville and Ann Arbor. Now, however, the tendency is in the opposite direction. Great universities are growing up in Europe, at Berlin, Vienna, Munich and Paris; and in America, at

Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Chicago, Cincinnati and Nashville. Formerly, men went to the University ; now, the university comes to the men ; formerly, university education was intended for the wealthy classes who could support their youth away from home, or for the exceptional characters who could make a business of it, with something of monkish seclusion from the world. Now, it is popular and follows the population, as well as practical and appropriate for business centres and home comfort. And though vices are more numerous in large cities, which is a common objection to them as university seats, they are more generally contagious in small towns where society is shut up within narrower walls. And if the vices of a city are more varied, which is of little consequence to students, who, at that age, care for but few, the advantages of a city are also more varied, which is of great consequence to them who, at that age, when opening to all matters of inquiry, want to appropriate many. The museums, libraries and public entertainments, too, with the metropolitan courts and churches, and the conventions of celebrities of every kind, as well as the factories and marts of trade, which are often in themselves special museums of the arts, furnish far better surroundings for students than the narrow circle of their own numbers, or the society of their somewhat impractical professors. It is well for students during their development, as for professors during their investigations, to have perpetual reminders, in the busy activities around them, of the practical purposes of research, which are often forgotten in the aimless erudition of cloisters and academic groves.

Baltimore is, in several respects, peculiarly fitted to be the seat of a university, through more, perhaps, in its possibilities than in its actual developments. Being the most northern of southern cities, and the most southern of northern cities, and the nearest to the great west of all our sea-board towns, it is destined to be the centre of a vast trade, if not our principal port of commerce. And being thus, in some sense, a mediator between the north and the south, and between the east and the west, and even between this country and foreign countries, it must inevitably become cosmopolitan in its character, and a general focus of intellectual as of business activities. Its proximity to Washington, with its governmental facilities for inquiry, as well as to the two largest cities in the Union, with the principal collections of art, literature and

science, puts at its disposal, and within easy reach, about all that the continent affords for education or research.

The Johns Hopkins University will be the first example of a strictly private university.* All others have been either state or church universities; while in England the universities have been under both state and church. The Johns Hopkins University is an ordinary private corporation, like a bank or railroad, and so little exposed to partisanship or sectarianism—either corruption or bigotry. Education is to be free, and for its own end, and not a police force or religious agency. It is also likely to be more economical, as private enterprises are generally conducted with less expense than public ones, notwithstanding the trust contains in itself a temptation to the trustees. The only danger we fear is, that, as the funds are largely invested in Baltimore and Ohio Railroad stock, and several of the trustees are directors of that road, the temptation may arise to manipulate that stock so as to make the university suffer the loss of its depreciation without the advantage of its rise. It would not be the first time that the managers of a corporation have shoved the burden of the company on a charitable institution holding its bonds, after they had first secured their own interests.

The endowment, which is fortunately large for a commencement—three millions of dollars in tolerably good securities, yielding one hundred thousand dollars per annum—is about as much as the trustees, with their lack of experience, can well manage during the limited growth to which the circumstances destine the university for its first years. The gift of all this money and property without conditions, except that no part of the principal sum shall be used for buildings, and the commendable advice that the institution shall be free from sectarian and partisan control, is the best gift that a wealthy man could make to education, being a gift of his wealth and not of his whims, for an object of which he knew little, but to which he could contribute much. The appointment by him also of sensible and practical men for trustees, and the wise directions he gave for financial management—a subject on which also he was eminently qualified to act—were the next best things in his

* The University of Pennsylvania, although it bears the name of a State, is not a State institution, and never has been a church institution. It is a private corporation in exactly the same sense.—ED.

power. The trustees are accordingly business men, honest men, and, in several instances, great men. They are not scholastic men, theoretical men, or clergymen, who, however useful they might be in other capacities in a university, would be less so as managers.

A university that starts out with nothing but money—not even a friend or demand for it—must necessarily be slow in its growth. Especially is this so when about all that money can procure—fine buildings—is proscribed for the present. It takes time to build a university, which is largely a matter of growth instead of manufacture. The available supply of fit counsels and men is limited; and if it is unduly pushed to its maturity it will be of but weak and stunted development. Those, therefore, who are sanguine about its first fruits will likely to be disappointed. Students will not rush in as being attracted by any splendid offers, and the limited demand from this source will not be likely to hasten the authorities with the supply.

And yet, although it takes time to build a university, it takes far less than formerly. Everything goes faster now than in past ages. Distances and prejudices are overleaped more easily, and people adjust themselves more readily to new offers. Instead of necessarily following in old places and ways because they are established, they change into new currents, and settle in new centres as fast as these are found to be more convenient. The old apparatus and books, too, which it takes so much time to accumulate, and which were once thought to largely constitute a university, are now generally superseded; so that everything has to be new. Science being essentially modern, and research being rather to find out new truths than to recover forgotten ones, accumulations, when they become a few years old, become rubbish and must be exchanged for others. Our universities, therefore, to meet this advance, must, from time to time, be re-made, and the old accretions which are found a burden in effecting the changes which constitute progress, are often dropped as useless rather than retained as aggrandizing. The objects of a university, moreover, are largely different from what they formerly were, being to investigate and instruct the youth, and not to furnish a retreat for scholastics. We want, therefore, the latest improved and most economic appliances, which are common and at hand, and not the antiquated and exceptional ones, which are so costly and difficult to get. And knowin

from the first what we want, we can get it at once; so that there is no reason for the delay which was formerly necessary when we had neither the experience of other universities, nor the ready means of duplicating them. Many of our youngest colleges are accordingly among the greatest. Michigan and Cornell universities are superior to most of the old New England colleges; while in Europe, the universities of Berlin, Leipsic, Göttingen, Vienna and Strasburg, take the lead of the older German universities. New life is generally better than old respectability; and the time is coming when we shall no more prefer a university on account of its age than a building on account of its age.

The first task of the new university will be to create a demand for itself. There is need enough for it, but that need has not come into consciousness. The ground that its patronage will most drain is now occupied by several inferior and denominational colleges which have hitherto been thought amply sufficient for the few persons who have patronized universities. The people of this latitude care more for business than for education, and those who have been rich enough to attend a university, aim rather to build up a trade than a fame. Their pride is that of family rather than of intellect, and manifests itself in high life rather than in literature. The best people in the south are society people, and their rivalries run in fashionable circles. There is, however, a need for a university, and the fact that it is not felt, heightens its urgency as a real need. And as in the whole country there is more than at any previous time of the leisure and wealth which afford both the opportunity and the means for higher education, there is not the same excuse as formerly for the lack of attention given to higher education, or for the limit of that education where it does exist. The newness of our land, and the frequent demands on our time and strength for the first necessities of life, have now yielded to a degree of popular luxury not rivalled by any country in the world, which, unless turned to education, will be likely to run in channels of self-destruction. While in the western section of our country there is a college in almost every town, and the population generally patronize it with zeal as a necessity of its petty existence, we have in this latitude no such institutions, and that although there is far more wealth here than in the west. The west builds them as a means of material prosperity, while we regard them as a burden

and patronize them as a condescending favor. And while a western community pours out its treasures to secure a college in its midst, as it would to secure a railroad, some of our towns have opposed their establishment and labored for their removal, as the State itself once did in regard to the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad. University work among us will obviously be missionary work for a while. We shall have, as our first task, to bring about a revival of the educational spirit; and, for a few years, more will have to be done outside of its walls than within them. Its affable president, like the presidents of those western institutions, will have to be an agent rather than a teacher, and stand between the university and the people. Its influence will first have to be felt through its publications and its popular lectures, anniversaries and commencements. It will have to build itself up by making friends with the public schools and with educators in the lower branches who are to fill its walls from their classes, as the western colleges (which depend on the preachers) fill theirs from the religious congregations. Especially is there need of this propagating work, since the Johns Hopkins University has no natural constituency inspired by denominational feeling or local self-interest. There has not been, as in other cases, a demand which created it and which now stands ready to self-supply it. It came into existence unasked for and uncared for; and so must first create a demand and then supply it.

Especially must it create a demand for a university in the higher sense to supply which is to be its principal mission. For though it may seem a paradox that a superior institution can succeed where inferior ones are not well supported, yet it is generally more easy to create an enthusiasm and succeed in something greater where it would be impossible to attain to something equal; just as it is sometimes easier to build a new church than to pay off an old debt. A special demand must be created for a university in the higher sense, because there are so many universities in the lower sense that they have led Americans to believe that there is no need of others. But now we need a superior kind of university for the few among us who can appreciate something better, which few are fast becoming many, and creating a demand not unlike that of Europe. And it is important, with the increasing density of our population, when work and business are becoming scarce, that the wealthy should leave such work and business more to the

poor and betake themselves to culture, thereby distributing wealth—a thoroughly democratic principle. And the only outlet for our overgrown wealth, unless it descend into enervating luxury, is culture in science and art. Like the ancient Romans, the wealthy men of the south ought to turn their ambition to fame, and not so much to possessions, and so to the royal intellectual highways and not to private paths of interest.

The Johns Hopkins University, we have said, is to be a university in the fullest sense, and this is one of its distinguishing features, though it is a shame that this feature should be distinctive in our country. It is to be a complete university, not only in having all the departments—arts, medicine, law and theology—but in other and more important respects. It is to be fully equipped for the double work of instruction and investigation. In this country the first of these objects is commonly regarded as the only legitimate end of a university. Professors are thought to neglect their students if they betake themselves to research or literature; and in several instances in our best institutions, it is publicly announced that they do nothing but teach. The best men of the country cannot be secured to a university which compels them merely to go over, in a routine way, what they have already learned—the very essence of intellectual stagnation.* Men of spirit and original capabilities demand something more than contact and grappling with minds vastly inferior and younger than their own, or than dealing with only such and so much thought and information as the limited capacity of undeveloped minds can receive. A university is not only to be a cluster of great men, but of great men in their great work. It matters little whether you have giants. If they are to do only what ordinary men can do; and ordinary men can do much of the teaching in a university, as elsewhere, better than better men can do it,—it not requiring the highest type, or even the most practical type, of mind to be a teacher. A great man can more easily do a harder thing than teach. A university should be a sort of academy of sciences, as well as a nursery, and an instructor of the whole country and world, as well as of its own

*While we are glad to see what is doing at Baltimore for the promotion of research, and we hope to see it extended to other localities, we must protest against this estimate of the ordinary professor's work. Our contributor's words are applicable only to the very worst sort of teaching.—EDITOR.

students. As it is supported principally by others than those within its walls, its benefits should be felt by others and extend at least as wide as its patronage.

It is to be a complete university, also, in being a post-graduate course, for there is where university work properly begins. All continental universities are post-graduate, in the American sense of that term. The four years course which is commonly given in our universities, is given in gymnasiums abroad, and is regarded as preparatory to university work. But the Johns Hopkins University will have principally to do with lectures instead of recitations, and test examinations for degrees instead of periodical ones for advancement. The idea, like that of the German universities, is to fit one for practical success in some department of life, by a complete mastery of one subject, however small, and by equipping him with the literature, the methods and the instruments in that department up to the very latest discoveries. It aims to make one an authority or capable of being such, which the final examination and thesis required in the German universities are intended to guarantee. A man should be made by a university to know something thoroughly as a condition of graduation, which will enable him to learn thoroughly other things. If it be but the geology of a county, or the Poems of Hesiod, still an exhaustive mastership of so much, with all the equipments, such as a German student has on graduating, it will at least show him how to study and how to do practical, progressive work afterwards. It is the bringing up of the theoretical, and of accumulations of knowledge, to the point of the practical and the present, where one fully instructed is ready to act with the power which large intelligence and the latest advances of science give him.

To the same end all branches of science and subjects of inquiry are to be taught and investigated, including some for which there is no considerable demand. A university must cover the whole cycle of the sciences. Not only what is common, and what, therefore, may be found almost anywhere as a result of the law of supply and demand, but also what is rare must be supplied, as the speciality of great institutions and the privilege of great endowments. And although many professorships and topics of instruction will be little availed of, and much waste will be the result of an oversupply, yet, like many volumes in a great library, which

are hardly called for once in a decade, they are there when they are wanted, and give one man a privilege which may be made useful to many. Some of the most learned men in the world lecture to but a handful of students, and teachers of Sanskrit have often but one scholar a piece; yet the facilities must be ready all the same, since it is the nature of very learned and lofty topics to be accessible to but very few. And a university must not only have every branch of learning, but be able to give the fullest instruction in it, enabling the student to have access to the highest authorities of science. The public should be made to feel as sure that they can get what they want as the man is who goes to an unabridged dictionary for a word. Important information, experiments, advice of experts, observations, expeditions and special training are often called for by our government, courts and special exigencies of society, which make it urgent that all the learning of the world be somewhere near at hand and readily available when wanted. A great exhaustive university in this sense is likely to spring up in each geographical division of our country; and it looks now as if these centres were likely to be Harvard University, Johns Hopkins University, the University of Michigan and the University of California, as representing the east, the south, the northwest and the Pacific coast, with a contest between several places for the southwest.

As an important requisite of a first-class university, the best available men are to be chosen professors. Neither the favorites of the trustees, nor those of most influential patrons are to be elevated to such places. It is proposed to hunt all through the world for the most able men, and to appoint them, no matter what their nativity, connections, or social influence. Especially is it proposed—and this will be the difficult point to secure—to fill the places without regard to the religion or politics of the candidate. It is not to be a university of any sect or section, nor of all sects and sections, which is still worse. Sectarianism and sectionalism are not to enter it in any manner whatever. The worst policy to pursue, and the one which gives the least satisfaction, is to scrupulously try to represent all religious denominations, all political parties, all sections of the country and all classes, of whatever kind, having an influence; appointing one man, for example, because he is a Methodist, another because he is a Presbyterian, another because he

is a Republican, another because he is a Democrat, another because he is a northerner, another because he is a southerner, another because he is a railroad man, and another because he is a newspaper man. A university has nothing to do with such distinctions, the matters which enter into the qualifications of a professor being of an altogether different character. A university with the wealth of the Johns Hopkins endowment, need above all to have no regard to such bids for favor; and having a chance to be independent, it will be inexcusably contemptible if it act the sycophant.

As a means of securing only the best men to professorships, it is proposed to select men who are now authorities in their respective departments, or have a prospect of becoming such. Common sense mediocrity, without the foibles of genius, may be more practical in teaching, and more manageable in harmonious cöoperation; but this is not the material that gives exceptional splendor to a university. A university is no greater than the men which compose it, all other equipments, however extended, making it but a museum; and greatness in science is not attained in this age short of the expertness of an authority. Unless a man knows something, or can do something, as well as anybody else in the whole world, and so stands in the very front ranks of intelligence, he has no claim whatever to a place in a university. Young men with promise, however, are rather to be chosen than old men whose reputations are made and dead. The rising tide of progress can only, in general, be carried on by youth in sympathy with the new, and having courage to take hold of the unsettled. And, as a guarantee against mediocrity, the professors are to be taken on probation, to be got rid of in case they do not realize what they promise. Tutorships, and various adjunct, assistant and other subordinate relationships are established, to be filled during the trial period and before one is indissolubly attached to the institution. By this means it is hoped to get all the departments temporary filled without committing the institution to more men than are absolutely necessary, or shutting up all vacancies against better men who may come after.

The new university is to be one of the broadest liberality. Not only is there to be no sectionalism or sectarianism in the choice of the professors, but no politics or religion is to be taught as the policy of the institution. The professors are, as we understand,

after being chosen irrespective of their opinions, and so presumably of every shade of belief, to be at perfect liberty to express their views on any subject whatever. As in the German universities, where in many instances the Catholic and the Protestant, the Christian and the sceptic are side by side, each giving his own views of religion and arguing them with absolute freedom as often as his subject or inclination calls him thereto,* so here we may expect that, while the policy of the institution is neither political nor religious, all sorts of politics and all sorts of religion and anti-religion will be taught. For liberality does not consist in scrupulously avoiding, but in ingenuously discussing, all disputed questions. All that can be required of the professors is that they discuss them in a candid and scientific spirit, and show an ordinary degree of common sense in the manner and occasion. A university cannot afford to be tender about men's scruples and prejudices. All science should be taught, no matter whose faith or feelings it touches, it being the chief object of a university to do away with faiths and feelings that are not in accord with science. The Johns Hopkins University will, it is hoped, give us an example of this perfect freedom, and then allow, as a complementary feature, equal freedom in students to attend or not attend the objectionable teachings.

And not only with regard to religion and politics, but in all other respects it is hoped that the new university will exhibit this perfect liberality. There should be no hobbies of the university

*While it is true that in Germany the *Lehrfreiheit* is more unqualified than in England or America, our contributor is mistaken in supposing that it has no limits. The great body of teachers in a German university are on the footing of *privat-docenten*; the comparatively few professorships being filled, for the most part, by men whose reputations are made, and whose possible range of teaching is fully known before their appointment. But, as was shown by the recent scandalous treatment of Dr. E. Dühring in Berlin, a *privat-docent* holds his place only so long as he makes himself agreeable to the Faculty. Nor is this line of policy an innovation. Edward Benecke, the founder of modern psychology, was, at Hegel's instance, forbidden to teach in Berlin, and when he could no longer be refused a professorship, was starved into disease and suicide on a salary of 200 thalers, by Hegel's disciples after the latter's death. Nor are professors exempt from responsibility for their teaching. Fichte's exit from Jena is not forgotten. F. Th. Vischer was temporarily silenced at Tübingen for avowing himself an atheist in a public discourse. David Friedrich Strauss never could obtain a university chair, although he bid for one in his *Zwei Friedliche Blätter*, and in the third edition of his *Leben Jesu*.—ED.

as such, and it should not be tied to methods. It should be neither classical nor scientific as a peculiarity, but furnish the best opportunities for studies in both. It is not the place of a university to discourage any branch of learning, but to encourage all. Let individuals and outside agencies determine of how much use Latin is to the world, and the relative value of science and literature, or of ancient and modern learning. The university is to be encyclopædic as well as cosmopolitan; and there cannot be too much of one thing as long as there is enough of every other. Nor should the university be known as Pestalozzian or Progressive or Inductive or Jacetoise; or rather it should be all of these, as far as the methods of the respective professors make it such. It should give everybody an opportunity to say anything good, or to adopt any system within the limits of his jurisdiction, but it should not commit the university to it as a characteristic. Such narrowness always breaks up in impractical dissensions. Nor should the university be Kantian, Comtian or Scottish, except as far as the opinions of its respective philosophers make it one or the other or all. A great man in a university will bring his own philosophy as well as his own methods, and to a certain extent give his tone to the place; but a university of large dimensions need never adopt a man, as that of Edinburgh did Hamilton or that of Paris did Cousin; but, as in the German universities, there should be side by side, in philosophy as in religion, professors representing the most opposite schools, not indeed by design, but as the most probable result of choosing the best.

One policy of the new university is to dispense with the four years system, like the University of Virginia, and not attempt such general grouping as into Freshmen, Sophomores, Juniors and Seniors. A thousand, or even a hundred students, present too much diversity, both of talents and attainments, to be profitably arranged in so few classes for instruction. Peculiarities and individualities must be too much cut off for this; and in general there must be too much levelling and procrustean bed work. Differentiation is needed as we advance in education, and the individual instead of the class must be the unit in the composition of a university. Especially is this so in the higher training which this university proposes to furnish. Education can be in common only in a limited degree. As it becomes thorough it becomes special, the many fall-

ing off, and the few taking widely diverse courses. Under the present system much time is lost, and much work done over again, by compelling a youth who is qualified, for example, to be a Junior in Mathematics, a Sophomore in Physics and a Freshman in Greek, to be a Sophomore in all. The new system proposed, in which each student is to take in each study the place for which he is qualified, instead of being averaged, will require many more classes, and much more work by the professors; but where the professors are to be so numerous, and where they are to be supplemented by so many assistants, the requisite force ought to be easily attained. Especially is this individualizing possible when, as we shall presently show, the student is to do more work in laboratories and cabinets, and use the professor only as a guide to answer questions, and not as a drill-master to ask them. And as another reason for individual instead of class work, the student is now to select his studies and not take, in every instance, all that the consensus of wise heads has laid down as the proper average. The time is past when the range of the sciences can be so limited that one can take it all, or when the same person can learn all that is taught in a university. A university, like a hotel, is best on the European plan, where you can have a select dinner according to your appetite, your constitution, and your purse, and not on the American plan, where you sit down to a *table d'hôte*, paying for everything, eating what you do not want, and failing to get what you do want because the dinner is got up as an average.

A prominent feature of the new university promises to be that its culture will be principally active instead of receptive, attained by doing something instead of passively learning. The laboratory will largely take the place of lectures, and expeditions of text books. Men will take hold of nature and torture out her answers, instead of merely taking what she voluntarily gives. Formerly, truths were told us and we believed them. Now we not only see for ourselves, but work out our knowledge. Formerly, we looked upon nature as upon books, to be read; now, we look upon it as forces, to be coöperated with. Instead of letters and figures, we use more largely tools and machinery as our implements, and, instead of going to the school-room, we go more into the workshop and field. The mind is an agent rather than a mirror, and cannot understand anything until it can in some sense do it. It acts on

nature instead of reflecting it, and regards nature as acting instead of passively waiting to be learned. Science is of the nature of art instead of knowledge, and more nearly allied to our active powers than it was formerly thought to be. Men conquer truth and master facts as in a strife. The things learned are brought within our power and all knowledge has a tendency to form into ideals of our own creation. The student is an artist, and his knowledge is in some sense his works. He chisels it as a statue out of the rock, rather than finds it as a diamond in the sand. It follows his execution rather than awaits his discovery. Our culture, in short, is more bound up with deeds than formerly, and the question is not what you know, but what you can do. Learned men are practical rather than scholastic, and this age is one of great changes as well as of great discoveries. Advancing science and advancing civilization go hand in hand. A university, therefore, to be up with the times, must be a set of active men, or workshop filled with busy artisans, rather than a congregation of respectful listeners. The students must, in a measure, be led to discover their own knowledge instead of be taught it, and be set to work rather than to thinking. The professor's work is to guide them in study rather than instruct them in knowledge, and to show them a method rather than the truth. The student is to be developed rather than taught, and his powers drawn out rather than his surroundings taken in. Exercise rather than storage, and power rather than attainments are to be sought. In short, his education is to be active rather than receptive, taking in the will and energies of the man as well as his dormant capacity.

An effort will doubtless be made in connection with Johns Hopkins University to solve certain questions relating to higher female education, and particularly the co-education of the sexes. While the policy of the institution in this respect appears not to be fully developed as yet, it cannot be doubted that, if conducted in conformity with the Quaker instincts of its founder, it will give equal advantage to both sexes. In the west women are admitted on equal terms to the universities, and also in the Boston University. In this latitude, however, where the project savors of radicalism and blue stockings, it is likely to meet with opposition, as offensive to our politics and our type of female character. It cannot be denied, however, that the principal objection to the coeducation of

the sexes (after that of the mutual distraction caused by the presence of each other) is obviated by the peculiar policy of the new institution. This objection is that women, as they are accommodated in their peculiarities of mind and situation, require very different treatment from men. But where, as in Johns Hopkins University, the students are not grouped in rigid classes, or taught as inflexible wholes, but taken as individuals, and led through, not a general curriculum, but a select course suited to their respective characters and attainments, this difference can be adequately recognized. If a university can so differentiate its work as to meet the differences between the several types of mind, it can also meet those between the two sexes, which, as a whole, differ far less than do those of either sex as individuals. Women are already admitted to the lectures and largely avail themselves of them. How far they will penetrate into the laboratory and private courses, remains to be seen. But we see no sufficient reason why, under the plan of the institution, any special obstacle should be opposed to them, seeing that their inclinations and qualifications will regulate the matter in exact conformity with the law of natural selection recognized by the university. In a large city, moreover, like Baltimore, where so many cultured women live within easy reach of the university, and where many more are drawn by the special attractions of the city, the privileges of such a university will be more availed of than would be the case in a small university town.

The course of study in Johns Hopkins University, as thus far laid out, and as pursued during the past and the current year, embraces the usual curriculum of our colleges, and in addition thereto* the Italian, Sanskrit, Persian, Hebrew and Arabic languages; Graphical Statics, Spherical Harmonics and Sources of American History; also lectures on the following subjects: History of Astronomy, Methods and Results of Territorial Surveys, Thermodynamics, Electricity and Magnetism, Theory of Elasticity, Technical Chemistry, Quantitative and Qualitative Analysis, Animal Physiology, Theories in Biology, Comparative Philology, Syntax of the Greek Verb, Pindar, Chaucer, Dante and the Romance Literature

* Our contributor, however, goes on to enumerate a great number of subjects which are taught in the ordinary curriculum of any university, and many that are specialties of those which have scientific departments, like the Sheffield Institute at Yale, or the Towne Scientific School of the University of Pennsylvania.—ED.

of the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries, English History from James I. to Cromwell, English and Scotch Ballads, the Law of Torts and Political Economy. There are also several conferences and voluntary classes, formed by the fellows, on Thucydides, Pedagogics and other specialties. The Departments of Law and Medicine are not yet arranged, but await certain developments to be mentioned hereafter. The requirements for matriculation are slightly above those of our other universities, with considerably more flexibility to correspond with that of the course. The degrees are Bachelor of Arts and Bachelor of Philosophy (or Science), which are respectively to be merged in Master of Arts and Doctor of Philosophy subsequently, the requirements for all of which are substantially the same as in other universities. The students who do not aim at degrees may select their course according to their special objects or qualifications; while all persons whatever are admitted, on the mere payment of the fees, to the separate courses of lectures without examination and without further university privileges.

The faculty of the University, at the present writing, consists of seven professors, ten lecturers, and twelve associates. The professors are D. C. Gilman, (President), Basil L. Gildersleeve, (Greek), H. N. Martin, (Biology), Charles D. Morris, (Latin and Greek), Ira Remsen, (Chemistry), Henry A. Rowland, (Physics), and J. J. Sylvester, (Mathematics), all of whom are men of recognized ability and abundance of titles, and several of them of wide reputation. Their number as permanent professors will be but slowly added to, the vacant places being filled in the meanwhile by assistants and fellows, so that the university will be in full operation notwithstanding the backward state of faculty building. The number of students present during the first term, ending March 30th, 1877, was 89, including 20 tutors, of whom 34 were graduates of other colleges. The average attendance on the several courses of lectures was from 12 to 200. These figures will be considerably increased for the present college year.

The buildings, library and apparatus are extemporised for the immediate needs of the university. During the growth of the institution it will avail itself largely of Baltimore facilities, supplementing these rather than duplicating them. For many years it will depend on the Peabody Library principally for research, as the

Universities of Berlin and Munich have depended principally on their respective Royal Libraries. In selecting books and periodicals, special reference is accordingly had to those already accessible to students in the city, as is to some extent also the case in providing lectures and technical instruction. The university means to appropriate its surroundings. In particular will it subsidize for its medical department the magnificent Johns Hopkins Hospital, which is to rise in parallel greatness with the university. By mutually playing into each other's hands, these two institutions can, in great part, be run with half the expense, each being the counterpart of the other. The university also hopes to make much use of the National Capital with its collections of books, models, art and natural history, reaping, by its proximity to that city, the same advantages which foreign universities seek in gravitating to the respective seats of government in Europe. As a university in England is a cluster of colleges, in this country, with our facilities for travel, it may yet be to some extent a cluster of cities.

In conclusion, we may add that while the city and surroundings will thus be laid under contribution to the university, the university, in turn, will thus aid in building up several interests of the city. It will immeasurably raise the intellectuality of Baltimore, of which we have already some signs. The infusion of so many professors and students into society, with the celebrities who shall visit them as lecturers and friends, cannot but give tone to the community, while the people who are drawn to the semi-popular lectures and read up to appreciate them, will feel the influence in their manners and aspirations. The public schools, supplemented by this institution, will turn out candidates for the university, instead of finished scholars for business, and the wealthy and professional men, who have been interested in the university as trustees or patrons, will absorb something of its spirit and be less exclusively occupied by material concerns.

Nor will the university fail to be of material advantage to the city. The magnificent buildings which are to be erected in Clifton Park, with the great avenues leading thereto and connecting with our northern boulevard, will constitute a splendid addition to our "monumental" greatness. For it is to be hoped, notwithstanding the aspersions cast by Huxley on our costly (?) university buildings, that the trustees, in copying what is good in Europe, will not copy

their shabby and inadequate educational structures. For, though utility and convenience should not be sacrificed to beauty, a competent architect can make a useful building beautiful, however minutely adapted to its progress. Fine buildings, though they were formerly thought to be only for the useless, as castles, tombs and temples, are now thought to be chiefly for the useful, as stores, courts and schools. It only requires talent in the architect to thus accommodate æsthetics to economics. In this case it is particularly to be desired that the entire mass of buildings shall, in their general features at least, be planned from the first and the whole grouped in architectural unity, and not left to grow up, like the present temporary buildings of the university, without plan, as they are found to be needed. A faculty and set of trustees who cannot foresee what a university wants in buildings, are not competent to plan for its future in other respects; and an architect who, while building only as fast as required, cannot keep the plan of the whole in view, is not adequate to any great architectural work whatever.

AUSTIN BIERBOWER.

BALTIMORE.

ON ORGANIZATION OF CHARITY IN PHILADELPHIA.

HOWEVER much ardent temperaments may object, it is but just and necessary that every new claim upon society should be required to justify itself to the heart and mind of men, before it receives their support. The movement publicly set on foot last spring in this city, to deal afresh with charitable relief and the problems of mendicancy, which has been several times noticed in the pages of *THE PENN MONTHLY*, as well as by the journals of Philadelphia, must encounter this demand with patience and thoroughness, if it is to establish itself among us, and bring its actual performance at all near its comprehensive and high ideal. If this movement had no better origin than a discontent with the management of voluntary relief societies, and aimed no higher than to create a competitive and additional scheme of beneficence which should arrogate to itself a greater wisdom than is found in other organizations, although it might then deserve public criticism, still

the present writer would care but little to be its advocate. Yet he does not wish now to discuss in detail the plans of the new Commission for Organizing Charitable Relief, because he is without authority to anticipate the decisions of a Board of gentlemen which is carefully and thoughtfully feeling its way into untried paths; but rather to treat of the conditions out of which such movement might arise, and the functions it might advantageously attempt to take to itself. In a discussion of this nature, certain principles and aims will appear, which the writer believes to be warmly cherished by very many of the persons associated with the Charity Organization Society from the beginning. How they can fail to commend themselves, also, to the unbiassed judgment of intelligent and philanthropic men, it will not be easy to understand. Moreover, whether the new Society should shape its work so as exactly to embody the thoughts here advanced or not, the plan of its organization, which was published to the citizens of Philadelphia last June, at St. George's Hall, and then largely through the newspapers of the city, is *capable* of entire adaptation to them.

What are the chief conditions of modern society calling for a new departure in its methods of beneficence to the local poor and deprived? On general grounds, the time must be anticipated when charity would fashion to itself new agencies, unless men have settled down to the conviction that in the field of benevolence, unlike all other regions of human experience, there is nothing to learn and no new improved processes to adopt. Medicine, law, art, commercial and industrial systems, politics of church and state are in continual flux. Every device and work that springs out of the human understanding is subject to modification as human experience becomes wider and deeper, and human intelligence more discriminating and comprehensive. Now charity has passed through many phases since it was almost wholly confined to a mediæval church, deriving its revenues from endowments and tithes which were the practical equivalent of modern taxes. The Protestant Reformation, holding in its inception to the authority of the civil ruler over the church, acquiescing in the spoliation of rich conventual orders, the most fruitful source of mediæval relief, tended, in England especially, to throw upon the state the duty of caring for the poor. This is shown by the substitution of the work-house, poor-law-rates and overseers of the poor, which are all subsequent to the accession of

Elizabeth, for the monastery, and the control of the clergy and wardens over parish relief. Gradually, owing to the triumphs of the Whig party, completed under the House of Hanover, and the popular dissemination of the liberal ideas common to the learned of all Europe at the close of the eighteenth century, by means of the French revolution, the church was separated from the state, and voluntary action became the great principle of religious achievement. Men, then, needed but the impulse aroused by Pietism in Germany, or Methodism and its related quickenings in Great Britain, to set on foot ever increasing associations for benevolent work. The phases of European thought have been quite faithfully reproduced in America, as far as her limited history would allow. Since the opening of the present century, there has been a marvellous growth of purely voluntary institutions, and the history of such asylums, hospitals, and special and general relief societies is coincident with that of missionary boards, Tract and Bible societies, and Sunday schools. The great activity of this modern spirit has filled the land with its fruits. In Philadelphia, there can be enumerated 270 voluntary organizations for the aid of the suffering and needy, besides 547 religious congregations, each of which recognizes some obligation to care for the poor. In addition thereto, are the public institutions of vast magnitude, sustained by law out of taxation. But all these associations have as yet failed to reach that high efficiency which is inseparable from thorough coördination and system. This proposition no reflecting person will lightly question; nor will he think it an imputation upon the integrity, intelligence and disinterestedness of those who, in this or earlier generations, have engaged in the work of charitable relief. He will see that they had an environment which limited their efforts; that they did the best they could with their resources, that the times could not be ripe for any higher development, until the experience of years of diverse experiments in many localities and conditions could be collated and compared. Whether the times are yet ripe, remains to be proved. In other words, that is a question of the information, intelligence, courage and principle of the people. The times are ripe, if the citizens are.

But, it must be remembered that relief of the poor is one factor of a very intricate and obscure problem, which, if it cannot strictly be called a science, must at least be treated by scientific methods.

Thus far, as in international law, or jurisprudence, or any other branch of history, so in charity, we have been accumulating, by precedents and experiments, the material for analysis and generalization. The time cannot have come for this scientific treatment, until a large accumulation of facts and of observations have been gained. If, at last, any principles governing these facts have been revealed, then a new adjustment is practicable. Here is one of the motives to take a step in advance. There are multitudes who believe that, while the problem of charity is still a complex and difficult one, certain laws connected with it are sufficiently probable to make it the duty of society to test them thoroughly by new measures.

A few of these laws may be enumerated for present consideration. Their statement will seem trite enough,—indeed, they are so well-known as to excite some wonder that their practical bearing upon charity has not been long ago effective. But the general and prompt recognition of them cannot but be an important aid to the arguments advanced in this paper. It may be taken as conclusively settled :

1. That depraved pauperism keeps pace with the amount of relief provided by society.
2. That unorganized and indiscriminate charity is unwise and hurtful to the poor.
3. That the arrest of the increase of crime and degradation can only be accomplished by educational and disciplinary influences, and not by furnishing new facilities for imposture and idleness.
4. That the problems of mendicancy and relief ought to be systematically studied by those engaged in the management of charities, with a view to ascertaining the causes of pauperism and of applying the best methods of aid.

1. That depraved pauperism is fostered by alms-giving is no new discovery. It is an often repeated statement, and has been shown by a great variety of illustrations and statistics. An instance at home may be alleged: "In 1870, the inmates of both County Prison and Almshouse numbered, by official report at the close of the year, 4,430. In 1874, the House of Correction went into operation, being designed to relieve these two institutions, one of its petty offenders and the other of its able-bodied paupers, who are in law immoral persons, deserving restraint. At the close of

the year 1876, there were in these three institutions 6,976 inmates, or an increase of 56 per cent. in six years. Meanwhile, the population of the city may be computed on the basis of the presidential election; held that Centennial year, to have increased in that same period only 30 per cent. Clearly, the numbers in these institutions represent something more than the increase of the poor and vicious, proportionate to that of our population. They correspond rather with the new facilities given them for getting a support in idleness and vice."

Edward Denison, who went to live among the poor of East End, London, in order to examine into their actual needs, and whose life was a virtual sacrifice to his humanity, almost passionately declared that the poor would be better off if no alms were given them, except what might be spent in establishing schools, libraries, churches and other educational apparatus.

But it is not the purpose of this article to prove the effects of unwise liberality upon the destitute. It will be enough so to state them that their bearing upon the future duty of society may be clearly seen. If society owes any care to people of "a low moral and intellectual type," as those who seek alms are declared to be in a Report of the State Board of Charities, it owes a still more imperative duty to those who maintain their self-respect and thrift and independence and truthfulness, in the face of humble circumstances and the arduousness of hard, physical toil. There are none who have a deeper interest in the proper use of charity than the poor who never claim it. For the effects of too ready aid are to relax family ties, to stimulate dissembling and self-indulgence, to tax labor and to depress wages. Where persons with no well developed sense of family obligation can throw the burden of their impotent relatives on the care of others, the temptation is strong to do it. This cannot be done without impairing the force of natural affection and lowering the ambition of parents to lift their children into the highest moral and social atmosphere. Alms-giving, again, takes place a hundred times among the ignorant, undisciplined and unspiritual for once among the educated and religiously disposed. When their circumstances are naturally depressing, the former can hardly be expected to have force of character enough to resist the artificial temptation to take proffered relief. They soon learn the easy art of deception, before which

their low self-respect soon disappears. Losing their desire to be esteemed, and enticed with the prospect of being sustained in idleness, they become corrupted and many of them incorrigible.

As fast as the class, which throws itself upon public sympathy for support, increases, the tax rate rises. Whether this support come from the wealthy or from the state, the result is not much affected. For, if it has become a common expectation that the rich shall be beneficent, that only adds a new charge to financial prominence, raising the standard of affluence and stimulating men to demand higher profits in business. It is not good to have a high standard of what constitutes wealth, nor to concentrate it in few hands throwing upon them the responsibilities of society. For such a state of things awakens with tenfold energy the struggle to get inordinately rich, and this is chiefly accomplished by cutting down the price of labor products on the one hand, and raising their cost to the consumer on the other. In this way labor is doubly taxed, first as producing, and next as having to sustain, its own powers.

Of course, civic taxation is paid eventually by the consumer. Real estate pays its taxes out of its rents, and hence high taxation means for the poor man great expense in securing a home and in procuring the clothing and food on which the tailor and grocer have first assessed the cost of carrying on their business. Taxes are really paid out of income, and income is the product of each year's labor. It is the industrious poor, therefore, who bear the larger share of the support of legal criminals and paupers. Their burden ought not to be made heavier by any injudicious system of alms-giving.

That burden is made heavier, not only by the increase in the number of dependents upon society, but by the tendency of these dependents to lower wages. Our artisans have long complained that a wrong is done them when their labor is brought into competition with that of prisoners, whose support is largely furnished by the state. Why they have any less reason to complain when they have to compete with men and women, not impotent, who take charitable relief, it is not easy to see. If it be said that vagrants and beggars will not work, it is true that the labor of criminals is much below that of industrious freemen in value. There is, fortunately, a divine protection of the frugal and diligent, even

though it be sought in the degradation and inefficiency of the pauper and criminal classes. Yet it is not wise nor fair in society to even threaten the industrious poor with competition from those whom society relieves of the necessity of self-support. So far as they do work at all, they are able to do so for less pay than independent laborers, and so to drag down the wages market to their standard.

How much of this undesirable influence is operative in Philadelphia, may be suspected from the following facts: The amount of money raised by taxation in this city during 1876 for the support of all dependent classes, whether reckoned as paupers or criminals, excluding court costs, was \$1,102,972.75. Besides this, there is not less than \$15,000,000 invested in the plants of public and private institutions for dependents, the interest on which must be added to the cost of their support. An estimate of the amount of money raised for the poor of the city by the various benevolent societies and churches, was recently made by the writer, which put the sum at \$1,546,049.98. Here is a total of \$3,549,022.73, annually expended on human depravity and destitution, or the wages of over 5,687 workmen at \$2.00 per day. A prominent citizen to whom these estimates were recently mentioned, replied that a few years ago he had carefully gone over the reports of the benevolent institutions of the city and had put their aggregate income at over \$4,000,000.

What proportion of this enormous sum goes to persons whose career is damaging to the security and best interests of the industrious? From the Report of the State Board of Charities for 1877, "it may be learned that 56.48 per cent. of all the admissions into the almshouses of the state, were adult males, and that 43 per cent. were able-bodied." As voluntary relief is not hampered by legal conditions, nor able to be as discriminating as that of civic institutions, we may safely infer that one-half of the recipients of voluntary charity are not entitled to it; and that nearly \$2,000,000 a year are spent in Philadelphia in corrupting those who are of "a low moral and intellectual type," and in making inroads upon the independence and security of the gallantly industrious. That is a vast sum to pay out in premiums to dissimulation and idleness, and to handicap the struggles of the virtuous and diligent.

To those who perceive these difficulties, nothing could seem

more mischievous,—more the exact reverse of what is needed,—than the establishment of more relief agencies. If the desirable movement has begun, it will ground itself, not in the need of larger alms, but in their more economical and effective use. On no other basis can it justify itself before a well-informed and conscientious public. What the circumstances of the case would seem to require is, a consolidation and coöperation of existing agencies in some comprehensive and easily worked system. If it can be avoided, there ought not to be any new conduits from wealth to penury; no additional complications and rivalries of petty societies, but an aim to secure one simple system for the whole city, gained, if possible, through the concurrence of its 270 charitable organizations. That will be the most desirable thing, although as to whether it can be brought about will depend largely on the course taken by the various Boards that govern them. Whatever the issue may be, it is certain that the Plan of Organization reported to the citizens at St. George's Hall in June last, is capable of allowing this combination, and was expressly designed to secure it, although it contemplates the possibility of failure in this coördination, and can be worked, if need be, without it.

2. In these days, most persons who confess to themselves an obligation to care for their unfortunate fellows and to extend the benefits of Christian society as widely as possible, are connected with some form of organized benevolence. Those who thus see the needs of the field and the difficulties to be encountered, are quite generally impressed with the evils of private giving. There are multitudes, too, who do not think their duty done, by making some association almoner of their charity. They go about investigating cases and giving aid as the occasion may seem to demand. But the depression which follows repeated discoveries of imposition, or the stolidity of those for whom they have worked for years, is enough to break down the perseverance of all but the most conscientious and determined souls. They, too, are taught that the work requires peculiar qualities, ripe experience, and unwearied tact and patience. From all experienced persons, the same testimony comes, adverse to private relief and recommending organized charity. The advantages of organization are that it makes vagrancy more difficult, that it secures more expert service, quite as much in helping the worthy as in detecting imposition, that it

gathers together more counsellors and obtains a wider experience to guide its agents, and is more economically managed.

If persons who devote much time and thought to the claims of the poor are constantly misled, those who give heedlessly to strangers are mainly mischief-makers. It is all folly for these last to assume that they may let their pity for an individual override the obscure claims of society at large. They do not benefit the individual. Usually they are told a lie by the applicant for aid, and the alms they give become first a premium paid to falsehood, and then a means of self-indulgence, usually in liquor. If any man, whose money or aid works such results, thinks he is doing his fellow a kindness, he must have a strange judgment, or blunt moral perceptions.

There can be little question about the matter. Organized charity is an immense improvement upon personal relief. It is immeasurably wiser and kinder, as well to the virtuous as to the vicious, both in what it gives and in what it withholds. If this principle be true, and it will not be disputed by the patrons and advocates of established societies, how can they object to a still higher and completer system of organization? What a relief society, a home, a hospital, or, in the matter of the poor, a church is to its contributors in the way of wise and economical action, that a general bureau or central clearing house might hope to be to the 270 charitable organizations of Philadelphia. Surely, there is no high exhibition of a civic system in the existence of so many societies, many of them having exactly the same aims, working in the same field with almost precisely similar appliances. There is a prodigious amount of machinery, and there is no limit to its invention or production by the caprice of any individual or clique or sect. Of course, there is no power resident in the community to hinder the free association of persons for any benevolent work, or to forbid an individual to give his money as he pleases. But a moral influence may be set in operation which will command the respect of good citizens. If all the philanthropic endeavors of the town were combined in one system which was coëxtensive with the whole city, that organization would command such deference, that the intelligent would listen to its counsels, and the wayward and self-opinionated would be shorn of their influence. In that way many an ill-advised and superfluous movement would be

checked at its inception, and those who wished to know how their humanity of spirit could be made most effective, would be directed to the wisest use of their ability.

But the charities of Philadelphia cannot be said to be thoroughly organized while there are scores of societies acting with little correspondence one with another, with little knowledge of each other's work, liable at any time to see new competitors for public patronage spring up about them, anxious each about its income, duplicating machinery to work at cross purposes, most of them too local, sectarian, or obscure to command the confidence and support of all the community. If these societies could be brought into practical coöperation, distributing the work to be done systematically between them, that organization would be strong enough to command universal respect. Such an organization would work another desirable result. There are innumerable contributors to the poor who are members of no society whatever. There is a copious stream of charity flowing hourly from private hands, which no association has yet been able to direct or influence. If each voter in Philadelphia gave away, on an average, three cents a week, the total would be over \$230,000 a year: if five cents a week were bestowed at each dwelling in the city, the annual sum would be about \$300,000. It would be worth much to the morals of the community and to the efficiency of relief, if this large sum could be diverted into systematic channels. Thus far, this private giving has not been much retarded. Perhaps it were sanguine to hope that it could be at once called into better service. But an organization so extensive as to penetrate into every precinct, sustained by the united approval and coöperation of all the charities of the city, giving to the public the assurance that no destitution should be uncared for, would attract the support of the tens of thousands who are now acting apart from all associations, and educate them into a higher sense of their duty.

Reproach of existing charities because they have not acted more in concert and produced an harmonious system of coöperation, would hardly be just. What we have is the result of past conditions and of years of growth. There has been the same development in Philadelphia as in every other city of this country or of Great Britain. Societies have grown out of local wants, with perhaps little foresight of the proportions they would reach. But, as

elsewhere the importance of now bringing them into coördination is discussed and admitted very recently, so is it here. In the effort to unite established organizations in one system, almost insuperable difficulties would arise, if the societies themselves were left alone to initiate the movement. That method was tried in New York, and with unpromising results. To say nothing of the strong *amour propre* in each society likely to be offended in conferences with rival organizations, of the history and prestige which no association would be willing to compromise, of even, here and there, private interests and abuses that would shrink from the notice involved in coöperation, there are two other serious impediments to action by existing societies. There are 270 of them in the city. What an interminable negotiation would be set on foot were they or the half of them, with their diverse and remotely related interests, to enter into consultation for their union? Scores of separate boards, each having a constituency to be tenderly considered would have to agree on a most intricate plan, which, in turn, would be a federation at the mercy of any discontent that might spring up among its component parts. But there is a legal difficulty. Nearly all the societies are incorporated, and, therefore, restricted in their trusts. They could not negotiate away their charter provisions, for that would be an act of suicide. With many of them, a voluntary restriction of their field of work would be a violation of their charters.

But it does seem possible to erect an association, into which representatives of these societies enter, to act as a clearing house for them, to turn all the demands for relief in one locality to one society and in another to another, and to direct especial forms of need to the special charities designed for them. This involves no change of corporate articles, no abandonment of chosen forms of work, no dismissal of experienced agents, no negotiations of boards long sensitive to each other's rival claims one with another, no obscuring of past history. The existing charities simply utilize the new association. They find their correlation under its auspices. If they do this and become the relief agencies of the proposed organization society, then the funds which that society might raise for relief purposes would be distributed by their agency, and their treasuries be thereby reinforced. That this issue was contemplated, is evident from the title of the proposed society. That is

"The Philadelphia Society for Organizing Charitable Relief and Repressing Mendicancy." The phrase "organizing charitable relief," must contemplate rather the bringing of existing societies into a more comprehensive system than of creating new agencies. The title is also similar to that of the great London Society, and it has aimed steadily, not to displace and supplant other associations, as if they were rivals, but to bring about distribution of work and concert of action between them.

3. Perhaps the most important aim of all to consider is the educational and disciplinary one. From the time of Dr. Chalmers, who clearly taught, as the result of his experience in his Glasgow parish, the principles now to be advanced, there has been a growing perception that alms were degrading in their effects on their recipients. That is also the published opinion of Edward Denison, Octavia Hill, of Prof. Fawcett of Cambridge, England, and Thomas Hughes, M. P. Indeed, it would be easy to accumulate evidence in support of this proposition, but it will be enough to quote the language of the Secretary of the State Board of Public Charities from his report for 1877. "It is," he says, "the universal experience of officers having charge of relief funds, that in dispensing them they have constantly to contend against every manner of deception and imposition." Again, "There is in every community, especially in times like these, a class of needy persons who are in danger of becoming paupers. The great problem is how to relieve their present necessities without producing this result. As a rule, the persons seeking this aid are of a rather low moral and intellectual type, and, if temporary aid is furnished them, there is a tendency to seek it again and again, when the necessity is less stringent, and thus the road to chronic pauperism is easy and short."

This experience, which is far from being rare, only points out the impotency of alms to help the poor. Few are so hard-hearted as to apply this generalization rigidly, and relief will be freely provided for the infirm and sick and for families in the exigencies of misfortune, and even for the depraved in their times of real suffering. But because alms are a dangerous agency to use among the poor, men are not to infer that society is without ability to help them. We can only safely reason that they need another kind of aid than the purse can furnish. Even those who have sunk into

apathetic indifference to esteem and usefulness and sobriety, can only be recovered when society begins ministrations to their minds and hearts. The same kind of ministrations must be relied upon to remove those who are in danger of lapsing, away from the abyss. In this doctrine, society has a deep, present interest, for it is the real answer to the Socialistic and Communistic theories now being energetically taught to the people. Any artificial scheme of improving the condition of men without training them in elements of character, whether that scheme involve the use of legal force, or the distribution of alms, will prove a sad mistake. Charity has proved it so, and politics may learn the lesson.

If, then, the best service society can render to the poor, is to lift them into a higher plane of skill, intelligence, affection, taste and moral sense, how can this be done? It has stoutly been maintained by Chalmers, Guthrie, Denison and others, that this spiritual relief must be thoroughly separated from physical aid. As a rule, the two kinds of work, while both need doing, ought not to be entrusted to the same hands. What would be, for example, a clergyman's influence in his parish, if he had the dispensing of office and annuities and like benefits among his parishioners? Would not his personal power be eclipsed? Would he not be surrounded by dissimulation and craftiness and fawning, and every despicable trait, just as senators and chiefs of departments in Washington now are? Everywhere, he who goes as an acknowledged patron among men, will find them turning to him, not in candor and honor, but in dissembling and selfishness. But if men expect nothing from him of temporal advantage, they will be far franker and far more susceptible to his respect and the influence of his personal qualities.

Now the most educational influences in the world are social. The companionship of refined, intelligent and noble natures is the best of all means for diffusing these qualities. Should those who have social culture, who have imbibed the best spirit of Christian society, who know its methods and ways, go to those who have not shared in this heritage as friends, as fast as the visitor gained the confidence and friendship of the poor, she would link them in with the institutions and subtle and rich sympathies of Society. This can best be accomplished by Christian and noble-hearted women. Their work is deeply needed, but if they are to carry

with them into depressed homes the power to minister to the higher nature of their inmates, they must carefully avoid giving relief. This is a vital point. When they find real suffering they should report it to others who are not seeking to stand in the same relation to the poor. But for themselves, their spiritual influence will depart when they begin to use the purse.

This view simplifies the problem of household visitation very much. It has been asked where workers could be found to cover all this city with visitors enough to know every family in it. There are 547 churches in the city and less than 700 precincts. Each precinct averages 240 voters, or about 200 families. Of these, probably not one in ten,—indeed this is a large proportion,—ever are in destitution, while less than half of them are so devoid of established social and religious connections as to be subjects of missionary endeavor. Five visitors in a precinct, on an average, would have twenty families each to know, of which only two would be likely to be subjects of charitable relief at a time. To supply this number of visitors, the churches would have to furnish about seven each.

If these visitors were to be burdened with the investigation of claims to help, wearied with contending against constant duplicity, disheartened by the fruitlessness of their work, mortified by their own inexperience and hurt by misapplied sympathies (which has been too much the experience of women's work among the poor), it would indeed be difficult to secure a large force or to keep it in the field. If, on the other hand, it is clearly understood that these visitors are not relieving agents, but are scrupulously to turn all that thing over to experts employed to attend to it, if they see that they are only desired to visit stately a few families month after month as friends, seeking to attach them to schools and churches, to point out to them the opportunities for improvement and wholesome pleasure accessible to them, to suggest hygienic laws in cases of sickness, and sanitary laws in times of need, and domestic economies; in a word, to link them in with the best associations and influences of society, they will find nothing appalling in that. They will need to cultivate some tact and perseverance, but their work will be neither onerous nor dispiriting.

This is a system very much needed. In setting it on foot much reliance would have to be placed upon a few experienced ladies act-

ing in each district or ward, who, by their personal influence, could draw about them helpers, could act as their counsellors, supervise their work, bring them into conference, and assist in obscure and difficult cases. In other words, the visitors would need to be organized by a small committee in each ward, of women ripe in experience and of acknowledged influence and ability. Of such as these, Philadelphia is not destitute. The relation of this female organization to relief work would be this. They could distribute the publications of the Central Board designed to instruct citizens in the nature of charitable work through their precincts; they could appeal to them to cooperate in the plans of that board; they could so understand the condition of every family that no meritorious suffering should go undiscovered; they could apprise the poor of many neglected opportunities of self-help and culture which society affords them; they could so locate persons as to make vagrant begging well nigh impossible, as well as render it inexcusable, they could give the relieving agent invaluable information, to lessen the risks of deception on the one side, and to release him from his own suspicions on the other.

This whole ward system would need to be presided over by a Board of Directors who should attend to the financial requirements of the ward, keep the expert or superintendent in harmonious relations with the visitors, attend to those cases which were beyond the control of ladies and maintain a concert of action with other ward organizations.

4. Lastly, a Central Board is needed to be what has been called a Social Science Club, and to study the various phases of great human problems. The members of it ought not to be mere theorists; but men actually conversant with the operations of various forms of charity and with the condition of the poor and the humble. The plan proposes a board composed of delegates from each ward, and such heads of civic trusts as could be made to work in correspondence with a great voluntary system coextensive with the city; where old relief societies were in the field and ready for it, their own managers and constituents could enter the ward boards of direction, securing the offices and agents of these societies as the apparatus for giving relief. They would enter the Central Board as ward representatives. Care also could be taken to secure representatives from medical reformatory and other charitable institu-

tions, so that all the diverse work and interests of the city might have a voice in the council of the general society. The functions of the Central Board would be important. Among them are these. Its office would be a clearing house for all the wards and relief societies; there registration could be made with a view to prevent overlapping and imposture, which, under suitable safeguards, should be accessible to all the ward superintendents or relieving officers of the societies. It would also be a duty of the Central Board to equalize the drain upon the resources of various relieving offices, calling upon the wealthier wards to assist those where the demand was less than the local supply, and calling on the benevolent to reinforce the treasuries of societies which were not equal to their work. It would be, too, a conference where the experience of different localities and methods could be compared, and the means of reaching the best results ascertained, and spread from ward to ward. It would prepare blanks for a uniform system of correspondence, reports and office work. It would be an agency for publishing information on charitable work, and for educating the citizens to a more intelligent interest therein. It would consider how the sanitary conditions of the city could be improved. It would bring out into light the operations of municipal institutions, securing for their good management the approbation and sympathy of the community. In a word, it would be the aim of such a board to search into the intricacies and difficulties that beset out social improvement, and continually to seek the best appliances and influences for advancing the welfare of the whole community. The social problem is a vexed and hard one. He would be a rash man who should claim to have solved it. But an agency for studying it in the light of manifold actual experiment, and for instructing all who care to hear, in the conclusions reached, would be of admirable utility.

A grand opportunity is providentially open to Philadelphia to step to the front in charitable work, and set on foot a system which may be typical for other cities for years to come. She will not be the first to take up a scheme of consolidating or coördinating charities in one great bureau,—and that is to her advantage. That gives her the chance to avail herself of the experience of other cities, and so of avoiding their mistakes and of profiting by their success.

But especially is the city in a favorable condition for this work by reason of a fortunate distribution of her existing institutions. Her organized charities are not redundant; they are well located for coöperation, they have been prudently managed and are apparently unusually free from covert interests and abuses, such as attach themselves to irresponsible management, or appear in the lapse of years. In few cities of her size could slighter impediments to the organization of a complete system of charity be found. Whether she will take advantage of the present opportunity, depends on the fairness, disinterestedness, intelligence and energy of her citizens, and there are abundant indications that these are not wanting.

In conclusion, the writer must plead once more that his aim in this article has only been to sketch a scheme possible to be realized under the plan of organization proposed for the "Society for Organizing Charitable Relief and Repressing Mendicancy." Efforts are already on foot to establish that society, and it would be improper in any one to attempt to represent them in their present tentative stage, without express authority. Yet this article has been written in the persuasion that its leading principles, apart from the application here made of them to details, are warmly cherished by many active friends to the proposed new society and in the hope that this exhibition and illustration of them may remove any erroneous misapprehensions, and conciliate good-will towards the movement as it shall unfold itself to the public.

D. O. KELLOGG.

NEW BOOKS.

AROUND THE WORLD IN THE YACHT SUNBEAM, Our Home on the Ocean for Eleven Months. By Mrs. Brassey. With illustrations, chiefly after drawings by the Hon. A. T. Bingham. New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1878. 8vo., pp. 470.

Mr. and Mrs. Brassey, four children, the youngest two years old, a doctor, two officers of the R. N., and an artist friend, were the party, with twenty-nine in the crew and three maids, that set out from England in a three-masted screw schooner of three hundred and fifty horse power, one hundred and fifty seven feet long, and made a voyage around the world, in forty-six weeks, 35,400 miles in all, 20,107 under sail, the balance with steam, using four hundred tons of coal and returning home safe and well. Such is the brief story around which Mrs. Brassey has drawn her tale of adventures and incidents,

and very clever and amusing it is, too. Her husband's account appeared in several articles in *The Nineteenth Century*; it was full of solid matter, plentiful extracts from all the leading authorities on the subject, and showing that the yacht was well supplied with that excellent thing on shipboard, a good reference library. The journey was no doubt both pleasant and useful; another case of British pluck and endurance, bearing the flag of Old England on a private pleasure boat for the first time into waters and quarters that had hitherto known only men of war and merchantmen. But it is a little doubtful whether there is not a little too much said about it in this particular; for, granted the richest commoner in England, as Mr. Brassey is said to be, and it is only a question of the expenditure of a little more money and the time taken from hunting for the men, from housekeeping and the duties of society for the women, although of these, too, Mrs. Brassey was very lavish, and from school work for the children, who no doubt learned more in this voyage than out of all the geography lessons that ever were taught. The same journey has not unfrequently been made by the wives and children of captains of American traders without public notice. The book, like the voyage, thus reminds one of Mr. Squeers's description of the fare of the boys at Dotheboy's Hall, "there's richness in it," and the picture of Battle Abbey, the home of the Brassey's, with towers and terraces, and the sketches of Mrs. Brassey's Cabin, with mantle-shelf, bric-à-brac, and all the latest appliances of a fashionable lady's boudoir, will attract plenty of attention, while the long and grateful catalogue of hearty hospitalities received at every stopping place and duly returned, suggests that in changing their sky, the Brassey's carried their fortune with them. Mr. Brassey is known as the son of the great English railway contractor, whose life has been well told by Mr. Smiles, that special biographer of rich men, while the present Mr. Brassey, both in Parliament and out, has stood bravely forth as a representative of the interests of labor, and his book on *Work and Wages*, is a fair and creditable endeavor to reconcile employers and employed, and to hasten the happy day when there shall be plenty of contracts, good wages and no more strikes. He gives a very straightforward account of the results, not very flattering so far, of the effort to establish colonies along the lines of some railways built by his father in Buenos Ayres, and generally aims at the practical side of what he saw. His wife, in a more feminine fashion, describes the towns and the people that lived in them, the lovely scenes and the wild tropical nature they saw, and the trophies that were gathered together to remind them in years to come of their long sail. It was not without adventures, too; the crew of a ship on fire was rescued, their own yacht was three times on fire, there was sickness on board, of a pretty dangerous type,

there were storms and calms, there was heat and cold, and all this is told with that sort of pertinacity of detail in which the female author and traveller delights, while the piety of the party is proven by the steady recurrence of a statement of the sort of service held Sunday after Sunday, in order to show that the good old English fashions were duly observed. Still the book is characterized by great good sense, a freedom from gush or exaggeration, a diligent attention to details, and a lively desire to make it a record of the observations of a traveller quite typical, the sensible English woman.

It is not easy to see what particular good is done to the public or to the average reader, by books of travel of this sort, and yet there seems a constant demand for them, and certainly this is pleasanter reading than the hysterical adventures of Emily Pfeiffer, who scrambled around the world in a very uncomfortable fashion, while it is more agreeable than the high and lofty air of Baron Hübner, whose book was permeated by his notion of his own importance. In fact, special studies, such as those of Sir Emerson Tennant in Ceylon, Sir Rutherford Alcock in Japan, and the rest of that long line of useful authors who have written of places in which they lived long enough to have something to say, are the only really useful books, and Mr. Brassey wisely drew on them for much of his narrative, while his wife appropriates a good deal similar material for some places she could not reach. The charming book published by the young Orleans Prince, Hewin de Penthièvre, and his companion, M. de Beauvoir, who made a journey around the world, was marked by great thoroughness and appreciative knowledge, characteristic of that family and of the French mind, which seems to fit itself admirably for forgetting the little discomforts of travel, and to assimilate what was learned out of books with what was actually seen. Mrs. Brassey is precise and particular in details, as to what she wore and how she felt, gives bills of fare in China, and the prices of feathers and finery wherever she went; but these are just the matters over which her female readers will sit in kindly judgment, while men and boys may perhaps wish that she could have learned to compress her story, and add something of the solidity of her husband's narrative to the light and pleasant material that she spreads out through so many pages. Her book is not fortunate in the illustrations, at least in this American edition,—it is easy to see that the artist was no great one, and photographs have helped the woodcutter to work out his rather stiff designs. The publishers have atoned for their saving in this respect by a full index. After all, though, the book is a wholesome and healthy one, showing that hearty love of out-door life, which is so good a characteristic of English men and women, and a fearless readiness to give up home luxuries and comforts for the narrow limits of a yacht, to harden the children by such exposure

as was inevitably incidental to a long voyage, and to risk changes of climate and food and habits, for the sake of an adventurous cruise that had the charm of novelty and the relish of constant change of scene. The whole thing went off admirably, without a serious misadventure or any accident, and, naturally enough, both Mr. and Mrs. Brassey look back on their voyage as a very important incident in their family life, and the wife takes a womanly pride in making it known to the world at large, publishing her confidence in 'Tom's' seamanship that piloted them through so many seas, and her success in bringing Baby through all the risks of teething and the perils of hot eastern climates and cold westerly winds. There is a charming naiveté and simplicity in the way in which we are all admitted to the family circle for nearly a year, and, in laying down the book, we feel quite an interest in knowing how Miss Mabel looks back on her adventures, and whether the multifarious live stock and exotics were safely transported and still live and grow, recalling the scenes where they were gathered, and making their new home full of living illustrations of the story so pleasantly told. Will Mrs. Brassey open her doors, not only to all the people who entertained her around the world, but to those who enjoyed her book and shared her adventures, or will the overzealous reader who carries the Sunbeam's voyage as his only passport be turned off with, "Oh, sir, the family has just gone to the North Pole"?

THE COSSACKS. A Tale of the Caucasus in 1852. By Count Leo Tolstoy. Translated from the Russian by Eugene Schuyler. New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1878.

The Cossacks was written in 1852, but this translation by Eugene Schuyler presents it in English for the first time. The author, Count Leo Tolstoy, is said by Mr. Schuyler to be the most popular Russian novelist, and inferior in excellence to none except Turguenief. There is certainly in this story none of the subjective power which Turguenief commands, but as a description of the Caucasus, and of the life and manners of the Don Cossacks, it is highly interesting. The reader may compare such pastoral life as he knows with theirs by means of many pictures of the village, and the cottages, the dress, festivals and expeditions of the villagers. But they are all strung on the string of a desperate fancy taken by an immature aristocrat of Moscow, for a beautiful Cossack girl, a good deal of whose time is spent in milking cows. Exactly what the nature of his sentiment is, or whether, and if so, how she returns it, or whether he overcomes it, we are not informed, and the story ends abruptly with his departure from the station, along with his regiment. Therefore, such merit as the book has does not at all depend on character-painting or plot, although there are, every now and then, touches showing that the author is not without

resources for these too, if he choose to attempt them. Mr. Schuyler hopes the story may "contribute its little to the better knowledge and understanding, not only of the Russians, but of the most maligned and misunderstood portion of them—the Cossacks." About the former hardly anything is said, and we think we are not misunderstanding what is said about the Cossacks, when we infer that this simple, hardy, intrepid people consume Vadka generously, put a moderate estimate upon the value of human life, and are obtuse to the more tapering distinctions in the code of *meum* and *tecum*.

AGAMENTICUS. By L. P. Tenney. Boston : Lee & Shepard. New York : Charles T. Dillingham, 1878.

This book is evidently written to arouse a greater interest in the poor and neglected classes by the recital of the failures and successes of David Benson, a Maine pastor, and of his family. A very charming flock they were, whose Christian names in the book are sunk in favor of Quog, Crow and Quill. Quog is a clergyman, who for half a century mourns the death of his young wife, by wearing a silk handkerchief as a veil even in the church, and Crow is unendurably learned in the wisdom of the Greeks and the Saints, ever ready at the most inopportune moment with a word from Gregory, Bernard, or the heathen philosophers.

The story is of provincial days, but it lacks the strength of a faithful portraiture of the times it depicts, and the characters impress one too much as being manufactured for certain quotations and incongruous, though historical, incidents, while the style is unsustained and full of jerks. The field is a good one, as Maine in pre-revolutionary times, like Virginia, was a community in which the clergyman's office had not the awful authority it bore for the Puritan settlers of Massachusetts and Connecticut, among whom would have been impossible the answer given by New Hampshire people to the preacher who urged religion upon them as the main end of their being settled there: "You mistake us, sir, for the people of Massachusetts Bay—our main end was to catch fish." It is the straiter life only of those days that our best writers have given us; this presents a very wicked community, in which David Benson fights the good fight with single-heartedness and is the best character of the book, but it is difficult to feel any kinship with the rest, men or women.

SIX TO ONE, a Nantucket Idyl. New York : G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1878.

Six girls to one man, in the manless island of Nantucket, is the meaning of the title of this most unmeaning book, upon which old Thomas Nash's verdict might be passed, "a thousand lines of folly." The *six* are given to wondrous flights of language, to which the *one* responds at a disadvantage, but he succeeds in winning the

heart of the youngest and fairest, after driving therefrom, a dangerous and unknown rival, who turns out to be the broad Atlantic, and the successful lover trembles at his temerity in seeking to fill a heart once sacred to so grand a passion. The angry sea does his best to drown the faithless damsel, but the New York knight rescues her and does—what Mrs. Partington did not—beat the Atlantic Ocean.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

Literature Primers.—Edited by J. R. Green. Homer, by the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone. New York: D. Appleton & Co. [Porter & Coates.

Handy Volume Series.—The Goldsmith's Wife. By Madame Charles Reybaud. S'wd. Pp. 152. Price 25 cents. New York: D. Appleton & Co. [Porter & Coates.

Handy-Volume Series.—Impressions of America. By R. W. Dale. S'wd. Pp. 163. Price 25 cents. New York: D. Appleton & Co. [Porter & Coates.

Collection of Foreign Authors.—Safar Hadgi, or Russ and Turcoman. From the French of Prince Lubomirski. S'wd. Pp. 302. Price 60 cents. New York: D. Appleton & Co. [Porter & Coates.

Handy-Volume Series.—A Summer Idyl. By Christian Reid. Sw'd. Pp. 211. Price 30 Cents. New York: D. Appleton & Co. [Porter & Coates.

Handy-Volume Series.—The Arab Wife; a Romance of the Polynesian Seas. S'wd. Pp. 156. Price 25 cents. New York: D. Appleton & Co. [Porter & Coates.

Collection of Foreign Authors.—In Paradise. From the German of Paul Heyse. S'wd. 2 vols. Pp. 322., 391. Price 60 cents per volume. New York: D. Appleton & Co. [Porter & Coates.

Handy-Volume Series.—Liquidated; The Seer. By Rudolph Lindau. S'wd. 16mo. Pp. 179. Price 25 cents. New York: D. Appleton & Co. [Porter & Coates.

Handy-Volume Series.—Mrs. Gainsborough's Diamonds. By Julian Hawthorne. 16mo. S'wd. Pp. 117. Price 20 cents. New York: D. Appleton & Co. [Porter & Coates.

The Monetary Situation. Address delivered before the American Social Science Association by S. Dana Horton. 8vo. S'wd. Pp. 58. Cincinnati: Robert Clarke & Co.

Leisure Hour Series, No. 99.—Plays for Private Acting. Translated from the French and Italian by members of the Bellevue Dramatic Club of Newport. Pp. 355. New York: Henry Holt & Co. [Porter & Coates.

Fortune of the Republic. Lecture delivered in the Old South Church, March 30th, 1878. By Ralph Waldo Emerson. Cloth. 16mo. Pp. 44. Price 50 cents. Boston: Houghton, Osgood & Co. [Porter & Coates.

Agamemnon. By E. P. Tenney. 16mo. Cloth. Pp. 262. Price \$1.25. Boston: Lee & Shepard. [J. B. Lippincott & Co.

Saveli's Expiation. Translated from the French of Henry Greville by Mary Neal Sherwood. Cloth. 12mo. Pp. 206. Price \$1.00. (S'wd, 50 cents.) Philadelphia: T. B. Peterson & Bros.

General Rules for Punctuation and for the use of Capital Letters. By A. S. Hill, Boylston Professor of Rhetoric and Oratory in Harvard College. Revised Edition. 12mo. S'wd. Pp. 44. Cambridge: Charles W. Sever.

Lutheran Monographs. A Chronicle of the Augsburg Confession. By Charles P. Krauth, D. D., LL. D. A Question of Latinity. By Henry E. Jacobs, D. D. 8vo. S'wd. Pp. 120. Philadelphia: J. Frederick Smith.

Our Labor Difficulties: The Cause and the Way Out. By W. Godwin Moody. S'wd. 12mo. Pp. VIII., 96. Price 25 cents. Boston: A. Williams & Co.

Bulletin of the National Association of Wool Manufacturers, Vol. VIII., No. 2. Boston: Press of John Wilson & Son.

Académie Royale de Belgique. Bulletin No. 6. Bruxelles: F. Hayez.

THE
PENN MONTHLY.

OCTOBER.

THE MONTH.

FORTUNE still refuses to smile on the results reached by the Berlin Congress. First there is Cyprus. It is not the paradise that the English papers said it was. It is full of filth, stagnant water, malaria and dangerous fevers, and, of the adventuresome Englishmen who rushed to take possession, not a few have been laid on their backs. It will take something like a century to so far undo the results of Turkish rule as to make the place fit to live in, and by that time the Cypriotes will hate the meddlesome English and their sanitary ways, as the Ionians hated "King Tom" Mackenzie in the days of the English protectorate.

Then Turkey will not understand the broad hints about some concessions to Greece. The Porte is like a low type of the unfair sex, devoid of the capacity to understand unpleasant hints, and capable of infinite passive resistance. Meanwhile, Bismarck thinks that the resolutions of a Congress in which he took part ought to count for something, and asks Europe to say so. Europe is agreed, but England does not want too much urgency, and the two great powers are mildly at logger-heads once more as regards the Eastern question.

Lastly, Austria has found the occupation of Bosnia even a more troublesome thing than anybody anticipated. Big victories are not enough; every defeated army resolves itself into bands of guerillas, fully acquainted with the country and able to cut off the

invading forces by piece-meal. The Hungarians, who never relished the accession of so many more Slavs to the Empire, suggest that the Imperial Government had better cast about for some honorable way of getting out of the scrape by retreating from Bosnia. But we judge from the past of the Hapsburgers, that they will go on with their costly, bloody and useless conquest, and will be hated in their new possessions as they were hated in Italy.

All this helps to tarnish the "peace with glory," on which the English premier prides himself. And recent elections for two very important constituencies, seem to show that the enthusiasm upon which his friends counted exists rather in the columns of the London papers than in the minds of the people.

SOME weeks ago, we were startled by the news, from London, that Mr. Evarts was negotiating for a *Zollverein* with Canada, as a branch of his negotiations in regard to the Fisheries Award. It excited much comment on both sides of the ocean, being declared, on the English side, a step little short of secession from the Empire; and it was then laid at rest by Mr. Evarts's quiet contradiction of the whole story.

It now seems that the *canard* was set afloat as a part of an election campaign, to which but slight attention was paid on our side of the Canadian border. Canada was electing a new Parliament, and the issue upon which the choice of members turned, was Free Trade, represented by the Liberal Premier Mackenzie, and Protection to Home Industries, represented by Sir John Macdonald, the leader of the Tories. The talk about a *Zollverein* Treaty with America, was evidently meant to distract the Protectionist party, either by sowing divisions in its ranks, or by making it appear that the Tariff question would at once lose its significance. The bait did not take, and, equally to the surprise of both parties, the latter has won the day, securing a large majority of votes at Ottawa.

This is doubly a new departure for Canada. In the first place, it is the first time that her party divisions have meant anything. Heretofore, they have been little more than the personal following of some provincial statesman, bound to him by use and wont and by the expectation of office or decoration, rather than by any definite principle. When Mackenzie succeeded Macdonald, it caused no

essential change in the conduct of the government, for the new party had no line of policy peculiar to themselves. But the reverse change will be a change indeed, and Goldwin Smith, who sustains the new Premier even in his advocacy of Protection, will no longer be able to say that Canadian parties are mere meaningless factions. And we are glad to learn that, owing partly to his influence, there is forming a party of young Nationalists, whose motto is, "Canada First."

It is also the first time in Canadian history that this pet colony has declared for Protection. Heretofore, the Free Traders have had it all their own way, and the Protectionists have been an unimportant group, and able to return only a very small number of members. Nothing has been done to promote home industry, except the imposition of trifling duties for revenue, while the money of the colony has been squandered in bringing over immigrants, who generally left as soon as possible for "the States." The notion of bringing in population and retaining it simply by making Canada a place worth living in, never seemed to enter their heads. Hence the dead-alive character of provincial life of every sort, and the want of a vigorous societary circulation to bring her heterogeneous population into some sort of unity of action. Even Free Traders were forced to see and to admit the contrast; "but then, you know, they are building up the country very solidly, if not so rapidly as elsewhere."

So long as the Canadian market for manufactures was in possession of English producers, there was a very strong and steady influence exerted to keep the country to Free Trade. Every opportunity was taken to warn the Canadian that, if he wanted help and sympathy from England, he must buy and sell as suited England. On one memorable occasion, a Canadian Minister of Finance, Mr. Galt, was rebuked by the Manchester Chamber of Commerce for keeping up the trifling duties then imposed, and apologized for them on the ground that they did not bring manufactures into existence. "There is not at this moment (1862) a single cotton mill in Canada, nor a silk manufactory. The imports of earthenware and glass, hardware and iron, have gone on increasing every year since 1859." But of late years, our own manufactures have been driving those of England out of the Canadian Market, and the English anxiety to hold the Dominion to Free Trade has

undergone a remarkable decline. And the new Protectionist movement is directed, not against the English wares which do not sell, but against the American wares which do sell in Canada. It is to meet American competition that the Dominion has swung into line with us as a Protectionist country. We rejoice at the decision. We are glad to see one more young and hopeful country choosing the path of present sacrifices and ultimate greatness. We have never wished to see Canada anything else than a strong and prosperous nationality, for it is as such that she can render us the greatest services. We would even like, if it were possible, to see her so strong that the result of a conflict with our own power would be at least doubtful. We need just such a neighbor, and if the Dominion can become such in any way, it is in the way upon which she has now entered. We regard her decision as substantially final. There may be temporary reactions and backsets, but no growing and ambitious country, which has once adopted a nationalist economic policy, will give it up until it has reached the end in view.

WHAT we said last month about the English attitude on the question of Treasury Notes *vs.* bank notes, has excited inquiry in various quarters. The facts are briefly these: In 1844, Sir Robert Peel, in carrying the bank law through Parliament, gave notice that, thirty years after date, the government would hold itself free to substitute a national paper money for that now issued by the banks. In 1873 and 1874, as the time drew nigh, the subject was taken up in the English Boards of Trade, and the great majority united in desiring the government to carry out this programme. The question was brought up in the House of Commons by the Liberals in opposition, who asked whether the government had any plan in readiness to do this. Mr. Disraeli's government responded that they fully recognized the importance and the desirability of taking this step, but they were not as yet prepared to report any plan. And there the matter has rested.

To the plan which we suggested last month for the conversion of our bank notes into national notes, several objections have been taken. Let us say that the essence of that plan is, that the government shall exercise its unquestionable right to compel the banks to surrender their circulation—as it did in the case of the old state

banks—and in doing so, shall require them to settle with itself, and then to leave it to settle with the holders of their notes. As to the method of the former settlement, we suggested that it cover into the treasury a sufficient amount of the bonds now held by it, as security for those notes, and hand over the balance to the banks. But this transfer of bonds is not essential to the plan, if there be any other way of effecting the settlement, *i. e.*, if the banks can pay over three hundred and twenty-four millions in greenbacks, or coin, or any other sort of currency, without surrendering their bonds. And if they should prefer to settle by surrendering bonds, but to substitute those of other issues for the desirable issues which they now have in deposit, they should be left free to do so. We fully recognize that the bonds now held are of the nature of a collateral, upon which the government has no claim, so long as the banks discharge their legal obligations in regard to their note circulation.

Another objection which has been urged, is that the present tax upon bank deposits must be given up, if their circulation is taken away. Deposits and circulation stand in no necessary relation to each other. Some banks pay the tax, and while they have no circulation. If the tax on deposits be a compensation for the privilege of issue, it ought to be abolished, at any rate, as a fiscal *non sequitur*. If it be not, it does not come into this discussion.

THE repeal of the bankruptcy law and the consequent rush, during the last days of its validity, to secure its "benefit," was the occasion of a display which was anything but creditable or pleasant to the American people. Some of our contemporaries strove to extract consolation from it, by saying that the solvent houses were thereby relieved from the burden of carrying these moribund firms, and that business would now be transacted on a more solid and substantial footing. But it would be hard for anything to happen just at present, in which some people could not find an augury of better times. The only pleasant thing—to our thinking—about this rush into insolvency, was found in the very small proportion of bankrupts reported in Philadelphia. Even Pittsburg, and the western cities generally, outstripped us, to say nothing of New York, whose glory it is to take the lead in everything, good or bad.

As to better times ahead, we may say that we have now reached the stage in which everybody is willing that everybody else should have confidence. And there is a good deal of bluster about what is doing in various lines of business, especially in New York. Some streets are so choked with drays that there is no getting across them, and so forth. The truth is that there are a couple of weeks which come in September, just between summer and fall, when the amount of business done in New York is quite deceptive, and no criterion of the general activity. Last year we were in New York at just this time, and we were detained for some time by a deadlock of loaded drays on a street we had to cross. But long before Thanksgiving day this activity had vanished, and as soon as Congress met, the politicians had to bear the brunt of the blame for preventing a business revival.

THE President has been turning statist, and giving the Minnesota people the results of his investigations into our national condition. He finds that the burden of taxation is not half so great as at the close of the war; that expenditures were then fifty per cent. greater than at present; that they have been reduced by over fifty millions since the panic, and that the currency, although reduced by forty-eight millions in volume, is worth in coin one hundred and seventy-four millions more than it was then. Our exports are 153 per cent. greater than in 1868, and in three years the balance of trade in our favor has aggregated four hundred and eighty-eight millions, while in the five years before the panic it was five hundred and fifty-four millions against us.

The estimate that our currency has improved to the extent in which its coin value has become greater, assumes that the value of coin is a fixed one, an assumption shown to be absurd by the very figures before us. For if gold be no cheaper in 1878 than it was in 1866 or in 1873, how could its value and that of paper have approached so nearly? Let us also observe that in 1866 we had four hundred and thirty-two millions in greenbacks, and one hundred and seventy-six millions in national bank notes, while at present there are but three hundred and forty-six millions of the former to three hundred and twenty-four millions of the latter. This represents a move in the wrong direction, a transition from a currency created by the nation and for the nation's benefit, to a currency issued by private corporations and for their benefit.

WE cannot say that we feel unqualified satisfaction at the way in which the Vermont and Maine elections have fulfilled our predictions. The Republican party is that of our own preference, and we see no reason to put any other before it. We do not think its leaders are agents of the Shylocks, or that the rank and file are actuated by any but sincere convictions in taking the ground they now occupy. There are, no doubt, selfish cliques who think to find their profit in the success of these "high" doctrines; and they have their representatives among the organs of public opinion; but we do not recognize in them a controlling influence in the party. And yet we believe that the Republicans have earned their impending defeat, and that, whatever else may be the result of this campaign, the party will long suffer from its disasters.

The Republican party set out as "the party of moral ideas," and it had no doubt a good claim to that name. It was organized and won its first victories under such a stress of adverse opinion, that up to the close of the campaign of 1860, "black republican" was still a name of reproach, even in this city. In the course of the war, it rallied to its support many more of the best minds and soundest hearts in the nation. But in the course of the last few years, it has been losing its hold upon the masses of its own constituencies, even while the leading and formative intellects have remained true to it.

The reason has been that the Republican party has yielded to the weakness which besets every "party of moral ideas,"—the tendency to Pharisaism, to narrow and harsh judgments of those who fail to see with its eyes, to exalting every point of intellectual dissent to the dignity of a moral offence, and to assuming that the sternest and most painful course is always the right one for *your neighbor* to take. The present debate with the Greenback men and other advocates of vague theories, has not been fought on the ground of candid and frank reasoning, but of denunciation and abuse. The classes of the community who have been crushed to earth by the forced appreciation of our currency, have been met simply by the statement that their outcry showed them to be thieves. On the strength of half a dozen questionable maxims of the economists, it has been assumed that there are no open questions in finance, that all who think there are are either fools or knaves, and more commonly both; and that the advocates of the single

standard, of national banks of issue, of redemption in gold and nothing else, and of a resumption enacted by law and effected by contraction of the currency, have a monopoly of the national honesty. This state of things is all the more unfortunate because of the sterling quality of the material of which the party is composed. It represents an unhappy and quite needless break between some of the best classes in society and the masses of the people,— a breach of sympathy which is already wide and is steadily growing wider. We say it is altogether needless, for a fair expenditure of sympathy upon the suffering classes, and an earnest desire to see what could be done for them, and to find wherein our system of national finance presses upon them with needless severity, would have prevented this disastrous alienation.

THE Republican leaders seem to think there is no lesson to be learnt from their reverses. With hardly a dissenting voice, they call for the maintenance of "the high ground" already taken, and if any movement is to be made, it is to be to "still higher ground" on finance. It seems that they are to go on exalting the party until it shall attain such elevation that one umbrella will be enough to keep the sun off all who can get up so high. That no compromise is to be thought of; that even the proposals to substitute Treasury for bank-notes without increasing the volume in circulation is to be newly stamped as a heresy; and that whoever does not love the national banks and will not die in defence of their issues, is to be written down a thief. For they do not realize the extent of the impending disaster, and think, like Punch in the time of the Deluge, "It's not going to be much of a shower after all."

Secretary Sherman is the only man of them who seems to have looked about him in a sensible way, and asked what can be done. His disclosures, as is common with men of his class, take the shape of sudden recollections. He would like to keep both classes of notes in circulation, but he always did prefer Treasury notes, if the choice must be made. He does not like the plan of interconvertible bonds, but he always thought it would be a good thing to make our notes convertible into some of our bonds at par. These rather unexpected reminiscences of what the Secretary always thought would be a good thing, are the foreshadowing of a possible arrangement with the more moderate Nationals, who have as little

faith in "fiat money" as himself, but who have been driven into the new party to get breath, and to find somebody who does not think them knaves.

On the other hand, it must be said that the events of the past month do not inspire us with any confidence in the stability of these convictions. The Secretary has been held up to the admiring gaze of the American people, as the financier of more than human penetration, whose brain evolves deep and well devised schemes for "the redemption of the national credit," "the salvation of the American good name," and the like great ends. But he is certainly the first Secretary of the Treasury who has rushed upon the public with brilliant proposals which threw his admirers almost into spasms of admiration, without his having first asked the proper legal advisers whether what he proposed were lawful or the reverse. The contradicting and inconsistent announcements in regard to the issue of silver, made during the month, have administered a blow to his prestige from which it is not likely to recover. He has helped even his own public to see how little of a statesman goes to the make-up of a fine politician.

THE party which, in 1872, were ready to take up "anybody to beat Grant," seem to be again prepared to vote for "anybody to defeat the Republicans." In more than one district of the country, they are coalescing with the Nationals, but in Massachusetts the fusion has been the most triumphant and the most disgraceful. Benjamin F. Butler, the Democratic renegade and apostate, the scorn and the butt of the Democratic party throughout the Union, the "Beast Butler" of the Democratic South, the advocate of all the worst advised measures of the Republican party, is the Democratic and National candidate for Governor of Massachusetts!

It is true that the state committee protest against the regularity of the nomination, but the only ground for their action was a most unwarranted assumption of power to act as a committee on credentials and to exclude the duly elected delegates of the party. If ever an attempt was made to defeat the regularly expressed will of the people, it was by this state committee of Democratic respectables, and they would have acted far more uprightly and effectively if they had allowed the nomination to be made and had then withdrawn with their friends. As it is, they have saved nothing

from the wreck, neither their own good name nor that of their party. They have stooped to trickery as contemptible as that to which Benjamin F. Butler owes his national reputation, and they have not prevented his unanimous nomination by a convention which contained three-fifths of the regular delegates of the party. They carry neither moral nor numerical weight in their dissentient action.

The Republicans of the state are to be congratulated in that they are finally rid of this political adventurer, who has been an incubus upon them ever since the war. They have nominated a most excellent man for Governor, in Mr. Thomas Talbot, and even should they fail to elect him, which we fear is possible, they may fairly count this year as one of political gain. Their worst enemy has gone to the pit from which he was digged, and the lofty respectable Democrats who have taunted the party with the possession of such a representative man may now take thought as to the difference in the degree of his former and his present success. Butler fought as hard for a Republican nomination, but he was prevented without *their* state committee's stooping to sharp practices.

AMONG the public men of Washington, who have been long and favorably known to this generation, scarcely one could be named, who for clear common sense, temperate strength of will and steadfast adherence to principle, deserves to rank higher than the Hon. Justin S. Morrill, U. S. Senator from Vermont. Affecting none of the "grand, gloomy and peculiar" style which characterizes the charlatan rather than the genius, he thinks and acts in the clear light of day, and, while avoiding the dangerous pinnacles of eloquence, he never fails to express his convictions, or to frame his argument, in terse, fitting and agreeable language. His long experience in both houses of Congress, his wide acquaintance with men and knowledge of the machinery of the government, his diligent and unostentatious attention to business, all mark him as a model representative, while his unmistakable New England shrewdness, reticence, and "eye to the main chance," would seem exactly calculated to keep him in harmony with the people of his state, who, it might fairly be presumed, appreciated the solid merits of their senior Senator.

This is, however, the man who, if current reports are to be relied upon, may be superseded by a new comer who finds favor in

the eyes of Vermont legislators. Of that gentleman's qualifications it is not our part to speak, but they must be remarkable, indeed, if they fit their possessor to serve his state and his nation in the Senate of the United States as efficiently as Mr. Morrill.

Until we find careful and prudent fathers of families abandoning, for no cause, their old family physicians or lawyers, who know the constitutional dangers, or the business secrets and cares of the family, who have sympathised and aided in its prosperity, and who have carried it safely through its periods of distress, we shall not believe that the Hon. Justin S. Morrill will, in the fulness of his powers, be relegated to private life by the Legislature of Vermont.

WE presume that there is hardly an intelligent Democrat in the country, who does not in his inmost heart regret the passage of the Potter Resolution by the House of Representatives, and the consequent appointment of a Committee of Investigation into the Presidential Election. The result of the investigation—which has thus far been entirely one-sided, no witnesses being called as yet on the Republican side—has been to strengthen the Republican leaders, and the President especially, in the popular confidence as honest men. Not a single wrong or questionable act has been brought home to anybody except Senator Stanley Matthews, and in his case it was merely an indiscretion, committed after the fight was over and when nothing could be gained by it.

On the other hand, the investigation has led to the unearthing of a large number of despatches, chiefly in cipher, which passed between Governor Tilden's confidential agents and the doubtful states, Florida and Oregon. Colonel Pelton, Mr. Tilden's nephew and private secretary, cuts a very awkward figure in the light which these cast, since they show that he forwarded to Oregon money to be used for purposes of bribery and corruption. And no amount of direct appeal to the gentlemen concerned has thus far elicited any denial of the genuineness of these despatches, or any explanation of their damnatory purport. For our own part, we must say that the disclosures have not surprised us, either in their later and more complete shape, or in their earlier. The estimate we formed of Mr. Tilden, from a study of his political record in the Tweed era, is quite in keeping with the sending of such despatches,

and until he distinctly repudiates the acts of his relative and confidential agent, the public cannot but hold him responsible therefor.

OUR Northern cities begin to breathe more freely in the conviction that the pestilence which has so terribly devastated the Southwest is not on its way to our homes. Still, there is a just limit to confidence of this sort. It was in the months of October and November, 1793 that our own city suffered so terribly from this disease, brought hither by French fugitives from the political chaos in San Domingo.

The brighter side of the terrible picture of suffering and death in the Mississippi valley, is found chiefly in the grand displays of self-sacrifice and devotion to duty which it has called forth. Persons of all creeds and conditions and from all localities, have toiled together in the fearful struggle, most of them to earn little more than an obscure and painful death. It is only now and then that a name emerges from the mass, as having earned a place in the roll of honor,—some faithful priest or pastor, or some fair daughter of a wealthy northern family, who had gone down, life in hand, to stand between the dying and the dead. There is a pith of right in the tree which can still thrust forth such shoots. We need never despair, so long as we have among us, in such numbers, those who are capable of such self-sacrifice.

TILES AND TILING.

THE early history of tiles is enshrouded in as much obscurity as is the early history of pottery and porcelain. Certain it is that they have been manufactured in all ages, and in many countries, from the most remote periods of antiquity, but little can be said with certainty concerning them up to the beginning of the Christian era. The earliest notice of tiles in the Scriptures occurs in the Book of Kings, in the description of Solomon's Temple. They have been made and used in China for both interior and exterior decoration from a date which staggers the mind to dwell upon it—something like 2000 years B. C. the Chinese claim. Whether the manufacture was carried from China into India and

Persia and thence into Egypt, Phœnicia and Assyria, or whether it was a native and spontaneous product of the countries named, is still a disputed question among authorities upon the subject; indeed, it is uncertain whether India and Persia or Egypt, Phœnicia and Assyria can justly claim the greater antiquity for their tiles. It was undoubtedly from the latter countries that the art found its way into Europe through Greece, where it was soon carried to great perfection, as described by the early writers and as seen in the ruins of the temples and princely houses erected even some centuries B. C. Pliny* speaks of a pavement composed of *tesserae*, or *lithostrata*, called the *Asaroton Œcon*, or the "Unswept Hall," which was a perfect representation of a floor after a banquet, showing the crumbs and fragments scattered about. From Greece the art naturally found its way into Rome, where the small pieces forming mosaic work were called *tesserae* or *tesselæ*, from their resemblance to gamblers' dice. Hence the origin of our English word "tesselated." The legions of Rome carrying civilization with them wherever they went, carried, of course, the art of pottery and tile making, so that examples or copies of Roman pottery and tiles are to be found scattered over Europe from ancient Gaul to Asia Minor. Then followed a period of darkness and decay. "Art was not quite dead, but it scarcely breathed." It was to be revived again, and from a somewhat unexpected quarter. Europe, which owes the *preservation* of its literature, science and art to the monastic system which reigned supreme during the Middle Ages, owes the *revival* of them to the Mussulmen Saracens and Moors, the former over-running Southern Europe until totally defeated and hurled back by Charles Martel of France, in 732, and the latter holding possession, more or less complete, of Spain until 1492. Granada, Cordova, Valencia, Seville and several other places were famous for their tiles and other ceramic productions, specimens of which can still be seen in the fortress-palace of the *Alhambra* at Granada, in the *Alcazar* at Seville, and scattered throughout Spain generally. Nor was it only in Spain that the manufacture of tiles was engaged in during the Middle Ages. Throughout India and other Mohammedan countries the art was extensively carried on in the decoration of buildings, mosques and the like, and very largely in the dwellings of the higher classes. The tomb of Soly-

* *Historia Naturalis*, Book XXXVI, 60.

man the Magnificent, at Constantinople, is lined with tiles of unsurpassed beauty of design; the pre-eminently grand mosques of Samarcand, the glittering capital of Tamerlane, are renowned for the splendor of their tile walls and floors; and so the list of conspicuous examples might include tombs, palaces, mosques, etc., not only in the principal, but also in many of the smaller, cities of India, Asia Minor and wherever the cry of "Allah and his Prophet" is heard.

In Europe, there was but little done in this art until our own day. Germany made large quantities of common tiles during the sixteenth century, followed by Holland with her famous "Dutch tiles." During the last century, England and France, which had been making common tiles for several hundred years, manufactured considerable quantities of them, principally imitations of the Dutch, Roman and Moorish. It was not until 1840 that Mr. Prosser of England took out his patent for making tiles from dry, instead of plastic, clay in moulds, which is the method now employed in making all the plain tiles, so called. About the same date, after many years of experimenting, several other patents were taken out by different parties for various improvements in the manufacture, adding greatly to their quality, finish and capabilities, so that the modern manufacture of tiles dates back no further than forty years.

With this brief historical retrospect, the past must give place to the present. Before entering upon a general treatment of the subject of tiles, it would be well to describe their kinds and processes of manufacture.

Tiles are divided into four classes, as follows:

1. Plain or geometric, glazed or unglazed.
2. Encaustic or inlaid, glazed or unglazed.
3. Majolica, glazed or enamelled.
4. Art painted, glazed or enamelled.

Plain tiles are made of ordinary pottery clays, and are of uniform color throughout, like bricks. There are at present more than a dozen different colors made, either in natural clays or by the addition of mineral oxides, so that almost any desired combination or effect can be produced with them. The process of preparing the clays and flints for tiles is the same as for ordinary pottery, described in the April number of this magazine. We

may therefore avoid the repetition of details here. The clays having been washed, mixed with the ground flints and converted into "slip," the "slip" is run into a press which forces all the water out of it. The old method of making tiles was to form them by hand out of the plastic clay as it came from the press, but in 1840, as before noted, Mr. Richard Prosser took out an English patent for making tiles and *tesserae* from clay in a dry or powder state. By this process, the clay, after coming from the press, is dried and ground to an impalpable powder. It is then very slightly dampened and compressed in steel moulds of the shape of the tiles by powerful screws worked by hand, the powder being reduced to one-third or one-fourth its previous bulk, and coming out of the moulds solid bodies that safely bear handling. These tiles are carried to the kiln-room, where they are placed in "saggers," which are then piled up in the kiln, like pottery "saggers," where they are burned in a most intense heat for three or four days, the tiles coming out of the kiln homogeneous and almost indestructible bodies. If they are to be glazed, they are next carried to the "dipping room," where they are dipped in the glazing solution and then returned to the kiln for a second burning. It is found that tiles made by Prosser's process are denser in body, more perfect in shape, and more uniform and lasting in wear than those made by hand from clay in the plastic state. Maw's patent steam press for plain tiles can make 12,000 tiles a week, and requires the attendance of only one person to remove the tiles as they come out of the mould. Plain tiles are made half inch and one inch thick, and from one inch to eight inches square. These squares are subdivided into diagonal halves and quarters, and are made into octagons, hexagons, pentagons, rhomboids and other geometrical shapes. The small *tesserae* for mosaic work are made in the same manner as the tiles, and are from one inch down to one-sixteenth inch square.

Encaustic tiles are composed of three layers of clay, with the pattern of colored clays inlaid and burned in the face layer, hence their name, encaustic, signifying "burning in." The process of their manufacture, which differs somewhat from that of plain tiles, may be best described in the following excellent account from the *American Encyclopedia*.

"Encaustic tiles consist of a body of red clay faced with a finer

clay which bears the ornamental pattern and strengthened at the base with a thin layer of a clay different from the body, which prevents warping. The clay of the body is exposed to the weather for six months or more, and is afterwards thoroughly worked over and tempered and mixed with other substances and at last evaporated at the slip kiln. From a cubical block of this, formed in the usual method by 'slapping,' a square slab is cut off with a wire, upon which slab the facing of finer clay, colored to the desired tint, is battened out and slapped down. The backing is then applied in the same way to the other side of the tile. It is then covered with a piece of felt and put under a box press; the plaster-of-paris slab containing the pattern in relief, is then brought down upon the face of the tile and the design is impressed into the soft, tinted clay. The hollows thus formed are filled with a semi-fluid clay of a rich or deep color poured into them and over the whole surface of the tile. In twenty-four hours this has become hard enough to admit of the surplus clay being removed, which is done by placing the tile, still in the box, upon a horizontal wheel, and as it revolves applying a knife or scraper entirely across, so as to rest upon the edges of the box. The surface is thus cut down so as to expose the pattern and the ground. The defects are removed with a knife, and the edges after being squared are rounded off with sand paper. The tiles are kept for a week in a warm room called the 'greenhouse,' and the drying is completed in another called the 'hot-house.' They are then baked like other articles of pottery, except that double the ordinary time is given to the process, and the oven is left six days to cool before the tiles are taken out. They contract in baking from one-eighth to one-sixteenth of their dimensions."

These tiles are made one inch thick and of the various shapes of the plain tiles. As much care is exercised in the selection and preparation of the materials for them as is expended upon the finest pottery. This is necessary to ensure that perfection of quality and finish which is a characteristic point of superiority of the encaustic tiles of the present over those of the past.

Majolica, or embossed, tiles, are made in the same manner as plain tiles, the embossed designs being impressed into the moulds, which thus leave the face of the tiles in relief. They are then decorated, glazed or enamelled and burned like ordinary majolica

ware, of which they are simply flat examples. Besides the copies of old styles which they present, the process is also applied to the production of many new and beautiful designs suitable to the variety of purposes for which they are now used.

Painted tiles are simply plain tiles painted in single colors and glazed for mural or other purposes, or are "art painted" and enamelled, the subjects being as various and as finely executed as accomplished artists can make them. They are of all sizes, from an inch square, for furniture and other ornaments, up to eight by thirty-two inches, these tablets being for panels, framing fire-places, etc. Much of the cheaper decoration is done by a lithographic process, somewhat similar to the printing on pottery, described in a previous article, the flat surface of the tile making this very simple work. For some of the finest art painted pieces, white porcelain tiles are made by hand from plastic clay, the hard, vitreous body of porcelain being superior to pottery for receiving delicate coloring.

Having thus briefly described the process of manufacture and decoration of the various kinds of tiles, we may now consider their general qualities, manifold uses, economic advantages and æsthetic attractions.

The widespread interest now manifested by Americans in the subject, in common with all other branches of ceramic art, is very largely a result of the Centennial Exhibition, which was productive of so many other gratifying influences upon our people. They there beheld for the first time, a magnificently complete exhibition of tiles by the principal European manufacturers, and in the contemplation of that superb display, which excited general interest and admiration, they awoke to a realization of the vast capabilities of tiles for household use and decoration. Since that time they have rapidly grown in popular favor, especially among the more cultured classes, as a knowledge of their beauties and advantages has extended. So varied in character are they now made, that to enumerate all the purposes for which they are to-day employed would be to give a list startling in its variety but wearisome in its length. To mention some of their more important applications must suffice.

As tiles in remote antiquity, as well as in mediæval times, were made chiefly for flooring purposes, such is their chief purpose in

the present also. For the flooring of churches, public buildings, stores, vestibules, halls, conservatories, lavatories, kitchens—in short, for almost all floors except those of living rooms, their advantages can scarcely be exaggerated. Capable of forming the simplest or the grandest designs, almost imperishable in their nature, softer and more pleasing than marble under the feet, retaining perfect evenness of surface an indefinite number of years when once properly laid, impervious to moisture, grease and most of the acids, and retaining their colors and the brilliancy of their design unchanged to the last, they possess a combination of good qualities it would be difficult to surpass. The unglazed plain and encaustic tiles are the only ones used for floors, the glazed ones being too slippery to walk over. As previously stated, the plain tiles are each of a uniform color throughout, the colors now made being red, white, blue, black, green, yellow, buff, brown, drab, sage, salmon, purple and chocolate, and some of these in several shades. With these colors, and with the tiles and *tesserae* in all forms and sizes, the kaleidoscopic beauty and variety of designs that may be produced with them is limited only by the power of the imagination to conceive new ones. The encaustic tiles of two or more colors in pattern are, of course, capable of producing still more striking and brilliant effects by the splendor and endless variety of their designs. To save the expense of laying a whole floor in encaustic tiles, or to produce certain effects, plain tiles may be used in combination with them, forming Roman, Venetian, Persian, Moresque, Egyptian, or the simplest “American” patterns at pleasure. The highest effect to be produced by them is where the floor is laid in one grand design, having a superb centre-piece with or without emblematic devices around it, according to its adaptation to the place or the taste and means of the purchaser. The finest example of such work in this country, is in the rotunda of the Capitol at Washington, which presents emblematic devices of the various departments of the government—army, navy, commerce, agriculture, etc.—laid in Minton’s tiles. “Such, indeed, are the exactness and facility of the workmanship in these pavements, that the oblique and intricate intersections of the Moresque design are as readily executed as the simplest rectangular patterns of the Pompeian style. Even the scrolls and twisted guilloches, the quaint emblematical devices, and grotesque representations of horses,

warriors, etc., found in the most elaborate of the Roman pavements, may be accurately imitated with the new stamped tesserae."

For lining or wainscoting the walls of rooms, halls, etc., either glazed or unglazed plain and encaustic tiles may be used. Majolica or printed tiles may also be thus employed in combination with the others where a particularly handsome effect is desired. Or, if the purchaser so desire, he can have his walls lined in one continuous pattern, from the simplest scroll or flower work up to the grandest series of historical or allegorical designs. Such continuous patterns are especially suitable for public halls, private dining rooms, libraries and the like. The tiles may be either enamelled or, better still, left plain, in which latter case they can be given a finish so soft and natural that the surface of the whole will look like a fresco, an appearance that is heightened by the fact that the tiles are so even and fit so accurately that the divisions are scarcely perceptible at a short distance. For churches and chapels, tiles are peculiarly suitable for both flooring and walling. Besides the infinite variety of geometrical designs and mosaic devices that can be produced appropriate to an ecclesiastical structure, religious mottoes and scriptural quotations can be rendered with the aid of *tesserae* and of lettered tiles which are produced in great variety for this purpose. Glazed plain tiles are now largely used for sanitary reasons in lining the walls of kitchens, pantries, bath and retiring rooms, dairies, stables and other places where it is desirable to prevent the absorption into the walls of the gases arising therein, and where it is essential to preserve the greatest cleanliness with the least amount of care. Another, and most important, use of glazed tiles is in lining the walls of hospital wards, to prevent the absorption of the germs of fever and disease, which plaster walls readily absorb, thus rendering certain wards and even whole hospitals unfit for occupation after some years. For these sanitary reasons they should also be used in tenement houses, in all places where large numbers of persons sleep or are closely confined together, and in all poorly ventilated places. White glazed tiles are of the greatest value in lining dark passages, underground rooms, and the like, and all places subject to dampness or to a smoky or dirty atmosphere.

In the present revival of interest in the subject, the most popular, as it certainly is the most delightful use of glazed encaustic,

majolica and art painted tiles is for decorating hearths and fire-places—a resurrection of the fashion of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, when the Dutch tiles were in general use. These were of white porcelain body, decorated generally in a single color, either blue or black, and glazed. The designs were largely Scripture subjects, but other subjects of all kinds were common. Some of them were of the highest artistic excellence, but most of them were decidedly “Dutchy” in their conception and indifferent in their execution. After the invention of printing on pottery in the middle of the last century, these tiles were copied and extensively made in England, most of the “Dutch tiles” found in this country being really of English manufacture.

Within a few years the old style of open fire-place with grate has come into favor again with house builders—for which fact the public generally cannot be too deeply grateful to these soulless autocrats of society, not less for hygienic than for social reasons. If there be one thing more dismal than another in this life it is to be secluded in a fireless room on a cold or dreary winter night. Even the caloric influence radiated by that enemy of health and of domestic comfort—the register—cannot dispel the thought that there is something wanting to complete the picture of brightness and contentment within. Oh, but 'tis a luxury for which the Gods might sigh! to sit back, slippers and robed, in one's great arm-chair, before the genial coal or blazing wood fire, listening, in thankfulness of comfort, to the howling, pitiless winds without, or lost in reverie watching the ever-changing shadows within, which are dancing upon the walls or in the corners of the dimly fire-lighted room, conjuring up a fanciful imagery of goblins, fairies and all things weird and fantastic. There is an indescribable charm—a peculiarly mild, not to say holy, influence—about the fireside, that those who have never enjoyed it cannot appreciate. One cannot over-estimate the far-reaching effects of this influence upon family life, as it brings parents and children into close companionship and mutual sympathy, instead of scattering them over the house or outside of it. It is no flight of fancy to say that if there were more open fire-places, with family groups gathered before them, there would be fewer wanderers and fewer unhappy homes in the world.

Let the reader, therefore, insist upon having an open fire-place

in his home ; in every living room, if possible—in the general sitting room, at least. And when he gets it, let the mantel not be a great cut glaring white or frowning black marble quarry, as ponderous and inartistic in its design as it is vulgar and ridiculous in its pretensions. Rather have it of a soft, creamy white or of a delicately tinted marble—or, if he prefer it, of hard, carved woods—of chaste design and rich effect, making it a superb setting for the tiles which are to enrich it by their presence. For fire-place facings, majolica and art painted tiles are almost exclusively used, the former having the great preference. These can be used as single tiles, each having its own distinct subject, or with a design extending over several of them, or one large slab, 6 by 30 or 8 by 32 inches, can be used for the top and each of the sides. Every room can have its own appropriate subjects : the parlor, fine art ; the library, historical and literary ; the dining room, fruit and animal ; the chamber, flower and scriptural ; and the nursery, fable and fairy subjects. Over the mantel there may be a grand design, filling the entire space up to the ceiling and in keeping with the general surroundings. A very fine example of this kind is now to be seen in Minton, Hollins and Co.'s display at the Permanent Exhibition. It represents a domestic scene of a mother feeding her infant, another child standing near and all the characteristics of an humble home being introduced. It is most effectively treated, and would be particularly suitable for a sitting room. For hearths and the insides of fire-places, glazed plain and encaustic tiles are used. Their great advantages for this are that they are not affected by the fire, are easily kept clean and bright, and reflect the light and heat very strongly into the room, thus keeping it much brighter and warmer than could the old style fire-bricks, which were always dull and begrimed, and let most of the heat go up the chimney. A fire-place as here described is a double source of pleasure and profit in a household ;—first, in the benefit and enjoyment of a grate fire, and second, in the additional benefit and enjoyment to be derived from the study of the tiles around it. Being things of beauty, they will indeed be “a joy forever,” not only in themselves, but in the effect they will have upon their surroundings, their brilliant, never-fading colors and lovely designs casting a bright, cheerful influence over the whole room—an influence which insensibly affects all who come within reach of it.

For the decoration of walls, dados, cabinets and furniture generally, embossed majolica and gilt or art painted tiles are chiefly used. The majolica tiles are a modern production, giving both old and new designs in relief, almost exclusively of studies from nature, including figure subjects. They are painted in enamel colors, are extremely rich in appearance, and in places where they are appropriate, they cannot be excelled in effect. The art painted tiles embrace every subject within the wide realm of art, original and copied from the best examples. The finer ones are painted by artists of the highest reputation, and are artistically equal to similar paintings on canvas, many of them, indeed, being valued much more highly than the latter. While canvas paintings must fade and are easily injured, tile paintings are unchanged by time and are practically indestructible, except by serious causes, besides which the enamel gives the latter a soft, liquid appearance, peculiarly pleasing and obtainable by no other means. Nothing could be lovelier than the conception and execution of many of these artistic *gems*. In one group are the presentments of "all rare flowers of every clime,"—bright daisies, fair pansies, tender buttercups, blushing tulips, regal lilies, superb magnolias, and the loveliest ferns and grasses and ivies and autumn leaves, in the most attractive combinations and most exquisite finish; in another group are the prettiest birds of the most brilliant plumage, and animals of every species, from the trembling spaniel to the imperial lion; next to these are figure subjects—pensive Mauds, charming Romeos and Juliets, gallant knights and lovely children; near them are a number of the most delightful morsels of art in the shape of landscape and marine views; and beyond these is a final group of fable, fairy and mythological subjects, some very quaint, some very original and some very beautiful. These art tiles, in the usual squares and large slabs, are now becoming quite popular for framing and hanging on walls like ordinary pictures. They, as well as the majolica, are also largely used for panels in walls and cabinets, where they are exceedingly effective. For decorating furniture, as well as for borders of all kinds, for which latter purpose plain and encaustic tiles are also largely used, they are made from one inch to several inches square, the squares being also sub-divided into the usual variety of geometrical shapes.

A tasteful and most attractive application of tiles is for flower-

boxes for windows, to replace the unsightly flower-pots of the past. The tiles used are either six, seven or eight inches square, three four or five on a side, according to the width of the window, in a walnut or other fancy wood frame, lined with zinc to hold the earth; or single boxes of one tile square may be used. Such boxes, faced with enamelled majolica or painted tiles of rich design, and filled with choice flowers, are the brightest and most ornamental utilities that can adorn either the sitting room of the humble cottage or the parlor of the princely mansion. Placed in the sunlight of the window, they cast a radiant influence upon everything within, and as seen from the outside, appear like so many beautiful vases in the desert of brick and-mortar house fronts. Their attractions and advantages are so readily recognized that they are coming into general use.

Still another important use of tiles, scarcely known yet in this country, is for facing stoves made especially for them. These tile stoves are very common throughout Europe, particularly in Sweden, Germany, Austria and Hungary. They are of two kinds: some being faced with the ordinary tiles, and others with coarser tiles several inches thick, the side exposed to the fire being ridged and perforated with holes, in order to present a large surface and absorb as much heat as possible. These latter tiles are largely moulded in recessed and bas-relief designs, forming panels, arches and other architectural patterns as well as figure and other work. The European tile-stove is usually five to eight feet high, two to four feet wide, and two feet deep from front to back. Within these general dimensions, various modifications of shape are made to suit varying tastes. Most of them have close fronts, but many of them are open. In Great Britain and France, a new and improved style has recently come into use. This consists of a low, broad frame, faced with the finer class of tiles and with a front like an ordinary open fire-place, so that rooms that have not open fire-places in already, can be supplied with these substitutes, which are almost as good and can be made quite as attractive. The advantages claimed for tile stoves are: (1.) Not being good conductors of heat, they radiate it slowly and without sudden changes; and being bulky, they retain heat for a long time, and maintain an equable, moderate temperature in the apartment, even long after the fire has burned out; (2) they do not scorch and burn the air, or the floating par-

ticles of dust in it, as is the case with highly heated metallic stoves; (3) they combine to a great degree the advantages of an open fireplace and of a stove, giving ventilation and permitting the fire to be seen, while most of the heat is utilized, being stored up in the mass of the tiles and slowly radiated. These are practical advantages which deserve serious consideration from a hygienic point of view, and when to these are added the conceded brightness and beauty of the tile stoves, as compared with the unlovely and funereal structures of metal so common among us, it is a source of much surprise that they have not come into more general use in this country. It can be explained only by the supposition of general ignorance of their existence and advantages.

Besides the many important applications of tiles which have thus far been described, they may also be used for a variety of minor purposes, useful and ornamental, which it is unnecessary to detail here. Enough has been said to show their great practical advantages, their varied artistic qualities and their immense capabilities. That they have been so little used in the past, and are so little appreciated in the present, in this country, may be ascribed to the fact that our people have seen so few of the finer examples of tiles in their various applications, that they are really ignorant of their beauties, qualities and capabilities, and therefore cannot be expected to take a very great interest in things of which they have seen, and know, so little. As a knowledge of the subject becomes more general, however, it is reasonable to expect a largely increased interest manifested in it, and such is its fascination, that when that interest is once fully aroused, it can only be satisfied by direct enjoyment. There is every reason to believe that, before many years, tiles will be in as general demand in this country for use and decoration as they are at present in Europe, so that those who are now taking the lead here are not setting a fashion—they are merely anticipating it.

It would be difficult to give a very definite idea of the cost of the various kinds of tiles, the prices varying with their quality and the character and finish of the designs. From the plain tiles, costing ten to fifteen cents, up to the art painted slabs, costing each fifty to a hundred dollars, every taste and every purse can be suited. It may be said that plain tiles for flooring cost about three times as much as oil cloth, but after the first purchase, there is no

further expense with them as with oil cloth or carpet, which must be renewed every few years.

The objection raised by many against tile floors—that they soon become uneven, and perhaps dangerous, through the tiles becoming loose—is unwarranted in fact, in so far as it would imply that tile floors in general are liable to this objection. Whenever tiles become loose and the floors uneven, it may be ascribed to defective workmanship or other cause in laying them down, or possibly to the poor quality of the tiles used. When a proper foundation has been prepared and experienced workmen employed, there need be no apprehensions entertained as to the result. There are examples of tile floors in existence that have been laid for centuries, and although subject to constant wear and attrition, are as even to-day as when first laid down. The best plan to avoid disagreeable consequences is to buy only from a reliable house and employ only experienced workmen.

The manufacture of tiles, as shown in the variety of their applications, has now grown to be a most important industry, particularly in England, which leads the world in this department. It may not be amiss, therefore, in connection with the subject, to notice in detail the principal houses engaged in the manufacture at the present time.

First of the number is the house of Messrs. Minton, Hollins and Co., of Stoke-upon-Trent, Staffordshire, England, which is the leading pottery in the world in the quantity and quality of the tiles manufactured by it. It would be impossible to do justice in a single paragraph to the vast establishment named. It is devoted exclusively to the manufacture of tiles, which it produces for all purposes, of the finest quality, the greatest variety and the highest finish. Their plain tiles and *tesserae* are now produced in such a variety of colors, shapes and sizes, that any conceivable design in centres, borders or the most artistic mosaic work can be readily executed with them. Besides the ordinary mosaic work which the firm are regularly making upon order, they have made a number of special pieces—scriptural devices, busts and full length mosaics of celebrated men, etc.,—of the very highest artistic excellence. One of the best of these mosaics is a head of Washington, in eighth-inch *tesserae*, which cannot be distinguished from an oil painting at a short distance, and is as faithful a likeness as Gilbert

Stuart's original. It is now in possession of the firm's agents in this city. Encaustic tiles, glazed and unglazed, are a speciality of this firm, their finish and variety of patterns being unequalled by any other house. Their majolica tiles are unsurpassed in the beauty of their designs and the brilliancy of their colors, this firm being the first to introduce these tiles into use. But it may be said that it is in the branch of art-painted tiles that Minton, Hollins and Co. stand preëminent. For this branch, the best artists obtainable are engaged, the subjects being both original and copies of the highest examples of European art, either on a single tile or slab, or including a number of tiles to form a complete design. The finest of these are intended chiefly for framing, as their cost makes them too valuable for ordinary purposes. Of special interest, may be mentioned the emblematic designs of Morning, Noon, Evening and Night, of the Months and of the Seasons. Next to these and the other finer examples, come the intermediate subjects, such as single birds, animals, flowers and the like, and after these the simple studies, consisting of Scripture events, fable devices and quaint illustrations in a single color, usually black on a buff ground. The latter are generally printed. Messrs. Sharpless and Watts are Minton, Hollins and Co.'s agents in this city, and their store on Market Street contains examples of all the newest and best designs.

Messrs. Maw and Co., of the Benthall Works, Brosely, are the principal rivals of Minton, Hollins and Co. in the quantity, quality and variety of the tiles they manufacture. This firm began the manufacture in 1851, spending many years after that in experimenting with various materials and processes before attaining the perfection they now display in all their productions. Among the special features of their work may be noticed their encaustic pavements, presenting one complete design over the whole surface, instead of the design being confined to a limited number of tiles and being indefinitely repeated over the floor. Such a pavement is, indeed, a superb mosaic on a grand scale, and when to beauty of design is added the highest excellence in make and decoration, it may readily be conceived that the effect of the whole must be equally striking and magnificent. They also manufacture large quantities of *tesserae* for mosaic work, many of their mosaic pieces being of the most elaborate description. Their plain, majolica and art-

painted tiles, are as fine in quality and as artistic in finish as their encaustic tiles, as the firm make every effort, by the use of the best materials and most improved processes, and by the employment of the most accomplished designers and artists, to keep their productions up to the highest standard of excellence, in every respect. They make something of a specialty of *sgraffito* and *pate-sur-pate* tiles, not before noticed, the former having the design incised, or cut, into the clay, and the latter having the design in relief, of a clay differing in color from the ground on which it is laid. They are suitable only for ornamental purposes, for which the *pate-sur-pate* are particularly effective, looking like large cameos.

The Campbell Brick and Tile Company, of Stoke-upon-Trent, are the successors of the business of Mr. Robert Minton Taylor, who began the manufacture of tiles at Fenton in 1868, upon the dissolution of the old firm of Minton and Co., of which he was a member. The company are now manufacturing all kinds of tiles of the finest quality and in great variety of designs. Their majolica tiles may be specified as of particular excellence, the representation of all kinds of flowers being exceptionally faithful and beautiful. A specialty of this company are their tessellated pavements, reproducing patterns of the Romano-British period, many of the designs being of the richest and most striking character.

Messrs. Craven, Dunnill and Co., of the Jackfield Works, Salop, have an extensive establishment devoted wholly to the manufacture of tiles, especially of plain tiles, which they manufacture of a superior quality in color and hardness. Their encaustic, majolica and art tiles are also excellent.

“Minton's” is the present trading name of the old house of Minton and Co., originally established in 1796, at Stoke-upon-Trent. It is to Mr. Herbert Minton, the late head of this house, that the world is chiefly indebted for the quality and extent of the tile manufacture of the present day. It was he who first, about 1840, engaged in experiments of his own and in carrying out the patents of others for the improvement of the tile manufacture, and it is due to his heroic determination to succeed, in the face of discouragements and losses which would have been fatal to the energy of most men, that he finally brought the manufacture to its present perfection. The tile manufacture was made a separate branch of the business under the name of Minton, Hollins and Co. Mr. Her-

bert Minton died in 1858. In 1868 the firm of Minton and Co. was dissolved. Of the members of the firm, who were all related, Mr. Michael Daintry Hollins continued the tile manufacture, under the name of Minton, Hollins and Co.; Mr. Robert Minton Taylor started the tile manufacture for himself; and Mr. Colin Minton Campbell continued the general pottery and porcelain business of the old firm under the trading name of "Minton's." Mr. Campbell afterwards took an interest in Mr. Taylor's business and formed the Campbell Brick and Tile Company, already noticed. This "divided unity" of business relationship is a little perplexing to outsiders, so that it is well for the public to understand the facts of the case in order to be able to discriminate between the several houses. "Minton's" make all kinds of tiles except encaustic tiles for flooring purposes, which, by the terms of dissolution with Minton, Hollins and Co., they are restrained from making. They make a very fine display of enamelled decorated tiles for mural purposes, dados, fire-places, flower stands, etc., and their art tiles are not surpassed by those of any other house in the attractiveness of the subjects chosen, or in their style of execution.

Messrs. W. T. Copeland and Son of Stoke-upon-Trent, like "Minton's," make tiles an important branch of their general pottery and porcelain manufacture. They are particularly successful in the production of tiles in continuous designs for the walls of rooms, the edges of the tiles fitting so perfectly that the seams are almost indistinguishable, and the surface being finished in such a way that the whole looks like a fine fresco. They also make the various other kinds of tiles, of the same general excellence and artistic finish.

Leaving England and crossing over to the continent, the first tile house to claim attention is that of E. Collinot of Paris. He makes a specialty of the finest quality of work, sending out some of the loveliest and most elaborate designs conceivable. Much of his work consists of panels for walls of apartments, decorated in enamel colors after European and Oriental designs. The colors, which are as pure as they are brilliant, are laid on very thick, making the figures, flowers or other decorations stand out in slight relief, so that the effect of the whole, executed in the highest style of art, is simply magnificent. He also devotes himself largely to the reproduction of Arabian, Persian and Eastern designs generally.

Deck, the celebrated ceramic artist, is engaged almost exclusively in the decoration of Collinot's pottery and tiles.

A house at Montereau, near Paris, manufactures vast quantities of tiles of all kinds, making a specialty of art tiles decorated after original designs. It is the principal French competitor of the English houses, there being a strong rivalry between them.

Bernhard Erndt of Vienna, Imperial Court potter, manufactures a great variety of tiles, making a specialty of stove tiles, which are used extensively throughout Germany, Austria, Hungary and Bohemia. Most of them are about eight inches square and three to six inches thick. The designs are generally in high relief, decorated in warm and pleasing enamel colors.

Geb Brüder Ravesteijn of Westraven, near Utrecht, is the principal potter now engaged in the manufacture of the old style "Dutch tiles." They are chiefly of the cheaper kinds, with very indifferent decoration, and it is needless to say that in consequence of the great advance made in the manufacture elsewhere, these tiles are now scarcely seen outside of Holland.

Pickman and Co., Seville, Spain, manufacture the old style of Spanish tiles, with their soft body and warm, delicate colors, which are so peculiarly attractive. They also make the lovely *azulejos*, which have been the delight of the world for centuries. Besides the various kinds they manufacture for floor and wall purposes, they are now producing a class with Alhambraic designs and metallic lustre, making a very effective decoration.

A. Y. Soleria, Tarragona, makes plain and encaustic tiles on a basis of brick clay. A peculiarity of his tiles is that besides the ordinary geometrical shapes, he produces stars, curved triangles, etc., so that the effect of a floor or wall showing these irregular and curved lines with tiles of different colors is novel and, at first, somewhat bewildering.

There are, of course, many other houses throughout Europe devoted wholly or largely to the manufacture of tiles, but they present no points of exceptional interest worthy of special distinction here. Nearly all the larger and more prominent potteries manufacture majolica and art tiles for ornamental purposes, the style of decoration generally partaking of the distinctive character of the pottery and porcelain decoration of the various houses. The only plain and encaustic tiles imported into this country come

from the leading English houses before named. Indeed, it may be said that so great have been the advances made by England in tile manufacture, as in every other branch of ceramic art, that she is now supplying tiles to the greater part of Europe as well as to the United States and the rest of the world.

The reader may ask, "What has been done in this country in this important manufacture?" As yet, next to nothing. The writer, after making many inquiries among the dealers, after sending out many letters to potters, and after making a published request for information through their trade journal, can learn of *only one* house engaged in the manufacture in the United States. There may be, and probably are, a few others making plain or encaustic tiles, but they are certainly on a very small scale, and make no attempt to bring their productions into public notice. The one house alluded to is the firm of Hyzer and Lewellen of North Ninth Street, Philadelphia. After experimenting many years with native materials, they have at last succeeded in producing plain tiles, almost, if not quite, equal in hardness and finish to the finest imported, and in a great variety of colors. They are now also manufacturing encaustic tiles of excellent quality and fair designs. With greater purity and variety of colors, originality and artistic excellence of designs, and proper domestic encouragement, there is no reason why they should not soon be able to compare favorably with their foreign rivals in their special lines.

JAMES JOSEPH TALBOT.

THE FINANCIAL ADMINISTRATION OF ROBERT MORRIS.

[A chapter from a forthcoming "Financial History of the United States."]

NOTWITHSTANDING Morris's acceptance, the Board of Treasury by his request was continued until he could disengage himself from private business and devote himself chiefly to the duties of his office. Thus, for several months, there was a mixed administration of the finances, Morris increasing his attention to them until the Board of Treasury was no longer required.

At the time of accepting office, Morris was somewhat less than fifty years of age, and the news of his appointment was received with gladness by all the friends of the newly created government. Several times had he been elected delegate to Congress, always serving with distinguished ability; and more than once when Washington was sorely pressed for funds and other means to supply his army, Morris furnished the much needed relief. He possessed great energy and integrity; and his patriotism shone conspicuously throughout the Revolution. Unquestionably, a fitter person for the office could not have been selected; and Hamilton's letter, addressed to him after his election, but previous to his acceptance, while Congress was deliberating upon the conditions which Morris had imposed, not only expressed the writer's opinion, but the opinion of all who were the most competent to judge concerning the man and the office. Hamilton assures Morris that he had heard with the greatest satisfaction of his nomination to the department of finance; and that long ago he had informed his friend Duane, how desirous he was for Congress to make the appointment. He then continues, "I know of no other in America who unites so many advantages; and, of course, every impediment to your acceptance, is to me a subject of chagrin. I flatter myself Congress will not preclude the public from your services by an obstinate refusal of reasonable conditions; and, as one deeply interested in the event, I am happy in believing you will not easily be discouraged from undertaking an office, by which you render America and the world no less a service than the establishment of American independence. 'Tis by introducing order into our finances—by restoring public credit, not by gaining battles, that we are finally to gain our object. 'Tis by putting ourselves in a condition to continue the war—not by temporary, violent and unnatural efforts to bring it to a decisive issue, that we shall, in reality, bring it to a speedy and successful one. In the frankness of truth, I believe, sir, you are the man best capable of performing this great work." To Franklin the appointment was equally welcome; and he expresses his "great pleasure" to Morris, "as from your intelligence, integrity and abilities, there is reason to hope every advantage, that the public can possibly receive from such an office."

While Morris's acceptance remained in suspense, the Board of Treasury was directed to lay before Congress returns from the loan

offices, specifying the amount of old emissions received, and of new emissions retained by order of Congress, also, the amount of taxes paid by the respective states, and to make a monthly report thereof in the future.

Three days in the week were now set apart for the discussion of financial measures. On the 16th of March, 1781, an important measure was adopted providing that all debts then due from the United States which had been liquidated in specie, "or other money equivalent," should be actually paid either in gold or silver, or other money equal thereto, according to the current exchange between such money and specie. At the same time, the states were recommended to repeal all prior legislation declaring continental bills of credit a legal tender, thus making their legal correspond with their real value. For the purpose of continuing the war, the states were asked in November, 1780, to furnish 6,000,000 dollars, partly in specific articles at fixed prices, and the balance in gold and silver, in four quarterly payments. To discharge this requisition more easily, as well as prior ones issued by Congress, bills of credit of the new emission were to be received at the federal treasury as equal to, and in lieu of, specie; and which were to draw interest from the time of payment until the quotas of the states were finally ascertained. If in the end it should appear that any state had been assessed for more than its just quota, payment of interest was to be continued upon the surplus; if less, interest was to be charged upon the deficiency until, by a future tax, the surplus or deficiency was adjusted. The states were also directed to make returns to the Board of War to the first day of June following, of everything which they had supplied to Congress or its officials, and all deficiencies then existing were to be paid within three months thereafter.

Congress was earnest in rescuing the country from the grave financial perils which threatened its existence. As an opinion prevailed that the bills of credit of the new emission were interest-bearing obligations, Congress, in order to settle the point, declared that they did not draw interest, either when issued from loan-offices, or paid for supplies, or when given in discharge of public debts. By this enactment, a controversy which had risen to considerable height, was speedily ended. As Adams and Franklin were without funds, Congress directed that no more bills should be drawn

on them; more specific regulations were devised concerning the settlement of accounts, and to Morris was confided, by renewed authority, the control of all funds loaned by foreign countries.

The first investigation into the affairs of the treasury department occurred in 1781. For the more perfect transaction of the public business, the Board of Treasury allotted certain hours for receiving applications of persons having business with the department, besides directing the Treasurer of Loans to transmit to them all applications for loan-office certificates and bills of exchange. These orders gave rise to "the imputation of undue pride and insolence of office," and led to a serious investigation by Congress. The incident illustrates very forcibly the ever present fear in the public mind towards office-holders, especially in men like Samuel Adams, who lived in constant danger lest the office-holder should snatch away the liberties of the people. The committee of investigation was composed of sensible men, who discovered the true motive of the Treasury Board in issuing these orders, which was to serve the public more effectively; consequently, the charges were considered groundless.

On the 18th of April, 1781, a committee reported concerning the debt, the manner of its growth, and the needs of the year. The public debt in specie amounted to 24,057,577 dollars, and the estimate for the coming year was 19,507,457 dollars. The debts owed abroad, as nearly as the committee could ascertain, were 6,000,000 dollars, and the annual interest thereon was 360,000 dollars. The record of the domestic debt was so badly tangled that no one could give the correct amount, nor was it ever ascertained. The obligations of the government existed in several forms and bore different rates of interest. Congress now resolved to liquidate the entire public indebtedness in specie as soon as possible, and fund the same in interest-bearing obligations, if the creditors should consent. The states were informed that the estimates of Congress were made in "solid coin," and that a literal compliance with the requisitions was expected. Congress could no longer wait for the balance of the quotas of 3,000,000 dollars which had been assigned nearly eight months before, so the continental treasurer was directed to draw orders on the states, payable within thirty days, for the sum remaining unpaid. He was further directed to draw for sums asked at a later date. Congress supposed the

states would direct their treasurers to accept these orders when presented, and pay them when they fell due.

The next financial discussion of much importance related to the establishment of a national bank, which was suggested by Morris soon after his active assumption of office. Hamilton had previously favored the trial of this experiment, and in a subsequent letter, addressed to Morris, he laid all the details of a plan before him. Morris's plan was speedily adopted by Congress, the bank was incorporated under the name of "the president, directors and company of the bank of North America," and the states were recommended to pass laws forbidding the establishment of any rival institution during the war, and that its notes, which were payable on demand in gold and silver, should be receivable in payment of taxes, duties and debts due the United States. The capital was 400,000 dollars, which could be increased, and the right of inspection was given to the superintendent of finance. Morris relied for a supply of coin upon the governor-general of Havana, who was to be repaid by annual shipments of flour guaranteed by France, but the first condition of the engagement was never fulfilled. When the bank began operations, the amount of specie in its vaults did not exceed forty thousand dollars, and the fear of an early exhaustion of this sum was so great that persons were employed during the earlier and more critical days of its existence to follow those who demanded specie and urge them to return it, in order to preserve the precious foundation. Notwithstanding every effort to make the issues of the bank safe, they circulated in the beginning from ten to fifteen per cent. below par in the Eastern states; and if Morris had not taken immediate measures to create a demand for them and prevented further issues from going thither, their value would have been totally lost for a time. Their value once gone, it could not have been easily restored after the recent costly experience of the people in circulating paper money. Morris's efforts, however, quickly checked the depreciation, the issues of the bank soon rose to par, which was preserved without further difficulty.

As soon as the bank was opened, Morris wrote the governors of the states declaring his confidence that, with proper management, the institution would answer the most sanguine expectations of those who had befriended the undertaking. Beside, it would

facilitate the management of the finances of the United States. "The several states may, when their respective necessities require, and the abilities of the bank will permit, derive occasional advantages from it. It will afford to the individuals of all the states a medium for their intercourse with each other, and for the payment of taxes more convenient than the precious metals, and equally safe. It will have a tendency to increase both the internal and external commerce of North America, and undoubtedly will be infinitely useful to all the traders of every state in the Union, provided, as I have already said, it is conducted on principles of equity, justice, prudence, and economy." Such were some of the advantages which Morris believed would spring from this institution.

Notwithstanding its early trials, the concern surmounted them, ministered effectively to the government, and furnished the states with a safer and more convenient medium of exchange than specie. Pennsylvania, however, which had previously granted a charter, fearing the power of the corporation, repealed the act; happily the state recovered from its fright, and renewed the charter at the next session of the legislature. Such action was characteristic of the times; there was a terrible dread of the exercise of power; having escaped from the tyranny of Great Britain, every fresh exercise of authority by any new body was equally dreaded, even if the roots did grow wholly in American soil.

Had it not been for a few hardy spirits like Morris, the enterprise of establishing public freedom in this land would have surely failed, for several times was the country reduced to an almost dying condition. Public credit was now gone, requisitions upon the states for money were little heeded, and the only aid furnished besides troops was specific supplies. There were a vast number of unfunded debts, "a cumbrous load of useless paper," and of certificates given by loan officers and other officials for specific supplies; war had stripped many portions of the country, commerce was shattered, and nowhere did system, the indispensable handmaid of economy, prevail. Yet Morris despaired not. In a letter to Franklin, after depicting faithfully the condition of things, Morris asks, "But what else could be expected from us? A revolution, a war; the dissolution of government, the erecting of it anew; cruelty, rapine and devastation in the very midst of our bowels. These, sir, are circumstances by no means favorable to

finance. The wonder then is, that we have done so much, that we have borne so much, and, the candid world will add, that we have dared so much."

Attention was turned at this juncture in several ways for support. Many looked towards other nations for assistance; the slight aid furnished by them, instead of showing the futility of expecting much, only encouraged the people to expect a great deal more. Again and again did Franklin, Adams and Jay recount the difficulties in the way of procuring loans from abroad. While the American ministers were urged by Morris and Livingston to renew their exertions, they never ceased to tell their own countrymen the truth,—to found their reliance upon themselves, and not upon foreign powers for the means necessary to carry on the war. Morris was continually writing to the governors of the states and putting this obvious truth before them in the plainest light; nevertheless, they lived on the hope that, as some aid had been contributed by foreign nations, they would grant still more abundant relief.

While counting upon some aid from France, and perhaps Holland, Morris's chief reliance was upon America herself. In most countries, the materials for waging war are obtained from within; the spectacle is rare to see a country lean so heavily as did America upon foreign nations for the the means necessary to conduct a military enterprise. The American people, though bold in defying the authority of Great Britain, were extremely weak in exercising power over themselves and displaying their latent energies. The states were rich enough in almost all things needed to wage successful campaigns, if they could be called forth. Therein lay the chief difficulty. How could the resources of the people be fully drawn out? Let us review some of the chief obstacles lying in the way.

In the first place, the necessity of taxing the people was seen clearly enough, and laws were enacted by all the states relating to the subject; beside, their governors were animated with a high degree of patriotism, and were enthusiastic in supporting the general government, yet only small sums flowed into the public treasury. The people were not accustomed to taxes, nor had the legislature adopted "proper modes of laying and levying them with convenience to the people." As Morris remarked in a letter to

Luzerne, "Taxation requires time in all governments, and is to be perfected only by long experience in any country." America, divided as it was into numerous free states, possessing sovereign power for all domestic purposes, could not be suddenly made to pay all which might have been spared from the wealth of her citizens. Moreover, the enemy always occupied a portion of the country, and prevented the collection of some taxes. At one time nearly the whole of New Jersey was overrun; at another, Georgia and South Carolina seemed almost restored to British rule. All the states in turn felt the foreign oppressor, taking possession of the country, despoiling the inhabitants, and rendering the collection of taxes uncertain and very unequal.

Again, a portion of the people were unwilling to pay them except in paper. They had received paper money from the government, why should it not be repaid; if, however, Morris renewed the circulation of it, the mischief which he was trying to cure, would be prolonged. The paper issues were enormously inflated, and prudence dictated the contraction of them as rapidly as possible; on that point, public opinion was undivided. Morris, at first, resolved to receive all that was offered, and to re-issue a portion, thus making contraction more gradual, while deriving some aid, though very slight, from the use of paper money. In no instance did he refuse it, for the people would lose less, he thought by paying their taxes with it, than they would if the government refused to receive it, for, in that case, its value would totally disappear. So Morris for several months received all the paper tendered in payment of taxes, but he soon stopped re-issuing any of it, thus contracting the volume of money, though the redundancy was so great, and its value so slight, probably no one ever feared a disturbance of prices as a consequence of adopting such a policy.

Although the people were free to return this money in payment of taxes, and a faithful execution of the recommendations of Congress and laws of the states in this respect would have proved most salutary in reducing the quantity and preventing a part of the loss at least in the hands of holders, the people were very slow in paying either paper or specie to the collectors in discharge of their tax dues. After Morris had been in office more than a year, he wrote to Daniel Clarke; in reply to the charge that he had

robbed the Eastern states of their specie, "I have not received from the Eastern states any more than from the Southern states, not one shilling of specie, since I was appointed to my present office." In November, he writes to Franklin that the past requisitions of Congress, notwithstanding his pressing entreaties, had yielded "not more than one hundred thousand dollars" during his administration. In September, the year following, he declares to Franklin that not more than twenty-five thousand dollars had been added to the sum. He informs the president of the State of Pennsylvania that Congress, on the 2d day of November, 1781, assessed that state 1,127,794 dollars, payable in quarterly sums, commencing the 1st of April, 1782; yet during the whole of that year there had been received towards the payment of this quota only 107,925 dollars,—less than one-tenth of the sum required. In July, 1783, he addresses a circular letter to the governors of the states, telling them the unwelcome fact that all the taxes brought into the treasury since 1781 did not amount to 750,000 dollars. Shortly afterward he addressed the following communication to Congress, which shows how tardily the states had complied with the demands of Congress. South Carolina had furnished supplies to the troops serving there in sufficient quantity to pay her quota; the proportion of payment to assessment in the other states was as follows:

Rhode Island,	nearly	1-4
Pennsylvania,	above	1-5
Connecticut and New Jersey, }	each about	1-7
Massachusetts	about	1-8
Virginia,	about	1-12
New York and Maryland, }	each about	1-20
New Hampshire,	about	1-121
North Carolina, Dela- ware and Georgia. }	nothing at all.	

In February, the year following, he sent Jefferson an account of the taxes which had been paid during his administration to the close of the year 1783, and also the arrearages on the requisitions for the years 1782 and 1783, which exceeded eight million dollars. Surely, this was a very large deficit; well might Morris have been

appalled with the magnitude of his task, when loans were obtained with so much difficulty abroad and collections were so meagre at home.

Another source of aid was specific supplies, either furnished by the states or taken by officers appointed for that purpose, who gave certificates therefor. A great portion of the supplies were irregularly obtained in this way. Morris was strongly opposed to the system, because it was so "extremely wasteful and expensive," and led to widespread corruption. He sought to furnish supplies by contract, because it was more economical; several months elapsed, however, before he was permitted to inaugurate this reform. The quarter-masters and commissaries issued the certificates, which were accepted by the states in return for supplies, and were then sent to the superintendent of finance to be credited on their quotas, just as though they had furnished money. Morris complained because he could not use them as money after accepting them. This complaint, however, was based on no solid foundation. If the states furnished supplies, surely it was the duty of the government to acknowledge the fact, but why should the receipts or certificates of indebtedness of the general government to the states be retained by it and used as money? This was one step farther in the way of creating paper money than Congress, even in its boldest and most adventurous days, had dared to go. It was impossible to ascertain the amount of certificates issued, and how many had been returned in payment of taxes; moreover, they choked every plan that was devised for restoring the public credit and supporting the war. In respect to the rascality attending the policy, probably the certificates given to individuals were more fraudulent than those received by the governors of the states. Doubtless state officials were moved with greater patriotism in furnishing supplies voluntarily and taking receipts therefor, than were individuals whose property had been taken involuntarily from them. Morris, therefore, had reason for saying that daily observation confirmed his fears that frauds had been practised in giving such certificates; and he maintained the opinion that a general permission to receive them in payment of taxes would be very injurious, not only to the public revenue, but to the success of other measures. "I am apprehensive," he adds, "that many honest men through the United States, who know the frauds committed

in their neighborhoods, will imagine that sufficient attention is not paid to the detection of villainy, and that idea will disincline them very much from the payment of taxes, because nothing induces men to part with their money so cheerfully, as the belief that it will be applied to the purposes for which it was granted, with economy and integrity."

Morris's plan, therefore, was to destroy this system, to compel the states to pay their taxes, and to supply the army by contract, which he declared to be the universal and much more economical method. He writes to the governors of the three states farthest South, saying it would give him a great deal of pleasure if he could be put in such a situation as to be able to contract at once for the supplies of the Southern army, but he had not enough specie at that time to do this. Morris persevered. Writing to Phelps, he affirms that the experience of other countries in regard to the best mode of furnishing supplies could not satisfy America; she must learn by dear experience of her own. He adds, however, that "it had finally been bought; but the purchase had nearly been the ruin of the country." In the same communication, he also states, I have succeeded in obtaining many contracts on very reasonable terms. The saving to the United States thereby is immense." Nor could he leave the subject without observing that taxing in specifics is expensive to the people, cumbersome to the government, and generally inadequate to the object. If every individual were left to dispose of his property as he pleased, and compelled to pay his taxes in money or bank notes, he would satisfy the tax by the sale of much less property than would be taken by a specific tax of commodities. Conclusive as was this reasoning, Massachusetts adhered to the former system, and opposed the plan of procuring supplies by contract; but it received the warm approval of Washington. It was a great triumph for Morris when, after long and severe opposition, he was permitted to try the experiment, and to see the end of a system which was extremely loose and admirably adapted to the perpetration of enormous frauds.

Another mode of getting supplies was the employment of Morris's own splendid credit, which he often stretched out to the utmost, but never abused. At one time he requested General Schuyler to furnish the army with flour, agreeing to be personally

responsible; at another, he obtained funds from the commander of the French fleet to pay the American army, upon his individual promise to return the same within a specified period, and many other transactions like these might be related. In no instance did he fail to fulfil his promise, though on several occasions he seemed to be near the brink of failure. At first, the people of the eastern states distrusted Morris's ability to redeem his obligations, which, consequently, depreciated from ten to fifteen per cent.; ere long they rose in value to par and were taken without hesitation.

Such were the resources of Morris to maintain the government and carry on the war. Foreign loans were small and precarious, taxation at home yielded still less, while specific supplies from the states and by seizure gave rise to much dissatisfaction and corruption. When every other means failed, he used his private credit, which was always higher than that of the government.

Morris determined to change the American account in Paris from the banking house of Grand to that of Lee, Couteulx and Co.; his chief reason for the transfer was, to keep his own accounts separate from those of the Board of Treasury. This was a sufficient reason, for the American accounts abroad were confused, though not so badly as the accounts at home. Mr. Grand, however, had been exceedingly liberal in his dealings with the United States, and more than once had made heavy advances, which were not repaid for a long period. Franklin was so sensible of the great favors received by the country from this house, that he wrote warmly to Morris on the subject, and was doubtless pleased to learn of the effect of the appeal, as Morris concluded to follow Franklin's wishes in the matter.

In various ways Congress sought to retire and destroy the old paper emissions. It was clearly seen how they deranged the finances so long as they remained in circulation. Accordingly, while efforts were made to destroy the issues of May, 1777, and April, 1778, which had been extensively counterfeited, other issues were received for taxes; the treasurers of the states exchanged them for bills of exchange; and they were borrowed, and payment was made in bills of the new emission. The commissioners who were appointed to settle the accounts of the states, were also directed to destroy all the old issues found in the state treasuries not exceeding the quota due the general government; thus, by these various expedients was paper money withdrawn from circulation.

Morris was opposed to issuing any more loan-office certificates, and directed the commissioners of those offices to settle their accounts. Not only were certificates given for money borrowed, but when interest due thereon was not paid, other certificates were issued therefor. Morris would not consent to giving certificates for this purpose and declared that he would never consent to it. "Such accumulation of debt," he said to the governors of the states, "while it distresses the public, and destroys its credit, by no means relieves the unfortunate individual who is a public creditor; for, if revenue is not provided, increasing the certificates would only lessen their value. This would be such a fraud as would stamp our national character with indelible marks of infamy, and render us the reproach and contempt of mankind. It is high time to relieve ourselves from the ignominy we have already sustained and to rescue and restore our national credit. This can only be done by solid revenue. Disdaining, therefore, those little timid artifices, which, while they postpone the moment of difficulty, only increase the danger and confirm the ruin, I prefer the open declaration to all of what is to be expected, and whence it is to be drawn. To the public creditors, therefore, I say that until the states provide revenues for liquidating the principal and interest of the public debt, they cannot be paid; and to the states, I say, that we are bound by every principle held sacred among men to make that provision." The real reason for giving such certificates, so Morris believed, was to elude actual payments by making nominal ones. This practice he unhesitatingly condemned. Moreover, he wished to close the loan-offices to escape the expense of maintaining them. Nine-tenths of the expense incurred by them he thought could be saved by committing the business to the banks. Beside, very few loan-offices had conformed to their instructions, and their accounts, like all other public ones, were inextricably confused.

At the beginning of his financial administration Morris found the amount of interest due on loan-office certificates to be 7,200 dollars, which was payable in France. Notwithstanding the interest was so well secured, the certificates had depreciated, and were daily offered for sale, producing an injurious effect upon public credit. As the interest was guaranteed by the Court of France and amounted to the respectable figure of 2,160,000 livres annually, which would be equal to 15,000,000 dollars in ten years,

Morris believed that with this sum he could buy all the certificates, and urged Franklin to lay the plan before M. Neckar and solicit his coöperation, as it was obviously for the advantage of both countries to effect, if possible, such an arrangement. The plan failed, as the French minister declined to grant the funds necessary for the purpose.

The loan-office commissioners were not the only persons singled out to settle their accounts. From the beginning of his administration, Morris always kept two things before him, the settlement of the state accounts and the funding of the public debt. The ascertainment and liquidation of these accounts, he believed, would produce a better feeling among the states and bring more willing contributions from them into the public treasury. Some states went so far as to say that, having contributed beyond their proportion, they would not furnish anything more until there was a final settlement. Acts were passed by Congress for that purpose early in 1781, in compliance with the wishes of Morris. In a circular letter to the governors, enclosing copies of them, Morris observes "that it is to the want of decision on this point that the languor and want of exertion of the several states are to be attributed. That fatal assertion, that each has done most, which each has made and repeated, until it has gained too much credit, would never have obtained a place in the minds of men who really love their country and cause, had the requisitions of Congress been made annually for money and the quotas fixed finally at the date of the demand. The compliance of each would, in that case, have determined their respective merits or demerits, we should then have seen a competition the very reverse of that which has for some time past prevailed; and it is not yet too late." He then urges the governors to settle all accounts of past expenditures, adjust the shares of each state, "but," he adds, "let the settlement be final or we do nothing."

He sent such accounts as he was able to extract from the treasury books to the governors of the states, and, in addition, requested them to furnish information respecting the revenue laws in force in their several jurisdictions, the mode of collecting taxes, the funds in the treasuries, the appropriation of them, and the date and amount of the various paper issues which had been authorized. To these inquiries and efforts hardly a response was heard, conse-

quently no progress worth mentioning was made in adjusting the accounts between the states and the general government. At a later period during his administration, Morris declared to the President of Congress his most serious apprehensions from the existence of unsettled accounts among the states. He likewise submitted to Congress the following plan for extricating the general government and the states from the embarrassment caused by the confusion of accounts. To place the whole sum expended for the public service from the commencement of the war by each state, to its credit and allow interest thereon. "By these means," he assures Congress, "the whole account would be equitably settled in the first instance. The states which are indebted on their own private account, would be able to wipe off such debts by an assignment of national stock. And on the first requisitions made by Congress for current expenditures, each might make payment, either in part, or perhaps in the whole, of a discharge of so much of the debt." The execution of such a plan, he thought, would introduce simplicity into the affairs of the government and avoid many evils, but it was never adopted by Congress; indeed, the record of Congress does not show that any action was ever taken thereon.

Congress long and patiently strove to obtain the assent of the states to the imposition of a tax of five per cent. upon importations, but in vain. At first, it was proposed to vest the United States with the right of superintending the commercial regulations of every state, in order to prevent the enactment of any laws partial, or contrary, to the common interest; and also with the exclusive right to lay duties upon imports, though no restriction was to be valid, or duty laid, without the consent of nine states. The duties were to be uniform throughout the Union, the income therefrom was not to be used in paying "perpetual annuities," and the power of laying them was to continue only for a fixed period. Congress regarded this as a dangerous extension of power which the states would not grant. Accordingly, the resolution was modified, and it was "recommended to the several states, as indispensably necessary, that they vest a power in Congress, to levy a tax for the use of the United States, a duty of five per cent. *ad valorem*, at the time and place of importation, upon all goods, wares and merchandise of foreign growth and manufactures, which may be imported into any of the said states from any foreign port, island

or plantation, after the first day of May, 1781, except arms, ammunition, clothing and other articles imported on account of the United States, or any of them, and except wool-cards and cotton-cards and wire for making them; and also except salt during the war; also, a like duty of five per cent. on all prizes and prize goods, condemned in the court of admiralty of any of these states as lawful prize; that the moneys arising from the said duties, be appropriated to the discharge of the principal and interest of the debts already contracted, or which may be contracted, on the faith of the United States, for supporting the present war; that the said duties be continued until the said debts shall be fully and finally discharged." As Congress supposed the states would assent to this arrangement, it was determined that, as soon as any states consented to vest the power of laying duties in Congress, that body would proceed to collect them, giving each state credit for the duties collected within its territory. Morris declared this recommendation to be "of the utmost importance" and that every day gave it "an additional weight and magnitude." He answered various criticisms of the measure, among others the objection that commerce could not bear a five per cent. duty. "Those who make such assertions," he affirmed, "must be very little acquainted with the subject. The articles of commerce are either such as people want, or such as they do not want. If they be such as people want, they must be purchased at the price for which they could be had, and the duty being on all, gives to no seller any advantage over another. If, on the contrary, the article be such as people do not want, they must either increase their industry, so as to afford the use of it with the duty, or else they must dispense with that use. In the former case, the commerce is just where it was, and in the latter case, the people consume less of foreign superfluities, which certainly is a public benefit."

ALBERT S. BOLLES.

(To be concluded in November Number.)

POETRY OF THE TURKISH PEOPLES.

III. THE ERUDITE POETRY OF THE TURKS.—MYSTICISM.

THE most famous name the poetry of the Eastern Turks has to offer us, is that of Nizam-ed-din Mir Ali-Shir, who, in accordance with the usage of Moslem poets, assumed two poetical surnames—Fenāi (or rather Fani) for those of his works which were written in the language of the “Sarts” or Persians, and Névaï for those in Turkish, the latter being that by which he is commonly known.

At the time of Névaï's birth, at Heri (Herat) towards the middle of the fifteenth century (A. H. 884; A. D. 1440-1), Persia, after being so often the theatre of foreign invasions, and of bloody contests between Aryans, Turanians and Shemites, was subject to the rule of the Mongols. Timur, the successor of Jenghis Khan, added Iran to his vast empire. After his death, the Turkoman element undoubtedly got the upper hand, but the princes of the house of Timur retained the throne of their terrible ancestor. The family of Névaï was attached to these princes, so that he found himself from childhood associated with them, and even sat side by side at school with Sultan Hussein, his future sovereign. The descendants of Timur were certainly far less illiterate than the wild Mervings, of whom Gregory of Tours has given us so melancholy an account in the *Historia Francorum* (A. D. 417-591). But neither poetry nor religious philosophy could stifle in them the instincts of their race. Like their merciless forefather, who had a hundred thousand prisoners slaughtered at Bagdad, they crushed every obstacle which stood in the way of their ambitious plans, and showed as little regard for the ties of family as for the laws of humanity.

We can imagine what, under such sovereigns, would be the condition of a man who took, as his models, the saints of Islam, and who was far from ready to serve as the tool of every despotic whim. He had a right, wherever the Prophet's maxims in regard to wise men were heeded, to expect a position in the state, which a European poet of that age would have greatly envied; but he had constantly to keep on his guard against those base intrigues and con-

spiracies, of which the courts of absolute sovereigns are the scene. Among the adherents of every religion there are souls, mystical by natural constitution, whom the spectacle of human miseries tends to withdraw from the world. Islam, in which we are inclined to see merely a gross and sensual religion, is not after all greatly charmed with the gratifications which this life is able to offer. After its fashion, it is greatly busied with the "problem of human destiny." Loaded with favors by his sovereign, wealthy, popular, "nearer the throne," as he says himself, "than any emir whatever," Névaï bore his honors modestly, and waited only for one of those changes of the situation, which are so frequent in Asia, to remind him of the uncertainty of greatness and the vanity of human life. Furthermore, he seems to have been, like the great Italian poet of the previous century, consumed by a thirst for learning.¹¹ "Satiated with the cares of public life,"—says Djami, one of the most famous of the Persian poets—"Ali Shir, the friend, the zealous partisan of the Dervishes, had the courage to embrace the life of poverty in the year 881 (A. D. 1476-7.) Voluntarily resigning a position of the highest rank and the greatest honors, he resolved to travel in the path of separation from the world and annihilation of self,"¹² that is, of the spiritual life and of mysticism. Ali-shir himself informs us of the circumstance, through which he became one of the saints devoted to the ascetic life. "Mevlânâ-Soufti," he says, "the finest orator of his time in Turkish, adopted the rule of the Sufis, when he had completed the study of the external sciences. As that holy man was famed for his piety, I hope that God will condescend to hear some of the *fatîha*, which he gladly agreed to recite on behalf of my purpose."¹³ Névaï was not the only poet who preferred asceticism to worldly grandeur. Seïd-Ahmed-Ardishir, the friend of Sultan Husseïn and of Névaï, also became a Sufi. "Among the Turks and the Sarts," says Névaï, "I never met a person of greater perfection."

The following verses of Névaï's still retain their popularity;

¹¹ Mezieres' *Petrarque*.

¹² *Nefehat Nours* in Sylvester de Sacy's *Notices et Extraits de la Bibliothèque du Roi*, T. XII., p. 317.

¹³ *Medjahi*, book II., translated by M. Belin, in the *Journal Asiatique*, 1861, I.

their conclusion shows that, in his case, the passions brought him as little satisfaction as the grandeur of the world.¹⁴

“If my heart is far from that which I love, it is like a country without a king.

“Of what use, oh Moslems, is the body without the soul. It is like a gloomy land, barren of sweet smelling roses.

“The gloomy land without sweet smelling roses, is like deep night, with no bright moon.

“A dark night which lacks the bright moon, is similar to dark shades, destitute of the sources of life.

“A darkness destitute of the sources of life is like hell, which has none of the beautiful companions of paradise.

“Oh Névaï, those we love here below cause us so many cares! Surely, separation has its sorrows. But when we meet again, we find no solace in it.”¹⁵

In his elegy on the death of Djami,¹⁶ he goes still farther; life itself seems to him the cause of the ever recurring miseries of experience:—

“Every revolution of the globe brings, alas! a new stroke of fate; every star which sparkles in the sky is the image of an open wound through which new unhappiness flows.

“The night in its robe of darkness, like the day in its garb of azure, brings nothing but new sufferings, new vexations.

“Nay more, the twinkling of an eye is an instant full of sadness; for at every moment, the hordes of death rush across the plains of nothingness, and raise the dust-whirlwinds of fresh ruin.

“The universe is nothing but a vale of terrors, where, on every side, the smoke of fresh anguish forever goes up, and the noise of wailing is renewed without ceasing.

“Alas! it is, indeed, life which is the unfailing spring of our griefs. It is it, indeed, which fills our heart with new vexations.

¹⁴ “Having himself traversed the vast plains of human pride and earthly passions, the author of the book, Ali Shir Névaï,” (*Muntakhibats*, and extracts from the *Khamset-ul-Muchairin*).

¹⁵ Vambery's *Skizzen aus Mittelasien*.

¹⁶ Translated into French by M. Belin, Interpreting Secretary of the French Embassy at Constantinople. One cannot but be struck by the resemblance which this elegy bears to the pessimistic poetry of the Italian Leopardi, and to the theories of Schopenhauer and Von Hartmann. In more than one instance, the partisans of that school have borrowed their arguments and their pictures from the mystics.

“ Besides, earth is a garden, whose flowers, soon blossoming in grief, are, in spite of their goodly show, naught but a cloak that eats into the flesh.

“ The water we drink is poisoned, the air we breathe is plague-smitten; need we wonder that there reigns a ceaseless epidemic.

“ Therefore holy souls turn their desires toward Paradise; there the atmosphere is altogether different.

“ For souls imbued with divine knowledge, this wretched sojourn is but a stopping-place; our true country is elsewhere.”

The grandeur of natural scenery, far from distracting his mind, like that of so many others, from such meditations, only helped to recall them. Thus in his description of a storm, which is much admired by his countrymen, we still find his favorite modes of thought:

“ The sea is cast into confusion, and hurls itself onward like a terrible flood, everywhere full of streams of fire.

“ Every moment it produces a fresh terror; every instant it sets all hearts a-trembling.

“ The billows are swollen fearfully; they threaten with their mighty bulks; the waves of the sea are in confusion, and hiss with murderous and billowing rage.

“ A dark, terrible wind is set loose from all quarters; the horizon hidden by the darkest shades; and a fierce din resounds over the surface of the sea.

“ The day which shone with sunlight, is turned speedily to gloomiest night. What a frightsome day! *This day is the image of the last judgment.*

“ Whithersoever we turn, no one is to be seen. One cannot even shield his eyes with his hand. All things are filled with water.

“ The briny waves are whirled hither and thither without ceasing, and the ship, as if firm on its feet, mounts upward towards the stars.

“ The furious sea flings itself onward in its rage; it plunges the vessel into still deeper abysses.

“ The wretches run against each other, and utter fierce cries, as though we looked on the Resurrection day.”

But in the ages of faith, the monk who treads the world under his feet, acquires an unrivalled authority over those multitudes who believe him far holier than the rest of mankind. Névai, as a der-

vish, was more powerful than ever, and when his prince wrote to him, he used no other form of words than this :

“To the Refuge of true Counsel, the Sanctuary of the Virtues, Model for Officials and citizens, Benefactor of institutions of public utility, Creator of pious Foundations, Pillar of the country and its Government, Bosom Friend of the Sovereign, Wise Disposer of the beauties of truth and religion, Emir, Ali-Shir.”

Hussein did not manage to make shift without a man who seemed so necessary to him, but even in carrying him off from his meditations in order to entrust to him the most important posts—for instance that of viceroy of Asterabad—he did not succeed in curing himself of the suspicions which poison the lives of despots. While at the summit of favor, Névaï had always to dread one of those caprices which in Asia threaten those who seem the most firmly placed. The poet, however, was more fortunate than the illustrious author of the *Shah-Namch*. Conciliatory, modest and prudent in his conduct, he managed to secure the good will of the disinterested, while he avoided the snares set for him by the envious. These traits made him very useful to Hussein, who, after having overcome dangerous rivals at the opening of his reign, found enemies in his own family, among those who should have been the supports of his throne. The bachelor poet must have congratulated himself on his choice, when he had to treat with princes who were not content to wait for the death of their sovereign and their father. On his return from one of those military expeditions, with which these unnatural sons burdened his old age, Hussein found Névaï worn out by labor and austerities. “I am come,” said the poet, describing with careful exactness the condition to which asceticism, rather than age, had reduced him,—“to such a condition of leanness, that you might count the muscles on my body ; I am no longer able to stand upright ;¹⁷ I am attacked by several diseases, which no medicine can cure.

“The disease from which I suffer is unknown as to its nature ; besides even the physicians are unable to cure.

¹⁷Cantemir, in *L'Empire Ottoman*, depicts, with the same traits, an ascetic whom he had known in Constantinople. [Much curious, though badly arranged, information about these people, will be found in *The Dervishes, or Oriental Spiritualism*, by John P. Brown, Secretary and Dragoman of the United States Legation at Constantinople. London and Philadelphia, 1808.]

“ My tongue no longer pronounces words coherently ; it is the result of my trouble of mind, and that trouble is at the same time cause of the disorder of my whole system. I take no food the day long, and at night hardly an instant of sleep. I cannot keep myself on my limbs without help of a staff, nor mount a horse to take the air abroad, without the help of two persons.”¹⁸

In A. D. 1500, when only sixty-two years old, Névaï was seized with a prolonged faint, while on his way to the Sultan's presence ; he was just able to kiss the Sultan's hand. The day always present to his thoughts was come, and he must render an account of his life to the Supreme Judge.

In speaking of the death of Djâmi, Névaï says in his eulogy :

“ You are gone, alas ! leaving the whole world affrighted ; it will bewail the cruel loss till its latest hour.

“ Not only the heart of the *Ahrar* [*i. e.* men freed from worldly ties] is torn by a thousand cruel thorns, and the heart of the *Abrar* [the third degree in the spiritual life among the Sufis] is broken by a thousand crushing burdens.

“ But more than this, the pilgrims of the spiritual life are gone astray ; they have lost the way which leads to self-annihilation, and the sight of each of them is obstructed by a thousand veils.

“ What a shock, great Gods, thy death has caused the world. What a blow it has given to the bulwark of religion.

“ In this universal mourning, kings and people, all without exception, join in the concert of grief.”

The death of Névaï did not make a slighter impression ; it caused universal mourning, and in reading the account of his magnificent funeral, it is impossible to avoid contrasting his lot with that which the princes of Europe assigned to the greatest poets of the age then opening, such as Shakspeare, Ariosto, Camoens, Cervantes. Husseïn, who was himself one of the more eminent Turkish poets, “ spent three whole days,” Mokhend tells us, “ in the house of death, attending the funeral services in honor of Ali-Shir, and mingling his tears with those of the spiritual friends of the deceased, and he arranged the funeral repast of the seventh day.” The great state officers and the poets were brought together. Men of letters showed themselves eager to celebrate the virtues of the

¹⁸Preface to the second and third Turkish *Divans* in the *Journal Asiatique*, translated by M. Belin.

dead saint in funeral elegies. The sovereign himself desired to be reckoned among the eulogists of Névaï, and dedicated to him the eighty-fourth book of his *Mejalis Uluschak*.

Névaï was not merely a poet. His numerous writings show him a theologian, a philosopher, a critic, a philologist. He certainly fills the first place in the literature of the Eastern Turks, and time has taken nothing from his popularity. M. Vambery has shown us that even in Turkestan, given over as it is to ignorance and savagery, he is still the favorite writer of all who have any education. It would not be proper to infer that he entirely represents the character of his people. A writer born in Persia in the fifteenth century, could no more have withdrawn himself from the influence of the Iranian spirit, than could a Western humanist of that period from the influence of classical civilization and its ideas. In religion, he belonged to a sect which is out of harmony with Turkish orthodoxy. In fact, the Shiite is far more open to the infection of Aryan beliefs than becomes the disciple of a religion so severely monotheistic as the Mohammedan. This tendency was so marked in Névaï, that he belonged, as a philosopher, to that mystical Sufi school, whose bold Pantheism has, in Persia, more than once threatened the foundations of the Mohammedan faith. He even translated into Turkish verse Ferid-ed-din-Attar's famous poem *Mantic-Uttair* (the "Conversation of the Birds.") The great masters of spiritual mysticism, the Nizamis, the Khosrus, the Djamis, are his oracles. But his admiration for these eminent authors does not go so far as to make him prefer *farsy* to *turki*. In his view, the superiority of Turkish, in verse as in prose,¹⁹ is beyond dispute, and, adopting his practice to his convictions, he wrote his principal works in Turkish.

Persian tradition supplied Névaï not merely with religious and philosophical theories. He found in it the materials for his romantic poems, the Loves of Ferhad and Shirin; of Mejum and Leila; the adventures of Behram Gur. As a historian, he borrowed from it the subjects of his works: *The History of the Ancient Kings of Persia*, dedicated to Sultan Hussein; and *The History of Alexander the Great*, in whom Iran sees not a conqueror, but the rightful heir to the throne of the king of kings. So Firdusi also represents him in the *Shah-Namch*.

¹⁹ See his *Debate between the Two Tongues*.

His *Gallery of Poets* has for us a far greater interest. It purposes, in fact, to present a picture of Persian literature, and that of its neighboring countries, down to the end of the ninth century of the Hejirah and the beginning of the tenth,—the period when Jaghataic literature shone with exceptional brilliancy,²⁰ and his work contains the lives of more than three hundred Jaghataic poets, together with specimens of their writings. The work would be still more interesting if it had been more explanatory, and if the critical spirit were not so utterly wanting. But, even as it is, it furnishes a genuine portrayal of the intellectual life of the Eastern Turks, and it shows that their princes, in the period of Ottoman prosperity, were far from strangers to the progress of ideas. Névaï has not been able to bestow upon the many with whom he entertains his readers, the popularity he enjoys himself.²¹ At any rate, he has been able to save them from forgetfulness, and we owe him thanks for having preserved to us poems which are worthy of it. Thus, a nephew of Sultan Husseïn, Mohammed-Sultan, better known as Kutchuk-Mirza, having become a Dervish, composed these verses on the power of love: “I make it my boast to have passed all my life in the practice of virtue and devotion, but when love enflamed me, what then was that virtue, that devoutness? I give thee the thanks, oh my God, that thou hast allowed me to undergo this experience.” If we must see in this love merely the second step in the mystic ladder of the Sufis, no doubt the same is true of that distich of Sultan Iskander’s grandson of that Timur-leng (Tamerlane), whom Névaï calls “the conqueror of the world, the jewel of the royal race.” Iskander writes: “I have compared my beloved to a beautiful moon at the full; but she has veiled half her face. I would gladly give Cairo, Aleppo or Rome, oh my beauty, for the tenth part of your black hair.”

In the Persian distich of Shah-Gharik-Mirza, son of Sultan Hussein, love and religion are allied with a melancholy grace,—“Friends, when you pass near my tomb, instead of reciting a *tekbir*²² for me,

²⁰The Jaghataic or Uiguric, is a dialect of Eastern Turkish. See the introduction to Lumley David’s *Turkish Grammar*, p. xxxix.

²¹Yusuf Burhân, who taught Névaï music, contributed much to the popularity of his poems, by setting the most of them to music. M. Vambéry says, that in Turkestan every singer knows something of Névaï’s.

²²The formula with which prayer begins.

pray for the soul of my beloved." Another distich in Turkish, by that prince—who was a productive poet, "endowed with a refined intelligence, a profound sagacity"—is similarly inspired by a sentiment far above the level of vulgar passion;—"Although she has left me for my rival, yet never while I live will I carry my homage to the feet of another beauty." Shah-Rokh, Timur's son, expresses a sentiment of a different sort, and one which the Eastern Turks always understand;—"The warrior must throw himself into the heat of the battle and its carnage. When wounded he needs no other bed than the mane of his horse. He deserves to die the death of a dog, the wretch who calls himself a man, but asks mercy from his enemy." DORA, COUNTESS D'ISTRIA.

HOW IT STRIKES A STRANGER.*

"The preëminence of the mechanical genius of the citizens of the United States may be admitted, and is illustrated, not for the first time, in the Exhibition at Paris," says the *London Times* in an editorial of August 22nd. Of course, the Thunderer is concerned to show that this is in no respect the result of that system of protective duties, whose absurdity England discovered just about the time when she seemed to have no farther need for it, and when nothing in the genius of any other people threatened her preëminence as a manufacturing nation. It finds the reason in the greater efficiency of labor on our side of the Atlantic, and the increased cost and difficulty of hiring it. If by the "greater efficiency of labor" be meant the higher intelligence of our working classes, leading to continual improvement in industrial methods, *The Times* is not so far wrong. As it said on another occasion, "the American manufacturer seems to find intelligence lying around loose"—we quote from memory—and such intelligence knows that it can do

* DIE INDUSTRIE AMERIKA'S, (Vereinigte Staaten von Nordamerika); ihre Geschichte, Entwicklung und Lage unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Volkswirtschaft und Handelspolitik, der Erfindungen und Fortschritte des Maschinenwesens, etc., und der Weltausstellung zu Philadelphia, Von Dr. Hermann Grothe. Mit vielen Illustrationen in Stahlstich und Holzschnitt im Text und auf 35 Tafeln. Lexicon 8vo; Pp. 386. Berlin, Burmeister und Stempel.

far better by improving on a process of manufacture than by following its traditions. The American workman of the highest type regards Oliver Evans, Fulton, Colt, Woodworth, Whitney, McCormick, Morse, Hoe, Goodyear, Howe, Disston, Westinghouse, Baldwin, Erickson, Edson and Lynam, much as a young politician might think of Webster or Gladstone or Bismarck,—as having done what it is his own purpose to do. He lives in ambitious competition with the cleverest men of the inventor class, and his own end in life is not to save a competency, but to make himself at once a name and a future.

But without the great purpose of the American people, expressed in their protective tariffs, to become one of the foremost industrial nations, the American inventor would have had but little opportunity. Thanks to the jealous policy of England, our industries were crushed during that critical period when her own were taking shape and form—the period when the condensing steam-engine, the spinning-jenny, the power-loom and the factory system came into currency, and the names of Watt, Wedgewood, Crompton and Arkwright began to stand for a new era. By virtue of half a dozen inventions, England had already taken the foremost place in the industrial world, and spared no pains to keep it. In America minds were divided. Some, like the New Englanders of sixty years back, were for letting things take their course, and confining our energies to agriculture and the carrying trade. Others pleaded that we might at once enter upon the path of present self-denial but permanent prosperity. After a fair trial of the former policy, the latter was adopted, and, in spite of interruptions and half-interruptions, it has continued that of the Republic. It has given us that præminence in machinery which is no longer disputed. It has called into existence that class, from whom our inventors sprung. It has given us the start towards an industrial life which shall be rounded and self-sufficient.

Dr. Hermann Grothe came to this country in the Centennial year, as the representative of German protectionists, and in order to study the results of the tariff upon the industries of this new world, of which Europe knows so little. He has embodied the results in a careful, elaborate and beautifully illustrated volume, which we are about to commend to the attention of our readers. Mr. Howells of the *Atlantic Monthly*, says, that nowhere in the Cen-

ennial Exhibition did the American Eagle crow so loudly within his breast, as when he visited Machinery Hall. And we do not envy the American who can look through this book without hearing the same boastful fowl. Even though he could not read a word of the German text, still the abundant illustrations bring before even an inexperienced eye the long series of our achievements in the industrial arts.

Dr. Grothe begins by a short sketch of the history of the country, with especial reference to its industrial bearings. He shows how England's policy as regards colonial industry retarded our development, and furnished one of the chief motives to colonial resistance. He sketches some of our industrial peculiarities, such as the influence of slavery, and of vast immigration. He then takes up the three things which have been especially promotive of mechanical industry, the first being our patent laws, the second our protective tariff, the third our vast natural resources. The discussion of our patent system is especially interesting. Besides Dr. Grothe's own statement, he inserts an essay furnished by Dr. George Koenig, an agent of the Prussian Government, who visited our Patent Office expressly to study its workings. Dr. Koenig sets a high value on the system as a means of evoking the spirit of invention, and says that European capitalists are astounded to learn that nine-tenths of the capital invested in America is on the security furnished by patents. He admits that inventions cost time and money; he estimates the cost to the inventors of the 15,900 issued between 1836 and 1874, at \$59,625,000, to say nothing of the 81,000 which were refused. But he also shows that in consequence of the invention of McCormick's reaping-machine—which brought him \$1,200,000,—the wheat raised in the country increased seventy per cent. in the decade 1849–59, or twice as fast as the population. As to the localities which obtain patents, he shows that four states, New York, Pennsylvania, Massachusetts and Connecticut, obtain nearly one-half, and in the order we have named them; that the Middle States obtain nearly twice as many as do the New England States. But this does not so much in reality as in seeming disparage Yankee ingenuity, for a considerable proportion of the inventors in the Middle States, at least in New York, are Yankees. But it does show that the ordinary notion of a vast preponderance in favor of New England is a mistake. Dr. Koenig thinks that

the patent system and protection rest on the same basis of principle, and that those who accept the principle of unrestricted competition must discard both. But he evidently believes that both have been beneficial. Dr. Grothe goes more fully into the history of the matter, and shows especially how the number of patents has risen with the introduction of protection at different periods.

The chapter on protection opens with a fine account of Henry C. Carey and his views on economic matters, which is from the practiced pen of his German disciple Dr. F. Stoepel, editor of the Berlin *Merkur*. He gives an account of Mr. Carey's principal works, emphasizing, of course, his view of the state, as the great coördinating power, whose function it is to redress the balance of industries when disturbed by foreign interference. And, as against the other extreme of theory, viz: Socialism, he repeats what Mr. Carey has shown as regards the natural tendency to a fairer and more equal distribution of property and physical welfare among all classes, without the need of violent or revolutionary changes. Dr. Grothe follows this with an account of the protectionist policy in America, ascribing its adoption to the sound sense and wholesome instinct of our people, and their unreadiness to be misled by theories. He incorporates into his paper valuable tables, which give the substantial, unquestionable results of the policy pursued at different periods, and also all the numerical facts needed for a proper understanding of the system. And after a review of all, he emphasizes the conclusion which he shares with Prof. Rouleaux, "*that the United States owe their rapid industrial development essentially to the Protective system.*"

That very large topic, our natural resources, is dismissed very briefly, and Dr. Grothe then passes to the financial position of the United States, the national debt, paper money and the banking and clearing-house system. One instructive fact he gives is a comparison of the average annual cost of money in the fifteen years 1846-1860. In England the average interest was 3.90 per cent. on the street and 4.02 at the bank; at the Bank of France, 4.16; in America, 9.12. To this he adds the rate of wages and the cost of raw material, as showing that only a miraculous development of our industrial forces could enable us to compete with European cheapness of product.

The next chapter describes our educational institutions, beginning with our free schools and proceeding to polytechnic schools, public libraries and the condition of art and architecture. It is not to be expected that a person well acquainted with what is done and attempted in Germany, will find our achievement in this department of social activity very great; but Dr. Grothe seems to have in mind the difficulties of the country in this regard, and to find something admirable in what has been accomplished, and in the rate with which we are going forward. To the Centennial Exhibition he devotes a short chapter, describing the buildings, of which good illustrations are given, and quoting from Prof. Rouleaux's famous letters that opinion of the whole exhibition which we have already laid before our readers.

Dr. Grothe now reaches the central topics of his book,—the special branches of industry considered severally. He begins with those which are connected with the production of motive force, whether it be secured as water, air or steam power. He rapidly sketches the vast amount of water-power to be found in the United States and some of the more important corporations formed to utilize it. Then, passing to the forms of wheels employed, he is impressed with the preference shown in all quarters to the turbine principle, which, beginning with the Francis wheel in 1848, has come into nearly universal application. There are more turbine wheels, he says, in America than in all the rest of the world. Of over 1,000 patents for water wheels patented in the country, all but a few are for wheels with perpendicular axles and horizontal motion. That of Leffel, an Ohio inventor, is the best known, as many as 7,000 being in operation, and some of them of very vast dimensions. He then remarks that the census of 1870 showed 51,018 water wheels aggregating 1,130,431 horse power, 40,191 steam engines of an aggregate of 1,215,711 horse power.

In relation to steam engines, Dr. Grothe very properly emphasizes the credit due to Oliver Evans, as the inventor of the high pressure engine,—the only one capable of use in districts where the water is muddy, as on the Missouri and the lower Mississippi. He traces the course of improvement—not forgetting Ward's invention of the rotary engine—down to the great achievements of Messrs Corliss, Brown and their many rivals. He then proceeds with new inventions of appliances to these engines, such as gov-

ernors, steam-boilers, firing apparatus and injectors. He treats similarly pumps, hydraulic rams, steam fire-engines. He claims, indeed, that the famous pump by which the British army secured their water-supply during the expedition into Abyssinia, was not new in principle, but was an American re-discovery. It is only recently, he says, that European pumpmakers have awakened to the grand results reached by American inventors, beginning about 1840. Both the steam fire-engine and the electric fire-alarm system are American inventions, of which the former only has come into use in Europe.

In the department of transportation, the peculiar conditions of American life, the want of good roads, and the vast distance to be traversed, have conspired with the inventive peculiarities of the people in producing apparatus of all sorts quite different from those of Europe. Our horse-car system for cities is already imitated in many parts of Europe. Our palace cars have been introduced on English railways, although the low build of English railroad cars (which run on simple axles, like our street cars, and not on four-wheeled carriages) has caused their bridges to be built so low that there is not room for a full-sized Pullman below them. Equally peculiar are the cars for transporting meat, fruit and vegetables to long distances. The American locomotive may be said to owe its character to Matthias W. Baldwin, although Peter Cooper still lives and can tell of running the first American locomotive out of Baltimore, and showing that the English engineers were mistaken in their assertion that it would not run around curves. The English locomotive is a more costly and yet not a more powerful engine, as the Australian colonies are discovering. Dr. Grothe is struck with the business character of the great American lines,—the absence of everything like bureaucratic formality; with the excursion system of fares; with the express and baggage transportation companies, who save the travellers a vast deal of trouble. He upholds the American railroad bridges, especially the Howe truss, against their European critics, and praises the Phœnix and Keystone columns constructed by rivetting iron plates together.

The steamship is another American re-invention, adopted by Europe. Our author describes the types found on our inland waters, but he disapproves of the law which forbids vessels to pass from a foreign to our own flag, and predicts its speedy repeal. We

think he is over sanguine in this regard. Even the Maine Republicans, who have, under Mr. Blaine's lead, nothing to say in favor of protection in general, are very emphatic on this point.

Mr. Morse's practical application of the principles discovered by himself and by others in regard to electric telegraphy, justly entitle him and his country to the credit of this great invention. Dr. Grothe sketches his predecessors in the field, and describes the great inventor's own laborious career. When he comes to speak of the improvements made in the Morse apparatus, he finds himself on controversial ground, as he claims for Fischer and Siemens, in 1854, the credit of the discovery that two messages could be sent simultaneously over the same line, in opposite directions. This discovery is claimed by the American, J. B. Stearn, in 1868, but had been already discovered the second time in England. He fully recognizes the services rendered to telegraphy by Professor Hughes of Kentucky, by Mr. Edison and others. As regards house telegraphy, he finds America far ahead of Europe, and the arrangements for the convenience of the public in this regard, "truly astonishing."

Passing to the properly Metallic Industries, Dr. Grothe begins by drawing upon Mr. Swank's excellent account of *The American Iron Trade* in 1876, and then upon a discourse by Bergrath Wedding, who visited the mining districts of America. This gentleman, an expert in this branch, pronounces our anthracite coal, and our Lake Superior ore, as fine as any in the world. But he predicts that coke-smelting is to be the industry of the future in America. He declares that iron-smelting has seen such progress in America, that in some branches, especially the production of Bessemer steel, it begins to furnish models for European imitation. He doubts whether free trade and protection have anything to do with the present depression, which he says is felt as severely on our side the ocean as at home. He predicts a great future for American iron-working, because of our freedom from traditional trammels, and our readiness to take every man for what he is worth. Dr. Grothe, on the other hand, with a more exact knowledge of the fact, ascribes the rise of this industry to the tariff, and appeals to the unhappy effects of the reduction of duties in the Dallas Tariff of 1846.

Passing from the metal to its applications, our author remarks

that Americans began by employing European, and especially English, models in the construction of their machinery, but, for fifty years past, they have, for various reasons, departed from the English system. For one thing, the English method kept steadily in view the construction of machines of great weight, which was quite in accordance with the nature of English industry and its competitions. American machinists, however, aimed at producing lighter machines, and at securing the right proportion of the parts in machines, tools and weapons. The English aimed at producing machines which could be employed for a great variety of uses; the Americans found it best to specialize their machinery, and to so construct them that every part was machine-finished, and capable of being replaced by another exactly like it. He is struck with the difference of American from European methods on many points, as in the finish of the machinery; the extensive use of heavy drop-hammers in shaping both hot and cold metals; the disposition to use two machines, where one is employed in Europe; the manufacture by machinery, and in large establishments, of many articles, such as screws, which are not so made in Europe; and the extensive use of cast iron in connections where wrought iron or some other substance is used in Europe.

The special manufacture of edged tools takes his attention as one of great importance to the European market. He "ventures to assert that without the protection furnished by the patent and tariff laws, the present success of the American tool-manufacture would never have been reached,—the success in overcoming the long-established manufactures in Birmingham and Sheffield, in driving them from the market." He thinks that sound national feeling has seconded the laws. "The Americans have a preference for articles of domestic manufacture, which is less common in other nations, and not to be found at all among the Germans. It is common to hear persons who have no direct interest in manufactures, say, with a certain self-satisfaction and self-confidence, that, in spite of the youthfulness of native manufactures, everything is now made at home and better than anywhere else in the world." He also ascribes much to the honesty of American workmanship. "Nothing is made 'to sell, not to use.' It is a laudable usage that wherever it is possible the name of the maker is stamped on his product." He gives as an instance of the saw manufacture: "A

single establishment, Disston and Sons, of Philadelphia, employ 1200 workmen and make their own steel. The saws they make are masterpieces, as regards both the quality of the material and their finish. Still more wonderful are the delicate improvements which have been introduced into the form of saws, the shape of their teeth, and the instruments for sharpening them. The catalogue of this firm, by bringing to view the great multitude of these variations, is exceedingly instructive and might be regarded as a special text-book of the subject."

We must pass by many other points, to get at his chapter on textile fabrics. He traces the progress of the cotton manufacture, from the invention of Whitney's Gin, and gives figures showing how its growth was accelerated by Protection and retarded by lapses into free trade. Thus in 1816-20, the number of spindles fell from one half, to a quarter of a million, while since 1860 they have increased by more than four millions. The inventor of Danforth's throstle, in 1824, made a revolution in the business, and it was their undue confidence in it which led the American producers, Dr. Grothe thinks, to offer less resistance to the disastrous alterations made in the Tariff in 1833. And this was but one of a great many American inventions, which have improved the details of the machinery, and have placed its products on a level with the best of Europe. As to the silk industry, he quotes the report of Herr Gebhard, of Elberfeld, an expert in this department, as saying that the Americans have already gone far beyond the English in the production of silk thread, of which the sewing machine demands a superior quality. And he says that, considering the recent origin of the manufacture of broad silks, the development it has reached is really extraordinary. Attempts to introduce it, made in earlier periods, failed for want of adequate protection, but the duties imposed in 1867 at once imparted a great impulse to silk-spinning and weaving. Herr Gebhard thinks there is every reason to expect a steady growth of the silk business in America; wages are higher, but the American workman accomplishes more. The machinery in use is excellent, and those parts which are of American invention and construction, are considerably more effective than European. And the great aim of the American producer is to produce an article of the best possible quality. But withal, "a comparison of the selling price shows

that, considering the greater durability of the American, they are not essentially dearer" than the European, "and it must be inferred that in the present instance protection has not inflicted any injury on the home consumer." He gives Cheney and Bros. the palm as producers of silk goods, and declares their products not inferior to the best of Switzerland. With this German expert, an English one, a Macclesfield silk-weaver, fully agrees, declaring that the day will come when England will have to put a protective duty on American silks.

Dr. Grothe passes lightly over our sewing machines, not even mentioning that marvel, the Wardwell machine from St. Louis, which sews with two spools, without bobbin, hook or shuttle, and darns holes as well. Nor has he much to tell of our Paper manufacture, which has caused so much surprise at Paris; nor of our manufactures in leather and India rubber. We presume he was not, like our French visitor M. de Molinari the economist, struck with the great number of barefooted people he saw in our streets!

In his account of our chemical industries, Dr. Grothe follows the report of Hofrath R. von Wagner, the eminent Bavarian chemist. This branch was altogether neglected in America, until the imposition of duties on foreign chemicals in 1827 attracted to it American capital and intelligence. But it received but a slight development until the close of the late war, when establishments sprang up throughout the Eastern and Middle states, and even in the west and south. It has become, under the shield of protection, a highly flourishing industry. Until the Centennial Exhibition, it was regarded with contempt in many parts of Europe, but it has already driven many foreign articles out of the American market, and will in time dispute the markets of the world. Within a quarter of a century, America will cease importing these goods from Europe. The processes of manufacture are much like those employed in Europe, except that the Americans are still behind-hand as regards some new inventions. Nor do they treat their raw materials with as much exactness and refinement as in Europe, being less governed by scientific than by practical considerations. The tendency to the practical prevails even in the technological teaching, which, like the intelligent work of the large factories, is largely in German hands. Herr Wagner mentions "Professor Fr. Genth, from the Wetterau, and Dr. George Koenig, of Baden," as

thus engaged in the University of Pennsylvania. He puts the establishments of Rosengarten and Sons and Powers and Weightman first, especially as manufacturers of the alkaloids, and as controlling the morphia and quinine markets, as well as that for strychnine, which is now largely used by Western "trappers." Besides Professor Wagner, Dr. Martins and Dr. Feltback agree in predicting a great future for the chemical industries of America.

Dr. Grothe also quotes the opinion of an expert as regards our manufacture of ceramics, that expressed by Dr. George Seelhorst, of Nurnberg. Dr. Seelhorst is impressed at once by the vast resources open to the American manufacturer, and the utter want of taste and judgment shown in taking advantage of them. He especially finds fault with the excess of ornament, and the practice of making earthenware imitations of wood, but admits that this is done so cleverly that he was for a time deceived by it. But he admires our white iron-stone china, as a more substantial article than any in Europe. Yet on visiting the Trenton potteries, where it is especially made, he was astounded at the want of modern improvements in the methods of preparing the articles for the furnace. Short as is the time since the Centennial Exhibition, we are satisfied that if Dr. Seelhorst visited us now, he would find our manufacture of ceramics much less open to censure on these points. Our glass manufacture pleased him better, being one much longer established, and not less richly provided with natural resources, such as the Berkshire sandstone of Pennsylvania, which is absolutely free from iron and easily pulverized.

Of course, our agricultural implements and our mills excited the admiration of our German visitors. To Oliver Evans, Dr. Grothe very justly ascribes a complete revolution in mill construction, all later inventions being no more than improvements on his. He not only improved every part,—cleaner, millstone, bolter and cooler alike—but he connected them by elevators and conveyors, so that it was no longer necessary to carry the grist from one to the other. An old-fashioned American miller used to tell of having once entered an Evans mill and found the machinery running itself, while mill hands were at work in the meadow getting in hay! To this we may add a story told us by a friend, whose statements we believe to be always trustworthy. While on a visit to his relatives in Cheshire, England, he visited a mill which belonged to

one of them, and was surprised at the old-fashioned nature of all the apparatus. Although not in the business, he knew enough about it to be aware that, with such appliances, first-class flour would not be produced, and he hinted as much to his friend. The Cheshire miller candidly admitted it, but explained that he was in the habit of buying Genesee flour for his best customers.

"The Brewery Business in North America" is discussed in a special paper by Director Friedrich Goldschmidt, to whom the subject was also entrusted by the Imperial Commissioners at the Centennial Exhibition. Herr Goldschmidt has his own opinion of the Temperance people, and they will not be comforted to learn that in 1875 this business was nearly six times as extensive as in 1863. He also alleges statistics to show that the consumption of beer reduces the proportion of the poor and the criminal classes, while total abstinence legislation tends to increase it. After pointing out the peculiarities of American beer-making, he piously ends,

Hopfen and Malz,
Gott erhalt's!

Dr. Grothe closes with a rather hurried notice of our "multiplying arts,"—printing, lithography, photography, etc. He quotes an expert, Prof. Werth, as to the value of the last named. He finds American photography of very unequal value, praises two New York firms as showing genuine art, and is astonished that our people still patronize the ferrotype, a sort of picture suited for farmers who have come into town for their market and cannot take time to get a good likeness.

We have gone through Dr. Grothe's volume with much enjoyment. We have found it unequal in its parts, some topics being passed over very lightly, and others treated at a disproportionate length. But this was unavoidable from the encyclopædic nature of the subject. He has naturally given a more full discussion where he was himself an expert, or could command the services of one. But even as it is, the book is excellent, and suggests that it would be well to have a similar work written by American experts on the same plan. We need it, in order to present to the American people the real results of our tariff policy, to give them confidence in our industrial future, and to prevent their listening to the specious reasoning of those who do not feel a just pride in the industrial development of their country.

ROBERT ELLIS THOMPSON.

SOME UNIVERSITY BOOKS.

IT has occurred to us that a list of all the works written or edited by the professors and graduates of the University of Pennsylvania, would be no bad index of the amount and sort of the influence which has been exerted by the institution during the more than a century of its history. That list would show, indeed, no names of universal renown, such as Longfellow, Lowell, Bryant or Emerson. The community in which we live, and from which the university derives its supply of human material, makes but little demand for such men. But it does call for men of ability in special branches, especially in the practical sciences, and in these the University has a goodly list to show. In medicine, it would not be equalled by any in America. From the days of Morgan to the days of Hodge, Pepper, Meigs, Wood and Smith it has taken the lead in the preparation of standard works in nearly every department of the science. In other departments of study it might refer to Lindley Murray, William White, John W. Draper, Benjamin Silliman, Dallas Bache and many others hardly less widely known, while in its present faculties there is hardly a man who has not contributed to our periodical literature, and the great majority of them have been the authors of works of acknowledged merit.

We purpose to unite in this notice, several recent books which would deserve a place in the list whose compilation we have suggested.

Professor Seidensticker's *History of the German Society of Pennsylvania*¹ should have received an earlier notice in these pages, since it is a part of the literature of the Centennial year. We can recall no other book of that year which equals it in interest to the student of our local history. It is a mine of facts which are not to be met with elsewhere, for it deals with a side of old Philadelphia history which has been either not at all or very imperfectly accessible to previous writers.

The first German settlers of Pennsylvania were men who sought

¹ GESCHICHTE DER DEUTSCHEN GESELLSCHAFT VON PENNSYLVANIEN, von der Zeit der Gründung, 1764, bis zum Jahre 1876. Festgabe zum Jubeljahre der Republik. Verfasst, auf Veranlassung der Deutsche Gesellschaft, von Oswald Seidensticker. 336 seiten, gr. in 8vo. Philadelphia, J. L. Köhler, und Schaefer u. Koradi, 1876.

a new home, amid the trials and hardships of an American colony, for conscience' sake. They belonged to the persecuted sects of Europe,—to the Quakers, the Mennonites of Holland, the mystic and “inspired” conventicles of the lower Rhine Valley, the Reformed Church of the Palatinate, and the German Baptists of Westphalia. It was later that the advantages of the new world, in a more worldly point of view, began to attract other classes, and these new-comers were largely poor people, who consented to be sold into temporary slavery to defray the cost of their passage. The German immigrants were regarded with dislike and distrust by the English-speaking settlers; they were continually described as foreigners; and even James Logan dreaded that they would make the commonwealth a German colony. In 1729 a heavy tax was imposed upon their immigration, but next year the law was changed to apply only to persons likely to become a burden to society. Although at times these hostile critics were forced to acknowledge that the German immigrants were a real benefit to the colony, yet their general attitude towards these “foreigners” was not such as to insure them much consideration. The fate of the poor “Redemptioners” was the sorest. Besides being treated in the meanest way by the ship-owner who brought them over, they had no security for fair play as regards the hard life of servitude they were about to begin,—a servitude extending from three to seven and even more years, in which they wrought out the forty or fifty dollars of their passage-money. For this reason the *Deutsche Gesellschaft* was organized by our German fellow-citizens, in 1764, with the object of securing proper legislation for the protection of the poor immigrants, and of seeing it properly enforced. From the first the society seems to have been as efficient as could have been expected, and to have really prevented a vast amount of outrage and imposture. Nor did the need for such safeguards cease with the termination of the Redemptioner system. Fifty pages of this book are the the story of the continual struggle of the society to secure the passage of better laws, and to effect their enforcement against the rapacity of ship-owners upon the sea, and the rapacity of land-sharks on dry ground. And the struggle with these latter still goes on.

Besides this, the society has discharged the functions of a relief society to aid poor Germans, an educational society, and a public

library and lecture association. It is probably the oldest relief society in the city, having been in the work for one hundred and fourteen years, and its beneficiaries number over two thousand a year. At first it thought only of poor immigrants, but the terrible suffering among the poor in revolutionary times compelled it to take up the case of the German poor of the city, and it has never ceased to aid this class. Among the beneficiaries were the Rappites of Harmony, part of whom were delayed in this city during the winter of 1804, while on their way to their new home. In 1818 it began its dispensary work, and the appointment of physicians to attend poor patients. But one of the pleasantest features of its work, is the system of Christmas gifts to poor families and poor children, including many who make no claim upon the funds of the society, but are known to have but little means of special enjoyment in the holiday times. Over two thousand dollars are thus raised and spent each Christmas, and more than six hundred poor families are reached by these gifts.

The educational work of the society dates from 1780. Another "German Society" had existed in colonial times, being organized by English-speaking people, for the education of poor German children in German and English. But in 1769 it wound up its affairs, and handed over its balance on hand to the College of Philadelphia. In 1780 the real German society secured from the trustees of the University the erection of a German department, and Pastor Kunze, a man of great ability and scholarship, was chosen professor. He was succeeded by Pastor Helmuth, on his removal to New York in 1784; in 1785 there were sixty scholars in the Institute, as it was called, but two years later it had sunk to six, and the experiment was abandoned. Besides this, the society, beginning in 1781, defrayed the cost of educating a number of boys at other schools, until the establishment of the Public School System, in 1833, made this needless. Some of these boys attained eminence in their subsequent career, especially in the Lutheran ministry, and two became teachers in the University. From 1867 till 1872, the society sustained an evening school, but in the latter year the city assumed the cost and management.

The library dates from 1817. It now numbers over 16,000 volumes, of which a majority are in the German language, and it will well repay a visit to those who are interested in German literature,

In its archives are found a large number of books, etc., illustrative of the history of the German immigration, especially in Pennsylvania, including a very full collection of works printed in German in this state, some of which are real "curiosities of literature." This last collection is only surpassed by that of our unwearied antiquarian, Abraham Cassel, who could not better dispose of his own library than by leaving it to the *Deutsche Gesellschaft*.

We have given only a taste of the book in this sketch of its contents. We commend it most heartily to all who read German and feel any interest in our local history. It is a piece of thorough, careful work, and eminently readable through the skilful treatment of the materials at hand.

Professor Sadtler's *Chemical Experimentation*² comes to us all the way from old Kentucky. It is not a book for beginners, but for advanced students and teachers of Chemical Science. The Professor's experience as a student in Göttingen and with Gibbs at Harvard, and as teacher at Gettysburg, in our University and our College of Pharmacy, has shown him just what such a student or teacher needs to set him right in his work. The ordinary textbooks of chemistry do give some information in regard to illustration by experiment; but of course they cannot make a speciality of this to the extent required by the teacher. They give one method of proceeding where a choice between several is desirable; and their descriptions are too brief to be of much practical use, so that the teacher may lose time, materials and temper to little purpose. For this reason alone, the study of the subject is excluded from schools where it might very well be taught.

Professor Sadtler has gone over the whole field of Inorganic Chemistry in the order of Professor Barker's *Chemistry*. He has not undertaken to teach anything, or to correct any other writer's theories, however erroneous, but simply to show how the results of the science may be brought before the eye of the single student or of the class. He shows first the method by which each subject

² *Chemical Experimentation*; being a Hand-Book of Lecture Experiments in Inorganic Chemistry, systematically arranged for the Use of Lecturers and Teachers in Chemistry, as well as for students in Normal Schools and Colleges, and for Private Study. By Samuel P. Sadtler, A. M., Ph. D., Assistant Professor of Chemistry in the University of Pennsylvania. Pp. 225, large 8vo, 139 illustrations. Louisville, John P. Morton & Co.

may be prepared in chemical purity; and then how its physical properties (weight, solidification, diffusibility, and the like) and, lastly, its chemical properties (affinities) may be shown visibly. Having studied the science in the old style, we must admit that we are somewhat surprised at the order now thought to be desirable in the discussion of substances.

The mechanical execution of the book is worthy of all praise. The paper is good; the type clear and handsome. An excellent use has been made of "Clarendon" in the announcement of the subject of each chapter. Of the woodcuts, many have been obtained from Germany, expressly for the work, and others have been engraved, while all are clear and well brought out in printing. As the book is the only one on its topic in our language, it ought to command a large sale.

Professor Haupt's *Engineering Specifications and Contracts*,³ we have not, for obvious reasons, read through continuously, but we have examined it with sufficient care to be able to pronounce upon its merits as a careful and satisfactory treatise upon the subject it discusses. It also grows out of a need widely felt in the profession for whose use it is designed, but hitherto unsupplied. In our present system of building and constructing by contract, it is often the duty of the civil engineer, or of the architect, to draw up proposals which define the terms of the contract to be awarded. To do this well, requires the keeping in mind an immense mass of details, and the danger is very great that some important element of the work will be overlooked. In that case the engineer, or his employer, is obliged to trust to the uncovenanted honesty of the contractor, which is always an unbusinesslike mode of proceeding. Either contracts should not be made at all, or they should cover everything.

Professor Haupt aims at giving the engineer or architect such a grasp of the details of this business, as will enable him to make every contract complete in its specifications. The first chapter is devoted to the subject of plans and drawings, showing how they

³ A MANUAL OF ENGINEERING SPECIFICATIONS AND CONTRACTS, designed as a Text-Book and Work of Reference for all who may be engaged in the Theory or Practice of Engineering. By Professor Lewis M. Haupt, Professor of Civil Engineering, Towne Scientific School, University of Pennsylvania, etc. Pp. X., 305, 8vo. Philadelphia: J. M. Stoddart.

should be prepared. The second, to estimates and measurements, giving the various tables of lengths, weights and the like, with the more useful parts of mensuration. The third takes up the specific rules employed in measuring artisans' work and materials. The fourth discusses the specific gravity of various substances, and closes with a very full table. The fifth gives an estimate of the cost of a mile of railroad, and the estimate of Messrs. M'Arthur and Wilson for the Memorial Hall of the Centennial Exhibition.

After this introductory matter comes a collection of specifications of really standard merit. These include government works, municipal works, a college building (that of the University), and railroad works (bridges, tunnels, tracks, rolling-stock). This chapter forms the heart of the book, covering pages 55-206; and we judge that this selection of documents has been made with care, and that it will have great value for the young engineer.

It is followed by two short chapters on the proper form of advertisement and that of a bid for a contract, both illustrated by standard rules and instances. The last chapter is on contracts, and first sketches the legal aspects of the question. The forms employed by the government are given, and a selection of others taken from municipal, corporation and railroad business. The whole closes with a Glossary of Technical Terms and a good index. The book is printed in the business-like style usual with its class, and does credit to its enterprising publisher.

Prof. McElroy's *System of Punctuation*⁴ has grown out of his instructions given to students in this mystery. There is a prevalent opinion that punctuation is a mere matter of usage, with no underlying principles to which appeal can be made. Professor McElroy concedes that the means employed are merely conventional, but he undertakes to show that the use of these means rests on principles which may be easily taught to advanced students, and when once learned may be applied with precision. But he concedes that there is a range for preference and personal taste in their application, and that it is not the object of sound teaching to do away with this liberty, but to prevent it from degenerating into license. In the pages of some very great authors, personal preference cer-

⁴A System of Punctuation, by John G. R. McElroy, Professor of Rhetoric and the English Language in the University of Pennsylvania. Pp. 36. Porter & Coates, 1878.

tainly does play too large a part. Thus, in the writings of Grimm and Ewald a dozen commas to a page is a large allowance, and yet, with a little practice, their writings are found as intelligible as any.

He also insists that punctuation should address itself not to the ear, but to the eye, and that the failure to recognize this is the source of much of our bad punctuation in present use, especially of the wholesale scattering of commas, as from a pepper box, over the ordinary printed page.

The professor has evidently aimed at precision and condensation in this little manual, and we can say with truth that we have never seen any treatise on the subject which equalled it in inherent excellence and practical usefulness. Any person who has to write for the public eye, will find his profit in studying it; but we fear that most of us are too much hardened in evil ways, to be able to profit by it as we might. It is, however, well that beginners should be set right from the first.

We observed that an unfriendly critic of the work laid some stress on the fact that our author at times begins a sentence with a conjunction. The criticism recalls very vividly a conversation we had with the late Dr. Allen, who was one of the purest and most exquisite judges of good English, as all his friends knew, and a man whose ear was exceedingly sensitive to every solecism. He denounced with great severity, on this occasion, the schoolmasters' and grammarians' rules by which much of our best writing was cramped and even spoiled; and mentioned, in particular, this current maxim that no sentence should begin with a conjunction. Even his friend and colleague Henry Reed, he said, had been infected with this prejudice, and it was not without some difficulty that he succeeded in disabusing his mind of it. He showed him that such a rule might be alleged in condemnation of much of the best writing, and nearly every good writer in the language.

Dr. Krauth's *Chronicle of the Augsburg Confession*⁵ is a controversial tractate growing out of a discussion started at the recent Lutheran diet, and continued by Dr. Brown in the *Gettysburg Quarterly Review*. But Dr. Krauth has evidently endeavored to

⁵Lutheran Monographs. A Chronicle of the Augsburg Confession: by Charles P. Krauth, D.D., LL.D. A Question of Latinity. by Henry E. Jacobs, D.D. Pp. 92 and 18. Philadelphia, J. Fred'k. Smith, Publisher. 1878.

make his work one of permanent interest and value, however occasional in its origin. The main point at stake is the share taken by Luther in the Augsburg Confession, the first great Protestant Confession, and that by which the Lutheran Church stands. It is conceded that Melancthon, his more conciliatory colleague, was the author of the Confession, but some writers have striven to extract from this fact the inference that the Confession is not properly a Lutheran document. Melancthon, at the time of its composition (1530), was certainly in decided opposition to the extremely low views of the sacrament taught by Zwingli and other Swiss reformers. But for the higher Reformed view afterwards presented by Calvin, he showed some predilection, and altered the text of some later editions of the Confession so as to make it capable of signature by Calvinists. On this basis is built the theory of a conciliatory Melancthonian type of doctrine, divergent from that of Luther, and it is claimed that the Confession represents this.

Luther was in Coburg during the sessions of the Diet of Augsburg, being prevented from attendance by the fact that he was under the bann of the Empire. The Confession was certainly twice sent to him for his corrections and suggestions,—by the Elector of Saxony, May 11th, and again by Melancthon in May 22nd, but both times in an imperfect form. The question disputed is whether it was sent again, after being completed, put into final shape and read and approved by the Protestant princes and estates. In none of the letters or documents of the time, so far as these are preserved, and we have a large number, is there any allusion to this third sending, but Melancthon, writing in 1560, the year of his death, distinctly declares that “the complete form of the Confession was sent to Luther,” “subsequently” to its being read and approved by the princes, June 23d, and before it was laid before the Diet, June 25th.

The evidence leaves but one alternative open to those who deny this third sending, and that is to claim that Melancthon, writing thirty years after the event, suffered a lapse of memory. Certainly, the fact seems to rest upon his isolated statement, but it cannot be denied that he had the best means of knowing all the facts.

Dr. Krauth has thrown his historical statement into a chronology of the events and the letters which passed. A more full statement of the object he had in view, would have enabled his reader to fol-

low his line of argument better, to have appreciated more exactly the points which indicates by his emphasis. We notice a few *errata*, such as *Bolognc* for *Bologna*, and *Wencislaus Link* for *Wenceslaus Link*.

Dr. Krauth's edition of Bishop Berkeley's *Principles of Knowledge* is already known for its merits to our readers. But it may interest some to see what Dr. Ulrici of Halle, one of the most eminent of German philosophers and Shakspearean critics, has to say of the work in a recent number of the *Zeitschrift für Philosophie*, edited by himself and the younger Fichte. We translate :—

In consequence of the defective means of exchange existing between Germany and America in the book trade, this new edition of Berkeley's chief work only very recently came to hand. Possibly, however, others are similarly situated and thus my notice may not come too late. This edition lays express claims to being a "standard" edition, and, indeed, it is a model edition. The text is only a carefully revised reprint from the edition of Berkeley's *Complete Works*, by A. C. Fraser (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1871); but in this respect nothing farther could have been done, beyond the correcting of a few typographical errors in Fraser's edition; for Fraser's text is prepared with the greatest critical accuracy, and with constant reference to the various readings of earlier editions. The present edition reproduces, with the text, the introduction and the valuable notes of Fraser, and adds to them, not only a fine English translation of the, at least, equally valuable critical and explanatory notes by Ueberweg in his German edition of Berkeley's *Principles*, but also gives, in addition, a number of definitions of words and conceptions, principally by the editor himself. With the same object in view, [rendering more comprehensible, to the common mind, the doctrines of Berkeley which sound so paradoxical,] three additional appendixes are added.

A. Berkeley's first rough draft of his introduction to the Principles, which Fraser found among the manuscripts of the Library of Trinity College, Dublin. *B.* Notices of Arthur Collier, and a reprint of the introduction to his *Clavis universalis*, which appeared in 1713, in which this almost unknown cotemporary of Berkeley's (but independently from him), endeavors to show the non-existence or impossibility of an external world. *C.* A reprint of the often-quoted "Accounts" of the Surgeon, W. Chelsenden, of his observations of a young gentleman whose sight he had restored, to which Berkeley alludes in his treatise, "The Theory of Vision Vindicated." The editor here further added to the above work a reprint of a second "Account" of similar contents, from Nunnely's "The Organs of Vision, etc." (1858).

Still more valuable than these appendixes, in my opinion, are the Prolegomena with which Professor Krauth has enriched his edition from his own bountiful store. These serve, indeed, for the better understanding of Berkeley's doctrine, but are of a historico-critical nature and apply more to idealism in general, in the various forms in which it has appeared before and since Berkeley. They give, first of all, a review of Berkeley's life, writings, and predecessors; following this, summaries of Berkeley's system, *i. e.*, quotations from the writings of prominent philosophical authors, in which Berkeley's doctrine has been summarily presented, characterized and criticized. Following these "summaries" we have a statement of the influence of Berkeley's idealism, and a comparison, on the one hand, of the doctrines which agree with, or are related to his, and, on the other hand, of his opponents and the objections raised against him. And to these are added a number of treatises, which, after a discussion of the conception of idealism in general, and more particularly of Hume's sceptical idealism, present the idealistic systems of German speculation, Kant's, Fichte's, Schelling's, Hegel's and Schopenhauer's, in their development from each other and their deviation in principle from each other, and the editor closes with a balancing of the strength and weakness of idealism, which reveals alike penetration and acuteness. This addition is more especially designed for the English reader and his needs, but it will interest the German reader, too, to see how our great speculative systems have reflected themselves in an independent, philosophical, highly cultivated mind, which, it is true, is free from English prejudices, but yet shows its English training.—*H. Ulrici.*

The University has had three names of repute in that peculiar world within a world, the lovers of the royal game of chess. We mean Provost Vethake, Dr. George Allen and our esteemed contributor Professor S. S. Haldemann. The chess library collected by Dr. Allen⁶ is reputed to be the finest in America, and only equalled by three or four of the best in Europe. It is now offered for sale by his executors, who have prepared a very handsome catalogue. Without being an expert in the subject, we can see that the library is exceedingly rich in rare and out-of-the-way books, in some half dozen languages. It occupied its author's attention for twenty-five years, and Dr. Allen was an expert book-buyer, and a fine

⁶ CATALOGUE OF THE CHESS COLLECTION of the late George Allen, Esq., LL.D., Professor of the Greek Language and Literature in the University of Pennsylvania, author of the Life of Philidor, etc. Prepared by his executors F. A. Jackson and G. B. Keen. Pp. VIII, 89. Philadelphia, 1878.

bibliographer. No part of the subject has been overlooked. There are early and rare works and editions; histories of the game; general treatises and introductions; treatises on special problems, manuscripts, autographs, pictures; chess journals, and periodicals containing notable articles on chess; chess poems and chess bibliography. The University Chess Club, we understand, have conceived the hope of raising by subscription the three thousand dollars needed to secure the collection for the University Library. While it does not stand in such close relation to the work of a university as do the parts of his library already purchased, it would be a very pleasant thing to secure it as a monument of the tastes and character of one who will never be forgotten by any student who sat under his instructions.

Dr. Edgar F. Smith, assistant in the Department of Analytical Chemistry, has published an excellent translation of a useful manual in his department, viz.: Classen's *Elementary Qualitative Analysis*.⁷ Herr Classen's book is recognized as one of the best manuals for students, and the translator has much improved the work by additional matter, much of which is derived from the experience and the discoveries of the University Laboratory. The book is very highly commended by Professor F. A. Genth.

J. D.

NEW BOOKS.

LITERATURE PRIMERS. Edited by J. R. Green. Homer. By the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1878.

In this very beautiful piece of literary criticism, Mr. Gladstone seeks to describe, as accurately as he can from the internal evidence of the Iliad and Odyssey themselves, the author, the relation of the poems and the history, geography, ethnology and polity of the Greeks at the time they were written. The historical truth of the events, as of less importance, is not much discussed. The following are some of the conclusions reached. He is very well satisfied

⁷ ELEMENTARY QUALITATIVE ANALYSIS, by Alexander Classen, Professor in the Royal Polytechnic School, Aix-la-Chapelle. Translated, with Additions, by Edgar F. Smith, A. M., Ph. D., Assistant in Analytical Chemistry in the Towne Scientific School, University of Pennsylvania.

that both poems are the creation of the same author, from their general correspondence and from the high improbability that two such imperial poets could have been given to the world in the same era. Whether Homer was his name or whether it was an honorable title, Homeros the Fitter, like Poietes the Maker, is not at all certain or important. But that he was of the highly considered profession of the Bards, and that he was an itinerant Bard or Minstrel may be inferred from his extensive acquaintance with geography, from the absence of any reference to a local patron and from the fact that, having survived all contemporaneous productions, his compositions must have been widely sung. Although we learn of Homer first from the Asiatic Greeks, forcible reasons are given for his being himself a European Greek of a period not very long after the occurrence of the events he narrated. The preservation of the poems at all is little short of a miracle, but Mr. Gladstone believes that they were originally transmitted by memory, from the entire absence of any reference in them to written characters, although many messages and communications are sent. In this connection, we may remember that in Scripture the Ten Commandments are spoken of as written on tables of stone at least five hundred years before the Trojan war, and that formal communications of sovereigns have been generally by heralds or ambassadors. As an illustration, however, of the retentiveness of human memory, we are reminded that Odusseus is made to recite two thousand two hundred and forty-one lines (Odyssey IX.-XII.) without a break, as if the author were representing him as repeating something which he had learned by heart, instead of narrating extemporaneously his adventures after the siege of Troy! Homer's knowledge of geography depended upon oral report and experience, the former being largely imaginary, as in the case of the route of Odusseus, and the latter substantially correct. This appears to be the case with the description of Troy, if Dr. Schliemann be correct in placing it at Hissarlik, although there is only one river mouth now instead of two, those of Scamander and Simois, as mentioned in the poem.

Mr. Gladstone concludes, from the mythology of the poems, that Homer designed a religion which should combine the nature worship of the Pelasgi, like Reanos, Kronos and the water-gods, with Hellenic deities Poseidon, Hera and Athene. In respect of polity, the Greek nations were monarchies, the monarch having the functions of priest, general and judge, but assisted by a council of chieftains, the Boule, and referring all important questions to an assembly of the people, the Agora. The Trojan polity appears to have been similar, and, from the absence of comment to the contrary, we may infer the language to have been the same. There is evidence that the Trojan character was lighter, less earnest and

reflective than the Greek. Finally, we are given some very nice literary criticism of Homer as the greatest of objective poets, indulging rarely in simile, often in metaphor, constantly bursting into oratory, but philosophizing never.

With views which are the result of the profound and patient investigation of an intellect like Mr. Gladstone's, it would be rash for the ordinary student to measure himself. But he may offer a few general observations upon his method. Working *a posteriori*, he has sometimes attributed,—as laborious critics so often do—coincidences and results to the purpose of the author which he could never have intended. The scholar unconsciously imparts to the inspiration of his subject a little of his own didactic flavor. For instance, the theurgy of the poems is conceived of as designed by Homer to produce a national spirit and religion, uniting and reconciling the Pelasgic and Hellenic elements. We are led to rely upon his descriptions as giving a fair picture of the Greek and Trojan politics respectively, of the differences between the civil and military institutions of the two nations, and even of the personal characteristics of the various actors; his adaptation of sound sense and the use of particles, is treated as if he were observing metrical and rhetorical laws of which he was entirely conscious. We are all familiar with such criticism in the case of Shakspeare. It is very wide of the mark. In such compositions, if the writer has a design he generally states it, and if they are contemporaneously popular, as were the Iliad and Odyssey, he must have been singing things of which the air was full, or he would have had to wait for his audience. Moreover, the character of the Iliad at least puts us at once upon our guard. The writing is of immense contemporaneous popularity; composed after the events described have taken place; the events themselves occurred at a distant point and in a war between the ancestors of the author and his audience and strangers. We may expect great accuracy in the names and pedigrees of the national warriors, and as much as possible in those of the strangers; the geography will be as correct as may be, and there will be no departure in the religious doctrines and traditions whatever. Upon these points it is easier to tell the truth and there is no inducement to distort. But in the description of the prowess and intelligence of the national heroes, we may look for great exaggeration. In the field they will do as dreadful deeds, and in the Council make as eloquent orations as the poet's mind can compass. And he will be very careful to paint the enemy good enough in all respects to be worthy foes, but in all respects just a little inferior when not helped by the Gods. If this spirit of mind be put on, a good many of Mr. Gladstone's conclusions will not be heartily concurred in. But admiration for him and for the superb preliminary training which enables him, in the midst of his public

duties, to produce this book, will be greatly increased by reading it. It is not the work of a facile man writing a brilliant review, but the profound and intelligent and critical examination of a thoroughly well-versed Hellenist.

A CONCISE HISTORY OF MUSIC. By H. G. Bonavia Hunt. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

This small book contains, in a very concise form, all the leading musical events and composers, since the commencement of our era. Its principal feature is a series of chronological tables, giving on one page the musical epochs—on the opposite the musicians of that epoch. The names of the reigning sovereigns are added to fix the dates. This feature is very convenient for reference. The title-page says the work is intended as a text-book for students, and a formidable list of examination questions is appended. It is rather difficult to understand just what the gain would be to a student who should commit the whole of these questions and their answers to memory, particularly as the whole subject is in a very foggy state until about the beginning of the seventeenth century, and what little remains of the music of the preceding time may have some antiquarian interest, but is utterly devoid of value or interest to the modern musician.

THE GREAT GERMAN COMPOSERS. Handy Volume Series. New York: D. Appleton & Co.

These sketches of the lives of the great composers are very like the portraits in the Bruckman photograph gallery. So idealized that the mere earthly parts are totally eliminated. Of course all the well-known anecdotes that periodically go the rounds of the so-called musical papers, are once more spread out for our delectation, the whole garnished with the æsthetic "gush" that seems to be inevitable to writers on music and musicians. It seems rather strange, too, to find Chopin's name among German composers.

SAVELI'S EXPIATION. A Russian Story. Translated from the French of Henry Gréville, by Mary Neal Sherwood. Philadelphia: T. B. Peterson & Brothers.

In the nineteenth century, the events of this story are possible only where barbarism fiercely contends with civilization; from a possible repetition of its horrors, the emancipation of the Serfs in 1861 and its natural consequence, the abolition of the Knout in 1863, have freed Russia. Notwithstanding her thousand years of

empire, her history is to the world of to-day a dark page, illumined, here and there, by the greatness of sovereigns like Ivan, Peter, Elizabeth and Catharine, until in our generation the far-seeing policy of freedom for her own people has given Russia strength and influence which centuries of serfdom had failed to acquire. The book is a painful one, powerfully written by a woman who has a charming style and great sympathy, and, though painful, it is well not to lose the deeper lessons of history which are written for us of better days in the sufferings of the past, and to remember Michelet's words in recounting the miseries of the galleys and hospitals in the days of Louis XIV. "You make us nervous.—So much the better if you suffer, if your cold heart feels anything. Public indifference, instant forgetfulness, this is the scourge that perpetuates and renews evil—Suffer and remember."

BOOKS RECEIVED.

- Handy Volume Series—The Great German Composers. S'wd. 16mo. Pp. 218. Price 30 cents. New York: D. Appleton & Co. [Porter & Coates.
- Handy Volume Series—Antoinette. By Andre Theuriet. S'wd. 16mo. Pp. 133. Price 20 cents. New York: D. Appleton & Co. [Porter & Coates.
- Lessons in Cookery. Hand-book of the National Training School for Cookery. (South Kensington, London). The Principles of Diet in Health and Disease. By Thomas K. Chambers, M. D. Edited by Eliza Youmans. Cloth. 12mo. Pp. 382. New York: D. Appleton & Co. [Porter & Coates.
- International Copyright—An address delivered before the Manhattan Liberal Club. By Appleton Morgan. New York: Cockcroft & Co.
- The Little-Good-For-Nothing. From the French of Alphonse Daudet. By Mary Neal Sherwood. Cloth. 12mo. Pp. 354. Price \$1.50. Boston: Estes & Laureat. [J. B. Lippincott & Co.
- The Origins of Contemporary France. The French Revolution. By Hippolyte Adolphe Taine. Translated by John Durand. Vol. 1. Cloth. 12mo. Pp. 356. Price \$2.50. New York: Henry Holt & Co.
- A Domestic Cyclopaedia of Practical Information. Edited by Todd S. Goodholme. Cloth. Svo. Pp. 652. Price \$5.00. New York: Henry Holt & Co. [J. B. Lippincott & Co.
- The Vision of Echard and other Poems. By John Greenleaf Whittier. Cloth. 12mo. Pp. 131. Boston: Houghton, Osgood & Co. [Porter & Coates.
- The American Printer. Eleventh Edition. By Thomas MacKellar. Cloth. 12mo. Pp. 383. Price \$2.00. Philadelphia: MacKellar, Smiths & Jordan.
- American Ornithology; or, the Natural History of the Birds of the United States. By Alexander Wilson and Charles Lucian Bonaparte. Popular Edition. Cloth, large Svo. Two vols. in one. Pp. CXXXII, XVI, 390 and 426. Price \$7.50. Philadelphia: Porter & Coates.
- Roxy. By Edward Eggleston. Cloth. 12mo. Pp. 432. Price \$1.50. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. [Porter & Coates.
- A Concise History of Music. H. G. Bonavia Hunt. 16mo. Cloth. Pp. 184. Price \$1.00. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. [Porter & Coates.
- Academie Royale de Belgique. Bulletin No. 7. Bruxelles: F. Hayez.

THE
PENN MONTHLY.

NOVEMBER.

THE MONTH.

THE mortgages on the future, by which "peace with glory" was purchased at Berlin, are being foreclosed even more rapidly than anybody had expected. The conclusions of the Congress of Berlin were formulated upon none of the great principles which give permanence and validity to the *faits accomplis* of history. They did not rest upon either liberty, religion or nationality, and the aspirations of the peoples concerned, in each of these directions, will certainly contribute to their overthrow.

In the case of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the wicked policy by which Austria has been working to secure those provinces for three years past, was crowned with success by "the mandate of Europe," that the Hapsburgers should occupy and pacify that country. Their occupation has been a bloody and expensive war, and the Empire enters upon her new possessions with the certainty that her own internal affairs have been rendered still more complicate by these new accessions, and that she may expect prolonged and steady resistance to her purposes from both Christian and Mohamedan in the two provinces. The Slavs, already a very numerous and nearly unrepresented body in the dual empire, become preponderant in numbers by this new accession. The whole vast body of the Southern Slavs, with the exception of Servia, and perhaps we may say Bulgaria, are brought face to face under one government, are made to see something of their strength, and are

given breathing space from the atrocities of a government worse than even Austria could be at its worst. The result, we hope, will be that the old Illyrian provinces, from Bulgaria to Dalmatia, will one day be united under the Sovereign of Servia, and the people who have borne the yoke of so many oppressors, will attain that national unity to which their unity in race, speech and religion continually points. Austria-Hungary might fight hard, but the sympathies of the world and the deepest instincts of human nature would be alike arrayed against her.

As regards Bosnia, the Austrian conquest is a distinct gain to its Christian population. The Moslem beys were a race of intolerable tyrants, and had driven the Christian *rayahs* into an agrarian revolt, which had lasted, in spite of defeats and sufferings, up to the very hour of the Austrian invasion. The new rule must put an end to their atrocities, whatever lesser atrocities of its own it may devise and inflict upon the Bosnian peasant. A common hatred of the oppressor will now probably unite *bey* and *rayah* in a common, though passive, resistance to the Hapsburgs.

Just south of these provinces, and claiming the Southern Pashalik of Bosnia as their own, lie the Skipetar of Albania, the descendants of the half-Hellenic Epirots of King Pyrrhus's country. The Congress never took a thought of these people, but they are now taking thought for themselves. It ceded Albanian territory to the Slavs of Montenegro and to the Hapsburgs in Bosnia, but this nation of free-booting mountaineers have bound themselves by oath to resist either concession. And it was owing to the encouragement offered by their resistance, that the Porte seized on the Bosnian district in question, the Pashalik of Novi-bazar, and dared the Austrians to advance further. The Pashas have also reopened the question which the Congress managed to shirk,—“Are the Austrians temporarily or permanently in possession of Bosnia and Herzegovina?” Vienna avoids the question, but the Austrian generals, in their public declarations, have taken the ground that they have come to stay. It only remains to be seen whether the Porte thinks itself strong enough to venture on another European war, in spite of the shuffling of dishonest diplomacy.

THE Porte has not yet settled with anybody. It proceeds upon its usual maxim, “Don't do anything unpleasant, till you are com-

pelled to do it," as regards its treatment of both Russia and England. Russia has therefore turned its retreat into an advance upon Adrianople, until it has ample security for the execution of those parts of the San Stefano Treaty which were not altered by the Treaty of Berlin. As regards England, while there is some show of reforms in Asia Minor, the concessions promised to Greece are still refused, and the temper of both Greek and Turk gives every promise of an outbreak of war between the people. Should it be so, Russia would hardly keep out of the conflict, and with Austria's hands tied, with the Greeks as well as the Servians to help, and with the English occupied elsewhere, she would probably not stop short of that famous aspiration—"Every Turk out of Europe, bag and baggage."

We think the prospect of a renewal of the war next spring is as good as any hater of Moslem rule could desire.

To add one more to the list of things not done, the Servians and the Wallachians are trying to evade the best provision of the Berlin Treaty, that which secures absolute religious and political equality to the Jews, as the condition of the recognition of the independence of those principalities. This we regard as unfortunate for those countries, who begin their career of independence and nationality with every claim upon the sympathies of the world but this, that they are not willing to give up a system of barbarous persecution and proscription, occasionally culminating in massacre, by which the Jews along the Danube have been suffering for centuries past.

THAT eminent German sage, Tyll Eulenspiegel, in one of his journeys, come upon a company of wise men who were engaged in fencing in the cuckoo, in order that the fine weather which they had learned to associate with her presence, might be secured the year round. Something similar has been the employment of the German Parliament during the past month, as they sat in council to devise a plan for the suppression of Socialism through putting down books and newspapers, breaking up meetings and the like. We believe that persecution and proscription have often accomplished their purposes; but it was such persecution as that which

Dominic inflicted on the Albigenses of Southern France, or Philip II. on the Protestants of Spain; or such proscription as exterminated the Girondins, or that now proposed by some New England professors and clergymen in regard to our tramps. But half way measures have always failed. They can but irritate and annoy. A law to hang Socialists or shoot them on sight, would be worth something; but a law to compel the Socialists to establish a secret propaganda instead of a public one, is far worse than useless. It will create a demand for their literature among the young, just because it is forbidden. Any educated German who grew up before 1848, will tell you that when he was young he belonged to a secret book-club, for the purchase and circulation of prohibited books. It will impart to Socialist literature a still fiercer and more destructive tone, while it will prevent the falsehoods and the scandals vented by Socialist writers from being brought to light and refuted. It will make the danger from the class a greater bugbear, more capable of exaggeration as to its extent and influence, and, therefore, of more real danger to society, whose weakest side is its vague fears. It will furnish not less, but more employment to the worthless agitators who represent the worst class of Socialists, while it will close the mouths of those who might by moderation and thoughtfulness act as a check upon their own associates.

There are two logical methods of government, but such a bill as this belongs to neither of them. It is nothing but a futile shaking of the fist in the face that you dare not strike, as you would like to. It is folly carried to the highest potency.

THUCYDIDES "could not play upon a lute, but he knew how to make a small city great." Lord Lytton can write third-class poetry, but he is showing himself fatally incapable of directing the destinies of a great Empire. With a bankrupt treasury, and a dissatisfied, over-taxed population to deal with, he has managed to plunge the East Indian Government into a war with the most dangerous of its neighbors,—the only one which has shown itself strong enough to inflict a fatal blow upon the English power. Abandoning the natural line of defence for India, he proposes to extend English dominion beyond the Himalayehs, to approach as near to the Russian frontier as possible, and to provoke that conflict which is the bugbear of English diplomacy, and which the

Russians are always suspected of desiring. And this blunder he has made in the beginning of winter, with the alternative either of waiting till spring, in ignominious inaction, under the disgrace of Afghan defiance, or of beginning the war at a time which seems to make success impossible.

If the alleged motive of the war be the genuine one, it will take rank among the most unjust and immoral conflicts known to history. The sovereign of Afghanistan has done no more than refuse to admit into his territories an uninvited and hardly announced embassy, which came, with a small army of escort, to ensconce itself in his capital, and exercise a surveillance over his acts. Now, be it remembered, that the sending of embassies rests upon hardly any clearer right than international comity. It is but two centuries since most of the nations of Europe would admit none except plenipotentiaries, sent on a temporary mission to adjust international difficulties. And even now, it is rather a custom than a right. Afghanistan, therefore, has, even in western construction of autonomy, the right to accept embassies from whatever power it pleases, and to shut out others. If it has admitted a Russian agent, it may, none the less, exclude a British ambassador, without giving any just cause for war to the English authorities. And, if we measure the English claim by oriental, rather than occidental conceptions of the extent of sovereignty, it becomes still more monstrous. If, therefore, the war have no better motive than this, every life lost in it will be no better than a murder committed, in the name of right by a Christian power. We suspect, however, that more is known in Calcutta than they have chosen to tell, and that Russia has really been making very great advances in Central Asia, while English attention has been directed to Eastern Europe. But, even though Russia were in Afghanistan itself, there would be no wisdom in the English allowing themselves to be tempted across their natural line of defence, through those long passes which have once already been so fatal to a British Army. Or, if the Afghans have thrown off the old English alliance for one with Russia, it would have been wise to wait for a turn of the tide. Shere Ali is an old man, and his heir will be sure to reverse his policy, as he reversed that of his father.

THE rejoicing of the Republicans over their gains in the Octo-

ber elections, shows the power of little things to confer great happiness on well-trained minds. The Republican party is to lose its hold in the United States Senate after the fourth of next March; it is fighting for the House, as its last chance to control either branch of Congress, and has already lost ten seats, instead of making such gains as would make its minority a majority. And yet the fact that it has carried, by a small majority, a State which has given a Republican majority in every election except that of the last "off year," seems to furnish occasion for infinite rejoicing. In this very State of Ohio, it has lost heavily in Congressmen, the chief thing at stake in the present election; and even with its vote there is no possibility of electing a Republican President in 1880, unless the solid South be broken, or the vote of Indiana or New York reclaimed. In Indiana nothing has been gained, while in Iowa the solid ranks of the Republican delegation have been broken, for the first time since the war, by the election of two Greenback Congressmen, who are pledged to act with the Democrats. In other words, the Republican party is already certain of a defeat this year in its efforts to secure the one practical result worth fighting for. After March 4th, it will take rank with the Nationals in Congress, as a powerless minority. And yet we are called upon to rejoice in these results of the present policy of the party leaders, and in their loyalty to "the high ground of principle."

The loss of Congressmen in Ohio, as well as in Maine and Iowa, has been due, in part, to the Greenback movement. That party has, in most localities, not any more power than we predicted,—the power to alter majorities, which enables it to do mischief enough. Its candidates who have been successful, including one in Indiana, have only been so through Democratic support; and the disposition on the part of the Democrats, to come to terms with them, seems very general. At any rate, they show not the least indisposition to do so in decidedly Republican constituencies. The Republican papers seem to take some comfort from the fact that they lost Congressmen in Ohio through the State being unfairly re-districted by the Democrats. But, in all fairness, let us not forget that this is only a retaliation for an equally unjust assignment of Congressional districts, made by the Republican legislature in previous years, and that more than one such piece of "gerrymandering" is still in force for the benefit of the party which has most reason to be ashamed of that and of every sort of political trickery.

Two points in the elections are well calculated to give general satisfaction. The people of Colorado have expressed their opinion of the trickery by which the Republican Congressman, whom they elected last year, was ousted from his seat to make room for a Democrat; and the people of one Cincinnati district have once more voted to leave Mr. Saylor at home. It remains to be seen whether either will again be robbed of their right of representation by a Democratic Congress. On the other hand, that Clarkson N. Potter has refused a *renomination*, and that Abram S. Hewitt has been refused one, is much to be regretted.

THE *Tribune* has made its columns the centre of popular interest by further and more detailed publications from its barrel of despatches. It has shown, beyond any peradventure; that during the counting of the electoral votes in 1876, Mr. Manton Marble and Mr. Smith M. Weed, entered into corrupt negotiations with go-betweens for electoral votes in Florida and South Carolina; that they telegraphed the terms of their negotiations to Mr. Tilden's nephew and secretary; and that they received in return the acceptance of their proposals. Also, that Mr. Weed went on to Baltimore to get the \$85,000 needed to buy the electoral vote of South Carolina. Taken in connection with what was already known of the doings in Oregon, these disclosures need give no surprise to any one. They merely show that what was known to have been tried in that state was also attempted in two others. And when the testimony of Judge Levassee before the Potter Committee is recalled, will be seen that Louisiana was the scene of similar corrupt attempts at a bargain. Who the agent was in this last case is not yet certain; but it seems probable that it was not the Hon. Samuel J. Randall of this city, since that gentleman telegraphed from New Orleans to New York, to ask that some person "with full powers" be sent on.

The revelations have raised only two questions which are worth serious discussion. The first is, are the American people to take as final, Mr. Tilden's statement that he knew nothing of these telegraphic despatches, which were sent in cipher to and from his house and that of his neighbor, Mr. H. Havemeyer? Mr. Tilden does not impugn their genuineness, nor the accuracy of the interpretation.

He says that he never saw them till they appeared in print. It would be pleasant, we hope, to all classes of Americans, if the man who received the vote of more than half the citizens of the country when he was a candidate for the Presidency, could be thus exculpated, through his denial being accepted as truthful and unevasive. But we fear that this cannot be done. Mr. Tilden and a group of personal friends, of whom Marble, Weed and Pelton were the chief, had taken the campaign largely out of the hands of the recognized leaders of their party. It was from this group of his familiar friends that these agents of corruption were selected, and when the proposals to bribe were telegraphed to New York, they were answered, after hesitation, by agreements to pay sums of money larger than any of the group except Mr. Tilden had at his command. And in two states, the attempt failed through a display of hesitancy, which those who know Mr. Tilden best, declare to be characteristic of the man. Nor has Mr. Tilden shown any indignation, such as a thoroughly upright man might be expected to display, towards the men who have attempted this bribery. His nephew is still his confidential agent, and the others are his intimate friends. The only hypothesis which seems at all likely to reconcile even the letter of Mr. Tilden's denial with the unquestionable facts, is that he had given his nephew *carte blanche* for any expenses which might be incurred in any way in the closing scenes of the campaign, and had adopted the attitude of intentional ignorance of his doings, in order to avoid future complications. In that case, the letter only of the denial would be true.

THE other question is that raised by the Democratic papers, especially the *Nation*, as to the cleanness of the hands of the Republican leaders during the same campaign. We hope that this will be searched into without any showing of favor; that the method by which these dispatches came into the *Tribune's* possession will be traced, and their history followed up, until it is found who separated them from those of the Republicans, and where these others are. It is undeniable that there were some weak points in the Republican situation. The men who were put in charge with the campaign, notably the two Chandlers, do not command the unquestioning confidence even of their own party. And, therefore,

since the challenge has been made, it is to be hoped that the Republican leaders will meet it, as they have declared their readiness to meet it,—by a full disclosure of every essential fact of the case.

At the same time, the Democrats cannot but be aware that, so far from there being a balance of presumption that the Republicans did stoop to such practices, there is rather better ground for believing that they did not. The worst elements of the Republican party, whatever their official position, were not so heartily in love with Mr. Hayes as to run any risks for his sake. They had nearly as much to expect from one candidate as from the other, and men do not usually stoop to felony gratuitously. And, in the personal character both of the President elect and of the President in office, there is given us a very strong assurance that the political campaign was conducted in accordance with principles of honor. The Potter Committee set out to prove the contrary, but as yet with no success. They have, indeed, secured testimony which goes to show that men of no principle were on the Returning Board of Louisiana, and that they were obliged to approach Mr. Sherman to secure a promise that they would be taken care of if they did their duty. Whether their application ever did reach Mr. Sherman, and whether he, or another using his name, wrote the letter it was said they received, every man must judge for himself. Even if he wrote it,—and he has sworn he has not, an oath fully confirmed by his subsequent conduct,—it would not prove any such dereliction of duty on his part as these dispatches bring to light. But, whether he wrote it or not, the fact that it was asked of him and written by somebody, shows that the Republicans had no Smith Weeds or Manton Marbles on the ground, negotiating corrupt bargains, and depositing the cash value of votes, “payable on delivery.”

But neither, to be just, had the Democrats any such persons in their employment. The Democratic party can be implicated in the crimes now brought to light, only by apologizing for them, or endeavoring to weaken the force of public indignation in regard to them. If they will manfully wash their hands of Samuel J. Tilden and all his “friends,” they will have earned the right to stand before the world pure from every stain of shame in this matter. It is true that it is a bitter alternative to adopt; party spirit cries in every human breast, that we must stand by the men of the party

through thick and thin, through right and wrong. The very nature of party, and of party discipline, seems to forbid the expectation of anything unselfish from organizations of this class. But, there is no event in our recent history so creditable as the manly self-repression with which the great body of American Democrats acquiesced in the decision of the Electoral Tribunal,—a decision which, in their eyes, was flagrantly unjust, and was pronounced on an occasion which, in less law-abiding communities, would have led to revolutionary outbreak. And, if the Democracy will once more listen to the promptings of their better natures, they will allow no one to go beyond them in honest, indignant denunciation of the men who sought to secure the Presidential chair to Mr. Tilden, by dishonest dickering for votes. It belongs to them, especially, to utter this denunciation, as they can speak with a force which no others can use. And it belongs to them, also, to thank God that these intrigues failed, and that this sad story has not been told of a Democratic President in office, to be followed by his impeachment under the eyes of the whole world.

THE prospects of a successful resumption by law have been sharply tested during the last month, and the results are not of good omen. A corner in gold was got up in Wall Street, some two and a half millions being bought by a group of speculators, with the effect of driving up the price from $100\frac{1}{4}$ to $101\frac{3}{8}$. That this was effected in the face of the present policy of the treasury, by which large sums are left with the banks in order to keep the money market easy, makes the exploit all the more remarkable, and all the more significant. The price was only reduced by a violent *coup* on the part of the Secretary of the Treasury. In violation of the long established rules,—rules which have been laid down to prevent sudden interferences on the part of the Treasury with the money market,—he directed the sub-treasuries to pay gold at once for the principal and interest of all “called” bonds, even although the time for their redemption, as fixed in the call, had not yet arrived. This was in reality only an appearance of relief, for the holders of such bonds are not the persons who are suffering from the rise of gold, nor are they ready to sacrifice a good investment for the sake of relieving the bears. But the delusion worked as well as a reality, and gold came down again,

and the market was once more brought into a condition favorable to the purchase of four-per-cents.

It is worth while to ask what this indicates as regards the supply of gold in the country, and the effect of a sudden demand for it as soon as the Treasury is obliged by law to pay it out to the holders of gold certificates and Treasury notes. For that is the meaning of the Resumption law, and is now the only reason of our objection to it. We are not going to resume as the Bank of France has always done, by a quiet and unostentatious payment of gold on demand, without giving any pledge to continue such payments longer than they seem safe. That line of policy might have been adopted long ago, and the nominal premium on gold would have vanished, even although the street knew that the Treasury could shut the door when it pleased. We are going to nail the door open, to throw away the key at New Year's day, and to leave the Treasury at the mercy of the shifting tides of mercantile fluctuation, and the schemes of financial sharpers. Nor has our Treasury any such safeguard to protect its reserve as the Bank of England is obliged to possess in its control of the current rate of interest. It cannot check speculative loans and purchases abroad, as do the authorities on Threadneedle Street, by tightening the money market. And if the recent fluctuation in gold shows anything, it shows that the vast sums which may be needed or desired by the money market will be drained directly from the Treasury, since there is evidently no other reservoir from which to draw.

The wiser course would be: (1,) to repeal the Resumption Law; and (2,) to resume without a law. This would give the Treasury power to prevent large and sudden exportations of gold, and it would thus enable it to retain so much of its present supply as would keep our paper money permanently at par.

HOW THE BARON GOT HIM A WIFE.

[Translated from the German of L. Shücking, by Rev. W. H. Furness.]

A young man of agreeable appearance stood at the door of a pleasant country seat. He was booted and spurred. A servant was leading a saddled horse up and down before the house. That the gentleman was impatient to be in the saddle was evident.

But he was too good-natured to refuse to listen to what a neatly dressed, little, elderly woman just behind him was saying. After touching upon various household matters, "Do tell me," she asked, "my dear Herr Baron, when is the wedding to be? If you put it off much longer, all my nice things will be spoiled—they won't keep forever."

"Ah!" returned the Baron with a deep sigh,—“if you only knew—”

“Knew what?”

The Baron made a rather sour face and said, “Fräulein von Langenau has dismissed me.”

“Dismissed you! Bless me!” exclaimed Fräulein Waller. “When?”

“Six weeks ago.”

“Six weeks ago! And you've never said a word about it!”

“Because I was ashamed to mention it.”

“And what was the reason? How did it come about?”

“How did it come about? Well, the fact is, our love grew colder and colder. Being continually together, we got tired; when I told her about our quiet life here in the country, she began to yawn; and when she ran on about her parties and balls, I fell asleep. So she cut the knot, sent me a brief note, and was off with her mother to a watering place.”

“And you told me nothing but that the wedding was postponed.”

“Don't be vexed, dear Waller, laugh at me if you will, and grieve over your fruitless preparations—it's all at an end.”

“O, I'm not laughing at you,” said the little woman, with an angry shrug of her shoulders, “you are a real oddity. How many a young fellow, lawyer or doctor, is roaming about, longing to be married, but having nothing, nothing but a bride, while you, you have everything, a fine house, office, wealth—only no bride!”

“After all,” replied the Baron, with a smile, “it's best as it is.”

“Well, perhaps so—I can easily believe it,” said the little woman in a sympathizing tone, “there's nothing to be done with you,” she added resignedly, “you ought, at least, to write at once to your friends, and let them know how the case stands—they all believe that you are married by this time—the wedding was to be in June and now it's July.”

“Yes, yes, just tell the people in the house the affair is broken off—I’ll write to my friends—but now I must go and keep my appointment—good-bye, dear Waller—I shall be back perhaps this evening, probably not until to-morrow morning.”

“Stay, one thing more,” cried Fräulein Waller, “where’s the letter you were going to give me from the young man you expect to-day?”

“Oh! Ah! true, I forgot—from that odd chap—there, you have it,” answered the Baron, taking an open letter from his pocket, “take good care of him when he comes, he is the brother of that dear old college friend of whom I have often told you and who has recently died—I didn’t know he had a brother—he seems from his letter to be a queer sort of fellow—he will stay with us till I get him a situation as a tutor.”

With this, the Baron hastened down the steps, leaped into the saddle, and was off.

“He calls the young man a queer fellow—he’s a queer fellow himself,” said the little woman, looking after him.

Some hours later, there came towards the house a young girl apparently about eighteen. She ascended the steps and entered the open hall door. Laying aside a tolerably heavy travelling bag and her sunshade, she glanced around and sunk weariedly into a chair, waiting for some one to appear.

At first no one came. Silence reigned throughout the house. The dreamy repose of a summer afternoon began to give place to the evening twilight.

The rest seemed to refresh the stranger. She sat for awhile sunk in thought, with hands folded in her lap and eyes fixed upon the floor, until at last she arose, wondering where the people of the house could be, when a door opened and Fräulein Waller entered. The little old lady looked with surprise at the stranger.

“I have made no mistake? This is Herr von Heigendorf’s?” The young lady asked with some embarrassment.

“It is—what can I do for you? I am Fräulein Waller, the housekeeper of the gentleman.”

“I wish to see him.”

“He is not at home, and may not be here till to-morrow.”

“How unfortunate! Did he leave no word? Did he not say that he was expecting some one?”

"Yes, but—" replied Fräulein Waller, surprised.

"My name is Kruger."

"Kruger?—but not C. Kruger?"

"Yes, C. Kruger!" was the modest reply.

"You are that person, then? This letter then relates to you?" inquired Fräulein Waller, in the greatest astonishment, taking from her pocket the letter the Baron had given her to read.

"It came from me," said the stranger.

"No!—this is funny," murmured Fräulein Waller to herself, "a charming young girl instead of a stiff tutor!" But, perceiving the increasing embarrassment of her guest, she said aloud—"we are prepared for you; Herr von Heigendorf has told me about you—he feels for you—he was very fond of your brother."

"I thought so," said the stranger with emotion, "he is so kind, the Baron."

"You know him then?"

"I have read all his letters to my brother."

"And you are so learned, as appears from this letter? You can even talk Latin?"

"You know about that? I have often been laughed at for it. I lost my mother when I was six years old, and I was educated by my father who was a distinguished scholar."

"Bless me! And you talked Latin with him!"

"Not exactly," replied the stranger with a smile, "but I learned the language; it would have been better if I had been taught to cook and wash—what will become of me, if I cannot procure employment as a teacher!"

"Don't be distressed—the Baron takes great interest in you. He told me to take every care of you while he was away."

"But madame, his wife?—is she at home and will you please inform her of my arrival?"

"Madame, his wife!" said Fräulein Waller, not a little startled.

"He has been married, I hear, some weeks to a Fräulein von Langenau."

"Ah! yes—but Madame is not here."

"Not here! O, how unfortunate I am! Then I must leave—it would never do for me to stay."

"Don't be worried—I am here—I was the friend of the Baron's mother, and my presence ought to put you at your ease."

"Certainly—but what will madame say when she comes and finds a stranger here, who has taken refuge with her *penates* without her leave?"

"Now if I tell her," thought the housekeeper, "that the Baron's a bachelor, she will run right away,—I cannot let the poor child go to-night, and it's so late,"—"Never mind," she said aloud, "the Baron has invited you, and he is master in his own house,—to-morrow you will see him and he will present you to madame."

"Well, then I suppose I must wait and let him dispose of me, unfortunate blue-stocking that I am."

"A blue-stocking," said Fräulein Waller, "that, I suspect, is the only kind of stocking you know anything about."

"O no, no," replied the stranger, "you must not think that—I lived with my aunt a whole year, and I learned to sew and knit."

"But you must have found the work very hard at your aunt's, or you would not have left her."

"O it was not for that—but my aunt wanted to force me to marry a friend of her's, and I detested him."

"Poor child!"

"And as my last resort, I wrote to Herr von Heigendorf, my brother's friend—I learned from his letters to think very highly of him—he is so good—his letters show such a kind heart—how happy his wife must be!"

Without appearing to notice this last remark, "Come with me," said Fräulein Waller, and she showed the young lady into an adjoining room. "This is our guest chamber," she added, "you will find everything here you need—where is your luggage?"

"I left a small trunk at the inn and brought with me only what I need to-night."

"How tired you must be! I will go and order some supper for you."

"Must I eat alone? You will stay with me?"

"I will come by and by—but don't wait for me—you are hungry, and I have many things to attend to." So saying, Fräulein Waller withdrew.

The Latin-talking young lady laid down her bag and parasol in the guest chamber, took off her hat, arranged her hair as well as she could by the dim light. She felt much relieved—this Fräulein Waller was so kind.

And the Baron—he would surely receive her kindly—yet her heart beat a little quicker as she thought he might appear at any moment—his young wife too—how would she receive her?

However, she was in need of refreshment. She was, indeed, tired and hungry, and in the next room she heard the clatter of the tea things. She threw off all anxiety,—whispering to herself a Latin sentence, ‘Fortune points the way,’ she left the guest chamber.

A man-servant in black was busy about the table, which glittered with silver, and upon which a dainty repast was spread under the light of two wax candles. The man placed a chair for her, and, with a bow, invited her to be seated.

Alone at the table, she found the servant, who was observant of all her wants, an object of observation in return. He appeared to be about forty years of age. There was that in his whole demeanor that impressed her favorably. Waited upon by him as if she were a countess, and becoming every moment more at ease, she broke the silence and inquired of him whether he had been long in the service of the Baron.

As he looked into her lovely clear eyes, his countenance wore an expression of pity. “I have been only a few hours here,” he replied, “I came only to-day.”

“We are both strangers here, then,” said the lady, “you must be glad to get so good a place?”

“I thought it was a good place.”

“And don’t you think so still?”

“No, my lady.”

“You are not going to leave?”

“Yes, my lady.”

“That is strange. What has made you change your mind?”

“An order which we have received from the housekeeper, and which I, for one, will not obey, when I see you, my lady, sitting here so quietly and at your ease; the order relates to you.”

“Relates to me!” exclaimed Fräulein Kruger.

“Yes, you, my lady. I am, to be sure, a servant; I have always tried to serve my employers faithfully; but, thank God! I cannot tell lies.”

“But I beg you, tell me, what are you ordered to do?”

“We are ordered, the chambermaid and I, not to let you know that the master is an unmarried man.”

The girl started up from her chair, "Good Heavens!" she cried, "what do you say?—unmarried!"

"Unmarried."

"Then she told me a falsehood, and is plotting with the servants to deceive me! O, it is terrible! What shall I do?" she cried, wringing her hands, "I will leave this place immediately. I cannot stay here. But where shall I go? For Heaven's sake, where?—but no matter where,—that is a secondary thing. I will go, but O to be so deceived! But you," she said, turning to the servant and offering him her hand, "I must thank you for telling me the truth, and now away, out of this house I must go at once."

She took one of the lights, and went into the guest chamber for her hat and bag. The servant looked after, terrified at the sudden and powerful effect which his communication had had. He thought how he should have to tell the housekeeper that the stranger had disappeared. What should he say? He was on the point of hurrying after the lady, when the door opened, and his master entered.

Throwing his hat and riding-whip on a side-table, and casting a questioning look upon the tea things, he said to the man, in a kindly tone, "You are the new waiter? Did Fräulein Waller feel so sure of my return this evening, that she made all this preparation for me? It was very kind,—go tell Fräulein Waller that I am here." The servant bowed and withdrew.

At the same moment, the door of the guest chamber was thrown open, and Fräulein Kruger, with the light in her hand, bag on her arm, and hat and sunshade, appeared on the threshold.

The Baron, just about to take his seat at the table, stood, with his hand on the back of the chair, riveted to the spot. "What a lovely creature!", he thought to himself.

Lovely, indeed. In the excitement which flushed her features, in the warm light of the candle she held in her hand, pausing suddenly in the doorway which served for a frame, she was truly a very enchanting picture.

The Baron stepped towards her.

Startled at seeing this man, who could be no other than the master of the house evidently prepared to arrest her flight, she was seized with a fearful suspicion,—was she then watched? He had come to detain her,

She stood motionless,—she was ready to throw down the light and rush shrieking from the house,—but that would never do,—she must collect herself and say something;—in her extreme alarm, she could only stammer out, “Herr Baron! I have made a mistake, and I am going away, as—.”

“Made a mistake?” interrupted the Baron, with looks of increasing amazement, “I am very sorry for that, but I cannot consent to your going away all alone this dark night. Have you a carriage, or attendant? You must at least permit me to wait upon you.”

“O, thank you,” cried the girl, almost angrily, with growing distrust, “I beseech you, let me go!”

“Who are you, Fräulein? You must at least let me know who you are,” said the Baron, puzzled more and more by this strange behavior.

“You know who I am, without my telling you,” said the girl, in a tone of severe reproach, “you have been expecting me here to-day, and you know who I am.”

“I expecting you. Upon my soul! not in the least. In this lonely monotonous life of mine, how could I dream of expecting such a charming vision to appear before me, and so suddenly!”

These words, uttered with the greatest feeling, made an impression upon the stranger, quite different from that Herr von Heigendorf could have anticipated. His pretending not to have expected her, when Fräulein Waller had just assured her of the reverse, excited her indignation, which his rather extravagant compliment only increased. She abhorred nothing more than an untruth,—in her life, she had never told one, never used even an equivocation.

For the first time, she looked him full in the face. “You did expect me,” she said; “the lady who was here just now told me so, but she meant to deceive me, and it was unpardonable in her, that you too, sir, could try to deceive me! it is too cruel,—it is one of the most painful experiences of my life.”

“I don’t understand a word you are saying!” cried the Baron impatiently, “I assure you your presence here is wholly unlooked for. I have expected no one but a young person from G—.”

“A young person?”

“Yes, the brother of a dear departed friend of mine, he is coming to me for help.”

“Ah!” exclaimed Fräulein Kruger, in great surprise, at the

same time putting the light, she had been holding, upon the table; then, with a look in which mingled fear and anger had given place to a happier expression, she turned again to the Baron, "You have been expecting a young man then?" she said with a smile, "Exactly, it was on that young person's account that I came."

"On Herr Kruger's account? Have no anxiety about him, I will do my best to get him a tutorship; he seems to be an old-fashioned sort of a fellow, a dry, dusty bookworm, I imagine. He must be a downright pedant, begging your pardon if he is a relative of yours."

"I am his nearest relative," the young lady quietly replied. In fact, she was greatly relieved. This gentleman, who looked so kindly and so honestly into her face, was now completely justified in her eyes. She had not been mistaken in him. He had taken her for a "young person." She was inclined to believe that it was the servant who had practiced a deception, and that, so good an opinion had she formed of Herr von Heigendorf, he really was a married man, after all.

"I wonder," she continued, with perfect composure, "that you are willing to receive so kindly into your house a person whom you judge, from his letter, to be an intolerable pedant. I myself ought to leave this house as quickly as possible, since a knowledge of the classics is so odious here."

"You understand Latin then?" exclaimed the Baron in surprise.

"A little Greek even," said the young lady with a laugh.

"I must confess my astonishment, even at the risk of giving offence,—but pray, let me relieve you of this bag." He took the bag from her arm, and laid it aside, "Sit down," he added, "you surely will not be so unkind as not to partake of the supper which I see was prepared for you."

"Herr Baron," said Fräulein Kruger very gravely, "I know it is not proper for a young girl to stay in the house of an unmarried man, though he were a friend of her brother's! I was, as you saw, just about to leave. You have, however, relieved me from the distrust which I felt, and your word will decide whether I shall go or stay. Herr von Heigendorf! Fräulein Waller told me you were married, and your servant declared you were not; which am I to believe? Are you, or are you not, married?"

The Baron listened to her with an embarrassed air. That she

should leave the house was not to be thought of. And yet if he told her the truth, she would certainly go, dark as it was, and although the village inn was nearly a mile off. Accordingly, with a guilty feeling and a hesitating tone and downcast eyes, he said: "Well, Fräulein, to confess the truth,—yes,—I am married."

Looking at him a little doubtfully, and half unconsciously taking his arm, she suffered herself to be led to the table, only remarking "Fräulein Waller will join us?"

He rang the bell and bade the servant who entered place a cover for Fräulein Waller, and request her presence. He then gave himself very busily to his duties as host. He inquired, with evident surprise, how it was possible, with her household occupations and her various amusements, balls, concerts and the theatre, she could study Latin and Greek, requiring, as they did, so much time.

"You will think very little of me," said the young girl in reply, "when I tell you I know nothing of the things you mention. I have never been to the theatre, nor to a concert, nor a ball in all my life. I do not even know how to dance. I used to romp round with my brother sometimes, and my poor, dear father called it waltzing—those were all the dancing steps my feet ever practiced—it was great fun,—I thought it. But if I chose to study Latin, I might please myself, might I not?"

"How you shame our young girls!" replied the Baron, quite in a rapture, "they can, to be sure, sew and embroider—"

"Ah! you think then," the young girl interrupted him, "just as Fräulein Waller did, that I don't know how to sew? Do I look so stupid then? Wait till to-morrow, and I will show you and madame a piece of work of mine that you cannot but admire—my aunt said it might be a model for—"

"Do you know what I say?" the Baron interposed.

"What?"

"That you are a model of all excellence."

II.

In this pleasant chat, the interest of which increased for both of them moment by moment, Herr von Heigendorf and Fräulein C. Kruger were on the high way to forget all the world. He gazed with growing admiration upon his lovely *vis-à-vis*, and she recog-

nized in him the ideal she had formed from his letters, of her brother's friend. She felt herself fortunate in having his friendly sympathy; but their happiness was vexatiously interrupted.

A half hour or so had passed, when the door was suddenly thrown open, and the servant announced Count von Elsam, and a gentleman in an elegant travelling dress, with all the appearance of high fashion, came rushing in.

"Beautiful sight!" he cried, fixing his eye-glass to his eye, "What a touching picture of domestic bliss! Cousin Heigendorf, I congratulate you!"

"Is it you, Werner!" said the Baron, starting to his feet in surprise, "for Heaven's sake, what brings you here?"

"What brings me here? A queer question, that! I came to see you in your happiness—only reached home yesterday, after a three month's absence, and I come without losing a moment, to offer you my congratulations, and, in all honesty, to pay you my bet."

"You're in a prodigious hurry," said the Baron, feeling very uncomfortably. "This tiresome cousin of mine," he thought to himself, "could not have come at a worse time."

"Present me, I entreat, to your wife," cried Herr von Elsam, approaching the lady.

The Baron caught hold of his arm.

"What is it?" said Von Elsam, "first of all, I must make the acquaintance of my charming cousin, and if you will not present me, I must present myself—Dear lady, you see in me, Count von Elsam, the most faithful and devoted of your cousins, and the first victim of your conjugal felicity."

The Baron hastened to relieve his unwelcome visitor of his hat, but the latter, declining the service, turned and laid his hat on a side table, giving his host just a moment to whisper to the young girl, "I beseech you, for mercy's sake, don't undeceive him, don't contradict him, or we shall never be rid of him,—I'll soon send him away."

Fräulein Kruger was utterly bewildered, but before she could reply to these words, whispered in the most imploring tone, the cousin was again at the table, exclaiming, "I really believe you are whispering to your wife how she shall answer me! As if I could not see in those bright eyes that she needs no prompting! Don't

let yourself be tyrannized over, my fair cousin, please give me a kind word."

"But your first word to me," said the young girl, hardly knowing what she said in her embarrassment, "was a word of reproach."

"I said I was your victim, did I? I am so,—it is true—I made a bet with my cousin here that he would never be married—your conjugal happiness costs me quite a sum."

"I am very sorry for that, but who can predict whether my conjugal fortune will be worth so much?" said Fräulein Kruger, with a faint smile.

"Your wife is divine!" cried Von Elsam in a rapture, taking the place at the table intended for Fräulein Waller, "here at last is a young wife who does not worship her husband! Do you hear?—she doubts whether you are worth our bet!"

"Not I, but her conjugal happiness," said the Baron, with a forced smile.

"You are right, Herr von Heigendorf," said Fräulein Kruger, "I did not mean you, but my own fate in marriage."

"You are French, then?" said the Count, "you address your husband as Herr von Heigendorf?"

"Herr von Heigendorf does not address me by my Christian name," replied the young girl roguishly.

"Does n't he? Now that's what I call distinguished manners," rejoined Von Elsam, "but you are quite right, my lovely cousin, we men must not be treated with too much deference—we must be kept at a distance, or we become impolite."

"It was, then, not to grow impolite that you have never married?" asked Fräulein Kruger.

"I revere you," replied the Count; "you are the first lady who has discovered the reason why I am not married—permit me to kiss your hand—you need not be jealous, Carl,—it is only the homage I pay to your wife's intellect. All other women charge my not marrying to a lack of admiration for the fair sex, whereas, it is just because I admire them and mean to admire them forever; and this is only possible at a distance."

"But you are growing ungallant," observed the lady, amused at the chatter of the ready-tongued Count.

"Ungallant! What an accusation! What, my fair cousin, you who understand me at once and so well—I only try to keep at a

proper distance. Angels like you never should be exposed to hourly observation."

The young girl answered with a smile and a Latin quotation.

"You know Latin, madame!" cried Von Elsam. "O, you are too young and handsome for that—that is allowable only to women who, according to my Lord Chesterfield, do not belong to the female sex, that is, the homely ones."

"There you are wrong," said the Baron. "In the young and beautiful it is sure to be irresistible."

"Yes, for you book men! But tell me, Carl, honestly, what was it that first made you fall in love with your wife?"

"The first thing that made me fall in love with her," said the Baron, with passionate earnestness, "was, of course, her exquisite beauty, and then—and this it was that bound me to her forever,—was her classical education."

"You compliment me," said the young girl coldly, but changing color, "compliments are inadmissible from married men."

"From a man just married—why not? How should I speak but as the heart prompts?" said the Baron, in the same ardent manner, his sparkling eyes seeking hers.

"But, truly now, how long have you been married?" inquired the Count.

"To me," said the Baron, "it seems about half an hour."

"And how does it seem to you, my lovely cousin?"

"Come, now, you are becoming too inquisitive," interposed the Baron, "tell us something about your travels."

"About my travels? Shall I describe to you, fair cousin, the latest Parisian fashions?"

"There, I fear, my imagination would hardly be able to follow you," answered the girl, with a forced smile, apparently losing all self-possession, "Parisian fashions are things quite out of my sphere."

"Matters of dress out of your sphere! Really, now, I know not whether most to admire you, or to congratulate my cousin for having found a wife whose whole heart is not given to fashion. Indeed, Carl, you have found a very pattern of a wife."

"That's a fact—a rare pattern I have found—you are right there," said Herr von Heigendorf, with a sigh and a glance at the young girl, before which she cast down her eyes with a blush.

"But," said Von Elsam, not heeding her confusion, "I hope

your want of interest in such matters does not go so far as to prevent your acceptance of a trifling contribution to your toilette, which, I pray you, permit me to lay at your feet as a wedding gift, a simple coral bracelet, which I have brought for my new cousin—I'll go and get it—it's in my trunk—stay, stay here, Carl, Fräulein Waller will tell me where my trunk is. Excuse me, just for one moment."

He had already sprung up, and, declining to be accompanied by the master of the house, he hastened from the room.

Fräulein Kruger now rose from her seat. "Herr Baron," said she, coldly and sternly, "I cannot any longer suffer this jest to go on,—it has already gone too far."

"But for Heaven's sake! You see what he is, this chatter-box of a cousin. You will expose me to his ridicule; he will make a story of it, and tell it all around, and I shall never hear the end of it. I implore you only for this evening—."

The Baron was in despair.

But it did not move the young girl in the least. "You at least understand," she said, "that I cannot accept a gift intended for your wife."

"O, if the miserable fellow had only never thought of such a thing! What *is* to be done?—just let me think—."

"No, No!" she said, "not for another moment—."

"You are angry with me! I have offended you—."

"You have indeed offended me."

"O Heavens! I am frantic—what shall I do?—have pity on me! you do not know how your words wound me!"

"But you persist in offending me while you talk in this way—it ill agrees with your bidding me confide in your friendship—it offends me deeply."

"It offends you? Does it offend you when I am trying to make you understand how you have taken possession of my whole soul? Never, never in my life have I felt such a fervent affection as fires my whole being at this hour!

"Herr Baron! You insult—you shock me!" said the girl, her fine brows knit in indignation, "Let me retire—you will not be so discourteous as to disregard the rights of hospitality which I may claim under your roof—to-morrow, you will present me to your wife—your wife! what will she think of me? and then you will suffer me to depart."

"My wife!" cried the Baron, distracted as he saw the young girl's eyes filled with tears—"my wife," he repeated, "O yes! I had forgotten—entirely forgotten—forgive me! I must indeed seem discourteous, and worse, to speak thus to an unprotected girl in my own house—but how can I let you know that I am more innocent than you suppose, in thus avowing the attachment with which you have inspired me—there is nothing to be done, but to confess the truth—but if I tell you the truth, you threaten to leave the house, and on this dark night—what shall I do? I must have a wife in order to keep you here, and yet I have no wife."

"You have no wife!"

"Fräulein," said the Baron, seizing her hand, "to keep you from going away in this dark night, I have told you a falsehood, the first in my whole life, but it may be made a truth, if you will only help me—I told you I was married, but I am not, and never shall be without your aid—I have no wife, but I have found a dear creature, who can and will be my wife, if I am not to be proved a liar, if I am not to be eternally miserable. And I will present you to her now, on the spot, before this hateful cousin comes with his wretched bracelet and his cursed bet, and overwhelms me with his ridicule—you were so good to me, such an angel up to this moment—O, continue to be so,—look here, here is my lady wife!"

And with this he drew her in front of the mirror in the room.

During all his passionate speech, the Fräulein had gazed at him, lost in amazement. When she suddenly found herself standing before the mirror and saw herself reflected therein, she uttered a suppressed cry and hid her face in her hands.

The Baron knelt before her. "One word in mercy, darling wife!" he whispered breathlessly.

She stood motionless. As he rose to his feet and was about to seize her hand, she recoiled from him and retreated to the opposite side of the room, to one of the windows, pressing her forehead against the pane and peering out into the darkness.

"Gracious Heaven!" said the Baron to himself, "what have I done?—she is angry—she rejects my love—she will rush away, out into the night!" He approached her. "I have distressed you," he said, sorrowfully, "and now you are right to be angry with me, —I have been too violent, too precipitate; I should have considered that a treasure, like your heart, is not to be won but by a long,

faithful wooing ; that the man who aspires to your hand must give proof of his worth and his devotion ;—forgive me,—do not plunge me into misery unspeakable by robbing me of all hope.”

The girl turned tenderly to him, smiling through her tears. Her lips were parted to speak, when the door flew open, and the Count stormed into the saloon.

The Baron stamped on the floor, in his vexation : “ The devil take you and your wedding gifts !” he cried, in desperation. “ Do n't you see the girl cares nothing about it ? She will have none of it.”

“ The girl !” exclaimed Von Elsam, with mouth and eyes wide open, staring in amazement.

“ Yes ! the girl, I say !—I am not married, and—

But before he could utter another word, she had stepped toward the Count, and in trembling accents, in which there was a cheering ring, she said in Latin : “ Give me the helm, it belongs to me,” and taking the *ctui* from Elsam's hand, she opened it, took out the beautiful bracelet and handed it to the Baron. Extending her arm to him, with an air of bewitching archness, “ What fault can you find with this lovely ornament ?” she said, “ Put it on the arm ”—she whispered,—“ of your wife.”

With hands trembling with delight, the Baron obeyed her bidding, while Von Elsam looked on in utter bewilderment.

“ What is it all about ?” he asked, “ you say, Carl, you have no wife, and my sweet cousin declares the contrary !”

“ I will solve the riddle for you,” replied the Baron, pressing the young girl's hand to his heart, “ the fact is, I have only this moment been betrothed.”

“ Why didn't you say so at once ?” asked Baron von Elsam.

“ Oh ! the bet, cousin, on account of the bet, you know—I was afraid you would declare off, and insist that my little wife was not yet born.”

“ Nonsense !” cried Von Elsam, “ I should be only too glad to pay the bet twice over, from pure delight over the treasure you have found.”

The Count, with his interminable chatter, was intolerable. “ I wonder he is not tired,” thought the Baron, without considering that his betrothed as well as himself had journeyed pretty far that day.

At last, Herr von Elsam expressed a desire to retire for the night.

“Now!” cried Von Heigendorf, when the door closed. Seizing the hands of the young girl and looking into her eyes, “is it possible?—is it real?—is it not a dream?”

She blushed crimson. “What must you think of me!” she stammered, “how rash I have been, allowing myself to be hurried away without reflection—but do not think less of me—I seem to have known you a good while—I have read all your letters to my dear brother. They inspired me with the greatest confidence in you.”

The Baron kissed her hand, while she added, “But that you should deceive me, you and Fräulein Waller,—it was very wrong in you.”

“What else was to be done to prevent the angel who appeared to us from spreading her wings and flying away as suddenly as she came! Forgive me.”

“Forgive you? yes, I forgive you,” she said, “for I myself have hardly done any better. I, too, have been deceitful, and now I will revenge myself for your deceit by telling you who I am.”

“I will submit to your revenge very willingly.”

“I am,” said the young girl, with comic pathos, “I am C. Kruger.”

“What revenge can there be in your bearing the name of your honored father?”

“But let me tell you, also, I am the poor book-worm, the horrible pedant—”

“For Heaven’s sake!”—

“I am the old-fashioned sort of a fellow, from whom you expected so little.”

“You! Did you write that letter? That I never dreamed; no, indeed I could not but suppose that a letter of that sort came from a man, a young man—why didn’t you sign your whole name?”

“I have been accustomed to write my father’s name, as I was his amanuensis—I dislike my own name—it is so ugly, and besides, I suppose, you could not be ignorant that my brother had a sister.”

“And what is this ugly name of your’s?”

“Christiane—can you imagine a girl’s signing herself in writing to a gentleman, Christiane Kruger?”

“No, no,” said the Baron, drawing her towards him and adding, in a whisper, “I will give it up, if you will forgive me for having

formed such a false idea of the writer of the letter, and tell me that you will prefer to sign yourself Christiane von Heigendorf."

She answered with a smile, but instantly, with a comic sigh, she exclaimed, "it is too bad—after all, we have not settled our past difficulty—where am I to go?"

"O what silly scruples!" began the Baron, but before he could utter another word, the door opened and Fräulein Waller was standing amazed on the threshold.

"Fräulein Waller, my good old friend," cried the Baron, "you come at the nick of time—come in, come in, and let me present to you my betrothed."

"Your betrothed!"

"My betrothed, Fräulein C. Kruger, very soon, as you are so anxious that I should have a wife, to be Christiane von Heigendorf."

Fräulein Waller clasped her hands in astonishment, "I cannot believe my ears," she said, "here you have been trying for years to muster up courage—and now at a single leap, as I see you, you are on the very pinnacle of happiness.

"On the Chimborazo of happiness, dear Waller," cried the Baron, with a laugh.

Fräulein Waller shook hands with him, and pressed the blushing girl to her heart.

"But now," said the Baron, "my betrothed has scruples about remaining here—she can't go away—that's out of the question—where shall she stay,—I tell you what—suppose we go right off to the village, wake up the old parson, and let him unite us. You and Elsam can be witnesses, or, as for that matter, the coachman will do."

Fräulein Waller looked at him with wide open eyes, and then burst into a laugh. "Do you hear, my child?" she said, turning to Fräulein Kruger, "It surely will not be improper for you to be under the same roof with your betrothed when he is ill. You will stay here in this case. You see, the man is ill—very ill? Is n't it so?"

"It does seem so."

"Well then, I think you may remain quietly here. Come with me—you are my guest,—and to-morrow we will try to arrange matters."

Thus it was settled. The next day the setting sun threw its retiring beams on a happy married pair, arm in arm, quitting the church.

In this way, Herr von Heigendorf at last got him a wife. He has never repented it. Notwithstanding her knowledge of the classics, before a year was out there was no better housewife in all the country round than Christiane von Heigendorf. But then, to be sure, few have the good fortune to have such a model as Fräulein Waller.

THE FINANCIAL ADMINISTRATION OF ROBERT MORRIS. II.

[A chapter from a forthcoming "Financial History of the United States."]

CONNECTICUT sought to appropriate the revenues flowing from this source for the payment of her own obligations, which gave rise to further discussion of the measure by Congress. The state was recommended to revise her legislation and conform to the resolves of Congress, which she afterwards did. All the states complied with the recommendation without long delay, except Rhode Island, whose defence was essentially the following: The impost would draw a disproportionate supply from either merchant or consumer; she imported and consumed more foreign commodities in proportion, than any other state; her maritime situation would expose her to great losses; the exclusive benefit of the impost should be carried to the account of the state; the impost would raise prices, and therefore manufactures bought from the neighboring states would draw a revenue from Rhode Island; the duties imposed by the neighboring states might compel her to subsist by foreign articles; many would be employed in their collection; smuggling would become prevalent; and lastly, the collection might be objectionable. Morris was requested by a committee of Congress to answer these objections. To the first objection he replied that all must admit the necessity of a revenue from some source. "Is it then wise," he asks, "to raise a part of it from the consumption of foreign articles? I say the consumption, because

the tax undoubtedly falls on the consumer and not on the importer. If this be not a wise tax, what shall we substitute? Articles of primary and immediate necessity are made in the state of Rhode Island. Both food and raiment can be had without crossing the Atlantic in search of them. Every man, therefore, is at liberty to use foreign articles or not. If he does use them the tax is voluntary, and therefore cannot be considered disproportionate, any more than for one to wear silk while another wears wool." The truth of the second objection was denied, and in respect to the third, he thought New York had suffered as much and as long as Rhode Island, and that her advantageous maritime position could not be adduced as a plea for exempting her from bearing public burdens. That an import duty should be carried to the account of the state collecting it, Morris declared was a "position unjust in itself," and "would forever prevent any duties." "Rhode Island, Pennsylvania and some other states carry on the commerce of their neighbors as well as their own, from which they derive great riches. If, then, a considerable duty were laid by the commercial state, it would fall on its uncommercial neighbor." What, then, would happen? Morris answers: "The neighbor would immediately take measures to carry on its own commerce, and prohibit the bringing of articles from the commercial state." Such measures, he affirms, would cause a repeal of the duty. Concerning the fifth objection, he could hardly suppose the neighboring states would ever think of laying duties on produce, and if they should lay them, their own citizens would be the worst sufferers. Concerning the next objection, if the article of produce were left uncontrolled by the government, every individual would be a check on the avidity of his neighbors, and if by this means a piece of American goods could be vended cheaper in Rhode Island than a piece of foreign goods, the consumer there by the purchase of it would save money to himself and therefore, to the country. Morris thought the objection concerning the number employed to collect duties would apply more strongly to almost any other kind of tax; nor did he believe that smuggling would become a practice, because, if any person were so inclined, detection would be easy; moreover, there was no reason for supposing that Congress would devise means for oppressing their fellow-citizens. Such, in brief, was Morris's answer, which seemed conclusive, but Rhode Island refused to yield, and so this well devised and practicable scheme came to naught.

Morris clearly perceived the weakness of the Articles of Confederation, from their lack of obligatory and coercive power over the states. Writing to Greene soon after Rhode Island's refusal to consent to a federal collection of taxes on imports, he says, with reference to the states, "At present they content themselves with the assertion, that each has done most, and that the people are not able to pay taxes. Languor and in exertion are the offspring of the doctrine, and, finally, the people who are said to be incapable of bearing taxation, actually pay double the sum that would be necessary in the first instance. Nothing on my part has been omitted that I could think of, to stimulate them to exertion, and I have given them every encouragement to support my arrangements, that could be derived from regularity, system and economy; but all this does not produce the effect it ought; there are in every legislature, characters too full of local attachments and views to permit sufficient attention to the general interest."

In no way did the genius of Morris shine more brilliantly than in reducing the expenses of the government. The economies introduced by him were very numerous; he totally destroyed the old system of granting specific supplies and giving certificates therefor; he vainly but persistently tried to close the loan-offices and settle the accounts of the states, besides abolishing numerous offices and executing other sweeping reforms, which provoked to wrath many who impugned his motives and condemned his policy. His dealings with Pickering show how keenly Morris watched the business of his department. Pickering was quartermaster-general of the army, and Morris supplied him by weight with gold coins from the bank at Philadelphia. As they were severally heavier than required by law for their current value, and in paying them by tale the public would lose the excess of weight, to prevent this, the financier, as Morris was often called, required Pickering to reduce the coins to the standard weight by clipping them, which was to be done by himself, or at his expense. Of course, no wrong to the public was designed, yet Pickering regarded it as "harmful business," from which he would have gladly escaped. Mr. Hogdon, an officer in the ordinance department, wrote him, "The financier will not permit the continent to be a loser by the gold," continuing with instructions on the mode of clipping, to which he added the significant fact, "The matter should be kept a secret, as the

army, not acquainted with the circumstances, might suspect fraudulent intentions." To which Pickering replied, "Tis a shameful business, and an unreasonable hardship on a public officer." Notwithstanding the exercise of considerable care, Pickering was obliged to send gold to Philadelphia on his own account, to reimburse the bank for the losses incurred through his imperfect clipping of the coins.

It would require considerable space to enumerate all the abuses which Morris discovered and corrected. In a single day were brushed off one hundred and forty-six supernumerary officers, who, for a long period, had been sucking the vital blood of the nation. Expenses were greatly reduced in the quartermaster's, commissaries' of provisions, and military stores, in the hospital, and in every department. It is related that an annual estimate of one hundred and forty tons of hay for a certain point was presented to him for examination. He reduced the estimate to twelve tons, and even this quantity proved an abundant supply, although the post was fully and as usefully occupied as it had been during any preceding period.

It was too much for human nature to leave Morris wholly free from accusation and censure. Strongly entrenched as he was in the confidence of Congress, his assailants outside were numerous and malignant. Some of the charges against him were, on one occasion, briefly noticed, and it may be worth while to lay them before the reader. He was charged with robbing the Eastern states of their specie; with showing partiality towards the disaffected, and towards Pennsylvania, also, because of his numerous commercial relations with the merchants of Philadelphia; with establishing a bank from sinister motives; with forming a league with Pennsylvania to keep Virginia poor; and lastly, in company with the secretary of congress and another person, with engaging in speculation. The first charge was very easily answered, since he had received, at the time these charges were made, "from the Eastern states, any more than from the Southern states, not one shilling of specie." The charge of partiality towards Pennsylvania was very assiduously circulated; and Morris himself says, "It gained an extensive currency." He supposed the charge sprang from the fact of his residence in that state, as there was no other basis for it; while his partiality towards the disaffected "was among

those threadbare topics of defamation, which have been so generally applied, that they have lost their effect." He confessed to establishing the bank, defended the act as wise, and declared the institution would "exist in spite of calumny, operate in spite of opposition, and do good in spite of malevolence." That Pennsylvania should desire to keep Virginia poor, he thought was "a strange assertion." He believed that Pennsylvania would be rich, as the soil and climate were good, and the people quiet and industrious. Their rulers, also, were sensible of their true interests. 'They encouraged commerce, have laid aside all the idle systems of specific supplies, and content themselves with laying monied taxes. On the other hand, if Virginia, or any other state be poor, it must be their own fault. Prudence, diligence and economy, promote national prosperity; and vice, indolence and prodigality involve national ruin. I am so far from wishing to impoverish Virginia, that I have constantly labored, both in my public and private applications, to bring about those measures which are calculated to make her wealthy and powerful." In respect to the charge of speculating, it was "one of those foolish things which are not worth answer." In such a spirit and manner did Morris answer these charges. Had not the design in making them been to involve the national interests committed to him, rather than to injure himself merely, he assures one of his correspondents, that he would not have answered them. It is highly probable that the public interests were not injured in consequence of them, for surely they were too unsubstantial to shake any one's confidence in Morris's ability or integrity.

. One of the most interesting incidents in Morris's administration related to the coinage. Having been instructed to report a table of rates at which foreign coins should circulate in the United States, he improved the opportunity to set forth reasons for establishing a uniform coinage throughout the country. He said the ideas annexed to a pound, a shilling, and a penny, which were the several kinds of money then current, were almost as various as the states themselves. Calculations were as necessary for inland, as for foreign commerce. The commonest transactions grew intricate when money entered into them. "A farmer in New Hampshire, for instance, can readily form an idea of a bushel of wheat in South Carolina, weighing sixty pounds, and placed at one hundred miles

from Charleston; but, if he were told that in such situation it is worth twenty-one shillings and eight pence, he would be obliged to make many inquiries, and form some calculations before he could know that this sum meant in general what he would call four shillings; and even then he would have to inquire what kind of coin that four shillings was paid in, before he could estimate it in his own mind, according to the ideas of money, which he had imbibed." Surely, there was need for establishing a uniform currency, when such money was in use. The need was not less pressing for providing money which could be employed as a just legal tender.

The reasons for using both gold and silver were next considered. Morris favored the adoption of a single silver standard. The expense of coining, he maintained, ought to be defrayed by the people. In order to coin money which should be perfectly intelligible to the whole people, it was necessary to preserve an affinity to their former currency. "The purposes of commerce require that the lowest divisible point of money, or what is more properly called the money unit, should be very small, because by that means prices can be brought in the smallest things to bear a proportion to their value. And although it is not absolutely, yet it is very desirable that money should be increased in decimal ratio, because by that means all calculations of interest, exchange, insurance, and the like, are rendered much more simple and accurate, and, of course, more within the power of the great mass of the people;" to which he added the very truthful observation, "Whenever such things require much labor, time, and reflection, the greater number who do not know are made the dupes of the smaller number who do."

The values of all coins circulating in America, from time to time, had changed, and now, when Morris was considering the subject of coinage, there was no general standard, unless it was the Spanish dollar. It passed in Georgia at five shillings, in North Carolina and New York at eight shillings, in Virginia and the four Eastern states at six shillings, and in all the other states except South Carolina, at seven shillings and six pence, and in South Carolina at thirty-two shillings and six pence. The money unit of a new coin which should agree, without a fraction, with all these different values of a dollar, except the last, would be the fourteen

hundred and fortieth part of a dollar. Of these units, twenty-four would be equal to a penny of Georgia, fifteen a penny of North Carolina and New York, twenty a penny of Virginia and the four Eastern states, sixteen a penny of all the other states except South Carolina, where thirteen pence would be equal to forty-eight of the proposed coinage.

Morris observed that it was not necessary to represent the money unit by a coin; it would be sufficient to ascertain its precise value. "On the present occasion, two copper coins will be proper, the one of eight units and the other of five. These may be called an Eight and a Five. Two of the former will make a penny Proclamation, or Pennsylvania money, and three a penny Georgia money. Of the latter, three will make a penny New York money, and four a penny lawful, or Virginia money. The money unit will be equal to a quarter of a grain of fine silver in coined money. Proceeding thence, in a decimal ratio, one hundred would be the lowest silver coin, and might be called a *Cent*. It would contain twenty-five grains of fine silver, to which may be added two grains of copper, and the whole would weigh one pennyweight and three grains. Five of these would make a *Quint*, or five hundred units; and ten a *Mark*, or one thousand units. Having established such a coin, the value of all others could be easily ascertained by assaying them at the mint."

His plan evinced a mastery of the subject. He dugged to the bottom, and built on the true principle, a decimal coinage. He was profoundly clear in devising a money unit which should disturb but slightly all former modes of valuation. Congress took no action until the next year, when the subject was discussed and referred to a committee of which Jefferson was a member. He declared that "the general views of the financier were sound, and the principle was ingenious on which he proposed to found his unit, but it was too minute for ordinary use, too laborious for computation, either by the head or in figures." Jefferson proposed, therefore, to adopt the dollar as a unit of account and payment, and that its divisions and sub-divisions should be in the decimal ratio. He prepared some observations on the subject, for the consideration of Morris. The financier replied, still adhering to his scheme, "only agreeing to take for his unit one hundred of those he first proposed. To Morris's communication Jefferson wrote an answer,

which he printed together with his notes which were first sent to Morris, and gave copies thereof to members of Congress. The committee were persuaded to support Jefferson's views; and the next year his system, as he called it, was adopted by Congress. It is essentially the same system as the one now in use. Jefferson claimed too much credit in devising the plan, for though it differed in some respects from that proposed by Morris, the main outlines were the same, and these the financier had sketched. Morris's system was improved by Jefferson, but it cannot truthfully be said of him that he originated one.

As Morris's ability to provide means for carrying on the government became more manifest, new burdens were imposed upon him. He was directed, not only to procure supplies for the army and navy, to provide for the transportation of the former, and to launch and equip ships for the latter, but also to act as agent of marine, to employ a packet which should serve between America and Europe, and to do many other difficult things outside the sphere of his office.

The reduction of all indebtedness to a specie valuation was inaugurated as one of the features of the financial policy of the government in 1780. Once a month the depreciation of the currency was ascertained by the Board of Treasury, and payment was made by the scale of depreciation thus established. Morris was unceasing in his efforts to settle the multitudinous obligations of the government; and Congress was constantly passing resolves concerning them. To many obviously just claims, a great variety of irregularities attached, which could be remedied only by congressional intervention.

The Board of Treasury continued to share in the administration of the finances until Morris was able to dispense with the body altogether, an event which occurred on the 20th of September, 1781. In place of the board, besides Morris, were a controller, treasurer, register, auditors and clerks. The controller inspected and superintended the settlement of accounts, and it was his duty to see that they were expeditiously and properly adjusted and safely kept. He was also vested with authority to hear the appeals of persons aggrieved by the judgment of the auditor. The treasurer rendered quarterly accounts to the controller; and every warrant "on the treasury or others" was entered and countersigned before making payment.

Again were the states asked for 8,000,000 dollars, payable in quarterly payments. Notwithstanding the smallness of this requisition, compared with many former ones, Morris did not indulge the vain hope of receiving ever so moderate a sum from the states. "The great arrearage of unfunded debt, the cumbrous load of useless paper, the multiplied mass of certificates, the distracted situation of the more southern states, the ravages which have been in them, the total loss of their commerce, the real want of coin in many states, and the equal want of system in all ;—these, sir," he wrote in a letter to Franklin, "are circumstances, which forbid the most sanguine temper to expect a compliance." He assured Franklin that he should get what he could, making compositions whenever these were necessary, besides taking provisions in lieu of money, and resorting to other similar expedients. The states were recommended to lay taxes for the collection of this sum, instead of mingling them with the taxes laid for state purposes, and to pass acts directing the collector to pay the same to the commissioners of the loan-offices, or to any other persons appointed by the Superintendent of Finance. This requisition encountered opposition from New Hampshire. This state claimed to have only 82,000 inhabitants, but the apportionment was based on a higher estimate. By the articles of confederation, the value of the lands in each state was to form the basis for apportioning the public burdens,—a far more equitable basis than that of population. Congress, however, had been unable to ascertain the value of these, so it was obliged to resort to the old expedient in apportioning this new assessment and base it on population. The claim of New Hampshire was heard by Congress, but the apportionment was not altered, because, while the census of population taken by the state was regarded as probably correct, the estimates of population in other states were, perhaps, as inaccurate, and therefore it was not clear that New Hampshire would suffer any wrong if the apportionment remained as originally fixed. All assessments, however, were to be adjusted at a future date upon a fair basis, and consequently New Hampshire would certainly not be a loser in the end. Other states reiterated the complaint, and justified themselves in not contributing, on similar grounds.

Morris was requested to furnish a statement of the public indebtedness to the close of the year 1781, and also to prepare one semi-

annually of "all moneys borrowed and bills emitted during such periods," for the purpose more especially of transmitting copies thereof to the states, as required by the articles of confederation. Requiring prompt statements and settlements of persons entrusted with the public funds, he was not less exact and punctual in rendering his own account to the government. How different, indeed, was his conduct from that of the Treasury Board, who never rendered only partial accounts to Congress. It was in obedience to this request, probably, that Morris sent a statement, accompanied with a letter addressed to the President of Congress, on the 23d of May, in which he remarked that it would be perceived that every sou which the government could command during the year 1782 had been already anticipated.

The condition of the treasury was extremely critical. "The habitual inattention of the states," writes Morris to the President of Congress, "has reduced us to the brink of ruin, and I cannot see a probability of relief from any of them. I rather perceive a disposition to take money from the public treasury, than to place any in it. A variety of causes prevents the collection of taxes, and delays the payment of them, even after they are collected. In many states they are not laid." Morris had prepared a circular letter to send to the governors of the states, but the condition of the finances was so plainly set forth, and revealed such nakedness and poverty, that he dared not transmit it without the advice and consent of Congress. He feared that, if the communication were sent, and it fell into improper hands, "the most dangerous consequences" would follow. The situation was truly startling, as disclosed in this communication; for he says, "the public departments are now absolutely at a stand for the want of money, and many things already commenced I must desist from. This cannot be wondered at, when it is considered that near five months of the present year have elapsed without my having received anything on account of its expenditures except the trifling sum of five thousand five hundred dollars, and that sum, calculating on expenses at eight millions annually, is about one-fourth of what is necessary to support us for a single day."

Notwithstanding the emptiness of the treasury, the states contributed very feebly towards replenishing it. Taxes, it is true, were laid, and considerable sums were paid to the states. Picker-

ing, writing to his brother, from Verplanck's Point, says, "I was astonished at the enormous amount of our taxes which you paid the last year. If all states paid in the like proportion, instead of eight millions of dollars, the taxes would reach to as many pounds, besides the internal taxes of each state. Everybody, go where I will, is complaining of the heavy taxes; yet those paid the United States are to the last degree insignificant." Not infrequently their collection was postponed, and, whatever happened, the treasury did not get much from the chief source whence aid should have come. Some believed that taxes could not be raised from lack of specie; yet, as Morris wrote to the Governor of Maryland, nothing could be more unfounded. "If the people be put in the necessity of procuring specie they will procure it. They can if they will. Tobacco may not sell at one moment, grain at another, or cattle at a third; but there are some articles, such as horses, which will sell at all times. The mischief is, that when a purchaser offers, the party, not being under a necessity of selling, insists on a higher price than the other can afford to give. Thus the commerce is turned away to another quarter. Nothing but the necessity of getting money will bring men, in general, to lower their prices. When this is done, purchasers will offer in abundance, and thus it will be found, that the tax, instead of lessening, will increase the quantity of specie. But so long as the want of it can be pleaded successfully against taxes, so long that want will continue."

While taxes were thus very tardily collected, and loans were small and infrequent, there were those who did not countenance the policy of sustaining the government by means of loans. It was a new financial expedient comparatively in the history of nations. One of Gerry's correspondents did not believe in issuing bills of credit, and condemned the negotiation of loan office certificates, because they produced the same effect upon the currency as the creation of additional issues. A petition of remonstrance was sent to Congress against contracting more loans, which was referred to Morris, who subsequently made an elaborate answer to it. It may be superfluous to add that his views concerning the policy of negotiating loans were very unlike the ideas entertained by the petitioners.

As the income of the government diminished, Morris was obliged to reduce expenditures and withdraw support from many

persons and objects justly requiring it. Inspectors of the army were appointed, and in every branch of the service large reductions in expenditures were made. A commission was authorized to settle the accounts pending in Europe; while Morris never wavered in unravelling those at home. Several letters passed between the French minister and the financier during the earlier days of his administration, respecting the accounts between America and France, at which time Morris claimed the debt due to France to be 10,686,109 livres, while a balance almost as large remained subject to his order. An agreement fixing the amount was happily concluded, with the assistance of Franklin, in whose honesty and soundness of judgment Morris confidently relied in all foreign affairs.

In September, Congress resolved that "1,200,000 be quotaed on the states as absolutely and immediately necessary for a payment of interest of the public debt," which was to be applied in each state in payment of loan-office certificates and other obligations of the United States held there before any portion fell into the federal treasury. It was recommended to raise this sum in the old fashioned, perpetually failing way of taxes.

The income of the government shrank so heavily that Congress endeavored to throw a part of the burden of fulfilling its obligations on the states. Towards the close of 1781, the secretary of war was directed to supply North Carolina with arms and other things and charge them to that state; and not long after that event, the states were recommended "to settle and discharge on account of the United States" the depreciation of pay of certain officers who had been confined to the general hospital. Before the year closed, the states were recommended to settle with other officers and men, and to "charge the same to the United States;" and this recommendation was renewed the following year. Subsequently a resolution was introduced, asking the states to assist in paying the heavy arrears to the army, but it was not adopted.

The estimates for the year 1783 were presented early to Congress by Morris; and with some modification were adopted. He estimated the expense of the government for the year at 9,000,000 dollars, and counted on obtaining 4,000,000 from abroad, leaving 5,000,000 dollars to be raised at home. Congress added another million to the amount for the states to raise, and then made a re-

quisition for two millions as a part of the sum required for the year. This was apportioned among them in the following manner:

New Hampshire, . . . 80,000,	Delaware, . . . 28,000,
Massachusetts, . . . 320,000,	Maryland, . . . 220,000,
Rhode Island, . . . 48,000,	Virginia, . . . 290,000,
Connecticut, . . . 222,000,	North Carolina, . . . 148,000,
New York, . . . 90,000,	South Carolina, . . . 120,000,
New Jersey, . . . 110,000,	Georgia, . . . 24,000,
Pennsylvania, . . . 300,000.	

It was also "impressed on the several states as absolutely necessary to lay taxes for raising their quotas of money for the United States, separately from those laid for their own particular use." Thus, recommending gave way to impressing by Congress.

The financial prospect was not promising. Although a loan had been negotiated in Holland the previous year, only six hundred thousand dollars of it remained for paying the expenses of the ensuing year, nor was there any hope of procuring further pecuniary aid from Europe. There was no other source of revenue except taxation; only very small sums, however, were obtainable in this way. Many thought that new loans could be negotiated with foreign countries, but Morris declared the conduct of the French court on the subject to be decisive. "Some persons have, indeed, flattered themselves, that her positive declarations were merely calculated to restrain our rashness, and moderate our excess, but these ideas can no longer have a place in any sound and discerning mind. Her conduct has been consistent with her declarations, and if she had ever so much inclination to assist us with money, it is not in her power." Thus writes Morris to the president of Congress, informing him, at the same time, there "can no longer be a doubt to Congress that our public credit is gone."

Morris, seeing the disinclination of the states to pay taxes, and that foreign support was well nigh exhausted, continued to pare down the expenses of the government to the lowest possible limit. As soon as peace was declared, he favored the immediate disbanding of the army, but there was considerable opposition to the measure until the troops were paid. The arrears were heavy, notwithstanding the strenuous efforts put forth on their behalf by Morris; who, more than once, had employed his own private credit to relieve them. Congress proposed that the states should pay the

deficiency to the 1st of August, 1780, and directed the financier to take the necessary steps for effecting a settlement from that period. But the treasury was extremely low, and he assured Congress that it was impracticable to make any payment to the army unless the expenditures were "immediately and considerably reduced." He succeeded in paying them for one month's service in specie, and gave them his own note for three month's pay, payable six months from date. In six days Morris signed six thousand notes, besides transacting other business pertaining to his office. The amount of notes was 750,000 dollars, which he expected to redeem principally from the receipts of sales of public property and taxes. From time to time, numerous furloughs were granted, and the organization melted away and was absorbed without any evil consequences. Poorly paid as the troops had been, they separated not without reluctance, for they had grown old in the service, and many knew not where to go to earn a livelihood. Congress seconded the efforts of Morris to reduce expenditures in all departments, and radical retrenchment was vigorously enforced.

The public debt to the 1st of January, 1783, was 42,000,375 dollars; of which sum, 7,885,088 dollars were foreign debt; while the balance, 34,115,290 dollars, was owed at home. The amount of domestic debt, as given by Morris to the president of Congress, was 35,327,769 dollars. Of this sum, 11,463,802 dollars were loan-certificates with two years interest due thereon, which amounted to 877,828 dollars; the army debt was 635,618 dollars, while other unliquidated debts, deficiencies, etc., composed the balance, a large part of which was interest, the foreign debt drawing four and five per cent., and the domestic debt one per cent. more.

The opening of the year was signalized by Morris with overdrawing his account in France, in consequence of a miscalculation of the amount which he supposed was due the government. His explanation was satisfactory, and in a short time the error was properly adjusted.

The most important financial measure which now tasked the wisdom of Congress, related to the funding of the public debt. Morris had long before directed their attention to the matter, but '82 was closing when Congress resolved, "whenever the net produce of any funds recommended by Congress and granted by the states, for funding the debt already contracted, or for procuring

future loans for the support of the war, shall exceed the sum requisite for paying the interest of the whole amount of the national debt, which these states may owe at the termination of the present war, the surplus of such grants shall form a sinking fund, to be inviolably appropriated to the payment of the principal of said debt, and shall on no account be directed to any other purpose." This measure, however, did not go far enough. Accordingly, another bill was debated at considerable length, and on the 18th of April, Congress resolved to levy a specific tax upon spirituous liquors, tea, sugar, coffee, cocoa and molasses, and an *ad valorem* duty of five per cent. on the value of all other importations. The collectors were to be appointed by the states, and the duties, which were not collectable for a longer period than twenty-five years, were to be applied towards the discharge of the principal and interest of the public debt. One million and a half dollars were to be raised annually for this purpose; the proportions were assessed to the several states; and it was provided that if the duties collected in any state exceeded its assessment, the excess was to be refunded; and if a deficiency occurred, the balance was to be paid in cash. The revenues collected in each state were to form a separate account, and Congress hoped that this resolve would be satisfactory to Rhode Island, as it was formed with the view of meeting the principal objections urged by that state against the former resolution relating to the taxation of imports. All the delegates voted in the affirmative except the representatives of New York, who were divided, and the delegates from Rhode Island, both of whom voted no. The act, however, met the same fate as its predecessors, for Rhode Island refused to accept it, and so it never took effect. Several of the states, Connecticut, New York, Virginia and Massachusetts, ceded their claims to western territory, the income from the sale of which was set apart as a fund to pay the public debts.

Although steps had been taken to settle the accounts of the states, progress in this direction was exceedingly slow. Congress urged the states to press forward this business, and so did Morris, who was equally desirous of having the claims of persons residing in Canada, who had furnished assistance to the United States during the war, ascertained; and he recommended the appointment of a commissioner to visit that country, with power to liquidate these

obligations, and give certificates for the amount payable at some future time.

Towards the close of October, Morris reported the amount of public indebtedness. Congress was very tardy in replying to his letter asking for advice concerning the answer he should make to the farmers-general of France, who had failed to receive the interest due on their loans to the United States. Morris's communication was sent to Congress in September, but two months elapsed before a reply was received. The answer which Morris was advised to send could not have been very satisfactory to the farmers-general, but perhaps it was not unexpected, for besides setting forth the fact that Congress fully appreciated the favors received, that body promised to discharge all obligations of the government as soon as circumstances would admit.

The estimates for 1784 were not issued until the first quarter of the year had passed away ; yet there was not much reason for issuing them at all, since the states were so feeble in responding to the requisitions of Congress. The entire sum wanted was less than 6,000,000 dollars, while the amount required for maintaining the government, excluding the payment of former claims, and of the interest and principal of the public debt, fell below half a million dollars. The figures are full of interest, especially in contrast with those for maintaining the government at the present day. Thus there was wanted for

Civil Department, . .	\$107,525.33
Military Department, .	200,000.00
Marine Department, .	30,000.00
Incidental expenses, .	60,000.00
Contingencies, . . .	60,000.00
	<hr/>
	\$457,525.33

Instead of making new requisitions on the states, Congress demanded the payment of taxes due on former calls, especially the 8,000,000 assessment of 1782. Less than one-quarter thereof had been paid, and Congress asked the states to furnish one-half the amount, or 4,000,000 dollars during the year. The following table shows how the original assessment had been apportioned, and what sums the states had paid to the end of 1783 :

ASSESSMENT.	AM'T PAID.
New Hampshire, \$ 373,598	\$ 3,000.00
Massachusetts, 1,307,596	247,676.66
Rhode Island, 216,684	67,847.95
Connecticut, . . 747,196	131,577.83
New York, . . . 373,598	39,064.01
New Jersey, . . 485,679	102,004.95
Pennsylvania, . 1,120,794	346,632.98
Delaware, . . . 112,085	
Maryland, . . . 993,996	89,302.11
Virginia, . . . 1,307,594	116,103.53
North Carolina, 622,677	
South Carolina, 373,598	344,301.57
Georgia, . . . 24,905	
\$8,000,000	\$1,486,154.71

Victory was won, and peace had been declared, still the people continued not less remiss in paying taxes. All willingly admitted the necessity of taxation to a certain extent, yet, as Morris writes Franklin, each was desirous of shifting the burden from his own shoulders to those of his neighbors.

A very fair picture of the conditions of the finances at the opening of 1784 is presented in Morris's letter to Franklin, written in February. The accounts on the first of that month were thus stated :

Balance due for past services,	\$100,000
Dues for bills of exchange drawn, . . .	200,000
Due to the National Bank,	340,000
Add for contingencies,	10,000
	\$650,000

What were his expectations about paying this sum? The taxes for the last four months had slightly exceeded 200,000 dollars. Delaware, North Carolina and Georgia had paid nothing. New Hampshire, Connecticut, New York, Maryland and Virginia had paid very little in proportion to their ability. Morris expected to derive some income from the sale of confiscated lands, perhaps 250,000 dollars by the last of September, leaving 400,000 dollars,

which he hoped to obtain in the following manner: "I shall borrow immediately one hundred thousand dollars of the bank and direct purchases of tobacco and rice, partly with cash, partly on credit, and partly by bills drawn on me. By this means, I can, with that one hundred thousand dollars, have the purchases all made in March and April, so that the shipments to the required amount of two thousand dollars will take place, some in March, some in April, and all of them, I hope, by the end of May. The taxes during April and May, will pay the purchases on credit and the bills drawn on me; and the taxes in June and July will pay the hundred thousand dollars due at the bank. By the end of September, therefore, I may calculate upon a full discharge of all these debts." To what expedients was Morris obliged to resort for the purpose of getting so small a sum with which to pay the public indebtedness! With what great difficulty was even a small portion of the taxes collected; and how precarious were all the sources of revenue! Only by exercising the utmost watchfulness and vigilance were any funds obtained; a financier less fertile in expedients than Morris would have collected nothing.

Notwithstanding the poverty of the treasury, the states were literally overrun with cash; the French and English armies had brought thither large quantities, while foreign loans and trade had largely added to the stock of gold and silver. Bills on Europe were currently sold at 20 to 40 per cent. below par, a rate so favorable to the merchants that they purchased bills and remitted them to Europe in payment of imports which flowed into the country in great quantities. War-freight and insurance added very considerably to the expense of importation, yet owing to the scarcity of foreign goods, the abundance of cash, and the luxury and pride of the people, they sold rapidly and large profits were acquired.

In June, 1784, Congress passed a noteworthy act relating to the settlement of the accounts of the states. Money and supplies furnished by the United States to any state were to be charged at their just value in specie, with six per cent. interest from the date of furnishing the same until a final adjustment and payment of the account, while the same rule was to be applied in all transactions between the state and the government in which the latter was the debtor. A rule was established for charging the depreciation of bills of credit advanced by any state or person for the benefit of

the government; the kind of evidence required to establish claims against the government was prescribed, and when compensation should be allowed for the ravages of war, besides other very important regulations. Certificates bearing 6 per cent. interest were given to all creditors in payment of their claims, while those issued by any commissary or quartermaster-general were exchangeable for new ones, the same as were given to other creditors. They were worth about two shillings and six pence per pound, at which price, says Webster, their circulation "became very general."

Jefferson imagined the assistance needed by the government could be procured from the banks; like most of his ideas on finance, his plan was impracticable. Morris declared they would not grant any loans unless they could clearly see "a prospect of speedy reimbursement from the taxes," and if they were collectible, surely there was no need of asking the banks for any aid whatever.

The end of Morris's career as Superintendent of Finance was drawing near. Several months before, he had resigned, but, yielding to the earnest solicitations of Congress, he remained in office. His strict integrity, devotion to business, and constant urging of all delinquents to settle their accounts, yielded fruit both sweet and bitter; for while he enjoyed, on the one hand, the serene satisfaction which always comes from a faithful performance of duty and from the thousand good opinions of those who love their country; on the other hand, he could not escape the condemnation of those who felt the pressure of his vigorous administration. His desire to reduce expenses was inspired by the mean wish, so it was asserted, of impairing the strength and lessening the respectability of the country. His enemies accused him of speculating in the funds of the government, but he stoutly denied the charge. He was accused of ruining the public credit; but this accusation was groundless. During his administration the public finances had been much improved, and the credit of the government had been considerably strengthened.

The belief of Congress in his integrity and ability was never shaken by any reports circulated about him. A year previous to his resignation, a committee were appointed, to examine all matters concerning the administration of his office, who made a report which was entered on the journal of Congress. They declared that the business of the office had been, conducted with great

ability and assiduity, in a manner highly advantageous to the United States, and in conformity with the system established by Congress. The public accounts of receipts and expenditures had been regularly and punctually kept, which had never been done previous to his administration. Morris had settled many accounts that were several years old when he accepted office, and most all others were in course of adjustment. Many reforms also had been introduced, effecting large reductions in expense, preventing corruption, and lessening the liabilities of the government. Surely, this was commendation enough, especially from a body possessing such an exalted character.

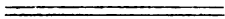
Morris's own notes, given to a large amount for the benefit of the government, were in due time redeemed; and every obligation which he had assumed was fulfilled. No person was ever more punctual or scrupulous in executing his promises than Morris; or entertained loftier ideas concerning the sacredness of public obligations. In one of his last official letters, addressed to the president of Congress, he says, "I have invariably in my official correspondence (as indeed upon every other occasion, both public and private), expressed the conviction which I feel, that, however the several states may, from a difference in local circumstances, differ in their opinions about the mode of providing for public debts, all of them will concur in the just sentiment, that these debts ought to be most punctually discharged."

The breadth and soundness of Morris's financial views were remarkable; and only one other person during this period displayed an insight in these things equally clear and deep, namely, Alexander Hamilton. In the same letter from which we have just quoted, Morris declares himself to be "grounded in the assertion" that when proper provision is made for the payment of the public debt, "the public credit of America will be the best of any in the world, that it will cost less to maintain it by us than by any other nation, and that considering the infant state of our cultivation in general and the frontiers in particular, it is of more importance to us than it can be to any other country. It is also a commercial problem, which admits of absolute demonstration, that the punctual payment of interest on all our debts will produce a clear annual gain of more than such interest can possibly amount to. So that the eternal and immutable principles of truth and justice,

being for a moment out of the question, and stifling those sentiments of humanity, which arise from a view of what the public creditors must suffer, should their dues be withheld (if, indeed, it be possible to stifle such sentiments), still it will indisputably appear to be the interest of the merchant as well as of the husbandman and mechanic, to pay their just proportions towards discharging the public engagements. For this plain and simple system of common honesty, while it invigorates the springs of our credit, strengthens also the bonds of our union, proceeding with equal motion towards the public weal and private prosperity." Thus did Morris, in his closing advice to Congress, show how harmonious were the teachings of policy and honesty in respect to one of the gravest questions of his time. Nor did he, on any other occasion during his financial career, display a less inflexible observance of the principle of honesty in all the pecuniary measures of the government.

His correspondence exhibits a remarkable mastery of every question that engaged his attention. He was no empiric, he digged deeply, and based his policy on sound principles. A practical financier, he was also familiar with the true theories of finance, and his decisions were never accidental, but always the fruit of investigation and reflection. Of course, he was the executor of the will of Congress, yet from the beginning of his financial career, he constantly kept a few great principles in sight, whose source was the unfailing spring of moral rectitude. In one of his letters to the governors of the southern states, he says, "I have no system of finance except that which results from the plain self-evident dictates of moral honesty." Taxation and economy were the two pillars supporting his financial structure, and they were as solid as the foundation on which their rested. Morris was, in truth, the peerless financier of the revolution.

ALBERT S. BOLLES.



THE GERM THEORY OF DISEASE, AND ITS PRESENT
BEARING UPON PUBLIC AND PERSONAL
HYGIENE.*

THE devastating epidemic of yellow fever, now raging in some of our Southern States, has called forth so much discussion in regard to the nature of this and kindred maladies, that few persons of culture have failed to hear, more or less, in the last six months, of the Germ Theory of Disease.

This hypothesis, of which, for more than ten years, I have been an earnest advocate, notwithstanding its unpopularity, both within and outside of the medical profession, has, in consequence of some recent discoveries, begun to be received into favor by many physicians, although many more still look upon it with distrust, if not with contempt.

Hence, without endeavoring to convert you all to a faith in the absolute truth of its tenets, I believe the time has now come for me to point out exactly what its doctrines are, to enumerate the chief facts which form their support, and to indicate the precautions which, if we admit it is probably true, wisdom enjoins upon us towards preventing the propagation and spread of disease.

In order to render myself clearly understood, I will begin by explaining, in the first place, that the Germ Theory of Disease, which was propounded by the celebrated Linnæus more than a century ago, but has since been somewhat modified by its successive advocates, professes to account for the phenomena of small-pox, typhoid fever, yellow fever, relapsing fever, measles, scarlatina, diphtheria, chicken-pox, erysipelas, etc., by attributing them to the more or less mechanical irritation and other disturbances set up by masses of spores and mycelial threads developing in the blood and in the affected tissues. The period of incubation (by which is meant the time between exposure to small-pox, for example, and the development of the complaint), is supposed to correspond with that required for the germination of these spores. The gradual increment of the symptoms is attributed to the progressive growth of the millions of minute fungoid plants whose period of greatest

*A Paper read before the Philadelphia Social Science Association, October 17th, 1878.

luxuriance marks the acme of the attack, and the death and destruction of which correspond to the decline of the disease. The contagiousness of the communicable maladies is accounted for, as you see, very beautifully by the existence of the immense number of spores (the true seeds of disease) constantly produced, evolved from the affected individual, and carried through the air of a room or house, either alone or attached to some of the innumerable epithelial cells, which are constantly being rubbed off by millions from the surface of our bodies. The general absence of second attacks is admirably explained by the hypothesis that the parasitic fungus, on the first occasion, has exhausted all, or nearly all, of some peculiar (unknown) organic ingredient in our bodies, which is absolutely requisite for its support, according to the very same law that will cause, as every farmer knows, his wheat to fail if he plants it repeatedly in the same ground and neglects to secure a due rotation of crops.

At the outset of my plea in favor of this doctrine, let me say that, in spite of the bold assertions of certain enthusiasts and savants, with whom zeal outruns knowledge, no really skilful microscopist will at present maintain that minute vegetable organisms, found in connection with contagious maladies, are as yet proved to have any definite relation to them as causes of disease.

Nevertheless, the presumption that such causal relation does exist, is, in my opinion, so strong that I intend to ask you to accept my judgment that it will be demonstrated in the near future, and I therefore seek, in this address, to popularize the conception that contagious diseases are conveyed from one person to another by the transplanting of microscopically visible spores, or seeds, which have a separate vitality of their own, each after its kind, and which are to be escaped, just as we would escape hordes of animal, or swarms of insect pests, by shutting them out or killing them before they can succeed in fastening upon our bodies.

I urge upon you, gentlemen, and upon the community at large, such a practical recognition of this theory now, because I believe that before many years it will be, with perhaps slight modifications, fully and amply demonstrated from microscopical and clinical research, and all true philanthropists must, it seems to me, desire that humanity should benefit by this knowledge, even at the present hour, although the conservative opponents of the Germ

Theory, whilst evidently wavering in their defense, are not yet driven into the last ditch on this side of complete surrender.

I believe, as I wrote some years since, in regard to Favus, a parasitic skin disease of children, (*Hand-book of Medical Microscopy*, Philadelphia, 1871, p. 252,) "We see to-day the same old battle fought (now in regard to small-pox, diphtheria and their congeners), which, fifty years ago, was so strenuously contested by Biett and Morgagni, on the one hand, and the microscopists on the other, in relation to scabies, or the itch, at present universally admitted to be due to a minute insect, the *Acarus Scabiei*; and to the student of human nature it is a most interesting confirmation of the wise king's dictum, "There is no new thing under the sun," to observe how the same doubts, followed by the same objections, were urged against the parasitic character of the itch that are now put forward in opposition to the vegetable nature of the cause of ring-worm or favus. Thus, Biett, Cazenave, Lugol, etc., denied then, that, even with the aid of microscopes of high power, any insect whatever could be discovered. When, by a succession of lucky accidents, so many observers blundered into seeing the insect, that this position was no longer tenable, opponents to the parasitic theory changed their base of operations, and admitting the occasional existence of the *acarus*, stoutly maintained that, instead of being the cause of scabies, it was a secretory product of that affection, and by no means a constant one. Finally, when *proof* that the whole disease could arise from the deposit of a single itch insect upon the skin of a previously healthy person, became incontestable, the anti-microscopists took refuge in the assertion that in such cases "the insect, taken from the scabious vesicle, *being charged with the virus, the fluid of the vesicle*, by penetration of the cuticle inserted this virus and produced the disease," as the inoculation of cow-pox is accomplished.

One of the strongest arguments against the doctrine that living germs can enter human organisms from the alimentary canal, is that derived from the *a priori* probability that the solvent action of the gastric and intestinal juices must destroy all vitality in the microscopic organisms which on this hypothesis constituted the morbid matter, the *contagium vivum* of disease. A fundamental step towards establishing the Germ Theory, therefore, was manifestly that of proving that Bacteria, or analagous low forms of life,

could penetrate from the stomach to the blood, to be thereby carried into all parts of the system, and this, I was, I believe, the first to demonstrate. My observations were detailed in the *American Journal of the Medical Sciences* for July, 1868, from which I extract the following as the most important :

Experiment 4th. At 7.45 P. M., May 17th, 1868, I drank four fluid ounces of water, similar to that employed in the preceding investigations and containing multitudes of Bacteria, estimated as numbering 27,000,000,000. At a quarter past eight, I examined a drop of blood drawn with the aid of a cataract needle from the tip of my finger and confined between a slide and cover cleaned with strong hydrochloric acid. Under the field of the one-twenty-fifth inch objective, the interspaces between the rows of blood corpuscles were found to contain multitudes of apparently spherical molecules, in rapid and erratic motion, but so very minute as to readily escape notice even with this high power, except under the closest scrutiny; in the course of half an hour, not less than one hundred were observed. At 9 P. M., another drop of blood, examined with the same precautions, exhibited, in addition to these minute particles, other bodies less active in their movements, of much greater magnitude, and which under an amplification of 1,100 diameters, appeared precisely similar to the Bacteria I had been studying a few hours before in the identical decomposing beef juice imbibed. Five of them were thus enlarged so as to exhibit an unmistakable organized structure, totally different from their associated aggregations of Beale's germinal matter. Three of these Bacteria were each about one-twelve-thousandth of an inch in length and one-twenty-five-thousandth of an inch in width, very distinctly constricted in the middle; a fourth was obviously composed of four, and a fifth of six joints, arranged in a straight line, the motion of which, was of that peculiar waving character so universal among the Oscillatoriæ. The last two were most clearly visible when they happened to lie vertically to the surface of the glass, and would probably escape observation under the one-eighth inch, except in that position, or be therefore mistaken for simple globular bodies, although in several cases I detected in the second and third experiments (with a lower power) a shadowy elongation of one diameter of the revolving molecules thus observed.

These results of mine were corroborated soon after by the re-

searches of Dr. Neftel of New York, upon some of the inferior animals, in regard to which, he informs us (*N. Y. Medical Record*, July 15th, 1868, p. 226;) "My experiments so far lead me to the conclusion that the lower vegetable organisms can continue to live and multiply in the tissues of living animals, and that they can enter into the general circulation, either through the intestinal canal or respiratory organs, or by means of hypodermic injections. What is their ultimate fate in the animal organism, and what their importance in producing disease further investigation will have to show."

M. E. Semmer, in *Virchow's Archives*, April, 1870, in his paper on the "Results of Injection of Fungous Spores and Fungous Cells into the Blood of Animals," gives additional corroboration of the conclusion to which I arrived by personal experiments.

Notwithstanding these and other investigations, the Germ Theory of Disease made but little real progress, at least in English speaking countries, until about three years since, when the researches of Professor Burdon Sanderson and E. Klein of London, as set forth in Mr. Simon's Report for 1874, as Medical Officer of the British Privy Council, commanded much professional attention and doubtless led many who had previously ignored the theory to examine anew its claims to credibility.

In this report are endorsed the next two great steps towards the establishment of the Germ Theory, namely, the experiments of Oertel and Nassiloff, who showed that if the cornea of a rabbit is lightly pricked with a needle that has been thrust through diphtheritic false membrane, the wound does not heal up as similar tiny punctures with clean needles do, but becomes in a few days the centre of radiating streaks of brownish opacity, which under the microscope are seen to be made up of colonies of the vegetable spores (micrococci) of diphtheritic disease. The other important step was the detection by Obermeier of Berlin, of a minute fungoid growth (spirillum) in the blood of patients suffering with Relapsing Fever, a fact which Professor Stricker of Vienna, whose worldwide fame as a most skilful microscopist renders his testimony conclusive, told me only a few weeks ago he had fully confirmed.

These and other researches, led Dr. William Roberts of Manchester, England, in his Annual Address before the British Medical Association last year, to assert that the Germ Theory of Disease

“is now established upon a firm experimental basis, and if fairly grasped in capable hands, will very soon give us most important aid in our struggle with disease;” and a recent eminent German writer on Pathology, Professor Orth, late of Berlin, now of Göttingen, declares “of all the modifications which the blood undergoes, the least understood and at the same time the most important, is unquestionably, that which is due to the admixture with low organisms. Recent researches leave no doubt whatever, that in some diseases the blood contains during life, though to a far higher degree after death, certain low forms of animal or vegetable life. Those organisms which have a thoroughly characteristic appearance can be detected without any great difficulty, with very high powers, provided the layer of blood which is examined be very thin, or that the red corpuscles have been destroyed with acetic acid or alkalis.” *

The latest, and perhaps most important, advance toward actual proof of the Germ Theory, has just been made by my friend, Professor E. Klein, F. R. S., of London, who, in a series of admirable investigations, partly communicated to the Royal Society in February, 1878, shows that a kind of bacterium found in the peritoneal exudation of pigs affected with a disease sometimes called typhoid fever (but more properly entitled *Pneumo-enteritis contagiosa*), may be cultivated in indifferent fluids outside the animal's body for eight successive generations, and then produce the original malady in healthy animals upon which it is inoculated.

The daily success of Lister's Antiseptic Method of Dressing Wounds, now firmly established in the London and many of the Continental hospitals, is a further and almost unanswerable evidence of the infective power of germs, and the wonderfully lucid explanations and ingenious experiments of Professor Tyndall have done much to enable all to realize the intimate relation which exists between Dust (which consists largely of germs), and Disease.

It may not be amiss, before leaving this part of my subject, to

* Dr. Orth describes the grey coating on wounds affected with Hospital Gangrene, and lining the uterus in puerperal fever, as being made up chiefly of micrococci and bacteria. He also asserts, what I long ago believed and taught, that in metastatic abscesses, and probably in carbuncles and boils, the starting point of the slough which forms the core, is found in a small artery plugged up by a little wandering mass of micrococci or fungous spores.

reply to an objection which has been frequently offered to observations upon Bacteria, met with in connection with various diseases, namely, that such organisms, apparently quite identical, are often detected in absolutely healthy animals, and therefore cannot be causes of disease. Those who urge this argument, however, seem to forget that since the Bacterial spores and rods are only the analogues of the seeds and roots of larger plants, and by no means entire organisms, it is, therefore, no more reasonable to expect us to distinguish the bacterium which develops into the cause of Yellow Fever, for instance, from that which produces simple putrefaction, than it is to demand we should discriminate at sight, the root and seed of a choke pear, from those of a seckle. In either case it may be only by cultivating the plant to its full perfection, and testing its ripe fruit, that we can determine its place in nature.

Abandoning, as I said before, all claim at present to certainty that the Germ Theory of Disease is true, let us consider in conclusion, what modifications of the ordinary sanitary precautions we can wisely adopt in view of the *probability* that Bacteria, or closely allied organisms are the actual causes of constitutional diseases.

In the first place, it seems to me that great benefit would result from its being understood by every man, woman and child, that the contagion of small-pox, scarlet fever, typhoid fever, yellow fever, measles, diphtheria, cholera, etc., is probably composed of exceedingly minute spores, or seeds, so small, that 20,000 of them placed end to end, would measure less than one inch in length, and a mass the diameter of one of the periods (.) upon this printed page might contain 50,000,000. Each one of these 50,000,000 of seeds is capable, under favorable circumstances, of reproducing its kind with almost inconceivable rapidity; so that, supposing, for example, the *Zygodesmus* of Professor Letzerich is really the morbid agent causing diphtheria, a particle of of the greyish false membrane of the size of the dot just mentioned, would contain separate seeds enough to infect every inhabitant of the whole continent of North America with diphtheritic disease. But, whilst this is the theoretical possibility, practically, the same law of prodigality of nature exemplified in the spawn of the herring and salmon holds good, and not more than one spore in a thousand, a million, or a hundred million, perhaps, has an opportunity to reproduce its species.

As there is no doubt that the contagion of the diseases just

enumerated may penetrate into our systems by the air we breathe, the food we eat, and especially the water we drink, it is obvious that only the most scrupulous care can save us from these extremely minute seeds, or insure their destruction after entrance into our bodies is accomplished. If these germs were singly disseminated, it would be almost impossible to avert constant infection, but as they generally are carried about by winds or currents in aggregations of thousands or tens of thousands, of course the chance of imprisoning them, or otherwise shielding ourselves from them, is largely increased. It seems probable that the epithelial cells continually shed from our integument and constantly floating about in the atmosphere in great numbers, and which, as shown in some observations of my own, upon the white incrustation upon brick house fronts, are met with in the dust deposited upon the highest points of four-story buildings in crowded thoroughfares, are often vehicles for small groups of these spores which adhere to them.

The obvious deductions from these facts, tend to strengthen the urgent recommendations of sanitarians, that every effort should be made first, to prevent these morbid germs from being let loose upon the world, and second, when they have made their escape into the free air or water, to destroy all spores likely to come in contact with unprotected persons, that is to say, human beings from whose bodies one crop of small-pox (or cow pox) fungus, yellow fever bacteria, relapsing fever spirilla, etc., has not already been raised.

Each individual affected with small-pox, scarlet fever, diphtheria, or any other of the diseases above mentioned, is, according to this theory, to be looked upon as a sort of *hot bed* or forcing house for the seeds or spores of that malady. From his or her body are continually given off in all directions, by the skin, the breath, the perspiration and other secretions, millions of spores of the extreme minuteness I have described to you, each one of which, if it were received into a human system, under favorable circumstances, would rapidly reproduce itself, and after a few days or weeks (corresponding, as already mentioned, to what is known as the period of incubation) give rise to a new case of the disease, again a new hot-bed of contagion for other unprotected organisms.

Now these spores, just like the seeds of larger noxious weeds, which, when allowed to gain a foot-hold in our fields and gardens, propagate themselves with such immense rapidity, have no power

to move of their own accord, and can only develop if they meet with air, moisture and congenial soil suited to their peculiar requirements. That is, if a small-pox patient is shut up in a germ-tight room so that the seeds cannot escape, or, if whilst in the open air that air is stagnant, so that no seeds are wafted away from the immediate neighborhood of the individual, or, if when carried along by the wind, they are blown away from any human habitations, are dessicated in a dry atmosphere, baked by the sun's rays or artificial heat, frozen by extreme cold (as seems to be the case with yellow fever germs), or finally, if they happen to meet with no persons but those who have had small-pox or been sufficiently vaccinated, in other words, if they do not "fall upon *good ground*," all this wealth of provision by which nature tries so hard to secure the perpetuation of the poisonous plant, causing small-pox in our systems, becomes unavailing and her malevolent design against our race, carried out with such a prodigality of murderous weapons, utterly fails.

This brings me to the notice of one of the most common and most mischievous popular errors which a general acceptance of the Germ Theory will necessarily subvert, namely, the belief that small-pox and other contagious maladies often arise without previous exposure to the seeds of the disease. This doctrine, frequently advanced in private life as an excuse for neglect of proper care and caution in regard to children, etc., and occasionally sustained by public authorities as an apology for violation of quarantine and other sanitary regulations, is exceedingly pernicious, and our warmest gratitude would be due to the Germ Theory of disease, even should its establishment render no other service to humanity than the explosion of this fallacy. The fact is, as I firmly believe, that (inverting the Scriptural aphorism), we can no more gather thorns from grapes, or thistles from figs, than we can have, for instance, the germs of yellow fever growing from clean cotton, or those of cholera developing from uninfected rice.

Putting aside the primary origin of diseases, which, with one or two doubtful exceptions, is a question of prehistoric time, the Germ Theory of Disease teaches us that every new case of the contagious maladies already enumerated, is the immediate off-spring of a preceding case, and the direct result of exposure of an unprotected human being to the chance of having the spores or seeds of disease

implanted in its system, an exposure which it only required sufficient knowledge, sufficient foresight and sufficient care to avoid.

This pernicious belief, as I deem it, in the spontaneous endemic origin of the contagious diseases rests, at any rate, on entirely negative evidence, namely, the circumstance that cases do sometimes spring up in which it is impossible to trace the affection back to a personal source of specific propagation, and yet, such an event is only what we have reason to expect from the very nature of these diseases, since the active principle of the poison is invisible to the naked eye. Hence, in the ordinary affairs of life, unless special precautions are resorted to, ways are open for the spread of these microscopic agents of propagation in a thousand unseen modes, so that, obviously, the precise source of infection and its track must often remain undiscovered by the best wisdom of man. I have seldom been more forcibly impressed with this truth than when, upon one occasion a few years ago, a stalwart man entered, in his turn, my prescribing-room in the Pennsylvania Hospital, and on his lifting his hat I saw his forehead was covered with well-filled pustules of small-pox, at about the sixth day of their development. In reply to my reproof for thus exposing other patients in the waiting room of the Hospital to this terrible disease, he assured me (mendaciously, I presume), that he did not know what was the matter with him, and that, being a stranger in the city, without home or friends, he had, when taken sick, come to the Hospital, since "he must have some place to go to." I hastened him off to the office of the Board of Health, whence he was doubtless forwarded to the Municipal Hospital; but the point of interest in this connection is, that if, as is probably often the case, there had happened to be in that waiting-room an unvaccinated child upon whom the infection from these pustules was propagated, no one connected with the infant could have suspected the source of contagion, as my small-pox patient had his hands concealed in gloves and wore a full, heavy beard, which, with a hat pulled low down over his eyes, effectually shielded his loathsome disorder from observation.

Of course, this is not an isolated case, but only an example of what we all, young and old alike, are constantly exposed to in the streets, the cars, and all public places in a large city. I cannot but hope, however, that as soon as our legislators become convinced that the Germ Theory is true, we will have what our English

cousins enjoy the advantage of, *i. e.*, stringent laws to prevent such culpable injury to innocent persons. Meanwhile, our only safeguard is to protect those under our care by the precautions of early vaccination and the most watchful seclusion from possible exposure to the sphere of influence of such contaminating individuals, who constitute, as I consider, hot-beds for generating the tangible seeds of disease.*

In all such instances, indeed, isolation from unprotected persons, carried out with every due consideration and kindness, is, therefore, to be practiced, if possible, and under other conditions, means which will destroy the life of the spores, such as dry heat of high degree, super-heated steam, prolonged boiling in water, caustic acids or alkalies, are to be used, with a firm confidence that if they are employed thoroughly enough they will absolutely put a stop to all spread of the disease.

A very important suggestion in regard to the use of disinfectants, arising from our knowledge of the Germ Theory, is, that since these spores doubtless float in the atmosphere, as do the seeds of the thistle or dandelion, and are no more susceptible to the action of chemicals, with which the air containing them is impregnated, it is useless to expect any certain and complete results from the milder aerial disinfectants, as usually employed, that is, by scenting the medium in which they are suspended with carbolic acid, camphor, acetic acid, and similar non-corrosive agents.

As to the lesson we may deduce from these teachings in regard to Public Hygiene, I think its importance is only surpassed by its simplicity.

For such contagious and infectious maladies it is: *Avoid, at any cost, the entrance into communities of living spores or seeds of disease.* And this should be insured, not as in former times, with the mere *hope* that somehow we might escape the visitation, but with the absolute certainty that with proper care infection cannot occur.

No doubt many of us have smiled at the story of certain terror-

* Some years ago a medical friend of mine attended, in a large town not a hundred miles from New York, two successive cases of small-pox in the house of a dealer in ready-made clothing. The whole stock of coats, pantaloons, etc., numbering many hundreds had an opportunity of being impregnated with the seeds of the complaint, and should have been disinfected with scrupulous care. They were, however, sold at retail, just as usual, and may have given rise to scores of cases of "idiopathic" (?) small-pox.

stricken authorities in a German town, who, when a single potato-bug was discovered in a field near them, immediately covered the whole plantation with straw soaked in kerosene, and, setting fire to it, destroyed every vestige of animal and vegetable life for acres around. And yet, if we consider a moment, we realize the fact that this apparent waste of time, trouble, and potato vines, was the wisest and most economical expenditure that could possibly have been made.

How much more, then, when our own lives and the lives of those that are dear to us, in addition to scores of millions of dollars are at stake, as they are now in the South, should sanitary authorities be armed with almost despotic power, in order that they may shut out, or kill every one of these actually visible and even tangible seeds of disease. Quarantine, disinfection and prolonged detention of persons, with disinfection, or frequently total destruction of goods from infected districts, is, it appears to me, the *right* of the many at the expense of the few; and even if, as I should advocate, for the sake of strict justice, ample compensation for loss of time and loss of property were allowed by law to those who suffered, I believe the community at large would be tenfold better off pecuniarily, to say nothing of the far more important saving of human life and human suffering, which would be secured.

JOSEPH G. RICHARDSON, M. D.

THE COMMERCIAL FUTURE.

WE suspect that people are slowly coming to the conviction that the present hard times are not an event in financial and business history like the panics of 1837 and 1857. Their duration is great beyond precedent; the wide extent to which their severity has been felt, is without example. And they are not to come to an end without effecting vast and permanent changes in the relations of the chief industrial communities. Previous panics effected no such change. England, the chief monopolist of the world's commerce, came out of them a little better established in her preëminence than she went in. She had used the period of

prostration chiefly to crush native rivals in her foreign markets, and she had the field clearer for her own operations. No nation "had so strong a back," and could hold out so long as she; and after every panic, the weaker fell a little more under her power, in that industrial warfare in which her great capital was her chief weapon.

But the present period of depression is no ordinary battle of that warfare; it is rather a Salamis, a Zama, a Chalons or a Waterloo, from which the world's history is to take a new departure, because the power of commercial supremacy is to pass out of the hands which have held it. A great revolt against that supremacy as exercised by England, has been approaching its culmination for decades past, and the result is not likely to be transient. But exactly what will be the result is not to be predicted without looking a little below the surface of the situation.

For almost a century, England has been sacrificing nearly every other interest to the ambition of becoming and remaining the great manufacturing and trading nation of the world. This ambition has not been thrust upon her by circumstances, for, as we shall show, other paths to national welfare are open to her. Neither has it been adopted from a wise and circumspect consideration of her own material interests, for many of these have been overlooked in the course of her policy. A dominant idea, taking its start from the great mechanical inventions which occupied the last quarter of the eighteenth century, seemed to take possession of the minds of nearly all classes, and especially of the middle classes. Whatever stood in the way had to give way, in order that she might fulfil her destiny as the maker and seller of the cheapest cottons, woollens and iron wares that the world had to show. It is hard to realize how little in the previous history of the people pointed to such a destiny. The England of the sixteenth century was hardly abreast of her continental neighbors in any branch of manufacture, and she seemed little likely to do better. It was of her that the Dutch said sneeringly that she sold the hide for six pence and bought back the tail for a shilling, being a country which exported raw materials and took manufactured goods in exchange. From the time of the expulsion of the Huguenots from France, there came a change, but the new manufactures were in the hands of these immigrants chiefly, and they formed but a small fraction of

the nation. The readers of *The Tatler* and its sprightly rivals, will recall the passion for French fabrics of all sorts which still ruled in London society, and the general dependence upon Paris for fine goods of every kind. Meanwhile, the North of England lay inert, not yet awake to the impulses of industrial life which now thrill through the old kingdom of Northumbria. Its people, now the advanced Liberals of the kingdom, were among the pronounced Tories of that day. Whereas dissent now holds large sections of the wealthy classes, the attachment to the Roman Catholic creed still lingered in nearly all the county families; and Jacobitism was a good deal more common than in any other part of the Island south of Stirling.

Watts, Crompton, Arkwright and Wedgewood were the names of conjury with which the new era was opened, and a new ambition awakened in the minds of the English people. That ambition did not express itself only in appropriate legislation, although there was quite enough of that. It took shape in the determined effort to develop manufactures and commerce to the utmost. Capital tended only in that direction for investment; ambition sought in this field alone for its reward. And the end aimed at was accomplished. Where a great, practical people, like the English, have set their heart on a thing, they are not likely to come short of it. They did actually succeed in underselling half the world in the chief staples of manufacture. They crushed out native manufactures in India, in Turkey, in Ireland, and for a time in Russia, Germany, Belgium, and the Cantabrian peninsula. What gains could be secured by their grasp on the world's markets they made in abundance. Their agriculture was neglected; their people were drawn away from the land to the factory; millions of acres were left lying waste, and are still waste; they became more and more dependent upon foreign producers for food; their political position was hampered by the necessity of keeping peace with everybody in Europe and some people in America. But, with all these unforeseen drawbacks, they did succeed in what they had set their heart on doing. They reached the goal of their ambitions, but they do not profess to have found paradise there. "England is like a vast city, to which the less peopled parts of the civilized world are an agricultural country which is glad to send its overplus of provisions in exchange for the luxuries and conveniences of a manufacturing region," Professor Thorold Rogers says.

But, the position they have acquired is, in very truth, the *sicge periculous*; it is full of dangers on every hand. A general European war, and still more, a war with America, might inflict such sufferings as the proletariat of Rome groaned under when the corn fleet from Alexandria was detained by stress of weather or political disorder. And, worse still, the commercial supremacy, to which so much has been sacrificed, is far from being secured to England. It is destroyed, in so far as any other nation makes up its mind to manufacture for itself. It will be wrested away, so soon as any rival arises to compete successfully for the markets of the world. And they are fully aware of the danger which thus threatens them. "England's position," says Hon. Dudley Baxter, in his work on *National Income*, "is not that of a great landed proprietor, with an assured revenue, and only subject to occasional losses of crops or hostile depredations. It is that of a great merchant, who, by immense skill and capital, has gained the front rank and developed an enormous commerce, but has to support an ever increasing host of dependents. He has to encounter the risk of trade and to face jealous rivals. . . . England is more favorably situated than any other country, except the United States, for manufactures and commerce. . . . The future rise of the United States into a great manufacturing and naval power, appears the most probable and certain cause which will place a limit to our natural increased prosperity."

Her position among the nations is, therefore, a thoroughly artificial one. It can only be retained through her interfering with the natural development of industry in other communities upon whom she depends for customers. If these were to enter upon that process of growth traced by Adam Smith, by which the artisan and the manufacturer take their place, naturally, in the vicinity of the farmer, and as the consumer of his surplus, then the "nation of shopkeepers" would be losing valuable customers with every week of every year. England, therefore, has been forced to seek remedies to prevent this, and she has had recourse to three.

The first is military force, by which she overawes dependencies and weaker allies. Ireland and India illustrate her treatment of the former class, as did our own States in their colonial period; Turkey and Japan the latter. Japan was entrapped into a system of treaties, by which a merely nominal duty of five per cent. is im-

posed on foreign goods, and the development of native manufactures is effectually checked. To prevent any retreat from this false position, these treaties have been made open to revision, only when *both* parties are agreed that revision is necessary,—a virtual cession of Japanese autonomy, without precedent in the history of international politics. And, it was by the display of overwhelming force that Japan was thus made a dependency of the British Empire. We say of the British Empire, for although other powers are nominally secured the same advantage, yet it is only the great trading power which was expected and intended to derive benefit from this iniquity, and it is only she who has done so. Other powers, notably the United States,¹ have given Japan encouragement in their efforts to put an end to this state of things, and the embassy now in Europe has this for its main purpose.

But, it is not merely the bad provisions of the treaties from which Japan is suffering. Under the system of extra-territorial jurisdiction, exercised by foreign consuls and ambassadors, it is altogether impossible to enforce any revenue laws against British subjects. The British ambassador, on his own authority, has dispensed British steamships from paying the export duty on coal, and their consuls have taken such steps in regard to the smuggling of opium, as bids fair to secure the Indian government a new market for that poison. A clause in the treaty, absolutely and without qualification, forbade its importation, but the English court at Yokahama has ruled that “medicinal opium” may be imported to any extent under the five per cent. duty, and, of course, can then be converted into “smoking opium” very easily and cheaply, as was shown during the trial.

The second weapon employed is the power of the purse. Rivals are to be crushed out by unfair competition of every sort, and then, when the market is cleared of native competition, the

¹ We are sorry to be obliged to make an exception as regards Secretary Fish. Japan made a most urgent appeal to him for aid in regaining her autonomy, while he was Secretary of State, and even offered valuable concessions in return, but he turned away these proposals with the remark that he saw no reason to be dissatisfied with things as they are. The treaty which did the mischief was negotiated by Sir Rufus Alcock, in 1866, in the absence of our ambassador, and it was signed on behalf of the American embassy, by a Hollander, who was an attaché. The *Tokio Times*, an American paper published at the capital, has done excellent service in exposing this and other iniquities.

trader recoups himself for his temporary sacrifices by higher prices.² This has been not merely shown, but conceded to be true. Official reports to the English Parliament describe the process with great candor and circumstantial detail, but without a trace of any sense of wrong done. Samuel Taylor Coleridge is the only English writer in whom we have been able to find any reprobation of these practices. The English like fair play, but they find it very hard to see foul play in anything which suits British interests. They are the most innocent of Machiavellians!

The last weapon was the Free Trade propaganda. A system of specious doctrines was presented to the world, whose whole purport was to deter other countries from revolting against the commercial supremacy of England. Present cheapness of money price was maintained to be the one test of the claim which a manufacturer had upon anybody's attention. The notion of a nation's making present financial sacrifices for an ultimate benefit was discredited. Every rival of British wares was held up to scorn as "hot-house manufactures," "baby industries;" and protective tariffs were likened to the Chinese Wall. The nations were warned against "the delusive policy of protection to native industries," pursued by England herself for five hundred years, and only abandoned when it seemed no longer likely to be needed. "Do not do as I did," said John Bull, in his grand, paternal manner, "but do as I say."

These doctrines took hold of men's minds, just in so far as they had not made themselves masters of the actual situation of affairs. The Free Trade ideal is true enough for an ideal set of circumstances, but altogether false for this unideal world of ours. Given a condition of things in which all nations make an equal start in the race of industrial development, and in that state of things any sort of handicapping would be unfair. But that was not the condition of the industrial world. Nor was it merely true that one nation had attained a natural and balanced development beyond the rest, for, even in that case, the interference with others would not be excessive or permanent. It was the case of a nation, rich

² We had a taste of this in 1847-54. In the former year native iron sold for sixty dollars a ton. Through the folly of the Dallas, or Horizontal Tariff, the English producers got a chance to shut up our furnaces by wholesale underselling. When our native producers were out of the way, the price was put up to eighty dollars and was kept at that for years.

beyond parallel or precedent, able to command vast capital at a cheap rate, and bent on giving up everything else to the promotion of her manufactures and commerce;—a nation who had sacrificed her agriculture, driven her people into her cities and her factories, and bent all the energies of the most powerful and practical of races to the task of keeping the world in a position of commercial dependence. Protection offends certain classes of minds by its appearance of artificiality, of contrivance, of resistance to natural laws. But it is, in truth, a very natural resistance to the most unnatural and artificial situation of things that can be conceived.

With the theorists about Free Trade, all was sincerity and enthusiasm. But as much cannot be said for the statesmen who had to carry out the theory. A single fact convicts them of insincerity. While all the rest of their chief manufactures were supposed to be on a footing to stand any foreign competition to which they were likely to be exposed, this could not be said of the silk manufacture. Their next neighbors in France and Switzerland would certainly exterminate that manufacture if it were exposed to their competition. A protective duty of twenty per cent. on silks was maintained for fifteen years after the nominal adoption of Free Trade, and while the government, as well as the people, were urging on the world the Free Trade policy, and were informing their colonies that English “experience has fully proved the injurious effect of the protective system, and the advantages of low duties on manufactures.”³ Not till 1860 was the protection of silk abandoned, as the price to be paid for the French Treaty; and the grass that grows to-day in the streets of Macclesfield and Coventry testifies with what result.

Equally inconsistent with England's Free Trade professions, though less palpably so, are the measures she has pursued to secure the control of distant markets to her merchants and manufacturers. If Free Trade be right, then the duty of government is to let commerce alone, to expend no government money to foster it, as well as to avoid legislation which favors home producers at the expense of foreigners. But the English do not so interpret their doctrine in practice, however direct and natural may be this inference. By a vast system of subsidies they have secured the

³ The language of a *Government Minute*, published in 1859, and directed against colonial tariffs, whose rates were nearly, if not quite, always less than twenty per cent.

existence of steamship lines, which bring the English producers home to everybody's door. Some English economists, notably Professor Thorold Rodgers, allege that distance and the costs of transportation furnish to the new and weak manufactures of other countries the natural advantage of protection which is claimed as their due. So it might, were it not that the English Treasury steps in to relieve the English manufacturer from a large part of this cost, enabling him to reach the most distant climes with his wares, and to sell them at a cost which, without government assistance, would be impossible.

Similar, in purpose and in effect, are the large sums of government money which have been expended on the industrial education of the people of England since the Exhibition of 1851 laid bare the defects of English manufactures, as regarded from an artistic point of view. Genuine Free Traders, like Herbest Spencer and Gerritt Smith, very properly denounce any outlay of government money for any educational purpose. They say that the law of demand and supply should be paramount in this sphere also; and that private and voluntary effort alone should be depended upon for the supply of education, as for that of horse-shoes, or of striped calicoes. To tax a man for purposes of education, is for the State to set aside his judgment as to whether education is a good thing, and if so, of what sort of education, and in what quantity? To tax all citizens for these purposes, is to take money from those who have no children, and to lay it out on objects which do not especially conduce to their benefit. The business of the state being merely to exercise a proper police, and to prevent any one from hurting his neighbor, the government must not assume that they are called upon "to promote the general welfare," in this or any similar way. To concede that the state is so far entrusted with "the general welfare," as that it may make provisions for such objects because individuals are not likely to provide sufficiently, would be to give up the first principle of Free Trade doctrine. And, if a national provision for education is open to Free Trade objections, every specialized form of that education is especially objectionable. It is enabling the manufacturer "to put his hand into the pocket of the nation," and to abstract therefrom the moneys needed to make his own business more successful in its competition with foreign rivals. Such was the purpose and such has been the effect

in England. The production of articles of art-manufacture in England has advanced so much that while the export of the great staples has diminished, articles of this class have vastly increased from Great Britain, and diminished in a corresponding degree from France, as the French themselves confess.

Let us not be understood as objecting to the principle involved in either of the three cases. It was right to keep protective duties on silk,—right to subsidize English steamship lines,—right to create the South Kensington Museum and the net-work of art schools of which it is the centre. But the two latter are no more capable of vindication on Free Trade principles than was the former. It was excellent policy, because it was not Free Trade.

The edifice of English prosperity, being a thoroughly artificial one, has never escaped the dangers of its position. All the great natural forces which coöperate in the advance of civilization are in deadly hostility to it. The stars in their courses fight against Sisera. However solid her commercial supremacy may have seemed at times, it was no more secure than one of those vast temple walls which the traveller sees in India,—walls constructed centuries ago, to resist the violence of earthquake as well as the more ordinary forces of destruction, but now toppling to their fall because a banyan seed has germinated in a neglected crevice, and the huge roots are gradually hurling the stones from the places where they seemed fixed for ever.

The force which has everywhere been counteracting Free Trade doctrine has been the sentiment of nationality, which is itself coming into recognition as the most powerful of political forces. Not that national sentiment has always been extended to the economic sphere ; not that those who have been zealous for national independence and unity have always realized the relation of those great blessings to national industry. But, in great multitudes of cases, this relation has been more or less clearly felt and acknowledged, together with the necessity of a varied industry to the completeness of the national life and to the welfare of the people. And, at the same time, there has been awakened the conviction that England is everywhere and at all times the common enemy of national industries. There is indeed much in the English character which fosters international dislike of her people and her policy, but

she never was so cordially detested as since she began to pose as the cosmopolitan "friend of man" and patroness of civilization in the advocacy of Free Trade. The ruthless use of her money power to check the natural development of other nations, and to keep them in a position of dependence upon herself, has earned her an amount of dislike which will certainly be a source of disaster to her in the long run.

As we have seen in Mr. Baxter's statement, it is to the United States, rather than to any of her older rivals or any of her colonies, that England looks for the possible destruction of her commercial supremacy. Fifty years ago the very notion of such a thing would have seemed to her ridiculous, and even twenty years ago the possibility of it had not yet dawned upon her. The attitude of her policy towards us through all the earlier decades of our independence had an insolence of contempt in it, which showed the estimate she put upon our power. Our flag was insulted, our pretensions ridiculed, our claims to an equal footing, in commerce and on the sea, were met with a bland *hauteur* which made the American blood boil. America was described in the English Parliament as existing chiefly to consume English wares. "The United States of America were always considered our especial market," Lord Lyndhurst said. "It was well worth while to incur a loss upon the first exportation," after the peace of 1815, Brougham said, "in order, by the glut, to stifle in the cradle those rising manufactures in the United States, which the war has forced into existence, contrary to the natural course of things." Such was the attitude of British statesmanship toward us, while English travellers blended their contemptuous caricatures of our national manners with exultations at the fact that every house they entered was crammed with the products of English manufacture.

Since the suppression of the Southern Rebellion the tone of English writers has changed very materially. Something about the country and its people had always been known, but as soon as it became the centre of interest for the world, vague impressions gave place to a more exact knowledge of it. Scores of European correspondents and visitors came to "spy out the nakedness of the land," and to report their impressions in such sort as would secure attention in Europe. And this more careful study of us coincided with the opening of a new era of national energy and hopefulness.

The incubus of slavery and of its disgrace had been removed, and Americans had begun to feel as if, at last, they owned their own souls. The national unity, hitherto always uncertain in its capacity to stand a strain, had been subjected to the severest and had not given way. The consciousness of nationality had been awakened as never before in our history; and, in the words of our own best singer :

Earth's biggest country 's got her soul,
An 's risen up earth's greatest nation.

The elements of our national character and those of our national environment, which promise us a great industrial future, are too many and various to be here passed in complete review. But among them we might specify our happy immunity from many of the mischievous traditions of Europe. The relations of capital to labor, for instance, have been far less embittered by the perpetuation of bad laws for the oppression of the working classes, and of bad social distinctions which keep different classes in unwholesome separation from each other. We are not quite free from either mischief, and perhaps as regards each we owe more to our circumstances than to our own merits. But the readiness with which the ablest workmen make their way into the class of employers, and the choice given to all of becoming their own masters, by taking to farming, shop-keeping or some other occupation, furnish a more abundant safety-valve than Europe enjoys. And, as a consequence, our workmen surpass those of Europe in promptness to do their duty, and in willingness to oblige. They have not spent half a century in devising methods by which to evade work. They do not vote to close the shop or mine and have a holiday, whenever the boss offends them. Their trades unions have never enacted such meddling regulations as those which in England forbid a man to put his hand to any work which does not properly belong to his branch, however great the emergency.⁴ Their lines of action are

⁴Perhaps we owe much of this to the absence of aristocratic privileges. For notions of social caste permeate the lowest as well as the higher classes in England and in Europe generally. The inane etiquette of the drawing-room is rehearsed or travestied in the servants' hall. The butler would lose caste if he were to bring up a scuttle of coal, even though his mistress requested it as a special favor. The artisan who grinds cutlery must never lift the annealing hammer, and so on. The system is seen in its logical perfection in India, where you must employ one servant to fetch water, another to make the beds, another to attend you to the bazaar, and so on through the score or two

less rigid and more adaptable and bear evidence of a better temper and a juster disposition in those who devised them.

Another element of promise is our ambition for the national renown. Seen on its reverse or *kehrseite*, this is that thin-skinned vanity which frets over foreigners' opinions of us, circulates every bit of abuse from the *Saturday Review* and the like organs, and is always on the watch for some petty Englishman's praise. We are happily outgrowing that, just as an over-anxious preacher outgrows his anxiety as to the way in which his sermons are taken. He begins, as he reaches a saner state of mind, not to care about mere good opinions, to think more of his work and of the dignity of his position, and to feel that what he preaches is good enough for them who hear, and if they do not like it, so much the worse for them. So also it is to be hoped the American people are working themselves out of this raw anxiety of inexperience, into the feeling that their country and its works are good enough for the critics, and that it does not greatly matter whether they are appreciated or not.

At the same time, ambition for the real greatness and glory of the country is just as warm a passion as ever. We enjoy seeing our intellectual princes owned as equals by their peers in Europe; and finding Longfellow, Lowell, Whittier, Emerson, Prescott, Motley, Hawthorne, James, Whitney, and their like, placed by all competent critics on the same shelf as the British classics. We have even room for a smile to see the way in which some of our geese pass for swans in Europe, where Joaquin Miller and Walt Whitman are hailed as great poets by men who *ought* to know—better. These represent one side of a nation's life; we are not contented to come short in any. We shall have musicians, singers, athletes, marksmen, artists, worshippers of culture, men of science, philologists, libraries, picture galleries, museums, fashionable monomanias, red-hatted cardinals, and everything else equal to the best that is to be seen anywhere. We may not always know how to

of half-idle blacks needed for even a moderate establishment. Whatever advantages accrue to aristocratic government, we can never afford to sacrifice to them our freedom from everything like caste distinctions, and our national willingness to take a man for his weight and worth, apart from the stamp he bears. It is to this readiness that we owe the steady public opinion in favor of what is right and just, which fills the workshop because it is felt in the counting-room.

go about getting them. At times we may be as laughable as the *nouveaux riches*, ordering books for their libraries by the yard. We may care more for the having than the understanding. But a full national life, rounded and complete on every side, is our national purpose, even though we may make mistakes as to the way to get at it, just as we made a mistake in thinking that equality before the law would secure us immunity from all the social and political perplexities of Europe.

And one part of this ambition is the purpose to become a great industrial community,—to produce on our own soil and for our own use all the great staples of manufacture, from the coarsest up to the finest, and in as much abundance and of as good quality as anywhere in the world. We will yield to none, in either the variety or the vastness of our home productions. It is this purpose which formulates itself in our protective tariffs. Protection would not maintain itself for an hour if it had to depend on the support of those who are directly and to themselves evidently interested in its maintenance. It is not the contrivance of the men whose money is in our manufacturing establishments. It has its friends everywhere and in all classes, because of the feeling that American manufactures have a claim on all American citizens.

A Free Trade paper once proposed, in jest, to stop the further production and "raising" of human beings on this continent. It showed that no other article was so expensive as a child, that none had so many protective laws enacted in its behalf, and none called for so large sacrifices of present advantages to future results, on the part both of society and of individuals. On the other hand, grown men could be had from Europe, at that moment, for fifteen dollars a piece. We are very far from ignoring the difference between this case and that of lifeless commodities, with no personal claim on our affections. But we desire to emphasize the resemblance between the cases, which is too commonly overlooked. There is, in the minds of our people, a sort of natural affection for the industries which furnish employment for so many thousands, and give variety to our national life. We watch the story of their triumphs in Paris with no less interest than we watched the exploits of our own young collegians on the Thames last summer. We feel, in either case, that their triumph is our triumph.

It may be said that we have not counted the cost,—that popu-

lation is crowding into our cities at an unexampled rate, that times of distress affect larger masses of the population than ever before, and that the old-fashioned, wholesome life of the nation is sadly deteriorated. We admit the fact of the increase of city life, but we deny the inferences. City life has its own evils, but it is not less intellectually sane and morally wholesome than that of the country. Nay, it is more so. And, no one who has looked into the story of the years 1837 to 1842, will maintain that a larger portion of our population are suffering severely than in those years. The aggregate is indeed larger, and therefore more impressive; but the proportion is less, and especially so in communities like Philadelphia, where there is a great variety of industry. And no one will deny that city life does present difficult problems which Americans have not faced before, and to which they have hardly, even as yet, addressed themselves.

A third element of promise, upon which we need not dwell here, is the inventive genius of the American people, a peculiarity by no means specially possessed by the New Englanders, but diffused through all classes, wherever manufactures have been established, or some special necessity has created a demand. The inventive gift is so well recognized as abundantly bestowed upon Americans that "any American who announces a discovery, attracts attention in England, where Yankee babies are believed to pass their time mainly in inventing new rockers" (*Spectator*). It might seem as if this conferred no permanent advantage, since our inventors are always at liberty to dispose of patent rights to Europeans; but it is not so. In the first place, the tide of improvement is steady in America. It advances by what has happily been styled "molecular changes," with which the foreigner cannot keep up. The brand new invention he buys to-day will be out of date by next Christmas. The hind legs may get on to where the fore legs were, but the fore legs have not stayed for them.

Besides this, the American inventor has in mind a different class of workmen from those of Europe,—men of greater alertness and nervous promptness, as well as a larger intelligence. There have been cases where our machinery has been sent over to England, accompanied by the fullest instructions as to the arrangement of its parts, and it has been found impossible to have it properly put together, through the incapacity of the workmen to

follow instructions. And, in other cases, where it has been set up by American workmen, it had to be abandoned, because of some want in the discipline or the diligence of the European laborer. Our watch-making machinery, for instance, has been discarded in Switzerland, as altogether useless in connection with the best human material they have at command. The machinery is for sale; the building it filled is let out in lodgings. In another case, a machine constructed on the principle of a steam die-stamper was sold to an English firm, but the workman employed to attend it, although furnished with two boys to assist him in getting the material ready, lost, on an average, forty out of every hundred strokes of the stamp. An American workman, with no assistant, can attend the same machine and never lose a stroke. As Dr. Leonard Bacon says, "the main point of the superiority of American manufactories, is the personal superiority of the American workman." The genius shown by our inventors is merely the summit peak of a widely-diffused, high intelligence and adaptability.

A fourth advantage is found in the ruling ideas which prevail in our principal branches of manufacture, and especially the growing preference for excellence rather than cheapness. The Free Trade ideal necessarily fixes the attention of the producer upon cheapness alone. England's victories in competition have all been won by that weapon. It crushed out the manufacture of really good carpets in Turkey by Kidderminster imitations. It destroyed the marvellous cotton tissues of India by its Manchester "cheap and nasties." It has exterminated branch after branch of artistic manufacture among the peasants of Europe and the people of Asia, by Brummagem imitations, modelled after selected specimens, and offered at a trifling cost. Cheapness is the supreme ideal of Free Trade policy, the idol to which England sacrifices, not the manufactures of other countries only, but its own as well. The deterioration of English wares in all but the newly established branches of art-manufacture, but especially in hardwares and textiles, is a subject of unceasing confession at home and complaint abroad.⁵

⁵ Sir Edward Thornton recently transmitted to England the report of Mr. Victor Drummond, in regard to the competition which America is going to offer for the markets of the world. Mr. Drummond says, that "if the lower classes at home will only listen to reason, and accept the lower wage, which must be, . . . and the manufac-

Some of the Sheffield exhibitors sent to Paris this year the very articles they prepared for the first exhibition of 1851, simply because they could not now produce anything as good in the same lines. English cottons have become a proverb for utter worthlessness. The methods by which they may be filled with adulterations to the utmost, are no longer the dark secrets of fraudulent establishments. They are openly discussed, as a scientific problem, in the pages of the transactions of their scientific societies. American brands have been systematically counterfeited to secure their sale to foreigners, who have made up their minds that they have had enough of Lancashire. And Mr. John Bright publicly advocates the repeal of all laws against adulterations, even of food, on the ground that they are contrary to the principles of Free Trade, whose last word on this subject is *Caveat emptor!*

The importance of such ruling ideas we have already pointed out in tracing the rise of England's commercial supremacy. It is a matter of congratulation that the predominant aim of our own manufacturers seems to be to make the best article possible. Mr. Morrell, when asked how the Johnstown works had attained such perfection in making Bessemer steel rails, replied that it was because they had made up their minds to make each new batch better than any which went before it. The same might be said, with truth, by our manufacturers of watches, hardware,⁶ cutlery,

urers . . . will take pains to have their work of as superior quality as the Americans, and not, as in some cases has happened, of cotton manufacturers using starch, clay, Epsom salts, and antiseptics, instead of the least possible amount of starch, and remember that people will have the best and cheapest article, then we need not fear the race of competition which is surely coming."

⁶ The New York correspondent of the English *Ironmonger* says:—"Importers complain that the lines are drawing around them so tightly that they scarcely dare to make any ventures. Certain it is that very few goods come to this market in the hardware line which can compare favorably, either in shape, finish, quality, or price, with American goods; and if it were not that there still remains some trace of original prejudice in favor of English steel in some parts of the country, I imagine there would be no encouragement for any further effort to continue the business. There is a capacity for over-production in every line of manufacture, competition is very sharp, prices are very close to net cost, and the progress of improvement is constant. Probably more novelties have been brought out during the past two years than in the previous five, and such novelties have been the life of trade."

Dr. Leonard Bacon says, that when the report of Mr. Favre Perret, (Swiss Centennial Commissioner,) "on American watch-making was read to crowded meetings of watch-makers, at Neuchâtel and Geneva, the general expression was that of abject de-

saws, axes, and other goods of that class. And any person who has followed the development of our cotton, woolen, silk and leather manufactures, will have found the same laudable ambition prevailing in each. As our readers have seen, Professor Rouleaux was struck by this American ambition for quality, in contrast to that for cheapness, which Germany had learnt from England. We have not been captivated by that Free Trade notion, that the saleable qualities of an article are more important to the producer than its capacity to stand wear. Our best, our leading producers, are working for the results which come in the long run. They have not believed what Carlyle calls "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 to" the English.

The last element of promise is found in our natural resources. In the first place, we have inexhaustible supplies of the materials of every great manufacture. Not only have we all that England has, and in still greater abundance, but we have others of which she is destitute. Her cotton manufacture is one of the most artificial of industries,—the product of prohibitions and high protective duties imposed for a century, without any referenee to the special capacities of the country. But ours is the adopted home of the cotton-plant; while England was naturalizing its manufacture by protection and prohibitions, we were naturalizing its growth by protective duties. And, when once the *virus* of slavery is eliminated from the veins of the South, Georgia and the Carolinas will be the third great centre of the manufacture. The whole land seems to have been fitted for an industrial people,—“a land where thou shalt eat bread without scarceness, thou shalt not lack anything in it; a land whose stones are iron, and out of whose hills thou mayest dig copper.” (Deut. viii. 9. Sharpe's translation). Stores of coal and ore, and quarries of building stone beneath the

spair. Work was suspended for months on the costly building of the School of Watch-making, founded by the Genevan government. A commission was appointed by the cantonal legislature to inquire what new industry could be introduced in place of that which must henceforth be abandoned to American competitors.” So with Switzerland's other three manufactures. The export of ribbons to the United States is one-sixth of what it was four years ago. American cheese is supplanting that of the Swiss mountaineers in all the markets of Europe, and Swiss leather is no longer exported to America, while “every little tannery feels the influence of importations from America.”

soil, prairies of wheat land and corn land on the surface, and water-power beyond example, are among the finger-posts by which Providence points us to our destiny. An inhospitable coast limits our outlet to foreign lands, while vast interior rivers and lakes invite to domestic commerce, and already float a greater tonnage than the Atlantic itself.

The present situation is in part the result of recent history, as distinguished from the natural and predictable course of things. The conflict for our industrial independence and, by consequence, for the markets of the non-industrial nations, must have come sooner or later. We have reached the collision more rapidly, and perhaps more violently, through mismanagement. It has come all the sooner, and has inflicted all the more suffering on both sides of the ocean, because of the period of inflation which followed the war. Home enterprise was stimulated to a feverish energy. Railroad building was overdone. The demand for iron rose to a point without precedent, followed by an excessive demand for textiles and the like, on the part of the working classes. Then, in 1873, the Panic came, and the mischiefs sown for years past were reaped in a day.

The Panic found us with our manufactures over-developed, as regards several of the chief staples of the world's trade. We were able to produce more iron and more cotton than our people were likely to consume, and are obliged to find a foreign market for it, and that quickly. A temporary suspension or diminution of production even was a necessity in some quarters, and all interests have felt the severity of distress.

In the market for manufactures, as matters now stand, it is simply a question of holding out. The capacity to supply iron, steel, machinery, tin-plate, hardware, paper, cottons and woollens is much larger than the world's legitimate demand. Since men no longer consume in abnormally large quantities as before 1873, there are two producers besieging every consumer, and in the long run, one of the two must succumb. Will it be the English, or will it be the American producer?

That it will be the former, we are convinced. In the first place, the American, with control of the home market and a moderate

export, will be very well off. The former he already has; the latter he is fast getting. England is so overloaded, so top-heavy with industry of this sort, that she cannot afford to lose even her American market. But ours is already shut on her, and her colonies, and even India, are rapidly shutting theirs. And in Europe, where her Free Trade propaganda seemed likely to bear such abundant fruit, the outlook is far from promising. Italy, France, Spain, Portugal, Germany, Austria, Hungary, Denmark, Sweden, Russia, are certainly not advancing in the Free Trade direction. Those who had it, are adopting Tariffs; those whose Tariffs were weak are strengthening them. It is impossible to renew even the treaty of 1860, to get which, English liberalism, in the person of Richard Cobden, fawned at the feet of Napoleon III., and agreed to a compact secured by the Emperor's overriding the votes of his own legislature. In the course of a few years, Norway, Holland, Switzerland and Turkey, will be the only nations left to follow her lead. Nothing but an enormous foreign trade, a trade out of all proportion to her population and her agriculture, will keep her from wholesale losses. And that enormous trade she can no longer secure.

England's "reserve fund," we might call the savings she has invested in the industries, the corporations and the government bonds of other countries. In 1873 this international wealth was about 940 millions of pounds sterling. Three years later, it has been reduced to 790 millions by the defaultings of a few governments, to say nothing of the vast quantities of foreign stocks, bonds and shares which had ceased to pay interests or dividends.⁷

⁷ Should Mr. Edison's electric light be as successful as is predicted, or should any other prove so, this international wealth would suffer another great shrinkage. English investors, we learn from the *Spectator*, "own not only all the gas works in the United Kingdom, but an immense proportion, probably much more than half of those in foreign cities, and they have hitherto looked upon these works as among their most solid and valuable properties. . . . From Boulogne to Calcutta, the cities have been lighted with English capital, and in almost all cases the profit secured has been unusually large, regular and solid, until trustees with gas-shares in their hands, have felt it useless to dispose of them, and a lot of gas-shares' has been considered a prize to be competed for at auction." Mr. Edison's announcement to his agent, that he had solved the problem of indefinitely dividing the electric light, brought shares down from three to seventeen pounds a share. "The possibility of a tremendous blow was patent, and our only wonder is that the shock was not more severe."

Some estimate the loss at one-half, or at lowest £400,000,000. Indeed, so worthless has this class of securities become, that the London *Times* has recently spoken of our own bonds as the only species of foreign securities which hold their place in the market. And of these bonds they are now obliged to return us very large quantities. An English paper says that this "steady export of United States securities to New York" cannot be "looked upon as satisfactory, and the loss of the interest on the bonds is in particular a direct and permanent impoverishment of a very serious kind." The commercial importance of this reserve fund is its power to practically redress the balance of trade, wherever this is against England, but not excessively so. In that case, a large part of the commodities imported from any given country are really paid by bills of exchange drawn upon governments and corporations indebted to England, and require no transfer of specie. But at the present moment the balance of trade is excessively against England, being estimated at £90,000,000 for the current year. In the three previous years it was £4,000,000, £34,000,000 and £57,000,000, while in 1874 it was still in her favor, as it had been since before the century began.

On the other hand, the tendency of things during these years of depression has been generally in favor of the United States. Even the terrible blunder of passing our debt into foreign hands for the sake of reducing the interest, has been largely retrieved, and it is believed that not more than an eighth is now held abroad. We have gone forward in the improvement of the methods of manufacture, and in securing a market for our wares in the countries on our own continent. Our progress is indeed retarded by the refusal to follow English example in granting subventions to steamship lines; but it has escaped a worse blow in the failure of the attack upon our Tariff. Upon success of that attempt, the English staked a multitude of hopes, and predicted its success with great confidence. But the measure could not be carried through even a Democratic house, and its author has announced that the attempt will not be renewed during the present Congress. In 1880, whatever Congress may think, it will hardly venture on such a step on the eve of a presidential election, which insures another year's delay, at the least. And with every year, nay, with every month of protection, the possibility that England may regain her hold on our markets becomes still more remote.

The present distresses in her money market are not, as the English papers would have us believe, the result of mere mismanagement on the part of the Glasgow Bank's directors. That mismanagement was rather an effect than a cause of the bad state of business. It was the desperate acts of men who had invested the money intrusted to them in what everybody thought sound and legitimate enterprise, but had seen solid houses carried headlong to ruin, and had "thrown good money after bad" in the effort to save them. The recent management of the bank's affairs is not capable of vindication; but it seems very clear that the managers lost their heads, and preferred to risk further loss rather than accept the ruin which was threatened. They pursued exactly the policy which the whole commercial world of England is now avowedly adopting, and especially the banks toward each other,—the policy of extending help even to unsafe concerns, for fear of the consequences of permitting them to go down. But that policy can only maintain itself for a time. The number of unsafe concerns, and the degree of their danger, cannot but increase so long as the present status of business lasts. And no one can indicate the quarter from which an improvement is to be expected.

While the people of other countries cannot but feel some satisfaction in seeing the end of a commercial supremacy which has been so insolently and tyrannically exercised, there are but few who would rejoice to see England's greatness and her influence overthrown. Least of all could America afford to witness that humiliation. The ancestor of our fuller liberty, the chief champion of religious toleration in Europe, the old homestead of the Anglo-Saxon race, has claims upon our regard beyond any other foreign power. Our worst wishes for her are to see her compelled to do justice to the English and Scotch peasant, and to the Irish and the Indian peoples,—to see her abandon that dream that she is to be the workshop of the world, and can keep all other nations in industrial subjugation,—to see her slowly developing her agriculture and reclaiming her waste lands, until her fields support the millions who have been driven into the cities, and feed the whole population of her soil,—to see her better self regaining the upper hand in foreign policy, and the jingoes and their leader driven into the background. So mote it be.

ROBERT ELLIS THOMPSON.

BIZET'S "CARMEN."

IN adapting Prosper Merimée's *Carmen* for the operatic stage, Messrs. Meilhac and Halevy labored under a serious disadvantage—the heroine inspires aversion instead of sympathy. Her intense nature, strong only in its darker traits, and exerting an influence as irresistible as fate upon the soldier Don José, was all-sufficient for Merimée's purpose in writing his sketch, but the playwrights felt obliged, by way of contrast, to make much of the peasant girl, Michaela.

While we have no ground on which to venture an opinion as to the genuineness of the orchestral score used by the Strakosch company, (Messrs. Choudens, the Paris publishers, and Mr. Mapleson, the manager, alleging that it is arranged from the piano score, while Messrs. Strakosch and Behrens as stoutly deny this) we cannot but feel that much of the interest of *Carmen* lies in the treatment of the orchestra. The instrumentation is at times original and ingenious. But while the originality is easily recognized, the beauty of that which is new is not always so apparent. The best effects are happy conceits rather than striking beauties. In finding melodies for the heroine, Mr. Bizet seems to have carefully kept in view Merimée's description of the Basque and gypsy songs, as "melancolique et bizarre." While, in a musical sense, the various characters are nicely contrasted, the total impression is that of cleverness rather than strength.

Miss Kellogg (*Carmen*) was in better voice than ever, and has evidently made a careful study of the dramatic requirements of her rôle. While we willingly leave it to others to decide whether she be a clever actress or not, there can be no doubt that she is a vocalist of a high degree of excellence, an artiste of whom we may well be proud. Miss Marco, who has a fair voice, good method and pleasing stage presence, created a favorable impression as Michaela.

Carmen was introduced under a double disadvantage. Firstly, excessive puffing had led many to expect a work which, by the force of its own merit, rather than by suggestive reminiscences, would remind them of Wagner, Gounod or Meyerbeer. Secondly, while there is much of life and bustle, and of picturesque groupings and stage-settings, the effect of all this was lost by the long and dreary *entr'actes*. So serious was this annoyance that a large portion of the audience, tired with waiting, left long before the end of the initial performance.

Leisure Hour Series.—GADDINGS WITH A PRIMITIVE PEOPLE. By M. A. Baillie Grohman. New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1878.

What adds greatly to our confidence in gaddings which betray an intimacy with the natives and their dialects, and a *bonhomie* not at all English, is the fact that Mr. Grohman is, by parentage, half Austrian, being as well acquainted with German as with his mother tongue, and the possessor, into the bargain, of an old *schloss* in the Tyrol. Besides this, he is a shot and an athlete, otherwise certain bull's eyes he made after a wedding dinner and a dance he took part in, which included such features as jumping in the air and coming down on one's knees, beating a ra-ta-ta-ta on the floor with the same, occasionally bending backward, with folded arms, till the head touches behind, would be incredible. We also infer that he is a good deal of a dare-devil. But then, in Alpine climbing, the perspective is so prodigious, and the heights so high, and the depths so deep, compared to one's foothold, that a photograph of a quiet old lady on a carriage-road would make the beholder's blood curdle. But we have to admit that Mr. Grohman, with the advantages mentioned and a loyal adoption of the dress and dialect of the Tyrol, is a chiel prepared for taking notes.

To appreciate the Tyrol now we must not lose sight of its past. Five hundred and thirty-seven ruined castles testify to days when it was far more important: the high road between Italy and Germany for the Roman legions and the armies of the Crusaders. For many years past it has been a community living almost by itself; compared with its old contemporaries, primitive. But, before the baleful influence of Cook and the Tourist, or, to speak seriously, before a better civilization, the old traditions are going down. We can hardly imagine a better preserve of antiquities than a country formerly a thoroughfare, and of important foreign connections, gradually dropping loose from all its neighbors and growing old under the lymphatic influence of the Roman Catholic Church. We are surprised to hear from Mr. Grohman, that for the last quarter of a century the clergy of the South Tyrol have rigorously suppressed all the old merry-makings. Some customs we recognize as derived directly from the Romans, like that of offering in the churches effigies, in wood or wax, of persons or things saved from accident, injury, or sickness. Images of legs, cattle, babies, etc., are hung up at the altar as the ship-wrecked Roman hung up his votive tablet or his clothes. So, an unintelligible formula, which it has been usual for a bride to address to her mother-in-law, has been explained as the corruption of the Roman address on a similar occasion: *Ubi tu Caius ego Caia*.

Many remarkable ceremonies and customs in connection with betrothal and marriage are told which we have not time to mention. To the merry-makings of this and many another primitive

people what would our Yankees say, whom pleasures make

" Kind o' winch
Ez though 't was sunthin' paid for by the inch ;
But yet we do contrive to worry thru,
Ef dooty tells us that the thing's to du,
An' kerry a hollerday, ef we set out,
Ez steddily ez though 'twas a redoubt."

The subject of Paradise plays deserved better treatment than the story of one Mr. Grohman did not see, told with an irreverence and a pertness that even profane ears could not enjoy. On the whole the book contains a great deal that is interesting, although the telling of it is not beyond praise.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

- Collection of Foreign Authors.—Remorse, from the French of Th. Bentzon. S'wd. Pp. 216. Price 50 cents. New York: D. Appleton & Co. [Porter & Coates.]
- Collection of Foreign Authors, No.—Jean Teterol's Idea, from the French of Victor Cherbuliez. S'wd. Pp. 319. Price 60 cents. New York: D. Appleton & Co. [Porter & Coates.]
- Handy-Volume Series.—Mrs. Jack. By Frances Eleanor Trollope. Pp. 130. Price 20 cents. New York: D. Appleton & Co. [Porter & Coates.]
- Handy-Volume Series.—John A—Dreams, a Tale. Pp. 234. Price 30 cents. New York: D. Appleton & Co. [Porter & Coates.]
- Handy-Volume Series.—English Literature, 569—1832. By T. Arnold, Pp. 185. Price 25 cents. New York: D. Appleton & Co. [Porter & Coates.]
- All Around the House; or, How to make Homes Happy. By Mrs. H. W. Beecher. Cloth. 12mo. Pp. 460. New York: D. Appleton & Co. [Porter & Coates.]
- On the Plains and Among the Peaks. By Mary Dartt. 16mo. S'wd. Pp. 237. Price 50 cents. Philadelphia: Claxton, Remsen & Haffelfinger.
- The Waverly Dictionary. By May Rogers. 12mo. Cloth. Pp. 357. Price \$2.00. Chicago: S. C. Griggs & Co. [Claxton, Remsen & Haffelfinger.]
- Cross's Eclectic Short-Hand; a new system. By J. Geo. Cross, A.M. 12mo. Cloth. Pp. 304. Price \$2.00. Chicago: S. C. Griggs & Co. [Claxton, Remsen & Haffelfinger.]
- Grammar-Land; or Grammar in Fun, for the Children of School-Shire. By M. L. Nesbitt. Cloth. 16mo. Pp. 120. Price \$1.25. New York: Henry Holt & Co. [Porter & Coates.]
- Johnson's Chief Lives of the Poets and Macaulay's Life of Johnson, with a preface by Matthew Arnold. Cloth. 12mo. Pp. 439. Price \$2.00. New York: Henry Holt & Co. [Porter & Coates.]
- The Studio Arts. By Elizabeth Winthrop Johnson. Cloth. 16mo. Pp. 161. Price 60 cents. New York: Henry Holt & Co. [Claxton, Remsen & Haffelfinger.]
- Poems by Matthew Arnold. Cloth. 12mo. Pp. 370. Price \$2.00. New York: Macmillan & Co. [Claxton, Remsen & Haffelfinger.]
- Songs of Italy. By Joaquin Miller. Cloth. 16mo. Pp. 186. Boston: Roberts Bros. [J. B. Lippincott & Co.]
- Modern Frenchmen. Five Biographies. By Philip Gilbert Hamerton. Cloth. 12mo. Pp. 422. Price \$2.00. Boston: Roberts Bros. [Porter & Coates.]
- The Political Adventures of Lord Beaconsfield. 16mo. S'wd. Pp. 192. Price 40 cents. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. [Porter & Coates.]
- Recollections of Writers. By Charles and Mary Cowden Clarke. 12mo. Cloth. Pp. 347. Price \$1.75. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. [Porter & Coates.]
- Prince Bismarck's Letters to his Wife, his Sister and others, from 1844 to 1870. Translated from the German by Fitzh. Maxse. Cloth. 16mo. Pp. 259. Price \$1.00. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. [Porter & Coates.]
- The Ethics of Positivism; A Critical Study. By Giacomo Barzelotti. Cloth. 12mo. Pp. 327. New York: Charles P. Somerby. [J. B. Lippincott & Co.]

THE
PENN MONTHLY.

DECEMBER.

THE MONTH.

WITH every prospect of the severest hard times at home this winter, England has entered upon a needless and expensive war with Afghanistan,—a war without adequate motive, and certain to be disastrous whether it succeed or fail. Should England conquer Afghanistan, she must abandon the safe frontier of the Himalayehs and court that very collision with Russia in Central Asia which it has been her policy to avoid. If she fail, her Indian empire will have received a severe blow, and her hold upon her Hindoo subjects will be decidedly weakened. Wahabee fanaticism, already powerful among her Moslem subjects, will spread like wildfire; and there will be a “war of zeal” to convert India, now “a house of confusion,” into the home of the true faith. Of course, the former will be the less of the two dangers, and it is impossible not to admire the pluck with which this imperial people take up every new conquest to which their extended frontier invites them. Their god Terminus has never gone backward, except in one memorable instance. But, nonè the less, imperialism is politically immoral,—is the murder of nations from base motives. And the imperialism of England never wore a baser aspect than at this moment, when its partnership with jingoism robs it of its last claim upon either sympathy or admiration.

The constitutional aspect of the question is not without interest for Americans. Some among us are disposed to contrast unfavorably our methods of government with those of England. But no

American president could involve the country in war, without even going through the forms consulting the representatives of the people on the subject. There is, indeed, a tradition to the same effect in England, but there are statesmen with whom constitutional traditions count for very little. And the Earl of Beaconsfield is one of these. He will not even receive a deputation which approaches him with a remonstrance against impending war.

The financial basis of the war is not yet settled, so far as the despatches give us information. Some Englishmen say that the Exchequer must bear the expense, since the Indian treasury is exhausted. Others protest against this bad precedent, on the ground that Indian statesmen and generals will not stop their conquests short of the North Pole, if they feel that they can call upon the home government to pay the costs. The poverty of India is regarded as a wholesome check upon the ambitions of the official class, and the proposal to use the English Exchequer is feared as a bad precedent. Nor is the Exchequer so overflowing at present as to warrant extensive drafts on it. A very large deficit will be shown in the forthcoming budget, instead of the surplus which Mr. Gladstone uniformly reported. The English taxpayer begins to feel that his pocket calls for a change of government; but since 1869 the taxpayers no longer elect the Parliament, and nothing brings home the evils of expensive government to the "residuum."

THE political situation created by the Treaty of Berlin, shows somewhat clearer signs of permanence. "Order reigns in" Bosnia and Herzegovina; the advance of the Austrian troops has stopped short of the Albanian districts; the Porte has at last made up its mind to do something for Greece, and to go through the form of reforming its rule in Asia Minor. The only unsettled points are its relations with Russia. The withdrawal of the Czar's troops has been countermanded, and until all treaty obligations have been discharged, they will remain within easy march of Constantinople.

We suspect that hostile relations to Russia are kept open at the instance of England, and in the expectation that there are impending complications with Russia which may make it useful to keep Turkey on the verge of war. The jingos have set their heart on a *crescentade* in behalf of the Sultan; they have been disappointed

of their desire once by Gladstone and the tax-payers. But they have not given it up.

A MANIA for king-killing seems to be spreading in Europe. The socialists, despairing of every other approach to revolutionary chaos, seem to have hit on the assassination of the royal caste as the one possible means to that end, which they still possess. They have, of course, greatly injured their cause by this decision. The attacks upon the aged Emperor of Germany excited such abhorrence, that the soldier who volunteered to execute one of the assassins and refused all compensation for it, was held to be ennobled by the deed, and became the hero of the drawing-rooms; while severe laws for the suppression of the very opinions of the socialists have been enacted and widely enforced. The attempt on the life of the poor young King of Spain, the most estimable and the most beloved of all the royal caste, excited not less horror, and the Spanish government wisely entrusted the person of their monarch to the love of his people, abstaining from new legislation and even from stricter precautions. King Humbert of Italy has no such personal claims upon the affection of his people. But he is to them the symbol of that hard-won unity of Italy, which they prize so highly that it helps them to forget the political evils of their situation. Besides, he is the heir of a heroic line, who believed in Italy and made sacrifices for her sake, when all other sovereigns seemed banded together for her destruction. The recent attempt on the king's life has therefore aroused no less horror and indignation. From pope to peasant, every class of Italians uttered a cry of horror; the radical premier interposed his own person to save the king, and was severely wounded; the *sbirri* hardly saved the assassin from being torn in pieces by the mob.

In Italy Socialism seems to have taken deep root, and to have spread far and wide, especially among the rising generation. The habits of secret conspiracy, fostered by long ages of foreign despotism, takes this new shape. Society is still in great part honey-combed by secret associations, like the old *Carbonari*, but without their patriotic motive. All the hate and destructive passion which Bourbon and Austrian rule had engendered, is now directed against the very order of society, and the disappointments felt by

those who looked to Italian unity as the beginning of the golden age, have helped to the same result. Were king-killing the only crimes of these fanatics, they might be pitied in their delusions. But what shall we say when explosive bombs are thrown into the ranks of regiments, and among crowds of innocent civilians gathered by some loyal or patriotic instinct? Centuries ago, they would have said that an evil spirit of enmity and destruction sometimes takes possession of men, and prompts them to do evil for evil's sake. Our century seems to have rejected that explanation, but it has certainly devised no intelligible substitute for it.

THE failure of Mr. Evarts to secure a reopening from the British government of the Fisheries Award is to be regretted on quite other grounds than that it makes it necessary to pay over a sum of money out of the United States Treasury. It will strengthen the hands of the less scrupulous among our statesmen, who hold that nations are not bound by any delicate considerations of honor in international relations, and that the coarsest maxims of unscrupulous traders are good enough for the management of diplomacy. An award which is on the face of it grossly unjust, which requires us to pay three to four times the amount of license asked of American vessels to legalize their enjoyment of all the in-shore fisheries in question, besides relinquishing duties to nearly three times that amount, has been pronounced by the majority only of a board of arbitration. The Treaty contained no provision sanctioning the decision of a majority in this case, as it sanctioned such a decision in all other cases of arbitration under that Treaty. Both on technical grounds, therefore, and those of substantial justice, the case was open to reconsideration. But the English answer is in substance: "Gentlemen, we don't mean to allow the decision to be questioned, for it has been in our favor."

If England can afford this line of action, we can. Even as a question of money in our treasury, we can afford it, for the payment of the Fisheries Award makes it likely that not a penny of the nine millions left after paying the private claims under the Geneva Award, will ever be refunded. Up to this date the advocates of the plan to refund that money—and our readers will remember that we are of the number—have had a strong case. They have

appealed to the national conscience and sense of honor, with evident indications of a successful result. They may still urge that no other course is open to us with honor, but they will be met by the retort, that if the Geneva Award was in excess of private claims, that of Halifax was far more in excess, and yet the United States has had to pay it. It will be said that it will be time enough to pay back this money, when John Bull resolves to make an honest investigation of the amount justly due in the Fisheries case and refunds the surplus. The decision which gave us the larger amount at Geneva is just as valid as that which gave him the lesser one at Halifax.

It is true that the absolute standard of right binds the United States to refund the nine millions, even though they were cheated at Halifax. But it is hard to get a nation to believe that it is bound to be more honest to others than they are to it. We do not think the proposal to refund altogether lost as yet, but we would have it put hereafter in this shape:—that whatever is left after payment of private claims, and after deducting seventy-five per cent. of the Halifax Award, be handed over to the English Exchequer.

This disagreement adds one more to the reasons for the popular dissatisfaction with arbitration as a method of settling international difficulties. This is not the less true, although the case is no fair instance of arbitration. The whole constitution of the Board was unsatisfactory, for no Belgian should be accepted by any foreign power as an arbitrator where English interests are at stake. Since 1830, Belgium has been little more than a political appendage to England. And the Board showed, in the actual results of its deliberations, that it was either grossly incompetent to discharge the duties required of it, or else grossly unfair in their discharge.

The present payment secures all the rights in question to American fishermen until the year 1884. But it is altogether certain that no proposal to renew it, or even to open negotiations on the subject, will be listened to by the American Senate. For the future our neighbors will assess and collect such licenses on inshore fishing as they choose, without drawing on the United States Treasury.

“It might have been worse!” is hardly a note of triumph; and

yet there has been among the Republicans a good deal of jubilation over the November elections, which has this for its burden. The House is lost as well as the Senate, but the Democratic majority is reduced instead of being increased. Nothing can be carried, as a party measure, over the President's veto in the next Congress, any more than in this. And should the next Presidential election throw the choice of the President upon the House, the Republicans have a majority of State delegations, and will in that case elect the President. Still more important is the indication that the Democrats are not to elect the President in 1880 after all. They still can count on the solid vote of the South, but New York, Connecticut and New Jersey having gone Republican, nothing but Indiana is certain to vote with the South. It might certainly have been worse for the Republicans. A solid North was more than they had hoped for. But thanks, partly to the attitude assumed by the South in Congress, and their treatment of the colored voters, and partly to the cipher disclosures, the North is more solidly Republican than the most sanguine political prophet would have dared to predict. Had the next President been chosen in 1878, there can hardly be a doubt as to which of the parties who would have nominated him.

As we have said, the Republicans owe more to the demerits of their enemies than to their own merits. The Democrats throughout the country, having failed to utter any hearty repudiation of the cipher villainies, and having shown a disposition to palliate the wickedness of that procedure, they were justly held responsible for it at the polls. They would now like to get rid of this responsibility, but it is too late, for it is of no use to plead after the verdict.

Besides this, the course adopted by the Southern Democrats toward the colored voters lost the party many votes in these elections, and will cost it still more in the future. We are not of the number who look to see any Southern state permanently controlled by the colored vote. We believe that the classes which weigh most in a social and moral sense, will in the long run control those who merely count most. We should have very little faith in the future of Democracy, if we believed that mere majorities could rule. But the South have shown that they have not the slightest faith in anything but brute force and fraud. The white Demo-

crats of South Carolina have put themselves on the moral level of the corrupt Republican legislature which for a time dominated over that state; they have robbed themselves of the real, substantial sympathy which had been extended to them by great bodies of their Northern fellow citizens, and they have managed to make Mason and Dixon's Line once more a line of political significance. Nothing but a thorough examination into elections held in Louisiana, Florida and South Carolina, and a rejection of those who were not lawfully elected, can save the Democratic party from the disastrous results which are ahead of it. But we fear that the Democratic House is quite incapable of so much virtue, and all the more incapable because of its reduced majority. It is certainly not the interest of the Republicans as partisans that their enemies should clear their skirts in this matter.

One good result we hope from this evil state of things, and that is the growth of a conviction that the national government is the only competent guardian of the life and liberties of its people. In no other civilized country could such atrocities have been perpetrated, while the national executive sat as a powerless spectator, and the national courts were obliged to confess their want of jurisdiction. The superstition of state rights should have been cast out of the Constitution at the close of the war, of which it was the leading cause, and the national government should have been made the supreme judge in all cases and causes whatsoever. We shall come to that yet. South Carolina is helping us to it.

The Greenback vote has shown itself powerful enough to prevent the victorious party, in most of the States, from getting anything more than a plurality, instead of the usual majority. Were it able and willing to unite its forces with the minority, a transfer of power would be the result. And should the movement go on gathering strength, as it has done during the last two years, the result might be equally disastrous. That it is to come to a stand, seems to be the conclusion of many Republican politicians; but of this we are not so certain. Should the hard times continue, and should the party prune off its fiat money doctrines, and other absurdities, and adopt a more rational platform, it would then begin to get control of many votes, which have not as yet been cast for it. But a law to retire the national bank currency, and to substitute national money to the same amount, would rob the move-

ment of all its *raison d'être*, and nearly all its power. If the Democrats are wise, this is the direction in which they will move. It is their one chance to make a good point against the Republicans.

It is not often that the defeat of local political aspirations excites such hearty gratification throughout the country, as did the failure of Mr. B. F. Butler to elect himself Governor of Massachusetts. It is amazing to find that such a multitude of voters could be found to cast their suffrage for such a man. Had not a great number of Democrats voted for Mr. Talbot, instead of the regular nominee of the party, the result might have been disastrous. But the election shows that in spite of the great changes which have taken place in the population of the Bay State, there is still principle enough in her people to rally them, without distinction of party, to resist the election of a man whom they could not respect to an office which implies respect.

A very important and interesting trial has been going on in the United States District Court at Baltimore, but without attracting much attention either there or in other cities. For some time past the authorities have suspected the practice of gross frauds in the revenue in the importation and the reexportation of sugars. Duties are assessed upon sugars in proportion to their quality, which has been tested solely by their color. It has been assumed that whatever made them vary from whiteness was the molasses left in the manufacture, and that the amount thus left was the factor which determined the relative value of two sugars. This Dutch Standard was devised for sugars made in the old way in open pans and merely drained; but the manufacture has undergone a complete revolution in recent years. Sugar is now refined in vacuum pans and "cured" by the centrifugal process; the conversion of all the saccharine substance into sugar has been carried to greater perfection, and the amount lost by being left in the condition of molasses, has been reduced to a very small percentage. And yet a very large amount of low grade sugar still continues to enter our ports, coming from establishments which certainly could not find their

interest in leaving the juice of the sugar-cane in such a condition as the color of their product seemed to indicate. A suspicion arose that high-grade sugars are colored with some foreign substance in order to rank as sugars of a low grade, and that they were easily purified of this coloring matter, either for sale in our own market, or for reexportation. In the latter case the government of course refunded the duties supposed to have been paid in the first instance, and as the sugars were now evidently of a high grade, and had not passed through American refineries, the duties refunded were, of course, much greater than those originally paid. The loss of the revenue from this source is estimated at ten millions a year.

The case on trial at Baltimore elicited evidence of scientific experts—among whom were Dr. Moore of Jersey City, Drs. Genth and Sadtler of the University of Pennsylvania, Prof. Johnson of Yale and Prof. Collier of Washington,—who explained the method of deception employed. They had been furnished with samples of sugars so dark, that when they washed them with common molasses under the eyes of the court, their color was materially improved, thus demonstrating that their darkness of shade was not due to the only legitimate source of color. They also showed that the coloring substance used was a compound of sugar with sulphuric acid (oil of vitriol), whose presence they detected by quantitative analyses in amounts which forbade any notion of its being other than an artificial addition. When they burnt the sugar, they got no carbonate of potash, such as is found in the ashes of every vegetable substance, but they got the sulphate, for the reason that all the carbonic acid had been driven out and the potash taken up by the powerful acid which was present in such quantities. And they showed that the coloring matter was added mechanically after the sugar was crystallized, and did not result from the process of refining, for some of the lumps contained in the samples were fairly black on the inside, but had crystals of light color on the outside.

The results of the trial in such a city as Baltimore and under our present jury system, have been eminently satisfactory. The government did not press a verdict charging the defendants personally with fraud, but only such a verdict on the facts as would lead to the setting aside the Dutch Standard as a test of quality. The government can now collect all back duties on these sugars, and

can compel the repayment into the Treasury of all the drawbacks allowed on exportation. But it is understood that the Treasury does not intend to give up the matter with this decision. Probably the next trial will be in New York, where a good deal of stir has been created about the question.

OUR Philadelphia "Society for Organizing Charitable Relief and Repressing Mendicancy," is getting well under way in most of the wards before the setting in of winter. The 22d, 14th, 30th, 7th, 8th, 9th, 10th, 13th, 15th, 29th, 26th, 24th and 27th, are already organized in connection with the society, and others are in hand. By the beginning of next year, the great majority of the wards will have associations at work through their boards of directors. The quality of what has been effected thus far is even more encouraging than its quantity. The people seem to take hold with a quiet enthusiasm for the ideas of the new movement, and a hearty desire to know exactly what is proposed and to do it. And this not true only of those who are new beginners in the field. The representatives and adherents of the existing charities are among the prominent champions and friends of the movement, as they recognize that there is no purpose either to depreciate or to displace them, but only a desire to enable them to carry out their own ideas more fully than they have been able to do.

Nor has the new society lacked that disguised blessing, a "candid friend" to tell it of its faults. A good deal of pains has been taken to prejudice the public mind through the press and by circulars addressed to persons of prominence, but as yet with no results. The public have been vainly warned that this is a political scheme, although it fully represents all political parties, as well as all types of religious belief, and has been careful to constitute the ward boards of persons not in any way prominent in political life. The only basis of the charge is the fact that in the central board,—made up of picked men from these ward boards and the benevolent societies, and containing about one hundred persons,—seats are given to the six city officials, whose duties bring them into contact with the care of the poor. This board will have no control of the funds raised for relief, and no power to appoint the officers employed to dispense it; yet it seems that these six are certain to

outvote the rest of the hundred, to seize on the treasuries of the thirty-three ward associations, and to appoint all the officers, and prevent anybody getting relief unless he votes right!

The other objection chiefly urged is that the plan is a very expensive one. It is to spend—we are told—vast sums in office expenses and salaries. But, in fact, the amount of expense is absolutely under control of the directors in each ward association. The society is chiefly anxious that they shall minimize it to the utmost. It suggests and even urges them to unite with each other in having the same office and the same superintendent for two or even three wards, wherever it is possible. That the work of investigation and registration, which these superintendents are to undertake ought to be done, no body has even doubted. That it can be done by unpaid agents, nobody has asserted. And the gist of this plan is to employ just the smallest number of them that can be expected to do the work efficiently, to pay them just the lowest salaries for which competent men can be had, and to select them with reference to their competence and nothing else. The professional beggars of the city extract from the pockets of our people something over ten times the amount specified in the most extravagant estimates of the cost of the new society and its associations. And those estimates, whether put forward in good faith or not, are absurdly exaggerated and misleading.

ART INDUSTRY AT THE PARIS EXPOSITION OF 1878.

(Adapted from the Report of Hofrath J. Von Falke of Vienna.)

I. JAPAN.

IN the last decade, this remarkable little country has accomplished great progress, as we all know, in the way of internal reform, adoption of European and American institutions, steam engines, implements and all manner of things practical. They are making haste to dock their pig-tails and top-knots, and we see them, both at home and abroad, rushing madly into swallow-tail coats, chimney pot hats and all the other paraphernalia of our picturesque male attire of the period. They are anxious to copy western civilization with all its faults, and we cannot wonder, therefore, at their art-

industry bearing the evidence of being influenced by European ideas of decoration and, most frequently, by those which possess no higher artistic merit than the chimney-pot hat or the swallow-tail coat. If in the Vienna Exhibition of 1873 and in that of Philadelphia in 1876, we admired Japan for its highly original and peculiar products, in particular their antique work, we cannot help coming to the conclusion that their present exhibit—with exceptions, to be sure—shows the evil influence of Western meretricious decoration upon the art-industry of a little Eastern nation which remained unrivalled in its way, as long as it stuck to its own art and worked for its home trade only.

Of quantity, there is no lack. Bronzes, enamels, porcelain, lacquer, carved wood work, textile fabrics, embroideries, all in the well known quaint, bizarre designs and showing the usual neat and highly finished workmanship, the same delicate handling of color. But on most of all this, the brand of occidental principles or false principles of art is more or less plainly to be seen. Here we perceive some porcelain vases—admirable otherwise—ornamented by an imitation of twisted cord, with knotted bow and tassel as though tied together; and yonder we behold the ornamentation of classic Greece on modern Japanese enamel and porcelain. The influence of European industry is even more palpable in the Japanese bronzes, of which there is a host, all more or less shiny, whilst their antique work is remarkable for velvety smoothness of surface. All this gloss and polish—the more disagreeable the greater the amount of raised ornament—is clearly due to this baneful influence.

Whenever national art-industry abandons the well-worn grooves in which it has run for centuries, when its creative faculties are worn out, it is apt to take to puerile imitation and deceit, makes its iron work to look like leather, wood like porcelain, and *vice versa*, and generally strives to give the material an appearance not legitimately belonging to its kind, besides eking out the poverty of its ideas by combining materials or decorative processes not truly related to each other. We have seen European countries pass through this phase, and we now see Japan commencing to do so. The earliest example is probably the application of gold lacquer to porcelain, as far back as the last century, then chiefly to hide defects in the porcelain. This has grown into a general practice in our day, and occurs frequently in vases of gigantic size. Another in-

stance, is the covering of porcelain with a full coat of *émail cloisonné*. Vases, cups and other objects first appeared thus decorated about ten years ago, but now there is a host of them to be seen in Paris. Ancient Japan never produced this kind of work, but confined the application of enamel to metal only, and I cannot help thinking that the ancients were right in not trying to plaster a part-metallic coat over a material so fragile as porcelain, no matter how successful the workmanship of these *cloisonné-on-porcelain* vases, and notwithstanding the pretty effect of many of them.

This coat of enamel is also applied to bronze, real polished and inlaid bronze vases, etc., in which the task of the enamel is only to lend color to certain parts, a task happily achieved in some few cases, but with real success only with a translucent enamel which has a charming effect when on dark brown bronze. The few objects thus decorated found purchasers immediately.

Japanese art of our day, not content with the amount of intermixture already described, in the application of lacquer to porcelain, treats this coat of lacquer as metal, silver-plates and gilds it and apparently inlays it with threads of gold and silver, which, however, are really only laid on with the brush. Thus there are lacquer, porcelain, metal and enamel mixed up or stuck together quite contrary to the individual character of each. But, for all that, we ought not to deny that much of this has a very pretty effect. The Japanese artist has so true a knowledge of the latter that he rarely misses it entirely. And he always manages to charm by wonderful neatness of workmanship.

The lacquer work, too, has degenerated. Thus, for instance, we perceive in it grey and grey-black tints more frequently than before, too highly polished surfaces, just as in the bronzes, and gigantic productions excelling in size all previous work, such as the principal show piece, a screen in gold lacquer, for which no less a sum than 65,000 francs is asked.

Porcelain seems to stick more closely to ancient pattern and design than any of the above named work, and yet of this, too, there are oddities and novelties to be seen; for instance, a lot of large vases of doubtful merit, with figures and plants of realistic design in high relief. Several well known kinds of pottery and porcelain have sadly run to seed, witness the Satsuma ware and the brilliant Kaga, decorated in red and gold. The latter, in the matter of

crude effect, rivals the lower taste of the Western art, a palpable leaning to which is also shown by a lot of furniture, arm-chairs, tables and the like, all in blue porcelain. No matter how well the Japanese may have managed the color and the general appearance or effect of all this modern work, the difference between it and their antique productions is too patent to admit of a moment's doubt as to which is the most beautiful.

The first efforts of the Japanese in carpets smack too strongly of European influence to entitle them to a place for novelty or originality, and their textile fabrics also show that they are pandering to European taste in realistic arrangement of design, the crude green and red tones proving that they are seeking the trade legitimately belonging to Manchester or Birmingham. More's the pity. The amateur passes it all by with a shrug, whilst he never fails to derive pleasure from the productions in which Japan has preserved intact its own peculiar designs.

II. CHINA.

The Chinese are not as intelligent and as inventive as the Japanese, nor as quick to adopt European civilization. Their pig-tail sticks more firmly, and they are evidently not in a hurry to cut it off and to don our swallow-tail coat and white choker. Hence their art-industry has preserved its ancient raiment, as to general form and design, more carefully than the Japanese have theirs; but ever since they came more freely into contact with European trade and industry their workmanship has ceased to be what it was, and it is now far behind that of the Japanese of the present day.

And yet their show contains much that is beautiful, or that affords material for study. The exhibitors are chiefly dealers, in particular native exporters and bric-a-brac merchants, and they have a very fair collection of ancient porcelain, enamel and bronze, which, however, whilst unquestionably beautiful, cannot here be noticed otherwise than as a standard of comparison for the modern work exhibited.

Unlike the Japanese, the Chinese have not extended or elaborated the manufacture of bronzes, but they have certainly worked hard at a revival of the *émail cloisonné* work. Not following in the tracks of their French imitators, who usually spoil the effect of

color by excessive quantity of gilt metal, they have been fairly successful in their modern *émail cloisonné* bowls, jardinières, vases for lamps, etc., which are very excellent, clear and pure in color even, and generally faultless as to surface. Only, we must not, as we see it done in this exhibition, place them alongside of the antique work in the same material, because we then see how much more crude and hard the modern is in color, as well as in depth and harmony of tone.

Whilst European demand (to which, in a great measure, this revival of *cloisonné* may be due) has not tainted it as yet with false principles of decoration, we cannot say as much for other objects manufactured by the Chinese especially for the European trade. Conspicuous amongst such is the large quantity of furniture thoroughly European in pattern, but decorated *à la Chinoise*. It is either carved of dark or light wood, or inlaid with ivory, or it is in red lacquer with gilt raised ornament—the latter very effective, but too gaudy. The combination of European shape with Chinese decoration is common to all these descriptions of furniture, but, whilst the former is thoroughly bad, the latter maintains the Chinese standard of originality and finish. All this furniture is uncomfortable to a degree, but as it is effective to a certain extent, it might answer for those whose object is show rather than comfort and severe taste.

Another kind of manufacture hankering after European trade is the lacquer furniture of all kinds, writing and sewing tables, tea-trays and salvers, all in gold lacquer on black ground. The gold is laid on flat, not raised, as in the Japanese lacquer, and represents birds, plants, flowers and scenes from Chinese daily life, all very neatly done, but not equal to the Japanese lacquer. Like all the other Europeanized furniture, everything in this line more important than the little boxes, cups, or trays is a failure, because badly constructed.

The discord produced by the mixture of Chinese and European designs is also patent in the case of the most beautiful of their modern work shown in Paris—their embroidery,—although less so than in the foregoing. Nowhere else in this show is the Chinese artist as successful as in this, and here his taste and arrangement of color seem to have reached the highest point. Even the simplest things are charming. Shawls and coverlets embroidered

in arabesques of the same color and, generally, of fine design, or the same thing in colored arabesques on white ground. Higher in order of merit, coverlets and table-covers in gold and color embroidery, often with quaint drawing of landscape and clouds. But the best of all are fire-screens and folding-screens, each panel embroidered on satin or on gold tissue and mounted in carved frames. Decoration, generally, foregrounds of landscape, plants, trees in blossom, gay birds and butterflies. The design so graceful, elegant, so full of "go," so natural, and sometimes so happy and bold in the flight of the birds as to suggest anything but Chinese quaintness and stiffness, or, at least, so as to make us forget it. All is full of and glowing in color, flowers and birds play in all the hues of the rainbow, the feathers are admirably delicate in the shading, and the peacock feathers in particular, and the pearly ornament are most artistically treated. Yet the eye is nowhere offended, because the color is most judiciously distributed. We rarely find too strong or too broad a mass of it in any one spot.

Although the numerous objects of this kind are admirable in their way, they are not all equally so. The most beautiful are those in gold on cream-white ground; next come those on black ground; but those on green, yellow, or even purple ground are distinctly infected by European taste. However, they have still beauty enough left to entitle them to our admiration, and to cause us, for their sake, to look leniently upon much of the rubbish exhibited this time by the Celestial Empire.

III. PERSIA, TUNIS, SIAM, ANAM, ETC.

After strolling through the main avenue of the Champ de Mars building—France occupies one half of it, and the rest of the world the other—the visitor enters the pretty, ornamental grounds, extending across the Seine, on the other bank of which there looms up on the hillside the Trocadero Palace, a very curious medley of almost all the known styles of architecture, a building hardly worthy of a nation counting Viollet-le-Duc amongst its architects, but which, nevertheless, helps to brighten up the picture with its crescent-shaped colonnade, its bright color, its flags and streamers, and with the cool cascades and fountains at its base. Then, too, the visitor will come across more gay flags floating over a number

of tents and booths, owned by the representatives of the East, a merry sort of fair or bazar, in which Moroccans, Greeks, Tunisians, Arabs, Syrians, Cretans, Chinese, Japanese, and numerous Turks hailing from Paris, have met for a stroke of business with the outer barbarians. They will offer you jewelry, genuine or false, mother-of-pearl, ivory, tissues, embroideries, porcelain, pottery, and what not, treat you to their native music, dances, coffee, or even to your own particular beer,—the cosmopolitan waiter rigged out for the nonce with a fez, a striped Bedouin garment for an apron, and the rest to match. If you have patience to seek, you may find here treasures of old oriental tissue of gold or silk, and art embroideries on velvet, linen or cotton, gathered together by the dealers from all these countries. But you will not be very favorably impressed by this kind of a fair, and you will come to the conclusion that it is scarcely within the legitimate programme of an international exhibition professing lofty purposes.

This busy world is by no means the sole representative of the Eastern hemisphere, and we must return to the Champ de Mars building in order to examine its duly accredited missions. On our way we will have a look at the French Trading Company's (the "*Compagnie des Indes*,") show, which constitutes an Eastern section amidst the French textile fabrics. Unfortunately for the French manufacturers of shawls, the genuine ones of Cashmere are here exhibited alongside of the French imitations, which, of course, are, notwithstanding all their bright color and their refined French taste, completely thrown into the shade by the subdued yet warm hues, and the fascinating harmonies of color of the genuine article. Close by we perceive Smyrna carpets, really made in that town, but by a French house—Routtier and Co. The contrast of color is somewhat lively and, altogether, they show abundant evidence of Frenchified taste.

Further on we come across various small sections bearing the names of Persia, Tunis, Morocco, Siam, Anam, and so forth; the objects shown in each section are not, however, always native to the soil, because the exhibitors are chiefly exporters or Levant merchants, who are bound to show all their wares without being too nice as to the country they are supposed to represent. Thus, for instance, the Parisian firm Dalsème shows a great many carpets promiscuously in these sections, and so, of course, the unsophisti-

cated visitor's mind is obscured by doubts as to the nativity of most of these, which, whether as *portières* or as wall decoration, are plentifully distributed amongst the sections named above, without the slightest regard to the name of the country that happens to be over the entrance. There are all kinds of them to be seen here, from the gay, thick pile of Morocco, the highly-colored, quaint patterns of Tunis, and the firm, thick pile and small pattern of Khorassan, to the warm-toned flower pattern of India, thick enough to promise everlasting wear—the visitor being left to guess, if he can, where each was manufactured. Most of them, however, deserve notice, and especially those shown by Messrs. Dalsème.

Persia scarcely offers much novelty to those who have seen the international fairs of 1873 and 1876, and the quality as well as the arrangement is none of the best this time; neither are the carpets exhibited in this section equal to those Persian carpets which Vincent Robinson and Co., of London, exhibited in the main transept. We find in the Persian section their native tambour work cloth, already applied as covering to sets of European chairs, sofas, etc. North Persian velvets, heavily embroidered in silk and gold, (very like the same thing from Russian Caucasus), striped silks, engraved and pierced brass, lacquer work, gold inlaid armor, (also vases of iron similarly treated), admirable open-work embroidery on linen, worked in the harems, and the gorgeous silks of dark, subdued shawl-pattern, made for the Shah's wear only. And, to be sure, when we last beheld His Majesty—it was at this year's Grand Prix on the course of Longchamps—he wore a garment of this precise pattern and material, looking very much like an old gentleman's dressing-gown.

The representation of Persia is completed, not very happily, by a so-called Persian house in the Trocadero Park which possesses not even the merit of originality.

Tunis also does not exhibit much that can be called novel, but an examination of the North-African show is worth our while, because it still bears faint traces of ancient Moorish magnificence. They are most conspicuous in richly colored thick pile carpets, white and red-barred *portières* with broad red border, and silks in alternate stripes of gold and color, some of them very effective. Less pure in taste and already modernized, are the gold embroideries on jackets, bournous, head-gear and other raiment, and quite suspicious the

jewelry in filigree and enamel. The French imitations of this class of work actually exported to North Africa could not fail to produce a pernicious influence upon the native manufacture. The strangest products hailing from the East are furniture (tables and chests of drawers) with realistic paintings of birds and flowers on gold ground. We must be greatly mistaken if this style of painted furniture, of European form, too, mostly, and which looks precisely like Dutch or Frisian peasants' work, did not reach Tunis from Holland early in the eighteenth century, when Holland was still mistress of the seas. Sometimes, too, this kind of furniture is constructed quaintly, after ancient Arab fashion; for instance, a long wall-rack filled with pottery, the shelves of which are backed by looking-glass covered with geometrical patterns of interlaced gold ribbon, a peculiar feature of ancient Arab art. Other things, too, remind us of the latter, and of the extent to which its traditions have survived in Tunis. Among them are those cunningly contrived open-work lattices which do service for window glass. The rich have them of marble, the poor of stucco, and the specimens shown by Tunis are of the latter and cheaper kind. It is a pleasure to study their sensible and well-planned construction; they are pierced horizontally, but slanting upwards, so that the slanting rays of the sun may not be obstructed. Finally, the Tunisian pottery, though insignificant and not characteristic in shape, proclaims its ancient descent by showing on its green and yellow ground the metallic lustre peculiar to antique Hispano-Moresque faïence.

Siam and Anam bring nothing new or important. The former bears closer art relations to China, the latter to India, which is in accordance with their respective geographical positions. Both being devoted to the latter-day degenerate Buddhist art, there is no lack in their show of eccentric form and ornament. Anam's best class of workmanship, and one which finds great favor with the purchasing public, consists of cabinets, boxes, etc., of teak wood inlaid with mother-of-pearl, of decidedly Chinese design, as in all the work of this country, in which we meet again and again, the well-known Chinese dragons, monsters, the quaint rocks and the curious trees which seem to grow zig-zag fashion. Siam, on the other hand, fancies rather the Indian decoration of flower patterns evenly distributed over the whole of the surface, but, at the same time it is applied, after the Chinese fashion, on red lacquer furniture

with gilt carved ornamentation. Thus, there is a state-bed shown, Indian in design and Chinese in decoration. The gold tissues and gaily striped silks of the Siamese lean towards India in kind and effect, only they are less beautiful or gorgeous, one speciality only excepted: gold-worked cloth with insertions of small bits of looking-glass in regular patterns or arabesques, producing a brilliant effect by the combination of the red, blue or green color of the cloth, the gold, and the reflections from the bits of glass. All this kind of work exhibited here is ancient. Siam shows a variety of other things, such as gold netting, lacquer in red and gold, iron vases inlaid with gold, and jewelry which is content with looking-glass in lieu of diamonds, and which is not of superior workmanship either.

It is said the King of Siam compels all the best artisans in his country to work in his royal shops. His Majesty's treasure not being represented at this exhibition, we have no means of criticising the success of his autocratic measure. We only know that for good work from his quarter of the globe we must look to India, and that country, we are glad to say, is better represented at the Paris fair than it ever was on previous occasions.

IV. INDIA.

The art products exhibited by this ancient and wealthy country at international fairs, have drawn increased numbers of admirers, ever since the first of them in 1851, and they have drawn many more this year, one fortuitous circumstance aiding to invest them with unusual interest. Every visitor to the Champ de Mars in 1878, knows that I mean by this the magnificent collection of the Prince of Wales.

I must state at once that India itself, its merchants and trading companies, do not exhibit anything surpassing, or even equalling India's contributions on former occasions. Inaccessible Cashmere, indeed, has its special pavilion bearing this proud inscription: "If there be a paradise, you will find it within." But it is a very common-place sort of paradise, with hardly anything in it to deserve notice. Close by there is another pavilion, belonging to the London firm of Vincent Robinson and Company, which is not solely devoted to Indian, but very largely also to Persian products; but,

being in the Indian section, it calls for mention in this place, the more so as it contains much excellent ancient and modern work well worthy of examination. Antique art-embroideries of most harmonious coloring, toned and heightened in effect by time and wear, marvellous Persian tiles and faïence, antique carpets from Khiva, India, Persia and other Eastern lands, many of these carpets hundreds of years old, the glory of a painter's studio, but, alas, too costly for any one below the rank of a prince of the brush, silk carpets from the coast of Malabar (modern manufacture, Hindoo-Persian design), which, for all their beauty, would be none the worse for a little toning by wear, and so forth. There is hardly anything in this little collection that would not amply pay for the trouble of examination, and it would be difficult to find the same article of equal excellence elsewhere in this exhibition.

Not far from this pavilion of Messrs. Robinson, there are several private collections of the better known kinds of Indian work, silk, gold and commoner tissues, repoussé silver vases and épergnes of slender shape, from Cashmere, Bedree vases inlaid with silver, a very fair collection of blue tiles and gaily colored glazed pottery, the latter representing its kind pretty completely in shape and coloring; brown pottery with reddish glaze, but all this is not now exhibited for the first time and does not excite our special admiration.

The great point of attraction in the Indian collection is the Prince of Wales's show of the host of presents which he brought home from his Indian tour. Here, indeed, are the treasures of India, the wonders of the East, dazzling the eyes of Europe. All aglow with gold, diamonds and rubies, pearls and brilliant translucent enamel, the swords of Indian Maharajahs and Sultans, their shields, armor, helmets, their beautifully decorated lances and halberds, gold-inlaid guns, sumptuous cloths covered with pearls and precious stones, gold-embroidered saddles and raiment of gold tissue, inlaid and enamelled plate, cups and ewers, tazzas and vases, hookahs, fans, all manner of jewelry for arm, hands, feet, forehead, nose, ear and neck, and a thousand and one other things, each in the most sumptuous style of splendor-loving India.

Whilst, technically speaking, there is nothing novel in these works of art, there can be no question that Indian industrial art has never, at any previous exhibition, been nearly as magnificently

represented, neither did it ever before show, amongst fine modern work, so many splendid specimens of its ancient art. Many of these presents, in particular arms and armor, were once the property of princes or heroes celebrated in Indian history. We are in this instance again compelled to compare the old with the new, with the usual result, that the foremost rank, for beauty and artistic workmanship, belongs to the antique productions.

We happened, by accident, to catch sight of an insignificant object which was probably overlooked by most of the visitors, but which affords a deeper insight into real Indian life than the splendid works of art surrounding it. It is the model of a marble palace in Jeypore, the home of a grandee of one of the most important of those still semi-independent states. Nothing could more clearly illustrate the life of one of his class. Wealth and splendor seem to be growing upwards in this palace as the walls rise from the foundation to the upper stories. The house forms a square, enclosing a cool, shady court with a few plain windows on the ground floor. Here is the dwelling of the servants, of whom there is a multitude in a good Indian house. Higher up, where the masters live, the windows are larger and there are more of them. Rich, gaily-colored ornament on the lintels, and a crowd of balconies and bays. The windows are closed by Venetian blinds, or by pierced slabs of marble, of the same interlaced geometrical patterns as are to be found in the windows of the Alhambra. The interior decoration keeps pace in richness with the exterior, the higher we climb the gently ascending stairs. On the roof itself,—the Indian's favorite resting-place by day or night, where alone he can find cool and fresh air,—on the roof only, real Indian life and splendour seem to unfold themselves. Here there is something like a platform, of varying height, the several parts of which are closed off and connected by galleries, staircases and corridors, with a wealth of carpets, cushions and couches, and with tents, pavilions, kiosques, turrets, gay flags and golden ornament; and here the Indian prince or noble takes his siesta or contemplates the stars. But suppose we leave him thus delightfully occupied, to have a look at his hookah. There is one amongst the Prince's presents, a magnificent specimen of Kashmere goldsmiths' work of the highest order. The cups and vases in it are of gold, the bottom one in the shape of a flat flask studded with diamonds, set in

beautiful, deep blue enamel and gay arabesques in enamel and gold, the upper one of ball-shape, without any precious stones, only ornamented by brilliant, translucent enamel, the gold mouth-piece of similar work. Though there are other objects here of similar make, such as sword-handles, scabbards, lance-heads, daggers, cups, etc., no single piece shows, in so high a degree as this, the skill and taste of the Indians in the use of enamel as well as of precious stones. Indian goldsmiths strive after effect of color, hence they group the stones artistically in a solid bed of gold and enamel—and note well that the stones are generally uncut, or very roughly cut indeed—a mode of treatment that reminds us of the finest work of the Renaissance.

This artistic bent of mind of the native artisans may be traced in a number of objects belonging to the Prince's incomparable collection. Their work in the precious Chinese jade, which the Chinese themselves only decorate by carving, is enriched by diamonds and rubies, and ever in well arranged design, these stones again being embedded in solid gold. Of such kind are a number of sword handles, probably of ancient make, and the bosses which adorn the round Indian shield. Of the Koofgari work, the same may be said. It consists of two kinds of metal only, without precious stones or enamel. It is of steel inlaid with fine gold wires covering the whole of the surface in closely wound arabesques, the design of which is scarcely discernible to the naked eye. But the artistic arrangement is so exquisite that the brightness of the steel or the splendor of the gold never assert themselves by themselves, but blend evenly in the most pleasing and ever changing brilliancy. The Prince's collection contains numerous examples of this work, to wit, lance-heads, sword handles, scabbards, blades, helmets, shields, vases and ornaments, most of them of ancient make. The modern work is rarely good, and frequently it is utterly spoiled by the design.

Unfortunately there are many objects elsewhere in this Indian section which prove the modernizing or anglicising of Indian art and industry. This is most patent in those which come from Calcutta or the principal English settlements, whilst the productions of the North of India and of the west coast seem to be still comparatively uncontaminated. The queerest shapes shown occur in those objects which are destined solely for European use, such as candela-

bra, plate or tea services; and these, indeed, show anything but pleasing results from the grafting of European upon Indian taste.

We are happy to say these are, as yet, only isolated cases. All the rest we can look at with ever renewed interest and pleasure, admiring the clear, lucid and true feeling for art that created them, the effectiveness of the smallest or of the most important of them, whether dainty jewelry or gorgeous gold-embroidered and pearl-studded tissue, and this not because it all pretends to be highly finished work, but because a grand effect is often produced by comparatively rough work. There is no end to the lessons we might draw from their example, but there must be an end to this chapter, and so we take leave of India.

V. AMERICA.

I have ever held that America was bound, sooner or later, to develop an art-industry movement of its own; not that I fancied protective tariffs could operate as a hot-bed or nursery of art, but that the history of nations cannot prove America an exception to the common rule. A young nation is very properly likened to the poor boy who, grown rich later in life by the work of his hands or brain, rarely enjoys the true reward of his labor: viz., refined luxury and the enjoyment of art and its products, because he had no time to spare for acquiring that education which could alone enable him to appreciate refined taste. As a rule he would rest content with the consciousness of wealth and of the power begotten by it, and he would value more highly the independent feeling of being the architect of his own fortune than the pleasures of a connoisseur of the fine arts. His sons and grand-sons, rich from their cradle, and probably very carefully educated, will, of necessity, be very different beings, and will appreciate the beautiful, or, if they do not, they will at least feel the desire or the need of it. Given the latter, in this case of the individual or in that of a young nation, art and industry will be sure to come forward with their products. For a while the industry of older countries will supply this want, but the larger the means of gratifying taste, the sooner an effort will be made at home, and ere long native talent and genius, the very existence of which was unsuspected, will be found coming to the front as suddenly and with as little warning as mushrooms crop up over night.

America is in this position. Ever increasing, occasionally incredible wealth has existed there for several generations. The hour of enjoyment, the need of a higher kind of luxury and splendor has come, although the thorough appreciation of it is by no means general as yet. Heretofore Paris, London, Rome and other cities have catered for America, supplying ancient (or mock-ancient) and modern productions of industrial art. But the larger the demand upon Europe, the sooner the creation of a native art industry was to be foreseen, the more so since schools to that end had been in existence for some time.

Our hopes were not deceived. There is in the Paris fair distinct evidence of a national art-industry movement in America, and the single example which affords this evidence is so brilliant and conspicuous that it is impossible to assume that it stands alone—it must be the representative of a school of young and vigorous growth. But it is not solely because it marks the beginning of an era of American art-industry, but also because it really ranks amongst the first of its kind in this exhibition, that we mention the gold- and silversmith's work of Messrs. Tiffany and Co. of New York; it is behind none of its European rivals' work in variety and perfection of workmanship and it excels most of the latter in originality and novelty of design.

It does not indeed follow from this that all original design is bound to be good. On the contrary, originality often begets quaintness, which again is apt to border on the eccentric or grotesque. To one or the other of the latter categories belong some of Messrs. Tiffany's tea and coffee services, those of triangular or even of square form with curved sides; a coffee can in the shape of an old-fashioned stove, the lower half square and the upper cylindrical, and other cans having long, slender necks, with a most unaccountable and rather uncomfortable looking swelling or enlargement in the middle of it, and so forth.

The table service, uncommonly complete in number and kind of pieces, is not without some grotesque quaintness of design, but it is beautifully carried out. The shapes of the larger pieces may not in each case be of the purest, but they are most beautifully ornamented in closely crowded flowers and leaves of realistic design in *repoussé* work, the amount of relief being kept in good proportion. The workmanship is beautiful throughout; but, perhaps,

there may be a little too much of it, especially on the knives, forks and spoons which are literally covered with this raised work, excepting only the concave parts of the spoons which, strange to say, are enriched by engraving, and the latter, too, of Japanese design. We do not remember seeing, at this exhibition, any of Messrs. Kirk's and other Baltimore silversmiths' productions in similar *repoussé* work, which, we believe, was in use in Baltimore long before it made its appearance in New York.

Another feature of Messrs. Tiffany's work is the frequent use of Japanese patterns and ideas of ornament, and they are so expert in the application of the latter, that one almost fancies they employed Japanese metal-workers. Such, however, is not the case, though there is scarcely any mode of Japanese treatment not represented by Messrs. Tiffany, and in the greatest perfection, too.

They also show inlaid work in gold, steel, copper, silver and various colors of gold, either flat or in relief, and in Japanese, Persian, Indian and modern European designs. Many vases and cups of these kinds are a success in every way, beautiful in shape as well as in color; other things again—chiefly the smaller bits of jewelry—are odd and quaint and of most excellent workmanship.

Though the objects mentioned do not prove that Messrs. Tiffany have confined themselves very closely to any one distinct line of taste, it is equally clear that their power of execution is up to any kind of work. This is more than confirmed by an uncommon collection of jewelry which astonishes us by the mere fact of its coming to us from America. We know that America acquired by purchase the grand discoveries of antiquities made in Cyprus by the American Consul, General di Cesnola. Ancient Europe, art-loving and proud as it is of its grand museums, allowed this collection of the first rank, artistically and archæologically, to escape it. One portion of it consists of a quantity of jewelry in pure gold, showing, besides interesting design, a surprisingly high standard of the goldsmith's art, although dating back upwards of two thousand years before our era, and there is amongst it filigree work as fine as it is only met with in the much later work of Greece. America now sends the whole of this collection, copied by Messrs. Tiffany so faithfully in all its characteristic form, finish, and in all the accidents occasioned by time, that Castellani alone could have equalled it. If the original collection has run away

from us, we may still count ourselves fortunate by the opportunity now presented of acquiring these copies, and we know at least one museum likely to benefit by it.

Though the Tiffanys are the only manufacturers in the United States represented in this fair who command our unstinted praise, the very fact that such work as theirs is produced in America convinces us that there must be in that country other native talent, destined to give form and shape to its art industry movement.

We cannot refrain from noticing the extremely neat finish of some of the American plated articles, but, from our point of view, neither these, nor the pottery, nor the most of the smaller objects of jewelry exhibited by other firms are much more valuable than the excellent ladies dresses and delicately worked and embroidered ladies shoes shown in the American section.

The former Spanish colonies which made a fair beginning as exhibitors in Philadelphia in 1876, have again brought something original and something that has a tale attached to it. These countries, settled by Spain, have remained faithful to much of the Spanish costume and Spanish art-industry of the time of the seventeenth century, whilst the mother country, later on, aped the design and style and fashion-plates of other European countries. Thus the colonies have preserved sundry beautiful things of ancient origin, which are, perhaps, utterly unknown to the Spanish artisan of our day. So, also, their pottery and gay national attire, in both of which there is a Moresque character. It seems strange that Europe should be reminded of the East by New countries in the Western Hemisphere.

The manufacture of real Spanish lace seems to have been more carefully kept up there than in the mother country, probably because it is still so largely used by the native women. The lace and the open work embroideries on linen are the work of nuns, and look for all the world as though they dated from the seventeenth or early eighteenth century. Nicaragua shows mats and plaited cloths of more beautiful and more genuine patterns than Spain and Portugal, in which countries these fabrics have degenerated.

Translated by Gustavus Natorp.

NORTHERN NULLIFICATION AND ITS ANTIDOTE.

LITTLE less than half a century since the cottonocracy of the South entered upon the work of rebellion, disguised under the name of nullification. Instead of compelling submission, as should then certainly have been done, a compromise most unfortunately was made, and hence it has come to pass that the country south of the Potomac and Ohio, with every natural requisite for becoming the paradise of the world, has since been made almost a desert.

The close of the war, now more than thirteen years since, exhibited a transfer of power from the extreme South to the extreme North, the cottonocracy of the one having been replaced by the plutocracy of the other. Since then, the government has been run entirely by the money-lending class, and at the cost of that other class which, by the sweat of its brow, and the labor of its brain, most contributes to promote the industrial, moral and intellectual progress of a people. Constant success in the efforts of the former at so directing the legislation of the country as should enable themselves most rapidly to accumulate fortune, having so emboldened them as, in their opinion, to warrant further steps in that direction, we find them now, through a little coterie of banks, bankers and brokers collected together in the city of New York, setting the government at defiance, and proclaiming nullification of the law in terms as open and undisguised as were those used in the days of General Jackson, by the rebels of South Carolina, as is shown in the following resolution:

The associated banks of this city, after the 1st of January, 1879, will receive silver dollars upon deposit only under special contract to withdraw the same in kind.

The mistake which these present rebels are making consists in this, that having secured the aid of President and Secretary they have supposed that the veto would be always held in readiness for preventing any congressional action looking to enforcement of the law or protection of the people. In so doing, however, they have trusted, as they have soon to find, to a broken reed; a simple, concurrent resolution, for whose adoption nothing is needed beyond a mere majority of the two Houses, being all that is required for

scattering this rebellion to the winds. That our readers may see how very simple, and yet how effective, is the machinery provided for maintaining in full the power of the government, we give here below, a preamble and resolution that could be carried through both Houses in little more than a single hour, and that would quash the rebellion so effectually that it would never again be heard of.

PREAMBLE AND RESOLUTION.

WHEREAS, at the recent session of Congress it was decided by a vote of more than two-thirds of both houses, that silver should be remonetized, and the silver dollar restored to the place in the currency it had occupied previously to demonetization :

And Whereas, The distinct understanding at that time, not only among the members of Congress, but of the people at large, was, that the object of said bill was that of providing a metallic currency that should be legal tender in all transactions between the people and the government ; and that, in all the relations of the people among themselves, and with the national banks, should pass and pass on terms precisely the same as those which had been so long and so fully established in relation to the legal tender note :

And Whereas, Certain of the national banks, through their agents in the clearing-house of New York, have announced their determination not to receive the silver dollar, except on terms agreeable to themselves ; the object of this proceeding being avowedly that of reducing the said dollar to a condition of mere merchandise, subject to all the variations of value that may now, or at any future time, be prescribed by banks, bankers, brokers, or money-changers generally :

And Whereas, The same body has given the public to understand that this arrangement has received the sanction of the Secretary of the Treasury, and the continued silence of the said officer in reference thereto gives warrant for believing that such is certainly the fact :

And Whereas, Such combination between the national banks on the one hand, and a cabinet officer on the other, can be regarded in no light other than of a conspiracy for nullifying the authority of Congress in reference to the financial affairs of the nation, and for setting up in its place an association of mere creatures of the law for violation of the law :

And Whereas, Pending the conflict of authority that has been projected, the whole body of the people, workingmen and their employers, traders and their customers, must find themselves compelled to accept at par the legal currency of the country, but yet compelled in all their transactions with its moneyed institutions to submit to such taxation as banks and bankers may deem it for their interest to prescribe :

And Whereas, As a necessary consequence of the policy above described there must be brought about a state of things destructive of commerce, oppressive to farmers, manufacturers, and all others who live by the labor of their heads or their hands; disgraceful to the country, and without a parallel in any nation claiming to rank as civilized:

Be it therefore Resolved, the Senate concurring, that the Comptroller of the Currency be, and he hereby is, directed to notify each and all of the national banks that within twenty days from the adoption of this resolution they must give public notice of a determination to obey the law by which they are required to receive and pay out the silver dollar on terms precisely similar to those under which they have heretofore received and paid out the other legal-tender money of the country; that within the same period they are required to furnish to him certified copies of said notices; that in the event of any of said banks failing to furnish such notices, their corporate powers will, at the close of said period, cease to exist; and, that he will then proceed to collect and distribute the assets of such banks in the manner prescribed by law in regard to bankrupt banks.

Self-respect requires absolutely the prompt adoption of such a resolution, and we most ardently hope to see it done.

X.

P. S.—Since writing the above, we have found in the *New York Times*, a very elaborate paper entitled “Gold Payment Assured,” prepared at the Treasury and furnished to that journal through its generally well informed correspondent. Curious to see the Secretary’s explanation of his reasons for uniting with New York conspirators for nullification of the laws, we have read his paper carefully, without, however, finding therein any reference to that well known and most important fact. Directly the reverse, his readers are very fully treated to an explanation of that future of a silver circulation against whose advent he has so well prepared. The whole paper is disgraceful to its author and can be regarded in no light other than that of a further perpetration of those tricks and contrivances by which his administration has been so much distinguished, and which have had for their object the establishment in New York of a moneyed despotism without parallel in the financial world.

WESTWARD!

BY KARL ELZE.

The day declines, the sun sinks low,
 Forest and hills are gleaming—
 Through clouds with gorgeous tints aglow
 The farewell rays are streaming,
 A yearning wakens as the splendor falls,
 Oh, how it lures, and calls :
 Westward !

Here round us closes cold the night,
 A night of woe and wailing,
 The silver moon, the star's soft light
 Black skurrying clouds are veiling.
 Oppression, phantom-like, the soul appalls
 And freedom flees and calls :
 Westward !

For westward lies the sacred sea,
 Whereon the ships are tossing,
 While o'er its billows steadily
 The wandering birds are crossing.
 A vision, bright with hope, the heart enthalls ;
 Oh, how it lures and calls :
 Westward !

Beyond the sea, in that far land,
 Primeval grove and river,
 Their Maker's praise from strand to strand
 Chant gloriously forever.
 And speech of freemen on the free air falls,
 Oh, how it lures and calls :
 Westward !

Translated by Mrs. A. L. Wister.

MENTAL LIFE BELOW THE HUMAN.

I remember reading some years since a very ingenious paper¹ advocating that crystallization is but one form of organic life. The molecules as they take their places like trained soldiery, along certain lines inclined at certain fixed angles, seem to be obeying the bugle-call of some mysterious, vitalizing force within. There is here such oneness of conception, such concert of action, that an explanation like this very naturally suggests itself. But these marvellously symmetrical structures can be crushed or melted, or dissolved; their atoms widely separated, their order destroyed, yet they will, when again favorably circumstanced, congregate after the same set patterns, embodying the same conceptions of faultless form. Can it be that when one particle after another of the crystal is wrenched from the grasp of the organizing spirit, that this spirit, disembodied, robbed of its kingdom, driven out of matter, waits somewhere and watches until the victor-force has spent itself or has entered upon other conquests, and then suddenly retakes its throne and pronounces over the subject molecules the self-same spells of enchantment?

This certainly is true of no other vital force. Furthermore, we cannot detect in it that perpetual change, that constant arrival and departure of atoms, that ceaseless activity, which characterizes all other life. Eons of time may come and go and there will remain precisely the same matter cast in precisely the same mould. This crystalline spirit, if such there be, must date its birth far back in that "beginning" of the Mosaic Record, for as with it death is at most but a temporary suspension of animation, it must have been twin-born with matter itself. Still, though the majority of scientists conclude to place it at the head of the class of inorganic forces, they have but named the mystery, not solved it. We still stand confronted with the fact that the atoms rally at the bugle-call of some recognized commander.

Investigators have also been puzzled to draw sharply the dividing line between vegetable and animal life. There are some plants that seem half animal; some animals half plant. Touch the sensitive plant, even breathe upon it, and its delicate

¹ By Dr. H. B. Baker, in *Psychological Journal*, July, 1870.

leaves fold together and its branches droop languidly as though through their tissues lay a network of minute nerves and along those nerves ran shudders of pain, even shocks of paralysis. When the sun sets this plant falls asleep like a tired child. At this same hour, too, the blossoms of the Anemone close their petal eyelids and wait for day. The Goatsbeard chooses an earlier hour, but is equally regular in this strange procedure. The leaf of the Venus's Flytrap with its viscid surface, or that of the Sundew with its limed bristles, is but a net spread for some unwary insect. Let the little creature seek to rest its feet never so lightly and its doom is sealed. While it is struggling desperately to free itself, the sides of the leaf close in over it like the lids of fate, and the plant drinks its blood with the heartlessness and greed of a spider.

Dr. Carpenter in his *Introduction to the Study of the Foraminifera*,² says: "The physiologist has a case in which those vital operations, which he is elsewhere accustomed to see carried on by an elaborate apparatus, are performed without any special instruments whatever; a little particle of apparently homogeneous jelly changing itself into a greater variety of forms than the fabled Proteus, laying hold of its food without members, swallowing it without a mouth, digesting it without a stomach, appropriating its nutritious material without absorbent vessels or a circulating system, moving from place to place without muscles, feeling, if it has any power to feel, without nerves, propagating itself without genital organs, and not only this, but in many instances forming shelly coverings of a symmetry and complexity not surpassed by those of any testaceous animals."

While some plants have stomachs, some animals have roots. The rhizocephalous crustaceans do not feed by mouth for they are destitute of an alimentary canal, but live by absorbing through root-like processes the juices of the animals on which they are parasitic. The Jelly-fish is a transparent and also almost structureless mass of vitalized matter. As it rises and sinks in the wave it seems little else than delicately tinted sunlight, caught in some wandering eddy. Take it from the water and it fades to a film.

Trembley,³ the naturalist, once chanced upon some strange forms of diminutive water-life, which for a time he was at a loss how to

² Preface, page 8.

³ A. de Quatrefages' "*Metamorphoses of Man and Lower Animals*," pages 137-8.

interpret. They were insect-eaters, their cylindrical bodies having fringed ends with which they seized their prey. Trembley in the course of his experiments cut them into as many as fifty pieces, and, to his astonishment, found that instead of destroying life he had but multiplied it, for in forty-eight hours each piece became a distinct individual. He also found on these living cylinders a number of small adventitious buds, cropping out everywhere, which gradually enlarged, sent out tentacles on their free ends and finally dropped off into perfect beings. These pseudo-plants are now known as one of many species of polyps, of which other equally strange facts have come to light. The larva⁴ that are hatched from the eggs of the *Aurelia* swim about very lively for a couple of days, and then, as if tired out, anchor themselves to the floor of the sea. This done, they grow up into long slender stalks with enlarged tops, in the centre of each of which a hole opens, uncovering a cavity, and around the hole little buds appear that lengthen at last into limber filaments. Thus equipped, these creatures never again move from their moorings. After awhile the surfaces of these stems are roughened here and there with buds, some of which unfold without further delay into perfect polyps; while out from others slender shoots commence trailing along the ground, until, at some secret signal, their ends widen out into mouths with fringed borders and a new individual life begins. Are these some rare variety of strawberry plants that flourish in Neptune's sea-gardens? But here and there one of these trumpet-shaped bodies becomes cylindrical and three or four times the length of its fellows, and soon just beneath its fringed end a groove makes its appearance, as if some invisible cord was being drawn tightly about it; then another a little farther down, and then another, until the cylinder is changed into a series of rings. As the grooves deepen, the edges of the rings become scolloped, and their wave-lines gradually more marked until they are changed into eight little arms with forked ends. This process of individualization goes on until each fringe of arms acquires an independent motion and until at last a complete separation is effected, one wheel after another swimming away with as distinct and perfect a nature as falls to the lot of any radiate, each destined to become the founder of a new family somewhere along the populous ocean bottoms.

⁴ Quatrefages, pages 153-4-5.

From the egg of another species,⁵ called the *Campanularia*, springs a larva, which, after it has fastened itself to something solid, is changed into a little flat cake with a hole in the centre. About this hole there shoots up a hollow stem, and on the end of the stem there comes a bud, which swells out into the shape of an inverted bell. After certain changes have taken place inside its horny covering, a new polyp with tentacled mouth bursts through the membrane and unfolds like an opening flower. Then another bud appears on the stalk and the same process is repeated, branch after branch growing out of the bowl of the stem. In the axils of the branches more buds come and they blossom out into more polyps.

Corals and stone-lilies, now known as the fossil skeletons of polyps, were, until the last century, regarded as rock-plants. The nature of sponges has, among naturalists, long been, and to some extent still is, a matter of question. Indeed, there are several phenomena which are catalogued under the non-committal name, *Zoophites*, a combination of two Greek words corresponding in our language to "animal" and "plant."

In the propagation of the *Epistylis*, an *Infusoria*,⁶ we find the semblance to vegetable life carried a step farther. It multiplies both by buds and fission. The individual that develops from the larva divides itself into halves. On each half, which still remains joined to the parent stem, another branch starts and grows to the same height. These secondary stems also in time divide as the first, and so with the third and succeeding ones, until the colony presents the form of a wide-spreading tree, from the tip of each of whose branches opens the hungry mouth of an *Epistylis*. Here and there around the neck of one and another of these animals a groove appears, and about the groove a circle of fine hairs. The fissure continues to deepen until, like a ripe acorn, this strange fruit at last drops to the foot of the tree. But, instead of lying there like an acorn, it picks itself up and swims away to root fast to some other rock and become the starting point of another tree in that mysterious, miniature sea-forest God first planted away back when the world was young.

⁵ Quatrefages, pages 173-74.

⁶ Quatrefages, pages 194-5.

These forms of being unquestionably mark transition periods in creation. We surely witness in them new departures in nature,—advances upon the lower forms with but a partial attainment of the higher. They are the grey twilight of dawn into whose texture are woven the fading threads of the old era and the faintest threads of the new. They lie along that border-line where the adjacent colors of the rainbow mingle. Yet, strange as it may seem, they furnish no basis for the hypothesis of Evolution, for their organs and habits have, without perceptible change, maintained their ground against all the supposed developing impulses of all the ages. By no influences of their natural environment, or of any artificial surroundings of man's devising, have they been advanced a hair's breadth from the good, old ways of their earliest ancestors.

And right here, too, the theory of spontaneous generation, the establishment of which, extreme evolutionists hold, completes the chain of evidence that the original nebulae of amorphic matter contained the promise and potency of all life,—this theory, as Quatrefages contends, is overthrown from its lowest foundations in the discovery of the law of geneagenesis. This eminent French savant asserts⁷ that all known species, down to the very lowest in the scale of existence, in the vegetable as well as animal kingdom, however widely for a time they may seem to depart from the ordinary mode of reproduction, must, at stated periods, have recourse to it or become extinct. For example, several generations of virgin aphides may be produced, and Bonnet,⁸ in his experiments, has demonstrated this possible; yet, after a while, not only must females secrete true ova, but males must fertilize them, in order to secure a renewal of the pristine vigor of the species. The same is true of the Ascidians. So, too, propagation by buds and fission is not perpetual. Polyps and Infusoria may multiply for a certain set season without the union of the sexes, but there are, nevertheless, and must be, regularly appointed recurrences of the contact of sperm and germ, and in the individuals that spring from this union reappears the original plenitude of power. However long and tortuous may be the windings of the route chosen by nature in certain cases, it is clearly defined and ends where it began, in fertilized ova. Such being the universal and invariable law, each

⁷ Quatrefages, page 280.

⁸ Quatrefages, pages 130-1.

species must be the descendants of a single first pair, possessing correlated sexual parts and functions, the possible product only of some direct, intelligent, creative fiat. Thus, the profoundest researches of science confirm the statements of the inspired Seer.

Descartes and his followers, in their arguments against the existence of a soul, have cited the case of some of these pseudo-plants to which we have briefly alluded. If, after a polyp has been severed into fifty pieces, a new head and tail will bud out of the cut ends of each piece and the processes of life go on without abatement; if Infusoria can of themselves divide and subdivide until, by spontaneous fission, a populous colony springs from a single progenitor; if the cylindrical Aurelia can cut itself into a dozen slices and each slice become an independent being, then we are necessarily precluded from predicating of these and like types of existence the possession of a spiritual nature, indeed of any proper personality, for an *ego* that is not absolutely indivisible is to us an impossible conception. But when these theorists predicate of the entire kingdom what has thus far been discovered true only of certain inferior classes in it, the soundness of their induction may well be questioned.

The fact that all classes of animals, without exception, even foraminifera, polyps, infusoria and earth-worms, possess in some of their individuals, at a certain stage of their existence, the power of locomotion, would at first blush seem to indicate that their bodies were indeed the homes of spirits, but on the closest examination we can find no sign of self-consciousness, such as halting between two opinions, deliberating, exercising the power of choice;—no distinctive act of the will. Their motions may be, from all that yet appears, as automatic and unconscious as the folding together of the leaves of the sensitive plant, for they seem to follow with as rigid a uniformity and as absolute a certainty the exciting cause. This locomotive power is, with several classes, but a momentary possession, disappearing as mysteriously as it came, the animal no sooner striking a rock than it roots to it and sinks down at once and forever into the plant-like stolidity of the colonized multitude that sprout out afterward about its lengthening stem.

There is another type of transitional beings in which may be traced characteristics of widely divergent classes. The most skilled anatomists are still disputing whether the Lapidosiren,

even when in an adult state, is fish or reptile. There are fish that will, with their long pectoral fins, sustain themselves a full half minute in mid-air and accomplish a flight of six hundred feet. There are squirrels whose fore and hind legs are so connected by membranes that they actually wing their way from tree to tree, their leaps measuring wide distances. There are mammals called rear-mice or bats, which at twilight emerge from caverns or deserted ruins, or the hollows of moss-grown trees, and flit noiselessly about on distended, leathery webs, robbing the air of any gay insect that may be gadding about. Seals are air-breathing quadrupeds that suckle their young, yet their habitat is the sea, their legs are like the fins of fishes, and their nostrils they have power to open and close. One of their species nature has dressed in the spotted skin of the leopard; the males of another resemble the elephant in their lengthened probosces and contour of head; while those of a third have lions' faces, and about their necks flowing lions' manes. The dolphin, the sword-fish, the porpoise, the grampus, are all air-breathing and warm-blooded mammals, yet finned and shaped like fish, and like them propelled by their tails. Eels are classed among fishes, yet their serpent nature has drawn out their bodies into snake-like length and slimness, and stripped them of ventral fins and diminished and obscured their scales.

Geologists⁹ tell us of bulky-bodied Saurians that once peopled the seas and the air, one genus of which, the *Ichthyosaurus*, was shaped like a dolphin, had the head of a lizard, the teeth of a crocodile and the paddles of a whale; another, the *Plesiosaurus*, had the head of a lizard, the teeth of a crocodile, the neck of a swan, the trunk and head of a quadruped and the extremities of a whale; while still another, the *Pterodactyl*, of twenty different species, resembled externally both mammal and bird, but in its essential structure was clearly reptilian, the individuals of some of whose species were veritable flying dragons with a sixteen foot spread of wing.

The younger Huber proved, by frequent observations and experiments, which he most interestingly narrates in his work on *Ants*¹⁰ that the female red ant, after fecundation, bids good-bye to her

⁹ Winchell's *Sketches of Creation*.

¹⁰ Pages 116-17.

lover, who at once ingloriously steps out of life ; that she then strips off, with her own mandibles, at her own instance, and seemingly without pain, the delicate gossamer wings with which nature has provided her for courtship and for easy and rapid transit in search of a suitable site for the new colony she is destined to establish ; and that she ever after creeps about in the grass, laying her eggs and feeding and caring for her young as contentedly as if she had never possessed anything but short, hair-like legs to move her little body about, like the common neuters, the nurses and maids at all work.

The Ephemeron¹¹ for two years lives in an archiform gallery which it has bored in some river-bank, below the water-level, grinding monotonously day after day the slimy mud upon which it feeds. It walks on six legs, and yet it breathes like a fish. When the two years are ended, rudimentary wings bud out of the upper part of its thorax, and at last, in the quiet twilight of some August evening, its old skin cracks open and falls off like a ripe chestnut burr, and with it, too, fall the gills and grinding jaws, and out comes the little creature so marvellously metamorphosed in its outward furnishings it is hard to convince ourselves that an absolutely new creation has not taken place right before our very eyes. In its new life, spanned by a single brief hour, it abstains from food, having no mouth fit to receive it ; it breathes the air through spiracles, poises itself on finely reticulated wings, thrills to love's rapture, deposits its masses of eggs and then, with the fading twilight, flits from the scene. All insects are characterized by similar series of metamorphoses. Indeed all animal life, even the human, experiences analogous changes, though these developments, with the majority, occur while the young are still unborn.

Nowhere in the Animal Kingdom is there so favorable an opportunity for peeping into nature's workshop as in the metamorphoses of the frog. This animal¹² is a worm when it comes from the egg, and remains such the first four days of its life, having neither eyes nor ears, nor nostrils, nor respiratory organs. It crawls. It breathes through its skin. After a while a neck is grooved into the flesh. Its soft lips are hardened into a horny beak. The differ-

¹¹ Quatrefages pages 77-8.

¹² Quatrefages, pages 89 to 91:

ent organs, one after another, bud out, then a pair of branching gills, and last a long and limber tail. The worm has become fish. Three or four days more elapse and the gills sink back into the body, while in their place others come, much more complex, arranged in vascular tufts, one hundred and twelve in each. But they, too, have their day and are absorbed, together with their frame-work of bone and cartilage, to be succeeded by an entirely different breathing apparatus, the initial of a second correlated group of radical changes. Lungs are developed, the mouth widened, the horny beak converted into rows of teeth; the stomach, the abdomen, the intestines, prepared for the reception of animal food in place of vegetable; four limbs, fully equipped with hip and shoulder bones with nerves and blood vessels, push out through the skin; while the tail, being now supplanted by them as a means of locomotion, is carried away piecemeal by the absorbents, and the animal passes the balance of its days as an air-breathing and flesh-feeding batrachian.

In this second group of phenomena investigators have been as greatly puzzled as in the first, to draw sharply the dividing-line between the various classes into which, according to Agassiz, are separated the four great types of the animal kingdom. True, they have pretty generally agreed to assign animals to those classes in which they last appear. But the ephemera, for instance, are only for a single hour winged insects, while for two long years preceding they are a combination of fish and worm. So, too, locusts burrow in the ground as grubs for seven years, and some times for a longer term, before they fill the air with the roar of their wings. And it is only for six weeks they are permitted to revel in this freer, gayer life. They eat nothing, subsisting simply on the deposits of fat packed away under their skins during those long years in which they crawled through galleries sunk far out of reach of both sun and frost. Their sole business now seems to be, like the ephemera, to deposit the eggs out of which shall come the new generation. And then there are other forms, in each of which, even in the adult state, are so deftly joined essential characteristics of two, three, sometimes even more, classes, they have baffled the ingenuity of scientists to properly label them.

When man was placed on the scene, there was, I believe, an entirely new departure in creation, a departure as radical as when

animal life first came to share the earth with the vegetable. Before man's advent there was the reign of instinct ; with it was ushered in that of reason. Chemists have, by their experiments, brought to light many striking contrasts between the vegetable and animal forces in their effects on matter. Contrasts equally striking exist, as I purpose showing, between instinct and reason respecting their sources of knowledge and the character and methods of their work. I also propose to show that as characteristics of plant and animal are, as we have seen, sometimes strangely interwoven in a single organism, and also as important parts in the bodily form and function of widely divergent classes are found not infrequently coexisting or following each other in unbroken sequence in the same individual, so instinct and reason, though differing as radically as the animating principles of plant and animal, and though as little likely to have been the outgrowth one of the other, yet are found in each other's company, serving as each other's complement and support whenever any exigency arises whose demands they are separately incompetent to meet. It has therefore proved equally difficult to draw sharply the dividing line between the kingdoms of these two forces, or to determine the mental status of those of God's creatures who occupy planes inferior to our own.

Many theories have been advanced, but none have proved sufficiently tenable to have silenced controversy. Indeed I know of no question on which opinion is more afloat than that of the thought-life of the lower sentient creatures that so throng the waters, the earth and the air.

Instinct I conceive to be an impulse implanted in an organism to aid in its development and maintenance. It is as much a part of an organism as an appetite, and is followed as blindly. The intelligence and skill displayed in the marvellous works accomplished under its guidance belong to its Author, not its owner. It operates with as undeviating uniformity as the force that organizes a crystal or a tree, or the shell-palace of a foramenifera. Its workmanship bears the same marks of Divine perfection. The animal is as ignorant of the ends to be attained, or of the adaptation of the means employed, as it is when, prompted by hunger or thirst, it supplies the body with its appropriate nourishment. The ideas embodied are no more a measure of the conscious thought-life of the animal, than those embodied in the processes whereby its

digestive organs elaborate its food into bones and muscle. The thinking is that of the Creator, not of the creature. It, however, would be as idle for us to attempt to pry into the mystery of its real essence, as into that of the force under whose direction the buried seed bursts its walls, and dew, air, soil and sunlight are moulded into branch and leaf and flower and rounded fruit ; or to attempt to fathom the mystery of that force which hardens into horn the pulpy lips of a crawling, skin-breathing worm, pushes out here a pair of branching gills and there a limber tail, and then, when the pattern changes, quietly brushes these aside and in their place builds up lungs and teeth and jointed limbs, and alters the processes of digestion, transforming thus a worm first into a fish, and afterward into an air-breathing, flesh-feeding batrachian. But on examining the phenomena, which alone are within our reach, I have been deeply impressed with the intimate analogy I have found existing between instinct, in the character and methods of its work, and those forces which build up vegetable and animal organisms, and am persuaded to believe that it also should be grouped with them as a kindred formative force ; and that hence, its marvellous achievements should not be regarded at all as revelations of the Mental Life below the Human. I will cite a few of the facts, which I think fully justify this conclusion.

Autenrieth, the celebrated German naturalist, has described for us the metamorphoses through which pass the individuals of a species of butterfly named by him *Nachtpfauenaugc*. Its grub-life, like all of the same genus, is one of unbroken monotony and dullness. The sum-total of its experiences consists in gorging on leaf-pulp, crawling under cover when it rains and now and then casting its skin. It has no home-life, its parents having died before it began to live. It has no companionship ; it seeks none. This sluggish, solitary, gormandizing, creeping worm is at a certain set time suddenly arrested by the electric thrill of some new strange life. It stops eating, and, under a mysterious, prophetic impulse, commences to weave about its body, out of delicate threads that issue from it, a silken palace of double-roof, so ingeniously braced by innumerable supports that it both withstands violent attacks from without, and yields to the almost spirit-touch from within, of that most fragile of fairies which, out of the homely and prone body of the grub, rises erewhile, on brilliantly tinted wings to flut-

ter and float like a stray bit of sunset on a summer's evening zephyr. By this unique contrivance this little creature escapes on the one hand from outside violence, and on the other from the sad fate of self-burial.

Is it conceivable that this worm possesses such intimate acquaintance with the occult laws of mechanics as this piece of work presupposes, that it has acquired, by its own exertions, this masterful skill in architecture, or that it really discerns with clear prophetic vision approaching changes in its form, its capacities, its needs and its destiny? It has had no instructor, no personal experience, no working model. This is its first attempt, yet it bears the stamp of absolute perfection.

The butterflies of other species, when the hour is ripe for them to issue from their cocoons, secrete a fluid that acts on the silk as a solvent. This grub, as if conscious from the first that such power will never be given it, constructs its case on widely different principles. To affirm that it inherits this knowledge, skill and prescience does not, in the least, clear up the mystery; it only carries the inquiry farther back, for the first grub must have been equally able to spin a similar cocoon on first trial or it never could have developed into a butterfly and become the progenitor of a species.

The larvæ of ants,¹³ though they can never secrete a solvent, unhesitatingly enclose themselves in silk wrappings that bind them as firmly as bands of steel. It would be utterly impossible for them, left to their own resources, ever to break through the walls of their case. Do they know that they will be provided with professional nurses who, somehow, will be such adepts in their calling that they will cut the binding threads at precisely the right time, will free and extend the delicate gossamer wings of their infant charge, and for a season serve as their guides and purveyors?

The larvæ of queen-bees also spin for themselves silken sheaths, yet, strange to say, they leave these at the exposed ends so imperfect that when a young queen assumes sovereignty she easily inserts her sting, thus killing in their cradles all those who otherwise would have soon become powerful contestants for the crown. Huber asserts¹⁴ that this murderous instinct manifests itself almost

¹³ *Huber on Ants*, page 117.

¹⁴ *On Bees*, page 147.

immediately after birth, but if the elder neuters judge it best for the hive to swarm, the queen is restrained by a strong guard who drive her away from one cell after another, until, her excitement rising with each repulse and spreading like a contagion through the colony, she precipitately sallies from the hive followed by a vast retinue of sympathising attendants. When, however, it is thought inexpedient to further weaken the community, the queen is left free to destroy all the seed royal with her poisoned dagger. Why should these larvæ, in marked contrast to those of drones and neuters, always leave crevices in their cradles so that some royal assassin in a fit of jealousy can murder them in their sleep? Have they been informed that a single queen can lay between two and three thousand eggs daily and therefore be abundantly able of herself to populate the hive? Do they anticipate that if allowed to live they will become burdensome supernumeraries except in rare crises, and are they prompted by exalted patriotism when they provide thus for their own early martyrdom?

The saw-fly, after making her double incision in the stem of a rose-bush, so poisons the tissues of the wood that the minute eggs she deposits are saved from being grown over and thus hopelessly crushed or imprisoned. She also so limits the number of eggs on any one bush. Her children never go hungry. Does she understand the effects of the poison? Does she realize the imminent danger to which her eggs are exposed? Has she consciously contrived how to avert it?

By poison, locusts also provide for the safety of their young. The branches of the forests visited by their innumerable multitudes look as withered as if struck with blight or swept by a tempest of fire.

The solitary wasp¹⁵ brings to the mouth of a pit which she has dug with her mandibles, and into which she has dropt an egg, a given number of small grubs so stung that their bodies, while smitten with paralysis, have just enough life left to keep them from decay until there shall issue from the egg the worm whose hungry maw they are fated to fill. This solitary mother-wasp, with absolutely no experience or observation of her own or of others to guide her, acts as if she knew positively not only that a worm would some day be hatched from her egg, but precisely when that

¹⁵ Enc. Brit.

day would come; that this worm would not have the faculty to care for itself and that she would never live to care for it; that grub-meat, though unpalatable to her, would be keenly relished by it; that a given number of grubs would suffice for its needs; and that they, shot through with her subtle poison, would lie dormant till it came.

This same acute discrimination may be observed in all insects in selecting for their egg-deposits such surroundings as will most surely conduce to the hatching and subsequent maintenance of their young, although the conditions of their offspring's life are in most marked contrast to their own. One will choose a particular kind of leaf, another the skin of a certain living animal, still another that of a certain dead one. Guided by this parental instinct, birds set out on their migratory journeys across entire continents, over pathless deserts and seas. Salmon exchange salt water for fresh, following far inland the courses of the rivers, at times shooting up steep water-falls of great height and swiftness; the herring travel to the south, while the mackerel seek the colder currents of northern climes. Is it possible that these animals, untaught and inexperienced, are so deeply versed in biological lore that they are enabled by their own judgment to determine unerringly the precise conditions fitted for the development of the embryo in the egg? And is it also possible for them to know in what localities they will find those conditions fulfilled, or for them to thread their way thither for the first time without a guide over prairies and sand-plains and tumbling ocean billows? Dr. Jenner¹⁶ ascertained by clipping two claws from the foot of each of twelve swifts, that after nine months absence in some distant country they returned regularly for years with the return of the breeding season, to their old nesting place.

It might be urged¹⁷ that among swallows and martins, who congregate and move off in great bodies, the older ones have been over the route and now act as guides, but this cannot be said of nightingales, red-starts, or especially of cuckoos, who are deserted by their parents before they are born and reared in the nests of strangers. It is well-known that those birds who raise several

¹⁶ Philosophical Trans. of Royal Society, London, 1824, page 16.

¹⁷ *Ibid*, page 29.

broods desert each in its turn, and become estranged as soon as they are old enough to no longer require assistance. This seeming knowledge of courses animals have shown under other circumstances. Bears¹⁸ have, in times of great scarcity, been known to travel from their native woods through cultivated parts of the country for hundreds of miles, on a direct course, to a new wilderness abounding with supplies. Lord Brougham, in his *Conversations on Instinct*, gives numerous instances of dogs, sheep, and other quadrupeds being taken from thirty to two hundred miles away from home, either in hampers behind coaches or on ship-board, and, though having no scent to guide them, finding their way back, seemingly without trouble or delay, through an unknown country.

There is a spider¹⁹ which chooses a river-bottom for its home and hunting-ground; and to effect its purpose, builds for itself a diving-bell that embodies in its construction and management many of the principles of physics. It is made air-tight, turned mouth downward and tied on every side with strong cords to the bed of the stream. After its bell is thus finished and fastened, the spider comes to the surface, covers its abdomen with fine web, swims on its back till the interstices of this covering are filled with air; then, diving under the mouth of the bell, presses out with its legs the air thus entangled, displacing thereby an equal quantity of water. Again and again this process is repeated till the bell becomes habitable. What, can we imagine, first determined the spider, supposing it to be following out its own thinking, to thus locate its nest under water, for it has neither spiracles nor gills, nor any organs fitting it for such a habitat; or how did it study out so ingenious a method for making such an undertaking possible. The inventor of this bell must have known that air is lighter than water; that it can be mechanically retained in fine fabrics, and that when introduced into an inverted receiver it will displace the water instead of becoming absorbed by it. Has this spider been so close a student of nature as to have discovered these laws of physics, and is it so gifted an inventor as thus ingeniously to have applied its knowledge, without instruction or experience or working model?

¹⁸ Rev. M. Smith's Elements of Mental Science.

¹⁹ *Bridgewater Treatise*, vol. XI., pages 296-7; also, *The Transformation of Insects*, P. M. Duncan, F. R. S.

This daintiest of palaces, that shines through the water like a globe of polished silver, must have been thought out in all its detail before the spider commenced spinning its first thread, for the weaver shows no hesitancy and makes no mistake. It must also have been the product of a single mind, for its parts are so intimately correlated that the absence of a single one does not simply obscure the conception, it totally destroys it. There must be either perfection or flat failure. This alternative was presented to the very first spider of the species.

There is another spider²⁰ classed among the "Vagrants," that spreads no snare, but when a fly settles near it, steals along with extreme caution until, coming within striking distance, it fastens a thread of web to the spot, and with incredible swiftness and accuracy darts upon its prey, the thread serving as a strong cable to save it from a fall and enable it to regain its position. The contrivance and forethought here exhibited cannot be products of the spider's mind under the spur of experience, for its spinnerets are certainly not of its invention, and as the thread spun by them serves no other end, and served that as perfectly on the first leap as on any other, the spider must actually have been caught on a thread itself had spun before it knew it could spin it.

There is still another spider,²¹ called the Pioneer, which, for the perfection and ingenuity of its work may well excite our wonder. It bores in the ground a hole three inches deep and ten lines wide, and carefully covers it with two coats of mortar, the first rough, the second smooth and regular. Inside these it spreads a strong coarse web, and then over all hangs a most delicate silk tapestry. The door with which it afterwards closes the entrance, more especially commands our admiration for felicity of design and elaborate finish. It is a pronounced masterpiece. It is built of thirty alternate layers of earth and web, has bevelled edges, is hung on a spring hinge that makes it self-shutting, and is also, like the tube, lined with fine silk. It fits the aperture so perfectly, and on the outside so closely resembles the ground, it seems to vanish the moment it shuts. The mode of its construction gives it great strength, and the bevelling of its edges prevents it from being

²⁰ *Bridgewater Treatise*, vol. XI., page 298.

²¹ *Bridgewater Treatise*, vol. XI., pages 287-8-9.

forced into the chamber beneath. It can never stand ajar, but shuts tightly the instant the spider passes. The apartment is perfectly water-tight and concealed from foes. What more palatial residence or secure retreat has been provided for any of God's creatures.

Wood-grouse are able to fly the instant they emerge from the egg; and there is a family of birds in Australia whose young, hatched from eggs buried in earthen mounds, no sooner see the light than they feed themselves, run and fly and roost on trees.

How shall we explain this seemingly intuitive knowledge, evinced by both bird and beast, of the laws of perspective; their instant and perfect command over their bodies; their intelligent care of them, and their old familiar ways, as if they had waked from brief sleep, instead of stepped for the first time across the threshold of life?

The bee, for the storing of its rich honey-harvests, builds with its mandibles, out of lamina of wax it removes from under its abdomen, a double row of hexagonal cells. Its comb, however unequal the surfaces to which it is attached, bears the severest test of the microscope for completeness and precision, though the bee performs its tasks without instruction or experience or protracted study, and works in the dark guided simply by its antennæ, its eyes being stone-blind inside the hive, their lenses having no adjustable focus and being constructed for long range. Its comb bears also the test of science. The most eminent mathematicians pronounce the angles to which the planes of the sides and ends of its cells are inclined to be precisely those which will secure the greatest strength with the least expenditure of material according to the principles of maxima and minima as laid down in the Differential Calculus. But think you the bees' apparent knowledge of mathematics any more real than that of the buds which break out about the bole of the tree in accordance with the rule of arithmetical progression? Should we be disposed to plead that the skill and knowledge here displayed are but transmitted acquisitions of some former age, the difficulty would still confront us of explaining how these acquisitions could at the first have been made. But this plea is in this instance denied us, as both the father and mother of the worker-bee never moulded a pellet of wax, or, for purposes of storage, ever thrust their heads inside a flower-cup. They are born aristo-

crats. They have neither skill in architecture, knowledge of mathematics, nor habits of thrift; indeed, they have neither long and flexible tongues, nor honey stomachs, nor pollen baskets, nor wax-pouches, to transmit to this their strange sexless child.

When their queen dies the bees select the larva of a worker less than three days old, greatly enlarge the walls of its cell by combining it with others adjoining, change its position from a horizontal to a vertical one, and provide for it a superior kind of food called royal jelly. How do these nurses know that such treatment will secure the desired transformation? They here prove equal to an emergency which they could not have foreseen, and act as if they were acquainted with laws of biology which scientists have thus far searched for in vain. The very first brood-comb that was ever built by the first swarm of bees must have been made up of neuter, drone and queen cells, and the latter must have been distinguished from the others by these same marked differences in size, position and contents.

The ducts that lead from the different ovaries of the queen finally unite in a common oviduct, on the side of which is a little pea-shaped sack called the spermatheca. About it voluntary muscles are so placed that the queen can or not, as she chooses, fertilize her eggs as they pass down the tube and thus determine the sex and destiny of future imagos. She not only seems conscious of this power, but to use it intelligently, taking care to deposit the unfertilized eggs only in drone cells. But is she, in fact, conscious of the consequences of her acts? Is this most profound knowledge her own? What determined the first bee-builders of drone cells to make them larger and longer than those of neuters; or what determined the first bee-foragers to bring home in their baskets pollen instead of nectar to feed the future larvæ? How did they know that this was fit food for any one? If the queen returns successful from her marriage flight, the workers wage a merciless war against the drones, who, not having been provided with any weapons of defence designedly, fall an easy prey to the poisoned darts of their destroyers. How do the workers know that the drones will henceforth be only a burden to the colony? Are they self-appointed executive officials of the Divine Code? Or is their commission to be found in some implanted impulse which commands and secures from them unquestioning obedience?

Do those lizards who live along the banks of the La Plata know that when, at the approach of danger, they suddenly shut their eyes and flatten themselves they are actually hidden because of the close resemblance of their mottled tints to the sand-plains where they lie? Or do the pipe-fish understand that they, with their reddish streaming filaments are hardly distinguishable from the sea-weed to which they cling with their prehensile tails? Does the ray or torpedo realize at the first that it has an electric battery by whose discharge it can send a shock of paralysis along the nerve fibres of its foes? Is the cuttle-fish, who in an instant beclouds the water with ink, any less surprised than its bewildered pursuer? Do any of the animals before they have actually used their weapons, either of defense or attack, and used them, too, dexterously, know that they possess them; or have they reflected how they can be used with most telling effect? On the first trial in each case there must have been, it would seem, an instantaneous and unthinking obedience to some impulse which to them is wholly unintelligible.

Upon the testimony of such facts as these, of which the Earth is full, we are warranted in believing that in works of pure instinct animals blindly follow impulses that, like other forces in nature, operate methodically and under fixed conditions; that they have no more idea of what will be the result than they have of what multiform changes their food is to undergo, or in what way or for what purpose those changes are to be effected.

In most of the instances cited I have taken pains to point out the utter impossibility of alleging that these were but phenomena of "lapsed intelligence," a relic of some acquired experience. This same impossibility attaches equally to all. In this department of the life of animals we witness no signs of growth in either skill or knowledge. Perfection in both is reached at a single bound prior to experience and independent of the aids of instruction. There would be no change in the problem were we to transfer the inquiry to the habits and achievements of the first individual in each species. We are shut up to the belief that the thinking here embodied is traceable solely to the Infinite Mind.

So deeply impressed some observers have been at the profound wisdom and marvellous skill displayed in works of instinct, they have regarded the lower animals simply as automatons moved by

direct acts of Divine will; that they are but exquisitely constructed musical instruments, and that God's own fingers touch their keys. But how can those who entertain this view explain certain errors, and they are by no means few, into which instinct is betrayed. The flesh-fly lays her eggs on the blossom of the carrion plant, mistaking it for veritable flesh, and thereby failing to secure the two great purposes in nature, the preservation of the individual and the continuance of the species. A hen will sit on chalk or porcelain eggs, will have motherly attachment for ducklings hatched by her, will worry when they go into the water lest they drown. She has even accepted young ferrets for a brood and fallen into the same ludicrous errors. A dog will bury a bone already gnawed and food to which he has no occasion to return. Animals frequently use their weapons of defense on false alarms and they use them with all that wonderful dexterity and inexplicable wisdom that suggest Divine interference.

Can the phenomena of instinct be accounted for by the peculiarities of bodily structure? Unquestionably there exists between the two a deep harmony, a close correlation, for changes in the instincts of insects are found to keep pace with changes in their organization. The ephemeron experiences no less than seventeen tolerably well pronounced grades of development before the larva attains maturity, yet it steps into its new circumstances without hesitation or embarrassment. The old organs and the old habits make their exit together to make way for the new. After it has crawled out of the water where its home has been for two years, the only two thus far of its existence, and its skin cracks open down its back, it lifts itself on its wings as familiarly as if it had been an insect always, and was escaping now only from some temporary confinement. And the same is true of all those animals which pass through one or more moults before becoming perfected.

But controverting this view, is the fact that this correlation extends also to environment, and the still further fact that there are species which, though having like organizations and surroundings, possess instincts noticeably difficult. The younger Huber²² tells us that the brown, ash-colored, fallow, mining, sanguine, fuliginous and yellow ants have the same exterior organs, use similar means for

²² On Ants, page 49.

building their dwellings and resemble each other in figure, yet in their instincts they are wide apart, evidencing that physical structure does not determine the peculiarities of instinct. Yet this difference does not preclude perfect correlation between the organs and the instincts of these species. The same may be predicated of spiders. They all possess the same web-spinning apparatus, the same organs generally. Yet one will spin a snare, another an anchor-cable, another a diving bell, another a balloon, and still another a tapestry-hung palace. Even the snares are not all constructed on the same principle, for there is one variety of geometrical spider, who, differing from his companions, spins a triangular web, so arranged that it can, by seizing a certain single thread, draw the entire structure to any desired tension. This it does, and then after patiently waiting in its concealed watch-house till a fly carelessly alights, it lets go its hold, and thus springs the meshes about its victim. I remember having my attention arrested one morning by a most gorgeous spider of gigantic size, its body having a bright metallic lustre. Its web, however, differed in no respect, except in size, from that spun by the little, grey, extremely ordinary looking individual, who, the same morning, had chosen the corner of my study for her hunting ground.

These and kindred facts convince me that there is no warrant in nature for concluding that in each act of instinct God exercises direct volition, or that instinct has its origin in some peculiarity of bodily structure. This alone seems revealed, that between the organs, the environment, and the implanted impulse there has been established a profound correlation.

W. W. KINSLEY.

(To be concluded in January Number.)

THE DUTIES OF THE LEGAL PROFESSION TO THE POOR.

THERE seems to be every indication that these hard times are not to pass away without teaching American cities some much needed lessons as regards the best methods of dealing with the poor. We do not speak only with reference to the experiment to be made this winter in our own city. Others have been ahead of

us. Buffalo had perfected its organization on a similar model before we began. All through last winter the city of Harrisburg—a place of some thirty thousand inhabitants, about as populous, therefore, as one of our larger wards—was applying the same ideas to her numerous poor. Not a penny or a penny's-worth was given, except in wages, to anyone who could work; of \$4,424.76 raised for poor relief by taxation, \$2,173.63 was paid back into the city treasury; while of \$2,530, furnished by private subscription, \$1,416.80 was returned to the subscribers; and a large part of the city was repaired by the labor of the unemployed, who also quarried the stone needed. Boston is putting in operation a plan which pays our own the delicate compliment of a striking resemblance. And New York has been wrestling for years with the same problem, but seems unable to solve it in the same way, because of the unhappy distribution of her population.

The new plan differs from any hitherto tried, in that it proposes to break down “the middle wall of partition” which separates what we might call the aristocracy of benevolence from the rest of society, and to make benevolence thoroughly democratic. It aims at securing the coöperation of everybody in the community, both in ceasing to do those things which do the poor mischief, and in aiding, in so far as they have money or influence or time to spare, in doing the best thing that can be found out for their benefit. And every class as such, as well as every individual, can find its place and its work in the new plan.

Of the three “learned professions,” two are already engaged actively in behalf of the poor. The clergy by their very vocation are set apart to this service. And whatever be the short-comings of individuals in this profession, the great majority of them are faithful to this calling,—more wisely faithful in this age, probably, than in any which preceded it. A reference to individuals may seem invidious, but as we write there occurs to our thoughts a venerable pastor,—of another Christian denomination from our own—whose latch-string has been out for decades to all who called upon him in their need. The most dangerous pestilence will not keep him away from the dying bed; seeking indifferently *pauperum tabernas, Regumque turris*,—the meanest room in the darkest and dirtiest alley, and the chamber where the rich man lies among the luxuries “which make death terrible,” as Johnson told Garrick.

The medical profession have been not less prompt in showing their readiness to help those who cannot remunerate their services. They have not waited to be approached by the needy sick *in forma pauperis*. They have organized dispensaries, and have given their time and their knowledge gratis in the service of our hospitals, so that not one of all the ills that flesh is heir to but is now provided for in some way by the members of this noble profession. Indeed, they have rather overdone than neglected the proper relief of the poor. Their dispensaries are not sufficiently provided with safeguards for the exclusion of improper applicants. People attend them, to obtain medical advice and medicine for nothing, who are fully able to pay for all they need. The story of the London physician's detecting a peer in making such an application, while his lackeyed and coronetted carriage stood just around the corner, might be compared with cases less striking yet really parallel in our own city. And this is an abuse which works detriment to the profession itself, especially to the younger and the less eminent members of it, who would in most cases be employed by these very persons. It is expected that the new plan of civic organization will be used by our medical charities in sifting out the deserving from the undeserving applicants, and thus confining their work to those for whose benefit these institutions were erected.

The excessive charges made by our drug stores for medicines is one reason why the dispensaries are frequented by many who would not apply to them if they had not this excuse. In London they have obviated this difficulty by organizing provident dispensaries, into whose treasury a very small sum is paid monthly by each of the members. The organization either establishes a drug store of its own, or, much more commonly, makes a contract with some established apothecary, to have all its prescriptions filled at a rate agreed upon. As the druggists prefer steady work of this kind, to the larger profits of a more precarious business, no difficulty is found in the way of this arrangement, and a large saving is effected.

The legal profession, however, has never taken any effective steps in this city to place itself at the service of the poor. Something of the sort was undertaken by a number of our lawyers in 1863 or 1864, and a society organized. But, as the lawyers who composed it belonged to one political group, it had the air of being

a political movement to offset the philanthropic claims of the anti-slavery party. And we believe that nothing came of it. We speak subject to correction, but such are our impressions.

Let us not be understood as saying that our lawyers, as such, do nothing for the poor, beyond their marked activity in the management of our benevolent societies. Individual members of the bar, and probably a very considerable number of them, are in the habit of undertaking a good deal of unpaid work of this kind,* and especially when a lawyer is a prominent member of one of our churches he is likely to have his full share of it. But something more than this is needed. The poor need to be made to feel that society will stand between them and illegal oppression, and that the laws enacted for their benefit will be enforced as freely as if they were able to pay the fees of courts and of lawyers. They need to know exactly where to make their application, and to have the assurance that if their case be just, it will be taken up with vigor and carried to a decision. They have little or no personal acquaintance with members of the bar, and they are more likely to fall in with the worse than the better class of lawyers. They do not like to go a-begging for legal assistance, with the likelihood of meeting refusal and rebuff. They put up with a vast number of unjust acts, partly because they are not certain that the law forbids those acts, and partly because they do not know how to take advantage of the law. In either case, the feeling grows among them that the laws are made for anybody's benefit rather than their's, and the consequences are a breach of sympathy with the general interests of society, and a decline in their loyalty to its order. They need to be made to feel that society is on their side, and that there is just as much law and justice for them as for the rich.

We have made great progress in legal methods of procedure, since the days when the elders of the people sat in the gate, and whoever had a cause to plead came directly before them and told his story. But there have been compensatory losses, along with the gains. The directness and cheapness of justice for the poor has

* Since the above was written, I have been told by an eminent physician that this is by no means true of all the legal profession. He instanced the case of a lawyer who, to his knowledge, charged a poor widow twenty dollars for an opinion in regard to an ejectment with which she was threatened. The case was as plain as could be, and required no research or other trouble.

suffered much in the change. The man of means is certain that his case will receive ampler and juster consideration than it would have had in those times; but what he has gained in confidence the poor man has lost. Whether any recurrence to simpler methods is possible, we cannot say. The elaborate forms of procedure, the paid advocates, the fees of the court, the law's proverbial delays and its technical intricacies are all possibly necessities of the modern system. But if they are so, then steps should be taken to obviate the difficulties they present.

Our sister city, New York, has had for years past a "Society for the Legal Protection of the Poor," and all who have looked into its workings are satisfied that it supplies a great need of that city. In the single matter of compelling dishonest employers to pay the wages kept back by fraud from seamstresses, governesses and washerwomen, it has done a great work. It has forced the immediate payment of bills owed for years to poor people by fine "ladies" on Fifth Avenue,—bills which hitherto had always been met by the answer, "Call again," or "Mrs. X. is not in this morning." Mrs. X. is always "in" to the agent of the society, and he always declines to "call again." The amount must be paid, with arrears of interest and the costs of collection, or the matter will go before the courts, and the proceedings will not be kept out of the newspapers. So Mrs. X. thinks better of it, and pays at once and in full.

We hope that we have no "ladies" of this type in Philadelphia, but if we have, no one would be more glad to see them brought to their senses than would our genuine ladies. But nobody will suppose that we are free from unjust and dishonest employers of labor.*

* There are also various sorts of oppression exercised by certain employers in this city, which might be reached by law. For instance, at least one of the largest of our street railway companies has, since the hard times begun, adopted the policy of protecting itself against its own conductors by retaining them only for a short time and then taking on new men. To facilitate such a change, a charge of a certain dishonest practice was made recently and was reported to the newspapers, and some dozen men were dismissed at once. The fact was that that practice was simply and demonstrably impossible. The same company keeps a number of extra conductors on hand at its office, waiting for work, and pays them only when needed. They must be on hand at four o'clock in the morning, even although they were on duty the previous day from that hour to midnight. If their names be called and they do not answer, they are struck off, and can only be replaced by order of the President of the company. As one of these "supes" very truly said, this is a slow form of suicide. Whatever may be thought of "eight hour laws," there should be some sort of law to reach such cases as this.

There are men in this city, who have been known to give out sewing to poor women and then refuse to pay for it, on the utterly false plea that the work has been so badly done that they themselves had actually sustained a loss in the operation. And the difficulties of enforcing the Mechanics' Lien Law arise too often through the dishonest intent of the employer. Besides, we have sharpers of other sorts, from whom the poor suffer as severely. There are a great number of unclassified impostors, who live by false representations, upon the little they can get out of those who have but little to give. The wretches, for instance, who live by pretending to be in sore need of help,* do not confine their depredations to the purses of the rich. They are well aware that none are so open-handed and warm hearted, in proportion to their means, as the poor themselves, and the conviction and punishment of such rogues would be a real protection to many kind hearted people, who can only give by pinching themselves. Other scoundrels impose upon them by taking advantage of their ignorance of scientific facts and laws, and selling them all sorts of wonder-working nostrums, medical and otherwise. In yet other cases, the swindling is still more direct, being covered under no pretense of charity, and represented by no transfer of commodities.

Of the multitude of persons who have houses to rent in Philadelphia, by far the greater part we believe to be above reproach in the matter of honesty in their dealings with tenants. And yet the laws on the statute-book for the protection of tenants, are evidence enough that this class of persons are not uniformly above suspicion or reproach. But in most cases, provisions made in these laws are invalidated by special agreements in the leases,—a thing which the law itself should have made impossible—and where they cannot be so set aside the poor man's sole protection is found in the uprightness of his landlord or his agent. One open and palpable

* The chief of police reports that we have sixteen hundred professional beggars in the city. From data given by some of them, and obtained by watching others, it is inferred that they each get about two dollars a day. One of them resides in the Southern part of the city, in a house for which he pays thirty-five dollars a month, and pays it promptly. Another has been known to pay down eight hundred dollars cash in making a purchase. If the above estimate of their average be not too great, then we are spending about a million dollars a year in paying people to live a base, inhuman, animal life. And this sum is subtracted from the fund which is available for the relief of the really destitute poor.

violation of the law by owners of rented houses, is found in the neglected and unwholesome condition of whole streets and alleys of houses, especially in the southeastern part of our city. The laws of the city are designed to secure decent and healthful living places for every human being within its limits,—at least in those more recent parts of the city, which have been erected since the community became alive to the importance of the subject. But in spite of these laws, our city contains no small number of streets in which human life is sustained under the most unfavorable conditions,—where cleanliness and decency are as good as impossible. The landlords who live by the rent of such places are guilty of a crime against the whole people of the city, for in such quarters are found the weak places upon which pestilences commonly fasten their grip, and gain the strength and virulence to spread in all directions. No sanitary law, indeed, will completely rid us of this evil,* but at present our sanitary laws are much better than our sanitary practice, chiefly because “everybody’s business is nobody’s business.” A society such as we propose, might do great good by making this matter their business. Not merely the poor directly concerned, but the city at large would owe it a debt of gratitude.

There are certain lines of business pursued in this and other cities, which are made a means of injustice and extortion by *some* of those who practise them. The sale of furniture and of sewing machines, to be paid for by instalments, is an instance. Dishonest dealers purposely cherish a false confidence in their own leniency by showing no urgency as regards promptness in the earlier payments; but when the price of the article has been almost discharged, they jump at any opportunity of taking advantage of the clause in the contract, by which the article is forfeit if any payment be not made on the date specified. Nor is this the only piece of trickery by which this instalment business has been brought into such ill-repute that a New York judge recently, speaking from the

* American cities should be invested with the power, now granted to municipal corporations in England, of having such districts “condemned” by a jury, and purchased and rebuilt by the city. As Dr. Dale of Birmingham says, the respect shown for proprietary rights in America is excessive and unreasonable. But there is certainly as good grounds for our city’s making a forcible purchase of St. Mary’s street, as there is for allowing a railroad to make such a purchase of the right of way across a farm.

bench, stigmatized it as little better than a species of robbery. We think his language too sweeping, for there are as honest people in this business as in any. And it would be a great benefit to the honest dealers, if the dishonest ones were served according to their deserts, which never will be done until the poor have some easier and more direct way to right their wrongs.

We mention these as a few out of the many facts which show, we think, the need of a Philadelphia "Society for the Legal Protection of the Poor," or something like it. We feel certain that there is no need of more than calling attention to this *lacuna* in the long list of our excellent charities, to secure at least a candid consideration of this question. We do not undertake to say exactly what ought to be done, for there may be serious obstacles to any given plan, such as an outsider to the profession is not able of himself to perceive. We have written, partly at the suggestion of an excellent and venerable lady of this city, who is impressed with the extent to which the poor of her own sex suffer from illegal oppressions and extortions, and partly because we have had the opportunity of seeing how little protective laws avail for the safety of those whose intelligence and means are both insufficient to secure their protection.

R. E. T.

POETRY OF THE TURKISH PEOPLES.

IV. THE TURKOMANS. WAR AND LOVE IN THEIR POPULAR POETRY.

IT is well known that the Ottoman Empire is made up of nationalities united by force under the rule of the Sultan. But it is not commonly noticed that the conquerors themselves do not belong to a single branch of the Turkish family; that alongside the Ottomans—who give their name to the Empire, and who are gradually abandoning their primitive type by reason of leading a settled and comparatively civilized life, and continually mixing with the Aryan and Shemitic races—there exist the Turkoman tribes, scattered over vast territories not only in the dominions of the Padi-shah, but in Turkestan also, in Persia, in Afghanistan. Those of them who live under Turkish rule have been called the Western

Turkomans, and the rest Eastern Turkomans,—designations purely geographical in their force, since they represent no essential difference. In Asiatic Turkey, these tribes are more or less numerous in Armenia, Mesopotamia, Syria and the Levant. There are so many of them in the first named province, that they themselves call it Turkomania. In European Turkey the *Yuruks* (tramps), as the Ottomans call them, are much fewer in numbers. They compose some groups scattered over Thrace, and they possess grazing lands on the higher *plateaux* of Mt. Rhodope from which they come down in winter to their villages. There is also reason to regard as belonging to the Turkoman branch, one of the Turkish colonies established in Macedonia before the conquest,—emigrants from Persia who settled on the River Vardor, and whom the Byzantine Greeks called Persians.

The works of the Turkoman poets have been studied in Persia with great care by Mr. Chodzko,¹ who made a long stay in the territories of the Shah. The most popular are Karaïglou, Mehdum-Kuly and Kurroglou. In a country like Persia, where the love of poetry is as strong among the people as among men of learning, we need not be surprised at seeing the rough Turkomans attracted by what the very coarsest of the people yield to. Imagination plays so great a part, that in most of the bazars we meet with reciters surrounded by a crowd of charmed listeners. Mule-drivers halt to hear the story-teller.

We need not expect to find in the songs of the Turkomans those vulgar lamentations over the pains of sensual love, by which the Tajiks too easily escape from recollection of the glory of their ancestors, and of their own perilous situation between two great empires, which are every year extending their frontiers. No doubt the Turkomans do not entirely escape the evil influences which have brought ruin upon Persia, once so powerful, but brought low by selfish rivalries and the play of ignoble passions. But their soldier-like life under canvass, their struggles with the severity of the climate, the continual necessity of facing dangers,—these impart to their songs a manliness and a natural-

¹ *Specimens of the Popular Poetry of Persia, as found in the Adventures and Improvisations of Kurroglou and in the Songs of the People inhabiting the Shores of the Caspian Sea.* Translated with Examples of the Texts, Persian Airs, philological and historical Notes, by Alex. Chodzko. London, 1842.

ness unknown to the Tajiks, who live in the ruins of which their cities are full, and which seem to indicate a recent incursion of the half-savage hordes, whose traces are everywhere found in the soil of Persia. This shamefully degenerate nation goes on multiplying in the mire of cities, at once oppressed and corrupted by the rule of a government which has ruined, degraded and enervated Persia. It is a government devoid of every genuinely patriotic aspiration, and might be regarded as bent on fulfilling the purposes of other governments, of which it is the slavish and dangerous tool. More than one country of Europe might be named, in which "to live nobly" means to spend and consume in disgraceful idleness. Persian logic does not stop short of the goal in this excellent path. The nearer one approaches absolute immobility, the better his claim to be regarded as a personage of importance. Their intellectual apathy is as great as their physical inertia. Their fanaticism does not by any means exclude religious indifference. No real interest is felt in anything, unless it be in the satisfaction of sensual desires, to which their loose morals, too faithfully reflected in the conversation of all classes, present no obstacle. Their national vanity promotes their indolence. While the Parisians of Montesquieu's times were used to say, "How could anybody be a Persian?" the subjects of Nasir-ed-din, proud of a past to which the present bears but slight resemblance, ask themselves how it is possible to believe one's self truly a man, without living in the territory of "the king of kings."

To this world, unmanned by sloth and weakness of every sort, the warlike and turbulent Turkomans are a power to be dreaded. The pictures of their chiefs of clans reappear in their songs. Mohammed Khan is likened to "a savage butcher," whose terrible hand is as "the claws of a wolf," which in the fight strikes down one enemy after another. You should see Baghani Mollah, "the day of battle," with his two-edged sword, and mounted on his Arab steed. "Brave as H . . . , he falls upon the enemy like a famished wolf on a flock." Kamur Khan, one of their heroes, mounts his bounding steed, lance in hand, is foremost in pursuit of the enemy, the staunchest in the onset. The Kurds themselves, those terrible nomads of Aryan race, of whom the song speaks, and who have so often defied the sovereigns of Persia and Turkey, learn to fear such men as this, and Amir Gunah Khan bewails his

gallant soldiers fallen "on the mountain slopes" in the fight at Moyun.

"I have lost in battle that fortress of iron, my *jezairchis*.² Bring me a horse with tail dyed in henna. Let us to saddle together. We will slay all the Turkoman *tukas*, without sparing a man of them. I lost my nephew at Moyun, on the slope of the mountain. Write a letter to Ibrahim-Khan, and tell him that the *ilkani*³ has fallen into the hands of the Turkomans. I have lost my dear heart.

"Wo is me, Obegs, woe is me! I have lost my battering-ram hero. . . . I have lost my lion hero, who never fled before four or five men."

These comparisons, drawn from beautiful, vigorous, or useful types of the animal races, are dear to the Turkomans, who even bestow such names upon their children. This leads to expressions which are far from accordance with our taste, for example that of camel-hero, (*csrik*) employed in the same song, the camel showing great ferocity in its fits of ill-temper. If we are shocked in the West at hearing the popular poets of Greece liken a beauty to a goose, the comparison to a duck, employed by the Turkomans, will hardly please us more. But the ducks "with heads enamelled in green, and sporting on the deep lakes," seem to a Turkoman as truly the bird of beauty and love, as the dove.

This comparison, therefore, is employed by Karaïoglou himself, in the delightful song which describes his sweet-heart returning, "surrounded by fourteen or fifteen ducks, from the source of the stream to the cool waves." Her face empearled with drops of sweat, "beams in smiles;" her bright eyes utter love, and she comes to gather a nosegay of daffodils, one of the favorite flowers⁴ of Turkish poetry. It is true, that if in speaking of "maidens walking hand-in-hand," Karaïoglou uses the ordinary comparison,

² *Jezairchis* are soldiers furnished with the *jesair*, a long match used for their rifled carbines.

³ *Ilkani* is one of the highest dignities in Persia. It is hereditary, and cannot be enjoyed by more than two personages. An '*ilkani* in the hands of the Turkomans' therefore would mean something.

⁴ M. G. Boissier has observed (*Revue des Deux Mondes*, November 1, 1877,) that Europe, in the period of the Renaissance, obtained from Turkey a considerable portion of its flowers.

he also knows where to find others to speak of his sweet-heart :
 "My beloved is a black-eyed gazelle. She leaves one valley and seeks another. Is she an houri? Is she an angel? Is she a heaven⁵ revolving about me with her celestial sphere?"

Such a beauty is well-fitted to inspire the undying love of which he speaks in another song :—

"Though the whole world should rise up against me, I will not leave you, my girl! Though the Judgment Day should come upon the world, I will not leave you, my girl. Though the Prophet were to send his orders in thunder from the snow-clad mountain tops, 'Azru must leave Ganuber,'⁶ yet, as for me, I will not leave you, my girl."

It will go hard with the chivalrous nomad, but that his admiration will make him rest himself hard by the well where Rebecca attracted all eyes :—

"Beautiful maiden, stop by the spring; give me a drink of water, for I thirst. Allah bless thee, girl; do not detain me long, I must go."

"I never give water to those whom I do not know, nor to those who look so tricky as thou. Thou art a Kurd by race, a bastard. Drink and do not stop on your way. Our clan is not a clan without prudence. You will never meet with any good at this spring. Every fox who passes is not taken for a lion. Drink and go your way."

"I will be a guest in your encampment; I will be your shield. Dear girl, I will be a servant to your father. Give me a little water to drink, my beloved."

"There are plenty of travellers on these roads; some are hungry, others are not. I am an orphan; I have no father. Drink and go your way."

"Thy eyebrows are as finely arched as if they had been traced with a pen. Thy teeth are like a string of pearls. I will agree to be a servant to thy brother, my girl. Give me a little water to drink."

"The thickets are plenty in our fields. We have abundance of roses and violets. My brother has a negro slave. Drink, and do not stay long."

⁵ Lamennais, in the *Paroles d'un Croyant*, speaks of the smiles of young girls, as "sweeter than the azure of heaven," just the thought of the Turkoman poet.

⁶ Model lovers, like Ferhad and Chirin, in the Turkoman poetry.

Karaïoglou has well expressed in this song the modes of feeling and utterance, which are characteristic of primitive natures. The young girl, hearing him speak of the conversations of lovers whom the *karpanck* (cloak of felt) shelters in rainy weather, employs all at once the impassioned language used by the Jewess in the *Song of Songs*; but her lover, who seemed to be so grieved at finding her "cold as iron," nevertheless disdains a victory which proves so easy, and despises the girl who is resolved to "forget everything but love."

In spite of the fondness which is felt by the bulk of the nation for the nomad life, the Turkoman is able, in some instances, to give up that adventurous way of living. Among the Turkoman Yomuds or Yamuls, who live partly in Turkestan and partly in Persia, there are both nomads and settlers in nearly all their tribes. "The transition from one condition to the other is common" says the Russian *Military Review*. Impoverishment, a quarrel with neighbors, marriage, change the settler into the nomad. The death of parents accustomed to the nomad life, the loss of camels, a wife's preference, decide a nomad to become a settler. It is, therefore, necessary to abstain carefully from generalizations in speaking of the social conditions of the Turkomans in Persia. Even in the capital of Empire they endeavor to adapt their habits to the mode of life of the Tajiks.

In Tcheran the Turkoman type is a blending of the Mongol and the Turkish types. It can never be confounded with the Iranian type, which combines delicacy of features and the charm of a fine physiognomy, and which not even their wretched condition can succeed in degrading; for we find everywhere graceful figures among the village children. The Turkoman women wear a picturesque dress, in which red is the dominant color. They work in the open air, in the courtyard of their little houses, carding cotton or spinning thread. Quite other occupations engaged that Fathme Serdar, who became so famous for her wild valor in the last reign. While still quite a girl, this Turkoman woman was carried off to Khiva, where she spent a part of her life in sharing predatory excursions, from which she brought back more than one head. In her view, a great name was the finest inheritance any one could bequeath. All peoples believe in glory; but each takes the word in its own sense, and the theories of Fathme were well fitted to find a response in the provinces of Mazderan and Asterabad.

Asterabad was founded at the time of the Arab conquest by Yezidben Abderahman, who, like the Jews in the conquest of Palestine, did his utmost to root out the population he found in the country. The Gurgan River, says a popular tradition, was swollen with Turkoman blood, which was shed in quantities sufficient to have run a mill, had it not been clotted by the heat of the weather. But it is not easy to clear Persia of the nomads. The sword of Islam has effected no more than that of Kei-Khosru. In Mazderan and the province of Asterabad a great number of villages are peopled by peasants of Turkish race. In the latter, the Turkoman Goklands, who have all but abandoned the nomad life and devoted themselves to the silk culture, although they live in tents of felt, and the entirely nomad Yomuds who stretch along the shore of the Caspian, are rather intractable subjects. The city of Asterabad, which is far from prosperous, is the home of the proud families of the Khajar clan, which gave to Persia its present royal house. The province has much to suffer from the plundering and the greediness of the Turkomans. How many times have its ditches and walls been leaped over by the Turkomans, who came by night to sweep off belated Persians!

DORA, COUNTESS D'ISTRIA.

OUR OLDEST AUTHOR.

FILIAL piety and a love of learning have united in securing the reprint of a very curious work, an essay printed by S. Keimer in Philadelphia, in 1725, written by Francis Rawle in the preceding year. The title is "*Ways and Means for the Inhabitants of Delaware [the River—not the State, of course,] to become Rich: wherein the several growths and products of these countries are demonstrated to be a sufficient fund for a flourishing trade. Humbly submitted to the legislative authority of these Colonies.*" There is a bit of oddity in knowing that the only extant copy is that now in the Loganian Branch of the Philadelphia Library, and that it was only unearthed in the recent transfer to the Ridgway Branch. It is also rather a noteworthy coincidence that Rawle's book was the

first original treatise on any general subject that appeared in this province; only religious and political controversy having before been issued from the local press, and that it was the first book ever set up and printed by Franklin, a fact that he stated when he was our minister to France, and in very great public honor. He mentioned it to the grandson of the author, William Rawle, who was a guest at his table in Passy, in the presence of some men of the first rank. Francis Rawle was the son of a very early settler, coming here a lad, with his father, from Cornwall, England, and both by his education and marriage, gaining a very important place in the infant colony. He was strongly opposed to the Proprietary Government, and indeed the Penns and their agents acted in a way to evoke energetic resistance from all who were independent enough to maintain what they thought best for the country and its future growth and progress.

The Rawles of to-day are too numerous to be easily classified; but in them and in the long list of those of the name who have done good service to the state and to the whole country, there is found a good deal of the sturdy independence characteristic of their ancestors, both in the way of original thinking and acting,—and it is, perhaps, natural enough, that one of the descendants of the first author on our finances should only lately have completed an honorable term of service as State Treasurer. But apart from all these considerations, that might well justify a reprint of the quaint work, it has enough merit in its contents to make it of interest to a much larger circle of readers than those who are merely antiquaries or bibliographers. When it was written trade and commerce among the pioneers on the Delaware were at a low ebb, and they were embarrassed by the low price of grain and the want of a suitable currency. The author set himself to the task of finding a solution of the causes and a remedy, and points out that the true riches of a country arise mainly from a favorable balance of trade. To show how this may be secured, he enumerates the various productions of the province, pointing out how each of them may be best cultivated, and where good markets can be got for wheat and other grain crops, for tobacco, hemp, flour, paper, linseed-oil, rice, and ‘distillery products,’ as well as ‘the spontaneous yield of timber, copper, iron, limestone, slate, marble, isinglass and cottonstone, of which handkerchiefs, gloves and purses may be knit, and

when foul are cleansed in the fire, which, like gold, it endures without any change,'—a curious product certainly, and one not easily understood, coming as it does, from a writer who seems so thoroughly master of his subject. He then argues strenuously for a plentiful issue of paper money, but insists that due care must be taken to preserve its value by restricting the amount, and he shows that the rise of exchange, which had been erroneously attributed to paper currency, was really occasioned by the exceeding scarcity of gold. Franklin's pamphlet on paper money anticipated Adam Smith's theory, that the amount of labor was the real standard of value, and Franklin's pamphlet preceded Rawle's,—but Rawle was the first to state correctly the real nature of the balance of trade, showing that he was far ahead of his contemporaries in the truths of sound political economy. His reference to Locke, and his apposite citation from that philosopher's views, show a curious anticipation of the value of iron to the infant Commonwealth of Pennsylvania.

His statement of what would to-day perhaps pass for sound doctrine on the much vexed currency question, is clear and explicit, and adds not a little to the respect due to our first author,—for Francis Rawle was that, both in point of time and merit. He leaves the shifting ground of finance for an earnest appeal for an improvement in the breed of horses, so as to avoid the steady drain upon the slender resources of the province, in favor of the neighboring country where more care was taken. His next suggestion is the establishment of an insurance office, to insure merchants against hazards at land as well as casualties at sea, lately become so much the practice of England, pointing out that although attempts have been already made at Philadelphia, which dropped and proved abortive, it would be well for the legislature to erect an insurance office to be supported by a fund arising out of the interest of the loan office, so that it would not be easily upset by a few losses, while it would contribute to keep up the value of paper credit by promoting trade, navigation and building of ships. Finally he urges on the farmers that only by their diligence and industry can 'the river' be furnished with a stock for trade, whether of beef, pork, grain, bread or flour, and that, as becomes honest men who value the credit of their country, they must care for it that their several commodities be well saved, well packed,

sound and merchantable, thus tending to their own honor and interest, and securing a trade beneficial for the public as well as themselves. These are homely truths, just as applicable and forcible to-day as when they were so earnestly spoken in seventeen hundred and twenty-four, and after the lapse of a hundred and fifty years, the great commerce of 'the river' shows that the first author of our colony taught a lesson that is still remembered. It is the honest boast of all who carry on business in Philadelphia, that the honesty in all our productions and dealings, which has ever been a characteristic, belongs to all trades and manufactures, and it is satisfactory to look back through the long vista of years to the man who first urged the cultivation of the trade of the Delaware and the commerce then just growing up on its broad waters and rich banks, and to be able to read in the reprint of his little book, the lessons that he taught with such effect that they are at this day the cardinal rules of all who are our successful merchants and manufacturers. The reprint of the essay is opportune, and its value in our local history, and in that of political economy, will secure for it a share of public attention, and thus in turn attract all who are the owners of rare and curious literary productions of our early history, and encourage them to make them known by reprint or otherwise.

NEW BOOKS.

THE FRENCH REVOLUTION. By Hippolyte Adolph Taine, D. C. L. Oxon. Translated by John Durand. Vol. I. [Being the second volume of "The Origins of Contemporary France."] Pp. xi, 356. New York: Henry Holt & Co.

No group of measures in history, since the Reformation, has been so much lauded and so much assailed as those which make up the French Revolution. In the articles of Mr. Paul Janet, of which a translation appeared in this magazine some years ago, the most important of these contradictory estimates were passed in review; but since that date new light has been thrown upon a multitude of aspects of the Revolution, and new estimates of the highest value have appeared. Very few can claim to rank beside Quinet's studied impartiality and sobriety of judgment. Nearly all seem to hold a brief either for the altar and the throne, or for

some leading revolutionist among their assailants, but it is noteworthy that the former view of the case has rather gained than lost ground of late years.

It would sound funny if we were to speak of M. Taine as holding a brief for throne and altar; the author of *De l'Intelligence* is not enthusiastic for either. But his view coincides for the most part with that of the legitimists, at least in its negative results. He sees in the Revolution little more than a chaos of vile passions, hardly illumined by any rays of nobler emotion. His work is, indeed, little else than a long indictment of the revolutionists, drawn up by a man who has no enthusiasm for the losing side, but who regards the subject from the historical and social point of view. He never shrieks with legitimist indignation, nor weeps with Catholic pathos. His judgment is altogether free from such prepossessions, and his condemnations are all the more severe.

And yet it might fairly be charged that M. Taine is not altogether unpartisan. Of all the parties of that time, his own sympathy is of course warmest for the Voltaireans. That the Revolutionists were of that negative party, is a notion very common among religious people. But the truth is pretty nearly the exact contrary. The moderate Revolutionists of the Girondin school might be so classed, but they became nearly the first victims of the passion for blood. And the legitimists, the *émigrés*, and others of the higher classes were more commonly disciples of Voltaire than anything else. It is only since the Revolution that the autocratic and royalist party have become devout. They were, prior to it, arrant scoffers and unbelievers, of the purely negative school. It was the prevalence of Voltairean notions among them, which disarmed them in the day of peril. They had no ardent faith in either church, state, or established order, to oppose to the ardent faith in the rights of man, as held by the real Revolutionists, the disciples of Rousseau. And whenever a mere negativist, devoid of religious and political enthusiasms, avows any sympathy for the events of 1789, he is blundering into the camp of the enemy. Now, it is true that M. Taine has reached his own philosophic position by a different route from that taken by Voltaire. He is a disciple of the naturalism of our own age; he thinks he has found that the historical and scientific study of man and nature disabuse the mind of its reverences and its worships. But, in point of fact, the social result is much the same. And, were a new Jean Jacques to arise, and awaken a popular enthusiasm—let us suppose—for the communistic reconstruction of society, the elements of solid resistance to that disastrous movement would not be found in those who have sat at the feet of Haeckel and Clifford. It was John Wesley's Methodists who made an extension of the French Revolution to England impossible.

M. Taine's book is in some respects his very best piece of work. He has put more heart into it than any other. He cares more for making his point. It is written, of course, with all his French brilliancy, and no one will find it hard reading. It has also great merit as a positive contribution to our historical knowledge, for he has taken the trouble to hunt up all sorts of unused documents, in the national archives and elsewhere, especially the letters of Gouverneur Morris, our minister, to President Washington. And while a really profound political philosophy is impossible to one who ignores the deepest springs of human action, or believes that they are drying up, the book contains many valuable suggestions on secondary points. Such is the suggestion (p. 208) of the tendency of a constitution which calls for much attention to political duties on the part of citizens, to create a separate class of politicians, who take these duties off the citizens' hands.

The translation seems well done. It reads almost like an English book. The workmanship of the book-makers has been excellent.

THE FUTURE OF THE REPUBLIC. A Lecture delivered in the Old South Church, March 30th, 1878. By Ralph Waldo Emerson. Pp. 44. Boston: Houghton, Osgood & Co.

Mr. Emerson in this excellent little discourse gives his opinion on the question as to the present condition and future prospects of America. He fully recognizes the existing evils in our country in this stage of dentition, but he does not confine himself to pointing out the bar-room minority who hold the majority in check. He shows us the wrong voter and demagogue in each man's own breast, the general readiness to follow bad example and to live away from contact with the ultimate principles of right. He recognizes the advantages of what we have gained in casting aristocratic privilege and the fantastic spirit of select cliques behind us; in bringing all questions to the universal common sense, and in diffusing a general comfort through the poorer classes. But he says we must now take up the bill of human duties instead of human rights; and must recognize that the present dignity of the American citizen is "an unbuttoned comfort, not clean, nor thoughtful, far from polished, without dignity in his repose." "We have much to learn, much to correct,—a great deal of lying vanity. . . . We must realize our rhetoric and our rituals." But our worst danger is from the imitation of European, especially English fashions, and their mechanical, routinish life. "Let the passion for America cast out the passion for Europe. For without the latter, our young men grow up croakers without an ideal, idlers without a vocation. Individuality is thus checked, and the growth towards heroism brought to

a period. "Our is the age of the omnibus, of the third person plural, of Tammany Hall." The heroic energy which came to light in the years of the war needs a new direction. He believes the main drift of things is right,—no thanks to us or our leaders either. "Pennsylvania coal mines and New York shipping and free labor, though not idealistic, gravitate in the ideal direction." Our helm is given up to better guidance than our own; the course of events is quite too strong for any helmsman, and our little wherry is taken in tow by the ship of the great Admiral, which knows the way, and has the force to draw men and states and planets to their good." Which optimistic view of things raises a great many more questions than it answers.

RECOLLECTIONS OF WRITERS, by Charles and Mary Cowden Clarke, with letters of Charles Lamb, Leigh Hunt, Douglas Jerrold and Charles Dickens, and a Preface by Mary Cowden Clarke. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1878. Pp. 347.

This charming little book is full of pleasant memories of a union in literary work and domestic happiness, rarely paralleled in the annals of authorship. Mrs. Clarke's part is far the best of it, but that is, perhaps, due to the womanly way in which she subordinates herself to her companions in life and in literature. The training of the husband in his father's school was not calculated to give him much graceful thought and ease of expression, and his long absence from England has lent new burthens to his style, until it becomes markedly heavy and awkward. The wife, on the other hand, grew up in the Novello household, in the midst of music and poetry, surrounded on all sides by gentle influences and tender, kindly sympathy of the circle of able men who shared its modest hospitality, and even now in her old age she seems to write with the simple ease of one whose mind and its expressions are in happy harmony. Charles Clarke's great merit was to have had John Keats as a school-fellow, Leigh Hunt as an early friend, and through his father-in-law, Vincent Novello, admission to the companionship of Charles Lamb, Shelley and that ilk. His acquaintance with Coleridge was of the slightest, and yet it is made to eke out the contents of his share of the book, but Leigh Hunt was an intimate and frequent correspondent and his letters fill up many of its pages. The chapter on Keats, by the husband, is far less interesting than that of the wife on Charles Lamb, and her account of the campaign with Charles Dickens on his theatrical journeys is full of pleasant reminiscences. The kindly and grateful acknowledgement made by these veterans in Shakespeare studies, of the merit of the work done by the Furness's, is sure to be appreciated in this, their native city.

MODERN FRENCHMEN.—Five Biographies. By Philip Gilbert Hamerton. Boston: Roberts Brothers, 1878. Pp. 422.

Mr. Hamerton is the master of a charming fluency that sometimes helps him over only a slight knowledge of his subject, and oftener still carries his reader on and on with a very small thread of thought through a great many well turned phrases. In this last book he likens biography to painting, and then modestly assigns to himself only the task of the picture-cleaner, brightening up old, familiar faces and introducing them to the public with only a little fresh color and new gilding. His subjects are Henry Regnault, whose life is charmingly told in a volume admirably made up of his own letters, with enough of biography to connect its links. Ampère, the son, whose life and letters are known to every lover of modern French memoirs; François Rude, the sculptor, whose works were not great, whose life was uneventful, and whose want of education deprived him of the gift of expression as well as of any opportunity other than that of his clever statuary. Henry Perreyve is a capital type of the modern French churchman and orator, and perhaps is the key-note of the whole book,—a pretty evident effort on Mr. Hamerton's part to convince Englishmen of their own Protestant intolerance and of the greater breadth and catholicity of the Roman Catholic faith of France. The sketch of Victor Jacquemont is far pleasanter and more wholesome reading, and all the more interesting, as the French do not shine greatly in the character of travellers,—although even that truism is fast losing its force. Mr. Hamerton has done his share of book-making fairly well, but it is doubtful whether it was worth doing, as all who care to follow out the subjects of his book no doubt can and would rather read the originals in French, whence he has drawn his material, and he fairly confesses the fact by acknowledging that translation would spoil some of their best passages. These he wisely puts, in the original, into foot notes, which are quite the best of his many pages.

AMERICAN ORNITHOLOGY; or the Natural History of the Birds of the United States. Illustrated with Plates engraved from Nature. By Alexander Wilson and Charles Lucien Bonaparte. Popular edition; three volumes in one. Pp. cliv: 214; 390; 426; great 8vo., with twenty-eight pages of plates. Philadelphia: Porter & Coates.

There is no more wholesome pursuit than the study of natural history. It is good (as Charles Kingsley says), for logic, good for imagination, good for the formation of character, good for filling the heart with wholesome thoughts, that turn attention away from

partisanship and disputes to a calmer atmosphere. Our own country has been happy in that the study of this subject was very early taken up, and especially in this city and state. The name of William Bartram is as well known in the annals of botanical science as that of Franklin in his own department, and it is far from standing alone, for many were the quiet Quakerly spirits who united the study of God's works with their following of the inner light. In ornithology, however, we owe most to a Scotchman and two Frenchmen. Alexander Wilson was from Ayrshire, a friend of Burns and a poet of that school. His settlement in 1802, near Gray's Ferry on the Schuylkill brought him into contact with Mr. Bartram, who was himself a fair ornithologist, and thus led him to undertake engraving and describing the birds of the new world. To procure subscriptions, he travelled over the country from Boston to Charleston, and across the mountains to Lexington, and wherever he went he carried the quick, sympathetic eye of the born naturalist, and of the poet who owned the Ayrshire ploughman as his master.* Beginning with 1808, he published seven volumes of his illustrated *Ornithology*; two more appeared in 1813; and a continuation of four volumes by Charles Lucien Bonaparte appeared in 1825-33. In point of splendor the work of Wilson and Bonaparte was surpassed by that of Audubon—a creole from Louisiana who settled in Pennsylvania. This appeared in ten folio volumes (London 1830-8), but its high price—a thousand dollars a copy—placed it beyond the reach of all but a few, at least until the cheaper edition of 1844 appeared.

The work of Wilson and Bonaparte, therefore, holds an eminent place in the history of the science, while its literary merits are sufficiently marked to excite and hold the attention of the general reader. It has been an eminent means of fostering the love of natural history in America, but, although the cheapest elaborate work, its cost has always been too considerable to put it within the reach of the public at large. Messrs. Porter & Coates have adopted the plan of putting the three volumes of their edition into one, and furnishing this cheaper edition with uncolored plates. They are thus able to offer the whole work at the low price of ten dollars a copy. Besides all the text of Wilson, of his editor Ord, and of Bonaparte, the edition contains a "Catalogue of North American Birds," by Professor Spencer F. Baird of the Smithsonian Institution.

We hope the new edition will meet with the success it deserves, and that many a young naturalist will get from some generous friend the opportunity of coloring its plates and studying its text.

MUSIC IN THE HOUSE. By John Hullah, LL. D. Pp. vii, 79. Philadelphia, Porter & Coates.

This volume of the "Art at Home Series" is by a man to whom the world of music owes much. Dr. John Hullah is the most successful teacher of vocal music known to history since the days of Jubal, before the flood. He has been the chief mover in that great revival of vocal music in England, through which the nation which passed for the least musical of peoples, has become as passionately fond of song as it was three centuries ago. We need a Hullah in America, and until he comes, the circulation of this English Hullah's books. They show him a man equally acquainted with the theory and the practice of his art, as equally at home in its wonderful history, and in its present environment. He avoids as far as possible the slang of the profession, speaking ordinary English on every subject. And he has literary force sufficient to commend the art to his readers. His three chief chapters, after the Introduction, discuss Unaccompanied Vocal Music, Instrumental Music and Accompanied Music. He urges a large attention for the older masters of both the English and the Continental schools, and censures the critics for trying them by purely modern standards, after a fashion which would be scouted in literary or artistic criticism. As to instruments, he does not dispute the predominance of the piano, but insists that the "grand" is the only legitimate form of the instrument. But he believes that a much simpler and cheaper instrument of this type, with the omission of the useless notes, now represented at either extreme of the finger-board, would serve the purpose much better than the piano now in the market. He urges the more general cultivation of the violin and its congeners, while he has very little that is good to say of our reed organ, and its congeners the harmonium, the concertina, the accordion, etc. Of the American "organ" he says: "The roughness of quality, the inequality and intensity of their upper and lower notes, and the obtrusive force of their 'resultant sounds,' disqualify them as instruments of harmony, and render their simultaneous production of more than two—at the utmost three—sounds insufferably wearisome." He protests most forcibly against the current practice of singing so that no one can tell in what language the song or passage is written, much less what is its exact sense. But he lays the blame of this fashion upon the elevated pitch now exacted of singers, and the size of the concert-rooms. Music at home, he thinks, might be made intelligible to the unlearned. He glances at the store of music of various kinds which is accessible to the musician at home and gives advice to persons engaged in making selections.

THE STUDIO ARTS.—By Elizabeth Winthrop Johnson. New York : Henry Holt & Co., 1878. Pp. 161.

This is the second of a series of Hand-books for students and general readers in Science, Literature, Art and History, now in course of publication.

The well-known accuracy and soundness of taste of the publishers must be the best test for their choice of subjects, and the names of Russell Sturgis in Architecture, of Clarence King in Geology, of Francis Walker in Political Economy, are sufficient vouchers for the work they do. *The Studio Arts* is a careful compilation, in as simple language as the subject will allow, of the best rules of art given by the best authorities. Taine, Charles Blanc, Oliver Wendell Holmes, are good authorities to draw from for an introduction to the study of art, and their rules are carefully illustrated by references to the great examples of statuary and painting, with a full statement of their history, and of the museums and galleries where they are now to be found. The analysis of the subject seems to be intelligently made, and the bibliography and biography that belong to the growing literature of the fine arts are both fair and full. An index of artists supplements the table of contents, and reference and cross-reference are thus made easy and accurate. There is a discrimination shown in the brief summary of the books upon art, and Hamerton is well defined as not showing much originality, although he brings the originality of others within easy reach, while Ruskin is clearly liable to the charge of combining with an entire lack of system the most unbridled and bewildering freaks of fancy, and is entitled to the highest recognition for his wonderful descriptions of scenery. Among the omissions in the list of books, perhaps the most noticeable is that of Racinet's *Poly-chromatic Ornament*, but then, of course, completeness is the last thing to be expected in a hand-book which undertakes to give, in a few pages, the last results of a literature which is growing so fast that even the daily and weekly journals find it hard to keep apace with its newest productions, and a monthly review can only follow in their wake.

STUDIES IN THE CREATIVE WEEK.—By [Rev.] George Dana Boardman. Pp. 338. New York : D. Appleton & Co.

Dr. Boardman is well-known as the most eloquent of the Baptist clergy of this city. We have not previously met with anything from his pen, except an isolated sermon or address, but the present volume fully sustains his reputation as an orator and a thinker. He has taken the opening verses of the book of Genesis as his theme, not in order to add one to the many "reconciliations of science with religion," but to unfold the truths which that record

contains, apart from all controversies about its antiquity or its accuracy. Over twenty years ago, Marcus Niebuhr pointed out the fact that Genesis contains the pure and uncontaminated Shemetic tradition of the world's beginning,—a tradition radically different from that of the Hamites of Egypt, and differing, in its freedom from unworthy additions, from that preserved among the Assyrians, as reported by Greek writers. The discoveries of George Smith and others have added very little to our knowledge of Assyrian tradition. Dr. Boardman approaches the record not in the literalistic spirit generally adopted by its impugners and its defenders alike. Like Herder, he feels that he is dealing with a story whose speech is that of a distant, simple and child-like age,—an age to which the sky was as real as the earth. And yet, behind this simplicity, he discerns a truthfulness to fact and reality, which the literalist of either class must fail to appreciate. On the other hand, he regards the story with the eye of a philosopher. Its language is that of appearances. But the real, which lies behind the seeming,—the noumenal behind the phenomenal—surely here, if anywhere in the study of nature, the attention is called to *that*. So Augustine insisted in the fifth century; so Tayler Lewis and Frederick Maurice have reminded us in our own. The purpose of creation is to mirror forth the realities of a more real world than ours. The two correspond, not by accident or adaptation, but by a creative purpose.

We cannot follow our author through the successive chapters—the Genesis of Order, of Light, of the Sky, of the Land, of the Plants, of the Luminaries, of the Animals, of Man, of Eden, of Woman, and of the Sabbath. We may remark that, under the last of these heads, the author shows his freedom from literal severity in his wise discriminations as regards the observance of the Sabbath. He does not insist that everybody is bound to keep it in the same way. What may be right for the poor, may be wrong for the rich.

His last chapter on Palingenesis is a discussion of that renewal of physical nature, which seems to be especially foreshadowed in the Epistle to the Romans. It carries Dr. Boardman into a ground of speculation which has been often trodden, especially by German philosophers and theologians of the school of Franz Baader. Unlike them, Dr. Boardman looks for a huge elemental catastrophe, applying to it the language of the apoclypt's speech, whose first application is certainly to the social and not the physical sphere. We are inclined to think him wrong as an interpreter on this point.

The book shows the fruits of wide reading, especially in the works of the best English poets. Dr. Boardman evidently sets as high an estimate upon them as does Henry Taylor, who says that

the chief depository of the social wisdom of our age is the writings of the poets.

THE WAVERLY DICTIONARY: an Alphabetical Arrangement of all the Characters in Sir Walter Scott's Waverly Novels, with a Descriptive Analysis of each Character, and illustrative Selections from the Text. By May Rogers. Pp. 357. Chicago: S. C. Griggs & Co.

The author of this work seems to have taken as her model the *Dickens Dictionary*, but to have been obliged to execute her plan on a more modest scale,—not because Scott's works are less worthy of such analysis, but because the *furor* of first popularity has in their case died away. Scott was held, in his time, a genius of the first order; but, as John Sterling had the audacity to predict in 1829, in the *Athenæum*, the limits of his power have come to be seen. Many of the historical conclusions he set his heart upon disseminating,—as, for instance, his estimate of Mary, Queen of Scots, of the Covenanters and of Cromwell and the Puritans, have been as good as overthrown by closer historical study. His utter inability to do more than caricature some of the most exalted types of human character, has been brought into clear light by Carlyle, his diletteantism has been rebuked even by Ruskin, who thinks him the greatest of modern English poets. His romanticism and Stuartism have ceased to be regarded as the accomplishment of persons of good taste, and have come to be looked upon as a part of the stock in trade of a religious party, who reproduce his narrowness of judgment in more passionate narrowness, and who are ten times more in earnest than he. George Borrow's onslaught on Scott, in the *Romany Rye* was substantially justified; he was the forerunner of the Oxford movement, and he has helped many a Protestant into the Roman Catholic Church.

Our author seems to have done her work fairly well. She has sunk herself in her author, and reproduces exactly his estimate of persons and characters. But it does sound odd to find an intelligent person, in this part of the nineteenth century, even *seeming* to appropriate Scott's opinions of Claverhouse and the like. The necessary compression of details has, in most cases, been done with fair success, but it is nearly impossible to condense Scott, in some cases, without injury. The character of Davie Deans in the *Heart of Midlothian* is an instance of this fallure.

We believe the book will answer its purpose as a work of reference for Scott's admirers, and as a means of refreshing one's memory in regard to any of his stories which have not been recently read.

Appleton's New Handy Volume Series—JET; HER FACE OR HER FORTUNE? By Mrs. Annie Edwards. New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1878.

The present taste of novel readers seems to be largely for French stories, or English stories of life in France. The French novelists are well-known to English readers, and, as another instance, five books of this series belong to one or the other of the above mentioned classes. This story turns on a very inferior character,—the Reverend Lawrence Biron,—a chargeless curate and fortune-hunter, who makes much misery for Jet, whose face is her fortune, by mistaking her for her half-sister, the heiress.

Such men as this are a terrible load for the English church to carry. Clergymen by profession, not vocation; never, like Mr. Stiggins, the bane of poor Mr. Weller, shocking by blatant vulgarity, but gentlemen by culture and education, none the less living a lie. Thackeray's contribution to this class, the Reverend Charles Honeyman, is too weak to have full appreciation of his wrongdoing, and in the end the gentle culture tells with him where Stiggins is irredeemable. Without comparing Lawrence Biron to either of these immortals, we must pronounce him a very well drawn clerical Bohemian, of that dangerous type which abounds in Continental cities, who leave their flocks to the care of the devil, whom Hugh Latimer called the busiest preacher in England.

The Cob-web Series of Choice Fiction—THE LITTLE GOOD-FOR-NOTHING. (*Le Petit Chose*). From the French of Alphonse Daudet. By Mary Neal Sherwood. Boston: Estes & Lauriat, 1878.

The Little Good-for-Nothing, our affectionate appellation of a juvenile scapegrace, does not seem a correct rendering of *Le Petit Chose*, which is rather (a view the story certainly corroborates) a little no-account, or a little wool after a great cry. There are other instances in which the translation is open to criticism, for the literal reproduction of a French idiom, on p. 8, we hear of the disappearance of a manufacturer's *clients*. On p. 177, "The Little Good-for-nothing was certainly a *figure of fun*," on p. 261, "A lovely statuette of Columbine by *herself moulded*." In favor of the story itself there is not half as much to be said as we could wish. Perhaps, being the simple narrative of adventures between the childhood and youth of the hero there is not enough opportunity for Daudet's character painting. Indeed there are only two worth mentioning. The hero, Daniel, a quite contemptible personage, eager to demand trials and very slow to endure them, far more concerned to make others think him what he is not, than to be what he would really wish, and his brother Jacques, a stupid but honest and affectionate martyr. That Daniel eventually falls from

his poetic and dramatic aspirations into so comfortable a berth as that of a partner and son-in-law of a porcelain seller, is due to the undeserved kindness of others, especially of Jacques, who is hastened into the grave by his efforts to repair the mistakes of this inflated dreamer. It may be said in favor of the tale that it is generally simple and unadorned, but this will not makè up for the capital defect of choosing as a hero one whom the reader must infallibly despise. Even Thackeray, in *The History of Barry Lyndon*, made this mistake, though the hero is saved from contempt by his vigor and wit.

ROXY.—By Edward Eggleston. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1878.

Schlegel's view of the sacred trust committed to every educated man to guard his mother tongue and keep it pure, is impressed on one's mind by such a book as this. As specimens of the language used we may cite such expressions as, "The first swash of the opposition wave: a sermon like pine shavings in the mouth;" and other vulgarities mistaken for vigorous English. "The muezzin call of the tavern bell to supper," is only nonsense; but the beautiful young women who address a man as "ole hoss," we prefer to believe mythical. With the story fault need not be found, save in the warping of every natural trait in the other characters to develop the saintliness of Roxy, whose feet walk in very troubled places.

LESSONS IN COOKERY. Hand-book of the National Training School for Cookery (South Kensington, London). To which is added: The Principles of Diet in Health and Disease. By Thomas K. Chambers, M.D. Edited by Eliza A. Youmans. Pp. xv., 382. New York: D. Appleton & Co.

ALL AROUND THE HOUSE; or, How to Make Homes Happy. By Mrs. H. W. Beecher, author of *Monthly Talks*, etc. Pp. 461. New York: D. Appleton & Co.

We are instructed to report that the first of these books, while an excellent introduction to the science of the subject, and furnished with useful explanations which are usually not given in cookery-books, is by no means all that an American housekeeper needs. It is prepared for the latitude and longitude of Greenwich, and therefore its assumptions as to the materials at the housekeeper's hand, are not applicable to the latitude and longitude of Philadelphia. A great multitude of our fruits and vegetables are rarely or never seen in the British Islands, while others which are not liked here are deservedly favorites when grown under their milder and moister skies. For instance, no untravelled American has ever seen a genuinely ripe gooseberry.

But it was not the author's purpose to prepare a complete

cookery-book for either side of the Atlantic. He aims at a grammar, not a dictionary of his subject. And especially he desires to get rid of the vagueness of ordinary receipts, and to substitute exact weights and measurements for loose expressions of quantity. The book is, therefore, an excellent introduction to the science of the subject, and is as notable for its omissions as for anything else. For instance, certain culinary practices, such as frying meats, are never mentioned, because they are under the ban of physiological science.

On the second work we are instructed to say that almost any young housekeeper, who has not yet got so far as to be infallible on all questions—*i. e.*, under forty years of age—will find the work both instructive and amusing. It is not a receipt-book, although it contains nearly a hundred pages devoted to receipts for cooking and other housewifely processes. The greater part is made up of a series of very readable papers, most of them of general interest. Live questions are discussed, such as “why is Monday recognized as washing-day?”; to which we would reply, “is it?” In many parts of the British Islands, they wash at the middle or towards the close of the week, and in our grandmother’s younger days they washed only once a month; while in Germany once in three months is still the custom. Mrs. Beecher has an eye to the graces as well as the utilities. She suggests many inexpensive ways of making American interiors bright and attractive. But she especially discusses the moral basis of housekeeping,—wise self-denial, mutual courtesy and confidence, contentment, conscientiousness in system, cheerfulness in trouble, and the like.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

<i>Authors.—Titles.</i>	<i>Publishers.—Prices.</i>
Beers (H. A.), A Century of American Literature.	(Henry Holt & Co.) \$1 00
Boswell (James), Life of Samuel Johnson.	“ “ 2 00
Coates (Henry T.), Fireside Encyclopædia of Poetry.	(Porter & Coates.) 5 00
Freedley (E. T.), Common Sense in Business. (Claxton, Remsen & Haffelfinger.)	1 50
Fothergill, (Jessie), The First Violin.	(Henry Holt & Co.) 1 00
Harland (Marion), The Dinner Year-Book.	(Chas. Scribner’s Sons.) 2 25
Lockwood (F. B.), Training of Children	(Edward Stern & Co.) 25
Loring (A. E.), Hand-book of the Electro-Magnetic Telegraph.	(Van Nostrand.) 50
Macpherson (Gerardine), Memoirs of the Life of Anna Jameson.	(Roberts Bros.) 2 50
Marks (Wm. D.), The Relative Proportions of the Steam Engine.	(J. B. Lippincott & Co.)
Mathews (William), Oratory and Orators.	(S. C. Griggs & Co.) 2 00
Roe (E. P.), A Face Illumined.	(Dodds, Mead & Co.) 1 50
Smithsonian Institute, Annual Report, 1877.	(Government Printing Office.)
Theuriet (Andre), Raymonde.	(D. Appleton & Co.) 30
Towle (G. M.) Beaconsfield.	“ “ 25
Van Laun (Henri), The French Revolutionary Epoch.	“ “