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CONTENTS OF VOLUME XIII.

Abinger, Lord, Legal Biographies, II.,—*C. S. Patterson*, ... 184
Another Vacation,—*J. T. Rothrock*, ... 441
Arena, The,——*Edwin N. Benson*, ...
Art Education and Art Patronage in the United States,—*S. R. Koehler*, 321, 418
Art Exhibitions, A Glance at Two,—*Thomas Leaming*, ... 49

Balzac, A Moralist,—*John Durand*, ... 401
Bank, History of the First United States,—*A. S. Bolles*, ... 431
Bible of the Quiche Redskins of Guatemala,—*J. P. Lundy*, ... 117
Biographies, Legal,—*C. S. Patterson*, ... 12, 184
Books of Chilan Balam,—*D. G. Brinton*, ... 261
Book Reviews and Notices,— . . . .

Arts and Sciences,—*Shedd*—Famous Sculptors and Sculpture, 79; *Lundy*—Monumental Christianty, 158; *Riley*—The Artist and his Mission, 239; *Warren*—An Artistic Treatise on the Human Figure, 319; *Leland*—Art Needlework, 475; *Patton*—The Art of Voice Production, 477.

Biography, History and Travels,—*Macquoid*—Pictures and Legends from Normandy and Brittany, 77; *Washburne*—Sketch of Governor Edward Coles, 150; *Shipp*—History of Hernando de Soto and Florida, 153; *Dall*—My First Holiday; or, Letters Home from Colorado, Utah and California, 236: *Besant and Rice*—Sir Richard Whittington, 316; *Adams*—A Manual of Historical Literature, 394; *Stillé*—Studies in Mediæval History, 395; *Russell*—Thomas Corwin; A Sketch, 398; *Morse*—John Quincy Adams, 471; *Rae*—Newfoundland to Manitoba, 474; *Cox*—Arctic Sunbeams, 474; *DeAmicis*—Morocco and Its People, 475.

Poetry,—*A. M. R.* Dramatic Sonnets of Inward Life, 157.

Philosophy and Theology,—*Kinsley*—Views on Vexed Questions, 234, *Grote*—The New Infidelity, 314; *Seiss*—The Gospel in The Stars, 396; *Weeden*—The Social Law of Labor, 473.

Medicine,—*Hubbard*—The Opium Habit and Alcoholism, 317; *Taylor*—Sensation and Pain, 399; *Kane*—Opium-Smoking in America and China, 478.

Law,—*Biddle*—Treatise on The Law of Stock-Brokers, 151.

Miscellaneous,—*Burton*—The Book-Hunter, 78; *Ledyard and Peters*—Tutti Frutti, 79; *Henshall*—Book of the Black Bass, 155; *Adams*—Young Folks' Robinson Crusoe, 159; *Albertson*—Four-footed Lovers, 159; Cambridge Trifles, 237; *Milner*—Country Treasures, 313; *Shepherd*—The Literary Life, 476; *Hoyt and Ward*—Cyclopædia of Practical Quotations, 479; *Hunt*—Hand-Book of Light Gymnastics, 318.

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Novels,—*James*—The Portrait of a Lady, 233; *Fenn*—The Vicar's People, 319; John Barlow's Ward, 319; *Max Adeler*—The Fortunate Island and other Stories, 320.

Brief Mention,—The President's message, 70; Mr. Garland's presidential succession bill, 74; additional land for the University, 146; Civil Service Reform addresses of George M. Dallas and Hampton L. Carson, 148; the centennial of the bank of North America, 149; the semi-centennial of *Chambers's Journal*, 229; *Our Continent*, 230; the portraits of Goethe, 231; the May music festivals, 231; the Dawes Civil Service Reform bill, 310; a polyglot journal of comparative literature, 312; the death of Henry M. Longfellow, 389; the International Arbitration and Peace Association, 392.

Bronze Age in Great Britain,—*D. G. Brinton*, ... 43
Campbell, Lord, Legal Biographies, I.,—*C. S. Patterson*, ... 12
Centennial Orations of Robert C. Winthrop,—*C. S. Patterson*, ... 129
Charade,—*S. Weir Mitchell*, ... 204
Chateau, A Famous,—*W. de Beauvoir Fryer*, ... 284
Chilan Balam, The Books of,—*D. G. Brinton*, ... 261
Civil Service Reform, Municipal Reform and,—*C. S. Patterson*, ... 295
Civil Service Reform: Term and Tenure of Office,—*Dorman B. Eaton*, . 81, 161
Civil Service Reform: How shall the Spoils System Be Abolished?—*Henry C. Lea*, ... 206
Civil Service Reform: "Brief Mention," 148, 310
Cobden, Morley's Life of,—*J. G. R.*, ... 212
Ecclesiasticism *versus* Truth,—*J. Andrews Harris*, ... 104
Expressions,—*Oscar Tayne*, ... 218
Famous Chateau, A,—*W. de Beauvoir Fryer*, ... 284
Franklin, Benjamin, The Lost Papers of, ... 333
Higher Medical Education, *James Tyson*, ... 276
History of the First United States Bank,—*A. S. Bolles*, ... 431
How Shall the Spoils System Be Abolished?—*Henry C. Lea*, ... 206
Ingersoll-Black Controversy, From the Jewish Stand-Point,—*L. N. Dembitz*, . 241
Legal Biographies,—*C. Stuart Patterson*, ... 12, 184
Lesson in the Grass, A.,—*Herbert Welsh*, ... 364
Lost Papers of Benjamin Franklin, The, ... 206
Man's Origin and Destiny (Lesley),—*J. Andrews Harris*, ... 450
Medical Education, Higher,—*James Tyson*, ... 276
Memories of Old Friends (Caroline Fox),—*Ellis Yarnall*, ... 355
Morley's Life of Cobden,—*J. G. R.*, ... 212
Municipal Reform and Civil Service Reform,—*C. S. Patterson*, ... 295
Observations on Mount Whitney,—*S. P. Langley*, ... 132
Orations, Centennial (R. C. Winthrop),—*C. S. Patterson*, ... 129
Parvum in Magno, *Horatio C. Wood*, ... 1
Poor of Paris, The, ... 365
Popul-Vuh, The Bible of the Quiche Red-Skins of Guatemala,—*D. G. Brinton*, 117
Prehistoric Epic, A,—*Henry Phillips, Jr.*, ... 198

Science,—Introductory, 58; Are Electric Lights Dangerous? 59; Observations on Mount Whitney, by Professor S. P. Langley, 132; Electric Railways, 136; Development of Mechanical Engineering During the Last Half Century, 139; A Modern War

Digitized by Google

Ship, 219; Fruits of Science *versus* Fruits of Nature, 220; Value of Accuracy of Observation, 303; Production of Iron and Steel in the United States, 377; Carbonizing Wood, 378; Celluloid and Its Uses, 379; Progress of Aniline Chemistry, 459; Darwin and His Critics, 464.

Shriving of Guinevere, The,—*S. Weir Mitchell*, ... 351
Spoils System, How Shall It Be Abolished?—*Henry C. Lea*, ... 206
Term and Tenure of Office,—*Dorman B. Eaton*, ... 81, 161
United States Bank, History of the First,—*A. S. Bolles*, ... 431

University Items,—ages of students, 63; demand for engineers, 65; value of the department of Dentistry, 67; additions to the library, 67, 143, 468; the physiological department, 68; "Honor men" in the Towne Scientific School, 142; a portrait of Dr. S. W. Crawford, 142; lectures on applications of organic chemistry in the industrial arts, 143; the Rogers Engineering library, 143; post-graduate instruction in the Medical Department, 144; acquisition of thirteen and a half acres of additional property by the University, 223; Alumni meetings in commencement week, 228; Dr. Robert Meade Smith's studies of intestinal digestion, 307; death of Thomas J. Ashton, Esq., 308; removal of age-restrictions for admission to the University, 309; the Franklin Scientific Society's lectures, 309; commencement of the Medical and Dental Departments, 382; plan for the establishment of a definite connection between the Board of Trustees and the Alumni, 383; election of Samuel Dickson, Esq., as Trustee, 388; resignation of Cadwallader Biddle, Esq., Secretary and Treasurer, 467; Dr. Bruen's "Pocket-Book of Physical Diagnosis," 470; Professor Ashhurst's "International Encyclopædia of Surgery," 470.

Vacation Cruise, A.,—*J. T. Rothrock*, ... 29
Winthrop's Centennial Orations,—*C. S. Patterson*, ... 129

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THE

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JANUARY, 1882.

PARVUM IN MAGNO.

AMONG the most curious of the discoveries of modern science are those facts which the microscope, applied to the inner parts of animals, has revealed. Thus has it been found that the animal may be a world in itself, containing within it vast microscopic forests, whose avenues of waving palms are trodden by innumerable animal-forms of curious shapes, strange habits, and still stranger life-histories. It is not only in the larger but more especially indeed in the tiniest forms of ordinary life that these parasites flourish. Those insects which feed upon dead wood swarm with them. An ordinary millipede is a perambulating commonwealth, whilst our common white ant holds in her capacious abdomen a kingdom whose population might in numbers put to shame even the American nation. The brown contents of her intestinal canal, instead of being chiefly composed of food, are a living mass of minute *protozoa.*

The world thus uncovered is of great scientific interest, and in the beauty of its forms may be even of æsthetic value. One of the most popular designs for American Wilton carpets last year was based upon the forms of a well-known microscopic plant, and future Americans may tread upon the effigies of humble beings whose highest ambition heretofore has been to figure in one of the beautiful plates of a Leidy.

Of more immediate practical interest are, however, the recent discoveries concerning the inhabitants of man himself. There is

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much reason for believing that certain human parasites are the cause of at least some of those deadly maladies to whose virulence the prophecies of Malthus owe their non-fulfilment.

Drunkenness, with its overflowing prisons, almshouses and hospitals, is in one sense the work of some of these minute vegetable organisms. By the little plant to which yeast owes its opacity is sugar converted into alcohol. This yeast-plant, the friend of publicans and wine-bibbers, not only comes when summoned by the vintner and the brewer, but is everywhere present in the air, searching as it were for sugar which it can change into alcohol. Therefore is not strange the recent demonstration by the French chemist, Tissauder, of the presence of alcohol in the common air we breathe, the water we drink, the sewage which we return to the river, and the soil we cultivate. The teetotaller cannot escape his enemy.

As the yeast-plant everywhere abounds and works in fermenting sugar solution, so are omnipresent and so labor in putrefying animal and vegetable material certain other low forms of fungi known as *bacteria*, *vibrios*, etc. These *bacteria* are the active agents in producing the putrefactive fermentation, precisely as the yeast-plant is in causing the alcoholic fermentation. Shut them out, and soup or meat will keep untainted for years. The canner heats his material until all the germs in it are killed, and then seals it hermetically, so that no *bacteria* can get into it from without. In my laboratory is old soup which has been kept sweet by simply placing it whilst boiling into a Florence flask, and then filling loosely with cotton wool the long narrow neck. The air which found its way into the flask during cooling had all the *bacteria* filtered out of it, so that there was nothing in it to provoke decomposition.

Everyone knows that putrefied flesh is a deadly poison. It is certain that some intensely active principle or substance is developed during the changes which occur in exposed animal matter, and it is probable, if not certain, that this poison is an alkaloid, like morphia, strychnine, etc. Not long since, in Italy, a skilled chemist testified that he had found in the body of a general, who was supposed to have been poisoned, the deadly alkaloid of larkspur, but it is now stated that what he did discover was only an alkaloid of putrefaction. We do not eat tainted meat; but we do have wounds, into which the *bacteria* get and in which they do their deadly work—making poisons whose touch is death.

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It would seem that in some cases fungi affect albuminous materials as the yeast-plant does sugar, producing out of them organic substances which act upon man and higher animals as a virulent poison.

It is plain that in the sense in which the yeast-plant causes drunkenness, do *bacteria* and their allies cause fatal diseases, they themselves not being the poison which destroys the blood, but producing that poison.

There is, however, much reason for believing that at least some minute fungi act more directly in causing fatal diseases. Most of our readers will probably remember having seen during the autumn months flies lying dead with stiffly extended legs, and perhaps wrapped in what seemed a filmy winding-sheet. During active life, in the blood of such flies might have been discovered some exceedingly minute specks or cells different from those which are normally there present. If these points had been watched, they would have been seen to increase in numbers, enlarge, grow into filaments, stuff up the blood-vessels, and finally force their way out into the tissues of the little sufferer. During this period of their growth, with ever increasing feebleness, the fly struggles with his doom until at last he bows his head in death; but the fungus grows on, breaks into the daylight, wraps in a funeral robe ot white its victim, and finally ripens a multitude of spores or seeds, which the winds scatter in search of new flies.

So far as at present known, nothing exactly parallel to this occurs in man. But there are certain affections which seem to be produced by these low vegetable forms. A disease which occurs especially among butchers, tanners, and those who work in raw hides, has long been known as arising from decaying animal matter, and especially from carcasses of animals dead of disease. This affection is known as malignant pustule. It first appears as a minute sore, and if this be destroyed by caustics no further injury to the individual results; if, however, the sore be allowed to progress for a few days, symptoms of blood-poisoning come on, and the man dies of a certainty. It has been recently proven that this human affection is in immediate relation with a disease common among domestic animals in Europe, and variously known among the French as *charbon*, by the Germans as *milzbrand*, and the English as anthrax. This affection causes yearly the loss of immense

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numbers of animals upon the continent of Europe. It has been proven to be due to the presence in the blood of a peculiar fungus, which appears as small rods and minute roundish vesicles or cells, occurring free in the blood, but not attacking the corpuscular element. It has long been known that if animals dead of the *charbon* were buried in a field, even under many feet of earth, horses feeding upon the grass which grew over the graves became affected with the disease. The reason for this has been discovered by the celebrated French investigator Pasteur. He has found that the anthrax fungus, growing at a low temperature and exposed to the air, develops little round, spore-like bodies, which have little tendency to grow until they find themselves under favorable circumstances and that they preserve their life for an almost indefinite period. These spores develop in the buried bodies of the animals; earthworms, attracted to the rich soil which has been formed by the decaying matters become coated with the minute fungi, and finally come to the surface of the ground and rub off the spores against the grass there growing. When the grass is eaten by cattle, the spores find in the stomach the warmth and moisture proper for their development. They now produce the anthrax stage of the fungus, with the result of blood-poisoning and death. In man, the malignant pustule represents the point at which some of the anthrax fungus has found its way into a minute sore, and is developed until it gets strength enough to enter the blood and produce the blood-poisoning, which is always fatal. It is very evident why early destruction of the malignant pustule will prevent general blood-poisoning, and also why it is that if the sore be allowed to remain for a certain length of time a general blood affection results and it becomes impossible to reach and destroy the cause of the disease. Recent researches by Pasteur have demonstrated that the disease known as chicken cholera is produced by a fungus not identical with but somewhat similar in its nature to that of anthrax.

Within a few weeks, a most curious discovery has been made almost simultaneously in this country and in Europe. Everyone knows that sometimes the bite of a dog, rat, cat, or even of man, acts as though its bestower were a venomous serpent, and produces severe local or even general poisoning. It has been thought that the cause of this was particles of decaying meat lodged between the teeth or adhering to their fangs. Some months since, an American

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observer found that his saliva was excessively poisonous, a drop of it sufficing to kill a rabbit in a few hours; a drop of this rabbit's blood would kill a second, the blood of the latter a third, and so on, *ad infinitum*. On examining the mouth-secretion of a large number of other persons, he found a few that were toxic, but none that equalled his own in virulence. He further discovered in his own saliva a peculiar fungus which he also finds in the blood of animals killed by his secretion. When he carefully filtered his saliva, so as to remove these organisms, it was innocuous. Dr. Sternberg, after repeated trials, was successful in growing these plants in chicken soup, and though, by transferring one drop of soup repeatedly and successively from one bowl of soup to another, he made many generations of plants, the last soup was as poisonous as the first. The plant is plainly the agent of death. About the same time, a French professor trying upon rabbits the saliva of a child dead of hydrophobia found that it caused death. He also discovered this minute fungi, and thought he had the poison of hydrophobia. He has, however, since found that saliva from persons not suffering from hydrophobia sometimes has the same organisms in it and causes the same symptoms in rabbits. Comparison has also shown that the micrococcus which he discovered is that found simultaneously in America.

Extensive researches have been made from time to time upon the human disease diphtheria, and it has long been known that occasionally, in the blood of persons very ill with diphtheria, a peculiar fungus named micrococcus can be found, the same minute organism always existing in the membrane which forms in the throats of diphtheritic patients.

Within the last two years, under the auspices of the National Board of Health, Dr. Henry F. Formad and myself have been engaged in studying the subject of diphtheria. We first proved that the membrane of diphtheria which is found in the trachea and throat is not in itself distinctive of a specific disease, but is simply the result of a high grade of inflammation, as a similar membrane may be produced by the application of cantharides, ammonia, or any other irritant of sufficient intensity, to the throat or trachea of a lower animal. We also found that the micrococcus which is so prominent in the diphtheritic membrane exists in the membrane that has been produced by the irritant, but is less abundant than in the nat-

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ural disease. The micrococcus of the diphtheritic membrane is not to be distinguished by the microscope from the little plants which are habitually found in the mouths of people, and are especially abundant in furred tongues and the exudation of ordinary sore throat.

In studying cases of diphtheria in Philadelphia, we failed to detect any fungi in the blood of patients, and came to the conclusion that the micrococcus which exists in the throat of the diphtheritic patient has no causal relation with the disease. When, however, we studied cases of a very malignant epidemic in a Western town, we found the micrococcus not only in the blood, but also in almost all the internal organs of the children who had died of the disease. In the summer of 1880, we had inoculated animals with the diphtheritic membrane taken from Philadelphia cases, with results which, except in a very few instances, were entirely negative, and we came to the conclusion that the lower animals would not take diphtheria. When, however, we inoculated rabbits during the past summer with the exceedingly contagious membrane from the throats of the Western children, we found that a disease in all respects comparable to diphtheria in man was at once produced. An exudation of a grayish-white color, like false membrane, full of micrococci, was produced at the seat of inoculation in the muscle or in the trachea of the rabbit, and in the course of a few days general symptoms of blood-poisoning, such as are seen in diphtheria, resulted, and in almost every instance death occurred.

On *post-mortem* examination, micrococci were found in the organs of the rabbit precisely as they were found in the Ludington children. We also made a study, partly on children and partly on the lower animals, of the way in which the micrococci exist and grow in the blood. They were found to attack the white blood element; the exceedingly minute granules in the white blood-cells were possessed of a peculiar vibratile, swarming motion, giving the idea that they were eating the interior of the corpuscle. In the course of a few hours, they would become larger, and as they grew in size their motion ceased, until finally the whole white blood-corpuscle was simply a ball crowded with micrococci. In this way were formed the so-called micrococci balls which have long been known to be one of the forms seen in the membrane. Finally, the white blood-corpuscle would burst and the mass of micrococci would escape as an irregular transparent

gelatinous body, full of closely coherent micrococci. In the kidneys of the animals, as well as of the children, the micrococci were found stuffing the blood-vessels so as to form masses known to the scientist as *thrombi.* The general proofs indicate very strongly that the micrococci have causal relation with diphtheria. It has been distinctly proven by Curtis and Satterthwaite of New York, that it is the solid particles of the diphtheritic membrane that are contagious. The infusion of the diphtheritic membrane loses all contagious power when filtered through clay. We found that the urine of the children ill with the Western or malignant diphtheria swarms with micrococci, and on filtering these out the filter had become as infectious, or even more so, than the membrane itself, producing blood-poisoning and death in the rabbit with great rapidity.

We now essayed the culture of the micrococcus. For the method employed, the reader is referred to our paper which will appear in the next annual report of the Board of Health. We succeeded in producing diphtheria in the rabbit by means of micrococci which had been grown entirely apart from the animal body. As therefore, the contagious part of the diphtheritic membrane is its solid particles, and of these solid particles the only one found in the urine is the micrococcus, and as we produced diphtheria by micrococci cultivated away from the body we came to the conclusion that the micrococci are the cause of malignant diphtheria. Before tracing our researches further, it is proper that we should refer for a few moments to Pasteur's recent discoveries in regard to the fungus of chicken cholera, and to the labors of both French and German investigators upon the organisms of anthrax. Pasteur found, if he cultivated the chicken cholera fungus, and allowed each generation to live only one or two days before starting a new brood from it, the fungus preserved its virulent powers so that it was possible to kill chickens with a minute quantity of the plant which was six, seven or eight generations from the animal organism. On the other hand, if he allowed each generation to remain for some days in the culture-liquid before taking the material for a new brood from it, the fungus rapidly lost its power of producing disease and was finally converted into an inert organism. Experiments made upon the anthrax fungus also resulted in its conversion into an inert plant.

Büchner, a German investigator, claims that he has been able

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to reconvert these inert plants into virulent anthrax poison, or even to form the latter out of the ordinary *bacillus* of decaying hay.

Pasteur's explanation of the cause of the change is that in order for the organism to grow rapidly in the inner parts of the animal body it must have the power of developing when there is very little oxygen present, but when the plant is cultivated with free exposure to oxygen it is then no longer capable of growing inside of the animal. This being the case, it is obviously no longer a poison.

When, in our researches upon diphtheria, we made comparative studies of the micrococci taken from the mouths of ordinary persons, from sore throat of ordinary type, from Philadelphia diphtheria, and from the malignant cases in the West, we found that the virulence of the poison was in direct relation with the power of growth of the little organisms in culture liquids. The micrococci of the mouth showed but little tendency to grow; the micrococci of sore throat grew to the second or third generation, and then refused to develop; while the micrococci of Philadelphia diphtheria grew to the fourth or fifth generation and ceased to develop, and the micrococci of the West grew up to the tenth generation before they stopped flourishing.

We also found that the diphtheritic membrane from the Western cases lost its contagious powers when it was exposed for some time to the air, and as the contagious power of the membrane was lost the micrococci in it lost also their power of developing, so that finally they grew in no way different from the ordinary micrococci of the mouth. Taking into consideration the researches of Pasteur and others upon the chicken cholera and anthrax fungus, the relation of micrococci to diphtheria becomes apparent. The ordinary micrococcus of the mouth has little tendency to grow and does no harm. When, however, a child gets a sore throat, under the influence of excessive warmth, and catarrhal materials present, the micrococci are stimulated and may finally get into the condition of active development. In this way, a sore throat from cold simply may finally be converted into a diphtheritic sore throat, and at last a true case of self-generated diphtheria results. If the active micrococcus thus produced is brought into contact with the mucous membrane of a second child, a case of diphtheria from contagion may

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be caused. On the other hand, if the micrococcus outside of the human body finds the proper conditions for its development, it may be converted in large masses into the active condition, and the air be filled with floating active micrococci; these, coming in contact with the tender mucous membrane of children, may commence to develop there and produce diphtheria. In this way, general epidemics of diphtheria result. It is plain that the malignancy of diphtheria under these circumstances is directly connected with the activity of the growth-power of the micrococcus, and that this growth-power varies from the micrococus which has only passed from the inert stage to that in which the activity is developed to its maximum. The reason we failed in 1880 to find the micrococci in the blood of the mild cases in Philadelphia is because the disease was chiefly local and the children died of the local affection. During the past summer, we did succeed in finding micrococci in one or two cases of Philadelphia diphtheria. An exceedingly important result achieved by Pasteur (a discovery, in fact, which threatens to throw that of Jenner into the shade,) is that in chicken cholera and anthrax it is possible to employ inoculation with the cultivated plant and thereby produce a mild disorder which shall protect the animals from the virulent forms of the disease. The plant, which has been so cultivated as to gradually destroy its virulent powers is taken at the stage in which its activity is much weakened, but not entirely lost; in this condition, it produces an attack of disease which is very rarely if ever fatal. As with small-pox in man, so with anthrax and chicken cholera in the animals, second attacks are very rare; so that, if the theories and asserted facts of Pasteur be correct, it is plainly possible to protect animals from these deadly affections. In France, the researches of Pasteur have received so much credence, that in his laboratory in Paris, recently, 30,000 sheep and cattle from the environs were inoculated in the course of three weeks with the cultivated *charbon*, or anthrax plant, and it is said to be the intent to protect all the cattle of France.

In regard to diphtheria, it is scarcely probable that we shall be able to protect the system from the disease, because, as at present believed, one attack of diphtheria does not prevent a second. This point, however, cannot be considered settled, since it has hitherto been impossible to distinguish between severe ordinary sore throat and mild attacks of diphtheria.

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It is probable that all of the so-called exanthemata, such as typhoid fever, measles and scarlet fever, are produced by low fungi, and in several of these affections the fungi have been described, but the matter is as yet too uncertain for comment here.

Unhappy man is preyed upon, not merely by vegetable but also by animal parasites. Tape-worms, trichina, and other well-known forms, have been so often described that we will pass them by unnoted. Long known, also, are those strange armed cysts which the physician calls echinococcus, and which may be secreted in almost any part of the man and work out results according to their position. These creatures perfect not themselves in the human being, but must pass through the body of a domestic animal. It seems, at first, odd that in the antipodes the echinococcus should be so common a cause of death, whilst here it is so seldom met with. But when the crowded sheep-walks and the scarcity of water in Australia are remembered, the problem is clarified,—sheep, drinking-water, man, are terms simple enough.

In the drinking-water of Beirut has been found that minute, worm-like being which rejoices in the name of *Bilharzia hæmatobia.* Taken into the system, it flourishes and produces most serious symptoms, ending in an outbreak of the so-called "Delhi boils." The Guinea worm develops in the leg of the unfortunate African until it is three or more feet in length. It is not only in the tropics that danger from these animal parasites exists. During the progress of the St. Gothard tunnel, it was found that the workmen were sickening very strangely. Loss of appetite, loss of weight, anæmia, a whitening skin,—even the negro losing his pigment,—melancholy, and finally suicidal impulses; these and other symptoms multiplied, and man after man died. Although the doctors confessed that they were in the presence of a new and mysterious disorder, the authorities would not allow any *post-mortem* examination until over a hundred men had succumbed. Then it was found that the cause of the trouble was a previously unknown creature which, leech-like, fastens itself upon the mucous membrane of the small intestine and sucks the life-blood of its victim. American travellers would be wise not to drink much water in the neighborhood of the St. Gothard tunnel.

Stranger than all this, and more terrible, are the doings of the *Filaria sanguinis hominis* of China and the East. Any of our readers

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who have visited the Orient must have noticed the so-called lepers,—men or women afflicted with elephantiasis, having their legs, arms, face, or whatever part might be affected, swollen many times beyond the natural size,—all shape lost,—until from the hideous mass of hypertrophied deformity almost every trace of human form has disappeared. The microscopic worm just named has been proven to be the cause of this terrible disorder. In the blood-vessels and lymphatics of such a sufferer, the worm is in multitudes. These minute creatures only live part of their life in the human organism; they spend there only their years of highest development; in the human blood their eggs are deposited, but not hatched. The mosquito is *particeps criminis* with the man in the life-cycle of the *filaria*. The eggs are sucked out with the blood of the man by the insect, and are hatched inside the body of the latter. When the mosquito deposits its own eggs, it lays also the young embryos of the *filaria*, which swim about in the water until they perish or are drunk up by some hapless Chinaman or Hindoo. The strangest fact of all is that the *filaria* is a nocturnal animal. During the long tropical day, he hides himself in the deepest recesses of the human body, but when the shades of evening gather and the hum of the mosquito is heard in the land he hurries to the surface of the body to riot in its outmost capillaries and to lay the fresh eggs which, perchance, may be gathered up by the voracious blood-sucker and become the source of an innumerable progeny. What the effect would be upon the price of real estate in Atlantic City, of putting one or two well-advanced sufferers from Oriental elephantiasis upon one of the neighboring marshes in mosquito season, is a question which might well engage the attention of a philosophic dealer in sea coast lands, but whose solution we must leave to others.

H. C. Wood.

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LEGAL BIOGRAPHIES. I.

LORD CHANCELLOR CAMPBELL.*

IT seems fitting to begin a series of studies in legal biography with some account of the life of Lord Chancellor Campbell, who, not satisfied with high professional distinction, and with the great labour which the faithful performance of his duties as a legislator and a judge required of him, sought literary fame from the writing of those lives of the Lord Chancellors and the Lord Chief Justices, which, though they may not be classed in the front rank of literature, and though they may be justly subjected to criticism for grave defects of manner and of matter, are readable books, of great interest and value, not only to those lawyers whose enthusiasm for their profession impels them to study the history of the law in the lives of its great judges, but also to those students of history whose breadth of view enables them to appreciate the influence which the enlightened conservatism of lawyers has had in the gradual development of the free institutions of England.

Lord Campbell has been fortunate in his biographer. No rankling recollection of acrimonious contests at the bar or in Parliament, no disappointment at a deferred or prevented professional promotion, no jealousy of merit more generally or more speedily recognized, has touched with gall the pen that wrote his life, but the loving hands of a daughter have, with pious care, gathered the materials for the book, and, with a literary judgment as sound as it is rare, that daughter has permitted Lord Campbell to tell, in his own words, and without interruption or comment from any *advocatus diaboli*, the story of his life.

Mrs. Hardcastle says in her preface: "All remarks or comments of my own I have avoided, feeling that it would be unbecoming in me to cast either praise or blame upon my father, and beyond my power to pass any judgment on his professional career. I trust, however, that these volumes may present something like an adequate picture of his unwearied industry, his faithful devotion to duty, and, at the same time, of the geniality and tenderness which distin-

* "Life of John, Lord Campbell, Lord High Chancellor of Great Britain." Edited by his daughter, the Honorable Mrs. Hardcastle. London: John Murray. 1881. 2 volumes, with portrait.

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guished his private life and made him beloved by all who belonged to him."

The sound sense and good taste of these sentences, and the pure and vigorous English in which they are worded, must command respect, and cause all who read her book to regret that Mrs. Hardcastle has so rigidly abstained from comments which would not have fallen within the bounds of her expressed and self-imposed restraint.

The materials at Mrs. Hardcastle's command were fortunately ample. They consisted of an autobiographical fragment begun in 1842 and continued until 1847, a journal which Lord Campbell kept from time to time from 1847 to the end of his life, and, best of all, the letters which, with the unreserved freedom of filial and brotherly affection, he wrote to his father and his brother, from his first separation from home until the deaths of the recipients of the letters ended the correspondence. In those letters we see Lord Campbell at his best. No one can rise from their reading without feeling that no better son, brother, husband, or father, ever lived. To those who knew him only at the bar or in public life, he might seem cold, self-asserting, and somewhat inclined, as he jostled his way to the front, to heedlessly push others to the wall; but they to whom he opened his heart knew that to him the chief value of his success was in the pleasure and pride it would give them.

John Campbell was born at Edinburgh on 15th September, 1779, the son of a clergyman of the Established Church of Scotland who had no other income than his scanty ministerial stipend. Descended on his father's side from the second Earl of Argyll, who fell at Flodden, and on his mother's side from Robert, Duke of Albany, who was Regent of Scotland in 1440, he inherited from his regal and noble ancestors nothing but pride of birth and the courage with which to meet, the perseverance with which to conquer, the obstacles to his success. Matriculated at the University of St. Andrews at the age of eleven, he studied for eight years in the schools of philosophy and theology, fitting himself, at his father's desire, to follow him in his sacred calling. To profitably employ the time which must elapse before he could be ordained, he went to London as tutor to the son of a great West Indian merchant. This glimpse of metropolitan life fired

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his ambition, and he courageously resolved that, poor and friendless as he was, he would study for and succeed at the English bar.

He did not miscalculate either his own tenacity of purpose or the difficulties which confronted him. In announcing his determination* to his father, he wrote, on 11th December, 1799:

"My fancy is not heated to such a degree that I do not see many and formidable obstacles to its execution; but I am fully convinced that they are by no means insurmountable. Those who struggle with the greatest difficulties at first are finally the most successful."

And on 28th July of the same year he wrote to his sister: †

"In about six years after I am called to the bar, I expect to have distinguished myself so much as to be in possession of a silk gown and a seat in Parliament. I shall not have been long in the House of Commons before I interest the Minister in my favour and am made Solicitor-General. The steps, then, though high, are easy, and, after being a short time Attorney-General and Master of the Rolls, I shall get the seals, with the title of Earl Auld-Kirk-Yaird. I am sorry that this last sentence has escaped me, as it is the only one that did not come from the bottom of my heart, and as it tends to throw an air of ridicule over everything I have said. At the same time, I do not not think that Lord Thurlow, Lord Loughborough, Lord Kenyon, or Lord Eldon had a better chance at my age of filling their high offices than I now have of succeeding them."

While his rise was not so rapid as that which he thus predicted for himself, yet the ambitious prophecy was more than substantially fulfilled. If ever success was self-won, his was. Neither rank, wealth, nor influence smoothed his path. No public school nor university career had given him the prestige of honors won, nor the assistance of those friendships, which, formed in boyhood, often powerfully contribute to men's success in life. He had neither pre-eminent ability nor that attractive charm of manner which is sometimes of greater practical use to its possessor than more solid qualities. To the end of his life, he spoke with that accent which betrayed his Northern origin and aroused those jealous prejudices with which, then more than now, Englishmen regarded Scotchmen who had come to London to seek their fortune. Despite these disadvantages, he had within himself the essential elements of success,—resolute purpose, vigorous health, untiring industry, well-balanced faculties, and, last but not least, inflexible integrity.

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* Vol. I., p. 44

† Vol. I., p. 53.

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He took the plunge boldly; he gave up the certainty of his little salary as tutor; he took lodgings at Tavistock Row, Covent Garden, and he began to support himself by occasional contributions to, and reporting the courts, the theatres, and parliament for, the *Morning Chronicle*.

On 28th June, 1800, upon the occasion of Hadfield's trial * for the attempted assassination of George III., Campbell, as an unknown newspaper correspondent, entered for the first time the Court of King's Bench, over which he was destined half a century later to preside. Thenceforward, he more than fulfilled his promises of industry and perseverance. While gaining a theoretical knowledge of law from the books, he had, long before he came to the bar, acquired from his attendance as a press reporter at *Nisi Prius* a familiarity with the practical conduct of causes and a knowledge of the methods and manners of successful barristers which greatly facilitated his own rise. As a parliamentary reporter, he had frequent opportunities of hearing Fox, Pitt, Sheridan, Grey, Windham and Canning, and in his enforced study of the great subjects of their splendid declamation he mastered the political questions of the day, he stored his mind with the facts of history and the principles of constitutional law, and he formed his taste upon the best models of that golden age of English oratory. As a reporter, it was also his duty to attend the theatres and to write dramatic critiques. In this he was as conscientious and as industrious as in everything else he undertook to do, and to fit himself for the right performance of this duty he studied Shakspere and he made himself acquainted with French, German and Italian dramatic literature. To report by day the arguments of Erskine and Law, and the judgments of Kenyon and Eldon, and by night the speeches of Pitt, Sheridan and Fox, and, when Parliament was not sitting, to see and hear Mrs. Siddons, John Kemble and Master Betty in Shaksperean characters, was in itself a liberal education.

This school, in which Campbell was trained, while it required of its scholars self-denying industry and dogged perseverance, offered to those who, like Campbell, accepted its conditions the assured certainty of a brilliant success.

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* "Lives of the Chief Justices," Vol. III., p. 57.

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And yet, with all his industry, Campbell took care to avoid that "all work and no play" which would have made "Jack a dull boy." He preserved his health by regular and constant exercise, and, whenever he could secure a long enough holiday, he hastened to his home in Scotland to reanimate his tired energies by the sight of those for whom, more than for himself, he strove to win success.

No thought of possible professional failure seems to have crossed his mind during his student days, but his one ever-present dread was that of exchanging the gown for the sword, to face that army of invasion with which, from 1800 to 1815, Napoleon constantly threatened England.

On the 23d of November, 1800, he was entered at Lincoln's Inn as a student at-law, paying an entrance fee of £21, 16s., 10d., and depositing with the steward of the Inn, as caution money, £100 with which his brother had supplied him. Two years later, he became a student in the office of Mr. Tidd, the eminent special pleader, agreeing to pay a fee of £100 per year, which payment Mr. Tidd afterwards generously remitted.

Among Campbell's fellow-students were Denman, the son of a London physician, and afterwards Lord Chief Justice of England; Copley, the son of an American portrait painter, and afterwards Lord Chancellor Lyndhurst; and Pepys, the son of a baronet, and afterwards Lord Chancellor Cottenham. There can be no better illustration of the really democratic constitution of the English bar, than the fact that these four men, coming from very different ranks in society, met on equal terms at the threshold of their professional life, and that all four rose to the highest station and finally sat together in the House of Lords. It has often been pointed out that the strength of the English aristocracy is in its constant infusion of fresh blood from successful lawyers, soldiers and statesmen, who have risen from the middle classes.

Campbell thus describes his work in Mr. Tidd's office:*

"The hours at the office are from nine to four and from six to eight. Many consider it merely as a lounging-place for an hour or two in the forenoon, and perhaps do not look in above twenty times during the twelvemonth. I need not say that I shall do my utmost to get a *pennyworth*."

On the 15th of November, 1806, he was called to the bar, and from motives of economy joined the Home Circuit, because the

* Vol. I., p. 135.

distance to be travelled, and the consequent expense, was less upon that circuit than upon any other.

As a briefless barrister, he sat in court, listening with not unkindly envy to the speeches of men whom he was fated to leave far behind him in the race for professional distinction; at his chambers in London, he waited, heart-sick with hope deferred, to hear the knock of the brief-bringing attorney's clerk; and on the circuit he wandered alone in the fields under the starlight, while his temporarily more fortunate rivals studied their briefs or held consultations with clients and their attorneys. Yet in term-time he was always to be found in court or in his chambers, and his industry, his faithful and thorough performance of whatever duty was laid upon him, and, later, the reputation which his volumes of reports made for him, brought and increased his business.

In his first circuit, he received two guineas in fees. His second year promised better, but the high spirits which had hitherto sustained him seem to have then deserted him, for he writes:*

"I have not touched a fee these six weeks. A half-guinea about the beginning of September brought me up to fifty, and there I am likely to stick. I have no luck—or, to speak the truth, I have no talent for this profession. But I am in low spirits just now, and would not have you mind what I say. If a brief or two were to come in, I should perhaps suddenly change my opinion, both of myself and of my prospects. To be sure, at present, the one and the other appear to me in a very bad light. I begin to be a little dejected and a little broken-hearted."

But brighter days soon opened before him. In 1807 he began to prepare his "*Nisi Prius* Reports," of which he published three volumes. His second year at the bar netted him two hundred and twenty guineas in fees and sixty pounds from the first volume of his "Reports." In March, 1810, there seemed to be an opening in the Oxford Circuit. He exchanged the Home for that circuit, and the result vindicated the wisdom of the change, for at the end of the year his fees aggregated nine hundred and forty-eight pounds and nine shillings, in addition to the one hundred pounds received from the third volume of his "Reports."

He seems to have incurred the hostility of Lord Chief Justice Ellenborough, for he constantly complains that from "the perpetual dread of his interruptions and rudeness"† he could not

* Vol. I., p. 211.

† Vol. I., p. 311. "Chief Justices," Vol. III., p. 94.

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acquit himself creditably in argument; but after Lord Ellenborough had been succeeded by Lord Tenterden, Campbell got on more smoothly before the King's Bench. Of the court, as it was at that time, Campbell has given a graphic description in his life of Lord Tenterden.*

Fortune had now smiled upon him to such an extent that he began to look forward to a not distant prospect of settlement in life, and, by way of ingratiating himself with the future and not-yet-determined-upon Mrs. Campbell, he took dancing lessons. In 1816, he published the last volume of his reports. In 1820, he had begun to put his dancing lessons to practical use by dancing attendance upon Miss Scarlett, the daughter of the then leader of the bar, but for some time the course of true love did not run smoothly, and it was not until September 8th, 1821, that his happiness was secured by his marriage.

That this fortunate marriage not only assured Campbell's happiness, but powerfully contributed to his success in life, is very certain. While Scarlett was, until he left the bar in 1834, Campbell's most formidable professional rival, yet his influence and that of his friends was steadily and skilfully exerted in Campbell's favour. Lady Campbell's charms of person and of mind and her social tact also gave powerful assistance to her husband. Charles Sumner, in writing to Judge Story in July, 1838, says:† "I have been more pleased with his (Campbell's) wife than with any other lady I have met in England. . . . . . . She is beautiful, intelligent, and courteous;" and in writing to Mr. Hilliard Mr. Sumner again speaks of her as "beautiful, accomplished, amiable, bland."‡

By 1824, Campbell had the undisputed lead of the Oxford Circuit, and from that time his rise in the profession was rapid and uninterrupted. On 13th June, 1827, he (probably through Scarlett's influence,) received his silk gown. In the next year he was put at the head of a commission appointed to consider and report upon the laws of real property, and in 1830 his prospects of high judicial rank were sufficiently flattering to justify his refusal of a puisne judgeship.

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* "Lives of the Chief Justices," Vol. III., p. 291.

† "Memoir and Letters of Charles Sumner," Vol. I., p. 332.

‡ P. 361.

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On 26th November, 1832, he was made Solicitor-General under Lord Grey's administration, and on the 22d of February, 1834, he was promoted to the Attorney-Generalcy. In 1834, Scarlett having been made Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer, Campbell succeeded him in the lead of the bar. He was out of office with Lord Melbourne from December, 1834, until April, 1835, but with the exception of that interval he was Attorney-General until 1841, when he was called to preside over the Irish Court of Chancery. In 1827, he wrote:

"You can hardly form a notion of the life of labor, anxiety and privation which I lead upon the circuit. I am up every morning by six. I never get out of court till seven, eight or nine in the evening, and, having swallowed any indifferent fare that my clerk provides for me at my lodgings, I have consultations and read briefs till I fall asleep."

During term-time, he labored daily sixteen hours. He writes: "I often know my briefs very imperfectly, and am in constant apprehension I may injure my client and my own reputation." Again he writes, in 1836: "I am, at times, as nervous as when first called to the bar."

The only direct instructions that can be gathered from Lord Campbell's memoirs as to the trial of causes, is the statement that "to get a verdict the way is not to consider how your speech will read when reported, but to watch the jury and push any advantage you may make, disregarding irregularities and repetitions."

While the practical effect of a speech is more important than its literary finish, and while it is necessary for an advocate to watch his jury as a rider does his horse, it may be suggested, perhaps, that the consequences of disregarding irregularities and repetitions will depend very much upon the weakness of your judge and the tameness of your adversary.

Of Campbell at the bar, Mr. Sumner wrote to Judge Story in 1839:*

"The Attorney-General has been the most laborious of all men, and has succeeded by dint of industry and strong natural powers, unadorned by any of the graces. He has a marked Scotch accent still. He is a very powerful lawyer, but his manner is harsh and coarse, without delicacy or refinement. I think he is not very much liked at the bar, although all bow to his power. They call him 'Jack' Campbell."

In another letter, Mr Sumner speaks of him as "able, but dry and uninteresting."†

* "Sumner's Memoir," Vol. II., p. 55.

† "Sumner's Memoir," Vol. I., p. 332.

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Among the important cases that Campbell argued at the bar were Stockdale *vs.* Hansard, the Canadian prisoner's case, the Scotch-Antenati case, and the two leading Church cases, Lady Hewlett's charities and the Auchterarder case. He also, in his official capacity, prosecuted successfully Oxford for shooting at the Queen, and unsuccessfully Lord Cardigan for the killing of Captain Tuckett in a duel.

The first named of these cases involved a great constitutional question, was the subject of an acrimonious controversy between Lord Denman and Lord Campbell, and demands more than a passing notice.

For nearly a century and a half, the House of Commons had printed and distributed such papers as were laid before it and as, in its discretion, it determined were proper matters for public information.

In 1835, resolutions were adopted directing the Messrs. Hansard, the printers to the House, to sell at low prices, with a discount to the trade, *all* Parliamentary papers and reports printed for the use of the House.

Under the terms of that resolution, the Messrs. Hansard printed and sold to the public a report of the Prison Inspectors stigmatizing as indecent an anatomical work of which Stockdale was the publisher, and also by innuendo characterizing Stockdale as a common publisher of obscene books. For this alleged libel, Stockdale brought an action against the Messrs. Hansard, and the case came for trial at *Nisi Prius* before Lord Denman. At the trial, Campbell appeared in his private capacity as leading counsel for the defendant, who had pleaded the general issue and also, in justification, the truth of the libel. The production of the book proved the latter plea, but Campbell, in his speech, insisted that the publication was privileged, because sold by the order of the House of Commons, and that on that ground the defendants were entitled to the verdict. Denman in his charge, expressed a strong opinion that the defendants were entitled to the verdict on the plea in justification, but as to the question of privilege raised by Campbell, he said:

"I am not aware, of the existence in this country, of anybody whatever that can privilege any servant of their's to publish libels of any individual. Whatever arrangements may be made between the House of Commons and any publisher in their employ,

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I am of the opinion that the publisher who publishes that in his public shop, and especially for money, which may be injurious, and possibly ruinous, to any one of the king's subjects, must answer in a court of justice to that subject, if he challenge him for libel."

The jury found for the defendants on the question of privilege, and the matter would have rested then and there, had not Campbell deemed it necessary to bring it to the attention of the House of Commons. On his motion, a select committee was appointed, among the members of which were himself, Sergeant Wilde (afterwards Lord Truro), Sir Robert Peel, Sir William Follett, Sir Frederick Pollock and others. On 30th May, 1837, that committee reported two resolutions, which were adopted by the House, affirming the power of publishing such of its reports, votes and proceedings as it shall deem necessary or conducive to the public interest to be an essential incident to the constitutional freedom of Parliament, asserting the sole and exclusive jurisdiction of the Commons to determine upon the existence and extent of its privileges, and declaring the institution or prosecution of any action for the purpose of bringing them into discussion or decision elsewhere than in Parliament to be a breach of privilege.

Lord Denman claimed that the Attorney-General concurred in his ruling at the trial, and that, when an officer of the court attended the committee with the record of the *nisi prius* trial, the Attorney-General gave no sign of dissent from the Lord Chief Justice's view of the law.

Mr. Stockdale then brought another action (having caused his son to purchase another copy of the report), and, the Messrs. Hansard having reported the matter to the House of Commons, a resolution was carried directing them to appear and plead to the action, and instructing the Attorney-General to defend with a view to the privileges of the House. The Attorney-General then prepared a special plea asserting the privileges of the House and this was demurred to by the plaintiff. The case was not reached for argument until April, 1839. Campbell says:

"I employed all the leisure I could command during the interval in preparing my argument, which was the longest, if not the most elaborate, ever delivered in Westminster Hall.

"My great difficulty was to manage my material, and to bring my address to the court within some reasonable limits. I had read everything that had the smallest bearing on the subject, from the earliest year-book to the latest pamphlet,—not confining myself to mere legal authorities, but diligently examining histories, antiquaries

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and general jurists, both English and foreign. I had myself read and extracted every case which I cited. I had written and re-written all that I had to say. But when in court, except in quoting authorities, I trusted entirely to memory. I occupied the time of the court exactly sixteen hours—four the first day, eight the second, and four the third."

The case is reported in 9 Adolphus and Ellis, (36 English Common Law,) p. 1.

The main points of the Attorney-General's argument as given in the report of the case are these:

1. That the alleged grievance arose from the act done by the House of Commons in the exercise of the privileges claimed by them, and the Court cannot inquire into the existence of the privilege.

2. The privilege, assuming that the Court could inquire into its existence, does exist.

Lord Chief-Justice Denman and Justices Littledale and Patteson gave judgment for the plaintiff on demurrer, holding that the claim was really for arbitrary power inherent in the House of Commons to authorize the commission of any act whatever on behalf of a body which is not the supreme power in the State, but only a branch of it; and that the assertion of the privilege could not be taken as proof of its existence, inasmuch as it was inconsistent with the continuance of free institutions. Campbell says:

"The ill considered and intemperate judgment of the Court was not pronounced till the 31st of May. I went from the Queen's Bench Bar straightway to the House of Commons, and in my place narrated what had happened. . . . I advised them to set an example of forbearance and moderation and temperance to Westminster Hall, where it was rather needed.

The judgment of the Queen's Bench could have been reviewed by the House of Lords, and, if erroneous, reversed, and, although this course would have submitted the Commons' claim of privilege to the arbitrament of its co-ordinate legislative tribunal, if the Queen's Bench had erred as flagrantly as Campbell contended they had, there would have been no practical risk in the appeal. Yet, rather than do that, the House, under Campbell's advice, permitted the judgment to remain unquestioned by writ of error, and directed Hansard to pay £100, the damages assessed thereon. Stockdale, taking advantage of the Parliamentary recess, brought a third action against Hansard, and, no defence being made, he took judgment by default and had his damages assessed at £600,

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which sum was paid to the sheriffs by the defendants to prevent the sale of their goods on execution. Campbell says:

> "Parliament met on 16th January, 1840, and the House of Commons promptly committed Stockdale to Newgate, and ordered the sheriffs to restore to Hansard the amount of damages he had deposited with them in order to prevent the sale of their goods. The sheriffs refused to obey, and were committed to the custody of the Sergeant-at-Arms. They sued out a writ of *habeas corpus*, commanding him to produce them before the Court of Queen's Bench, with the cause of their detention. Many hot-headed members of the House, including Wilde, the Solicitor-General, were strongly for refusing any return to the writ, and for setting the Court at defiance. . . . The consequences would have been that the Sergeant-at-Arms, even with the mace in his hands, would have been sent to Newgate by the Court of Queen's Bench; the House must have retaliated by committing the judges; the Crown would then have had to decide upon which side the army would be employed, and for a time we must have lived under military government."

Under Campbell's advice, a general return was made, merely stating that the sheriffs were committed for a breach of the privileges of the House, and with that return the Sergeant-at-Arms produced the sheriffs at the bar of Queen's Bench. Lord Denman, after strong observations upon the impropriety of concealing from the Court the real cause of the commitment, confessed that the Court had no power to inquire into it, and remanded the prisoners to the custody of the Sergeant-at-Arms.

Afterwards, Mr. Howard, an attorney, who had brought another action at the suit of Stockdale to recover upon the said alleged libel, and two of his clerks, were committed.

In 1840, the controversy was finally settled by the passage of a bill reciting in its preamble that the "power of the House to publish whatever it thought necessary for public information was essential to the due exercise of its legislative and inquisitorial powers." and enacting that "all proceedings against persons for publication of papers printed by order of Parliament should be stayed on delivery of a certificate and affidavit that such publication was by order of either House."

Campbell claimed the bill as a victory for his side of the case, because it was virtually a legislative reversal of the judgment of the Queen's Bench, and because "it forever secured to the two Houses of Parliament the right to publish what they pleased, without the control of any court of law."

On the other hand, Denman claimed that he must have been right as to the law, if an act of Parliament was necessary to alter

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his ruling. Wilde agreed in this view, for he opposed the bill, contending that its passage affirmed, for all practical purposes, the judgment of the court.

No lawyer, who carefully and dispassionately considers Lord Campbell's argument and the opinions of the Judges of the Queen's Bench, can doubt that, treating the case as a question of abstract law, the court was right and the attorney-general was wrong. If the privilege contended for was that of publishing such matter as the House of Commons, in the exercise of its discretion, should regard as proper for public information, there can be no doubt that the privilege thus stated would be regarded as essential to the exercise of the proper functions of the House of Commons and as supported by all the precedents since the revolution of 1688; but, the libel in question having been published, not in the exercise of any discretion upon the part of the House, but in pursuance of its general resolutions of 1835, the protection of such a publication by the shield of privilege would involve, as Lord Denman put it, the assertion of a right inherent in the House "to sell all that they printed, because they had a right to do all that they pleased," and, in the words of the Duke of Wellington, would constitute the Commons "the only authorized libellers in the country."

Campbell's course of action in this controversy seems to be open to criticism. Originally entering into it, not officially, but as counsel for Hansard, he declined at the trial an offer of the Lord Chief Justice to reserve the question of the privileged character of the publication by reason of its being an official report of the Prison Inspectors, and, not satisfied with the defendant's complete defence in the truth of the libel, he needlessly raised the question of Parliamentary privilege, and, after Lord Denman had expressed his views as against that in what were certainly *obiter dicta*, and the jury had found for the defendants, Campbell reported the matter to the House, and directed and controlled its subsequent inconsistent and arbitrary proceedings.

Stockdale's successive actions at law could have been easily met and defeated by the plea of justification, but Campbell thrust forward the House of Commons as the real defendant and himself as the advocate, and rested the defence only on the untenable ground of Parliamentary privilege. Judgment having gone against him on this plea, he, while stigmatizing the judgment as ill-con-

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sidered, allowed it to stand, not only unreversed, but unquestioned by writ of error. Hansard's third action being undefended, and judgment having been entered and execution issued, the sheriffs, who had, in obedience to the mandate of the Court, made a levy under the writ, were upon his motion imprisoned as victims, not, as Sir Erskine May says, "of conflicting jurisdictions," but of arbitrary power. In view of all this, it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that Campbell's course was dictated by irritated feeling, rather than by judgment.

Indefensible, also, are the imputations in Campbell's writings upon the character of Lord Denman and his insinuations as to the motives which animated that great and wise judge.*

In 1836, Campbell held the leading brief for Lord Melbourne (then PrimeMinister,) in the action brought against him by the husband of "the beautiful Mrs. Norton," charging him with criminal conversation with that lady. Campbell says:† "If the action had succeeded, the Premier's private character would have been ruined and there would have been an end of his administration." Campbell's able and successful defence established the innocence of his client and defeated what appears to have been a nefarious political plot.‡

In 1822, Campbell, having made good his footing in the profession, began to turn his attention to politics, and in February of that year he became a member of "Brooks," the famous Whig Club.

On 31st July, 1830 he was returned for Stafford, and, with the exception of an interval of three months, he was a member of the House until 1841, holding for six years the distinguished position of member for Edinburgh. Troublesome times were coming in politics, in which men of persistency and strong conviction had good chances to come to the front. The Reform Bill was pending in the House, and Campbell, having left his circuit at a considerable sacrifice, came up to London and supported the bill by a speech. As the second reading of the bill was carried by only one vote, Campbell might well claim to have earned the gratitude of his party by casting that vote. Throughout the whole of his political career, he was a firm and consistent adherent of the Liberal party.

* See "Lives of Chief Justices," Vol. II., pp. 134, 148, 164 and 166, and "Lives of the Chancellors," Vol I., p. 373.

† Vol. II., p. 82.

‡ "The Greville Memoirs," Vol. II., p. 470.

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On the 19th of June, 1841, he was created Lord Campbell and made Lord Chancellor for Ireland, Lord Plunkett having been forced to resign. His appointment was very unpopular in Ireland, the Irish bar being indignant at the pressure that had been brought to bear on Plunkett, who was personally popular, and being likewise jealous at the intrusion of an English lawyer into that high office, which was justly regarded as the greatest prize of the Irish bar; but the opposition was not based upon any "personal hostility" to Lord Campbell.* He sat in the Court of Chancery but eleven days before the long vacation. He says:

"The bar behaved to me most respectfully and courteously. Short as my experience was, I saw enough to persuade me that I should have been complete master of the court, and that I should have given general satisfaction. But fate had decreed a very speedy termination to my career in Ireland."

The Whigs being defeated at the general election of 1841, Campbell went out of office with them; and from then until the resumption of his judicial duties in 1849 he divided his time between political and legislative duties in the House of Lords and his literary labors.

He then began the writing of those lives of the Lord Chancellors and of the Lords Chief Justices which have insured for him a wider and more lasting fame than his professional labors would ever have gained him, although, as Mr. Wetherell said, to his contemporaries and rivals they "added a new terror to death."

In 1846, the Liberals came in again, and, the Irish objecting to Lord Campbell's return as their Chancellor, he was made, by Lord John Russell, Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, with a seat in the Cabinet. Lord Denman having resigned the Queen's Bench on account of ill health, Lord Campbell was, on the fifth of March, 1850, appointed Lord Chief Justice of England, and he then very properly left the Cabinet, and thenceforward, while he held the Chief Justiceship, abstained from taking any active part in politics.

On the 12th of October, 1849, in noting in his journal the near prospect of his appointment to the Chief Justiceship, he writes: † "I can only fervently pray to Almighty God, that, if I am placed in this situation, I may be enabled to perform the important and sacred duties cast upon me;" and he adds, that, next to the thought

* O'Flanagan's "Lives of the Lord Chancellors of Ireland," Vol. II., p. 597.

† Vol. II., p. 260.

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of being able to serve his country in a high station, and of acquiring the reputation of a great magistrate, he was most pleased with the advantages resulting from his promotion to his family, and to his clerk, who had served him faithfully for forty years.

His judicial career gave practical expression to the motto,—*justitiæ tenax*,—which he had placed upon his sergeant's ring.

His judgments in the Queen's Bench are reported in the 15th, 16th, 17th and 18th volumes of Adolphus and Ellis (new series), the eight volumes of Ellis and Blackburn, and the first volume of Ellis, Blackburn and Ellis. They are clear and vigorous in style, and they show that he did not consider it inconsistent with his judicial dignity to thoroughly study and master the cases before he decided them.

During his parliamentary career, he rendered valuable services in legislation. He carried through the bill abolishing imprisonment for debt. In 1836, he carried through the House of Commons a bill separating the legal from the political functions of the Lord Chancellor, but the bill was defeated in the House of Lords. I have already spoken of the very prominent part he took in the privilege question, both in the House of Commons and at the bar. He carried through the libel bill which is known by his name. It was largely owing to him that the bill allowing parties to testify became a law in 1851. He labored earnestly but unsuccessfully to effect the passage of a registration act providing for the recording of all deeds of conveyance and incumbrances, but the prejudices of the country attorneys and the control which they exercised over their clients in Parliament defeated the bill.

On the 20th of June, 1859, having resigned the Chief Justiceship, he was made, by Lord Palmerston, Lord Chancellor. His judgments in Chancery are reported in the 4th volume of De Gex and Jones and the four volumes of De Gex, Fisher and Jones.

On the evening of Saturday, 22d June, 1861, he entertained a party of friends at dinner, and in the course of conversation he said: "From a lingering illness, good Lord, deliver us!" He retired in apparent health, but the next morning he was found dead in his bed-room.

It is easy to point the lesson of his career. At the outset, he determined to succeed, and in his "steady and undissipated attention" to that superior object he gave, as Lord Chesterfield has so happily expressed it, "the sure proof of a superior genius." Physically

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and mentally constituted as he was, of robust health, of unwearied industry, self-reliant and self-confident, the obstacles which would have chilled the ambition and disappointed the hopes of a more sensitive nature only excited his courage and intensified his determination, while they removed from his path those allurements to idleness which have so often distracted the attention and paralyzed the energies of men who, but for them, would have won fame. Nor was his ambition easily satisfied ; each step he climbed only increased his desire to climb higher, and in that desire he grasped with confidence at every professional prize that seemed to be within his reach.

Lord Brougham* speaks somewhat bitterly of Campbell's "everlasting applications for something for himself or his connections." This spirit seems to have manifested itself at every stage of Lord Campbell's career, yet a careful study of his life and writings will convince any unprejudiced person that all that he did, he did honorably, and that his career illustrates the motto he adopted for his arms: "*Audacter et aperte.*"

Though not pre-eminent in any one respect, he possessed varied abilities of a high order. Though not a great advocate, he was for years at the head of the English bar, in amount of business as well as by official rank. Though not an orator, nor even an agreeable speaker, he was always listened to with interest in the Houses of Parliament, and on more than one important occasion he directed and controlled their deliberations. Though not a profound jurist, he presided with dignity over the superior courts of common law and equity, and he administered justice to the satisfaction of the bar and the community. Though reserved with all beyond his family circle, he commanded the confidence and respect of his professional and political associates, and he had great weight with the several cabinets of which he was a member.

Dying with the great seal in his custody, he left to his family, in the record of his life, a more legitimate subject of pride than the fact that one of their ancestors fought and fell at Flodden, and that another ancestor ruled over Scotland in the fifteenth century ; and to the members of the learned profession in which he won his fame he bequeathed the example of a great success achieved in the face of obstacles and only by honorable means.

CHRISTOPHER STUART PATTERSON.

* "Biography," Vol. III., p. 224.

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A VACATION CRUISE.

WITHIN memory of men, to be studious and delicate were regarded as inevitable associations. In many cases, the weak one of the family was chosen as the scholar and sent to college "to complete his education." The present, however, has brought us some hopeful signs in this relation. Studious youths, it has been found, may possess an astonishing amount of muscle. The champion of the gymnasium may also rate well on the monthly reports of his professors.

From the standpoint of student muscle, or, what probably is a better test still, that of the comparative physical endurance of students among three races, I should rank the English first, Americans second, and Germans third. I would further infer from available information that it is among our most influential American colleges and universities that physical culture receives the most attention. Indeed, I would go so far as to say that any institution of learning which fails to encourage a physical life among its students fails in one duty it owes them. No American characteristic needs a more complete overhauling than the idea that sport of an invigorating character is to be discouraged. Relaxation from daily duty is as much a portion of a normal human life as work, and quite as productive of the largest results for good in moulding perfect character.

What this relaxation shall be is determined by several elements, but most of all by individual age. We assume, in the case of the student, that, as no one is too vigorous to require attention to a constitutional exercise, on the other hand, no one is so weak as to be excused from it. This, of course, all implies that individual characteristics shall determine the quality and quantity of that muscular culture; but the truth remains that all require it.

Whilst Germany in most that concerns modes of mental culture is to be copied rather than England, yet, if we seek the true relation of out-door sports to university life, England is our best example. The fruits of her system appear in the brawny, rosy-faced representatives that year by year visit our shores.

Physical culture does not by any means imply gymnasium exercise alone. This, when judicious, is shown to be of vast im-

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portance, and, on the other hand, when injudicious, it is proven to be of vast injury. Short, tremendous strains tax *some* constitutions—nay, *most* constitutions, too severely, and the result is seen oftener than we like to confess it, in incipient heart or other disease. More prolonged but less violent exercise shows in the average the most beneficial results. Even pugilists have found that light dumb-bell exercise suits their special needs better than heavy; and, however much we may detest the brutality of the vocation, we may, without shock to our delicacy, admit that the lesson taught is worthy of remembrance.

From the above, then, it is fair to infer that I claim for every student the right of giving himself up to *a vacation of pure muscular life;* I would almost be tempted to add that *the less mental duty he does in it the better for him in the long run.*

This, then, raises the question: "How shall he spend a vacation?" Modern educational ideas allow here a large range to select from. Pedestrian tours, bicycle tours, flying visits to the Rocky Mountains or Sierras of California, yachting or canoeing,—these and many other modes might be enumerated. Each has certain advantages, and probably the individual would not be far wrong if he were to decide in favor of the vacation which brought him face to face with that mode of life with which he was least familiar; thus, the lad from the sea-shore would doubtless be more interested and instructed by a vacation in the mountains, and conversely he from the mountains would do best on the sea-shore. These are general principles. The individual application of them develops a constant proviso in the question: "What will it cost?"

It is fair to assume that nothing is dear which gives a full and adequate return for money invested. If, then, the student be below par physically, if he find his eyes suffering from too prolonged taxing of their powers of accommodation over near objects, and he would restore them by gazing into infinite space, then a vacation properly spent is worth some financial stinting in other directions.

But, to come down to actual facts, what does such a wholesome out-door vacation cost? In the summer of 1879, a party of four young men, * caring less for the appearance than for the reality, and determined to have a vacation cruise, even if not in a yacht, set about hunting up ways and means for accomplishing their ob-

* William Hughes, Harry Whitcomb, B. Harry Warren and the Scribe.

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ject. In order to fairly make the case specific, we will say these gentlemen were from the University of Pennsylvania. The idea of a yacht, with her high hire, her extravagant and probably moody skipper, did not enter their heads. A common freighting vessel, well built and of good model, so as to be "able" in a heavy seaway, was the highest their thoughts aspired to. Such a vessel was found in the schooner "Alice M.," at Millville, New Jersey. How well she answered all reasonable expectations, one and all could vouch for after a month's cruise which lengthened out into a thousand miles. It was no fair-weather cruise either, but one in which the staunch little craft rode the waves like a gull when other larger and more pretentious ships lay at their anchors, waiting for the wind to lull and the sea to quiet down.

The party started from Millville August 2d. A fortunate selection was made in the "skipper," William Rocap, who, like the vessel, was seaworthy and safe. The first evening was spent in catching weakfish in Maurice River Cove, and, in full truth, we may add, in enjoying them cooked when fresh, and after the fashion of the rivermen. As darkness gathered about us, we got under way and ran up the Bay toward Delaware City. How one will enjoy life on board so unpretentious a craft as the "Alice M.," is, of course, a question of previous education and present mood. To the party in question the very novelty was charming. The very same stars did look down upon the deck as looked on the green hillsides of each one's home, but they had just a trifle different light. There was less beside them to engage attention, and, though the more we looked, the further away in space they seemed, yet for all that there was a nearer companionship in them. I had often before gone to sleep after gazing up at them until from very weariness my eyelids closed and my mind quietly passed into dreamland; but it was among the tall pines of the Sierras or of the Rocky Mountains. The sensation was a novel one, to feel that for one whole month we four actually owned a vessel and that we could direct her course whither we would. I doubt very much whether even Columbus or Vasco, when they heard the ripple of the blue water under their adventuring prows, felt very differently than we did; at any rate, if difference there was, it was in degree rather than in kind. Our objective point was Norfolk, but between Delaware City and there the whole Chesapeake Bay was an unknown region to us. We would bathe in its waters,

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drink in health from air saturated with saline vapor, explore its harbors, and, if we must, risk its more uncertain moods of wind and wave; so that in this projected cruise even the suspicion of adventure was not wholly wanting. Then, too, there were the oysters, fresh from the bed, and the squirrels from the woods of Mob-Jack Bay, on which our worthy captain feasted our ears until a riper realization of their flavor was obtained in the savory dishes into which he and Jim transformed them later.

Passing Delaware City, and through the Canal, where the masts of sailing vessels appear strangely out of place, we entered the upper waters of Chesapeake. A croupy little tug-boat took us through Back Creek into Elk River, where our cruise was regarded as commencing.

Looking down the Bay from below the mouth of Elk River, a rare panorama opened out before us. Deep navigable rivers which drained extensive areas to the north, northwest and eastward converged here, and between them were often bold headlands of surpassing beauty. It is hard to think there are many views with such a rare combination of attractive features of land and water. It is furthermore just as hard to think that this whole region is as absolutely overpowered by malaria and mosquitoes as is generally supposed.

Before we begin the cruise, it may be as well to tell where we all lived on this little schooner of thirty-eight feet keel. The cabin served for dining-hall and club-room. In extreme stress of weather, it did duty as kitchen also. Ordinarily, the cooking was done in a rather diminutive galley which was lashed to the starboard fore shrouds. In the cabin we gathered after dark, where, with the barometer in view, we discussed the weighty matters of the morrow's weather and decided what harbor we would make for the following night. There is no special pleasure in night sailing when out for a long cruise. When the hour of ten came, we lifted the wire mosquito netting which covered the hatchways, slipped down into the hold, and with but four feet of space above our heads were soon asleep on straw and under blankets. To be sure, there was nothing first-class in all this. As a floating palace, the "Alice M." was far from being an ideal; but our slumber was sound and refreshing, and when we awoke at five o'clock in the morning we were ready to lend cheerful hands at hoisting sail and getting the anchor on board.

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Occasionally, one or two frisky comrades would vary the monotony of the life by making a bag in the sail, and with the boom belayed amidship go to rest rocked in a genuine "cradle of the deep." A hundred or more quinine pills, with which we were provided to be ready for emergencies, made such rash doings tolerable. However, contrary to all melancholy anticipations, the remedy was not needed, and I am bound to say the only result of "sleeping out in the night air" in that "malarial region" was a superabundance of health, manly vigor and thorough good nature. These dreadful consequences have kept me in a prolonged, dissatisfied mood ever since, because I had not been equally rash and shared the dangers of the position with my comrades.

August 5th, we loitered about the mouth of the Sassafras, some of us botanizing, others collecting ornithological specimens, and all trying the early peach crop of the region. It was four o'clock before we were all on board and the vessel under way. A delightful fresh breeze had sprung up and we were dashing the spray from our bows in the most exhilarating sort of way, when, passing one of the headlands, the harbor where we proposed to anchor for the night, opened. The captain stood off on the other tack, and as we approached the mouth of the cozy little bay exclaimed: "There is the wake of a sunken vessel right ahead." Before he could change course, we were on top of the wreck, and a terrific blow sent the centreboard up, while the whole vessel quivered with the shock. No buoy marked the position of this dangerous obstacle in the harbor's mouth. This was adventure number one. Had the tide been lower, we would probably have crushed our bow in, for the "Alice M." was fairly "sliding through the water" under a strong and tolerably "free" breeze.

But, then, the history of the wreck. It was one of several others in that very harbor. Unpleasant reminders that even here, where the Bay was small and the water shallow, navigation was not without its dangers. These foundered boats told the tale afresh of the October gale which two years before had strewn the whole Bay with wrecked vessels, and put out the light in many a household along its shores. It was one of those periodical events which come to be expected as a matter of course and are with an amazing rarity provided for. It is fair to assume that two score, at least, of lives were lost in that dreadful gale and that the possession of a barom-

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eter, even though cheap, would have enabled the unfortunate vessels to have made harbors, where, if they had been lost, the crews might have been saved. However, modern civilization does not yet appear to be advanced enough to compel a man to take care of his own life. In this same strain we might also allude to the dark objects that ever and anon would flit by in the dark when we were further down the Bay. Heavy hulks that, defying law, carried no light to warn one of their approach by night; schooners with skippers who recognized no other principle than, "when you see you are going to strike, get your bowsprit fair in amidships of the vessel you hit." We can hardly call them pirates, but that such a race has remained so long is a heavy argument against the Darwinian doctrine of "survival of the fittest."

Two days later, we reached Annapolis, the sleepy town, which, but for the Naval Academy there, would hardly be awake by eight o'clock in the morning. It has a Southern way of looking at and doing things, and is high toned and exclusive in its society, so rumor says. How many first circles it boasts, I never knew, but I am sure that I waited until half-past nine before the post-office was open. This I write in no fault-finding mood, for if it suited the inhabitants surely a mere passing visitor should not complain. Turbaned colored women carried loads on their heads, and brought to mind the "aunties" of former days, who gave so conspicuous a character to child-life. Annapolis would be a good place to dream in. Modern bustle would never disturb one there. The corners would be too attractive, and it would never preserve its fire after landing and lounging an hour on the sunshiny wharves. But it has its many associations; traditions linger about its venerable walls; and, after all, not the least among many pleasant events in that August cruise was the morning spent in Annapolis. We found courteous gentlemen there, who kindly told what there was to interest strangers.

August 7th, we had crossed the Bay and anchored in shoal water under the lee of Poplar Island. The night had what sailors call a "dirty look," and as the barometer indicated bad weather we were more certain of a comfortable berth until morning than in any other anchorage we could reach that night.

The Eastern Shore revealed itself in all its length and flatness next morning. It was our first real characteristic view of a region

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of which we had heard so much and knew so little, and one, too, which promises to have a fine future when some more of the Northern rush disturbs its present serene repose.

Nature has been absolutely extravagant in the endowments she has bestowed upon the country. A soil which was good, a climate which is moderate, where cotton has grown alongside of wheat, and where terrapins, oysters and fish thrive and multiply until luxurious living may be had for a moderate sum, or for its equivalent in physical energy,—these are the factors which make the Eastern Shore of Maryland and Virginia so inviting. Throw in its sweet potatoes, melons, peaches, and remember its position,—within striking distance of New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Washington and Norfolk,—it really calls to mind the Spanish tale which teaches that, if Spain had a good government, the angels would leave heaven to live there. It must be admitted that the Eastern Shore has mosquitoes and malaria. This, of course, is where Spain may have an advantage in the comparison.

After a call at Cambridge on the Chesapeake, our vessel was headed on the morning of the 9th for down the Bay. The barometer was falling, and the sky looked threatening in the north. A good "whole sail" breeze was coming down right astern, and we winged the little schooner out for a trial of her speed and weatherly qualities. The wind became stronger, and by noon we had a high sea and a howling wind behind us. The "Alice M." proved how well-founded our anticipations concerning her had been. She rose gracefully to the waves, sank easily into the trough, and during the day's run never once took a sea on board. By two o'clock, we were at anchor in Great Wicomico River, on the western shore. Probably there is no absolute bliss in this life, no joy so unalloyed that it is without something to grate on the feelings. Even yet this causes the remembrance of a day less than perfect, when we recollect that glorious sail and think that the fine, fresh air of the Bay was contaminated by the unutterable odors of a fish-mill on shore. True, the mill was a mile away; but no one wanted it nearer. Yet there were human beings, it is said, who lived under its shadow. What trials man's physical nature can endure when it must! What are our lung and muscular cells cemented with that they can stand the penetrating effluvia of a fish or phosphate mill, and not fall asunder under the ordeal?

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The sunset was gorgeous that evening,—one that a man, hard and matter-of-fact as he might be, could safely go into raptures over. But I forbear; not on the score that the subject is unworthy, but because the treatment is too common. It is a pity to mar even sunsets by saying too much about them.

The following day we had a fair wind and enough of it, with enough sea also remaining over from the previous day to prevent the sail into the mouth of Mob-Jack Bay from becoming monotonous. Some of us found it quite too exciting. What strange perversity of human nature ever inflicted such a name on this attractive bay? That the south shore should have been known as the Guinea Coast is readily enough explained when some of the ways of a part of the population are understood. Or does the name give a clue to some early lawless act, the remembrance of which the placid water must keep alive? I will not attempt to decide. But so it is, that, in spite of its large, well-known oysters and its delicious sheepshead fish, it goes now among the people and on our charts as Mob-Jack Bay. From a scientific standpoint, it has some special importance in the fact that on its shores one finds the most northern specimens of live oak and nearly the most northern of the passion-flower, (*Passiflora incarnata,*) or, as it is there called, from its large, spongy fruit, May pops.

Thence to Norfolk our cruise extended, but then it was not until we had proven the genuine Virginian hospitality of Mr. Miller and his family, as we lay alongside of his wharf in North River. Here we ate his watermelons and his peaches, and shot squirrels in his woods, until more than once I wondered how men could endure strangers as long as he did us. The visions of the past still come up, and the lapse of two years has not dimmed the remembrance of warm hearts in the land of passion-flowers and where neither malaria nor mosquitoes vex one's soul. I hope to cruise in the Chesapeake again, and when I do I shall always let my anchor go in Mob-Jack Bay.

Take notice, cruisers who visit these waters in search of health, that between York Spit Light and the shore, a distance of six miles, the chart shows shoal water. If you know the ground, you may cross, providing you have not more than six feet draught, but unless you do, and are without a pilot, and drawing more than three and a half feet, you had better run outside the light.

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On the evening of the 14th of August, we passed under the guns of Fortress Monroe and into a harbor which the world can show few superior to. Sewall's Point, Rip-Raps, Craney Island, in fact, the whole neighborhood, was still eloquent with deeds of daring by men of the North and South which we hope may never have a chance to be repeated. There is a strange contrast between that grim Fortress Monroe, dedicated to human immolation i must be, and the health resort, Hygeia, which has grown up under its very shadow.

Norfolk, our objective point. True, we had hoped to enter the Dismal Swamp. But the fires of the region made that part of the cruise no longer desirable. More than compensation for this deprivation was found in the warm welcome which Surgeon Penrose, of the United States Naval Hospital, extended to us. We all had known him before in the University, but here he was at home, and right royally did he treat those who came to him in plain attire and from the decks or hold of a freighting schooner. The trim ships-of-war and the neat surroundings, yes, and the man, too, looked grander after all the attention that we received. Two days were spent in the society of the good Doctor and his family. When, on the morning of the 17th, we got the anchor on board at three o'clock, it was with a feeling of regret, which possibly might have ended in allowing ourselves a longer stay. But we spared the Doctor. Norfolk, from the standpoint of commercial possibility, strikes one most favorably. Rather, it compels the question: Why has not such a situation produced a real live, cosmopolitan city? Perhaps its present small population and commercial enterprise are relics of other days, a reminder of institutions which cramped souls, both bond and free, until they could grow no more. Look south of the line, and no city comparable to New York, Philadelphia or Chicago exists. St. Louis is the moderately great connecting link between Chicago on one side and New Orleans on the other. Indeed, what of importance the last has comes largely because some of the trade of the far West seeks the ocean there. But the gap is narrowing, and the "bloody shirt" cry of politicians who have never yet risen to the dignity of a broad statesmanship is fast fading into the more subdued utterances of fraternal feeling. Such a harbor as Hampton Roads, situated in so central a point, with approaches open the year through, with avenues leading in all di-

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rections to the lands of wheat and cotton, is a natural heritage promising individual wealth, political power and national prosperity to all who justly use so grand a birthright. But the day dawns on Norfolk, and when that city has purified its water-supply, using more of that element and less of some vile compound for a beverage, and washes its streets, too, we can hardly yet guess how broad the daylight will be.

A fair wind took us, by the evening of the day on which we left Norfolk, to Watt's Island, in the entrance to Pocomoke Sound, well up on the western side of the Eastern Shore, a good run of seventy-five miles. Here the barometer gave indications of a coming storm. Next morning it was lower still, and we sought safety in the Pocomoke River, and followed it up to the edge of the cypress swamp. We were not long in discovering that what mosquitoes the western shore had lost, that part of the eastern had found. I suppose, too, we might infer the malarial contrast was equally striking. To Northern eyes, these swamps are strange enough. Large trees growing down to the water's edge, and with roots in the water, and these roots often pyramidal in shape (I might also say, suggesting the idea of buttresses); the dark bark of the trunks and limbs, often covered with a long gray lichen,—were all in themselves peculiar; but the whole effect was intensified by the light green of the feathery foliage, which called to mind that of the Australian acacias, so that even a swamp such as this one might well serve as food for thought while we waited for the storm to spend its fury. During the next night and its following morning, the rain came down as if it wanted to deluge the whole region, and the wind increased from a gale to a hurricane which actually twisted off limbs a foot in diameter and carried them far out into the stream, or snapped tree trunks as if they had been reeds. It was a lucky move which brought us into this secure place; for, when we came out, a day or two later, the Bay told a fearful tale of loss of life and of wrecked vessels. The storm had equalled that October gale to which allusion has been made in the first part of this narrative. It may be that abstract science does not pay, but from the recognition of atmospheric pressure came the instrument which I am persuaded saved our vessel, and mayhap our lives, too, on the day of that dreadful storm. For miles, floating timber and cordwood showed conclusively how the waves had dashed across

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the decks of the timber-laden vessels. Would that the friendly warnings of the barometer could have been more generally regarded!

Fruit was in season. Watermelons and canteloupes were a drug in the market, but never were so regarded on our table. Their freshness and lusciousness were ever-present realities which no superabundance could detract one whit from. Then, too, some of the best watermelons were bought in Norfolk for two cents apiece. They needed but one thing more to make them perfect,—*i. e.*, they should have grown with hearts of ice. Sweet potatoès, too, were present as early ones, good as the best, and ever welcome at our board. In fact, our *mênu* was one that no fault could be found with. "Devilled crabs" were a frequent luxury, and fresh oysters lay on deck as a steady lunch. In fact, as "Hans Breitman solved the infinite in one eternal spree" when in St. Louis, so we approached the same goal in a perpetual feast.

It would unduly prolong the account of this vacation cruise to tell how we found enjoyment at various landing-places along the Eastern Shore as we sailed south again. It is enough to say that we were driven by stress of weather into Hampton Roads on the 22d, and, starting thence, anchored on the evening of the following day out in Great Machipongo Inlet, having passed the Capes and tried our little schooner on the Atlantic. From Cape Charles northward to Cape Henlopen, there are a number of inlets, five of which, at least, afford convenient and secure anchorage, in event of storms, for vessels whose small size and light draught would make them unsafe in heavy weather. Most of them occur inside the seventy-five miles north of Cape Charles. Thence north to Cape Henlopen, after passing Chincoteague Inlet, no harbor offers until one is within the Delaware Bay capes,—a distance of another seventy-five miles,—unless we except Indian River, where the water is extremely shoal. All these inlets are absolutely land-locked, and, once within their protection, no storm can do havoc unless the sea actually breaks over the land to the seaward of them. This must be a rare event, at least, rare when it becomes high enough to do any damage. To be sure, the whole country for miles away is but one vast swamp, in which the arms of these inlets extend, as deep canals, in all directions; and, indeed, those of adjacent inlets frequently unite, making thus a communi-

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cation for many miles alongshore and inside the outer shore-line. Oysters, wild and uncultivated, abound in these waters, and, when you have hammered away the superfluously long beak of the shell and come to the animal itself, it compares well in flavor with its plumper relatives, known as "plants," from the Chesapeake or Delaware Bays. Of course, wild fowl appear in such favorite resorts in myriads during their migrating periods. It is said that one or two men have killed about thirty clapper-rail birds there in less than half an hour. I can well credit the statement from what we saw during our flying visit to Matomkin Inlet. One gifted with descriptive powers could give thrilling accounts of the horrors of the deep when an eastern wind-storm strews these shores with wrecks, cargoes and human bodies. During winter, the life-saving stations find abundant exercise for their courage and humanity. There have been times when an unfortunate mariner, going ashore there, would receive treatment less humane than that which falls to his lot now. But we may hope such are passed and that a wreck is not prayed for as a dispensation of Providence in favor of wreckers. But we were there in halcyon days compared with those when December winds lash the waves, albeit the winds were strong enough and adverse enough to confine us as prisoners in Matomkin Inlet three days longer than we wanted to remain. When, however, we escaped, and headed north past Chincoteague, it was with a wind as fair and moon as bright as ever sped and cheered voyagers on their way. I believe that night was, of my whole life, the one most full of pure mental and physical enjoyment. A month of hardy exposure had done its best. There was no ache or pain to remind us of unnatural confinement or undue worry of mind.

At three o'clock in the morning of August 30th we passed Cape Henlopen in a fog. An hour later another light appeared, which some of us supposed was Cape May Light, but which our more knowing skipper said was Brandywine Shoal Light in Delaware Bay, and he changed his course for Cape May. However, we were not through the episodes of the voyage, for at breakfast-table, when the fog lifted, the good captain was in doubt as to a headland which appeared to the northwest. It was suggested that the supposed Brandywine Light might, after all, have been Cape May, but the mariner was certain it was not, and gave Jim the order to go aloft

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and see if he could tell where we were. "Captain," said he, "I see Cape May to the west." So it was, after all. There was no harm done, only we were on the wrong side of New Jersey and dancing on the swell of the Atlantic.

Then we found that compasses could not be trusted, for the captain was sure he had run his courses all right. Our instincts were all right and the compass was all wrong. Compass or no compass, there was this to console us: that by going west we were bound to strike the American shore somewhere. The ship was put about, and in an hour or two we were in the Delaware Bay.

A brief landing at Cape May, a pleasant sail to Maurice River Cove, a mosquito-plagued drift up the river, and the "Alice M." was alongside the wharf at Millville, and the cruise was over.

Now, for the moral. It was not simply to tell of a delightful trip that this article was written. It has the further object of showing how cheaply it was done, and hence to convince the student, languid and weary,—in a word, below par in mind and body both,—that, if he fancies such a vacation, it may be had at almost as little expense as it costs him to stay at home and for far less than he would spend on a trip to Niagara or for half the time at the sea-shore.

When we four had paid for the vessel, had her insured, paid our crew, and purchased all provisions, the cost was but forty-two dollars apiece for a month of cruising which hardened every muscular fibre in the body, dashed the cobwebs off the mind, and lightened the heart for a whole nine months. Besides this, substantial collections were made in zoölogy and botany. But science was not made the first consideration. Health and recreation were the prime motives.

A few years ago, the "'Rob Roy' on the Jordan" appeared in the London book market and told how a gentleman of culture and of business had spent his vacation in that distant land. To-day, as the fruit of the volume, thousands of canoes are carrying their owners lightly over the English inland waters. And the contagion has reached our own shores. There are a half score of manufacturing establishments in the United States where such or better canoes than the "Rob Roy" are kept in stock by the dozen to supply the growing demand. A canoe club has its yearly meetings and brings together representatives from over the whole land. Having

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rendered this signal service to the physical well-being of young Enland, Mr. McGregor then designed a small, safe yacht which could easily be managed by one man. In this he crossed the English Channel, ascended the Seine to Paris; then, after more or less extensive wanderings along the coast, recrossed the Channel in weather which fairly tried his little boat, preliminary to severer tests later; and year after year he finds yet, perhaps, in this diminutive craft the phosphorus and brawn which are to support him during the other nine months of the year amid the exactions of professional life.

From that single "yawl" has sprung, as in the case of the canoe "Rob Roy," a fleet of little cruisers that dot the English coast each summer. In our own country, this contagion is spreading also, and we may hope will spread, along the whole seaboard. Such a willingness to adopt the out-door vacation has probably much, very much, to do with youthful English vigor and with the proverbial preservation to an advanced age of the old English gentlemen. Indeed, from low to high, it appears as if it found a culminating fact in this, that, of all English ranks and classes, the peerage has the greatest average longevity.

J. T. ROTHROCK.

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THE BRONZE AGE IN GREAT BRITAIN.*

A WRITER has defined man as the animal who uses tools. This is so true that the history of the race is sharply divided into epochs by classifying the materials of which tools were made. First came stone,—rough, merely fractured stone, (*pierre brute,*) gradually advancing to dressed and polished stone (*pierre polie*). In length, this Age of Stone far transcended any other epoch, and even yet there survive a few remote and small tribes who continue in this primitive stage of civilization. The use of stone axes and "hurling stones" in war was perpetuated in Europe into the early Middle Ages.

It were vain to compute with any pretence to accuracy the length of the Stone Age in Europe. It began in the pre-glacial epoch and appears to have included whatever races of men inhabited the trans-Alpine regions, down to a date not far removed from that assigned to the westward movement of the Semitic race. An early "migration of nations" appears to have taken place about the period assigned to the Trojan War. This movement extended over several centuries; and while, in the South, among the accolents of the Mediterranean Sea, it was signalized by the extension of Phœnician colonies along the the southern, and others of Græco-Latin race along the northern shores, north of the Alps an ancient Iberian people, of Turanian affinities, familiar only with stone, was slowly yielding before the inroads of a Celtic Aryan stock who brought with them a knowledge of higher arts, but who owed their superiority largely to the use of weapons made of metal.

This metal was *bronze*, a mixture of tin and copper, not always in the same proportions, but not far from that expressed by their atomic weights. Such a fusion yields a product considerably harder than either metal by itself, and yet not so hard as to offer serious obstacles to the limited resources of a primitive smith. So convenient, indeed, is it for many purposes, that long after iron was known bronze continued to be the metal chiefly employed for tools and weapons. Thus, although the discovery of iron is assigned by the Arundelian marbles to the year 1432, or two hun-

* "The Ancient Bronze Implements, Weapons and Ornaments of Great Britain and Ireland." By John Evans, D.C.L., L.L.D., F.R.S., F.S.A., F.G.S., Pres. Num. Soc., etc. New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1881. Pp. 509.

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dred and forty-eight years before the taking of Troy, and although both it and steel are occasionally mentioned in the Homeric poems, yet bronze is far more frequently referred to and was evidently much more commonly in use, not merely at the period of the Trojan War, but at that later date when the ballads reciting that event were cast into their present connected form by the master-poet under whose name they have since been transmitted. To this day, the mixture of the two metals is largely employed in works of art and in various tools.

The Bronze Age in Europe was made a subject of special study by Professor Nilsson, whose work was translated into German and published at Hamburg in 1866. The author was an antiquary of most extensive research, and his volume has not yet been superseded by later productions in the same field. Nevertheless, his favorite theory of the derivation of the knowledge of bronze has not maintained its ground. This theory was that articles of bronze and an acquaintance with the method of their manufacture were introduced in Northern Europe by Phœnicians, who at the same time brought the name and adoration of Baal, the Balder of the Scandinavian mythology, and many rites connected with this cult. Sir John Lubbock has stated so forcibly the objections to this theory that most readers of his criticisms will be apt to pronounce them unanswerable.

In the work whose title is given at the beginning of this article, Dr. John Evans has accomplished for the Bronze Age of Great Britain and Ireland what he did for the Stone Age of the same region in a previous treatise. It is a *résumé* of all that has been contributed to our knowledge of the epoch in question. In the matter of dates, he is wisely cautious; but the conclusion is fairly reached that the total duration of the bronze period in Great Britain was eight or ten centuries, beginning some twelve or fourteen hundred years before Christ. If this is an error, the error, consists in beginning it too recently, as there are various reasons for supposing that on the Continent the introduction of bronze was several hundred years earlier.

The character of bronze relics in Great Britain is similar to that on the Continent,—at least sufficiently so to show that the same source of instruction in this art must have been common to both regions. We shall briefly enumerate the principal varieties of remains classified and described by Dr. Evans.

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Most common of all are the so-called *celts*, a kind of small hatchet. The name is not derived, as some have thought, from the proper name *Celtæ*, and those who, supposing for it this origin, have affectedly spelled it *kelts*, have been led astray by their superficial knowledge. It is probably from the late Latin *celtis*, a chisel, a word so used by St. Jerome in the Vulgate, Job, Cap. XIX. These celts are classified, according to peculiarities of form, into flat celts, flanged celts, winged celts and those called "palstaves," and socketted celts. Regarded as a matter of development, Dr. Evans justly maintains that the simplest forms, and those most similar to the productions in stone of the neolithic period, should be looked upon as the most ancient; and in the last chapter of his work he subdivides the Bronze Age of Great Britain into an earlier and later period, with reference to more or less archaic forms of the remains. This portion of his reasoning does not seem to us conclusive. The art of working in bronze was unquestionably introduced into those islands by people who had practiced it for many generations and had already brought it to a considerable degree of perfection. Hence, we cannot expect to find and should not look for any series of British bronzes which represent the development of the art from its infancy upward.

Swords were in common use among the warriors of the Bronze Age. They were rather longer than the Roman sword and of a peculiar leaf-shape. Many antiquaries have commented upon the smallness of their handles, and Professor Nilsson made this one of his arguments in favor of his Phœnician theory, to which we have referred. But Dr. Evans upsets this by the positive statement that with his hand, which "is none of the smallest," he has no difficulty in finding room to clasp firmly these ancient hilts. He, however, believes that the sword was unknown to the earliest period when bronze first came into general use for weapons, as barrows containing flat celts and knife-daggers characteristic of this period rarely also present specimens of swords.

The spear, lance and arrow-heads of bronze also belong to a comparatively late age of the art, and it is very strong evidence of the statement we made above,—that the natives of Britain acquired a knowledge of working this compound long after it had passed through its earlier stages,—that in no instance has the tanged form of lance-head been found,—such as occurs in Cyprus and Western

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Asia,—but the socket has been formed by casting over a core. No doubt, stone tips to spears and arrows were used long after bronze, and even iron, was familiarly known.

Scabbards, shields, bucklers, helmets, trumpets, and other paraphernalia of war, came into use toward the close of the period we have named. But of greater interest than these appurtenances of conflict are the tools and articles which give us some insight into the peaceful life of these ancient tribes. As we might expect, they are secondary in number and evidently were in importance to the early founders. Sickles were the only undoubtedly agricultural implements in bronze which are found in Great Britain, and they are scarce. Their presence proves that men of that time cultivated some cereal for food. Pins, both for fastening the clothing and for the hair, were common at all periods; it is doubtful whether needles carrying a thread were known, the specimens of this little instrument dating probably from Roman times. The seamstress of the Bronze Age did her work as the cobbler of to-day,—by piercing holes with an awl and inserting the thread. Such awls are of frequent occurrence. A single bronze fish-hook has been found in Ireland quite identical in form with that used to-day. Of other tools and utensils, we may mention hammers, anvils, chisels, gouges, punches, tweezers, drills, saws, files, clasps, buttons, buckles, rings, razors, cups, cauldrons, bells and moulds, of all of which specimens credited to the age of bronze are described by Dr. Evans.

An interesting portion of his work are the paragraphs devoted to the ornamentation of these ancient remains. The development of the æsthetic sense has of late years specially attracted the attention of anthropologists, and with good reason. Although the necessities of the hour, common alike to all, may develop similar products in nations wholly without intercommunication, we do not have any such simple theory to account for the recurrence of the same decorative designs in widely separated races. Decoration is a matter of leisure; it springs from the pictures of the imagination; it is suggested by an ideal, and indicates a respite in the bitter struggle with necessity. Hence, the reflective student looks with fondness on its first and crudest efforts, seeing in them the earliest evidence of the emancipation of man from the thraldom of his lowest needs.

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It is clear that in the Bronze Age, as it occurred in Great Britain, grace of form, finish of detail, and decorative design, were familiar to workers in metal. Usually, the decoration was by a series of straight lines, inclined at various angles, and repeated in definite order. Dots, curves, and a rude arabesque pattern, may also be seen on the celts, swords and shields. On one of the latter is an ornament of peculiar character representing what may be two snakes twisted about into a symmetrical pattern. Attempts to represent either animals or trees are, however, extremely rare, if, indeed, they occur at all in relics of the age of bronze itself. On none of the articles figured by Dr. Evans do we find any letters or symbols which might pass for Runic, Phœnician or Ogham inscriptions. This seems pretty strong negative evidence that the antiquity which from time to time has been attributed to these alphabets is excessive. It also indicates that the commerce carried on between the Mediterranean and the British Isles at a very early date did not take the form of colonization. Otherwise, we should hardly have missed all positive traces of its existence.

What, now, in general terms, was the condition of the bronze-using people of Britain with regard to civilization? Dr. Evans gives a picture of it. They dwelt in wooden houses on the dry land, not over water, as in Switzerland. They spun and wove woollen and linen garments, and had domesticated the dog, ox, sheep, goat, pig and horse. For game, they had principally the deer, wild boar and hare. Bread was made of some cultivated cereal. They obtained fire by the use of flint and a nodule of pyrites. Their pottery was formed by hand, and it was moderately abundant and of various shapes. Ornaments of bone, amber and horn were in frequent use, and gold for this purpose was not uncommon, but silver was unknown. They had among them accomplished carvers in wood and horn, and some were skilled artificers who inlaid wood and amber with minute gold pins quite as skilfully as the French workmen of the last century who wrought on tortoise-shell. In the special branch of casting and hammering out bronze, they obtained consummate skill, and their spear-heads and wrought shields could not be surpassed by the most expert workmen of the present day. Coinage of any kind was unknown, and they had no approximation to a knowledge of writing of any description.

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In this brief statement of results, we have not paid the proper tribute to the author for the extent and thoroughness of his labor, as indicated by his volume, and it would be unjust to make this omission. In fact, his treatise is exhaustive of his topic; it is a complete repertory of all that has been ascertained in reference to the Bronze Age in Great Britain. The transactions of societies, monographs, fugitive papers in periodicals,—all have been consulted and their valuable contents presented in clear and compact form. The reader is impressed on every page with the evidence that the writer is master of his theme and that he has given us the results of years of intelligent study of this interesting epoch in the history of man.

D. G. BRINTON.

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A GLANCE AT TWO ART EXHIBITIONS.

WHATEVER may be the merits of the controversy between the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts and the Philadelphia Society of Artists which has led to the holding of separate exhibitions, the public has certainly profited by a rivalry between the two organizations which has prompted unusual exertions, and has resulted in bringing simultaneously to the city of Philadelphia two such good collections of paintings.

The present Academy exhibition is an interesting one. The preponderance of the foreign element is very great, owing, not only to the fact that a large proportion of the works were executed abroad, but also to the extravagant desire evinced by painters in this country to follow foreign ideas, methods, and even faults.

The advantages of a European art education, and the beneficial effects of foreign training upon American artists, are too obvious for discussion; but it requires a great deal of independence and good judgment on the part of a young American art student to discover what portion of the skill presented for his emulation is genuine art and what portion is simply affectation catering to a passing popular fashion on the other side of the water. It is probable, for instance, that there are several men now living who paint the direct rays of the full noontide sun in a manner never before attempted with pigments. But for one man like Fortuny or Madrazo there are a hundred more or less poor imitators whose productions sell, perhaps from a fancied resemblance existing in the most superficial particulars only. The works of these imitators fall short of the master's just at the point where his work has passed from the limits of the positively bad to the region of the masterly good. And the margin is very narrow between them. But within that same narrow margin exists a whole world of genius. These brilliant productions of the masters of light are soft as the most evanescent twilight.

Astonished, indeed, would be the artists of the quiet and subdued school of our fathers' days to see shadows painted with edges as sharply defined as if chiselled in flint; but these shadows are full of the rounding of soft half-lights and most delicate pale tints, and the broad light is the distinct, white daylight. Now, contrast the work of the superficial imitator. Sharp shadows,

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indeed, but hard, dry, dead shadows, that look as though the sun would never again shine on a spot once so cursed by shade. And the light itself, so chalky that it seems more like the effect produced by the electric light than that of the free and dancing sun. Light is attained, perchance, but a ghastly light, painful to the eye.

Again, take the subtle painting of a blue sky. No two good representations of the scintillating effect of the open blue sky, which shall be exactly alike, can be produced by the same hand. How difficult, then, to acquire excellencies which cannot be infallibly reproduced, even by the master who conceived them! Yet two pictures may hang side by side, each representing the same effect in ways which to the tyro will appear identical, yet which differ so widely that the producer of the one may never hope to approach the other.

The stamp of approval placed upon the work of the masters of this modern school by connoisseurs has given rise to a popular fancy and demand in America for these indifferent imitations, and the selection of a foreign class of subjects, combined with a certain meretricious brilliancy and harshness of style, together with a French title, often secures attention and sale for an unworthy production.

An American who has most successfully risen in the admirable painting of brilliant sunlight is Mr. Picknell. His "*La Route de Concarneau*," in the last exhibition, was perhaps the best and ablest representation of sunlight by an American that has been seen in Philadelphia for a long time. The work by him in the present collection,—"*Les Prés de St. Vaast*,"—while, perhaps, inferior to the former, is still powerful and very free from the faults most common in such works. Mr. Bruce-Crane is another who has most thoroughly mastered the effect of open daylight, but his picture in this exhibition—"A Morning in Spring,"—is hardly equal to the one which many persons recollect in last year's, entitled "A Morning, Long Island." Mr. Parrish in his "Gloucester Harbour" has successfully applied a most luminous effect to an American scene; and it may not be amiss to remark that, if more of our artists would, after acquiring their technical skill abroad, return to paint their own country, a school of art peculiarly national would rapidly spring up.

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There is plenty of material here. The fastnesses of the Western mountains, the dells of the Eastern ranges, and the sandy wastes and rock-bound shores of the Atlantic, have indeed received some talented attention; but where is the artist to paint the picturesque features of our army operations on the plains? The great spectral trees of the Southern swamps hold up their gaunt hands to heaven awaiting appreciation. Our great rivers and lakes are thoroughly valued by our mercantile people, but are almost ignored by our artists. Finally, our cities present an inexhaustible field for an artist painting as Dickens and Sue wrote, or for the representation of our every-day life. Yet, owing to a popular fancy, American artists have heretofore found it more profitable to paint Parisian streets, French rivers, German mountains or Italian lakes. Now, however, there seems to be a more sensible and broader taste gaining ground rapidly.

An excellent little picture in the present collection is that called "The Old Hillside," by Mr. Bolmer. It is so small and inconspicuous as to escape the notice of the casual visitor to the galleries, but we cannot pass it without stopping for a moment to render tribute to the admirable manner in which a simple hillside has been made poetically eloquent. It is painted in a low key, with a cold, boisterous sky, and a dark fringe of trees on the hill-top strongly projected against the lighter portion of the windriven clouds, the hill being ascended by a winding, slippery path, strewn with treacherous stones. A very powerful picture, called "Eventide," by Mr. Rosenzwey, is a vigorous and clever silhouette of some tall, straight, natural-looking trees, rearing their height between the dreary-gray sky and the reflection of the same in the still water below. The picture is to be admired because of its entire freedom from affectation of any kind, the artist painting nature as seen by his own eyes, and not through the spectacles of another. Continuing a stroll through the galleries,—passing much that is good, more that is bad,—one stops for a moment's approval of Mr. Shearer's vigorous use of the palette-knife in "The Clearing," and perhaps wonders half admiringly why Mr. Boggs has adhered so severely to gray in his "*Déchargement du Crabier;*" and, wandering along the north wall of the large room, lingers by the "Wayside Pool," by Mr. Bolton Jones, loth to leave it, so well is it painted; and, regretting that so capital a canvas as Mr.

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Harrison's "*Au Bord de la Mer*" should have been hung so high, and glancing again at Mr. Parrish's brilliant "Gloucester Harbour," one finally approaches, with the buoyant feelings felt upon first sniffing the damp morning sea-air from a bold rocky coast, a real master-piece —Mr. Wm. T. Richards's "Trebarwith Strand, Cornwall." Pale, misty, mysterious, the huge phantom cliffs loom up in the dank, luminous atmosphere, while the salty sea breaks in fretful pulsations upon their immovable foundations. The *technique* of the picture leaves nothing to be desired, and the rendering of the floating foam and ripple lines on the surface of the waves, together with the able manner in which the rocky faces of the cliffs have been treated, combine to make the picture a remarkable production. By a most clever artistic *finesse*, all the marginal portions of the canvas have been kept in a misty paleness, although perfectly distinct in the minutest details, while the accent of color and force is reserved for the point of interest at the end of the principal cliff.

Every great picture should have for its prominent characteristic the all-essential feature of unity. There should be only one reason, one motive, and one object, in its existenee. There should be one point or effect, or else one all-pervading idea, although expressed by the combination of a multitude of objects, upon which should be concentrated the interest of the beholder. There should either be one figure, animal, architectural or natural object, or one effect of light and shade or color, or else a multiplicity of these, all tending to the expression of the theme. There is an equal degree of unity in one expressive figure and in a mob swayed by the same impulse. Whoever has seen Doré's picture of an English race-course, along which, toward the spectator, has just rushed the frantic race, and in which not a horse appears, but only two swallows skimming over the surface of the still trembling ground, has seen in the thousands of excited faces, eagerly peering along the perspective of the track, a unity as complete as a ship in a pathless sea, or a peasant on some hill-top sharply cut against a sunset sky. It may fairly be questioned whether certain kinds of pictures composed of great numbers of figures—such as the representations of railway stations and kaleidoscopic views of brightly colored detached groups on beaches and elsewhere, which have gained some popularity, both abroad and here,—are true works of art, and whether they are not in reality a number of pictures on

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one canvas. The lack of unity results from the unassociated character of the incidents, and not from the multiplicity of the objects. A reed shaken by the wind possesses no greater degree of unity than an endless vista of reeds driven by the levelling hurricane, nor do the sands of the sea, or the leaves of the forest, flashing back the sun's million rays, suggest a less integral idea than a dazzling diamond.

The counterpart of the questionable figure compositions above referred to is found in a certain class of landscapes which are much painted by some German artists and by their American followers. Paintings of this sort often have a waterfall, a cliff, a fine sky, a distant village, a nearer cottage, some pine trees, cattle, perhaps several groups of entirely unassociated figures, and a confusing medley of well enough depicted but entirely separate incidents, the whole reminding one of a child's arrangement of the contents of its "Noah's ark."

In the Academy exhibition, there is one picture which is an epitome of the excellencies here insisted upon, both as regards the figure and animals and the accessories to them—Mr. Dana's "Bleak Day" on the coast of Brittany. The peasant and his horses, the sea and the sky,—man, beast and nature,—pay tribute to the wind, the element which is uppermost in the turmoil. Boreas decrees it, and the man bows his head, the animal curves his dripping flanks, the waves leap, the rain ceases to fall, but drives horizontally, the clouds scurry madly across the main, and all nature joins in one headlong rout.

Another phase of unity—quiet unity,—is seen in Mr. Bridgeman's picture of an "Interesting Game" of chess in a Cairo *café*. Here are a number of figures, each interesting in itself, yet all interested in the game. Perhaps unity would be more common in paintings if an artist would only paint when he is impelled to do so to find expression for an idea which has taken possession of his whole mind. Usually, the cause of good art would be far better served if, when about to begin a new picture, the artist would take the advice of *Punch* to those contemplating matrimony,—"Don't!" And this same beginning of a picture, like matrimony, is not lightly nor unadvisedly to be entered into by any, and, likewise, painting a picture is not always desirable, and only to be done as a last resort, and as a final concession to the impulses and feelings.

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The visitor to the main room will probably be more or less attracted or fascinated by Miss Wheeler's "Sphinx," but, if he ask himself why, he will probably receive a Sphinx-like response from himself, and, while admitting the force and broadness with which it is executed, will wisely refuse to commit himself further, and will not prevaricate upon a subject which he does not thoroughly understand. At the risk of a libel suit, a few words may be said about Mr. Whistler's "Arrangement in Gray and Black—Portrait of the Artist's Mother." Let a child paste a black paper doll against a faded and dirty-gray background, frame it, send it to an art exhibition, sue for libel any newspaper men who may fail to appreciate it, and *subpœna* all the artistic nabobs of London as witnesses, and we presume that the future productions of that child would excite some curiosity. The human being represented bears about as much resemblance to one of flesh and blood as an old flower pressed flat for years in some musty volume does to a fresh one. An unqualified condemnation of the work would, however, be unjust, and its admirable drawing and the dignified simplicity of its motive would command approbation if it were a drawing or an etching, but as a painting the entire absence of all roundness or relief or color-value quite outweighs the merits of the composition. Space does not permit of more than passing mention of Mr. Pearce's picture of "The Decapitation of St. John," to which the Academy, in its wisdom, has awarded the prize for figures, nor of a very good painting by Miss Emmett, called "Under the Palm," nor of Miss Whitman's spirited "Portrait of Three Boys," all of which are good pictures. The Academy also awarded the marine prize to Mr. Dana's large "Moonlight off the French Coast," which is very effective, but in which, it may respectfully be remarked, the water is rather woolly, and lacks a polished surface. There is one very small landscape, by Mr. Sartain, which commands attention from its delightful appearance of repose. Mr. Eakins is represented by two excellent canvasses, which are both noticeable for the great accuracy of their drawing.

Much that is good is necessarily passed over in such a cursory review of an important exhibition; but it may be said, in conclusion, that the collection is a very interesting one, and will well repay careful inspection.

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Upon entering the exhibition of the Philadelphia Society of Artists, the visitor experiences a happy sense of relief on finding in the whole catalogue but one French title, which fact speaks volumes for the independent character of the exhibition. There is, perhaps, a predominance of paintings executed in the heavy, dauby style, which has of late years called forth on the one hand such warm eulogy, and on the other hand such severe condemnation. When this free and dashing style is the result of consummate skill intelligently employed, there can be no doubt that there are certain kinds of subjects which are much more successfully treated by this method than any other. But the daubs and blotches of paint should each fulfill an exact and necessary mission, and should not be employed at random. Their employment at random may indeed delude some into the belief that they make merit in a poor picture, but persons so deceived would also possibly be unable to appreciate the same style when really used with advantage. In this exhibition, Mr. Quartley has two pictures, one of which he has treated in this manner, and the other in quite the reverse. In his "Low Country of the North Shore" he has painted as thickly and as patch-like as the most extreme of the advocates of this style could desire, yet the great judgment and skill with which it has been done make the painting one of the most attractive in the collection. Compare with this his "Morning on the North Shore," and it will be seen that the artist has here handled his brush with a delicate nicety which is much better adapted to the subject thus treated. Probably the ablest example in this exhibition of what may be called the dauby style is Mr. Wyant's "On the Saw-Mill River." At a little distance, the general effect is that of mystery, combined with a high degree of finish, yet upon nearer inspection it appears as though it might have been painted with the thumb. The exceedingly soft effect obtained could hardly have been produced by any other method. In his "Glimpse Toward the Sea," however, while the picture is most fascinating, still it is open to the criticism that there is a slight disposition to overdo the matter of dauby execution.

Mr. Senat has two good pictures of Mount Desert, Mr. Craig one called "Breaking Away," which is capital, and there is an admirable Bruce Crane, and also a painting by Mr. Quartley of an "April Day" in New York Harbor, which is remarkable in its distinct indication of the season.

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A number of good water-colors appear in the collection, and especially well executed and effective are two of Narragansett Bay, by Mr. Lewis. The figure pieces are not quite so numerous nor so important as those in the Academy exhibition, but there are several very clever ones. Mr. Hahs has three figure pieces of clowns and acrobats which are very excellent. Especially so is the one of the clown and athlete enjoying a quiet lunch behind the tent canvas; and his picture of an acrobat peeping through the half drawn curtain at the audience, which is entitled "Next," is a very meritorious work. It is difficult and invidious to institute comparison between the two exhibitions, and, in a paper such as this, it has been impossible to speak of more than a small number of the works deserving of praise. But it may be said that both exhibitions show a degree of vigor and progressiveness which augurs well for the future of American art.

THOMAS LEAMING.

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SCIENCE.

THE remarkable activity prevailing in all branches of scientific research, together with the numerous practical applications which have been found for comparatively recent developments, has had a marked effect in popularizing subjects which have heretofore proved attractive mainly to a limited guild of specialists, and it is therefore deemed advisable, in order to extend the sphere of usefulness of this magazine, to incorporate in it a department in which may be found each month a brief *résumé* of such scientific novelties or discoveries as may seem to promise future value, as well as occasional articles from well-known original investigators, several of whom have already promised to avail themselves of the opportunity thus offered.

A careful discrimination will be exercised in these selections, for it must be acknowledged by all calm observers of the real progress which has been made, that a vast amount of what we may call *scientific green fruit* has likewise been produced by this unwonted forcing, and many seemingly wonderful discoveries have failed to fully realize the brilliant expectations of their too sanguine authors. Thus, the marvellous phonograph has not yet rendered the art of printing obsolete, nor has the microphone enabled us to hear the sap rising in the trees or the blood coursing through the veins. The spectroscope has not yet solved the problem of quantitative analysis by means of a flash of light, notwithstanding that Mr. J. Norman Lockyer announced to the Royal Society a few years ago that he was able by means of this instrument to determine the most minute proportions of alloys of gold and copper, as well as of other metals, in the twinkling of an eye, with greater accuracy than by the present tedious and complicated methods.

An extended investigation of his proposed plan showed, among other fallacies, that the total amount of metal operated upon in his spectroscopic assay does not exceed one millionth part of a grain, and, as it is necessary to determine the constituents of alloys of gold to the ten thousandth part of the normal assay weight, it is hardly conceivable that a discrimination to the ten thousandth part of the spectroscopic assay weight, or the *ten thousand millionth part of a grain*, would be practically possible, and even if it were

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it would not be proper, in the present stage of metallurgical science, to assume that an analysis upon such an atomic scale would correctly represent the composition of any mass of metal.

The problem of the perfect sub-division of the electric light and its application to the illumination of private dwellings is yet the subject of costly experiment, notwithstanding we were assured, more than two years ago, that it was then a *fait accompli.*

The telephone, on the contrary, has far exceeded the hopes of its most ardent well-wishers, and the rapidity with which this little apparatus has outgrown its infancy, has domiciled itself even in distant lands, and has become a very necessity of our civilization, is one of the marvels of the age.

How many of the visitors to the Centennial Exposition even knew of the existence, at that time, of the little insignificant apparatus, in an obscure corner of the educational department, which was destined so soon to startle the scientific world, to revolutionize our methods of transacting business, and to bring fame and fortune to its author?

Well do we remember the bright Sunday morning when a few favored invited guests assembled at the Main Building to witness the first public trial of Bell's speaking telephone and to hear the infant's feeble voice raised in the august presence of the Emperor Dom Pedro and the eminent scientist, Sir William Thomson, in whose honor the exhibition was given. Amid profound silence in this vast hall, surrounded by all the noblest monuments of the best thought and intelligence exhibiting the latest progress in the arts and sciences of the whole civilized world, the congratulatory words of the scientist at the eastern end of the building were whispered by the little instrument into the ear of the Emperor at the western end, and by him repeated to the anxious and expectant group surrounding him.

Who realized what a portentous moment it was, or what magnificent results would be accomplished by this discovery in the short space of six years? How many of us know, even now, that, had the telephone never passed beyond the scientific laboratory, it would still be of great value as a means of original research and that it is by far the most delicate electrometer yet devised? And yet, a few years ago, the idea of sending articulate speech over a wire by means of electricity would have been regarded as a chimerical thought, fit only for the brain of a Münchausen.

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While the past decade has been fruitful in the production of many brilliant inventions like the telephone and other practical applications of science to utilitarian purposes, great progress has likewise been made in the less popular though no less important realms of purely abstract and theoretical science; the investigations into the nature of matter and the character of the ultimate particles out of which worlds are formed have opened up new and promising fields of research, expanding our intellectual vision, as well as gratifying our sense of the beautiful, in the exquisite experimental proofs which have been devised to corroborate novel theories.

Electric Light Dangers.—Several disastrous fires have occurred in different parts of the country within the past three months which have been attributed to the electric light, and a growing distrust of this form of illumination is apparent in consequence.

While we are, as already intimated, not prepared to admit that the electric light has as yet proved itself an entire success, or that it is free from serious faults, we believe that it is, when properly managed, one of the least dangerous of all forms of illumination. There seems to have been, in some instances which have come under our notice recently, great disregard of ordinary precaution, both in the erection of the apparatus and its management; but to comdemn the light *in toto* because of the fires which have occurred would be equivalent to condemning coal oil because a lamp cannot be safely burned upside down.

Probably a dozen different systems of lighting are now claiming public attention, but it will simplify our understanding of the matter if we discard all but two, viz.: the "arc" and the "incandescent" lights. All so-called systems are mere mechanical modifications of one or the other of these.

The arc light is produced by the combustion of two rods of carbon heated in the air by the electric arc or flame. All of the intensely bright lights which we see in streets and stores are "arc" lights; all of the fires which have occurred have been where arc lights are used, and in one instance it is stated that the glowing carbon rods were not encased in shades or provided with any sort of protection. It is well known that even the best carbon rods are liable to throw off small pieces, owing to the unequal heating or to the sudden expansion of air or moisture, and a piece of white-hot carbon falling upon combustible material will ignite it as readily

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as a lighted match; but, just as we provide a safe place for keeping matches, we should likewise arrange a receptacle for the hot carbon particles.

The fear which has been frequently expressed of late, that the "electric sparks passing between the wires" will set fire to buildings, gives evidence of widespread ignorance of the principles involved. The kind of electricity used (avoiding technical phraseology,) in the electric light is of such a nature that it is not liable to jump through dry air between the wires, even when placed in juxtaposition and without any protective covering, a state of affairs not likely to exist. If, however, naked wires are allowed to touch a bell wire or other conducting material, a portion of the current will be immediately "short circuited,"—*i. e.*, it will pass across the bridge thus formed and will be apt to produce heat at the points of juncture; again, if the conducting wires are too small to properly convey the current, or if they are flawed, they may easily become sufficiently hot to melt. All of these as well as other possible causes of fire are readily detected and easily guarded against, and should not therefore be counted as elements of danger.*

The nature of the force used in the electric light differs so entirely from that developed in the flash of lightning, that we may regard it as similar in name only, or, to use a rough illustration, we may say that the former bears a relation to the latter somewhat analogous to the force of water in a hydraulic press compared with that of steam in a boiler under high pressure.

The "incandescent" system of lighting differs from the "arc" in almost every particular, with perhaps the one exception that the initial force is the same,—*i. e.*, electricity.

There is no combustion of carbon as in the arc light, so that the wick never burns out.

There is no blinding glare as in the arc light (which is often equivalent in intensity to four thousand candles or more,—flickering at frequent intervals and casting unpleasant shadows) but in its place a soft, mellow glow, equal to from four to sixteen candles at the most, distinguishable from ordinary gas-light mainly in its superior qualities of color and steadiness.

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* Since this item was written, the report of the committee appointed by the Franklin Institute "to investigate the dangers, if any, incident to electric lighting," and also a paper by Professor Morton on the same subject, have been published, substantially corroborating the views expressed herein.

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This light is produced by heating a little filament of carbon white-hot by an electric current; the filament is bent into an oval U or other shape, and enclosed in a glass globe from which the air has been exhausted to prevent combustion; the whole arrangement being hermetically sealed, the danger from fire caused by the incandescent carbon is absolutely annihilated, for, even should the globe break, the in-rush of air would instantly consume the carbon thread, thus breaking the continuity and destroying the current. These lights may be turned up and down like gas, and are in many ways preferable to gas; but, alas! the numerous practical difficulties which have beset the experimenters in this field at every turn have not yet been successfully or completely overcome, and the great question of economy remains undetermined. We may safely predict, however, that the danger from fire will not prove a valid objection to either the arc or the incandescent system.

Electrical Horticulture.—In a paper read before the British Association, Dr. C. W. Siemens, F. R. S.,continued the account of his experiments showing the influence of the electric light upon vegetation. These experiments were made upon a grand scale, covering a period of several months, and the results appear to be both interesting and valuable.

By the aid of a six horse-power steam engine and two dynamo machines, sufficient electricity was developed to supply two electric lamps furnishing lights of four thousand candle-power each; these were lit every evening, except Sunday, at dusk, continuing until dawn, for a period of more than six months. One light was placed inside a green-house of considerable dimensions and the other suspended above a row of hót-beds, or forcing-houses.

The first interesting result shown is that plants do not, as a rule, require a period of rest during the twenty-four hours of the day, (as has been supposed,) "but make increased and vigorous progress, if subjected in winter-time to solar light during the day and electric light during the night."

It was found that, while the influence of the light suspended over the hot-beds was uniformly beneficial to the plants, those subjected to the naked light in the green-house soon began to wither. After a number of experiments to ascertain the cause of this difference, the effect of interposing a thin sheet of glass between the plants in the green-house and the light was tried with most

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remarkable results. "On placing such a sheet of clear glass so as to intercept the rays of the electric light from a portion only of a plant,—for instance, a tomato plant,—it was observed that in the course of a single night the line of demarcation was most distinctly shown upon the leaves. The portion of the plant under the influence of the naked electric light, though at a distance from it of nine to ten feet, was distinctly shrivelled, whereas that portion under cover of the clear glass continued to show a healthy appearance; and this line of demarcation was distinctly visible on individual leaves." In order to pursue the inquiry further, numerous modifications were tried, such as the effect of different colored glass shades on quick-growing seeds planted in a bed divided into equal radial portions; the result was that seeds sown under yellow light produced the most flourishing plants, those under blue the most sickly, thus confirming Dr. J. W. Draper's experiments made in 1843.

In other experiments with the light protected by clear glass, it was found that crops of vegetables and fruits of superior quality were produced in remarkably short periods of time, and the seeds thus produced germinated readily, thus seeming to contradict the statement of Darwin that many plants, if not all of them, require diurnal rest for their normal development.

A. E. O.

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UNIVERSITY ITEMS.

THE Sophomoric talk that the Freshmen were "never so young as this year" is again heard. Yet the average age of the ninety-four Freshmen now in the Department of Arts and the Towne Scientific School was, on September 15th last, (the first day of the college year,) seventeen years, two months, twenty-seven days, (17.243 years,) while that of the eighty-six Freshmen in 1880 was 17.265 years, that of the ninety-one Freshmen in 1879, 17.586 years, and that of the eighty-eight Freshmen in 1878, 17.547 years.* The extreme of difference is four months (between 1881 and 1879); so that the figures are substantially the same for the four classes now in college. This result, too, is the more remarkable, because, by way of compensation for the added fifth year, the minimum age for admission to the Towne School has been reduced this year from sixteen to fifteen; and a decided falling off in the average age might well have occurred.† For the two Departments separately, the figures are:

YEAR.	DEPARTMENT OF ARTS.			TOWNE SCIENTIFIC SCHOOL.		
1881,	43,	Freshmen	17.337 years,	51,	Freshmen	17.163 years,
1880,	43,	"	17.297 years,	43,	"	17.197 years,
1879,	47,	"	17.801 years,	44,	"	17.356 years,
1878,	41,	"	17.638 years,	47,	"	17.468 years,—

a result the more curious in view of the fact that the minimum age for admission in the Department of Arts is but fourteen, while that to the Scientific School (as has been said,) is now fifteen and has been sixteen years. The University authorities, one would think, might see in this showing a sufficient reason for assuming both that the Public estimates aright the value of maturity of age in young men pursuing a college course, and that it would welcome the raising of the minimum age in the Department of Arts to correspond with that in the Towne School, in order that the very temptation to "force" mere boys preparing for college might be removed.

Further, these averages of seventeen years and over for Freshmen are not produced by the presence in the class of a few men

* Ages are taken in years and months only. Days more than fifteen are counted as one month; less than fifteen are thrown away.

† *Eight* Freshmen not yet sixteen years old would have been obliged by the old rule to wait until 1882-3.

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well on in life, while the rank and file are very much younger: they fairly represent the actual age (speaking loosely,) of a majority of all the Freshmen. In 1881, fifty-nine men out of ninety-four are within twelve months of the average for the whole class; in 1880, forty-four out of eighty-six; in 1879, fifty out of ninety-one; and in 1878, forty-six out of eighty-eight. In 1878 (counted *by nearest birthday*), one man was twenty-five—one, twenty-two—six, twenty—nine, nineteen—but twenty, eighteen—twenty-seven, seventeen—and twenty-four, sixteen; in 1879, one was twenty-four—one, twenty-three—three, twenty-one—three, twenty—ten, nineteen—but twenty-five, eighteen—twenty-five, seventeen—twenty-one, sixteen—and two, fifteen;* in 1880, one was twenty-one—five, twenty—ten, nineteen—but thirteen, eighteen—eighteen, seventeen—twenty-two, sixteen—and seven,† fifteen; while in 1881, three men are twenty—ten, nineteen—but twenty-one, eighteen—thirty-nine, seventeen—fourteen, sixteen—and seven,‡ fifteen.

Nor are these four classes exceptions to the rule for some years. Previous classes to 1872 inclusive show equally gratifying results. From 1877 to 1874, the average was above seventeen years; in 1873, it fell to between three and four months below seventeen; and in 1872 it missed seventeen by the trifle of .048 of a year (about seventeen days).§ The number of Freshmen, too, steadily increased (with the exception of two years,) from 1872-1877, as it has already been shown to have done (with one exception,) from 1878-1881. The exact figures for the ten years are sixty-three (in '72), seventy-five, sixty-eight, eighty-nine, seventy-nine, eighty-two, eighty-eight, ninety-one, eighty-six, and ninety-four; so that the present is, doubtless, the largest Freshman Class ever admitted to the University. The Departments taken separately, too, show a like progress and a like holding of both numbers and average age. In the Department of Arts, the age has come up from 16.553 in '73 to 17.801 in '79, and from '72 to '81 gained the difference between 16.977 and 17.337. In the Scientific School, these figures

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* In the Department of Arts.

† Two Five Years' Freshmen in Towne School.

‡ Four in T. S. S.

§ The exact figures are 17.187, 17.023, 17.218, 17.123, 16.701, and 16.952. The average for ten years is 17.185—an average exceeded by six of the ten classes.

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were 16.838 ('73) and 17.468 ('78), and 16.942 ('72) and 17.163 ('81).

One curious result of the study of the Matriculation Books which this Item necessitated is the fact that the average age of all the applicants for any class is not unfrequently greater than that of the actual Freshman. Many a man of two, three or more years above the average is rejected or fails to join the class. Students of the former kind have perhaps begun too late to prepare for college, and so have "crammed," only to fail; those of the latter sort are, doubtless, often attracted from study to work and its more tangible remunerations. The "honor-lists" often show among the men of highest rank some of the youngest men in the class. It does not follow, however, that they derive the fullest benefit from their course. The proverbial attainment of distinction in after-life by many men whose names were never on the honor-lists, is at least an equivalent "set-off" to all that the other fact might go to prove.

Finally, should not the statements here made close the mouths of those grumblers whose talk, because it is supposed to be dictated by reason, cannot be excused as Sophomoric?

A few years ago, in speaking of the plethora then existing in the labor markets, W. Milner Roberts remarked to the writer that whoever could invent or devise an occupation wherein the army of office-seekers and unemployed artisans could be put to work would be a public benefactor.

Although he has not survived to see the fruition of his desires, the result is nevertheless upon us. It has been brought about, not by any individual effort or device, but by the natural, untrammelled growth of a country rich in resources, by confidence in the stability and liberality of the Government and in one another, and by many other causes, all working to the same end. In whatever direction one looks, the prospect is the same. The blast of the iron furnaces lighting up the distant horizon reveals the swarthy forms of industrious miners and millers, forgers, and founders, weavers and woodsmen, herdsmen and husbandmen,—all busily engaged in preparing the crude materials for their useful applications to the wants of a rapidly growing community. In the middle-ground may be seen another class of workers,—namely, those who

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bring the products of the mine and mill to the consumer,—the middle or commission men, and the merchants, with their hosts of clerks, salesmen, runners, collectors and other employés; and in the foreground appear those whose duties are connected more directly with the lives and occupations of their fellow-men, contributing to their mental, moral or intellectual requirements, as the preacher, lawyer, doctor, teacher, and politician, in the highest sense of the term.

But all are busy. The demand for labor of all classes seems at length to have exceeded the supply. Nor is this demand limited to mere physical toil. The call is for men of intelligence and administrative ability, competent to direct and handle men and materials when combined to produce great and useful results. *Engineers are wanted!* Engineers who have received a liberal education in the theoretical as well as the practical part of the profession.

Until within perhaps a year, the scientific schools of the country have been able to turn out a sufficiently large number of men to supply the demand; but this is no longer the case, for the impetus given to railroad construction was unexpected by the younger members of the community looking about for a future occupation, and hence the number of graduates has not increased in the same ratio. Letters are received almost daily for engineers for all parts of the country, and we believe that when this fact is more generally known the equilibrium between supply and demand will be restored.

One of the great drawbacks to a greater supply arises from the fact that a large number of those who desire to pursue a professional life as engineers are unable to qualify themselves from lack of means. Instances of this kind are constantly arising, and it is a part of the object of this communication to call attention to this fact and to suggest as a remedy the endowment, by some of the philanthropic friends of the University, of some scholarships in civil engineering which shall enable young men, not graduates of the public schools of the city, to take special courses in that subject. The graduates of this department have thus far been very successful, and it is hoped that our results will keep pace with our resources. We admit that there is room for a better organization of the department, but such reorganization is impossible

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with our restricted means. Twenty-five scholarships would enable us to place the department upon an equality with any in the country, for "two heads are better than one," and three better than two. With such an additional endowment, there would be room for a subdivision of the chair into civil engineering, including the theory and its applications to the construction of roads, railroads, canals, harbor and river improvements, etc., with strength and properties of materials, and specifications and contracts; geodesy, including surveys and locations, practical astronomy, topographical and hydrographical surveys, with field practice; and drawing and modelling, including instruction in descriptive geometry and its numerous applications, spherical projections, shades, shadows and perspective, graphical statics, and modelling. Until recently, all of the above subjects, with but one exeeption, were taught single-handed, so that what the instruction lacked in quality was made up in quantity. Recently, some of them have been transferred to other departments until provision can be made for the desired re-organization. L. M. H.

The present session is the fourth since the organization of the Department of Dentistry. The benefit derived from this department by a large number of worthy poor people of Philadelphia and surrounding towns, in the shape of gratuitous dental services, is perhaps not generally known. Many of the advanced students are exceptionally fine operators, and the services thus placed within the reach of thousands whose means will not permit the employmend of dentists are in every respect often superior. The patients are assigned by demonstrators to the care of students according to the extent and difficulty of the operation and the ability and experience of the operators. The class is composed of young gentlemen from all parts of America and Europe.

The following books have been added to the Rogers Engineering Library since June, 1881:

"Report of the Chief Engineer on Canals of Canada, 1880."
"Map of Railways of Canada."
"Freehand Drawing." Walter Smith.
"Mechanics for Beginners." Todhunter.
"Machinery and Millwork." Rankine.

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"Friction and Lubrication." Thurston.

"*Exposé de la Situation de la Mécanique Appliquée*," *par* Combes, Phillips *et* Collignon.

"Annual Report of Chief Engineer of the Water Department of Philadelphia, 1879."

"*Théorie des Nombres.*" Legendre. 2 volumes.

"Wood-Working Tools, and How to Use Them."

"Cincinnati Industrial Exhibition, 1880."

"Manual of Railroads of the United States." H. V. Poor, 1872–3.

"Manual of Railroads of the United States." H. V. Poor, 1881.

"Society of Engineers,—Transactions 1880."

"Electric Lighting." Sawyer.

"The Book of the Farm." Stevens. 2 volumes.

"Report Upon Forestry." Hough.

"Reports of the Chief Engineer of the War Department, 1880," 3 volumes.

"Report on the Geology and Resources of the Black Hills of Dakota." Newton and Jenney.

"Coast Survey Report for the Year ending June, 1877."

"The Virginias," Vol. I., 1880.

The Physiological Department of the University has within the last year inaugurated a method of teaching physiology, as an adjunct to the systematic course of lectures, which we believe to be an innovation in the curricula of our medical colleges.

During the last session, the experiment was made of offering to the students of the medical class of the first and second years opportunities for practical work in elementary biology, facilities being given for the study of the main types of the simpler animal and vegetable organisms. The large number of students who voluntarily entered these classes furnished encouragement for the further extension of the practical method of study, and this year a large laboratory has been fitted up for practical work by the students in physiology. The students of the first year still have the opportunity of practical biological study, while those of the second year are supplied with re-agents, apparatus, etc., for acquiring individual practice in carrying on in the laboratory the various fundamental experiments on which physiology is based. The very large number of students who have voluntarily joined these classes—

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more than ninety-eight per cent. of the entire class,—shows that the methods supply a felt need.

The physiological teaching is under the care of Dr. Robert Meade Smith, whose special studies render him peculiarly adapted for the work. Dr. F. X. Dercum—favorably known for his researches on special sense organs,—conducts the work in biology.

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BRIEF MENTION.

PROBABLY the most interesting and really important portion of the president's message is that in which he expresses his views in regard to civil service reform. Those views will be more acceptable to the opponents than to the advocates of the proposed reform. Nevertheless, it is an important evidence of the growing strength of this reform, that a president who, neither by official experience nor personal affiliation, can be expected to advocate or encourage it, yet deems it of sufficient importance to make it a prominent topic of his annual message, and while damning it with faint praise to suggest such objections as would be most likely to find favour with those whose interests would be injuriously affected by the reform, and would be most likely to influence persons who do not seriously and carefully examine the question.

Every great reform in politics and in government has always passed through three stages: (1.) It has been advocated by a few zealous and enthusiastic reformers who have not succeeded in getting a hearing for their arguments in favour of it. (2.) It has been bitterly assailed by all of those whose interests, if it be successful, it will prejudice, or whose political aspirations it will destroy. The arguments that its advocates then make are replied to by invective, misrepresentation and calumny. (3.) The people have finally awakened to its importance—and have enthusiastically carried it into effect, wondering that they could so long have been so blind to their own interests as to fail to see the necessity of putting the reform into practice.

Civil service reform has now reached the second of these stages. It is not surprising that politicians should combat it. It would be marvellous, indeed, if they were to welcome a reform one of whose effects must be to substitute statesmen for politicians.

The president eulogizes the present civil service of the government. That under the present bad system the employés are not more inefficient than they are is indeed a subject for congratulation. Appointed as they are now from political considerations, and not because of demonstrated competency, subject to political assessment, and liable at any time to be dismissed in order to make room for some more serviceable political worker, it is indeed a

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subject for congratulation that the business of the government is transacted as moderately well as it now is. Nevertheless, the fact remains that the government service is not intelligently or economically conducted. No man who has any experience with the practical working of government affairs will hesitate to say that the work could be better done with fewer employés, at a great saving to the government, if the business of the government could be separated from politics. The president affirms in general terms the main points of the proposed reform: that the public service should be administered upon the rules which regulate the conduct of successful private business, that original appointments should be based upon ascertained fitness, that the tenure of office should be stable, that worthy and efficient officers should be promoted, and that the investigation and punishment of official delinquencies should be prompt and thorough. He admits that in England, within a few years, the civil service has been practically and efficiently reformed; that in that country public servants hold their offices by the secure tenure of good behavior; and that faithful public servants are pensioned; and that the service is recruited by the enlistment of educated young men whom the secure tenure of office and the prospect of adequate retiring pensions induces to devote their lives to the public service.

Yet, in the face of all this, the president recommends further inquiry and investigation, which will have the practical effect of postponing the application of the proposed reform for a period of time which will prevent its immediate operation. As the reason for this delay the president suggests three objections: (1) That success in competitive examinations is not necessarily conclusive proof of competency for any given office; (2) that an infusion of new blood into the service is sometimes more desirable than the promotion of officers who have satisfactorily discharged the duties of a subordinate position, but may not have those qualities which are necessary for the performance of the more complex duties of a higher position; (3) that the system of pass examinations may be free from the objections which have been stated in regard to competitive examinations, and may, with sufficient care, guard the door of entry into the public service.

In considering these objections, it is necessary to remember that we are not founding a new state. We are dealing with an existing

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evil; we are endeavoring to meet the overwhelming tide of corruption in public affairs, which, if it be not checked, will destroy our free institutions.

The radical evils of the present system are that the government has not unrestricted freedom of choice for its servants from among the whole mass of its citizens, but its choice is limited to the adherents of one political party, and often to personal and political supporters of some one leading politician. Correlatively, every citizen has not an equal chance of employment in the government service, but its doors are closed to him unless he can command the necessary personal and political influence. This exclusion from office for opinion's sake renders those who are excluded hostile to the government. The rancor and animosities of party spirit are increased. The public servants recognize the fact that their promotion depends upon their obedience and fidelity, not to the government, but to the political party or politician who has secured their appointment.

The officeholders are subjected to assessments for political purposes; their salaries are so fixed as to enable them to pay these assessments, and thus the whole people are taxed for the purposes of the dominant party. Appointments to office being made, not upon ascertained fitness, but as the result of political influence, senators and members of congress are compelled to devote a large portion of their time to the effort to obtain offices for their constituents. The independence of the legislative departments of the government is impaired, because the legislators have to ask favours of the executive departments; the legislative and political influence of senators and members of congress keeps in office employés who ought to be dismissed; and the political influence of the employés keeps in legislative power men who are unworthy to be legislators.

Political contests are made to turn upon the division of spoils, and political parties, in their appeals for success at elections, trust, not to the sober-minded judgment of the people, but to the corrupt work of the election "machine." There are sudden and cruel removals from office for political reasons, and the government, in its corporate capacity, does that which no private employer of hired labour would dare to do.

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In all ages and in every country, those who have profited and those who expect to profit from the continuance of the maladministration of the public service, have always been in favor of reform in the abstract, and opposed to its practical application.

No one better than the president of the United States, who has been collector of the port of New York, and who has been for years a prominent New York politician, knows that a real reform of the civil service will purify the politics of the country.

If all that its opponents say to the competitive examinations be true, would it not be preferable to the present system? No sane advocate of civil service reform contends that success in competitive examinations is a conclusive test of competency for the duties of any given office; but is it not a better test than the appointment by the president on the nomination of the senators and congressmen from any particular state? The real efficacy of the competitive examination, when followed by a short period of probationary service, is this, that it excludes favoritism, and that it gives the government freedom of choice and every citizen an equal chance to enter the public service. That it would offer to young men a greater opportunity to success, is no argument against it. Men of middle life, or later, who have so far failed in life as to be willing to accept a subordinate public position, are not the officers whom an intelligent and faithful administrator of the government would select.

It may be that it will sometimes happen that it will be more to the interest of the government to appoint to an upper clerkship a new and competent man, than to promote the officer next in succession, who may have served faithfully in his subordinate office and may not have the requisite ability for the discharge of the duties of the higher office; but, in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred, will not the interests of the government be promoted by the promotion of the subordinate, rather than by the appointment of a political favorite?

As to the inefficacy of the pass examination, but little need be said. Everyone who has any practical acquaintance with the workings of the public departments in Washington knows that no applicant for office who is backed by the requisite political influence ever fails to pass with flying colors the ordeal of such an examination.

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Civil service reform is the great issue of to-day. All energetic civil service reformers will rejoice to meet and answer objections such as those which the president has put forward. C. S. P.

The question of the succession to the Presidency in the not impossible event of the disability or death, within the same term of four years, of both the President and the Vice-President elected by the States, has been promptly grappled with during the very earliest days of the present session of Congress, and a bill regulating the succession has been presented by Mr. Garland. Of the details of the bill we can say nothing, having only had the newspaper account or report of the proposed statute; but the main feature which attracts attention is the provision that, in case of the disability of both the elected officers, the succession shall devolve upon the Secretary of State, the Secretary of the Treasury and the Secretary of War, in the order named. This provision, it is thought, will hardly prove satisfactory to the people at large, if for no other reason, for this, that it confers an undue importance on officers not recognized by the Constitution and who have no direct connection, either with the people or the States.

According to the theory of the Federal Government, the members of the Cabinet are nothing but the instruments of the President. He is the executive and the responsible executive officer; the members of the Cabinet are his personal appointees and his agents, bound in all decency to carry out his policy, obey his behests, or to resign their offices. It is true that the Tenure of Office Act makes it sometimes difficult for a President to get rid of an insubordinate or treacherous Secretary, as exemplified in the Stanton case in the term of President Johnson. But that act, so far as it extends to the Cabinet officials, is of questionable constitutionality, is certainly opposed to the spirit of our institutions, was passed at a time of intense political feeling and for the basest and most bittterly partisan purposes, and, while it stands upon the statute-books, is an unwarrantable restriction upon the rights of the chief executive officer of the Union, who, while he is responsible to the United States for the faithful execution of their laws, should certainly be left free to select any qualified persons as the officers upon whom he must, in great measure, rely for the discharge of his own responsibilities, and to choose whom he pleases for his official and

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confidential advisers. To take, then, an officer of this kind, the mere creature of the President,—for it does not do to say that, as the Senate confirms, therefore the people of the States choose a Cabinet officer, for, though this confirmation is necessary, yet the united voice of the entire people of the Union could not compel the President to nominate any man he did not choose to appoint,—and to place him in the line of succession, is to take a mere subordinate executive officer and to elevate him to a position far above those whom the people, acting by themselves or through their representatives, have designated as especially entrusted by them.

Far better to take the present rule of succession, with some modification. Let the next in succession after the Vice-President be the Speaker of the House, for the House is the popular branch of the Federal Legislature, and there the voice of the people is more nearly heard, and, besides, as the House changes every two years, the popular will is less likely to be thwarted by the succession of a Speaker to the Presidency than by that of any other officer. After the Speaker, let the President *pro tempore* of the Senate come. If it is said: "But suppose, as occurred during the late troubles, that both the above offices should be vacant?" In that case, let the Speaker of the House whose term has just expired, or, if he be dead, the Senator longest in continuous service, at once assume the Presidential chair and issue a proclamation for an election, within thirty days, of persons to fill the unexpired terms of the President and Vice-President, or during the temporary disability of the former. Some have suggested that it would be better to vest the succession in the Chief Justice and his associates of the Supreme Court; but this should be avoided by all means. To so vest a succession would furnish another inducement to partisan appointment which must have the effect of degrading the Supreme Bench, which it is greatly to be feared, even now, does not command the reverence which was its of right in the days of Marshall and of Taney. Keep the judges out of politics, by all means; give them, as judges, no political power, positive or contingent, or we may have a worse disgrace borne upon the annals of the Union than even that terrible, crying outrage of the great electoral fraud of 1876–7.

It may be here suggested, in connection with Mr. Garland's bill, that no plan for supplying a vacancy occurring through a

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temporary disability of the President will amount to much unless it also provides a method of ascertaining when the disability exists and when it terminates. H. B.

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NEW BOOKS.

PICTURES AND LEGENDS FROM NORMANDY AND BRITTANY. By Thomas and Katharine Macquoid. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons.

Normandy and Brittany have always been among the most attractive places to the lovers of the picturesque, and have furnished themes for the pens of many graceful writers and for the pencils of many clever artists. There was a time, not very long ago, when Rouen could fairly be called the most picturesque city of Europe, but the advance of modern improvements has swept away much of the quaintness, both of its architecture and of its people and those now seeking the picturesque must penetrate the more retired and inaccessible portion of Normandy or enter the more quiet and more secluded Brittany to find the object of their search. But, although so much has been written and pictured of the notable places and the people of these countries, this book of "Pictures and Legends" is one of peculiar interest, and affords especial enjoyment, for it presents to us in a most interesting form a series of the legends and tales of the people, gathered mainly in each case from the "story-teller" of the district, and gives us an inner view of the character and thoughts of the people such as could not be conveyed by any mere description of the places of interest or of the people themselves. The legends of a country are not only quaint and entertaining stories, attractive alike to the old and young, but they are also valuable studies of the habits of the life and thought of the people; and, moreover, they form material of great value to the historian and the student of the habits and customs of a country. Many a household tale, repeated from one generation to another at the humble peasant's fireside, has served to preserve in an unwritten form the record of some historical fact or of some national trait which otherwise would have been lost. A great deal might be said about the many conceits, superstitions and traditions which are found gathered up in these legends of Normandy and Brittany; but the value and interest of a story depends so much upon the way it is told, and all these stories are told in such an admirable way,—so easily and naturally, that one seems to be listening to them as they fall from the lips of the story-teller,—that we can do no more than commend the book to our readers as one which will certainly prove most delightful and entertaining. The illustrations in the volume are singularly good, well-executed wood-cuts from the drawings of Mr. Macquoid himself, who has exercised exceedingly good judgment in the choice of his subjects, and every one of the thirty-four pictures is a genuine work of art. It is a book in every way worthy of its excellent authors, who always write so well, and as a piece of "book-making" most creditable to its publishers.

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THE BOOK-HUNTER, etc. By John Hill Burton. Philadelphia: Robert A. Tripple. MDCCCLXXXI. 12mo. Pp. xvi, 396.

Mr. Tripple has done a wise thing in bringing out this reprint of the late Hill-Burton's "Book-Hunter," and in nothing has he been wiser than in following the original Edinburgh edition, (1862,) without the addition of any ponderous notes, such as were added by Mr. Richard Grant White, to the first American edition (New York, 1863). This mention of Mr. White's notes reminds us of a curiosity of literature to be found in one, at least, of them, and shows how careful the critic should be of his own foundation before he begins to pull to pieces his neighbor's fabric. Mr. White travels out of his record on pages 74–75 to write: "I will notice here a strange mistake made by Lowndes in his 'Bibliographers' Manual' which remains in the new edition, to which Mr. Bohn has made so many valuable additions. *The Federalist* is said to be 'a collection of essays in which John Williams, *alias* Anthony Pasquins, was concerned, Shades of Hamilton and *Monroe*, founders of the great republic, and revered expositors of its Constitution, your noble work, which stands almost alone as being at once an undisputed authority in politics and a classic in letters, is a series of letters, in which a pasquinading *alias* 'was concerned;' and this is all! *Not to know who wrote The Federalist*, and what it is, . . is not culpable in a British subject; the matter may be of no interest to him; but when, *pretending to speak with authority, he exhibits such density of ignorance, both his ignorance and his pretence become ridiculous.*" The italics are, of course, ours. We can hardly believe that Mr. White did not know that it was Madison and Jay who, with Hamilton, wrote *The Federalist*, for he says inferentially and truly that it would be culpable in an American citizen "not to know who wrote" it; but when he calls upon "the shades of Hamilton and *Monroe*" as writers of those famous essays, he merits precisely the epithets he so lavishly bestows upon poor Lowndes for his mistake.

It would be an affectation at this late day to say anything commendatory of Dr. Burton's fascinating volume; its merit is so well known and has been so widely recognized, that soon after it was published it became a *rara avis*, and even the New York edition has become hard to get; so that this new Philadelphia reprint is decidedly a welcome work. Mr. Tripple has appropriately made it a memorial volume (Dr. Burton died August 10th, 1881,) by prefixing to the text a brief memoir of the author by Æ. J. G. Mackey, originally contributed by him to the London *Academy*. The get-up of the book is very similar in appearance to the original edition, but the presswork is poor and the pink tone of the paper decidedly objectionable. However, we recommend those persons who have neither the Edinburgh nor New York editions to furnish themselves without delay with this charming companion.

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FAMOUS SCULPTORS AND SCULPTURE. By Mrs. Julia A. Shedd. Boston: James R. Osgood & Co. 1881. 12mo. Pp. vi, 319. Illustrations.

Mrs. Shedd, whose first work—"Famous Painters and Paintings," a new edition of which is just out,—was well received, has very sensibly devoted her leisure to the preparation of a companion volume—"Famous Sculptors and Sculptures,"—in which she presents a condensed history of the art, in the lives of the artists, from 600 B. C. to the present day, thus giving in a compact form very desirable information for ready reference. "The record commences with the dawning of the best period of Greek and Roman art, giving an account of the most celebrated sculptors and their works, to the decline of classic art. Commencing again with the revival of art in Italy, as shown in the works of Niccola Pisano, who flourished in the early part of the thirteenth century, and who is honored as 'the father of modern sculpture,' it extends to the present time, not, however, including living sculptors." To gather so large a field within the compass of a small volume, it was necessary, of course, that the individual sketches should be exceedingly brief; but Mrs. Shedd seems to have been eminently successful in relating a great deal in a few words, and there is a general accuracy about her principal sketches that begets a confidence in all. The American quintette recorded in her pages are Frazee, Powers, Greenough, Hart and Crawford. Appended to the volume proper are catalogues of antique, Rénaissance and modern sculptures, with their present whereabouts, and another list of "Interesting Works of Modern Sculpture in the United States," which make a serviceable handbook, The illustrations consist of thirteen heliotypes, seven of which are fictitious portraits of early sculptors from Canova's modern busts, which we think a pity when so much more valuable work could have been as easily reproduced. The book is one of the most artistically gotten up volumes of the season, and equally attractive for its manufacture as for its matter.

TUTTI FRUTTI. A book of child-songs. By Laura Ledyard and W. T. Peters. Illustrated by D. Clinton Peters. New York: George W. Harlan.

If a little child of the olden time—whose book-treasures had consisted of "A Looking-Glass for the Mind" and "Sanford and Merton," with the old primer which contained the heart-rending picture of John Rogers and his family, (were there nine or ten children?) and began with the orthodox statement:

> "In Adam's fall,
> We sinned all,"—

were suddenly to be surrounded with the books of this Christmas-tide, he or she, as the case might be, would be overwhelmed and

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distraught at the number and variety of the desserts placed before him. But he would soon find that all were not plums, but that much strong meat of fact was imbibed with hardly a conscious effort. Surely, for children of the nineteenth century has been found a royal road to learning. The book whose name heads this notice, however, is purely for dessert, as its name implies, and that name is the poorest part of the feast. The pictures are very pretty,—two even more than pretty,—but the jingles are charming; and we really owe many thanks to Laura Ledyard for the pleasure derived from her share in the songs. It will be a popular book, both with the young audience and the older reader.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

Commentary on the Gospel of Mark. By Revere F. Weidner, M. A., B. D. Cloth. 12mo. Pp. 309. $1.25. Allentown, Pa.: Brobst, Diehl & Co.

Sparks from a Geologist's Hammer. By Alexander Winchell, L.D. Cloth. 12mo. Pp. 400. $2.00. Chicago: S. C. Griggs & Co. (E. Claxton & Co.)

Sketch of Edward Coles, Second Governor of Illinois, and of the Slavery Struggle of 1823–4. Prepared for the Chicago Historical Society, by E. B. Washburne. Cloth. vo. Pp. 252. $1.75. Chicago: S. C. Griggs & Co. (J. B. Lippincott & Co.)

The Fortunate Island, and other Stories. By Max Adeler. 13mo. Cloth. Pp. 333. $1.00. Boston: Lee & Shepard. (E. Claxton & Co.)

Hand-Book of Gymnastics. By Lucy B. Hunt. Cloth. 16mo. Pp. 88. 50 cents. Boston: Lee & Shepard. (Porter & Coates.)

Common-Sense About Women. By Thomas Wentworth Higginson. Cloth. 12mo. Pp. 402. $1.50. Boston: Lee & Shepard. (Porter & Coates.)

Holidays in Summer. Boards. 4to. 50 cents. Boston: D. Lothrop & Co.

Half-Year at Bronckton. By Margaret Sydney. Cloth. 12mo. Pp. 350. $1.25. Boston: D. Lothrop & Co.

Polly Cologne. By Mrs. Abby Morton Diaz. Cloth. 12mo. Pp. 192. $1.00. Boston: D. Lothrop & Co.

Warlock o' Glenwarlock. A Homely Romance. By George MacDonald. Cloth. 12mo. Pp. 714. $1.75. Boston: D. Lothrop & Co.

Lora. A Romance in Verse. By Paul Pastnor. Cloth. 12mo. Pp. 56. Philadelphia: John E. Potter & Co.

The Literary Life. Edited by William Shepard. Authors and Authorship. Cloth. 16mo. Pp. 255. $1.25. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, (Porter & Coates.)

Joseph's Coat. By David Christie Murray. 16mo. Pp. 506. 60 cents. $1.00 New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. (Porter & Coates,)

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THE

PENN MONTHLY.

FEBRUARY, 1882.

THE TERM AND TENURE OF OFFICE. II.

THE close of our first article presented the four years' term theory in practice as a part of the "spoils system," being enforced by Jackson and Van Buren in 1835.

The disastrous consequences were rapidly disclosed, especially in New York, where the system was earliest and most completely put in practice. First Swartwout's and then Hoyt's enormous defalcations as collectors at the New York custom-house; Price's defalcation, there, as District-Attorney; disgraceful abuses in the New York post-office; wholesale removals, intrigue, corruption, bribery and inefficiency on the part of subordinates at that city and elsewhere, more reckless than had ever been before known, and in amount far greater under Jackson's Administration alone than under all the others before him. Such is the emphatic evidence. The four years' term law of 1820, for which the only apology was the pretended need of bringing inferior officers to a more frequent and strict account before the people, *was followed by two hundred and ninety-seven defaulting collectors, receivers, etc., reported by the Secretary of the Treasury to the House on March 30th, 1838*,—a number greater, it is believed, than all such defaults since the Government was established! But it had not required that demonstration to alarm the thoughtful minds of the country.

As a consequence, the attempt made in the Senate in 1825 to repeal the provisions of the law of 1820 was renewed in that body in 1835. Despite the weight of Jackson's Administration against

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it, the repealing act passed the Senate in 1835 by a vote of thirty-one to sixteen, every distinguished name in the Senate—Benton, Webster, Clay, Calhoun, Ewing, Southard and White,—among them, except Buchanan of Pennsylvania and Wright of New York, —those States then, as now, being pre-eminently the "machine," "spoils system" States,—who voted against it. The Senate had not at that time come very much under the vicious influence of patronage or the feudal code called "the courtesy," which have in later years been so disastrously potential in that body. There had been no postmasters to confirm before 1836, and few other officers. The Senate had not, by a tenure of office act, substantially usurped the executive power of removal.

A few extracts from the great debate of 1835 upon the repealing bill deserve a place here. The spirit which secretly dictated the Act of 1820 spoke out plainly against its repeal. Shepley of Maine made this avowal: "I will say plainly that I hold to rotation in office. I would not necessarily require any positive fault in an officeholder in order to remove him from office. . . . . When officers hold under this Government during good behavior, then one of its great features of holding out equal privileges to all will have been destroyed." Here are partisan proscriptions and removals without cause as shamelessly defended as they were ever avowed by Marcy or practiced by Barnard or Tweed.

Hill of New Hampshire, a servile lieutenant of Jackson, declared that a "salutary system of rotation in office should be adopted throughout." Wright of New York, like Marcy, true to the "spoils system" of his State, declared that the law of 1820 "was calculated to secure the cardinal republican principle of rotation in office, . . . so that those who had a reasonable share of office 'might give place to others.'" What more could a Republican chieftain of the present day, or a Tammany Hall "boss," desire? Perhaps he was not in favor of a four years' tenure for United States Senators and Judges, plainly as his doctrine required it; but, only eleven years later, that theory put in practice, as we have seen, reduced the good behavior tenure of New York Judges to eight years, and made Barnard, Cardoza, McCunn, with judicial scandals without number, possible. Mr. Webster declared that the evil effects of the Act of 1820 had vastly predominated; that "a very

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great change has taken place *within a few years* in the practice of the executive government. I am for staying the further contagion of this plague. Men in office have begun to think themselves mere agents and servants of the appointing power."

Mr. White, a supporter of Jackson's Administration, wished it should have the credit of the repeal of that act. He prophetically declared that "under the present state of things society will become demoralized, . . . the business of office-seeking will become a science, . . . office-hunters will come on with one pocket full of bad characters, with which to turn out incumbents, and the other full of good characters, with which to provide for constituents." Mr. Clay said "the tendency had been to revive the Dark Ages of feudalism and to render office a feudatory."

Mr. Calhoun declared that officers and people are being taught "that the most certain road to honor and fortune is servility and flattery. . . . . I have marked its progress in a thousand instances *within the last few years.* . . . . *What a few years since would have shocked and aroused the whole community, is now scarcely perceived or felt;* . . . . and . . . . when it is openly avowed that the public offices are the spoils of the victors, it scarcely produces a sensation." Mr. Southard declared that the execution of the law of 1820 "had tended to make officeholders servile suppliants, destitute of independence of character and of manly feeling."

The partisan power which the four years' term system had thus suddenly and vastly increased, aided by the prestige of Jackson's Administration and the forces marshalled for Van Buren's election to the Presidency the next year, sufficed to prevent the repealing act passing the House. The narrow partisans of the Senate carried the day against its great statesmen. The victory of the spoilsmen increased the pressure and strength in favor of extending short terms, which the partisan leaders demanded.

They next laid siege to the Post-Office Department. The postal administration, which, when Washington became President, required only seventy-five postmasters, at the opening of Jackson's first term required about eight thousand. Practically, the tenure of postmasters had been during good behavior and efficiency, and there was no term fixed by law. The management of the postal service had been upon business principles, the Postmaster-General

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appointing and removing postmasters. There was no good reason for a radical change in that regard.

Upon such principles, Mr. McLean, as Postmaster-General under John Quincy Adams, had, with great satisfaction to the people, managed our postal affairs. He was not willing to enforce the new "spoils system" in his office; and for that reason Jackson hastened to remove him to the Supreme Court bench, and to put a more compliant and most inefficient officer in his place.

It was very natural that the attempt should be made to extend the victorious four years' term theory to the Post-Office. Every partisan manipulator wishing more offices to give as bribes, every influential politician desiring to be a postmaster, and every Congressmen seeking patronage, had an interest in favoring it. It would strengthen the theory in the Senate if a bill for enforcing it should contain provisions for increasing the patronage of Senators by requiring postmasters to be confirmed by that body. Accordingly, in 1836,—the year of Van Buren's election as President,—a bill was passed requiring that all postmasters whose compensation was one thousand dollars a year or upwards should be appointed by the President and confirmed by the Senate, and that their term of office should be but four years. They were made removable "at the pleasure of the President."

It is not easy to decide who was most pleased with such a law —the partisan managers, whose spoils it greatly increased, the Senators, whose patronage it more than doubled, or President Jackson, to whose despotism it added many vassals. But what each gained was the common loss of the people; nor was there hardly a pretence that any public interest—unless a perpetual rotation of postmasters and a more universal proscription are in the public interest,—would be served by this postal service revolution.

Postmasters whose income was less than one thousand dollars were left to be appointed and removed by the Postmaster-General, and their original Constitutional tenure was left unchanged, no four years' or other term applying to it.

Thus were a great number of purely business offices deliberately brought within the range of political forces—subjected to Senatorial confirmation, given a term which both suggested and facilitated their being made incentives and rewards of selfish activity, and a part of the spoils of partisan victory in every Presidential

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election. Nor was this all. New grounds of difference between the Senate and the President were thus created, and great strength was added to the growing power of patronage in that body, which in later years has enabled it to usurp and exercise a controlling and dangerous influence over the appointment and removal of all the principal officers of the Government. Here was the beginning of a great and lamentable change in the character and influence of this body.

No further legislation beyond these two Acts of 1820 and 1836 was necessary to make complete and disastrous a great revolution in the politics and official life of the country. But various other administrative officers have since been given a term of four years and it is worthy of notice that Congress, disregarding the great distinction between legislative and ministerial functions, *has never given an officer a longer fixed term than four years.* It looks almost as if it had been a settled purpose to force the occupant of every official place, by a fear of losing his office, to become a servile henchman and an intense partisan worker in every Presidential contest.

Greatly as the country was alarmed by the manifest degradation of political life which the new system was causing, the great contest concerning slavery—becoming absorbing at this time,—was fatal to any considerable effort for reform from 1835 to 1867, when Mr. Jencks brought the subject before Congress, prudently directing attention mainly to methods for entering the public service, rather than to term or tenure. It soon appeared that the first condition of reform was fuller information among the people in regard to administrative affairs.

For more than thirty years, the methods of administration, the debates and the political literature of the country had been misleading the people in the spirit of the "spoils system," and hardening them into acquiescing familiarity with its abuses. The new theory of short terms for the inferior executive officers had come by many to be regarded as an essential part of our original institutions. The new tenure of official favor and partisan servility had been accepted by not a few as peculiarly and essentially republican. The evils they had caused or greatly aggravated were generally regarded as the inevitable drawbacks against the blessings of our liberal institutions. A generation had grown up which accepted

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the doctrine of rotation in the executive offices as a rule of justice, if not an evidence of liberty. A great portion of the patriotic and honest voters of the country had been induced to think that parties could not prosper (if, indeed, they could live,) without a quadrennial opportunity of using the public offices as rewards and bribes, and the right, at all times, of forcing those who fill them to do the partisan work of politics. They were consenting that the Government should be plundered as an enemy by each party that captured it, to enable that party to be strong and beneficent for the benefit of the people.

These short terms rest on the false and pernicious theory that the most salutary admonition for good official conduct in an executive subordinate is not a sense of direct responsibility to his superior, and a right and duty on the part of that superior to remove for good cause, but the certainty of going out at once when his political opponents succeed, and of going out very soon, however faithfully he may serve the people, in order to make a place for the next rotationist in the order of political favor. Every time that an efficient and faithful officer left his place at the end of his term, or was sent away for political reasons, a sort of proclamation was made to the people that the well-doing of the public work was not what the Government most sought, but effective party workers and compliant tools of party managers.

We have only to contrast such theories—which tens of thousands of patriotic, candid voters were persuaded to accept, and which even yet threaten the cause of true reform,—with the sound conclusions of our greatest statesmen, in order to get a vivid sense of the demoralizing consequences of familiarity with false methods in politics.

"Let it once be fully understood that continuance in office depends solely upon the faithful and efficient discharge of duties, and that no man will be removed to make place for another, and the reform will be half accomplished,"* are words of the late President

* President Garfield's speech, Athens, Ohio, 1879. This language, as well as that which we shall subsequently quote, shows how unwarranted are the inferences which some persons attempt to deduce from the late President's inaugural address, to the effect that he favored the fixing of short terms of office. He there says nothing about fixing any term, but speaks only of "the tenure" and "the grounds upon which removals shall be made during terms," (which, as we have seen already, exist as to many offices,) and nothing can be plainer than that he held that removals should be for cause, and that the right of removal should be in the Executive, and not in

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which condemn the whole theory of these short-term statutes. No other facts can so plainly illustrate the degradation of our standard for official life since Jackson's election, as the single fact that candid men should doubt whether character, rather than influence, should gain a ministerial office, or whether faithful and efficient service, rather than partisan work, should measure its tenure.

It should be noticed that those four years' term provisions did not extend to the clerks and other inferior officers in the great departments at Washington, or to the subordinates of postmasters, of collectors, or of naval and other officers named in the statutes. Nor did these quadrennial terms—applying only to postmasters whose compensation was one thousand dollars a year or more, and who alone were made confirmable by the Senate,—embrace more than about four hundred out of the eight thousand postmasters, or one-twentieth of the whole number. Nor have these humble postmasters, or any of those subordinates, or any of the subordinates of the internal revenue service, yet been subjected to a four years' term. Even Jacksonian politicians dared not make those terms more comprehensive; only some politicians of our day propose that.

The collectors nominate and the Secretary of the Treasury approves the selection of these customs service subordinates. The Secretary removes them. The postmasters, within the limits of the appropriations, both select and remove—or, in the language of the law, employ and dismiss,—their own subordinates without any overruling authority being provided by law.

But the moment the heads of these offices and the prominent postmasters were given the same four years' terms as the Postmaster-General and the Secretaries presiding over departments, (as to whom such terms rest, as we have seen, on very different and adequate reasons,) and the rotation "spoils system" was well established, the tenure and term of the subordinates and the small

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the Members of Congress. In the inaugural, he declares, in substance, that he wishes a more stable tenure "for the protection of those intrusted with the appointing power," and of "incumbents against intrigue and wrong," etc., through "pressure." What pressure he meant, he had defined in a speech in Congress in 1870, when he said: "We press for appointments; . . . we crowd the doors; Senators and Representatives fill the corridors and throng the offices, until the business is obstructed and unworthy besiegers get places." And see the quotations on subsequent pages on this point, which are decisive as to his view being as here stated.

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postmasters inevitably became as precarious if not as short as those of their superiors. If a four years' term and a tenure conditioned on both the servility of the officer and supremacy in his party were best for the collector and the postmaster, why were they not best for their clerks? If best for the postmaster whose compensation was one thousand dollars, why not best for him whose compensation was one hundred dollars, or only ten dollars? All over the country, from the post-office doorkeeper and the custom-house scrubbing-woman, to the Postmaster-General and the Secretary of the Treasury, that term and tenure, by the force of such logic and the pressure of party leaders for spoils, tended to become potential and universal.

When a statute of Congress could be cited to prove the wisdom of removing a great postmaster to serve the ends of party in States and cities, how could a Postmaster-General resist the demands of the town and village politicians that the little postmasters should be selected and dismissed to serve the ends of little factions and cliques? And how could postmasters refuse to employ and dismiss their clerks upon a theory any less regardless of the public interests? It was the inevitable result of such a system, that a servile partisan spirit, an intense, selfish political activity,—forever meddling with the freedom of elections, forever bartering places for votes,—and a consequent demoralizing neglect of the public business, were everywhere developed in the postal not less than in the customs service.

How fatal these frequent removals were to experience, to salutary ambition, and to all the conditions which would attract the most worthy to the public service, could be shown by the most varied and overwhelming evidence. I have space for illustrations from only a single office—that of the custom-house at New York.

A Democratic collector, in three years, between 1858 and 1861, removed three hundred and eighty-nine of the six hundred and ninety of his subordinates there; and a Republican collector, in three following years, removed five hundred and twenty-five out of seven hundred and two of these subordinates. At a later period, when the Democrats had lost power at Washington, the proscription was, if possible, even more shameless and disastrous on the part of Republican collectors in the interest of rival factions among themselves. Collector Smythe, for example, in three years, removed eight hundred

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and thirty out of nine hundred and three, and Collector Grinnell, in sixteen months, five hundred and ten out of eight hundred and ninety-two, being an official execution every day of his term, with thirty extras left for Sundays. The *aggregate result was that, in the fifteen hundred and sixty-five secular days preceding the appointment of Mr. Arthur as Collector in 1871, there were sixteen hundred and seventy-eight removals in the New York custom-house, or more than at the rate of one for every such day, for five years continuously!* Every removal, as a rule, involved a long, demoralizing struggle to retain the place, and servility and all the resources of partisan and personal influence and intrigue in behalf of those seeking to gain it. Who can estimate, or even imagine, the elements of feverish and pernicious activity which the hopes and fears of such changes among more than twelve houndred officials in a single office in a great city contributed to all the lower circles of its partisan politics? The feeling that any day might be his last in the public service, and that no merit would ensure retention or promotion, tended equally to repel the most worthy citizens from the public service, and to degrade the manhood, distract the thoughts and destroy the efficiency of those who entered it. Why should a man of any capacity or self-respect trust himself to the chances of an employment the conditions of which might at any moment condemn him to be the next victim of these daily executions, and in which, if he continued, he would be forced, at the bidding of party leaders, to do the dirtiest work of factions and to supply their chieftains, from his salary, with the money they might demand for their battles and their elections? It is not part of my purpose to show how lamentably the public service and the Government itself were degraded in public estimation; how much more expensive our customs administration has been than that of other countries; what numbers of partisan favorites were needlessly put upon the pay-rolls; how arbitrary assessments led to peculations and neglect which they were claimed to justify; or how many millions were lost by the smuggling, bribery, inexperience and incompetency attending the collection, through an ever-changing succession of inexperienced partisan officials, of more than four hundred and eighty thousand dollars of revenues each day at that single office,—which are indirectly traceable to the low capacity, low character and low standard of duty of which such terms and tenures—

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prevailing alike in the Federal and municipal services at New York, —were in great measure the cause. It is a disgraceful, admonishing history, with which the civilized world is but too familiar.

These causes were, without doubt, far more disastrous in that office and the New York post-office than elsewhere; but they were rapidly extending in all the large cities; and in almost every Federal office of the country they were in some degree injurious. Referring to such causes, the late President Garfield declared in Congress that under a judicious civil service the Government could be carried on at about one-half its usual cost; and in his last annual message, referring to the same system in city affairs, Governor Cornell of New York declared that one-third of the officials of New York could be "mustered out" with advantage to the public.

The same term and tenure which repel persons of capacity and self-respect, attract the incompetent and the shiftless, thus tending to make the public offices the asylums of partisan henchmen, personal dependants and bankrupt imbeciles. Let me not be thought to use too strong language. In an article in the *Atlantic Monthly* for July, 1877, the late President Garfield said of such a system: "It degrades the civil service itself; . . . . it repels from the service those high and manly qualities which are so necessary to a firm and efficient administration; it debauches the public mind by holding up public office as the mere reward of party zeal."

The illustration of the New York custom-house should be carried yet farther. It was not long after Mr. Arthur became Collector in 1871, before he was convinced that a more stable tenure was absolutely essential to the improvement of the customs administration. Under great difficulties, he firmly acted upon his sense of public duty, removing only one hundred and forty-four officials in the five years of his holding office, as against the sixteen hundred and seventy-eight removals in the previous five years. A less expensive and a much improved administration were the practical results. In a letter to Secretary Sherman, dated 23d November, 1877, Collector Arthur says: "Permanence in office, which, of course, prevents removal except for cause, and promotion based upon good conduct and efficiency, are essential elements of correct civil service." The same conviction finds utterance in his letter of acceptance as Vice-President, in which he says: "The tenure of office should be stable. Positions of responsibility should, so

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far as practicable, be filled by the promotion of worthy and efficient officers." His views and those of the late President appear to be identical on these points.

Yet more decisive results, both in the economy secured and in superior officials brought into the service, have attended the more complete enforcement of the civil service rules and competitive examinations at that office under President Hayes and his successors, since July, 1878. From that date, during a period of about two years, for which I have the exact figures, only forty-four removals were made, and every one of them for cause; of which one was for assaulting a woman, nine were for taking bribes or passing uninspected baggage, five for intoxication, six for abandoning charge or place of duty, six for incompetency, two by reason of disabling sickness, six for absence without leave, two for insubordination, and the rest for analogous causes. I give these causes for removal that the reader may appreciate how essential the right and duty of removals in the head of a department are to discipline and efficiency, how absurd it is to adopt short terms as a substitute for removals, and how impracticable it would be to bring up the discussion of such matters upon confirmations before the Senate. What could the Senate do with charges of such offences before it? Let the reader ask himself what would have been the effect, had there been a four years' term, with no such right of removal in the meantime in the case of such offenders? It should be added that since competitive examinations have been enforced there has been a waning pressure for unjustifiable removals, as no man could get into a vacancy unless by winning in open competition, and the most vigorous *pushers* are not usually the most formidable *competers* where real capacity is the test. The influence which resists a needful removal in the case of a culprit who was pushed in as the favorite of a party or as a vassal of a chieftain, is unknown in cases where the official without backers gets his place only by reason of his superior capacity as shown in the examinations.

The first results of the "merit system" thus disclosed have been substantially repeated at the New York custom-house, where competitive examinations, aided by a more stable tenure, have filled the service since the date last referred to, and have substantially brought to an end the series of scandals which for nearly two generations had disgraced that office.

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Other effects injurious to the administration and politics of the country, either caused or greatly aggravated by these four years' term statutes, have become too serious to be passed without notice. I refer especially to Congressional patronage and the usurpation of the executive power by the Senate in connection with confirmations, a subject which requires a whole article for its proper treatment. When short terms were in theory made a sort of substitute for the discharge of the executive duty of removals for cause, and removals and appointments were based on political influence, and were held justifiable means of party aggrandizement,—when, by the very language of an Act of Congress, not the welfare of the public, but "the pleasure of the President," and (by analogy,) of heads of departments as well, were made the rule of action,—what more natural than that Members of Congress should first promise places (in aid of their election,) and next demand them of the President and Secretaries as a condition of supporting their measures in Congress? That many members have stood above this form of bribery and coercion, and that the majority have but mildly participated in it, we may well believe; yet it has become an alarming evil, the peril of which no candid man will deny. A great proportion of all the appointments and removals in our public service have become a part of the perquisites and spoils of Congressmen, which have tended to the degradation of official manhood and to corruption and coercion at elections in manifold forms. A single appointment which a Congressman could control can be vaguely promised to and may influence a score of voters. How votes for appropriations have been influenced by the promise of appointments and removals, could easily be shown. It was an abuse which for more than a century disgraced the British civil service as much as it has disgraced our own; but there the enforcement of competitive examinations for admissions, reinforced by a tenure of merit, within the last twenty-five years, has almost wholly removed the evil. Our situation in this regard is now much what that of Great Britain was in 1855, when her vigorous reform began.

The evil, however, has been far the greatest in our service in connection with confirmations by the Senate. In the spirit of the Constitution and according to the usage of its framers, the Senate was only to consider the personal fitness of the nominee for the place. After those short-term laws facilitated a rotation of favorites

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and supreme regard for partisan consideration, confirmations began to depend upon State politics and Senatorial favoritism. Senators began very generally to be the partisan commanders and the patronage-dispensers of their States,—the feudal lords of State politics. The great test on confirmation became more and more the bearing of the proposed appointment upon the local politics in the place where the nominee was to serve, or upon the next Senatorial election; and, provided the candidate was fairly respectable, his administrative capacity for the vacant place was little regarded. In other words, the confirmations very generally disregarded the only motives which it was fit for the Senate to consider. As every Senator was similarly situated, and each could have his own ends served only by conceding the same autocracy to his fellow-Senators which he desired for himself, there was a common interest and opportunity for self-aggrandizement by usurping the executive powers of appointment and removal. The short-term, tenure-at-pleasure statutes of 1820 and 1836, by bringing many more officers into the Senate to be confirmed,—as many as four hundred postmasters when the last act went in effect,—equally contributed to strengthen the partisan spirit which gave them birth and to facilitate the Senatorial usurpation of which they are the bulwark. Reinforced by these statutes, Senators were enabled to say to each other (at least, by their conduct): "You control the appointments for your State, and I will control those for mine. Let us have a law of division and good manners,—to be called 'the courtesy of the Senate,'—for the enjoyment of this patronage, according to which Senators from each State shall take to themselves as perquisites the naming of all officials to serve therein, and also a fit share of those to be confirmed for service at Washington, it being further understood that each Senator's approval of his man shall be held to supersede the duty on the part of the other Senators to investigate the merits of that favorite." Such, in spirit, is the courtesy of the Senate. The rule, of course, is not executed universally or with exactness. Many Senators condemn it in theory as a selfish monopoly and a revolutionary usurpation; yet it generally prevails. It requires real courage and patriotism to stand up against such a courtesy. To do it, the Senator must surrender power dear to his pride and ambition, must offend fellow-Senators by rebuking a usage they enforce, and must curtail his own ability to give

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places which his followers demand at his hands. That this courtesy is utterly repugnant to the spirit of the Constitution, to the early practice under it, to the duty of the President to see that the laws are faithfully executed, and his ability to do so, to the independence of the Senators themselves for the fit discharge of their functions, to the counterpoise and strength of our institutions, and is in every way demoralizing and pernicious, are facts almost too plain to be reasoned about. Only an enlightened and indignant public opinion can overcome this abuse. It need not be questioned that the information of Senators as to the merits of persons seeking office from their States may in a proper way be with advantage brought to the attention of the President. There are Senators whose action in that regard is unselfish and patriotic. But it is almost impossible that partisan interests should not be potential. The pressure put upon Senators is almost overwhelming, and their power to resist it is all the more feeble because their whole interference with nominations and removals is known to be indefensible and without a sense of legal responsibility. They force the President from the line of his duty by demanding favors in disregard of their own, and yet hold him solely responsible for consequences. He pleads this interference as an excuse. Such facts make this courtesy and usurpation the most formidable obstacles in the way of establishing a proper tenure of office, and of every other effective method for reforming the civil service.

This Senatorial usurpation at first included only nominations; but it was soon extended to removals. If the President could not appoint for a State except with the approval of its Senators, of what avail was it to remove, and thus only impair his own ability to have the laws faithfully executed? The Senatorial control of confirmations was therefore readily converted into a control of removals.

This necessity forced the President to bargain or supplicate with Senators for permission to remove. But Senators demanded even more than that. Statutes known as tenure of office acts, passed over the veto of the Presfdent, were resorted to in order to reduce the power of removal to a direct dependence upon the confirmation of a successor; and, under the "courtesy," confirmation would, as a rule, depend upon the pleasure of the Senators from the State where the removal was sought to be made.

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The quarrel with President Johnson afforded a pretext for such tenure of office acts, which of course greatly increased the influence of the Senate. But the refusal of the Senate to recede from its usurpation, or repeal those acts, after all plausible excuse for them had ceased, ominously illustrates the profound selfishness and ambition in which that usurpation is entrenched.

As the law now stands, under the Tenure of Office Acts of 1867 and 1869, no officer nominated, subject to confirmation by the Senate,—of which there are about thirty-five hundred,—can be removed, except with the consent of the Senate. During the recess of the Senate, the President may suspend such an officer, and the suspension will be effective until the end of the next session, subject to an agreement between the President and the Senate in the meantime.

The deplorable significance of this condition of affairs cannot be mistaken. That great executive power of removal for good cause —the public, just, vigorous and uniform exercise of which is essential to all fidelity, to all economy, to all efficiency, and to every wholesome sense of responsibility, alike on the part of the superior officer who wields it and every inferior officer who is subject to it,— is apportioned and enfeebled. The greater part of it is handed over to a body acting secretly and through political majorities, the members of which neither have nor feel any direct responsibility for the working of the executive branch of the Government. The President, Constitutionally responsible for the faithful execution of the laws, can neither appoint nor remove any one of nearly thirty-five hundred of the higher officials through whom those laws are to be executed, without the consent of the majority—generally the political and perhaps the hostile majority,—of the Senate, if, indeed, he can make such removal or appointment without the consent of the Senators of the State where an official delinquent defies executive authority. Need it be declared that such a system humiliates the Executive,—that it weakens his sense of responsibility for good administration in the same degree that it impairs his ability to secure it,—that it emboldens his subordinates to defy him and the heads of departments, teaching such subordinates to seek the protection of Senators by becoming their vassals in the politics of their States? Need I enlarge upon the tendency of such a system to cause the wishes of Senators to be potential, and their

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favor to be courted in the great departments, custom-houses and post-offices, where their power should only be felt through independent criticism or stern investigation, to which their having favorites in office is almost sure to be fatal? Need it be pointed out that such a system tends to constant collisions or corrupt bargains between the Executive and the Senate? That system tells the people that partisan work and interests are the supreme standards for ministerial offices. It makes the Senate as much an executive as a legislative body, its action tending more and more to impair the counterpoise and stability of our institutions. Senators are more than ever before pressed by politicians of every class to make their action upon nominations and removals serviceable to the local interests of parties, factions and chieftains, whereby it has become equally unusual and difficult to make that action turn upon anything else. The struggles about the Collectorship at New York, the course of Mr. Conkling, and the late all-night contest about the removal of the postmaster at Lynchburg, Virginia, are but examples of this tendency.

The same causes which have powerfully tended to make Senators the partisan autocrats and patronage-purveyors of their States, have drawn upon them a vast demoralizing solicitation for office against which Senator Dawes has so strongly protested, to make their elections scenes of intense strife and lamentable corruption, to absorb the time needed for their public duties, to blind them in clouds of adulation, to make them unmindful of the higher sentiments of the people, and to cause the Senatorial office itself to sink in public estimation. In estimating the patronage and the control over State politics and elections gained by Senators through their power to appoint and remove collectors and postmasters, it must be borne in mind that Senatorial dictation may, and very generally does, extend to the selection and removal of the subordinates of those officers, so that Senators, as Mr. Clay in 1835 prophesied they would, have very generally become a sort of feudal chiefs in the political affairs of their States, whose authority now dominate alike Federal officials and State elections.

A few days after President Grant's first inauguration, when every plausible excuse for retaining the Tenure of Office Acts had ceased, the House, which has no share in confirmations, declared itself for the repeal of those tenure of office acts by a vote of one

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hundred and thirty-eight against sixteen. In the message of December, 1869, President Grant declared "those laws inconsistent with a faithful and efficient administration of the Government." A few days after that message, the House again voted their repeal by a majority of more than six to one; and in 1872, without a division, the House a third time voted their repeal. The Senate was persistent for its courtesy and its usurped power, and the majority of its members uphold them still, relentlessly exercising the authority they confer. In this policy, Mr. Conkling was a leader, and fell under its rebuke by his own State.

In strong and earnest language, President Hayes repeatedly urged the need of the President being allowed his legitimate authority, and of Members of Congress confining themselves to their proper functions.

In a speech delivered in Congress in 1872, the late President Garfield declared that "for many years the Presidents had been crying out in their agony to be relieved from the unconstitutional pressure from the legislative department; that we have reached a point where it is absolutely necessary that Congress shall abdicate its usurped and pretended right to dictate appointments to the Chief Executive." In an article in the *Atlantic Monthly* for July, 1877, he further declared that the Tenure of Office Acts "have virtually resulted in the usurpation by the Senate of a large share of the appointing power. The President can remove no officer without the consent of the Senate, and *such consent is not often given unless the appointment of the successor . . . is agreeable to the Senator in whose State the appointee resides, . . . which has resulted in seriously crippling the power of the Executive, and has placed in the hands of Senators and Representatives a power most corrupting and dangerous.*" He says that "one-third the working-hours of Senators and Representatives is hardly sufficient to meet the demands made upon them in reference to appointments for office." "It will be a proud day," he adds, "when a Senator or Representative . . . has it not in his power to secure the removal of the humblest clerk in the civil service of his Government." Pages might be filled with condemnation by the more independent Senators of this usurped power of dictating in executive affairs. In the November number of the *North American Review* of last year, Senator Hoar tells us that, when such authority is

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transferred from the Executive to the Senate, it is "taken from an officer responsible and impeachable, and transferred to a numerous assembly acting on such questions in secret without individual responsibility," and that "in this way the executive may be subjected to another branch of the Government." Of this increased Congressional patronage, Senator Dawes has lately declared that "it subordinates the duties of the legislator to the distribution of favors, the liquidation of debts, and the making of provision for the thriftless;" and Senator Pendleton, that "it draws Senators and Representatives into neglect of the chief duty of legislation, and too often into making the support of an Administration conditional upon obtaining offices for their friends."

Such is the situation in large measure caused, and in every particular aggravated, by short, fixed terms and a precarious partisan tenure. Surely, it is not too much to hope that the day is not distant when Senators will concede to the President that Constitutional authority essential to the fit discharge of his functions, and will cease to give to usurped interference with the executive duties of nominations and removals the time and thought so much needed in the sphere of legislation. When we see such momentous subjects as the proper count of the Presidential vote, and the conditions upon which a Vice-President may take up the work of a disabled President, held in ominous suspense,—while contests about a single postmaster are absorbing the Senate and drawing its members into angry debate concerning the politics of a State,—it is well to remember that the four hundred postmasters which the law of 1836 first brought into that body for confirmation are now increased to eighteen hundred and forty, and are growing more numerous every year. The period is not remote when the whole time of the Senate will not be sufficient for confirming postmasters alone—as they are now confirmed. When we consider the small proportion of the inferior officers to which four years' terms have yet been extended, we can better estimate the consequences of acting upon Jackson's advice by making such terms universal. The whole number of such officials now subject to the four years' term is, I repeat, only about thirty-five hundred, of which about thirty-five are in the Treasury Department at Washington, more than one hundred are collectors, and eighteen hundred and forty are postmasters, to which naval officers, surveyors, and the other officers with the most diverse duties, must be added.

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The proposal, therefore, to make that term general is nothing less than this: that each one of the more than seventy-five thousand other inferior officers shall either go out at the end of four years, or keep in through contests of influence and favoritism. Does any candid man believe our institutions could stand such a strain?

It is quite true that the example of a four years' term and a tenure by favor on the part of the thirty-five hundred of the most prominent of such officers, aided by the laws which proclaim the virtues of quadrennial rotation, have caused a great portion of those in the grades below them to be frequently changed. Yet it is a significant fact standing in strong condemnation of a four years' term, that, despite such examples, the average periods of service in the lower offices—of late, at least,—*have been two or three times four years*, and have been the longest where administration has been best and politics least partisan and corrupt.

The average time of service of the more than forty thousand postmasters whose term is not fixed by law has probably been about ten years,—at least, if we exclude post-offices established within that period; and that of the subordinates in the New York City post-office—where Mr. James and his successor have enforced the civil service rules and competitive examinations with such admirable results,—is unquestionably still longer, there being among them one who has served since 1825, about a hundred who have been there twenty years, and forty-eight who have been there twenty-five years. It is believed that the average period of service of the inferior officers of the Treasury Department (and certainly of the State Department,) at Washington is yet longer. There is good reason for believing that the term of service of collectors, and of the postmasters at the larger offices, who are confirmed by the Senate for four years, has been considerably shorter than that of their subordinates or of the minor postmasters. There have, for example, been three collectors at New York during a period of about ten years, in which less than two hundred out of about thirteen hundred subordinates in that office have been changed. And the removal of the late Collector Merritt in the middle of his term of four years without any cause connected with the discharge of his duties, stands as a conspicuous warning that a four years' term is, to say the least, not a check upon removals.

Consider the direct consequence of a four years' term for the subordinates of the Treasury Department. There are serving

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in that department at Washington more than three thousand officials—say, two thousand and fifty males and one thousand and sixty females, without any fixed term. A four years' term would require over seven hundred changes there each year, or successful contests for a re-appointment,—more than at the rate of two every secular day,—changes as frequent as the most barbarous partisan proscription has ever accomplished at the New York custom-house. Could a Secretary of the Treasury do more than arrange with contesting politicians, Congressmen and factions for these daily appointments?

We have seen that in the seven years during which reforms were carried over their first stages by Collector Arthur, and under his successors, through competitive examinations, worked a revolution at the New York custom-house, there were only one hundred and eighty-eight removals from a force of over twelve hundred and fifty subordinates; but a four years' term would *either have taken from the office every person in it, and three-fourths of* the most experienced of their successors, or have involved successful contests for over two thousand re-appointments in order to retain the experienced officials. A new appointment there every day would be quite inadequate under such terms. Very likely, there are persons in that office who might with advantage be removed; but the difficulty is not in removing those who, without backers, came in through competitive examinations, but in removing those whom great politicians and factions pushed into the service, and who are at hand to push, bully and punish if the attempt be made to remove them.

If all postmasters were given a term of four years, instead of there being, as now, but four hundred and sixty, of the eighteen hundred and forty subject to a four years' term, who are required to go out each year, or to successfully fight the battle of re-appointment, there would be over ten thousand and five hundred of such cases each year, or about thirty every day, to be dealt with, to which must be added one-fourth of all the subordinates in all the post-offices in the United States and all cases of resignation and removal. If it be conceivable that an intelligent people can ever enter upon such changes, it is plain that there must be an additional Postmaster-General, with no other duty than working a vast machinery of rotation and fighting the politicians.

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Consider the effect of a four years' term upon the post-office at New York. It would require between four and five times as many changes each year as have been annually made in the period during which its administration has been so wonderfully improved. Two new selections or re-appointments every three days would not fill the places which such a term would vacate. Nearly the whole time of a postmaster would be required to attend to them. Besides the pressure for re-appointments, there would be various new contestants for the vacancy. Trained experience would, of course, be diminished in the ratio that changes would be increased. The brevity of the term would repel the most worthy from seeking to enter, and would be fatal to that ambition and zeal which are inspired by hopes of promotion when tenure is based on merit. It has been such a tenure and such hopes, aided by the superior persons secured by competitive examinations, which have enabled Mr. James and his successor, Mr. Pearson, to give that great office its pre-eminence for efficiency and economy.

It is enough to suggest that disturbing elements and disastrous changes of the same kind would be the consequence of a four years' term in all the departments, at every custom-house, and at each of the thousands of post-offices, which would add a vast aggregate to the demoralizing forces of our politics. The great ocean of politics would be more stormy than ever before.

But it should be clearly comprehended that the increased changes there we have estimated would not be merely a substitute for those which take place at present, or under a tenure of good behavior, but *an addition to them.* The right of removal for cause, and the duty of exercising it, are essential alike to the purity, to the efficiency and to the discipline of the public service; and they are not less so when terms are short and tenure precarious, than when fidelity and efficiency are encouraged by the hope of being retained if the most worthy. Under whatever term or tenure, there must be a right and duty of removal for at least these causes: (1) Conviction of an offence involving infamy or corruption; (2) dishonest or infamous conduct admitted or made clear; (3) mental or physical incapacity for official work; (4) habitual inefficiency; (5) wilful neglect of duty; (6) intentional disregard of lawful instructions or regulations; (7) intemperance.

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The need of removals for such causes shows that neither a life tenure nor a tenure for good behavior can be accepted; at least, unless the meaning of good behavior shall be so extended as to include all the other causes above mentioned. The Government must deal with its officials upon fair business principles, leaving pensions and other benevolent aids to be bestowed upon clearly defined principles of their own. The same reasons of economy and self-protection which do not allow its affairs to be entrusted to boys and girls, must forbid their being left to the care of dotards or imbeciles.

It is too plain for argument that the official who has little hope of holding his place beyond a short term, or whose tenure may any day be severed by the defeat of a party, or the caprice of a great politician or Congressman, is held to duty and moved to effort by reasons vastly weaker than those which shape the life of him who feels that good conduct and efficiency are the security of his place. Suppose the terms were reduced to a year or to a month, and that, at their end, rotation was made inexorable; will any candid man assert that there would be more capacity, honesty and efficiency, or a more salutary ambition, in the public service? or would it fall, more than ever before, into the hands of the shiftless, reckless and incompetent, who, without hope or aspiration, would make it a mere refuge from the necessities of the hour? Nor would such a vagabond service be less in need of removals as a means of enforcing discipline and efficiency, for both would diminish in the proportion that terms were made short.

Clearly, then, removals for cause must be not less but more frequent and imperative under short terms of office, and they must be in addition to all the changes caused by the expirations of such terms.

Who does not plainly see that each of the forty-four removals for cause, in the New York custom-house, for example,—the grounds of which we have stated,—would have been quite as necessary, had the term been four years, as when no term was fixed? Let us, then, clearly perceive that the proposal to give a four years' term to the nearly eighty thousand executive officials now holding their places subject to no term, *is not only to make about twenty thousand vacancies each year inevitable, but it is to add that number to all those which may arise from resignations and from removals for any legitimate cause.*

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But these considerations come far short of suggesting the multiplied changes and instability which a universal term of four years would cause. That term was provided by law in 1820 and 1836, as we have seen, for a few of the higher offices, on the theory that a longer holding of executive places was a monopoly, and that a quadrennial rotation was republican justice. The demand that the same term be now extended to the near eighty thousand inferior places is mainly in the spirit of the original movement, the exception being on the part of a few sincere and patriotic citizens who imagine that the "spoils system" recommendation of Jackson's first message to that effect may be metamorphosed into an agency of reform!

DORMAN B. EATON.

(*To be continued.*)

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ECCLESIASTICISM VERSUS TRUTH.*

IT is well at the start to define terms. *Truth* means what is true, as distinguished from what is false,—what has a basis of proven fact, as opposed to what rests upon another basis.

Mathematical truth involves an opposite of absurdity. The opposite of moral truth is not necessarily absurd.

It is mathematically certain—*i. e.*, true,—that the sum of the three angles of any rectilinear triangle is equal to two right angles.

It is morally certain—*i. e.*, true,—that Cicero was the author of the four orations against Catiline which are ascribed to him.

The proof of the first depends upon unerring deductions from fact.

The proof of the second depends upon both internal evidence of fact and the weight of external testimony as to fact. If the external testimony could not be traced farther back than to a period four hundred years (say,) after the time at which Cicero lived and was alleged to have composed the orations, and if, furthermore, the orations were full of words and idioms which the Latin language knew nothing of (at least, of which, in an unbroken succession of Latin authors, there was no trace,) till three hundred and fifty years after the alleged date of the orations, it would not be hard for any intelligent and fair-minded person to answer the question: "Is it *true* that Cicero produced those orations?" The answer could only be: "It is certain that Cicero did not produce them. It is *not true* that he did." It is just as it would be if a tradition traceable no farther back than the year 1800 were to assert that Chaucer wrote "Gulliver's Travels." Every sane man conversant with the evidence would say, in spite of the tradition, and from the internal evidence afforded by the book itself: "It is *not true* that Chaucer wrote Gulliver's Travels."

So much for the kind of *truth* referred to in the heading of this article.

Ecclesiasticism is defined by Worcester: "Adherence to the principles of the Church."

A vital question in this connection is: "Are the alleged 'prin-

* "The Old Testament in the Jewish Church. Twelve Lectures on Biblical Criticism." By W. Robertson Smith, M. A. New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1881.

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ciples of the Church' always in harmony with the truth of fact?" or, to put the question in another way: "Is it well to maintain the claims of ecclesiasticism at the expense of the claims of truth?" The latter question involves the possibility of a negative answer to the former.

There are, it is to be noted, different kinds of ecclesiasticism, or "adherence to the principles of the Church." An example of one kind of such adherence is that furnished by the Vicar of Bray. Whatever "Church" happened to be in the ascendant, to the "principles" of that Church he "adhered," being, according to Fuller, in the reigns of Henry VIII. and Edward VI. "Protestant; in Mary's reign he turned Papist, and in the next reign recanted, being resolved, whoever was king, to die Vicar of Bray." Another shining example of such "ecclesiasticism," according to Disraeli, in his "Curiosities of Literature," was Dr. Kitchen, who, "from an idle abbot under Henry VIII., was made a busy bishop; Protestant under Edward, he returned to his old master under Mary; and at last took the oath of supremacy under Elizabeth, and finished as a Parliament Protestant." Here was ecclesiasticism—"an adherence to the principles of the Church,"—through thick and thin, with a vengeance. The dominant Church was his Church for the time being; as its "principles" varied, so did his "adherence," with very little regard to what was *true*. But his *ecclesiasticism* was perfect.

A tenacity of adhesion to Church principles has been shown in other ways, however.

And here it may be well to say that for practical purposes our definition of "Church" is "an organization for the purpose of maintaining and perpetuating religion." Men may dispute as to which is "*the* Church," in times present or past. Our definition will be applicable to any and all claimants for the title; and, furthermore, it will be seen that certain features of ecclesiasticism, or "adherence to the principles of the Church," have been common to "Churches" widely differing in their fundamental principles in other respects. A brief reference to different historical epochs will illustrate what is meant.

Many years ago, in a very celebrated seaport city, there was a religious organization of much celebrity. Its "church-building," or "temple," as people called it in those days, was a marvel of ar-

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chitecture. A multitude of devoted worshippers crowded its sacred precincts, and the fame of its sanctity had spread far and wide. Rich presents were offered at its shrine, and pilgrims came from far and near to do reverence to an image of its guardian deity which an undoubted tradition attested had fallen from heaven as a signal mark of divine favor,—a tradition so undoubted, and in the minds of the worshippers so indubitable, that a mere appeal to the alleged fact carried instant conviction to their minds and quieted a tendency to tumult when a doubt had been suggested. It so happened, however, that the city was visited by a traveller who had made quite a study of religious philosophy, had looked into many of the religious cults of the day, had brought the resources of a logical mind to bear upon their consideration, and who, for reasons satisfactory to himself, had come to the conclusion "that they be no gods which are made with hands." Upon his arrival in the city, he had conferred with a number of its inhabitants and visitors, and had convinced them of the truth of his conclusions on the subject. The fact gained considerable notoriety; so much so that the upholders of the "Church principles" of the place, such as they were, had a somewhat tumultuous town-meeting to testify their "adherence". to them, scouting the idea that their traditions could be at fault, and silenced all *argument* on the subject by simply shouting in concert, for about two hours: "Great is Diana of the Ephesians!" after which, having vindicated the orthodoxy of their ecclesiasticism, they dispersed.

It so happened that, not very long after this, the same traveller, who was a public-spirited man, and who, when he came to a place in the course of his wayfaring, endeavored by argument to impress his views of truth upon those with whom he was brought into contact, found himself in another city of celebrity, where a totally different ecclesiasticism prevailed. In fact, the population, or a great part of it, held views to a considerable extent coincident with his own, and especially on the very point which had caused so much trouble in the case above alluded to, viz., that "they be no gods which are made by men's hands." At a large public meeting, he was detailing some of his experiences, and was listened to until he ventured the remark that he had a mission to proclaim the truth, as he understood it, to people who were not of the same race as those to whom he was speaking. Instantly, their

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"Church principles" were outraged. This last assertion was too bad. "They gave him audience unto this word, and then lifted up their voices, and said: 'Away with such a fellow from the earth; for it is not fit that he should live!'" The account goes on to say that they further testified their "adherence to Church principles" (as they understood them,) by casting off their clothes, and literally "raising a dust" about it,—a perfectly rational and logical way, of course, of establishing the fact that they were right and he was wrong; and not only logical, but in one sense *convincing*, for, under the circumstances, he had nothing more to say.

Years—many years,—rolled by. The traveller had not been idle. In spite of these and still more serious checks,—the last one being, according to a widely believed story, that his head was cut off by way of convincing him of his errors,—his views as to what was true had gained a remarkable currency. In fact, not only by multitudes in the Levant, where most of his life had been passed, but by all the nations of Europe, had his views of religious matters become accepted as true. The ecclesiasticism of Europe appealed to him in large measure for its authority, and not unnaturally, since what he had done and said and written was the chief instrument in establishing it there, at any rate. One might naturally suppose that this ecclesiasticism, emanating, or claiming to, in such large measure from him, would have absorbed his methods and his spirit,—a resting upon argument for conviction, and a devotion to truth clearly shown to *be truth*, in spite of all obstacles raised by tradition, and without the slightest thought of self-seeking or the bolstering up of pet theories when a clearer light showed those theories to be untenable. And yet, what happened?

A natural philosopher, who himself was a devoted adherent of the dominant ecclesiasticism, in the course of his study of the physical universe came to the conclusion—which he was prepared to prove by mathematical demonstration,—that a certain long-maintained view of material phenomena was erroneous; in short, that, instead of the sun's revolving about the earth, it was true, as Copernicus had taught, that the earth revolved about the sun. He simply stated a physical fact, and could *prove* it to be a fact; and it would seem like an innocent statement. And yet the ecclesiasticism of the day flew to arms, and the teacher of an ascertained fact of the physical universe was, as such, persecuted as a heretic

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and condemned to silence. He offered to prove, not that the "adherence to the principles of the Church" was not opposed to the truth he maintained, but that the truth he maintained was entirely in accordance with the sacred writings upon which "the principles of the Church" claimed to rest. It was of no use. If what he taught was fact, so much the worse for the fact; and only an unworthy recantation of what ecclesiasticism denounced as error saved him from undergoing his sentence of being imprisoned during the Inquisition's pleasure, and of reciting once a week for three years the seven penitential psalms!

Now, in the first case cited, it may be said that the ecclesiasti cists were pagans, and therefore better things could not be expected of them. And yet one of the greatest pagan orators had laid down to an audience of like pagans the maxim (deemed so important that in a *judicial* contest it was incorporated into both the law and also the oath of those who were to decide the question,) "to hear both sides equally." And, furthermore, the disturbance came from a *mob.*

In the second case cited, the mob element was also conspicuous.

In the third case, there was no mob. The decision was given by the highest tribunal of the organization; and it was in this case that the strongest evidence of what is popularly accepted as "ecclesiasticism" was furnished,—at least, in the particular *phase* of ecclesiasticism under notice, viz., an "adherence to the principles of the Church," as resting on *tradition*, and in spite of the truth of fact,—a course (with reference to the particular subject of dispute at the time,) long since abandoned as untenable by even the authority which then enforced it.

But the point is this, that the phase of ecclesiasticism thus presented is not confined to any one time or to any one organization. Pagan, Hebrew and Christian religionists have agreed in *this* with entire unanimity,—sometimes with mob violence, sometimes with all the dignity of procedure which has clothed itself in judicial forms; and the subject bursts through the narrow limits of any particular Church or sect, and involves the question: "Which ought to be of supreme authority,—the claims of tradition or the claims of truth, when the two are clearly found to be incompatible? Submission to which of these claims is to be deemed the more consistent with duty to God and duty to man?" It is a

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question of *morality*, the answer to which penetrates far more deeply than to any mere system of dogma propounded by any particular Church; for it involves them all, and it involves the claim they all make upon mankind.

Time was when the discussion of such questions was confined to strictly ecclesiastical literature. Now, however,—at least, among the English-speaking peoples,—they excite widespread secular interest, not simply as involving questions of this, that or the other Church jurisdiction, but far more as involving the progress of the human mind. Among these peoples, the discussion of such matters is part and parcel of daily literature and daily life. Each new case which has some distinctive feature of its own begets a general interest beyond the narrow circle in which it was first presented; one of the strongest evidences of which is the wide-spread eagerness (shown by the enormous number of copies sold on the very day of its publication,) with which the revised translation of the New Testament was received, and with which the revision of the Old is expected. It was an eagerness in part, no doubt, of mere literary curiosity, but far more of interest in finding how one or another question of dogma might be affected by it.

One of the latest cases which has excited not only ecclesiastical but also secular attention, is that of Professor W. Robertson Smith, of the Free Church of Scotland, who occupied the Chair of Hebrew in the Church College at Aberdeen. Let us see how far the principles of a certain kind of ecclesiasticism *versus* truth were manifested in this case. In the first place, remembering the definition of "ecclesiasticism" as "an adherence to the principles of the Church," let us clearly understand what in this particular Church—the Free Church of Scotland,—are its "principles" with regard to one point, viz., "the canon of Scripture." To exhibit them, the following extract is made from statements made in a letter "to a minister of the Free Church of Scotland, by a layman," said layman being A. Taylor Innes, Esq., advocate, who knows whereof he affirms, being, in fact, at the present day, the highest living authority on the history and the ecclesiastical law of the Presbyterian Churches. The extract immediately following is made from "Letters from the Red Beech," Letter II.; the italics are ours:

"You know, as all ministers know, that the canon of Scripture

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is not received by us upon the authority of the Church, but by the judgment of the individual, from age to age, *upon the evidence presented to him.* This is a matter in which Protestants hold that they deal directly with God and His providence, and not with any Church assuming to stand in his room. . . . Questions of the canon are not ended once for all among us, as they are among Roman Catholics. Among them, the thing is settled by authority, for the authority of the Church is above Scripture. The Catholic Church settled, once on a time, (in the case of some writings on very strong, in the case of others on very slight, evidence,) what ancient writings were to be held as genuinely Apostolical; but, that once settled, its judgment is held infallible, and cannot be gone over again. To us, this assumption of the Church is hateful. Scripture is for us above the Church. We have first to find for ourselves, as individuals, what is Scripture, and what are the characteristics of its several parts, and then that enables us to make and work a Church. The Church has no authority in any matters of faith,—*least of all, in the fundamental question: 'What is that revelation of God which regulates faith and regulates the Church?'* "

Now, be it noted that the point is not whether this view of the Church, in its relation to Scripture, is or is not the *right* view, as compared with others. The point simply is that, according to the above quoted statement of one of its distinguished lay members, this is the view of the Free Church of Scotland, of which Professor W. Robertson Smith is a minister and was a college professor.

It came to pass that, in the exercise of the duties of his office, Professor Smith became convinced that certain traditional views regarding the authorship, the historical sequence, the text, the place in the canon as it is now edited, of some portions of the Old Testament Scriptures, are not in accordance with what a diligent and competent study of the original shows to be the fact; and the internal and some external evidences—the latter based on a careful historical basis,—of the truth of this conviction were claimed by him to be entirely conclusive; as much so (although the illustration is not his,) as would be such evidence in favor of the conviction that "Gulliver's Travels" were not written by Geoffrey Chaucer. This "judgment of the individual . . . . *upon the evidence presented to him*" might naturally be supposed to be in full accord with the "ecclesiasticism" of the Church in which the

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Professor was an "office-bearer," and to be welcomed by the Church as a valuable contribution to the popular knowledge of the exact *fact* about the Old Testament Scripture. Any one conversant with the "principles of the Church" of which he was a member would naturally suppose that he would be held in high honor for thus elucidating those principles. The result showed that never was a supposition more mistaken. Instead of honoring him, his Church dishonored him. Instead of rewarding, it punished him, and did so in a way which must needs give a new definition to "ecclesiasticism," and make it mean "an adherence to bigotry, rather than 'principle' of any kind,"—a meaning which, it is too often to be feared, is the one which most naturally, from frequent illustration of its fitness, attaches itself to the term.

The governing body for the time being of the Free Church of Scotland did not dare to proceed against him for heresy; for it was admitted he had not contravened the accepted standards of that Church. It did not dare to degrade him from his orders as a minister; for it had no case against him. It did not dare to deprive him of his *salary* as a professor; for that action, as well as a condemnation for heresy or a degradation from his orders, would have been successfully met by an appeal to the civil courts. It simply, and by an arbitrary exercise of power, inhibited him from teaching at its college, thus resorting to what Mr. Innes, foreshadowing the course likely to be taken before it was taken, stigmatizes ("The General Assembly and the Case of Professor Robertson Smith," page 11,) as "the extreme violation of right which would be involved in any proposal . . . to remove Professor Smith from his chair, except as a result of the ordinary judicial procedure." Mr. Innes goes on to say, with reference to such proposed action (which, eventually, was taken): "It is defended on the ground that the Assembly would then be able not to use 'the letter of the Confession,' as the Presbytery, or court of first instance, would be bound to do, but might proceed on some separate 'accepted belief' of the Church." And he proceeds: "Now, what does this mean? It means, in the first place, making a new law and a new standard of doctrine never before used. It means, secondly, making that law without the constitutional safe-guards of its deliberately passing through Presbyteries as well as Assembly. It means, thirdly, making a new law with retrospective action,—reaching back to a case which

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arose under the old law. It means, fourthly, making a law which is unwritten and unrecorded, and which differs in the breast of each man, in order to control the law recognized by all and recorded for all. It means, fifthly, and worse still, making a law *ad hoc*,—for this particular case and no other. It means—but it is needless to go on. It means taking every precaution against doing right, and making every provision for going wrong. It means doing evil, that evil may come, and violating the constitution of the Church in order to protect the regular administration of justice within it."

This is strong language, but not stronger than the infamy which was afterwards actually perpetrated richly deserves. It brings out the very bitterness of what must, in the light of recurring facts, be understood as *practical* "ecclesiasticism," *i. e.*, "an adherence," not to "the principles of the Church" but to some "accepted belief," or, in other words, to some blind, bigoted prejudice of a sufficient number of the governing body of a Church which is deaf to reason, blind to truth, and which, in default of the ability to disprove what is advanced as the truth of fact, resorts to wild yells of "Great is Diana of the Ephesians!" or, casting off the clothes and throwing dust into the air, screams: "Away with such a fellow from the earth; for it is not fit that he should live!" or, vailing its action under judicial forms, claps into its "*index expurgatorius*" what its unwillingness to receive truth makes it eager to smother.

"Smother?" Yes, in one sense; but not in any full sense. The voice of the Professor in his chair might be and was smothered, but not the voice of the man contending for truth as he saw it and believed it to be the truth of *fact*. Like a noted predecessor in the proclamation of such truth, albeit in no smothered voice, as his was, Professor Smith could and did say: "*E pur' si muove!*" His voice was hushed within the narrow limits of his lecture-room, only to be raised before large—very large,—audiences of the public; and the result of those lectures is the book which goes forth to the English-speaking world. The "adherents," *not* "to the principles" of the Church, but to a blind and bigoted *perversion* of them, gained an ostensible and transient victory; but it was like that at Asculum—one more such would be their destruction.

If we compare the views of Professor Robertson Smith, in these lectures on "The Old Testament in the Jewish Church," with the views of Heinrich Ewald, in his "History of Israel," we

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cannot help being struck with the fact that the great German went much farther in his critical difference from the traditionally accepted view of the Old Testament and the Jewish Church; for, besides that criticism which deals with the hard facts of the record and of contemporaneous history, Ewald would appear to have evolved some results out of his "inner consciousness." The variance between their methods of treatment is, among others, that Ewald writes with the large expansiveness of a freely thinking German theorist, as well as with the close exactness of a profound scholar, while Professor Smith maintains, so far as his *critical* utterances are concerned, the hard-headed caution of a Scotchman in putting forth only what to him is well-ascertained fact, as the result of profound scholarship. Ewald's work covers a far wider field. Smith's is rather a popular compendium, and is marked by a deep reverence and profound faith,—faith in "what is credible *as* credible," in contradistinction to faith in what is purely traditional.

In his preface to the lectures, as published, the Professor gives their *raison d'être*. He says: "The twelve lectures now laid before the public had their origin in a temporary victory of the opponents of progressive Biblical science in Scotland, which has withdrawn me during the past winter from the ordinary work of my chair in Aberdeen, and in the invitation of some six hundred prominent Free Churchmen in Edinburgh and Glasgow, who deemed it better that the Scottish public should have an opportunity of understanding the position of the newer criticism, than that they should condemn it unheard;"—which exordium contains three points, at least:

1. A quiet but sharp reflection upon the methods of his deprivation;
2. An evidence that he did not rush into print unasked, to show where he stood;
3. An obedience to the maxim: "Be ready always to give an answer to every man that asketh you a *reason* of the hope that is in you."

The method of his argument and the ground of his action are thus given in the preface: "Of course, it is not possible for any sound argument to adopt in every case the renderings of the English version. In its important passages, I have indicated the

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necessary corrections; but in general it is to be understood that, while I cite all texts by the English chapters and verses, I argue from the Hebrew." [Surely, in documents which are Hebrew, any other course would be mere fancy work]. "The appended notes are designed to illustrate the details of the argument, and to make the book more useful to students by supplying hints for further study. . . . My effort has been to give a lucid view of the critical argument, as it stands in my own mind, and to support it in every part from the text of Scripture or other original sources. It is of the first importance that the reader should realize that Biblical criticism is not the invention of modern scholars, but the legitimate interpretation of historical facts. I have tried, therefore, to keep the facts always in the foreground, and, where they are derived from ancient books not in everyone's hands, I have either given full citations or made careful reference to the original authorities." Compare this method and temper of mind with those of the "Great is Diana of the Ephesians!" sort. He continues: "The great value of historical criticism is that it makes the Old Testament more real to us. Christianity can never separate itself from its historical basis on the religion of Israel; the revelation of God in Christ cannot be divorced from the earlier revelation on which our Lord built. In all true religion, the new rests upon the old. No one, then, to whom Christianity is a reality can safely acquiesce in an unreal conception of the Old Testament history; and, in an age when all are interested in historical research, no apologetic can prevent thoughtful minds from drifting away from faith, if the historical story of the Old Covenant is condemned by the Church and left in the hands of unbelievers. . . . The increasing influence of critical views among earnest students of the Bible is not to be explained on the Manichæan theory that new views commend themselves to mankind in proportion as they ignore God. The living God is as present in the critical construction of history as in that to which tradition has wedded us. Criticism is a reality and a force, because it unfolds a living and consistent picture of the Old Dispensation; it is itself a living thing, which plants its foot upon realities, and, like Dante among the shades, proves its life by moving what it touches:

"'*Cosi non soglion fare i piè de' morti.*'"

The above copious extracts have been made from the preface,

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as presenting the most compact possible statement of the spirit, purpose and substance of the book, which will be found not to belie the promise of the preface.

The reader who has not already waded through the five volumes of Ewald's "History of Israel" will find much that is new, and everything full of interest and force, in these lectures of Professor Robertson Smith,—lectures which must be supposed to embody at least the substance of what he had taught from his chair in the college at Aberdeen, and for which he was deprived of his professorship.

If not already formed there will probably be created, and if already formed there will be strengthened, the conviction that any Church which in this day aims to guide *thinking* men and women in ecclesiastical paths, must appeal, not to *authority*, but to *truth*. The substance of the basis on which the creed of every Christian Church rests, is, *ex necessitate rei*, the substance of the articles of faith contained in the Apostle's Creed, which all Christians unite in believing. If the standards, the dogmas, the confessions, which any Church rears as a superstructure of ecclesiasticism upon that foundation be not in accord with demonstrated truth, they must be brought into accord with it. If the mountain will not come to them, they must go to the mountain. It is not by an appeal to traditions, or councils, or "accepted belief," but by "commending itself to every man's *conscience* in the sight of God," that any Church can claim for its man-made "standards" and "traditions" an "assent to what is credible *as credible*," and can draw to itself the honesty and the intellect of men in what Paul claims to be "the logical service" which they should render to God. Nowadays, thinking men ask for bread. Any Church whose "ecclesiasticism" foists a stone upon them will be the sufferer from the indigestion naturally ensuing, and just because it will stand in the way—or try to stand in the way,—of their rendering obedience to the maxim of the great traveller alluded to in the earlier part of the article, which gives the very soul of his "ecclesiasticism" in the words: "Finally, brethren, whatsoever things are *true*, whatsoever things are *honest*, whatsoever things are *just*, . . . if there be any virtue, and if there be any praise, think on *these* things."

The *pro hac vice* governing body of the Free Church of Scotland has given a lamentable exhibition of disregard of

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this maxim,—an exhibition of "ecclesiasticism," so called, in its worst, and, alas! now too generally getting the reputation of being its normal, aspect. Its anathemas, unless it heed the warning: "Remember, therefore, from whence thou art fallen, and repent, and do the first works," will be but a *brutum fulmen;* for he who gave this warning added another: "Or else I will come unto thee quickly, and will remove thy candlestick out of its place, unless thou repent." It has already placed itself in the attitude of *Giant Pope* and *Giant Pagan* in "Pilgrim's Progress," seated harmless in their caves, gnawing their fingers with rage, and cursing the pilgrims on their way to the Delectable Mountains, from whence they got a *true* if distant view of the Heavenly City. The final victory, here and in every case, will rest with those who serve the majestic mistress of whom it has been written: "As for the truth, it endureth, and is always strong; it liveth and conquereth for evermore. With her there is no accepting of persons or rewards; but she doeth the things that are just, and refraineth from all unjust and wicked things; and all men do well like of her works. Neither in her judgments is any unrighteousness; and she is the strength, kingdom, power, and majesty, of all ages. Blessed be the God of truth!"

JOHN ANDREWS HARRIS.

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POPOL VUH: THE BIBLE OF THE QUICHE REDSKINS OF GUATEMALA.

THE primitive people who, at some unknown time, built and adorned the great temples of Copan and Palenque, were the undoubted authors of the sacred national book whose title heads this paper. When, nearly forty years ago, the present writer read at Princeton, with wonder and delight, the marvellous account of these ruined temples and cities in Guatemala, then just published by our countryman, John L. Stephens, he little dreamed that he would ever be permitted to read the native Bible of that strange and mysterious land. But so it is. And a singularly interesting book it is, not only because of its production on American soil, but on account of its fresh cosmological, mythological and historical contents. It is safe to say that its discovery is quite as important to the student of human development in art, letters, and civilization, as the discovery of the Egyptian ritual of the underworld, known as the "Book of the Dead," or the more recent discovery of fragments of the great Babylonian epic of Izdubar, or Nimrod. Some account of this book may not be unacceptable to the readers of this magazine.

To begin at the beginning, then, it must be said that there is a striking correspondence between some things still left among the ruins of Copan and Palenque, and certain passages in the "*Popol Vuh*," which points to a common authorship. The hieroglyphics of the monuments correspond with the hieroglyphics of the Quiche manuscript in the museum at Dresden, a specimen of which is given by Baron von Humboldt in his American "Researches," but which he mistook for Mexican. Lord Kingsborough afterwards copied this manuscript in his grand work on Mexican antiquities. Carvers and architects are mentioned in the "*Popol Vuh*;" a rapid river is spoken of, doubtless the same as that which flows past the ruins of Copan, the great temple of which is on an eminence of the left bank, made of cut stone, an oblong structure in ranges of steps and pyramidal structures rising from thirty to one hundred and forty feet in height on the slope, and occupying a space of two thousand, eight hundred and sixty-six feet. The ruins extend more than two miles along the Copan River, chiefly monuments. The temple alone is all that remains of the city, as at Pæstum.

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The "dark mansion" and the "ash-pit" mentioned in the sacred book, where funereal and other sacrifices were made, are doubtless the court-yard near the river, at the end of a long passage, thirty feet wide and three hundred feet long, which court-yard Mr. Stephens conjectures to have been the most holy place of the temple. Not far from this is a pit five feet square and seventeen feet deep, cased with stone, opening into a chamber ten feet long, four feet high, and five feet eight inches wide. This vault contained niches and red earthenware dishes and pots, many of them full of human bones, packed in lime. This was doubtless some sacred sepulchre referred to in the national book, where it speaks of sacrifices in connection with the "ash-pit," and where the body of the elder brother Hun-hun-Ahpu was buried with that of his younger brother, after having his head cut off.

Perhaps the most striking correspondence between the sacred book and the monuments of Copan is that which relates to the four mystical personages in the preamble and elsewhere, and the four strange and grotesque figures carved on the sides of the great central altar of the temple, in a sitting posture, like Turks and tailors, engaged in animated conversation. Other correspondences might be mentioned; but these will suffice to illustrate the proposition with which this article opens.

The first detailed description of the ruins of Copan was that of Palacois, contained in his account of Guatemala, and sent to the King of Spain in 1576. It is found among the valuable papers and publications of Ternaux-Compans, from which the information is derived. Palacois arrived at Copan in 1574, and speaks of it in glowing terms. He saw the ruins of superb edifices which once formed some great town, on the banks of a beautiful river, in a wide plain, whose soil was extremely fertile and the climate mild and soft; fish and game were abundant. Among these ruins were trees which seemed to him the planting of human hands. There were thick walls, and an enormous eagle cut in stone, on whose breast was a square, a quarter *vara* each way, with unknown characters on every side. A great stone giant was found, which his old Indian guide said was the guardian of the sanctuary. Not far from this was a stone cross, three palms high, one arm of which was broken. Other ruined edifices came into view whose stones were beautifully cut and sculptured; and a statue more than four

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varas high was seen, resembling a bishop in his pontifical robes, with a mitre, beautifully wrought, and a ring on his finger. Near by was a great yard, surrounded by graded steps, like the Coliseum at Rome, in eighty stages, well paved and beautifully wrought. On the walls were six statues, three of which represented armed men in mosaic, with ribbons around their loins, and their arms studded with ornaments; the other three represented women with long robes and Roman head-dresses. The statue of the bishop holds in his hands a small packet resembling a square chest. It seems that these statues were idols, for before each one of them is a stone altar for sacrifice, with a groove for blood to flow through; and there are other altars, on which perfumes were burned. There is in the midst of the place a stone basin, which seemed to Palacois to have been used for baptism, or in which they offered sacrifices in common. Then he ascended the hill by a great number of steps, doubtless the place of ritual and mystic celebrations. It seems to have been constructed with very great care, for we found the stones beautifully cut. On one side, there is a tower or terrace, very high, overlooking the stream which flows at its base; a great escarpment is falling down, and ends at the entrance of two very long caves, straight and very well constructed. "I could not discover," he says, "for what purpose they were made." Steps descend here to the river; (possibly these were the caverns of the "dark mansion").

Palacois thus concludes his account: "Many other things were found which demonstrate that this country was probably inhabited by a numerous civilized people, who were quite advanced in the arts. I made all possible inquiries of the Indians to learn by whom these monuments were constructed, and all that I could ascertain was that these edifices were built by a powerful lord who had come from Yucatan, had remained some years, and then returned to his country, leaving it entirely a desert." It is very likely, for the tradition is that the inhabitants of Yucatan had formerly conquered the provinces of Aytel, Lacandon, Verapaz, Chiquimula and Copan. It appears, also, that the edifices here resemble those which the first Spaniards discovered in Yucatan, where there were similar bishops, armed men and crosses.

Mr. Stephens is even more enthusiastic and emphatic as to the high civilization of the people of Copan, going so far as to say that

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he saw nothing in Egypt to compare with the fine stone-work of the Copanese structures; and his inquiries about them of the present degraded natives received the dull and stupid response: "*Quien sabe?* [Who knows?]" "America," say historians, "was peopled by savages; but savages never reared these structures, never carved these stones," and, I may now add, never wrote the "*Popol Vuh,*" which was unknown in Mr. Stephens's day. The present race of natives have declined as far and as rapidly as the Fellaheen and Copts of Egypt from the high estate of their ancestry, or as the present race of Greeks has done from theirs. An alien though superior civilization and religion have been forced upon all the natives of Central America by the bloody baptism of the sword; but, as in Yucatan, so in Guatemala, many of them still cling to their ancient religious rites, which they practice in secret, strictly observing, however, the external forms, and especially the high festivals, of the Roman Catholic Church.

The first notice which we have of the "*Popol Vuh*" is probably that of Francis Nunez, Spanish Bishop of Chiapa, as detailed by Dr. Paul Felix Cabrera in his futile work on Votan, occasioned by Del Rio's discovery and description of the ruins of Palenque in 1787. In the "Diocesan Constitution" of Nunez, published at Rome in 1702, he says that a small volume fell into his hands, purporting to have been written by Votan, the third Gentile on the native calendar,—an historical work in the Indian language,—wherein is mentioned by name the people with whom and the places where Votan had been. Up to the present time, a family of Votans lived in Teopizca. Votan reports himself lord of the religious assemblies and festivals; that he saw the great house which was built by the order of his grandfather, Noe, reaching from the earth to the sky, supposed by some to have been the Tower of Babel; that he is the first man whom God sent hither to divide and portion out these Indian lands; and that, at the place where he saw the great house, a different language was given to each nation. Nunez, doubtless, had other native books in his possession, for he speaks of historical works whose contents he withholds on account of the mischievous use the Indians made of their histories in the superstition of *nagualism*, a sort of astrological totemism, practiced in all Central America and Mexico, and, in a ruder form, among all the wild Northern tribes of Indians, even to this day. Although

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in these tracts and papers Cabrera says there are many other things touching primitive paganism, they are not mentioned in the "Constitution" of Nunez, lest, by being exposed, they should be the means of confirming more strongly an idolatrous superstition. These precious documents were for a long time concealed by the special command of Votan; but Nunez prevailed upon their custodians to deliver them to him, and then destroyed them, as was the Spanish custom of that day.

But other native books fell into the hands of Ordonez, a native of Cíudad Réal, who composed a fanciful "History of Heaven and Earth," in which he traces the migration of the population of Central America from Chaldea immediately after the confusion of tongues, and gives an account of its mystical and moral theology, and the most important events, upon which work Ordonez spent more than thirty years. One special tract or memoir Ordonez had, which consisted of five or six volumes of common paper, in quarto, written in the ordinary characters of the Tzendal language an evident proof of its having been copied from the original hieroglyphics shortly after the Conquest, as it is in differently painted colors. "It would be of great importance," remarks Cabrera, "to have this memoir literally translated; for, although it is written in a laconic and figurative style, it would lead to a more ample interpretation and illustration of history, both human and divine; but one must be satisfied, for the present, with the little that has been accomplished, considering its difficulty, towards construing it, insufficient as it is, to clear up the historical obscurity which has hitherto tired the greatest talents of the world to no good purpose."

Whereupon, bold and confident, Cabrera proceeds forthwith to mend matters and clear up the obscurity by another survey of the dark and tangled forest of antiquity, in which he finds a colony of Hivites, expelled from Palestine by Joshua, as the first settlers and civilizers of Central America! Had Professor C. S. Rafinesque devoted his whole time and attention to linguistic study and hieroglyphic decipherment, we might ere this have had another Champollion to make it all plain, since his own letters to that illustrious Frenchman prove his capacity and genius for such successful work as the decipherment of the glyptic records upon the sacred monuments of Copan and Palenque. As it is, he has made out such

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words as ***uobac***, ***icbe***, ***tol***, ***tola***, ***popo***, and others. Until the full, complete and unmistakable decipherment is made of these strange characters in the manuscripts and on the monuments left by this mysterious people, we shall probably have another deluge of water-works and wish-wash upon the possible and impossible origin of the American aborigines, and their civilization, the latest spurt of which is Charency's French tract on the "Myth of Votan; a Study upon the Asiatic Origin of American Civilization," published at Alençon in 1871.

Meanwhile, let us leave this shaking bog of uncertainty, and make for the solid ground of well-ascertained fact for some basis of this brief investigation as to the American genuineness of the "*Popol Vuh.*" Las Casas, the steadfast friend and zealous apostle of these poor, persecuted and enslaved Indians, whose devotion to their welfare was exercised in the very province where the "*Popol Vuh*" was found, says this: That "a distinct class of chroniclers and historians there existed, whose duty and occupation it was to record the origins and all other things appertaining to religion, to the gods and their worship, as well as things appertaining to the founders of towns and cities. It was their business to trace out the origin of their kings and nobles, as well as that of their kingdoms; the modes of their election and succession; the number and quality of the princes who had passed away; their services, acts and memorable deeds, good and bad; whether they had ruled well or ill; what virtuous men or heroes had lived; what wars had been waged, and how they had been signalized; what had been the ancient customs, and who were the primitive populations; the changes, favorable or unfavorable, which had taken place; in short, all that belongs to history, in order that it might be a proof and a memorial of past events. These chroniclers computed days, months and years, or made calendars. Although their writing is not like ours, yet their figures and characters express their meaning better than our own, so ingenious and so clever are they; and in these figures and characters are all their great books composed. [This exactly describes the "*Popol Vuh,*" as religious and national.] I have seen a great part of the Christian doctrine, even, written in these native characters and figures, which they read in one letter as I read our own in many; ***and this translation was so made because the Indians could not read our writing.*** These

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chroniclers were sometimes the kings, princes and priests themselves."

"This citation leaves no doubt," remarks the Abbé Brasseur, "as to the author of the sacred book, who is supposed to have been a prince of the fallen royal family of Guatemala, inasmuch as the names of the royal dynasties inscribed in the book agree with those found in original documents countersigned by the conqueror, Don Pedro de Alvarado, one of Cortes's captains." The "*Popol Vuh*" is written entirely in one of the languages indigenous to America, is easily understood, elegant, rich and sonorous in expression, as in grammatical form, and was in use among a population of more than six hundred thousand souls. The opening passages of the book correspond with some of the dogmas and rites of the ancient Mexican religion, especially in what relates to the cosmogony, the serpent-woman, and the Deluge.

We are indebted for its preservation to Father Francisco Ximinez, who discovered it, during the last years of the seventeenth century, in the market-town of St. Thomas Chichicastenango, ("*Chuvi-la*" in Quiche,) containing a native population of about twelve thousand souls, three leagues south of Santa Cruz del Quiche, and about twenty-two leagues northwest of the city of Guatemala. Ximinez was at the head of a Spanish mission there, was long and well acquainted with the language, manners and customs of the native population, and he saw at once the importance of the document. But he was imbued with the Spanish bigotry and jealousy of the times, and tells us in the "*Scholium*" that he saw a diabolical agency in the cosmological personages of the book which might interfere with the recital of the memories and virtues of the Christian saints among the natives, whom he wished to convert to the purer faith. The idea was then prevalent that the great similarity of the religious rites and ceremonies of Central America and Mexico to those of the Roman Catholic Church would prevent the Indians from opening their eyes to the true religion,—a similarity charged to the spirit of darkness, the devil, most sacrilegious, as in the early days of the Christian Fathers of the Church. Ximinez saw the hand of a demon in the symbolical and mystic names given to the Creator and Former of the world, or *cosmos*, obscuring the real truth, as he understood it, so as to accommodate it more easily to the falsehood and idolatry of the

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poor savages, as he calls them. "In his hands, therefore, the '*Popol Vuh*' became a sealed book," says the prudent Abbé Brasseur, not venturing to go further for the honor of the cloth in this day of changed sentiment about such matters; but its fate must have been sealed like nearly all the other precious books of this race of civilized Indians,—in the fires of that fierce and relentless ecclesiastical fanaticism which spared nothing that stood in the way of its Satanic greed. Ximinez, however, had enough sense left to translate the book into such characters as Spaniards versed in the Quiche dialect could read, viz., the Roman, but which, according to Las Casas, just cited, the natives could not. A sealed book, indeed, it was; but, in the absence of the original painted hieroglyphical volume, if such it were, it is somewhat surprising to hear a French *abbé* criticise the work of a Spanish *curé* after this fashion: "His translation is barely comprehensible or endurable; all is vague and obscure; some entire verses are passed over in silence; words are curtailed, and other imperfections exist, owing to the difficulty of the task undertaken." Of the Spanish translation of the "*Popol Vuh*" made by Ximinez in connection with the Quiche dialect, and copied by Dr. C. Scherzer in 1854, who discovered the precious document in the library of the University of San Carlos, in the city of Guatemala, Brasseur says that he did not at all understand the provincialisms; and yet, by its publication at Vienna in 1856, Dr. Scherzer rendered a valuable service to American studies.

It was to this double work of Ximinez, as I understand it, that Ordonez and Cabrera were indebted for their knowledge of the "*Popol Vuh.*" Ordonez garbled it, making changes here and there to suit his preconceptions about Votan, and in this he was followed by Cabrera, both of whom identify Votan with the Mexican Quetzalcohuatl, who, in turn, was no other than St. Thomas, the Apostle of Christ, miraculously transported from India to preach the Gospel in America, and yet the remote leader of the Hivites expelled from Palestine by Joshua! Shade of Hermann Witsius! come to the rescue, and explain this odd anachronism, for in vain have we searched your fifty closely printed quarto pages, which advocate the same theory about St. Thomas, or other Apostles, as preaching in America.

It was in 1855 that the Abbé Brasseur de Bourbourg, well

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equipped in the knowledge of the Quiche dialect, made another and perfect transcript of the "*Popol Vuh*," as Ximinez had left it, giving, however, his own independent French translation, which he tells us is as literal and exact as possible. He found the work without any divisions into parts, chapters and verses, which he has made for the convenience of the reader. It was published at Paris in 1861, under this title: "*Popol Vuh: Le Livre Sacré et les Mythes de l'Antiquité Américaine.*" Dr. Brinton of Philadelphia, a competent judge, says of this book: "Incomparably the most complete and valuable work on American mythology extant."

The preamble of this sacred book is a brief statement of its purpose to narrate the origin of the Quiche nation, from its inception down to recent times. It begins at the beginning—like the sacred book of the Hebrews, the Chaldean epic, and other sacred books,—by introducing "the Creator and Former of the universe, in his manifestation and shining forth out of darkness; the work of the Day-Spring by the will of Him who begets, the Creator who gives existence, whose four names, powers or attributes are *Tzakol*, *Bitol*, *Alom* and *Qaholom*," otherwise designated as Sacrificer, Serpent Covered with Wings and Feathers, Lord, Heart of the Sea and Lakes, Lord of the Green Planisphere, Lord of the Blue Expanse, and other titles (doubtless, the four mystic personages figured on the four sides of the great altar at Copan). One there is, also, whom they name, sing and celebrate together, as the Grand Mother-Father, whose dual title is "*Xpiyacoc-Xmucane*," preserver-protectress, twice grandmother and grandsire. So it is said in the Quiche histories, in which all is recorded which they did for our prosperity and civilization.

"Notice, that what we have here written since the preaching of the Word of God in this home of Christianity is a reproduction of the Quiche national book, and not otherwise, wherein it is plainly seen that we came from the other side of the deep; that is to say, it is a recital of our existence in a dark and shadowy land, and how we came forth to light and life. Such is the '*Popol Vuh;*' or, literally, so it is called." The passage in the original is this: "*Re 'Popo-vuh,' ilbal zak petenak chaka palo, 'u tzihoxic ka muhibal, ilbal zak gazlem,' ch'u chaxic.*"

It cannot escape the notice of the reader that this word "*popo*," is precisely one of the words deciphered from the Quiche

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hieroglyphics by Professor Rafinesque, as given above. The words in quotation-marks in the original indicate the subject matter of the book, viz., the coming out of darkness to light and life. With the striking account of the creation of the world, as given in the first chapter of this remarkable book, this hasty and imperfect article must close.

"This is the first book, anciently written; but it is hidden from Him who sees and thinks. Admirable is the appearance and the recital which it makes of the times when the formation of all was achieved in heaven and on earth, the quadrature and the quadrangulation of their signs, the measurement of their angles, their alignment, and the establishment of the parallels in heaven and on earth, at the four extremities, at the cardinal points, as it was spoken by the Creator and the Former, the Mother, the Father of life, of existence, He by whom all moves and breathes, father and life-giver of peace to peoples, of civilized vassals, whose wisdom has devised the excellence of all that exists in heaven, upon earth, in the lakes and in the sea. Regard the recital how all was in suspense, how all was calm and still, all was motionless, all was peaceful, and void was the immensity of heaven. Hear, then, the first word and the first speech. As yet, there was not a single man, not an animal; no birds, fishes, sea-crabs, woods, stones, swamps, ravines, herbage or groves; only heaven existed. The face of the earth had not yet appeared; only the peaceful sea was and all the space of heaven. Nothing was yet formed, nothing was there to form them together; nothing to square and balance with, and thus make a noise or a sound in heaven. No standing thing existed; it was peaceful water, the calm sea, and alone within its bounds; for nothing was there which existed. It was as the immobility and silence of the darkness, of the night. Alone, also, the Creator, the Former, the Lord, the Serpent Covered with Wings and Feathers. They who engender, They who give existence, were upon the water like a light springing up. They were clad in green and blue; know why Their name is Gucumatz [Serpent Clad in Green and Blue]; of the greatest sages is their being. See how existed heaven, how existed in like manner the Heart of heaven; such is the name of God; this, also, He is called.

"Then it was that His word came here with the Lord and the

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Gucumatz, in the darkness and in the night, and that she spake with the Governor, the Gucumatz. And they counselled together; and at the moment of the Day-Spring a man appeared, whose name is Hurakan, while they held council as to the production and growth of woods and vines, upon the nature of life and of human kind, in darkness and night wrought by Him who is the Heart of heaven. Hurakan's first indication is the lightning-flash; his second is the lightning-path; his third is the bursting thunderbolt; and these three are the Heart of heaven.

"Then came they with the Lord, the Gucumatz; then a consultation was held upon civilized life; how seeds were to be made, how light was to be produced; who should sustain and nourish the gods [kings, nobles and priests as civilizers]. The fiat thus went forth: '*Qu'yx nohiu-tah!*' 'Be filled' [*i. e.*, the empty and dark void]. 'Let this water recede and cease its obstruction, in order that the earth here exist, grow hard and present its surface, that it may be sown, and the day give light in heaven and on earth; for we shall receive neither glory nor honor from all that we have created until there is a human being, the creature endowed with reason.' Such was their consultation; when the earth was formed by them.

"When the earth came forth, this truly was the manner of its creation: 'Earth,' said they; and instantly it was formed. Like a mist or snow-cloud was it shaped into its solid material state, when like crabs appeared the mountains on the surface of the water; and in an instant the great mountains were. [Laplace's theory]. Solely by marvellous power and might could that have been done which was resolved upon as to the existence of mountains and valleys, instantaneously with the creation of their forests of pines and cypresses that appeared upon them.

"And so Gucumatz was full of joy. 'Welcome, thou Heart of heaven!' he said, 'O Hurakan! O Lightning-Flash! O Bursting Thunderbolt!' 'That which we have created and formed, will be thy deed,' they answered.

"And at once the earth, mountains and plains, were formed; the water-courses were distributed; the streams wended their way among all the mountains; this was their existing order when the great mountains were unveiled. Such was the creation of the earth, when it was formed by those who are the Heart of heaven

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and of earth; for such are they called who fecundated it, the heaven and the earth being, as yet, unproductive as it hung suspended in the midst of the watery abyss."

We can now understand, from this mere glimpse of the contents of the "*Popol Vuh*," why the Spanish ecclesiastics of the Conquest were so jealous of it, and destroyed every copy they could lay their hands upon,—save here and there one, who kept it as a curiosity in the sealed letters of his own language. When Alvarado came to subdue Guatemala, and found no resistance, we can well imagine the reason to have been the pious and peaceful disposition of the native population, accustomed to say their prayers after this manner: "Hail, O Creator, O Former, Thou who hearest and seest us! Leave us not; neither forsake us! O God, who art in heaven and on the earth, O Heart of heaven and earth, grant us that our children and our posterity may all press forward to the Sun and the Day-Spring [immortality]; that seed-time may continue to enjoy the light. Grant us always to walk in smooth and open ways, without pit-falls and snares; that we may ever be quiet and at peace with one another: that we may lead a happy life. Grant us a life, an existence, free from reproach. O Hurakan, Gucumatz, Voc Hunapu [etc.]; O Thou who begettest and givest life, Great Mother of the Sun, Great Father of the Light, grant that seed-time may be and enjoy the light!"

JOHN P. LUNDY.

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MR. WINTHROP'S CENTENNIAL ORATIONS.*

IN the introduction to his novel of "The Virginians," Thackeray says: "On the library wall of one of the most famous writers of America, there hang two crossed swords, which his relatives wore in the great War of Independence. The one sword was gallantly drawn in the service of the King; the other was the weapon of a brave and honored republican soldier." The famous writer was Prescott, the historian. He who drew sword in the royal cause was Captain John Linzee, R. N., the grandfather of Mrs. Prescott, and the republican soldier was Colonel William Prescott, the grandfather of the historian, and the commander of the provincial forces at Bunker Hill.

The unveiling of Story's statue of Colonel Prescott was the fitting occasion of an admirable address delivered by Mr. Winthrop, on Bunker Hill. In earnest words and with true dramatic force, he told the story of Colonel Prescott's early life,—a sturdy farmer of Middlesex; a soldier against the French in 1746 and again in 1755; by letter in 1774 encouraging the citizens of Boston to stand firm in the common cause;" promptly, on the receipt of the news of Lexington and Concord, marching at the head of his regiment to Boston, and on the memorable night of the 16 June, 1775, directing the entrenching of Bunker Hill, and on the next morning, sword in hand, meeting the attacking column of the British, withdrawing the gallant survivors of his command in good order before the superior force of the enemy, then asking for fresh troops with which to return and retake the hill, and afterwards throughout the war serving wherever duty called him, while, with soldierly modesty, and "in the proud consciousness of having done his duty," he never came forward to claim the honour of having commanded at Bunker Hill.

Mr. Winthrop, with accurate historical perspective, pictured

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* "Address at the Unveiling of the Statue of Colonel William Prescott, on Bunker Hill, June 17, 1881." By Robert C. Winthrop. Cambridge: John Wilson & Son. University Press. 1881.

"Oration on the Hundredth Anniversary of the Surrender of Lord Cornwallis to the Combined Forces of America and France, at Yorktown, Virginia, 19th October, 1781. Delivered at Yorktown, 19th October, 1881." By Robert C. Winthrop. Boston: Little, Brown & Co. 1881.

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the relations to the struggle for independence of that first defeat on Bunker Hill, which was, though the actors in the struggle knew it not, pregnant with ultimate victory, and, holding up before his hearers the sword which Prescott had drawn one hundred and six years before, he concluded with a peroration which must have stirred the blood of all who heard him:

"HE HAS RETURNED;—not with three fresh regiments only, as he promised, but with the acclamations of every soldier and every citizen within the sound of what is being said, or within any knowledge of what is being done, here, to-day. HE HAS RETAKEN BUNKER HILL; and with it the hearts of all who are gathered on it at this hour, or who shall be gathered upon it, generation after generation, in all the untold centuries of the future!"

It is impossible, within the necessarily narrow limits of this notice, to do justice to this admirable address, and much less to the masterly oration which Mr. Winthrop delivered at Yorktown, on 19 October last, upon the hundredth anniversary of the surrender of Lord Cornwallis.

It is fitting that Bunker Hill and Yorktown, the first and the last great struggles of the revolutionary war, the defeat, which united the colonies in the struggle for liberty, and the victory, which crowned their efforts and assured their independence, should be celebrated by the same voice, and that he who told the story of Prescott's stubbornly brave but unavailing defence should also commemorate the triumphant success of Washington and Rochambeau.

Mr. Winthrop's selection as the orator of the occasion seems to have been the one redeeming point of the arrangements at Yorktown, which, in other respects, fell far short of those which were fitting for so memorable a celebration.

After alluding to the great orators to whom Virginia has given birth, expressing an appropriate desire that Massachusetts and Virginia should once again, and for all time, maintain their ancient relations of "mutual amity, good nature and affection," welcoming the foreign guests of the nation, and fervently presenting the national gratitude due to France, Mr. Winthrop graphically described the events which culminated in the triumph of the national cause at Yorktown, he dwelt with wisely discriminating emphasis upon the different actors in the struggle,

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and he gracefully alluded to the England of to-day, and to its gracious sovereign, whose sympathy in the nation's recent sorrow has so endeared her to every American heart.

Yet the strength and value of Mr. Winthrop's oration are not in his historical pictures, vividly painted though they are, but in his analysis of the underlying causes of the events he narrates, and in the courageous spirit with which he applies to the nation's present condition those pure rules of individual and national ethics which governed its early days. With words of truth and soberness that are worthy of the careful thought and study of every true American who holds dear his country's honour, Mr. Winthrop dwelt upon the shadows which dim the brightness of our national prospect, and he insisted upon the necessity of personal and political purity, and of a more general and more thorough education of the people, if the second centennial is to witness the perpetuity of our free institutions.

No man could have heard, or can rise from the reading of, these addresses of Mr. Winthrop, without a regret that there are not more such men as Mr. Winthrop, and that all such men are not invested with the powers and charged with the responsibilities of public office. It is the misfortune of our country that its government is administered upon a system which, with rare exceptions, does not permit its men of scholarly culture and true patriotism to render to it those services for which their character and abilities so admirably fit them, but compels them vainly to deplore the continued existence of public evils which they are powerless to reform.

CHRISTOPHER STUART PATTERSON.

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SCIENCE.

OBSERVATIONS ON MT. WHITNEY.

THE object of the recent expedition to Mount Whitney, in Southern California, was to determine the amount of heat the sun sends the earth, and to ascertain how it is that the temperature of our planet is what we know it to be, instead of being far below zero, up to which point the unaided solar heat would never raise it, even in the tropics. If this last statement appear novel, it is because the fact itself has only been recognized by scientific men very recently. If it be true, the further investigation of the imperfectly understood conditions which cause the world to be warm enough to enable man to live on it is evidently a worthy subject for research, but the investigation demands atmospheric conditions which are very rarely met with in the East.

Our first object is to ascertain how much heat the sun does send the earth, and to do this by direct observation we should need to put a thermometer outside the air and see at what rate the known amount of mercury in a bulb of known size was heated, as well as to what temperature it finally rose. We cannot, of course, get outside the atmosphere; but we can measure the sun's radiant heat at a very elevated point (from a balloon or very high mountain), where it has escaped a large part of the atmospheric influence, and by comparing this with measurements made below, we can tell what to allow for the effect of the air still above us. There are methods which may be practiced at home, but this is much the best way, as it is the simplest, though it is obviously hard of application. Balloons give no opportunity for careful observation, and very high mountain-tops are not only remote, but commonly the homes of cloud and mist, while these studies obviously demand the clearest air.

The peculiar and somewhat elaborate apparatus needed for the research had to be devised and constructed for the occasion; but when the means for this were presented to the Allegheny Observatory by a generous friend of the institution, General Hazen, the head of the United States Signal Service, gave the object such essential further aid as to make the journey to the very distant

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selected point possible, and the Pennsylvania Railroad, through the courtesy of Mr. Frank Thomson, gave special facilities of transportation which made the conveyance of the delicate apparatus safe, and the railroad journey exceptionally pleasant.

The point chosen, on mature examination, was that recommended by Mr. Clarence King.

Mount Whitney, in Southern California, is perhaps the highest point in the United States. Its easterly slope is a series of precipices, so that within about ten miles we find in the Mojave Desert, which it overlooks, a valley which, though itself thirty-five hundred feet above the sea level, is yet eleven thousand feet below the summit. The party accompanying the writer—consisting of Captain Michaelis, of the Ordnance; Messrs. J. E. Keeler, W. C. Day and G. Davidson, civilians; of two non-commissioned officers of the Signal Service, and a small military escort,—reached the valley, after a trying journey across the desert, toward the end of July. Here the instruments were mounted in a permanent camp, and observations were made continuously, (though the intense heat rendered them trying), while preparations were made to ascend the mountain which rose high above it, apparently close at hand, but whose lonely summit was only finally reached by a detour of fifty miles through literally pathless wilderness, the final ascent being made from the opposite or western side. The summit itself was found to be inaccessible, except by actual climbing, and, when scaled, untenable, owing to the cold and winds which made it impossible to maintain a tent or keep up continuous observation there. The upper permanent camp was therefore formed in a sheltered spot at an altitude of rather less than thirteen thousand feet, and to this point the apparatus was transported on muleback with great difficulty and delay, but with unexpected good fortune as regards breakage. Here the party remained some three weeks, enjoying during that time constant fine, though cold, weather and a sky of admirable purity. Owing to the lateness of the season and the delays already alluded to, the work was limited to the most prominent objects of investigation, observations of one class being taken simultaneously above and below, while others were pursued separately by special apparatus on the mountain.

Among the latter were determinations of the energy in each spectral ray by means of the bolometer, an instrument invented * for

* By Prof. S. P. Langley.—

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this particular research, for which the thermopile, the most sensitive means hitherto possessed by science, is inadequate.

The bolometer depends for its action on the change in the conductivity of a wire by heat, or, more strictly speaking, the "wire" is replaced in it by a number of strips of steel or platinum, of the extremest thinness. Steel has been rolled for the purpose till five thousand sheets laid on each other made up only one inch, and platinum much thinner. The bolometer will promply indicate a change of less than one-fifty-thousandth of a Fahrenheit degree, but its principal value is as a measurer. It will, that is, *measure* these extremely minute amounts of heat and compare their differences with each other, though the whole quantity involved would produce no visible change whatever in the most sensitive thermometer. It is not at first apparent how such small differences can be of great practical moment, but their consideration may be compared to that of the infinitely small changes the mathematician uses for the necessary deduction of large results.

The observations with other instruments on Mount Whitney, and which virtually placed thermometers outside our atmosphere, having, in fact, demonstrated what was already more than surmised, that the temperature of our globe could never rise, even to zero, under a tropical sun without its envelope of air, it becomes necessary to see how this atmosphere, possessing no heat in itself, can make so great a change. It is already known that some rays of the spectrum pass through the air with more freedom than others, and that those which come in with freedom may be changed, in falling on the earth's surface, into those which the atmosphere lets out with difficulty. Beyond this, very little has been understood of the matter, and to see how it happens we must study the heat in the spectrum itself,—that is, by separate rays. The sun's rays, then, are allowed to enter the slit of a peculiar kind of spectrometer, so devised that a greatly extended and very pure spectrum is formed without the use of any lens or prism. We at first disregard the light here altogether, but study the sun's energy, of which the light and heat are both manifestations, wholly by means of the latter. The narrow strips of the bolometer are caused to take the place of the eye, and they register the distribution of the heat, measuring in a hundred different parts, the hundred distinct but extremely feeble radiations whose sum makes up the whole which

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comes through the slit, itself a minute quantity. The number of radiations is of course infinite; but this apparatus may be said to take a hundred (or more,) samples of these in every part of the spectrum, visible and invisible, to sort them in the order of their wave-lengths, and to enable us for the first time to study the separate rate of transmission of each by the air.

The results of this work are now being prepared for publication, but it may be observed here that one consequence has been to confirm apparently beyond question an inference which the writer had drawn from previous studies under less favorable circumstances.

It follows from what has just been said, that our atmosphere, letting some radiations pass through more freely than others, must change, not only the amount, but the quality, (*i. e.*, the composition,) of the sum that finally reaches us, and in reaching us gives the eye the sensation we call "white." Before this filtering process took place, then, the sun's light could not have been "white" in the sense we use the word here. To see what it would be, we adopt measures which enable us to say for each separate ray (as well as for the sum,) what its intensity was outside our atmosphere, and the result is that, while all would have grown stronger there, some have grown very much stronger than others; so that, when we make a diagram showing the proportionate energies in the whole spectrum before absorption, we find a very different distribution to what we have here, as well as a larger total. Briefly, the result (if we now consider this energy in reference to its effect on vision,) is that the sun would appear strongly bluish—probably much more bluish than the electric light,—to an eye outside the atmosphere. But, in thus saying (which we do, in spite of all common belief to the contrary,) that the sun is really blue, we must not be supposed to be merely announcing a curious fact that has no practical bearing. The bearing is one which may be gathered from what has been said. We find that our own lives (a practical consideration, surely,) depend on this peculiar quality in the air of selective absorption, without which we should be frozen to death, in spite of our defences against a perpetual cold which would far surpass that of the Arctic winter. The whole of the causes which produce varying climate and their minor changes on which agriculture depends, are then, it seems probable, to be restudied hereafter, in view of this selective absorption, which I cannot but think one of the most

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important keys to what is obscure in the great problems of which the practical meteorologist is seeking the solution in the interest of national welfare.

Little can be said here, except in this general way, of the results which are preparing for publication in full; but what little has been said may justify the support which an investigation carried on so far from the Allegheny Observatory has received from the authorities of that institution, and the aid it met from the National Bureau of Meteorology, through its head, General W. B. Hazen, under whose official direction it proceeded, and in view of which the trustees of the Observatory have sanctioned the appearance of its forthcoming report under the auspices of that bureau.

S. P. LANGLEY.

ELECTRIC RAILWAYS.

It may not be generally known to those who have read with interest the accounts of the electric railway of the Messrs. Siemens, which was one of the most attractive novelties at the Paris Electrical Exposition, that an electric locomotive was made in this country forty years ago, and, if we mistake not, was exhibited in Washington and successfully used for a time to draw a train of cars filled with passengers.

Since that time, the Patent Office has issued a large number of patents for devices for propelling cars and running machinery by the electric current, and the query naturally arises: "Why has the matter remained *in statu quo* for so many years?" The answer is easily found in the fact that the cost of developing the electric force was at least forty per cent. greater forty years ago than at the present time. We actually make (or develop,) our electricity now by steam-power, instead of by chemical action, as in the old-time galvanic battery. As one ton of coal costs about one-twenty-fifth as much as one ton of zinc (the active element in the battery), and is more than six times as efficient in mechanical energy, the cost of machine-made electricity is so small, relatively, that this force may be utilized in a large way for many purposes at points where steam or other power is not available. The most evident advantages in the use of electricty as a motive power for railways and tramways are the entire freedom from smoke and cinders, the absence of noise from escaping steam, lightness of rolling stock, rapidity of motion, and ease of controlling and stopping the cars.

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The car used in Paris weighed five and one-half tons, and seated forty-eight passengers; it was ordinarily run at the rate of ten and one-half miles an hour, but made on trial trips over forty miles an hour. This was the second experimental electric tramway constructed by the Messrs. Siemens, the first having been in operation from Lichterfelde, a suburban station on the Berlin-Anhalt Railway, to the Military Academy, for nearly one year. The same firm is now constructing a longer line near the Giant's Causeway, for the accommodation of travellers. The success of these initial trials has been so great that we are not surprised to learn that far more extensive schemes of a similar character are hatching, both in Europe and in this country.

The Parisians are seriously contemplating an elevated electric railway from the Madeleine to the Bastille, with two branches—one to the Place du Trône and the other following the Boulevard Haussman and the Avenue Friedland to the Arc de Triomphe.

We have newspaper authority for the statement that Mr. Edison has made a contract for a Western electric railroad fifty miles in length. Be this as it may, there is little room for doubt that this subtle force, so incorrectly called the electric *current*, is destined soon to prove as formidable a rival to steam for some mechanical purposes as it now is to gas for illumination. We do not think that it is hazarding a great deal to predict that the puffing little locomotives on the New York elevated railroads are destined soon to be superseded by electric motors; and we may even see the day when our own citizens will no longer be afflicted with the snorting of the iron horse on our new elevated road.

It is by no means unlikely that the companies now furnishing arc lights in our thoroughfares will soon find many customers for the electric force during the day-time, to operate elevators in stores and hotels, and for other purposes where steam-power is now required. In connection with this subject, the following extracts from a paper read by Mr. Alexander Siemens before the Society of Arts in London will be found interesting and instructive: "During the efforts which have been made to introduce electric lighting on a large scale, the idea of applying the light-giving machines during day-time to distribute power has come to the front again, and, as such an application means a further utilization of invested capital, the combination of lighting with transmission of power is sure to

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be made. . . In this respect, the transmission of power by electricity possesses a great advantage over the transmission of power by water or air, as the friction and leakage of the pipes through which the latter have to be conducted can never be determined in advance. It further has the advantage that the secondary machines [for converting the electric force into mechanical power, —ED.] work without producing any waste that has to be disposed of, and that the small size and low weight of the machines obviate the necessity of heavy foundations for them. In considering the possibility of employing the electric current to distribute power from a central station, the proportion of the power given out by the secondary machine to the power expended upon the primary machine will not be of that deciding influence as is generally supposed. Granted, even, that not more than forty-five per cent. of the power expended can be reclaimed, it will still be possible to produce the power required at a cheaper rate than if each small place had its own steam-engine. For, at the central station, one horse-power could be produced by the large steam engines with about two and one-half pounds of coal, so that one horse-power given out by the secondary dynamo machine would be produced by burning five pounds of coal per hour. There are few small engines which will produce a horse-power with that expenditure of fuel, and, if we take into account the trouble and risk connected with the running of steam engines, it may be readily admitted that this loss is no real obstacle to the introduction of the electrical transmission of power."

In the course of an interesting general discussion of this paper, Professor Ayrton said, "in many respects, of course, the flow of electricity through a wire was like the flow of water through a pipe; the quantity of current was constant, and the electricity lost potential just as water lost head. But there was this great difference between the two; when you had to make water go round a corner you lost a great deal of power, and the form of the bend made a great deal of difference. If you had two or more bends in a pipe, in opposite directions, you lost more power than if there were a continuous curve in the same direction; but this was not so with an electrical conductor, since bends made absolutely no difference in the electrical resistance of a wire. . . . There was another point which might have struck some of those present. At present,

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locomotives weighed from forty to sixty tons, necessitating very substantial and expensive bridges and permanent ways, and it was impossible to make them much lighter, or they would not have sufficient adhesion on the rails to pull a train; you could not diminish the weight so long as you drove a train by one or two pair of driving-wheels. But, if you drove the train by nearly all the pairs of wheels, as could be easily done by electricity, it might be made comparatively light, and there would be no loss by slip."

If we allow our imagination the smallest liberty in the contemplation of such subjects, we are startled at the vast possibilities for practical and useful applications of this force which suggest themselves and seem almost within our grasp at the present moment; and yet, when we consider the actual accomplishments of the past few years, we are forced to admit that the pictures drawn by the most daring flights of fancy seem hardly more than natural sequels to events which have already outstripped all calculation.

DEVELOPMENT OF MECHANICAL ENGINEERING DURING THE LAST HALF CENTURY.

A lengthy and interesting address on this subject was recently delivered before the British Association by Sir Frederic Bramwell, chairman of the Council of the Society of Arts, and may be found reprinted in full in the *Scientific American* supplement, December 24th, 1881. The principal topics are: "Stationary Engines," "Steam Navigation," "Locomotive Engines," "Motors," "Electric Transmission of Power," "Manufacture of Iron and Steel," etc. After reading this instructive essay, in which the present perfection of mechanism is contrasted with the crude appliances of a former generation, we cannot help wondering whether it may be possible that the future race of engineers will be able to look back upon the methods on which we now pride ourselves with a degree of curiosity such as that with which we regard the comparatively feeble efforts of our ancestors.

We are told that fifty years ago engines were compelled to work with steam of only three and one-half to five pounds pressure above atmosphere; that the piston speed rarely exceeded two hundred and fifty feet per minute; that the consumption of coal was from seven to ten pounds per hour for each gross indicated horse-power.

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Very cumbrous machinery was required, and, as the revolution of the engine was slow, complicated systems of gearing were necessary to obtain high speed.

Fifty years ago, there were no ocean steamers, and it was commonly supposed that no vessel could carry sufficient coal for a trans-Atlantic voyage, even without any other freight.

The steamboats of the day were all paddle-wheelers; "the boilers were mere tanks, and there was as much pressure when there was no steam in the boiler, from the weight of the water on the bottom, as there was at the top of the boiler from the steam-pressure when steam was up." The average speed was about eight or nine knots an hour.

The substitution of the propeller for the paddle-wheel, of tubular boilers for tanks, of high pressure for low pressure, and other improvements, have doubled the speed and halved the cost of steam navigation.

The improvements in locomotive engines have lessened the cost of operating trains and increased the speed of running them in at least an equal degree. In fact, it would seem that the land transportation service is now more advanced towards perfection than its nautical sister,—at least, we believe that in the next decade steam-navigation is destined to eclipse steam railways in the rate of improvement.

Fifty years ago, the commonest motors were wind-mills, tide-mills and water-wheels; the introduction of the modern improved turbine-wheel has "rendered available the pressure derived from heads of water which formerly could not be used at all, or, if used, involved the erection of enormous water-wheels," sometimes eighty feet in diameter.

The improvements in the manufacture of iron and steel have been not less marked. The introduction of the hot blast has enormously increased the capacity of furnaces in the production of pig iron, and has lessened the cost of the process. The chemistry of iron is being studied more carefully. Manufacturers are beginning to realize that pig iron is not a simple element, but is in reality an alloy, composed of a number of substances; that its physical characteristics, such as strength, elasticity, etc., depend upon the percentages of these constituents, and that pure iron, like pure gold, is always the same thing, physically and chemically, no matter from

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what source it may be obtained. We believe that the time is coming when pig iron will be sold on its chemical analysis, instead of on the crude methods of grading at present in vogue. And further, that, as the naturalist can tell the *genus* of an animal from an examination of a single bone, so the chemist will tell the characteristics of a mass of iron from the analysis of its component parts.

Sir Henry Bessemer's process for converting iron into steel by simply blowing air through the molten metal has revolutionized the industries connected with these metals; and, whereas, fifty years ago, steel was so costly that it was only dealt in by the pound, millions of tons are now produced annually at a less cost than puddled iron. Indeed, steel is destined to supplant wrought iron for almost all industrial purposes. It has already largely superseded iron for rails, armor-plates, bridge trusses, etc.

A. E. O.

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UNIVERSITY ITEMS.

AT the close of the term (December 23d), out of twenty-six Towne scholars sixteen were "distinguished." Two were the "first honor" men of their classes; and six were distinguished students "of the first class." The whole number of "honor-men" in the Towne School was sixty-six; so that the distinguished Towne scholars were rather more than twenty-four per cent. of all the honor-men.

Surely, the "wisdom" of founding the fifty Towne scholarships "is justified of her children;" and the University may well be proud, not only of her noble gift to the cause of Public Education in Philadelphia, but also (and especially,) of her yet nobler confidence in the Public School boys of Philadelphia, to whom she offers every year, simply as a reward of hard work, ten opportunities of getting such an education as the Towne School affords.

One need not have been a pupil of the late Dr. S. W. Crawford, in order to recognize in the finely drawn features of his portrait, now hanging in the University chapel, the man whose fame yet lives, not only among those who knew him, and whose (ever so stubborn) wills bent before his all-dominating power, but even among those to whom he is known only by tradition. A Scotch-Irishman—by ancestry, at least; a man of high culture; an intrepid and fearless advocate of whatever he thought right; no Laodicean, but intensely hot when he was hot, and as intensely cold when he was cold; a firm believer in the maxim about the bird that can sing but won't; yet, withal, a lover of true wit,—nay, rather, a man of infinite humor,—and a genial, gentle soul for all the firmness of his convictions, the perseverance with which he pursued the aims he set before him, and the severity with which he insisted upon conformity to law, order and good scholarship;—all this one can easily read in the high forehead, the bright eye, the firmly cast mouth and chin, the long, thin nose and scarcely fatter cheeks, and the warm, thoroughly generous smile that lights up the whole face.

Dr. Crawford's family have placed the University under no slight obligations in presenting this portrait, received through General S. Wylie Crawford. As the University men of to-day pass round

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the chapel, reading from the portraits of the University's great men of the days of old the character of the University itself in those by-gone days, no face will speak more positively for the institution than this unusually well-painted face of Dr. Crawford. Dr. Crawford, as is well known, was never professor in the college, but Principal of the University Grammar School. Yet he did as much for the college as any professor; for he sent up his boys in the truest sense well-prepared. Should the Grammar School evet be re-established (and there has been talk to this effect), may its prinpals ever be men of this positive type and the results of their work as far-reaching and as excellent!

It is a curious comment on the changes that a single generation brings about, to read that Dr. Crawford was Principal of the Academy as recently as 1856, and that his death did not occur till 1876.

Professor Sadtler will commence about February 1st a course of twenty lectures on the "Applications of Organic Chemistry in the Industrial Arts." These lectures are to be delivered to several of the sections of the Senior Class in the Towne Scientific School and to the Seniors of the Wharton School of Finance. They will be illustrated freely by lantern projections of important manufacturing processes and by specimens from the chemical museum of the University. The collections of this latter are as yet rather limited, but it is hoped that a growing interest in the University on the part of the chemical manufacturers of Philadelphia will speedily result in their being largely augmented. The collections of a university located in Philadelphia ought not to suffer in comparison with those possessed by colleges situated in interior New England towns.

Mr. Fairman Rogers, the founder and generous supporter of the Rogers Engineering Library, has recently obtained through Mr. R. Hering a set of nine maps of Paris, France, of universal interest. Eight of them were published in 1705. The first dates from the time of Cæsar, Strabo, Julian and Marcellus, and shows the incipient city upon an island of the Seine, connected with the banks on either side by two bridges. The dwellings were round, and composed of mud and reeds. On this chart are indicated also the

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sites of the Temples of Mars, on the rise known as Montmartre, of Ceres and of Mercury. The subsequent maps show the growth of the city, with the position of its several walls and other defences, public buildings, monasteries, gardens, roads, and other improvements. This series, supplemented by more modern maps, makes one of the most interesting collections in the library for the historian or engineer. The maps are accompanied by descriptions of the prominent events occurring during this long interval.

Since the removal of the University of Pennsylvania to West Philadelphia, and the completion of the University hospital in 1875, the school has been the resort of a slowly increasing class of graduates in medicine who have desired to pursue special courses of clinical, laboratory or other studies for which they have not previously found leisure or opportunity. These persons have usually pursued their studies under the guidance of those more or less closely connected as assistants with the teaching of the school, or under the direction of the principals in charge of the different dispensaries attached to the hospital. During the last two years, the opportunities afforded by Philadelphia and the University in an especial degree have been more widely recognized, and from September to June, classes have come and gone, bearing away information which has proved so useful that many have returned their testimony in letters or in representatives whom they had advised to partake of opportunities which they had found so valuable. In recognition of the growing claims of this class of the medical fraternity, the different courses heretofore given independently have been associated and advertised under the title of post-graduate instruction in the University of Pennsylvania.

This plan has secured the advantage of method applied to arrangement; courses have been planned so as not to interfere with one another, and as far as possible not to conflict with the general clinical lectures accessible without fee to students. The expense required to pursue special studies has been reduced by this plan, since seven courses are now included under the single fee of one hundred dollars, while separately the tickets were twenty-five dollars. The plan of these courses is designed to render it possible for the student to stand in the immediate presence of disease,—to study by personal inspection the natural history, the progress and treatment of disease,

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under competent supervision. In each course, two seances are included in each week, and the classes are not permitted to attain unmanageable proportions.

The practical difficulty to be surmounted in a clinical course of this kind can only be fancied when the fact is born in mind that it is the object of this course to instruct from the human subject, and not, as in laboratories, from the animal, vegetable and mineral kingdoms. The previous experience of the different teachers of the various branches has, however, enabled them to obviate and diminish many of the obstacles to the success of the enterprise. One difficulty may be alluded to as illustrative. Some persons, anxious to avail themselves of these special opportunities, can only spend a more limited time than that settled as the period of the full course, and, besides this, some have desired to join at different stages in the course. But even these difficulties have been met, and it is feasible to arrange that periods may be fixed at which fresh departures can be taken and new members may join advantageously to themselves. The success of this private combination has encouraged the Faculty of the University to arrange a full post-graduate year, which will be announced in the forthcoming catalogue. This plan will amplify the present course. Although the general features of the plan will follow the sketch here traced, this course will be in operation during the session of 1882–3. The present post-graduate course will close on the 1st of February, 1882; the spring course will begin the last week in March, 1882, and continue for ten weeks.

The subjects taught are: Physical diagnosis and clinical medicine, Professor William Pepper and Dr. Edward T. Bruen; on nervous diseases and electro-therapeutics, Professor H. C. Wood; on dermatology, Professor L. A. Duhring; on otology, Dr. George Strawbridge; on ophthalmology, Dr. S. D. Risley; on gynæcology, Dr. B. F. Baer; on laryngoscopy, Dr. C. Seiler; on operative surgery and venereal diseases, Dr. J. William White.

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BRIEF MENTION.

ON 5 January, there was presented to the councils of the city of Philadelphia a petition of the provost of the university of Pennsylvania, asking that the city sell and convey to the trustees of the university certain unused and unproductive portions of the almshouse grounds, one lot bounded by Spruce, Thirty-Sixth, Pine streets and Woodland avenue, and another by Pine street, Woodland avenue, Woodland cemetery and the northwest face of the almshouse wall, for an annual ground-rent of five hundred dollars, redeemable at any time by the payment of ten thousand dollars principal, and also for fifty free scholarships, of the annual value of at least seventy-five hundred dollars, to be awarded, under such conditions as may be from time to time deemed suitable, to worthy and deserving students of the public schools of Philadelphia; the land so sold and conveyed to be held by the trustees for the educational purposes of the university, and subject to the restriction that no buildings other than for educational purposes shall ever be erected thereon.

The Hon. Eli K. Price has, upon a case laid before him by the university, advised that the city has in law the power to make the proposed sale and conveyance; and in that opinion William Henry Rawle, esq., and the Hon. Alexander Henry have concurred. These legal opinions would seem, therefore, to settle affirmatively and decisively the power of the city to grant the university's petition.

That the petition ought to be granted is no less certain. The university of Pennsylvania has, within a few years past, by the expenditure of more than a million of dollars, erected buildings for its department of arts, its school of science, its medical and dental school, and its hospital, whose doors are open to all patients, without distinction of race, sex, creed, or colour; but for the full development of the university, and for the perfect accomplishment of its great work, it is necessary that there should be erected certain additional buildings,—a school of veterinary science, and an hospital where the diseases of domestic animals may be studied and cured; halls of residence for free scholars and others acquiring an education in the different departments of the university; museums for the safe custody and study of the

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extensive collection of scientific objects which the university has received and will receive; buildings for special branches of the university hospital, and a training-school for nurses in connection with that hospital; and library buildings, which, under suitable restrictions, will be open to the public.

Public and private liberality and munificence have done much for the university, and will doubtless in the future do more. The ground upon which the present buildings stand, and which is necessarily appurtenant to those buildings, cannot be encumbered with the new buildings which are necessary, and, as the provost states in his petition, a large amount of additional land will soon be needed to carry out the purposes of the important trusts which have devolved and will devolve upon the institution.

It would require a volume, rather than an article, to state with adequate fulness the great benefits which the university has conferred upon the city of Philadelphia and upon its citizens. It has been, throughout its history, and it is now, a reservoir and distributing fountain of the assured results of scholarship and scientific investigation. It has educated many of the men to whom Philadelphia owes everything that is a proper subject of civic pride. It is in the best sense an university, for its doors are opened wide to all who seek after truth, and it presents the truths of history, law, literature, the abstract and applied sciences, and the useful and decorative arts in all their many-sided developments and in that catholic spirit which the name of "university" imports. Our city should, on behalf of all its citizens, and from motives of enlightened self-interest, foster and encourage the university, for so well-equipped an educational institution is a great power which will always be exerted on the side of law and order, and in the direction of a a faithful and intelligent administration of public affairs. Well may the university hold out her hand as the recipient of public and private bounty, for, in the wide dissemination of knowledge, and in the relief of individual suffering, she returns an hundred-fold all that can ever be bestowed upon her.

The provost, secure in the strength of his cause, and doubtless deterred by a modest indisposition to sound the praises of the institution whose head he is, did not, in his petition, put forward all the views to which we have alluded, but he contented himself with stating the lower and yet convincing argument that the university has more than given value for any municipal conveyance of land

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to it by its maintenance of free beds in its hospital to an amount annually in excess of twenty-five thousand dollars, thus taking upon its shoulders, in relief of the city, a heavy burden which the city ought to bear.

Since the petition has been presented to councils, there has been an universal expression of approval of the proposed conveyance, and it is to be hoped that the legislative and executive departments of the city government will respond to this popular demand, and will sanction in the proper way the proposed sale and conveyance.

C. S. P.

On the evening of 23 November, 1881, George M. Dallas, esq. and Hampton L. Carson, esq., delivered, before a public meeting at Association Hall, two addresses upon civil service reform, which have since been published in pamphlet form and distributed by the Civil Service Reform Association of Philadelphia. The night was stormy, and only those who are zealots in the reform braved the inclemency of the weather; but those who did, enjoyed an intellectual treat of a very high order. It can safely be said, that these two speeches are the best work that has yet been done in Philadelphia in the cause of civil service reform.

Mr. Dallas's argument was a convincing exposition of the need of the reform and of the best method of accomplishing it. He dwelt upon the inefficiency of the present civil service of the government, its dishonesty, the unnecessary increase of offices and of salaries, and the fact that the necessary result of the system is the placing in power of men who are politicians, but not statesmen. He insisted that the reform, to be practical, must secure appointments to office only as the result of success in open competitive examinations, followed by satisfactory probationary service, with a tenure of office during good behavior, and freedom from political assessments.

Mr. Carson, in those clear and ringing tones which were always listened to with pleasure during the recent municipal political campaign, drew a vivid picture of the analogy of our corrupt civil service to the feudal system, and insisted that the question of its reform rises above parties and politics, and must receive the support of all good and earnest men of every party.

If there be any intelligent man who doubts that the civil service ought to be reformed, and that it can be reformed if the people so

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will it, let him read the speeches of Messrs. Dallas and Carson, and his doubts will vanish, and, if he be as patriotic as he is intelligent, he will enroll himself among the adherents of the reform.

C. S. P.

On the last day of the old year, the Bank of North America celebrated its hundredth anniversary. It was founded by Robert Morris, at the suggestion of Alexander Hamilton "to aid the government" by its financial " means and credit," and chartered on 31 December, 1781, by an act of the congress of the confederated colonies. It accepted a charter from the State of Pennsylvania on 26 March, 1782, which was repealed in 1785, but renewed in 1789, and from time to time since then extended, until, on 22 November, 1864, the bank came under the operation of the present national banking system. As a proper recognition of its history and services, it alone of all the national banks has been permitted to retain its original corporate title, without the addition of the word " national." In the best sense, and to the fullest extent, it has always been a national bank. It largely aided the government in the war of the revolution, in that of 1812, and during the rebellion ; and it has more than once rendered valuable financial assistance to the state of pennsylvania and to the city of Philadelphia. It has made large gains in periods of prosperity, and in times of financial depression it has been so prudently managed that it has met with no serious losses ; so that, keeping pace with the growth and development of the country, its original capital of four hundred thousand dollars is now represented by a capital of one million dollars and a surplus fund of more than equivalent amount, while during its century of life it has returned to its stockholders, in divided profits, more than ten times its present capital.

It has always been fortunate in its officers. It has had in the century but seven presidents. All who have an interest in the continued prosperity of the institution will hope that Mr. Thomas Smith, who for more than twenty-one years has administered its affairs with ability and success, may long continue to direct its operations ; and all who can rightly estimate the widely spreading influence of a sound financial example will be desirous that the second century of the Bank of North America shall be crowned with even greater success than that which it presents at the end of its first hundred years of corporate existence.

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NEW BOOKS.

SKETCH OF EDWARD COLES, SECOND GOVERNOR OF ILLINOIS, AND OF THE SLAVERY STRUGGLE OF 1823-4. Prepared for the Chicago Historical Society By E. B. Washburne. Chicago: S. C. Griggs & Co.

We have all heard of the young girl who wanted to see the folly of balls and parties, as her mother had done before her. None of us, neither young nor old, neither individually nor collectively, care to avail ourselves of other people's experience. Were it otherwise, were we eager to lay to heart the lessons of the past, it would be greatly to be regretted that the history of any given age, especially if it has been a period of great excitement, can never be fairly written till more than one generation has passed away. To the age succeeding it, it is all but a sealed book. It is a consolation,—a poor consolation at the best,—that, if it lay wide open, its lessons would be little heeded; so we must e'en be reconciled to wait.

It must sadden those of us who are old enough to recollect the thirty years' war of anti-slavery, that culminated in the great rebellion, to observe how little now appears to be known by the newly-risen generation of that great movement which so signally illustrates the present century,—a movement second hardly to the Protestant Reformation, or even to the rise of primitive Christianity, in every variety of interest, social, moral, political, and, last, not least, dramatic. We venture to predict that, when its history shall be written, it will be found to be one of the great chapters in the history of this world of ours.

That history will be incomplete if it fails to go back and gather carefully such sporadic outbursts of anti-slavery principle and practice as this admirable memoir of Governor Coles presents. He must hold high rank among the heroic devotees of that sacred cause.

Mr. Washburne takes for the motto of this "Sketch" (as the book is modestly styled,) a brief word from Philip Van Artevelde: "The world knows nothing of its greatest men." As a passionate exclamation, to be taken with abatement, this assertion may be suffered to pass. But as a deliberate proposition we question it. Heaven lets not the memory of any "greatest" man die. "Great deeds," as Mr. Emerson says, "sing themselves." They are sure to find recorders and reporters who are helpless to resist the impulse to publish them. Governor Coles has found his herald, as he was sure to do, sooner or later. By birth, by social position, by all his surroundings, a Virginian of the Virginians, Edward Coles in early youth saw through the sin and depraving influence of treating men as chattels, and resolved that he would never claim the right of property in his fellow-men. True to this sacred resolve, when, by

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inheritance, he became a slave-holder, he turned his back upon his native State and led his slaves, without a moment's delay, to the free Northwest, to the then infant State of Illinois; and there they were free.

When he became second Governor of Illinois, a most determined effort was made to convert it into a Slave State. Bravely did the Governor resist the unhallowed attempt. He was the leader in the battle for human rights, and to him the victory was due; and all this was years before the Abolition movement under Garrison. The memory of such a character as Mr. Washburne brings us acquainted with cannot perish. We thank him heartily for this "Sketch," and as heartily commend it to the thoughtful perusal of our young men. W. H. FURNESS.

A TREATISE ON THE LAW OF STOCK BROKERS. By Arthur Biddle and George Biddle, of the Philadelphia Bar. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1882.

This is a good book. So good, that it will bear a little criticism. So good, that the usual language by which every useless and ill-done treatise is commended to the profession would be more meaningless than usual.

Its title well illustrates the growth of the law. It was less than a hundred and fifty years ago that the statute of George recited that great "inconveniences have arisen and do daily arise by the wicked, pernicious and destructive practice of stock-jobbing, whereby many of His Majesty's good subjects have been and are diverted from pursuing and exercising their lawful trades and vocations, to the utter ruin of themselves and families, to the great discouragement of industry, and to the manifest detriment of trade and commerce;" and the best talent at the bar penned the act "To prevent the infamous practice of stock-jobbing." It may well be that the fluttering family of many a lame duck may think that, after all, there was a good deal of truth in the preamble, but however this may be, the calling has now reached a certain dignity, and the subject asserts itself as an independent one in two clever books,—Mr. Lewis's recent treatise ("Law Relating to Stocks, Bonds and Other Securities in the United States,") and the present.

Both of these books begin with a reference to the London Stock Exchange, and of this the Messrs. Biddle's statement is the more full. They might, perhaps, have referred the reader who wished to pursue the subject, to the report of the English commission in 1878, of which Lord Penzance was president, and the hundreds of folio pages of evidence taken before it. In the pinch of a case, no man can tell when such information may not be useful.

The section on "The Clearing-House" is treated with a precision of statement which leaves nothing to be desired, and will

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give to many a much-needed explanation. The section on "Specific Performance" states the cases on both sides of the Atlantic with fulness and accuracy, and, not content with this, (as so many authors are,) the result of the authorities is well expressed. Some may, perhaps, doubt whether the distinction suggested on page 255, that specific performance of stock contracts depends on the present possession by the seller of the stock contracted for, is sustained by authority to the extent stated, or, indeed, is capable of much practical application without breaking in upon the general principles which underlie equitable jurisdiction.

The authors, however, are quite correct in a sentence on the next page which is of universal application: "We have thus reviewed the English and American cases upon the subject, which, if we regard only the dicta and expressions of opinion of individual judges, seem often to darken rather than enlighten the principles involved." Much of the confusion now existing in different branches of the law has resulted from reliance upon detached expressions of thought, apart from the result itself and the state of facts upon which the result was predicated.

The classification of wagering contracts upon page 301 shows much analytical power, and in treating of this subject the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania comes in for some hard thoughts and words: "The Pennsylvania cases oppose the universal doctrine," and the Court decides a case "on an apparent misconception of the facts" (page 115); it "failed entirely to understand the nature and *modus operandi* of the clearing-house" (page 61); "it is doubtful if this will be recognized outside of Pennsylvania," and, not only that, but "or any length of time in that State, being opposed in principle," etc. (page 308); "an apparent misapprehension of the subject they attempt to discuss" (page 31/); and the like. Although these decisions have also been attacked by Mr. Lewis, and the latest case ably reviewed in *38 Legal Intelligencer, 116*, yet to those familiar with the general operations of Third Street and Wall Street, the practical common sense of the decisions commends itself, and, apart from legal subtleties, they probably express the true nature of the transactions more closely than the confirmatory verdict of a jury. Doubtless the late Mr. Morrissey would have been glad if "debts of honor" could be enforced in courts of law.

The statement at the top of page 349 is undoubtedly sound, although it might, perhaps, have been well to state the qualification that some difference of opinion exists whether the pledgee can, even by virtue of an express contract to that effect, himself purchase the collateral, and thereafter hold it discharged from the trust. Such agreements, although of daily occurrence, may perhaps be construed as being opposed to public policy in the same manner as agreements to purchase equities of redemption. At all events, the question is not free from doubt, and was recently elaborately argued in

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an unreported case in one of our courts, although the point was not decided.

On page 275, the Pennsylvania decisions upon the law of filling in blank powers of attorney after delivery are stated as "conflicting." It has, however, been generally considered that the law was settled in this State by Building Association *vs.* Sendmeyer, *50 Pa. St.*, *67*, (referred to on page 276,) where the point was expressly decided, and Wood's Appeal, *92 Pa. St.*, *379*, and kindred cases wherein it was incidentally mooted, and that the earlier decisions had upon this point yielded to the necessities of commerce.

The law as to the rights of a pledgee dealing with an executor or one invested with an apparent power of disposition is accurately stated on page 326, *et seq.* We have always considered the true foundation of the doctrine to be that of estoppel, and that where one, whether executor or living owner, is legally possessed of stock with power of disposition, and delivers the certificates, accompanied by the usual bill of sale and blank power of attorney to transfer, the *prima facie* presumption is that the transaction imports a sale and that all the title of the inscribed owner is vested in the holder, and that where a third person advances money to a holder of stock upon the faith of such papers, without actual notice of the private equities existing between the prior parties, he will be protected to the extent of his advances as a *bona fide* purchaser for value without notice.

A fuller statement as to the law of transfer and registration and proxies has probably been purposely omitted, as being foreign to the nature of the work.

Among minor matters, we notice a want of uniformity in the reference to cases, as they are sometimes cited by the name of the reporter and sometimes by the volume of the State reports, as on page 275. The marginal citation of cases is, perhaps, of doubtful utility; certainly, the bunch of cases at the foot of page 199 is rather confusing.

But these are slight matters in an intelligent and satisfactory work, executed in a thoroughly conscientious manner. The propositions have been evolved from careful study of the authorities, and are concisely expressed in language free from doubt. The style is excellent, the double table of cases and index useful and full, and the typographical appearance of the book most attractive.

WILLIAM HENRY RAWLE.

THE HISTORY OF HERNANDO DE SOTO AND FLORIDA; OR, RECORD OF THE EVENTS OF FIFTY-SIX YEARS, FROM 1512 TO 1568. By Bernard Shipp. Royal 8vo. Pp. xii, 689. Maps. Philadelphia: Robert M. Lindsay. 1881.

This is a very remarkable volume, of stately appearance and promising title, but weak in its execution and purposeless in its

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results. All that the compiler—not author, for there seems to be nothing original in the book,—has done, has been to bring within one cover the scattered accounts of the early Spanish explorations on our southernmost coast; but, as all of these early chronicles are readily accessible to the student, having been printed and reprinted, and translated and retranslated, we do not see the value of the new compilation, especially as it has been made without discrimination or comment. For example, take Chapter V., pages 81-93, entitled "The Voyage of Juan Verazzani along the Atlantic Coast of North America, 1524," and Chapter VII., pages 121-132, "Expedition of Francisco Vasquez Coronado to Cibola, 1539." Perhaps there are no two subjects in our early history that have excited more interest, more study, and more controversy, than the voyage of Verrazzano, and the march of Coronado to the seven cities of Cibola. Within the last score of years, these two subjects have called forth at least a score of publications. Learned treatises have been written to show that Verrazzano's voyage was a myth and his letter a falsification, while equally learned ones have appeared supporting the genuineness of his letter and the truth of his voyage. The student of our early history will immediately recall the monographs of Buckingham Smith and Henry C. Murphy on the one side and of Carson Brevoort and B. F. De Costa on the other; yet Mr. Shipp says: "The voyage of Juan Verazzani in the year 1524 is the first *authentic* voyage along the Atlantic Coast of the territory, now that of the United States;" and then prints a second-hand translation of the questionable "letter." It will be observed that he does not even give the navigator's name correctly, calling him *Juan Verazzani*, when his name was *Giovanni Verrazzano*. Of course, a simple republication of such a document, tarnished as it is by the cloud of controversy, is misleading and worthless.

The chapter on Coronado's march cannot be dismissed so tersely, because there are so many more elements entering into the subject, the important questions being his route and the locality of the seven cities. These are both mooted points, and one necessarily depends upon the other. We have neither the space nor the inclination at the present time to launch out into a dissertation and discussion of these interesting and unsolved problems. It is sufficient for our present purpose to indicate the unreliability of Mr. Shipp's statements. In speaking of Cibola, he says authoritatively, but without any explanation or reason, "*known at the present day by the name of Zuni.*" Now, while it is true that most respectable authority has contended for Zuni, and its vicinity, as the site of Cibola, other equally respectable authority has contended for Chaco, Acoma, the Moqui villages in Northeastern Arizona, and other localities, for the site of these mysterious seven cities. Such being the case, we at once see that no weight can be given to Mr. Shipp's as-

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sertions on important historical themes. These two sample bricks are fair specimens of the entire structure.

More than two hundred and fifty pages of the book are taken up with a translation of Garcilasso de la Vega's "History of the Conquest of Florida." This might have been very well, as no English translation has heretofore appeared, had it been made from the original Spanish; but, instead of going to the first source, it is a translation into English, from a translation into French, from the original Spanish, or a copy of a copy, when the original was accessible. Quotation-marks, too, are but sparsely used throughout the book, although the text shows that they properly belong at the beginning and end of each paragraph—the present tense being almost exclusively used, making clear that the pages are mere excerpts from the records of eye-witnesses two centuries and a half ago. We will leave this unsatisfactory volume by giving Mr. Shipp's view of *exact* history,—at least, we will presume it is his, as there are no quotation-marks,—a rather doubtful presumption, however: "In general, when one studies attentively the writings of the missionaries and of the other Spaniards of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, sent by the viceroys of New Spain to discover distant countries, the information given by these writers is found to be *exact*, though often *incomplete* or *exaggerated*." The italics are ours. How a historical statement can be exact when it is incomplete and exaggerated, we are at a loss to understand!

CHARLES HENRY HART.

BOOK OF THE BLACK BASS. Comprising its Complete Scientific and Life History; Together with a Practical Treatise on Angling and Fly-Fishing, and a Full Description of Tools, Tackle and Implements. By James A. Henshall, M. D. Fully illustrated. Cincinnati: Robert Clarke & Co. 1881. Pp. 455.

In this most excellent book Dr. Henshall has not only made a valuable contribution to the cause of science, but has conferred a great benefit upon the fishing fraternity throughout the country. Very few good books on the subject of fishing have been produced in this country, and among the few that may be called really good this is the only one, so far as we know, which treats thoroughly and exhaustively of a single fish, and in which the subject receives such treatment at the hands of an author who as a man of science has an exact scientific knowledge of the fish itself, and, at the same time, as an enthusiastic and practical fisherman has an accurate knowledge of how the fish should be caught. Within the compass of an octavo volume of moderate size, both branches of the subject have been treated well and clearly. There are no long-drawn descriptions of the scenery of fishing-grounds, of fishing excursions, or of wonderful fishermen's wonderful catches, no flights of imagery pic-

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turing ideal fishing in ideal waters, but only a clear and simple description of the black bass such as will interest the scientist or student of natural history, and a practical treatise upon the best methods to be used in catching the fish such as will delight the hearts of all "brethren of the rod." For the author of this work has devoted himself entirely to his subject, omitting all that foreign matter so often found in books of this character and introduced with a view of adding to their popularity. It is not only an exhaustive and accurate treatise upon the black bass,—the noble game-fish of our American waters,—but it contains much information and many hints useful to the experienced sportsman. The Doctor has an easy and pleasant style of imparting his knowledge and experience, which renders his book not only instructive, but pleasing, even to those who may not be enthusiasts. It certainly is a book which should not be absent from the library of any well-equipped fisherman.

The chief value of the book consists in the fact that Dr. Henshall has selected for his subject a thoroughly American fish, —one which may be found now over almost the whole length and breadth of our country, although until quite recently its habitat was confined to certain limited sections. Originally it was found only in the great basin of the St. Lawrence, the Mississippi Valley, and the South Atlantic States; but gradually it was brought to our Eastern waters, until now we find it in large numbers in almost all our principal rivers on the Atlantic seaboard. It may be interesting to fishermen on the Potomac, the Schuylkill, and the Delaware, to know when and how the fish was introduced into those waters. In 1853, Mr. A. G. Stabler, a conductor on the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, in conjunction with two public-spirited gentlemen in Wheeling, brought from Wheeling Creek, West Virginia, thirty black bass in the water-tank of the tender of his locomotive. They were put into the Potomac near Cumberland, and from this stock the Potomac, for more than two hundred miles, and all its large tributaries,—the Seneca, Shenandoah, Cherry Creek, Sleepy Creek, Great and Little Capapon, Patterson's Creek, South and North Branch, etc.,—became well stocked with fish. In 1869, the "State in Schuylkill," the time-honored fishing club of Philadelphia,* brought one hundred and nineteen fish from the Potomac in a tank, and put them into the Schuylkill at Belmont. The excellent facilities for their transportation were pro-

* The "State in Schuylkill" is the oldest social club in the world, and expects, in the month of May of the present year, to celebrate its one hundred and fiftieth anniversary. The famous "Beefsteak Club" of London antedated it; but that has been disbanded; so that, "unless there is some institution of the sort in China," as one of its members has cleverly said, it is unquestionably the oldest club of the kind in existence. Its fine old property, with its quaint "Castle," still remains very much in its original condition, on the Schuylkill, below Gray's Ferry, and opposite the "Bartram Garden."

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vided through the courtesy of Mr. Hinckley, the President of the Philadelphia, Wilmington and Baltimore Railroad Company. Subsequently, more fish were placed in the upper levels of the stream, and the whole river is now filled with them. About two years afterwards, Mr. Thaddeus Norris put two hundred and fifty black bass into the Delaware River, and from that small beginning the river has become well stocked, and affords some of the most excellent fishing in the country.

It is perhaps not generally known, but experienced fishermen at all events know, that the black bass has not its equal as a game-fish in the waters of this country where the salmon is not found. It is even a disputed point whether the salmon, grand fish as it is, is the superior of the black bass in all respects. It is a point difficult of settlement among good sportsmen, for it scarcely ever happens that the devotee of the one kind of fishing knows anything about the other. The salmon-fisherman periodically makes his long journey, and pays his long price for fishing rights, with the settled conviction that there is no other sport half so good, while the black bass fisherman, well content with the sport he can command on any leisure day and almost at his own door, has no longing to "go far afield."

Dr. Henshall gracefully dedicates his book to the well-known "Cuvier Club" of Cincinnati, of which he is an honored member, "for its praiseworthy efforts in behalf of the preservation of fish and game; and for the great benefits it has bestowed upon the angler, the sportsman, and the naturalist." This dedication suggests that in our Eastern cities united effort should be made and united action taken by our fishing fraternity to promote the development of the black bass in our Eastern streams, by protecting it where it is now found, and by introducing it into new waters. Efforts in that direction, rightly devised and rightly pursued, will add very much to the welfare and the pleasure of the people.

S. W.

Dramatic Sonnets of Inward Life. By A. M. R. Newport: Theo. W. Richards & Bro.

It is rarely that a book so curious and interesting in more ways than one comes forward for review, and it is with mingled feelings of admiration and respect that the task is undertaken. The printing is entirely the work of two boys, aged respectively ten and fourteen years. It was the work of their summer vacation, and how much work it was may be judged from the fact that they printed an edition of two hundred and fifty copies, a small part of which is now offered for sale for the benefit of the youthful firm, who intend devoting the proceeds to the enlargement of their laboratory. Too high praise cannot be given to the neatness and

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clearness of the work, the beauty of the type and paper, and one cannot but feel that so much patience and care must have an outcome in after-life. But the labor had an added zest of pleasure from the fact that the sonnets were written by the mother of the young printers. They are almost entirely religious in their character, and are in a note explained to be "part of an unfinished design to give expression to every available form of spiritual consciousness, without challenge or comment." They are the growth of strong feeling and deep throught, born of great earnestness, but are yet filled with hope:

> "Thou knowest the worst; the best is still to learn:
> The boundless power of life to adjust her course
> To final truth without the heart's content."

But it is injustice to the book to give it piecemeal. The second sonnet is so beautiful that had we space it should be given entire. We can only advise our readers to buy the book, and that so speedily that the young firm may have the pleasure of knowing that a second edition is called for. One hardly knows whether the author or her printers are most the subject of congratulation.

E. S. P.

MONUMENTAL CHRISTIANITY; OR, THE ART AND SYMBOLISM OF THE PRIMITIVE CHURCH AS WITNESSES AND TEACHERS OF THE ONE CATHOLIC FAITH AND PRACTICE. By John P. Lundy, Presbyter. Second edition. 4to. With new preface, corrections and additions. New York: J. W. Bouton, 706 Broadway. 1882.

The first edition of this learned and timely work was published in 1876, and was the result of many years of patient labor and wide research. Its general aim is to establish the ancient catholic faith, as contained in the articles of the Apostles' Creed, not so much from books as from various monuments from which, as from indubitable witnesses, the story of it can be completely filled out. Dr Lundy has evidently kept pace with his subject since the first edition was published, and the reader of this second edition will find in the new preface valuable matter, showing the essential difference between Christianity and those mythologies with which Dupries, and, after him, Higgins, R. Taylor, Strauss, Inman, and others, have sought to identify it.

A concrete form of the difference between religion, as such, and mythology, as such, in their simpler forms, is shown by the case of two Indian tribes of South America, the Mesayas and the Yurucaras, the former of whom have "a religion without much mythology," and the latter "a mythology without much religion."

The author then proceeds to show, in opposition to Dupries and some of his later followers, that Christianity is *not* "another form of the old pagan sun-myth," and that, when it came, if it had come as such, "it would never have been received by any, whether

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philosopher or peasant; because, for long ages, the sun-myth had been tried and found wanting;" adding that "the one single object of this work is to show how, in all ages and countries, universal man has had this religion [*i. e.*, natural or essential religion,]. to guide and comfort him, whose best and clearest manifestation or revelation is Christianity."

The reader will find much learning condensed in this preface, and learning of a curious and interesting sort. A short notice, such as this necessarily is, cannot do justice to the author's argument, which must be read in full to be appreciated.

Appendix II., which is also new matter, gives a smart rap to some modern ecclesiastical tinkering at the Creed, as well as modern departures from primitive practice.

Dr. Lundy's book is one without which a theological library is incomplete. It is a whole library in itself. There is a very full index; the type is clear and good for the eyes; and the illustrations, which are many, are of a very high order of excellence.

J. A. H.

THE YOUNG FOLKS' ROBINSON CRUSOE. Edited by William T. Adams. Boston: Lee & Shepard. New York: Charles T. Dillingham. 1882.

THE FOUR-FOOTED LOVERS. By Frank Albertsen. Illustrated by Miss L. B. Humphrey. Boston: Lee & Shepard.

"The Young Folks' Robinson Crusoe" is a new edition of Mrs. Farrar's expurgated version of De Foe's story, in which the hero is enlisted on the side of industry, resignation, "and other good qualities of which he might be supposed to be an example." Though poor old Robinson Crusoe was able to keep a man Friday, to make his house tidy, he has not been able to keep away from editors; yet, in spite of changes, he is and always will be the hero and friend of childhood.

The less children know of lovers, whether they be four-footed or two-legged, the better. There seems to be nothing to praise in this book—the illustrations are atrocious, and the letter-press a combination of slang and maudlin sentiment put into the mouths of innocent animals. Fancy any respectable squirrel being guilty of the remark: "If she knew how glorious it is for me to love you." If they do talk such nonsense, let it not be translated for our children.

E. S. P.

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BOOKS RECEIVED.

The Opium Habit and Alcoholism. By Dr. Fred. Heman Hubbard. Cloth. 12mo. Pp. 259. $2.00. New York: A. S. Barnes & Co.

Bob Dean; or, Our Other Boarder. By Mrs. Emma Nelson Hood. 12mo. Cloth. Pp. 379. $1.50. Philadelphia: E. Claxton & Co.

The Names of the Gods in the Kiche Myths, Central America. By Daniel G. Brinton, M. D. 8vo. Swd. Pp. 37. Philadelphia: MacCalla & Stavely.

Opium-Smoking in America and China. By H. H. Kane, M. D. 16mo. Cloth. Pp. 156. $1.00. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. (Porter & Coates.)

The First Book of Knowledge. By Frederick Guthrie, F. R. S. 16mo. Cloth. Pp. 130. $1.00. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. (Porter & Coates.)

Sensation and Pain. By Charles Fayette Taylor, M. D. 16mo. Cloth. Pp. 77. $0.75. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. (Porter & Coates.)

Suicide: Studies on Its Philosophy, Causes, and Prevention. By James O'Dea, M. D. Cloth. 12mo. Pp. 322. $1.75. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. (Porter & Coates.)

Arsiesis, and Other Poems. 16mo. Cloth. Pp. 113. $1.25. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. (Porter & Coates.)

Lectures on the Origin and Growth of Religion, as Illustrated by Some Points in the History of Indian Buddhism. By T. W. Rhys Davids. Cloth. 8vo. Pp. 263. $2.50. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. (Porter & Coates.)

The Resources of Arizona. Compiled by Patrick Hamilton. Swd. 12mo. Pp. 120. Prescott, Arizona.

Annual Report of the Commissioner of Patents for the Year 1880. Washington: Government Printing Office.

Alphabetical List of Patentees and Inventors for the Half Year, January to June, 1881, Inclusive. Washington: Government Printing Office.

Report on the Internal Commerce of the United States. By Joseph Nimmo, Jr. Washington: Government Printing Office.

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THE

PENN MONTHLY.

MARCH, 1882.

THE TERM AND TENURE OF OFFICE. III.

THE fact that those holding under four-year terms have, as we have seen, retained their places for much shorter periods than those unaffected by such terms, seems decisive that short terms tend to instability—in other words, produce the rotation which their champions favor. The more carefully we consider the subject on grounds of reason, the more fear we may well have if short terms are to be made universal. Quite aside from the fact that such terms are demanded in the name of rotation and of the communistic theory that every man has an equal right to office, they make a sort of legislative proclamation of such doctrines. They apply alike to worthy and unworthy officials, and hence tell the people that every officer, no matter how pure and useful, should leave his place at the end of four years. He is, in the spirit of such law, if he stays longer, an odious monopolist, holding by favor what belongs to another. A law fixing a four years' term plainly says that a ministerial officer should not hold his place either so long as he remains upright and efficient, or so long as his superior officer regards him as more useful to the public than an inexperienced man would be, but that, for reasons paramount to all such considerations, his service should end absolutely with the four years. These reasons—however partisan, communistic, or corrupt,—are by the legislative made imperative upon the executive; they are unavowed by the law, and are left to mere inference on the part of the people. They are reasons, at once vague and mysterious, which plainly and equally disregard

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personal merit in the inferior officer displaced and the responsibility of his superior for good administration in his own department. At best, they are an invasion by the legislative upon the executive; for they fully imply that the executive shall not remove those unfit for the public service, and cannot be trusted to decide how long the services of a subordinate are useful to the public—powers which, under the Constitution, plainly belong to the executive. Will any well-informed, candid man claim that our executive service has been injured by too much stability or experience on the part of those who fill it? Can any facts be referred to which show that the public work would be done better or with less expense if the service of the near eighty thousand officials not under a four years' term had been as short as has been the service of the thirty-five hundred who hold under such a term? On the contrary, have not inexperience, incapacity, instability and political intrigue and agitation—which are the natural results of too frequent changes,—been among the great evils of our official life?

Such considerations will prevent the provision of short terms ever being regarded as legislation in the interest of efficient or economical administration. They will be regarded as the enforcement of a pretended system of justice in office-holding,—as an approval of increased patronage for parties—of diminished power in the executive over its own subordinates,—of encroachment on the part of Congress beyond the sphere of its responsibility,—of more absolute dependence upon mere favor on the part of subordinates. Such theories, taught by law, would powerfully tend to increase the frequency of removals without cause, and to make more respectable and potential the demands of parties, chieftains and great officials for patronage, rotation and spoils.

Short terms are in principle a sort of invitation, even to the Executive himself, to remove for reasons other than the good of the public service; for those terms are in substance a removal, every four years, of every person in the public service, not for avowed cause, but utterly irrespective of the merits of those removed. It is now the plain right and duty of the Executive to remove for cause, and not to remove without cause. But the four years' term statute provides for additional removals, irrespective of this right and duty and regardless of the judgment of the Execu-

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tive. They emphatically teach servility by saying to every subordinate: "Your sole chance of holding beyond the four years depends on Executive favor exerted for your re-appointment. A peaceful holding is not to be a consequence of well doing. Look to favor and influence. Under the laws of your country, or by reason of any merit or usefulness they pretend to respect, you have no claim to stay an hour beyond the quadrennial period." Mr. Webster, in 1835, in urging the repeal of the four years' term of 1820, covered the ground in these words: "The law itself vacates the office and gives the means of rewarding a friend without the exercise of the power of removal at all. Here is increased power with diminished responsibility. Here is a still greater dependence on Executive favor, and, of course, a new dominion over opinion and over conduct."

If official merit, in the estimation of the appointing power, is a good reason for continuing longer in office, why bring the holding to an end by a fixed term? The end of the term but refers that same question to the identical authority which would, except for the term, have decided it. If unworthy to decide when to remove for cause, is not the superior officer unworthy to decide when to re-appoint for merit?

But the four years' term law does not stop there. It not only arms every office-seeker with a new argument for demanding for himself the place of the experienced official whose place it vacates, but it enables that demand to be complied with without the responsibility of a removal. In other words, it invites rotation, justifies it, and makes it easy and irresponsible. From the collector, postmaster and heads of departments,—who have thus far been able to retain their subordinates for ten or more years,—the extension of that term would take away all means of self-protection, and leave them at the mercy of that tremendous pressure of party leaders and patronage-mongers which the late President Garfield forcibly portrayed. Every reason which could be urged in favor of a four years' term law could also be urged by party managers and great officials against re-appointments at the end of those terms. For, how is rotation to be secured,—how is each man any more certain to get his fair share of office under short terms,—if all the good officers who ought not to have been removed are to be re-appointed at the end of their terms? If there are not to be

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more changes under a four years' term than without it,—if inexperience is not to be increased, and skilled servants whom the public has educated are not to be driven out,—then what the gain of the short-term law upon the theory of its advocates? It would not cause rotation.

There are doubtless a few worthy persons who favor a law creating a four years' term, because they think it may be made a substitute for removals, and perhaps have a vague idea that it will promote justice. But all experience and the very nature of the proposed change should admonish them. The arguments of the party managers who favor short terms, and of the amiable reformers who incline to accept them, are utterly incompatible. When a minority of doctors could not admit a blister to be a cure for a carbuncle, they agreed to an application of ice on one side and of the blister on the other side; but such reformers propose an absolute assent to more fuel for putting out a fire.

Every patronage-monger,—every caucus manipulator,—every shiftless office-seeker of the land,—every aspiring demagogue longing for more offices to pledge for votes,—every unscrupulous chieftain seeking more callow officials to tax and more places to give as bribes,—every intense partisan believing that spoils are the strength of parties, and that rotation in office is a vital principle of republics,—is not only in favor of a four years' term, but will insist on true Jacksonian proscription during that term. Can any argument be necessary to make it clear that every concession to such theories but intensifies and embitters the communistic, partisan and proscriptive spirit which they embody? Every admission in the statutes that some other person than the responsible executive officer shall decide how long his subordinate shall be retained, or that reasons independent of the merits of the subordinate shall determine that decision, strengthens the arguments of the spoilsmen in the same degree that it impairs the discipline and efficiency of the service and departs from the principles of the Constitution.

The language of Mr. Jefferson, in his letter to Mr. Madison already quoted, concerning the four years' term created by the Act of 1820, is prophetic. "It saps the constitutional and salutary functions of the President and introduces a principle of intrigue and corruption which will soon leaven the mass not only of Senators but of citizens. If will keep in constant excitement all the

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hungry cormorants for office; render them, as well as those in place, sycophants to their Senators." Mr. Conkling and his followers thought it had made the people also sycophants to their Senators.

If a ministerial officer should go out at the end of four years, in order that a new Administration or party coming into power may be able to put in men of their own opinions, why should he not go out at any time during his term if he ceases to hold the views of the ruling party? If a four years' term should be provided to afford offices for all those seeking them, should they not be made yet shorter, and proscriptive removals during the term be added for the same reasons, when, as has lately been the fact at Washington, the ante-rooms are crowded with office-seekers, and the tables of the secretaries are loaded with office-begging letters? Such reasons are just as good for bringing down the term to two years, to one year, or even to two months, as we have seen was the fact in the Florentine and other Italian republics. We must reject rotation as a principle, or carry it to its legitimate results. If the best ability and character for serving the people, and the best and most economical administrators, be not the standard and the end recognized by law, then we can nowhere set them up against the claims of the communistic office-seeker or patronage-monger.

The proportion of Federal officials to the population ranges from one in twenty-four in the District of Columbia, to one in five hundred and forty in Vermont and one in fifteen hundred in Georgia. The average seems to be about one official among every six hundred of the population, or one official for every one hundred and fifty males and females with some competency for official duties. That, as a rule, from five to fifty persons make a contest or claim for nearly every vacancy, is well known. Will this demoralizing office-seeking be less,—will the feverish and selfish activity of parties and factions which it stimulates and feeds be diminished,—by giving a four years' term to eighty thousand additional offices on the demand of politicians and office-seekers who declare that every man has an equal right to office, and that a quadrennial rotation is but yielding to this right? Having, by proclaiming rotation to be a principle of republican justice, provided a place for one office-seeker in fifty, shall we be more or less able than before to resist

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the communistic demand of the other forty-nine office-seekers? Will it tend to dissuade them from demanding removals without cause, or to make them better satisfied that Senators hold for six years, and judges during good behavior?

It hardly need be pointed out that terms fixed by law would advertise to parties, to every office-seeker, and to the feudal lords of patronage, the precise dates of every vacancy. He must know little of office-seeking, or of partisan methods for controlling appointments, who does not see that every approaching vacancy would be the subject of deliberate and mischievous bargains and combinations of influence for filling it. The appointing power would be solicited for pledges, men of prominence would be pressed for recommendations, party leaders would be besieged for influence, every corrupt element and every pernicious activity of politics would be intensified beyond anything yet known. For, so long as a removal must precede an appointment, there is a great uncertainty as to whether any vacancy will exist, and a concentrated effort at a decisive moment is generally impracticable. The appointing power has some chance of self-protection. An inevitable vacancy at a time known months or years before would change all this. The potentates of patronage would wrangle over, bargain for and apportion every vacancy months before it happened.

If any man doubt whether a four years' term for the clerks at Washington, and at the custom-houses and post-offices, would make our politics more feverish and corrupt, let him reflect upon the probable effects in these particulars of a one year or six months' term for such offices, as compared with the probable effects of a twenty years' term. Short terms would keep the patronage-mongers forever active, the partisan cauldron forever boiling. Congressmen would need to give two-thirds instead of one-third of their time, as now, to office-seekers; while the long term would suppress a large part of our corrupt patronage, and would for that reason be fiercely opposed by the worst class of politicians. If, possibly, by one extreme, we might burthen the departments with a few dotards, it is plain that by the other we might, for lack of experience, arrest the public work and make office-seeking and office-brokerage a great business of the country. Whether the fixing of any term as a substitute for a tenure, conditioned on good behavior and efficiency, and hence subject to the

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stern duty of removal for cause, would be a gain, is the decisive question. If any term is to be fixed, it seems plain that it should be one which recognizes niether the theory of rotation nor the claim of equal rights to office, irrespective of superior merit.

But it may be fairly said that the friends of a fixed term do not favor one of four years, but a longer term,—perhaps one of six or ten years. I must think the vast majority of them prefer a term of only four years, and that for the very reasons which prevailed in 1820 and 1836. I must also think it unsafe to expect that Congress will establish any other. It has never yet given its assent to a longer term than four years. That body neither knows nor has precedent for any other term. The most partisan journals and the most scheming politicians are now demanding a four years' term. And here we may recall the fact, that, when, in 1836, the four years' term was first made applicable to postmasters, the Senate took to itself the confirmation of about four hundred of them, being those whose compensation was one thousand dollars a year and over,—which class now, under the test of that law, is increased to eighteen hundred and forty. This requires, from mere expiration of terms, the confirmation by the Senate of four hundred and sixty postmasters each year; and, when the cases of resignations and removals are added, it makes it necessary for that body to act upon nominations of postmasters at the rate of two every day of the session! Is it any wonder that great questions of legislation are neglected, that Senators are beset by office-seekers, or that they are becoming more and more the partisan chieftains of their States? Have the facts attending these confirmations been such as to make it desirable that several thousand more, of the forty thousand additional postmasters to which the four years' term may be extended, should be brought into that body for confirmation? Would such confirmation secure superior business men for postmasters, relieve Senators from office-seekers, or tend to purify and elevate municipal politics? Is an angry debate in the Senate about State politics,—such as we have lately seen, over a village postmaster,—the best means of securing a good one? One thing such a change might do; it might, within a decade, when ten thousand postmasters would be subject to confirmation,—or twenty-five hundred a year, being equal to fifteen each day of the entire session of Congress, would be pending for confirmation on the executive session calendars,

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with fierce delegations for and against each in the ante-chambers,—render it impossible for the Senate to attend to any other business. This would at least produce a crisis. Let a debate arise in Congress, and those reasons of 1820 and 1836 will be again vigorously urged. How many members, depending, as they do, on party majorities and patronage-mongers, will venture to confront such reasoning?

But let us look further. Take away such reasons, and upon what grounds can a short term be defended? If ministerial officials should not go out with an Administration, when and for what cause should they go out? It is quite true that, disregarding the quadrennial period, and the whole theory of rotation for giving everybody an office, a candid mind may yet favor a short term; but for what reasons and upon what grounds fix its length? Let us consider the main points.

1. The reasons have already appeared why a six years' term would be preferable to one of four years, as a term of ten or more years would be to one of six years. And competent persons would doubtless be more likely to take an official place and to serve for a moderate compensation under a tenure of six years, than under one of four, for much the same reasons that they would still more incline to the public service under a tenure having regard to merit, which would appeal both to their ambition and to their sense of safety. A four years' or a six years' term for a young man takes him from business experience at an important period, and forces the man of family to expense in adjusting himself to his position, while it offers to either only a dreary, admonishing uncertainty, little inviting to a person of prudence or capacity. When, after coming into the service at twenty or thirty years of age, a four years' training by the Government as an accountant, an appraiser, a mail distributor, as an officer at the Mint, the Assay Office, or the Treasury, has made the official skilful, well-informed, and valuable as a public servant, it is certainly desirable that he should remain at least two years longer; but would it not be yet more desirable that he should stay so long as he is the most useful man for the place? What good reason can be given for sending away a valuable official at twenty-six or thirty-six, on merely showing that he has served six years? Is it not plain that, if the tenure and the usage should say to him: "So long as you do your duty promptly and well, and maintain a good character,

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your means of living will not be taken away, nor your place given to another," he would be stimulated to fidelity in a degree unknown to him who can hold his place only time enough to learn its duties and to look out for another? The Government will never be best served, nor gain the best to serve it, while its officials are selected or treated as needy birds-of-passage, in mercy supported to-day, but told to find a place elsewhere to-morrow.

2. It may be insisted that the service would not, of course, end with the six years, but only terminate in case the incumbent should be held unworthy of re-appointment. This theory plausibly presents a short term as a kind of substitute for removals. It contemplates that, at the end of the service of every one of the fourteen thousand executive officials whose period would expire within each year under a six years' term, there would be a special inquest of their official conduct, and a just judgment rendered. We need not dwell on the magnitude of such an undertaking which makes it chimerical. If the facts this theory assumes be true, that during the previous six years the official superiors have been ignorant of the merits of their subordinates, such neglect would prove them unworthy to decide as to re-appointments. If such merits have been known, no special inquiry will be needed, and the unworthy will have been or should have been removed. Whose duty would it be, in any event, to conduct that inquiry and decide upon re-appointments, except that of the identical superior officers whose yearly and daily duty it now is to keep themselves in that regard fully informed, and to make removals whenever good cause exists? Since that obligation cannot be increased, the change, if any, contemplated in official supervision under short terms would seem to be one that would excuse its performance until the end of the term. Insufficiency, insubordination, neglect of duty for party work, and conduct not absolutely infamous, or criminal, perhaps, are to be overlooked during the term, because at its end there is to be a grand inquest. In other words, the moral and legal obligations of officials in the higher places, and the experience and discipline essential on the part of those in the lower places, are both alike to be reduced to short measure, as a part of the benefits of short terms. That this would please the office-seekers, patronage-mongers and partisans most clamorous for such terms, we need not doubt. On any other theory, or any just or defensible theory as to

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removals, it is plain that the unworthy would all be removed before the end of the six years and all those left at its expiration would deserve re-appointment, which would make the term unavailing for any useful purpose. If, therefore, the officials having a duty of removal are to be trusted, the six years' or other short term is needless; and, if they are not to be trusted to make removals, would they be improved for the duty of re-appointment by a statute which would suggest that until the end of terms they should wink at the delinquencies of their subordinates? The better remedy than any short term would be to enforce far more sternly, and, if need be, by the aid of stringent legislation, the duty, declared by Madison and implied in the Constitution, to remove for adequate cause, and not to remove without it; and by fit reform methods to take away the pressure, the threats and the corrupt persuasions which now make the proper discharge of that duty so rare and difficult. Under such a system, the unworthy would be warned off as well as weeded out from the public service.

But let us not forget that with fixed terms, either for six or ten years, it would be far more difficult to re-appoint valuable servants than it would have been to retain them longer if no statute had taught the office-seekers and spoilsmen the doctrine of rotation and removals without causes. It is unquestionably true, on the other hand, that an officer too cowardly to discharge his duty of removing during a term may more easily get excused by reason of a removal made by act of Congress; and, so far as that kind of relief which first encourages official neglect and then causes it to be forgotten is an advantage, it must certainly be set to the credit of short, fixed terms. With the duty of making removals for cause—which would embrace habitual inefficiency by reason of age or any other cause,—fitly discharged, we should hear little of a life tenure,—which is utterly indefensible,—or of a tenure during good behavior merely,—which is inadmissible, because not compatible with such right and duty of removal. Good behavior and efficiency combined are the true basis of tenure for administrative officers. Who but the spoilsmen, the rotationists and the radical partisans,—who but those who refuse to allow the supreme objects to be pure, economical and vigorous administration,—can object to retaining ministerial officers so long as they are most useful for the public service?

3. There are doubtless some who think—and, within very narrow

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limits, perhaps not wholly without reason,—that short terms would impress upon the officials a new sense of responsibility in addition to that felt toward official superiors—a responsibility to the public and to public opinion. The fact that the managers of small local administrations, open to the view of everyone, in towns and villages, and that officers elected by the people feel a wholesome responsibility of that kind, is a natural source of delusion on the subject. If that sense of responsibility is reliable, it would be a good reason why the eighty thousand inferior Federal officers should be elected rather than appointed. The greater parts of our system would be indefensible. It is because that theory is illusory, that, under our system and under that of every civilized state, such officials are appointed and governed by superior officers. The popular judgment can never fairly decide how far bad administration is due to the superior officer or to the inferiors who must obey the instructions of those above them, and hence puts the responsibility and duty of removal upon the superior—the President, the Governor, and the Mayor, whom the people elect, or upon the heads of departments, whose terms are for that reason made short. Every attempt by the Legislature, through short terms, to substitute for the true responsibility to the Executive and for the duty of removal a new kind of responsibility, is therefore not only a legislative usurpation of executive functions, but is an effort both repugnant to our Constitution and demoralizing in its tendency.

In order that the popular judgment or the Senate should deal justly or wisely with a subordinate,—a postmaster, collector, district-attorney, and much more with an appraiser, inspector, or marshal,—it would need to know, not only the instructions given and the liberty and facilities allowed him, but the accounts and the many facts which are among the secrets of the departments.

But, utterly illusory as hopes from a popular judgment on such matters must be at its best, short terms in themselves tend to debauch that judgment and to make it less salutary than it would become under a stable tenure, such as we have seen that President Arthur and all the late Presidents approve. Those terms cause a mere preponderating party majority or selfish personal influence to fill nearly all the subordinate places, and the power that gives a man an office keeps him there or dictates his successor with equal disregard of character and administrative capacity.

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The shorter the term, the more difficult and unreliable the popular judgment. Make the term a year or a month, and will any candid man say that a popular judgment upon the official conduct of him who fills it could exist? In most cases, the public can tell whether the work of an office—but only rarely in a large office whether that of a single officer,—be well done; but its protest and high demand must be addressed to the head of the department or the President, where only its concentrated voice can be made potential,—if not at once, at least at the next election. Who can doubt that a community, dissatisfied for good cause with its postmaster, could far more easily induce a Postmaster-General or President, than a Senate, to remove him? For, in the case of the superior officer, under a proper system, he would stand alone, with all the facts at his command, with public opinion concentrated upon him, with sole responsibility for his duties; while the Senate, if not dominated by its demoralizing courtesy, acts secretly, without responsibility, by a party majority, and with neither time nor means for learning the facts. Almost the last example—that of the postmaster at Lynchburg, Virginia, in which the partisan refusal of the Senate was followed by a suspension of the delinquent officer by the President,—suggests the fit answer and illustrates the whole system of legislative usurpation of executive functions.

The worst administrations of later years—corruptions, partisan proscription, neglect of official duty in order to coerce elections, political assessments, the degradation of the public servants into the henchmen of chieftains and Senators, the bartering of places for votes,—have not been originated or most practiced by the more subordinate officials to whom a fixed term has never been extended, but have grown up and become most intolerable around the great custom-houses and post-offices, at the head of which are officers holding for four years, confirmed by the Senate and beyond removal, except by the consent of that body—or, perhaps, I should say, of the one or two members of it most responsible for the wrong-doing of the officers complained of!

If the thousands of postmasters whose compensation is between five hundred and one thousand dollars a year were given a term of four or six years, and were added to the eighteen hundred and forty postmasters who receive one thousand dollars or more a year, so as to be affected by this new kind of popular responsi-

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bility, and made subject to confirmation by the Senate, I must think that not superior postmasters, but more active politicians, would be secured, and that new elements of vicious and feverish activity would be added to our municipal politics in every quarter of the Union. All the older States, at least, would have from three to four times as many officers, and with changes or reappointments of each recurring two or three times as often as now; concerning most of whom, at best, there would be the same vigorous working of party machinery and the same mischievous combination of selfish influences which now distract communities and vex Congressmen in connection with the quadrennial appointment of postmasters. Few things are clearer in our own politics than the fact that the vast majority of such confirmations are determined by mere official favor or partisan interests, and not upon any intelligent regard for the administrative capacity of the candidate. The case of Postmaster James of New York, a public official educated and elevated by his rare qualifications and the reform methods he enforced, is an exception so conspicuous as to arrest the attention of the whole country and to make him Postmaster-General,—the first example of administrative capacity ever commanding the bestowal of that office.

I must, therefore, regard it as a condition of good postal administration to repeal the four years' term for postmasters, and as most desirable not any longer to draw them into the Senate for confirmation. And, is it too much to expect that Senators will magnanimously surrender a patronage which obstructs the business of legislation in much the same degree that it aggravates partisan politics, draws themselves into unworthy contests, and debases the Senatorial office? At worst, it is some consolation to think that the time is not remote when mere physical inability to have a partisan or patronage-monger's contest in that body over each of the ten thousand postmasters who, a few years hence, will receive a compensation of a thousand dollars or more a year, will compel a reform in the public interest.

A true conception of the functions of a postmaster or a collector would require that the business of their offices should be conducted in a manner wholly independent of party politics, and would hold it not only an abuse of official authority, but a gross violation of the liberty of the citizen, to use the official influence

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of either to control votes or manage parties. A general recognition of these simple truths would, so far as these officers are involved, solve nearly every problem of practical reform. England, in the reign of Queen Anne, by statute made it penal for a postmaster "by word or writing, or in any manner whatsoever, to endeavor to persuade or dissuade any elector . . . as to giving his vote." Still upholding that law, it is now a part of her postal instructions that "every person employed under the Postmaster-General is prohibited from exerting any influence either for or against any candidate; . . . and canvassing within a post-office is prohibited" on this basis of law. Aided by competitive examinations in the great post-offices, and by a tenure of worth and efficiency governing promotions and removals, Great Britain has, at less expense than our own, secured a postal administration unsurpassed in the world and quite beyond anything to which our public opinion yet aspires,—at least, outside the city of New York. There, Mr. James, bringing to the work rare administrative ability, refusing to remove without cause, and adopting the competitive examinations which British experience had matured,—examples which his successor faithfully follows,—secured results unequalled in this country, and, considering the inadequacy of the appropriations for a more complete service, unsurpassed anywhere. Yet this New York service is quite behind that of London, where, in some sections, there are eleven and in others twelve mail deliveries a day, while in New York there are in no part but nine daily deliveries. But New York has thousands of politicians who believe in rotation in office, who hold Civil Service Reform to be a theoretical, *doctrinaire* delusion, who really think that the city has the most complete mail service in the world, and who do not forgive Mr. James for trying to take the letter-carriers and post-office clerks out of party politics.

It is by the means here indicated, which would equally tend to raise our postal affairs above local politics in the villages and above State politics on the floor of the Senate, and not by mere short terms, or by adding postmasters to the confusing and demoralizing number of elective officials, that purer and more economical administration may be secured. Congressmen who really wish to be relieved of so much solicitation about post-offices, of which they complain, may vote to repeal the Act of 1836, and for

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a law forbidding any postmaster interfering with elections and any removal of a postmaster being made without cause, to be stated in writing. These are the first steps toward a real divorce of party politics and postal administration. But, if members desire more patronage, more venal, pot-house politics, and the worst postal administration of any civilized people, I must think they can secure them by extending a four years' term to every postmaster, thus making it necessary to agitate the towns, villages and cities by a partisan contest every four years over the appointment or re-appointment to each of the more than ten thousand postmasterships and the many thousand post-office clerkships which such law would make vacant, in addition to all those which would be the result of removals for cause or without cause,—altogether, a revolution far greater than that under President Jackson.

4. Another reason given for fixing short terms is that it is the best that can be done in the present state of public opinion, which is said to demand them. This view is not warranted by the facts. We have seen that short terms were an important part of the "spoils system" upon its introduction, and that they were persistently urged by the defenders of that system, of which they have since been a bulwark. They have, on the other hand, been opposed by all the great statesmen and by all the Presidents who have favored a non-partisan civil service. We have seen how, in New York and Pennsylvania,—and much the same was true in other States,—the partisanship which forced them upon the Federal service as early as 1850 also caused short terms to be extended to Judges and other State officers. We have also seen that, a few years later, in the same period when the Civil Service Reform was first demanded, there was a reaction in the States, which has since steadily grown stronger, the effect of which has been to lengthen the terms, not only of State Judges, Governors and Senators, but of Mayors, Commissioners, and other municipal officers, besides substituting biennial for annual sessions of Legislatures in most of the States. To go back again, under the pretence of reform, in the face of such a tendency, to the theory of the laws of 1820 and 1836, is as unnecessary as I must think it would be disastrous to the country and to the party and administration which should be responsible for it. That there are a few who, overlooking the fatal objection pointed out, honestly think that short terms may be made

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an agency of reform, has been admitted; but I must regard the great majority of those who favor them as advocates of the "spoils system" generally, or, at least, of a Jacksonian rotation as a matter of principle. With some exceptions, those most earnest for such terms have been most intense in their opposition to Civil Service Reform, and especially to competitive or other effective examinations which would exclude official favoritism and partisan proscription in appointments.

Their policy is very adroit. They see that some action under the name of reform must now be conceded to public opinion. They know that the dominant party, by its platforms and its Presidents, stands pledged to a more stable tenure. They feel that something must be done that will be accepted as a part fulfilment of that pledge. They are not willing to surrender their patronage or to allow any but members of their own party to enter even the most humble places. They therefore say: "Let us fix short terms, and, silently ignoring the matter of removals for cause, let us call this stability and reform, and persuade the people to accept it as such. This will carry us over the stress of public opinion."

It is a shrewd movement, and, if ignorant of the history of short terms, not a few worthy citizens might trust this seductive nostrum. The fact is that, outside the more selfish and partisan circles, and the few who have thoughtlessly accepted rotation as justice, which demand short terms, there is no public opinion demanding them and there are no abuses which they could mitigate. Where in the executive service is there too much trained experience? Where dotards drawing salaries they do not earn? Who will undertake to say that, for every person superannuated in the civil service, there are not ten incompetent from inexperience or by reason of that natural incapacity which only favor or outside pressure could force into or keep in office? Which gives the wiser suggestions, the valuable services of Mr. Hunter in behalf of prudence and sound diplomacy,—who has been at the State Department since 1829,—or the fact that we are now disgraced before the world and dangerously embroiled with South American republics by reason of the inexperience, and consequent rashness and blunders, of those who have been conducting our diplomatic affairs? Which does the growing and wise public opinion most favor,—a system which would give us well-qualified consuls, under a

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stable tenure, or that system which, through intrigue and partisan favoritism, has so largely filled our consular places with stale politicians and bankrupt office-seekers, equally ignorant of the commerce they are to protect, the laws they are to administer, and the language of the people they are to conciliate? What the growing public opinion demands is not rotation, or an everlasting procession of partisans and bankrupts through the offices, but that the most worthy shall be selected for office, and that they shall be kept so long as they are pure and efficient, and no longer. So far as there is now any real difficulty in making removals when they ought to be made, it is due to that same pressure on the part of great politicians and members of Congress which crowds the service with their unworthy favorites and dependants. The threats and the fawnings that foist a brawny henchman, a bankrupt cousin, or a favorite widow, upo the national pay-roll, are repeated when the attempt is made to remove them. Let competitive examinations be placed at the gates of entrance to the public service, which would exclude the unworthy and bring in those who would have nothing but their superior merit to keep them there, and removals for cause would be easy. And, should any superior officer be found delinquent in that regard, he can be impeached, as Madison advised; for, when members of Congress and other great officials and chieftains shall no longer have the departments crowded with their favorites and relatives, and can put no more in at their pleasure, they will no longer, as now, have an interest to prevent the arraignment of extravagance and imbecility in the executive service. British experience has confirmed the plain suggestions of reason on those points.

5. It has been suggested that, since competitive examinations are very offensive to the partisans and spoilsmen, whose patronage they would suppress, such examinations might be facilitated, or the need of them in a measure superseded, by short terms. I must regard the suggestion as being not even plausible; for such terms, for all the reasons stated, would surely strengthen every false theory and aggravate every abuse against which such examinations and every other tending to test merit are directed. The shorter the term, the greater the necessity for ability and business experience upon entering the public service; and the greater, also, the need of thorough competitive examinations as the best means of

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selecting the most competent of the applicants. Even those incompetent at the start may, after some years' training at the public expense, be made serviceable for the public work. But if the term is too short for such education, large capacity must be required at the start. Make the term only a month, and the public work would be arrested, unless the standard for admission should be raised and a stern enforcement of competition should be made to throw out more than the mere dunces. While, therefore, competitive examinations could be made to mitigate some of the evils of short terms, such terms would make competitive examinations indispensable.

It is important to clearly perceive that the time when a person should leave the public service does not depend upon how he got into it, but upon his usefulness there. Whether he got in by favor, pressure, or through a competitive examination, the question of his proper term or tenure is the same. Such examinations, and, indeed, nearly all the practical methods of Civil Service Reform,—except the demand for the repeal of the short-term acts, and for laws against political assessments,—relate to the means of *getting into the service* and to the abuses therewith connected. It is only the specious, unwarranted allegations of the spoilsmen, which declare a dependence of those methods upon a life tenure or long term of office. There is no such dependence. A great portion of the removals without cause are, however, made in order to create vacancies into which dependants or henchmen may be pushed. And, since, under competitive examinations, the place would be filled by whoever could prove himself the better man, this pushing would avail little or nothing; and for that reason unwarranted removals would hardly take place, as we have seen to be the case at the New York post-office. While, therefore, these methods would tend to make a tenure more stable by making powerless the corrupt forces which cause proscriptive removals, I repeat, that the need of applying these methods would increase with every reduction of the term of office and every enfeeblement of tenure. It is an utter misconception of the subject to claim that a permanent tenure of office is an incident of competitive examination, or any further a consequence of them than this,—that, securing the better man, they make it more easy and natural to keep such men as long as the public needs or desires them.

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But, suppose short-term theories should now prevail; what would be the result in the near future? How long can such theories be in force? Population doubles in about thirty years, and officers increase yet more rapidly. Men who have now reached manhood may live to see more than two hundred millions of people in the Union. Almost within the last decade, the Life-Saving and Signal Service, the National Board of Health, the Agricultural Bureau and the Bureau of Education have been added to the public service, and these last two will doubtless soon be departments. The ten thousand and seven hundred postmasters of 1835 had increased to twenty thousand and five hundred in 1855, and to over forty-two thousand in 1881. With two hundred millions of people, we are almost sure to have nearly two hundred thousand postmasters and little short of half a million subordinates in the executive service. There will still be but one President, but one Senate, but one Secretary of the Treasury, but one Postmaster-General, unless we create others to fight off the office-seekers and work the machinery of office-filling. Shall we deliberately create an official term which will require the refilling of nearly a hundred thousand of these places every year, in addition to all those that may be made vacant by removals and resignations? Washington could not contain the office-seekers and their backers who would swarm there. Could republican institutions stand such a strain?

Such are the principal reasons urged for short terms and some of the reasons which forbid them. There is another objection to them which must not be overlooked. They would greatly embarrass, if not defeat, any adequate system for promotion based on merit or experience. Four successive Presidents, all the best administrators in this country,—and notably Postmaster-General James and Mr. Schurz,—and every-well governed country abroad, have insisted on promotions for merit, tested by experience, as most essential to good administration. When, in his late message, President Arthur declared that "positions of responsibility should be, so far as practicable, filled by the promotion of worthy and efficient officers," he affirmed a principle to which short terms are utterly repugnant. These terms are an arbitrary interference by the legislative with the executive department, by reason of which, at a fixed time, and irrespective alike of the needs of the public

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service, of the merits of those who fill it, and of the wishes of those responsible for good administration, the good and the bad cease to officiate. Every officer is sent away—in substance, removed,—once in four years, without cause. Promotion for merit, on the other hand, is based on the theory that an officer is more valuable for his experience, and should be retained for that reason; his responsible superior should be the judge of the time during which he should be retained, of the duties he can best perform, and of the fit reasons for his removal. Now, it is quite too preposterous for argument to pretend that such experience can be secured in the complicated affairs of government if there is to be a quadrennial rotation. The very theory upon which such rotation is founded is but a declaration that the paramount aim of the Government is not the most competent officers,—is not to stimulate effort, and retain the skilled ability it has educated,—but the greatest number of office-seekers given salaries and the greatest number of the henchmen and dependants of patronage-mongers furnished with places. For the official whom a term of four years' training at public expense has fitted for a higher place, and the head of a department would put there, the rotation system gives another politician or favorite to be trained and set away every four years.

But it may be asked whether some evils may not attend the observance of the tenure of the Constitution for "inferior officers," —a tenure during the existence of good behavior and efficiency,— and whether some provision may not be wisely made for those who might leave the service poor and superannuated. Under the Presidents before Jackson, when that tenure prevailed, and, therefore, before there were short terms, no evils appear to have arisen which needed relief. We cannot speak positively of the future. It may be that the aptitude and inclination of our people for change of calling, and the facilities for saving and for securing new employment in this country, will for many years prevent that need of legislation on such subjects which, in the old and densely populated countries, we know has existed. If such shall not be the case, there will be ample time for action years hence. No great evils calling for that kind of Legislation now exist. It is not a good reason for declining to remedy existing abuses connected with getting office, keeping unworthy persons in office, and putting of worthy persons out office, to declare that,

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perchance, a generation hence, after existing abuses shall be suppressed, there may be in the public service some superannuated officers for whom a grateful people may be willing to make some provision. We do not refuse to cure the sick or arrest contagion, because the future may have an excess of population. Such excuses are fit only for demagogues who seek to defeat reform by appealing to popular prejudice and ignorance.

Our business men have not, as a rule,—though with increasing exceptions said to be advantageous to employés,—yet made provisions for those worn out by faithful labor in their employment, and whether the Federal Government can wisely be more paternal and humane is a question properly left to the future. Much may be said on both sides of it. Our pensions in principle, and our retiring allowance in the army and navy, and for Federal Judges, directly affirm the justice and utility of making provision for faithful officers worn out in the public service. After putting out the flames and purifying the air of the national household, we can take ample time for improving its attractions. The older Governments generally, and Great Britain with marked success, have made such provisions. The British statutes, which give a retiring allowance only after ten years' faithful service, are by no means based on a theory of mere benevolence, but are justified as enabling the same capacity to be secured for a smaller salary, and as contributing to efficiency and fidelity in office,—in fact, as being, on the mere score of economy and selfishness, a manifest gain to the public treasury. The salary and the allowance are thought to be hardly more than the salary would need to be, on the average or in the aggregate, but for the allowance upon retirement. We see the effect of these allowances in the smaller salaries of those in the British service, as compared with the salaries paid in our service. This experience, extending over three-fourths of a century, is well worthy of our study, whether we ever have occasion to make similar allowances or not; for it will show us a royal and aristocratic Government regarding the self-respect and comfort of those who, in humble places, serve it faithfully, with a care, dignity and regard for economy which are not quite universal in this great republic.

If it be suggested that such allowances befit the paternal care of a monarchy, but not the stern justice of a republic, let it be remembered that every subordinate in the British service who can

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receive them is by statute compelled to gain his place through superior merit disclosed in a stern, open, competitive examination, where neither blood nor influence avail anything; while it is only in this republic that a great officer or a politician can privately force his blockhead son, his discharged housekeeper, his servile electioneering agent, or his bankrupt dependant, upon the public service.

If there shall be need, there are various ways of dealing with the subject. (1.) We may fix an age beyond which "inferior officers" shall not remain in the service, thus sternly excluding dotage. (2.) We may fix an age after which the salary shall rapidly decrease, which would prevent full payment for impaired capacity, as well as cause seasonable resignations. (3.) We may pay a small fixed sum on retirement, after a prescribed period of meritorious service, and before reaching a fixed age. (4.) We may, on retirement any time after ten years of such service, continue to pay a certain proportion of the salary receivable at the date of retirement, which is the British system. (5.) We may, after the official has reached a certain age or period of service, retain a percentage of his salary, to be paid on retirement, which will cost the Government nothing and yet be a provision against want. (6.) We may refuse to make any provision whatever on the subject, dealing with the public servants according to the severest theories of hostile interests and business relations. (7.) Or, if we shall find the Executive or heads of departments refusing to remove in proper cases, after the repeal of the Tenure of Office Acts and relief from party and Congressional pressure shall have restored them a real liberty to do so, or if any bad effects shall attend a trial of tenure based on character, capacity and efficiency, it will be easy, if desirable, to establish a term of years, the length of which should be determined in the light of such experience, and not upon the "spoils system" theories which now prevail. By that time, if favoritism and patronage shall have been suppressed, and competitive examinations shall have been some years enforced, there may be neither partisan interest nor prejudice enough left to embolden demagogues to seek popularity by denouncing as an "official class" those who, from whatever grade of life, have worked their way solely by superior merit, and who can hold their places only so long as there shall be no cause for removal. How can that be a class, into which no one can be born, through which nothing can

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be taken or transmitted, and in which no one can remain longer than he is freely retained because he is the best servant of the people?

It would be premature to discuss these points. We need, and before the time for action shall arrive we may expect, a more interested public opinion on the subject. Of what use to ask a legislator who believes in rotation, who holds a tenure of merit to be "un-American," who promised ten clerkships to carry his last election, and demands a consulate and a post-office to carry his next election, to consider the subject on the basis of the public interest? When we better comprehend that the real strength of parties is adherence to sound principles and the enforcement of good administration,—when we are prepared to make capacity and character, and not influence and favoritism, the tests for admission to the public service,—when we have the courage to suppress political assessment and the official coercion of elections,—when we become convinced that promising places for votes is the worst form of bribery, and that the "spoils system" is as demoralizing to a party as it is disastrous and disgraceful to the country,—then we shall see that to refuse to retain a public servant, because he is faithful and efficient, is to refuse to protect the public welfare, and shall be prepared to deal with our retiring public servants upon the grounds of justice and sound principles; but not before. Then we shall be able to give due consideration to what contributes to the honor, efficiency and economy of the public service,—to what makes it attractive to a prudent man with a family dependent upon his salary,—to what will give it a high place in public estimation,—to what will invite to it young men of promise, by assuring them that merit will be the basis of stability and promotion.

We must first place competitive examinations—real tests of merit,—at the gates of the departments and the great executive offices, as provided for by the Pendleton Bill, which will suppress patronage and bring in more competent officials, who will not be the vassals of legislators or politicians. The most unworthy in the public service will disappear in a few years, when then the great patrons who now keep them there have ceased to be potential at the executive offices. Then will be the fit time for dealing wisely with tenures and terms. Until then, we had better confine ourselves to the evils which we have, the removal of which will greatly diminish the chances and the magnitude of those we fear.

DORMAN B. EATON.

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LEGAL BIOGRAPHIES. II.

LORD ABINGER.*

JAMES SCARLETT, the son of an English planter, was born in the island of Jamaica, on the 13th of December, 1769. On his father's side, he was descended from a knight who fought at Agincourt, and on his mother's side from Henry Lawrence, the Lord President of the Protector's Council, whom Milton has immortalized as "Lawrence, of virtuous father, virtuous son." He received his early education at home, and from his mother, who implanted in his youthful mind the animating principles of an earnest religious faith, and who taught him the pure English of the Bible and of Pope and Addison. His father destined him for the Jamaica bar, at which the local influence of his family would have smoothed his path, and on 1st June, 1785, he set sail for England, there to receive his academical and professional training. He landed at London on 1st August, 1785, and was entered at the Inner Temple as a student-at-law, and made a fellow commoner of Trinity College, Cambridge.

His father was wealthy, and had sufficient confidence in his son's purity of principles and strength of character to launch him forth into college-life without subjecting him, either in his expenditures or habits of life, to the control of any guardian. His college career more than justified that confidence. As a fellow commoner, he was, of course, admitted to the society of the young men of wealth and fashion who came to college, not to read, nor to acquire useful information, but to pass the time pleasantly, to perfect themselves in athletic exercises, and to make agreeable acquaintances. There, among other less important associations, he formed an intimacy with the Duke of Gloucester which survived their college-days and which was of material assistance to him throughout his after-life. As a tribute to his social position and to his genial traits of good-fellowship, he was speedily invited to join the "True Blue Club," an association of under-graduates of rank, the chief qualification for membership in which seems to have been the ability to drink deeply. But, averse to wine, and determined to study, he

* "A Memoir of the Right Honorable James, First Lord Abinger, Chief Baron of Her Majesty's Court of Exchequer." By the Honourable Peter Campbell Scarlett, C. B. London: John Murray. 1877. With portrait.

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had the courage to decline the invitation; yet his refusal to join in their dissipation does not seem to have lost him the kindly regard and the respect of his fellow-commoners.

He spent his first Christmas in England at a friend's house, where he had the good fortune to meet Miss Louisa Henrietta Campbell, of Kilmory, whom he married seven years later. Many years afterwards, he wrote of her:*

"She had been the object of my early and constant attachment, and had, from my first acquaintance with her, exercised a strong influence over my conduct. . . . . . . Her children . . . . lived to witness her sweet disposition, her divine temper, and consummate discretion. I lived with her in uninterrupted comfort and happiness from the time of our marriage to the month of March, 1829, and have lived ever since to lament her loss."

This early attachment for so deserving an object was a most fortunate circumstance for Scarlett. His assured professional prospects in Jamaica, and his prospective inheritance of that which would have been wealth there, left him without any inducement to industry; but his attachment for Miss Campbell gave him a motive for exertion, and inspired him with an honourable ambition. For her sake, and that he might the sooner attain that position of independence which would enable him to make her his own, he devoted himself to study with an energy and enthusiasm that could not have been exceeded by any penniless sizar of that day.

Even in his college-days, he exhibited that kindness of heart and that consideration for the feelings of others which manifested itself, often to his own detriment, at every stage of his career; for, from delicacy towards, and a too kind regard for the amiable qualities of, an inefficient tutor, he would not dismiss him, and, as he says, he "wasted his industry and energies in desultory reading, without plan or method."†

His refusal of membership in the "True Blue Club" attracted to him the notice of John Baynes, a post-graduate of some years' standing and of literary tastes, and through him he formed a friendship with Sir Samuel Romilly.

In June, 1789, he took his bachelor's degree at Cambridge, removed to London, and began the study of the law. There his diversion was to attend the sittings of Parliament, and he listened with youthful enthusiasm and admiration to the great speakers

* Page 50.

† Page 30.

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of that day. He many times heard Pitt, Fox, Sheridan, and Burke, and he was present at the greater part of Warren Hastings's trial. He was fortunate in having Romilly for his preceptor in the study of the law. Under his advice, he read "Blackstone's Commentaries," "Coke upon Littleton," and the leading cases under each head in "Comyn's Digest," having, as a preliminary exercise, made himself master of Cicero's "*De Officiis*," Locke," Montesquieu on the Spirit of the Laws," Grotius, and "Paley's Moral Philosophy."

Of "Blackstone" he writes:*

"After all the criticisms of Bentham, ... some of which are more plausible than just, that work combines with the most profound learning and reflection a perspicuity and polished elegance of style which give life, grace, and interest to the driest subjects, and excite fresh pleasure and admiration upon each perusal. Indeed, it can only be estimated justly by those who come to read it a second time, after a more general acquaintance with the science of which it treats."

In his directions for the synthetic study of the law in decided cases, he furnishes a useful hint for those students who desire to master legal principles, and who will not be content with a mere perfunctory acquisition of technical rules. He says:†

"As I grew more familiar with the principles which I gathered up as I went along, I became bolder, and, after reading the statement of the case and the arguments of the counsel on both sides with great attention, I laid aside the book and endeavored to apply my own store of knowledge to solve the question by giving judgment on the case. Sometimes I wrote down the opinion I had formed, but more frequently was contented with thinking over the arguments and coming to the conclusion which I thought just, before I read the opinion of the judges. At the commencement of this practice, I found myself very inadequate, and that my presumption was often rebuked by the learning and wisdom of the judges. After some perseverance, however, I was delighted to find that I made progress, and that the practice was not only a source of entertainment, but afforded me the best means of judging of the proficiency I had made in my studies. At length, I was overjoyed to find that I was right in the majority of instances, and—what might have been a source of vanity to me,—I generally found that I had hit upon the same system of reasoning that Mr. Justice Buller had adopted in his judgment. This, of course, gave me a high idea of that learned judge's superiority in legal learning and acuteness."

In 1790, Scarlett became a pupil of George Wood, the most eminent special pleader of his day. Of his course of study in the pleader's office, he says:‡

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* Page 44.
† Page 45.
‡ Page 46.

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"He did not take much trouble with his pupils, but left them to learn, by the alterations he made in their drafts, the rules and principles of the science. I soon found, however, that he had acquired some confidence in me. He sent me the difficult cases to deal with, and occasionally, when I had no precedent exactly in point, and took my own course, he would send for me into his own chamber, and explain why he made certain alterations, and refer me to cases where I might find a principle, though not an exact precedent. The facility and confidence I had acquired by my previous reading enabled me to dispatch the business put into my hands more rapidly than my colleagues; and I believe I may say with truth, that, after I had been three months in the office, the greater part of the whole business was done by myself."

In June, 1791, he was called to the English bar, for his devotion to Miss Campbell forbade the carrying out of his original purpose to return to Jamaica. He determined to practice at the Northern Circuit, preferring it by reason of the attachment of his friend Baynes for Yorkshire, his native county, which was included in that circuit, and because he had promised his Cambridge tutor to visit him at Richmond, in that county. His first circuit produced two or three accidental briefs as junior, and, in addition to that, one brief which came to him under honourable circumstances, and which laid the foundation of his professional success. He had been retained in the cause, because the pleadings had been drawn by him in Mr. Wood's office, and in the course of the trial it fell to his lot to explain them, and this he had the good fortune to do to the satisfaction of the judge, and to receive from Mr. Law, (afterwards Lord Ellenborough,) who was on the other side, a very flattering compliment.

In 1792, he married, and he then determined to remain in England. Thenceforth, he resolutely avoided society, and he became, in his own words, "an obscure, plodding lawyer, seeking by severe industry no other reputation or fame than that which was to break out upon" him in Westminster Hall; and, urged by the prospect of an increasing family, as well as by that ambition which never ceased to govern him, he devoted himself with increasing application to the duties of his profession. Not until 1800, nine years after his coming to the bar, did he find himself in a condition to "re-emerge into the world and to travel out of the circle of the law." During this time, he lived on terms of intimacy with the leading juniors at the bar, and, among others less known to fame, with Perceval, Erskine, Romilly, and Dallas; but his greatest pleasure and relaxation seem to have been to pass hours

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and days in the society of Romilly. To him he could have said the words, which Curran so felicitously quoted to Lord Avonmore, in his speech in *Rex vs. Johnson:*

> "We spent them, not in toys, or lust, or wine,
> But search of deep philosophy,
> Wit, eloquence, and poesy,
> Arts which I loved, for they, my friend, were thine."

With Romilly, he read, and walked, and talked. He says:

> "It was our constant aim to be together some hours every day, when the weather would permit, when the court rose, which in those times was generally about two o'clock."

Even at that early day, Scarlett seems to have maintained those conservative views which finally led to his leaving the Whig party, when he spoke and voted against the Reform Bill in 1832.

Year after year, he put off his return to Jamaica, until, in 1798, and ever after, his professional income was more than sufficient to defray all his expenses, and by the year 1802 there was no description of business in the scope of his profession which was not at his command. He tells us that in those early days "it was not the fashion of the bar to make long speeches, or to occupy any time in resisting the opinion of the judge, once declared;" and the statistics he gives as to the number of cases at *Nisi Prius* disposed of within a given time, show that, whatever may have been the effect upon the interests of suitors, the public time was economized to a remarkable degree. The rapid disposition of a multitude of causes in quick succession rendered the careful examination and study of the briefs in each case a matter of great difficulty to counsel in the full tide of business. As to this, Scarlett says: *

> "It sometimes occurred that I had fifteen or twenty briefs in settlement cases, which were always taken the first day. To make myself master of the points in each by reading them, was impossible. As to the law and the decided authorities, I came well prepared, and required no study. The mode, then, which I adopted to obtain the facts was to interrogate the attorney, when he came with his brief, what was the fact in his own case on which he mainly relied. Next, what he supposed his adversary's case to depend upon. Having made a short note of his statement on the back of the brief, I proceeded to discuss the appeal without further instruction or meditation, and I believe and may safely say that I did not read one brief in ten in the most important cases in which I was concerned at quarter sessions.
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> "In like manner, when I began to lead causes in the superior courts, it was my practice to inquire of my junior counsel what were the points in the cause on both sides, and to make a minute of these on the back of the brief. Instead of doing this, which I

* Page 61.

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always found successful in practice, had I attempted to read the masses of paper delivered in each case, I am certain that I should not have had time to read one in five, applying the whole period of my absence from court to that duty alone. Undoubtedly, the case would be very different at present. The number of causes tried in a day seldom amounts to half a dozen of all sorts, on an average. But Lord Kenyon and Mr. Justice Buller disposed with ease of twenty-six in a day, and Lord Ellenborough's average was twenty. I do not pretend to assign the causes of this difference, though the fact is unquestionable that the labor of the sittings, though much shorter, was more severe in those times, whilst it lasted, than it has ever been since."

In 1807, Scarlett felt himself justified in abandoning practice at the sessions, and in declining to accept retainers, except in the King's Bench and on the Northern Circuit. In that year, he asked Lord Eldon for a silk gown, and to this request Lord Eldon, with characteristic procrastination, made no answer until 1817, when he sent for Mr. Scarlett and told him that the King had been gracious enough to make him a King's counsel. Thenceforward, he was, so long as he remained at the bar, its undisputed leader.

During the greater part of his professional career, he practiced before Ellenborough and Tenterden. Of Ellenborough, he says: *

"He carried his love of sarcasm, which was very useful to him at the bar, rather too far upon the bench; but, withal, he was an excellent judge. Before him I soon found it necessary to allow him the merit of discovering the best parts of my case. It was the turn of his mind to set himself in opposition to the advocate who addressed him, and to endeavor to refute him as he went along. But, when, upon hearing the evidence, he found more important facts than had been urged in the speech, his sagacity in discovering what had escaped the counsel achieved a triumph which, to a certain extent, flattered his vanity, and gave him something like the interest of a parent in the cause. His mind was naturally suspicious of fraud. But it was never quite safe to undertake to prove it to him by stating all the facts and arguing upon them at length. During the whole of that process, his ingenuity was employed in diluting the facts and refuting the arguments. The safest course with him was so to state the case as not to appear to rely strongly upon the presumption of fraud, and to keep back the facts that chiefly tend to prove it. When these facts came out in evidence, they never failed to produce all the effect which they deserved to have.

"I may add here, with regard to his successor, Lord Tenterden, that his turn of mind was exactly opposite. He was remarkably candid, and followed the speaker implicitly, receiving easily the impressions sought to be raised. It was necessary with him, therefore, to follow a different course. The fraud was to be fully detailed and enforced by argument without observation. He was a worthy man, a sound lawyer, and a good scholar. But he had not the talents of a leader. Indeed, I believe that he had never more than two special jury causes in his life before he came to the bench.†

"But, as the younger part of the profession recollect no other judge with whom to compare Abbott, except his immediate contemporaries, and as his own powers increased

* Page 83.

† Page 85.

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and improved by practice during the last seven years of his time, his reputation increased, and he must be allowed before he died to have made an efficient judge. In some important particulars, he could not be excelled,—caution, candour, patience, impartiality, and a strict sense of duty. He would have been more effective if he had entertained a more just confidence in his own judgment; but he had not vigour to resist the pertinacity of the bar, nor to rescue the jury from an eloquent and forcible reply which sometimes carried the day against the justice of the case. I always felt a very great regard and respect for him."

Scarlett's antagonists at the bar were inclined to think that he had a very unfair and unequal influence over Lord Tenterden, who, from being his junior at the bar, when on the bench stood in great awe of his old leader. Campbell says that, when Scarlett, in an altercation with Mr. Adolphus, in the course of an argument before Lord Tenterden, said: "There is a difference between the practice here and at the Old Bailey;" Mr. Adolphus retorted: "I know there is. The judge there rules the advocate. Here the advocate rules the judge."* Ellenborough, on the other hand, stood in so little awe of Scarlett that on one occasion he suggested to him "that his cross-examinations gave him the best idea of eternity."†

Scarlett was so generally successful with judges as well as jurors, that it was said of him that "he had invented a machine, by a secret use of which in court he could always make the head of a judge nod assent to his propositions."‡

Scarlett says, however, that his machine§

. . . "consisted in nothing more than the study to avoid laying down any propositions that were not evident or that could not be supported by plausible argument; to make no misstatement or exaggeration of the facts; above all, not to combat with warmth any matter advanced by the judge, nor, indeed, to oppose at all but where I was satisfied I could alter his opinion by the most inoffensive reasoning. The heads of the jury were not less sensible of my machine. I had some tact in discovering what they thought.

"I avoided every topic that I observed made an unfavorable impression upon them, and, when I discovered the strings that vibrated in their bosoms, I often, by a single touch on the true cord, in the course of my address, or sometimes in an incidental remark on the evidence as it was given, saw that I had carried the verdict."

He adds:||

* "Lives of the Chief Justices," Vol. III., page 295.

† "Campbell's Biography," Vol. I., page 221.

‡ Foss's "*Biographia Juridica*," page 590.

§ Page 79.

|| Page 81.

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"It must be remembered, however, that a dissection of evidence, to be masterly, must be short as well as acute; frequent repetition of the same facts or arguments not only fatigues the attention, but weakens their force by awakening a suspicion that the speaker feels that he has made no progress by stating them, and that there is little else in the case. After all, I mean by this dissertation no more than to have it understood that the successful speaker in the practical concerns of life, whether in the senate or at the bar, does not depend on long speeches, or beautiful compositions, or splendid ornaments, or flourishes of rhetoric, which assume the appearance of reasoning, but neither warm the heart nor enlighten the understanding. I have known more than one admired orator who never convinced or persuaded anybody by his magnificent orations. Yet the audience were amused and delighted. They hung upon his sentences and his accents with the same sort of interest and feeling as if they had been witnessing the steps of a dancer on the tight-rope, whose prodigious agility and narrow escapes from falling fill the spectator with pleasure and astonishment."

Scarlett also says that which all lawyers who aspire to be advocates would do well to "mark, learn, and inwardly digest":*

"It appears to me, then, that he who seeks great reputation with the public as a speaker must not only compose his speeches,—at least, as far as regards the ornamental part,—but must ingraft upon the topics that belong to his cause certain generalities in morals, politics, or philosophy, which will give scope to declamation, rhetoric and ornament,—to polished phrases and well-turned sentences,—to epigram, humour and sarcasm. These are the passages which delight the general audience, and make the speech, when published, agreeable to the reader. But they are not the passages which carry conviction to the mind, or advance the real merits of the cause with those who are to decide it. He who looks to this purpose only must never lose sight of any important fact or argument that properly belongs to or arises out of the cause. He must show that his mind is busied about nothing else. He must be always working upon the concrete and pointing to his conclusion. He must disdain all jest, ornament, or sarcasm, that does not fall directly in his way and seem to be so unavoidable that it must strike everybody who thinks of the facts. He must not look for a peg to hang anything upon, be it ever so precious or so fine. He must rouse in the minds of the judges or the jury all the excitement which he feels about the cause himself, and about nothing but the cause; and to that he must stick closely, and upon that reason so vehemently and so conclusively that the greater part of the audience will not understand him, and those who read his speech afterwards will not be able to comprehend it, without having present to their memories all the facts and all the history of the cause.

"Mr. Fox used to say that a speech which read well was a bad speech. This, perhaps, was carrying the point too far; but it is true that a speech which reads well is not, therefore, an effective speech for the purpose. Look at the speech of Sir James Mackintosh for Peltier, who ought to have been acquitted. Look at the most beautiful published speeches of Burke, who was, nevertheless, called the dinner-bell of the House of Commons.

"Again, composing a speech, or parts of a speech, beforehand, is productive of this bad effect,—that the composition does not appear to rise out of the cause, or that the cause is sometimes distorted in some parts to fit the composition. There may be much to admire, but nothing to excite or animate. The attention of the speaker, too, is

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* Page 72.

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necessarily drawn aside from the contemplation of the matters immediately before him to the care of remembering his composition, of making the cause appear suitable to it, and of delivering it with a theatrical air and emphasis,—the only mode of making a composition delivered from memory appear natural. He is not warmed by the fire which blazes near him, but by a heat reflected from a distant lamp. Instead of arousing he checks the animation of those whom he is to convince, and makes them think of the advocate and not of the cause. When I entered on the first practical duties of my profession, I was prepared, by probably more than a common course of study, with the usual theories in the art of public speaking. I borrowed a hint from Mr. Hume's 'Essays upon Eloquence,' and composed an elaborate speech, which I got by heart. When I had delivered the first two sentences, I began to think that they did not naturally arise out of the facts of the case, and that the elegance and refinement of my composition would detect the previous labour. This alarmed me, caused me to hesitate, to forget the whole of my lesson, and forced me to plunge at once into the topic of the moment. From that time, I not only renounced previous composition, but scarcely ever, in thinking over the subject I was to speak upon, clothed a thought with words,—certainly, with no words that I ever remembered afterwards,—and I never found a want of words when I had thoughts or arguments to utter. *Provisam rem, verba sequentur.* I made it my business to know and remember the principal facts, to lay the unimportant wholly out of memory, to open the case, if for the plaintiff, and when I expected evidence for the defendant, in the shortest and plainest manner, with no other object than to make the jury comprehend the evidence which they would shortly hear.

"I very seldom thought it necessary to make any anticipation of the defendant's case. It is, indeed, oftentimes dangerous to do so, as it leads the judge and jury to seek for support to it in the plaintiff's evidence. I found from experience, as well as theory, that the most essential part of speaking is to make yourself understood. For this purpose, it is absolutely necessary that the Court and jury should know as early as possible *de quâ re agitur.* It was my habit, therefore, to state, in the simplest form that the truth and the case would admit, the proposition of which I maintained the affirmative and the defendant's counsel the negative, and then, without reasoning upon them, the leading facts in support of my assertion. Thus, it has often happened to me to open a cause in five minutes which would have occupied a speaker at the bar of the present day from half an hour to three-quarters of an hour, or more. Moreover, I made it a rule, in general, rather to understate than to overstate facts I expected to prove. For, whatever strikes the mind of a juror as the result of his own observation and discovery, makes always the strongest impression upon him, and the case in which the proof falls much below the statement is supposed for that very reason not to be proved at all. As the evidence proceeded, I bestowed much too anxious attention upon it to take a note. I treasured up the facts in my memory, and arranged them in such a way as I thought would lead most distinctly to the conclusion I desired. My mind underwent the same process during the defendant's case. I learned by much experience that the most useful duty of an advocate is the examination of witnesses, and that much more mischief than benefit generally results from cross-examination. I therefore rarely allowed that duty to be performed by my colleagues.

"I cross-examined in general very little, and more with a view to enforce and illustrate the facts I meant to rely upon than to affect the witness's credit,—for the most part a vain attempt. By the time the defendant's case was closed, the topics

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for a reply were arranged in my mind. I had sifted the material facts from the chaff, and held them fast in my memory, stored in their proper places. I had observed the facts that appeared to make the most impression upon the jury, either for or against me. My reply was, in general, short, vehement, perspicuous, and directly to the point. Very often, when the impression of the jury and sometimes of the judge has been against me on the conclusion of the defendant's case, I have had the good fortune to bring them entirely to adopt my conclusions. Whenever I observed this impression, but thought myself entitled to the verdict, I made it the rule to treat the impression as very natural and reasonable, to acknowledge that there were circumstances which presented great difficulties and doubts, to invite a candid and temperate investigation of all the important topics that belong to the case, and to express rather a hope than a confident opinion that upon a deliberate and calm investigation I should be able to satisfy the Court and jury that the plaintiff was entitled to the verdict. I then avoided all appearance of confidence, and endeavored to place the reasoning on my part in the clearest and strongest view, and to weaken that of my adversary; to show that the facts for the plaintiff could lead naturally but to one conclusion, while those of the defendant might be accounted for on other hypotheses; and, when I thought I had gained my point, I left it to the candour and good sense of the jury to draw their own. This course seems to me not to be the result of any consummate art, but the plain and natural course which common sense would dictate. At the same time, it must be observed that he who would adopt it can only expect success when it is known that he can discriminate between a sound and a hopeless case, and that his judgment is sufficiently strong to overcome the bias of the advocate and the importunity of the client, and to make him at once surrender a case that cannot and ought not to be sustained. But, although the practice I have mentioned was eminently successful with me in many instances, both with juries and committees of the House of Commons, I have known advocates of great reputation pursue a very different line from want of judgment or influence of temper. With them, the discovery that the judge and jury had formed an impression against them seemed rather to awaken their resentment and to provoke their vengeance, or to produce a stronger confirmation of their own opinions, and to make them more stubborn and obstinate in maintaining them, and to oppose the prejudices of the judge or jury, or both, as wholly void of all rational foundation. The natural consequence of treating the opinion of a man as unreasonable is to set him upon finding reason to support it, and I hardly know of any instance of this practice being successful with a jury, though it may in some cases be so with a judge, who is, or aims to be, above passion or prejudice. Of course, when I expected no evidence for the defendant, I took a longer view of the subject at the outset. But even here my endeavor was to awaken the feelings I wished to excite, by way of influencing the damages or leading to the desired conclusion, by a temperate and candid appeal to the justice and discern ment of the jury, and then to make so moderate a statement of the facts as I was sure would be exceeded and appear stronger by the evidence. No error is more fatal to an advocate, or more common, than exaggeration. In Parliament, the practice is often successful. But in the trial of causes the evidence is sure, first or last, to furnish a measure by which to examine the statement; and the advocate who, either in his opening or reply, exaggerates the importance of his facts, is sure to be suspected, either of a defect in judgment or an excess of zeal which obscures his intellect, or—which is worse than all,—of a design to impose on the jury."

Having in 1812, and again in 1816, unsuccessfully contested Lewes, in 1818 Lord Fitzwilliams seated Scarlett in the House of

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Commons for the nomination borough of Petersborough. In 1822, he offered himself for Cambridge, but was defeated. Subsequently, he sat for Malton, then for Cockermouth, and, after the passage of the Reform Bill, for Norwich. Mr. Foss says* that Scarlett was not successful in Parliament, and Lord Lytton, in his poem of "St. Stephen's," says:

> "The bar and senate are so near akin,
> Our senate's ear great lawyers seldom win.
> In truth, St. Stephens grudges every knight
> The spurs he earns in other fields of fight.
> Erskine?—too femininely vain of fame;
> Wetherell?—too rabid; Scarlett?—much too tame.
> In fine, a lawyer's copiousness is such,
> Each has a something for the House too much."

Yet Brougham† says that Scarlett's first speech in the House was "one of the most able speeches that any professional man ever made," and Hansard's report‡ says Scarlett "sat down amid loud and general cheers." Scarlett perhaps justly estimated as a failure his career in the House of Commons, for he has taken pains to give a very reasonable explanation of the general failure of leading lawyers in Parliament. He quotes Mr. Burke's remark, that "the best the lawyers bring us in the House is the rinsing of their empty bottles," (which must be taken to mean, that which the study of Hansard seems to confirm, that lawyers overwhelmed with professional business, too often speak in Parliament upon insufficient preparation), and he explains that that method of speaking which is not only effective, but necessary, to judges and juries, cannot be influential with an assembly who have decided how to vote, and who do not desire nor expect to be convinced, but who sit to hear their own party flattered and encouraged, and their adversaries overwhelmed with sarcasm or held up to contempt.

In April, 1827, in Mr. Canning's ministry, Scarlett, with the approval of the leading Whigs, including Brougham and Denman,§ became attorney-general, but he resigned when the Duke of Wellington, upon Canning's death, succeeded to the prime ministry; and he again became attorney-general when Mr. Wetherell retired in dis-

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* Foss's "*Biographia Juridica*," page 591.

† "Brougham's Autobiography," Vol. III., page 471.

‡ XXXIX. Hansard, pages 599–605

§ "Brougham's Autobiography," Vol. III., page 473. "Arnould's Denman," Vol. I., page 207.

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gust at the Duke's liberal views on the Catholic question. In 1830, the Whigs came in, and most ungratefully dismissed Scarlett. Thenceforward, he was a Conservative, and he both spoke and voted against the Reform Bill.

On 24th December, 1834, he became Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer, and was shortly afterward created Lord Abinger, but. despite his love of justice, his great learning, and his professional training and experience, he did not on the bench maintain the supremacy he had when at the bar. He had been too long an advocate, and too great an advocate. He could not look coldly down upon a forensic contest from the heights of the judicial Olympus. Sitting at *Nisi Prius*, he decided which party was right, both on the facts and the law, and he bent his energies to getting the verdict for that party, and juries who had been easily led by him when he spoke from the bar refused to be dictated to by him from the bench. Presiding over the court in banc, he anticipated the arguments which counsel did not press upon him, and, refusing to listen to those which they did put forward, he was too much disposed to disregard precedents and to decide each case by the application, to what he believed to be the particular facts, of that which at the time seemed to him to be the principles of abstract justice.

In 1839, Sumner wrote to Judge Story:*

"You know his [Scarlett's] wonderful success at the bar,—confessedly the greatest advocate of his time, yet never eloquent, and supposed by all to be the most competent person possible for the bench, and in this opinion all would have persevered, *nisi regnasset*. He is the great failure of Westminster Hall. . . . He wants the judicial capacity; he was so old before he reached the bench that he could not assume new habits."

Lord Brougham says:†

"He always took for granted that he knew what it was quite impossible he should know from utter want of experience; and this made him as a judge, though with all the qualities required for the office, yet inferior to men of far less talent and nothing like his acquaintance with business."

In 1844, when sitting on circuit at Bury St. Edmunds, he was stricken with paralysis, and he died a few days afterwards. His life was successful and happy. For more than thirty years, he had been the leader of the bar of England. For nearly ten years,

* "Sumner's Memoirs," Vol. II., page 53.

† "Autobiography," Vol. III., page 472.

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he had presided over the Court of Exchequer. He had won wealth, fame, and a peerage. He was fortunate, also, in his family relations. His wife, who had shared his early hopes and struggles, lived to witness the greatest of his professional triumphs. His son-in-law was raised to the peerage as Lord Campbell, presided over the highest courts of common law and equity, and took his seat upon the wool-sack. That son-in-law's wife, Lord Abinger's eldest daughter, was created a peeress in her own right, in recognition of her husband's professional success. Lord Abinger's second son, Sir James Yorke Scarlett, C. B., served as a soldier with honour and distinction, and won an enviable place in history as the dauntless leader of that charge of the heavy cavalry at Balaklava, which was as judiciously planned and well-timed as it was gallantly executed. Lord Abinger's youngest son, the Honourable Peter Campbell Scarlett, C. B., after long and creditable diplomatic service, has written so good a memoir of his father, that those who read it have only to regret that his faithful devotion to his father's memory, and his keen appreciation of his father's lofty traits of character, were not supplemented by that legal knowledge and that experience at the bar which would have enabled him to tell in fuller detail the story of his father's professional life.

By the common consent of his contemporaries, attested by the traditions of Westminster Hall, Scarlett was the greatest of English advocates. He rarely rose to any height of eloquence, but in the clear and convincing presentation of his client's cause, whether to judge or jury, and alike in statement, argument, and reply, he was unrivalled. He had great natural advantages. He had a pleasing presence, strongly marked features, an open and candid expression, and a clear and resonant voice. To these physical qualifications he added an accurate knowledge of legal principles, and that consummate tact, which is only given to those whose natural ability has been developed by experience. His memoir tells clearly his methods of action in court. Perhaps the secret of his success was in his moral qualities. The sense of honour that forbade him to accept retainers in causes at whose trials he could not be present, and the devotion to his client which called forth his energies in trivial as well as in great causes, were only the outward manifestations of an unselfish spirit, which found its highest expression in the subordination of himself to his client's interests,

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and which forced him to concentrate his every power upon the effort to win, by every fair argument, that client's cause.

There have been more profound lawyers; there have been more eloquent speakers; but, if forensic advocacy be the full and faithful performance before a court of the counsel's duty to his client, whether the cause be of little or great importance, and the assertion and vindication of the client's rights and the redress of the client's wrongs by the enforcement upon the tribunal of an inevitable persuasion and conviction that the client's cause is founded in right, supported by law, and must be sustained, then all will concede that Scarlett, tried by this test, was the greatest of advocates.

CHRISTOPHER STUART PATTERSON.

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A PRE-HISTORIC EPIC.

AN able writer has well remarked that "there is a point of view from which it can be said that there is very little nonsense in the world." The rubbish of one generation becomes the cherished treasure of the next; the simplest phenomena of human nature of most routine recurrence can be invested with the most attractive interest and dignity by one touch of that magic which makes the whole world kin. The creative powers of the mind have not come to an end with the days of living mythologies, and the thoughts and experiences of our pre-historic ancestors are frequently shadowed forth with more or less distinctness from the gloom in which the lapse of ages has enshrouded them. They have taken up their lodgment in the popular mind and fancy, and, like the spot upon the hand of *Lady Macbeth*, will not "out." They crop out, and come forth, and "peep through the blanket of the dark," at most unexpected times and places. The unlikely is that which ever must come to pass.

We have been led to these reflections by the consideration of a poem well known alike to the young and the old, the learned and the ignorant, but one whose true origin and signification appear to have failed in catching the attention of those who, for so many years, have been dealing with the fragments of pre-historic antiquity. It can be denominated an epic *in petto*, under whose slender form may possibly lurk the germs of some profound revelation. It does not stand alone in the annals of literature, but is a member of a class, all equally familiar, and the embodiment of a wisdom no less profound and sagacious than that which appears in the Proverbs of Solomon.

To bring before the infant mind the conception of vast truths, —to infuse into it ideas of the fitness of things,—to improve the understanding before the mental flower has put forth its first tender sprout,—to teach the child too young as yet to imbibe instruction in any other manner,—are the ends sought to be accomplished by such productions. They are both amusing and edifying, and present under the garb of recreation the wholesome knowledge necessary to be acquired during the progress of life, but which can never be better nor more thoroughly learned than in the nursery.

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These poems are known to the initiated as "nursery rhymes;" and we have chosen a specimen of one of the most striking, believing that it will fully substantiate our encomia:

> "Little Bo-Peep has lost her sheep,
> And doesn't know where to find them;
> Let them alone, and they'll come home,
> With their little tails behind them."

Whoever wrote these rhymes, bore in mind the maxim of Horace, and plunged at once into the middle of his subject. No stilted exordium befitted the present occasion; no loud invocation of the gods or of the muses. The tale is of a lowly character, and is treated in the ordinary language of every-day life. Pastoral simplicity is depicted before us as there arises the image of *Little Bo-Peep* in all her Arcadian artlessness, while with crook and pipe she tends her fleecy flocks. No lineage had she,—no ancestry; a poor shepherdess, who lived with her tender lambkins, herself as meek as the meekest of her flock. Such was one of the earliest conditions of mankind. Who can tell what of ancient fable may be here enshrined? what vestiges of a long-forgotten literature? what great person of antiquity may be symbolized as *Little Bo-Peep?*

Little Bo-Peep bespeaks our sympathy on account of her diminutive size; a poor little creature, entirely unfit for the rugged cares of this world, entirely unfitted for toil, for adversity. How, then, is she to sustain the terrible catastrophe which has now fallen upon her? But great minds soar above petty tribulations, and doubtless our heroine will prove to be one of these.

> "Has lost her sheep."

Where they her own, or were they her master's, or were they the property of a friend? How, when and where did the misfortune happen? The calamity is kept concealed from us, mindful of the dictum of Horace to remove from the sight of the audience all horrible and dreadful occurrences, although a narrative of such events is afterwards fully permissible. What is lost in scenic effect is gained in good taste. Had we before us the active cause of the present disaster, we might, perhaps, not feel so strongly for the unhappy victim as we do now that it is veiled in impenetrable darkness. Tempted by greener herbage, have they strayed from the beaten path-way into the unknown vast? or has

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some Cacus descended from his mountain den, and violently seized upon the grazing drove?

In a pastoral age, cattle constitute one's sole wealth. Their loss is irreparable. That such serious stress should have been laid upon this loss, goes far, even were other intrinsic testimony wanting, towards proving the great antiquity of this poem and of the events which it commemorates. In the earliest times, the first cares of mankind were for the earth which supported them and the domestic animals by which they were surrounded. Not until later ages were sung the praises of captains, heroes and demi-gods. The matters close to man's proximity were those which in such rude times entirely engaged his attention.

But, to return: .

"And does not know where to find them."

We are lost in admiration and wonderment at the great and consummate art of the poet. The distress is real,—not feigned. There is no deception practiced. Our sympathies still cling to the unfortunate shepherdess. If she *did* know where to find them, it would not be a matter of the slightest moment to us whether she had lost them or not. The mind of man is prone to suspicion; and the evidence thus given that the loss is a real and *bona fide* one thoroughly dispels any latent doubts. Who knows? The pastor, although apparently innocent and guileless, may have sold her master's lambs or given them as a peace-offering to some wooing Lubin? Who knows but that she may somewhere have craftily concealed her own herds, that out of the sympathetic gifts of her sorrowing friends she might start anew in the world? The history of Conkey Chickweed, though of recent date, but reflects the shadow of similar occurrences in times long gone by. For the operations of the human mind are invariable, and, had not the poet been careful to give us this information of the entire ignorance of *Little Bo-Peep* as to the locality and whereabouts of her flocks, we might, perhaps, wrongfully have suspected the shepherdess of some felonious action.

The drama which we are considering is a perfect one in its development; it has an opening, it has a middle, and it has a close. It has a demonstration of the facts, it has their concatenation, and it has a *dénouement.* We are now at its climax.

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Imagine, if you can, the horror of *Little Bo-Peep*, as, preparing to return homewards at even-tide, she finds that she has lost her sheep! We, dwellers in large cities and inhabitants of later stages of civilization, can but poorly take into our minds this scene of dismay. What is she to do? In vain she skurries hither and thither; no traces are to be discovered of the missing fugitives. In vain does she discourse upon her oaten pipe the simple melodies with which she was wont to attract her loving herds to their keeper; nymph Echo alone responds as she ceases for a moment her dalliance with the great god Pan.

Night is coming rapidly on, and it is time that *Little Bo-Peep* should be in motion towards her humble domicile. Distractedly she tears her flowing locks, and madly does she beat upon her breast with her clenched fists. She finds no consolation. Her more fortunate friends and neighbors gather around her to offer their conjectures and advice. (We have no reason, however, to suppose from the progress of the story that they make an endeavor or offer to repair the loss.) Some tell her to scale yon lofty mountain, whose snow-capped summit towers above the clouds; others, to search in the dark and dismal ravine which frowns at her feet, where black and yawning chasms threaten death to all intruders. All is confusion and dismay.

At last, an old man,—we may suppose, tottering on the verge of the grave with age and infirmity,—the Nestor of the settlement, grown wise in many generations of men, steps forward with feeble treble, piping voice, and unsteady gait, to give to *Little Bo-Peep* such treasure of knowledge as he has garnered up in his long voyage of life:

"Let them alone."

Was there ever anything more sublime than the admonition thus conveyed,—the caution to remain quiet in adversity,—the inutility of questioning the decrees of fate,—the advisability of inaction when one's exertions would prove but futile? What a golden lesson to learn! The three maxims for which the Eastern dervish received such enormous remuneration fade into insignificance before the vastness of the wisdom embodied in this advice.

"Let them alone."

As they had wandered off by themselves, so they must come back by themselves; as their wrong-doing had been of their own

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free-will, so from themselves must come forth the reparation. Alone they had vanished, and alone they must return. And note again the consummate skill of the sage in dissuading the shepherdess from the search. Each sheep has straggled off by itself; it might be necessary to follow some fifty, one hundred, or even a thousand, different paths, each one divergent from the others. A life-time would not, perhaps, suffice for *Little Bo-Peep* to recover her departed treasures. Alone they all were, each sheep by itself, and *Little Bo-Peep*, that most unhappy of herdswomen, all alone by herself, too. Alas! alas! alas!

"*Terque, quaterque miser, quem aspera fata premunt!*"

The good results that were to flow from old Nestor's advice, he, in continuation, plainly set forth:

"And they'll come home."

What a happy consummation! Instead of being obliged to seek her scattered herds through hill, dale, brook and meadow, clambering up inaccessible heights, sweeping through dreary valleys and impenetrable quagmires, morasses and thickets, the flock will be forced to seek its shepherdess. Each one, alone, individually, before night's sable mantle has long enveloped the face of the earth, will be retracing its steps *towards its home*. Home, sweet home, even for a sheep, has its attractions! And now the end crowns the work! The interposition of the *deus ex machinâ* has satisfactorily solved the difficulty. A unique manuscript which we possess shows the result that happened from the good advice of the venerable sage:

"At midnight, on her bed of straw,
Bo-Peep was dreaming of the hour
When she her flocks to pasture drove,
Nor feared, nor cared, for summer shower.

"The hour passed on; Bo-Peep awoke,—
She heard a sound she knew full well;
The sheep were clustered 'round her cot,
And each one rang its little bell."

And yet to what perils might not they have been exposed whilst thus away from their natural protector? We can imagine how fondly *Little Bo-Peep* caresses and plays with each sheep; we can hear their responsive bleats of pleasure and their joy at their return, only equalled by that which fills her breast! No impu-

tation of dishonesty can now rest upon her hitherto stainless character. She is *integer vitæ, scelerisque pura!* Her loss is redeemed.

But why that shade of sadness in her eye? She has not yet examined the flock, to see if during their absence they have suffered any wrong,—if anything has been feloniously abstracted from their persons. But, no!

"With their little tails behind them."

It is all right. They have experienced no injury. As they went, so have they have they returned. Good old Nestor,—how well did he know the workings of nature!

And truly the poet is justified in the estimate he has placed upon the value of such a return,—with their tails intact; for we may fairly suppose, from the stress laid upon the circumstance, that these sheep were of the race mentioned by Herodotus, whose tails weighed several hundred pounds, and to enable the poor beasts with comfort to carry such a burthen it was necessary to construct small four-wheeled carriages, which they dragged behind them, with their tails gently reposing thereon.

It is evident, from the examination which we have just given, that this poem was composed in the *very earliest days of the human intellect.* Bucolic poetry is always pleasant and sweet to the child of nature. The simplicity of the language, the homely nature of the events which it professes to record, the choice and treatment of the subject, point strongly to pre-historic times,—perhaps even earlier than those of Homer. We dare not indulge the conjecture that to the blind bard is to be really attributed the parentage of this small but perfect epic. Inspiration, expression and invention are all present. Nothing is lacking, save the author's name. The simplicity of style is certainly his, not as it appears emasculated in the flowing lines of the Twickenham poet, but as it resounds in the sonorous dialects of the Hellenic tongue. But the supposition, unfortunately, is a mere hypothesis. It is safe to assert, that, of all the great men whom our English-speaking race has produced, but very few—if, indeed, any at all,—grew up to manhood without having been familiar with this poem at some period or other of their existence. What influence its teachings of patience under adversity, of neighborly charity and kindness, may have exerted upon their *post-nursarial* life, it is impossible to conjecture. But,

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when we see a man distinguished for his philanthropy and goodness,—whose whole aim is to benefit mankind,—whose daily walk is in the path of purity and rectitude,—we may rest assured that in his childhood's days some fond parent instilled into his heart the fraternal precepts of "Little Bo-Peep."

HENRY PHILLIPS, JR.

CHARADE.

A SILLY go-between am I,
And prone with generous pride
To part the gathered thoughts of men,
And liberally divide.
I set the soul of Shakespeare free,
To Milton's thoughts give liberty,
Let Sydney speak with freer speech,
Bid Spenser sing, and Taylor preach.
Though through all learning swift I glide,
No wisdom doth with me abide.

S. WEIR MITCHELL.

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THE ARENA.

I.

"AVE, Cæsar, Imperator!" In the burning Roman noonday,
Crowded is the amphitheatre. Senators and haughty matrons,
Soldiers grim and laughing maidens, seated side by side, are jesting,
Mighty spectacles awaiting, flushed with hot expectancy.
Brawny slaves from o'er the desert, and the fair-browed Northern captives,
Are paired for contests deadly, marching by the throne imperial,
And as they march their death-cry chanting: "*Morituri, te salutant!*"
This the song of gladiators, doomed, perchance, to death's oblivion,
Or saved by signal of caprice.—A gesture ends existence;
A hand down-turned prolongs a life.—So runs the gala-day.

II.

Behold the world's arena, teeming with its many millions,
Fighting with the powers of darkness, bleeding, struggling, unto death.
Foes within us, keen and wary, stain the purity of manhood,
Allure us with ambition's never realizing hopes,
And drag our faltering footsteps to expediency's by-ways,
Painting character's white face with the crimson blush of sin.
Untiring foes without us, dealing death-blows without mercy;
Temptation's chains are tightening round our ready acquiescence,
And dragging us, resistless, to the portals of despair,
While, o'ermatched, we strike out blows we know are powerless.

III.

When, lo! as we are sinking, with our life-blood slowly ebbing,
Weak and weary, crushed and prostrate, with the foe upon our neck,
When, disheartened and discouraged, we are giving up the conflict,
We hear a tender whisper, saying: "Look to Me and live!
I am Jesus, son of Mary. I have fought the battle for you;
I have passed through scenes of trial, hours of direst agony;
I have overcome the power of death, and victory won on Calvary;
I will draw all men towards me. Brothers, trust in me, and live!"

EDWIN N. BENSON.

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HOW SHALL THE "SPOILS SYSTEM" BE ABOLISHED?

WHEN the assassination of the late President was seen to be directly traceable to the "spoils system," there was an almost universal feeling that the system was doomed, and that the martyr in the contest with "Senatorial courtesy" would triumph after death; for, so great was the shock to the public conscience, and so imperative was the demand for reform, that it seemed impossible that the abuses which had led to so tragic a catastrophe could withstand the force of public indignation.

In deluding ourselves with these fond expectations, we forgot both the transitory character of public indignation and the manner in which the abuse of "patronage" has so intertwined itself with every fibre of our whole political system, that it can be extirpated only by a complete revolution in all our methods,—a revolution that can be effected solely by continued agitation culminating in a rebellion of the people against the politicians. The "spoils system" has now been in operation for half a century, and only an octogenarian here and there remains who has had experience of public life conducted on any other principle. It has grown and developed until it regulates every political movement, and by a process of natural evolution it has converted every political organization into a "machine" and a "boss." In many States, at least, of the Union, scarce any man during a generation has been successful in public life, save through the methods which it prescribes; and there has been no place for those who disdained such arts and could bring higher motives and noble ambition to the service of the people in the loftiest of human careers,—that of statesmanship. To those who knew the late Henry Armitt Brown, it needs but to mention his name as that of an example of the finest type of American manhood, specially equipped for public life, who found the entrance to politics absolutely closed by reason of his manhood. Thus the standard of our successful politicians, by an inevitable process of natural selection, has gradually changed from that of the statesman to that of the office-broker; and men like Conkling, and Cameron, and Logan, and Blaine, whose names are connected with no great measures of public policy, and whose energies are directed almost wholly to controlling caucuses and peddling public patronage, are the men

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who sway the destinies of the nation and who have to be consulted about the minutest details of nominations and appointments within their respective "boss"-doms. Thus it is, from the highest to the lowest. There is a complete hierarchy of "bosses," supported by the public, whose affairs they are supposed to administer, each supreme in his individual sphere, save the allegiance which he owes to his superior. Founded by the Democracy, and brought to its present pitch of perfection by Republicanism, both parties vie with each other in their devotion to the system; and it were folly to suppose that so compact and thorough an organization, controlled by able and unscrupulous men, who have made its management the business of a life-time, is to be overthrown, like the walls of Jericho, with a few blasts of the trumpet.

Those who profit by the system and its abuses were not blind to the imminent peril to which they were exposed by the resolute purpose and singular ability of President Garfield, backed, as he was, by the wishes of the great body of the people; nor did they underestimate the magnitude of their escape when the people were deprived of their leader. Rightly regarding the public as an undisciplined mob, easily to be dissipated by their trained and compact forces, they at once recognized that the danger was past, and unconcernedly resumed their old ways. Mr. Conkling, indeed, by the incredible folly of his resignation and canvass for re-election, joined to the popular execration arising from the connection between his quarrel with General Garfield and the crime of Guiteau, has been relegated to the background,—for a time, at least,—and it is possible that the shrewdness of President Arthur will leave him there; but the others are as active as ever in their evil courses, and there has probably been no more cynical display of "bossism" than the methods by which the Speakership of the House of Representatives was secured for Mr. Keifer.

The practical question, therefore, which confronts Civil Service Reformers is how best to make good the loss which the cause has experienced in the death of the late President, and how best to utilize the feeling aroused by his assassination. It is evidently idle to look to Mr. Arthur for efficient aid, or to imagine that he will in any way replace the lost leader. Despite the well-turned phrases of his message, his appointments to offices of political importance show that he still belongs to the bad political school in which he

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received his training, and that the patronage of his Administration will be used, with scarcely a disguise, for the purpose of controlling the succession to the Presidential chair. Under these circumstances, it would be the height of unwisdom to expect that he will, in deference to an idea, divest himself of the enormous influence conferred by the power to appoint and dismiss at will, and of the substantial additions to his military chest derived from the assessment of salaries.

If we turn to the Republican party, we find no better grounds for hope. Its organization is officered, from the corporal to the commander-in-chief, by men who have gained their grade through office-brokerage, who hold their commissions and expect promotion solely by reason of their skill and success in that business, and who cannot conceive of any other motive-power in what they consider "practical" politics. They look inevitably upon Civil Service Reformers as political æsthetes enamoured of a barren ideal,—men whose proper place would be inside the walls of an insane asylum, and of no possible weight in this active, bustling, wicked world. Eloquent declamation and logical argument they pass by with a smile, confident, and with reason, in the incalculable strength of organization, which is wholly in their hands. To expect from them a voluntary surrender of the patronage which is their sole political capital, would be the merest lunacy, justifying their contempt for any enthusiasts who might cherish a hope so absurd. Apart from this, moreover, we should bear in mind, that, from a practical point of view, Civil Service Reform would be, on the part of the Republicans, a tactical blunder. Not only would the ardor of a vast number of skilful "workers," be chilled, and an abundant source of revenue for campaign expenses be dried up, but the party would lose, in the next national election, one of the most powerful motives which now impel men of independent thought to unwillingly support it,—the prospect of the awful revolution in office-holding which would convulse the country in case of Democratic success. Even when there is merely a change of Administration, and not a change of party, we see what a horde of hungry office-seekers is precipitated upon Washington, how completely the time and labor of the President and his advisers are occupied in adjusting rival claims for patronage, and how long it takes the public business to accommodate itself,

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even to the comparatively few changes which are made. We can readily conceive then, how, on the induction of a Democratic President, an average of five to ten aspirants for each of the hundred thousand Federal appointments would form a howling mob of half a million to a million of men, fiercely disputing with each other the miserable plunder for which they had been wearily working and waiting during the last quarter of a century. No Administration, however well intentioned, could withstand that fearful pressure; there would necessarily be a wholesale rotation in office such as no civilized country has ever witnessed; the business of government, vast and complex as it is, would be the last thing thought of, and it would take years before the public service could be restored to even its present very moderate standard of efficiency. Very numerous are the voters, who would otherwise welcome a change, who naturally shrink from the disgrace and disaster involved in such a chaos, and who, therefore, will continue to support the Republican party as the least of two ills. For these various reasons, therefore, there would seem to be no hope of reform from the party now in power.

Turning to the Democracy, are there any better or more rational grounds to anticipate reform? Aspirants for power are ever profuse of promises, and Civil Service Reform planks are easily inserted in platforms by those who would laugh at the notion of being expected to reduce them to practice. Had there been any real desire for reform, or even had the Democratic party been gifted with a slender modicum of political sense, it would have used the period of its control of Congress to pass a bill taking the civil service out of politics,—a bill which Mr. Hayes could not have refused to sign. As a simple piece of strategy, such a measure, adopted in the first session of the Forty-Sixth Congress, might—and probably would—have turned the result of the election of 1880. The omission to do so in the second session, after the election was lost, was a blunder so gross that it is only explicable by the fact that the average Democratic politician, like his Republican brother, can conceive of no higher political motive-power than office-seeking and office-holding, and that he felt it necessary to leave the door open for wholesale eviction, in order to have a chance at the offices in 1885. However this may be, it is plain to a demonstration that no help to the cause is to be expected from the Democratic party, as at present organized.

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The Pendleton and Willis Bills show that there are some Democrats wiser than their colleagues, and are creditable to their respective authors. They would merit careful examination if there were the faintest chance of their becoming laws; but, as, humanly speaking, there is no possibility of this, it would be waste of time to speculate about them.

Is there, then, no balm in Gilead? no practicable means whereby to bring about a reform which is absolutely essential to the integrity of our institutions? To reply in the negative would be to assert that our type of republicanism is a failure, and that our free government is rapidly and inevitably developing into an oligarchy of the worst kind, consisting of coarse despots, selected for their evil rather than for their better qualities. To anyone who believes in the public virtue and patriotism of the people as an ultimate fact, to state the case in this way is to preclude a negative answer. Yet, in order that the final outcome of the matter shall not be in accordance with such negative answer, it is requisite that the people in general, and Civil Service Reformers in particular, should squarely face the facts, should abandon illusions, should divest themselves of that half-heartedness which is worse than indifference, should make up their minds that no aid is to be expected from existing agencies, and, more than all, should recognize that "bossism" and the "spoils system" are virtually one and the same,—that it is futile to attack the one without the other, and that, as a whole, they constitute the great and ever-growing danger which menaces our country. Until this is acknowledged and received as self-evident, and it is seen that all other issues shrink into comparative insignificance before the great question: "Shall the 'bosses' govern the country by means of the spoils?" all Civil Service Reform agitation is little more than idle dilettanteism,—except inasmuch as it may gradually educate the people. In this respect, in fact, it has a useful function to perform, by calling attention to the abuses of the existing system, and thus creating public opinion; but, if it restricts itself to this, its immediate influence will be so limited that the "bosses may well be justified in continuing to smile at the agitators as harmless enthusiasts.

The only mode to render reform agitation effective is to translate it into political action. No man who really has the reform at heart should count himself as a Republican or as a Democrat when the

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cause of reform is at stake; and his ballot should be aimed at the head of a "boss" whenever the chance is given him, heedless of their respective party affiliations. The time is ripe for such work as this, by which alone can the sentiment evoked by the assassination of General Garfield be turned to practical account. Everywhere around us are there signs of the disintegration of parties and of the growth of an independent vote, which is the sole hope of the future. The progress of municipal reform in Philadelphia, despite the outcry with which it was greeted at its inception, ten years ago, is a most encouraging manifestation of this; and not less so is the unexpectedly large vote given to Mr. Wolfe throughout the State in the last November election. All these are direct aids to the cause of Civil Service Reform in the only direction in which it can be brought about,—the downfall of the "bosses;" and it is only by furthering such movements to the utmost in his power, that the reformer can expect eventually to accomplish his purpose.

It requires no prophet to see that the country is rapidly becoming ready for a revolution in politics. The old issues are virtually dead, and there is opportunity for new combinations, in which the "boss" and his patronage shall have no place. It is on such combinations, and the establishment of new organizations based upon opposition to "boss"-ism and its methods, that rests the only hope of effectual reform, and it is in this direction that the efforts of all true reformers must be turned with tireless energy and singleness of purpose. Steady persistence in such a course will gain its end at last, though the struggle will be long, and, in its vicissitudes, reverses will at times be disheartening. The "bosses" of both parties will doubtless unite in defence of the system to which they owe everything, just as we have already witnessed coalitions of the Stalwarts and Tammanyites in New York, and of our Pennsylvania leaders with certain Democratic chieftains, to overcome the Independent vote. Side-issues will be constantly sprung upon us, and even foreign complications may be created for the purpose of diverting the attention of the people. Nothing but resolute will, unfaltering purpose, and stubborn endurance, will serve in that weary contest; but with these final victory may be reckoned upon as assured.

HENRY C. LEA.

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MORLEY'S "LIFE OF COBDEN."*

MR. MORLEY has worked with zeal to make a great book about a great man. He has forgotten Talleyrand's shrewd warning to the young diplomatist,—"only not too much zeal,"—and has lavished fine phrases about every incident of Cobden's career with a wasteful freedom that makes his biography a mere panegyric, with too little criticism to make it a real story of an active and useful career, and with too little shadow to make the high light in which he poses his hero grateful either to the subject or to the reader.

Cobden was not a great man,—not even a great orator; he wisely gave the palm to Bright and to others of his co-laborers in appealing to the popular feeling, and he was far from being original in his subjects or his treatment of them. He was a great agitator, and he knew and threw himself into all the business of organizing successful leagues and demonstrations for the purpose of compelling the Government of the day to yield. Even in his various projects for legislation, he failed more than once, either in seizing the right subject for a good cry, or in handling it so as to make effective over Parliament the power he exercised over those who were accustomed to following his leadership. He had a knowledge of the qualities of the people of Manchester and the other manufacturing towns, and he not only secured their votes, and voices, and money, for his schemes, but he received from them royal gifts—not less than half a million of dollars in two successive popular subscriptions,—and repeated gifts of lesser sums to meet his pressing and frequent needs, from time to time, in his successive failures of various private undertakings.

The story of his life has little that is of interest. The son of a decayed and impoverished small freeholder, he began life under difficulties that never quite left him at ease; for his father's poverty was a hard burthen, from which some members of his family never recovered, and these were more or less dependent on him during his whole life. He showed a touch of poetic feeling in securing the

*"The Life of Richard Cobden." By John Morley, Barrister-at-Law; M. A., Oxford; Honorary LL. D., Glasgow. Boston: Roberts Brothers. 1881. 8vo. Pp. 640. With etched portrait by Thomas Riley.

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little homestead of his ancestors as his own in his later years; and there he led a quiet, pastoral life in the intervals of his work in Parliament, on the hustings, and in his temporary employment in negotiating the commercial treaties with France. His journeys to this country were purely private,—the first to look after a profitable investment for his money, and the second to save it, with that of others of his countrymen, from loss. He saw enough to point to the great West as the home of the overcrowded and overworked and under-paid and under-fed of the Old World; and, while he made repeated visits to European capitals in order to preach his economic doctrines to the great and powerful of every Government, he wisely abstained from urging them on his friends and correspondents on this side the Atlantic. He shrewdly saw that the unlimited land and the inexhaustible agricultural resources of the United States made his appeals for Free Trade, as a matter of relief to the farmer and laborer, of little avail here, where nature has done so much and legislation so little for the people.

Mr. Morley, in his enthusiastic desire to paint Cobden on a grand scale, has taken more canvas than he can well fill, and his book is made wearisome by incessant repetitions. He gives a narrative of each period of Cobden's life, and then gives his letters, going in detail over exactly the same time, with the same facts, and often the same phrases, while the foot-notes are generally a third version of the same episodes. Then there is a love of fine and exaggerated talk, very unlike that of Cobden, who was, above all things, plain, sententious, pithy and pointed. What could be more absurd than to lug in the Graces and the Muses, in order to get at the simple fact that, Great Britain had three representatives, and France nine, at the conferences at Paris, for making the Free Trade Treaty.

Naturally, Cobden's native force grew into very considerable self-esteem and self-assertion as he felt himself a recognized power and authority. Apart from his refusal of a dignified office in order to mark his moral and political superiority to Lord Palmerston, an example that Mr. Bright wisely refused to follow in Mr. Gladstone's Ministry, the book is full of examples of Cobden's power to make himself disagreeable. He lectured *The Times* and Delane, its editor, like an angry school-boy, and lugged himself into an unprovoked discussion, simply to talk about "me and Mr. Bright."

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He anticipated early submission by the North, when the people came to know through Sumner what "Cobden and Bright" thought about secession, and he read Sumner's letter to Lord John Russell, describing his correspondent as a safe and peaceable man; while he was saved from going entirely wrong on the American question by Mr. Bright's active support of the North and by the course of *The Times*, "unregenerate, and always hostile" to him, to his reforms, and to all that was good, and true, and right. He describes Lord Palmerston as having no views at all, beyond holding office by flattering the popular passion of the hour, as a sort of embodiment in politics of *The Times* in the press, always following public opinion, and shrewdly persuading its readers that it created the very views which it so carefully gathered from diligent access to all sorts of representatives, high and low, of the daily current of interests.

Cobden was wise in confining his political efforts to very few subjects, and he was utterly intolerant of any reforms that originated outside of his Manchester leagues and his own large circle of advisers. He condemned minority representation, and Hare for inventing it, and Mill for supporting it,—both on reasons that showed his knowledge of practical politics, and because he and his school wanted to establish a close monopoly of all reforms. He was an advocate for the district rather than the general ticket, preferring the *scrutin d'arrondissement* to the *scrutin de liste*,—the Gambetta form of the American system, to that which has been so effective of good results in England. However imperfect the logical analysis of its merits, as compared with those of a purely checker-board system, it is better on historical grounds, and by its working results, than that which obliges American constituencies to be content with accidental and local candidates, instead of leaving them free to choose the best man, wherever he can be found.

Cobden was one of the first to predict the enormous growth and material success of the United States, and the homage that would be paid to the wealth and power of the great republic. He anticipated the day, now so near at hand, when Englishmen would have a higher stake in the United States than at home,—when *The Times* would be less insolent and the Government more civil. He learned a good deal of his respect for this country from Goldwin Smith, whose conversation on his return to England, after his first visit, proved him "a confirmed Radical and Free Churchman,"

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whose pen was "a power in the State,"—and one that Cobden, even with his force as a speaker and his success as a pamphleteer, might well admire. It is, however, a little striking, that, of the Philosophic Radicals, in whose small number Goldwin Smith was a great factor, so few have done much in the way of practical statesmanship, and, in spite of great gifts as writers and great cleverness in detecting the faults of all other leaders, there is so little of actual legislation or governing that is entrusted to their keeping or that of any of their representatives.

Cobden was far from going all lengths with Goldwin Smith and his group in urging that independence of the colonies from home government which has now become an established fact; but, on the other hand, Free Trade has found very little support at the hands of the men who do actually govern in the great English colonies. It is their open repudiation of all that Cobden held sacred, which enables the Australian and Canadian Ministers to maintain the slender chain that binds the mother-country to her most powerful offspring. The conditions that made Free Trade a factor in English prosperity are wanting in the new countries that, like our own, have abundant resources of lands and mines, and all the wealth that springs from them, but do not yet find their manufacturing industries able to cope with those of the densely-populated countries of the Old World, with abundant capital and the hopeless division between the rich and the poor.

Cobden's invectives against the aristocracy, who kept peasants and factory-operatives in great misery, are all applicable with renewed force to those who would destroy the growing industries of Canada, and Australia, and the United States, as they have crushed out those of Ireland and India, and of every country where British fabrics have been brought to undersell native products. What Cobden wanted was the power to see beyond his own immediate surroundings, for what was good for Manchester was in his view good for the rest of the world. It is not a little difficult for those who have survived him, to provide answers for the land-owners, and the tenant-farmers, and the impoverished manufacturers, and the unemployed workmen, who ask for some measure that will bring back the halcyon days which followed the repeal of the Corn Laws, and which, according to the prophesies of the Anti-Corn Law League orators, were to last forever.

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The temporary and very great prosperity of the days of Free Trade has passed away, and thus far no relief has yet been suggested, other than such as may come from securing a larger measure of reduction in prohibitive tariff rates in France and other countries. What Mr. Cobden tried in vain to do by his incessant personal appeals to the successive sovereigns of Europe, his successors are trying to do by diplomacy, more or less successful as the Governments with which the attempts are made are more or less in need of alliances. France under Gambetta is ready to make great sacrifices to secure an English support in the great European war which is always impending, just as Napoleon III. eagerly met Cobden more than half way in his advances, in the futile hope that England would enable him to maintain his hold over European complications. There is no part of the life of Cobden more instructive than the story of the intrigues to which he made himself a party for the sake of securing the introduction of some measure of Free Trade into France. Even Lord Cowley, not a scrupulous diplomatist, preferred to see his office temporarily shorn of much of its power, and that power entrusted to Cobden, rather than join in a wretched series of deceptions, that deceived nobody, by which Napoleon thought to secure English friendship at the cost of French interest. The sort of holy crusade on which Cobden wandered from Court to Court, in the hope of raising the banner of Free Trade and of finding recruits to come under its folds, was in curious contrast to the insignificant part he had taken in discovering its truths at home, until his talent for organizing popular demonstrations and addressing popular audiences made him a useful member and a nominal leader of the Free Trade League. It must always be borne in mind that Cobden was at first enlisted by his neighbors and friends in and near Manchester to work for the repeal of the Corn Laws, as a means of restoring the prosperity of that great manufacturing town. He was in no sense the author of that measure, or of the cry of "Free Trade," which followed naturally that of "Free Corn;" but he was skilful enough to make a place for himself among the leaders of the agitation, which gave him power and authority, and a seat in Parliament.

What deterred Cobden from attempting any such course in his visits to this country, was, no doubt, largely his own interest in American railways, which could, of course, be successful only with

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the growing prosperity of the whole people, and still more the fact that there was no such class-distinction here as that which existed in England. There his position, as the representative of the great middle class, made him a successful negotiator between the governing and aristocratic class, and the humbler and more radical working-people, and he shrewdly appreciated his power. He lived and acted in times so near as hardly to be historical, yet so changed by the enormous alteration in the actual government of England, the immense increase of suffrage, and the transfer of power from the few to the many, that the record of his work in bringing about this change, both in and out of Parliament, is necessarily of value and interest.

Mr. Morley has great skill in authorship, and he has made the most of the few incidents of Cobden's private life,—the touching devotion of the boy and man to his family, his success as a merchant, his failure as a manufacturer, his happy domestic life, his genuine honesty in the delight with which he first discovered and then used his powers as a speaker, his pleasure in gradually gaining familiar access to the great houses of London, and then of England, his terrible grief on the death of his eldest son, his devoted care of his stricken wife, his comfort in his modest country home at his birth-place, his last struggle for life, and the honors conferred upon his memory by the greatest of his contemporaries. In and through the whole of his public career are plainly seen the powerful influence and inspiration of John Bright, a much greater man in every respect than Cobden; and this it is that necessarily takes away from the importance of the part Cobden will take in history, although not at all from the useful way in which he served as a strong ally and powerful support to Mr. Bright in the long series of reforms with which their names are connected. Much of what Cobden said, and all of what he did, owed its strength and force to Bright, and therefore even Mr. Morley has been unable to give us a picture of a man of sufficient independent greatness of character to deserve so elaborate and extensive a book as that which records his life.

J. G. R.

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EXPRESSIONS.

[From the advance-sheets of the first number of "Somebody Else's Universe."]

A MISSION calls me o'er the seas ;
For it, I leave Belgravian teas,
Communings sweet with *Postlethwaite* and *Maudle*,
My midnight muse, my noon-tide dawdle.

For it, I brave the tossing wave,
The winds that leap from forth the cave
Of Æolus, and fiercely beaming star
That frights the sailor from afar.

I bear with me the sunflower wild,
The lily passionate and mild ;
I take my curling locks and silken hose,
As beacons bright for those

Whose lot is cast in newly-founded states,
Whose struggles daily with the fates,
In busy trade, on 'change, in thronging mart,
Have brought them wealth, not art.

To them, I prate, in accents sweet and low,
Of letters, taste, and all I little know ;
And, smiling sadly, as did they of old,
I spoil these new Egyptians of their gold.

OSCAR TAYME.

SCIENCE.

A MODERN WAR-SHIP.

SOME one has cleverly said that the British Government spends millions of dollars in producing guns which will pierce any ship, and then spends more millions in devising ships which will resist any projectile.

The latest and most complete results of this costly amusement appear to be embodied in Her Majesty's ship "Inflexible,"—a huge leviathan, of such peculiar construction that it is difficult to classify her under any of the known rigs; for, as Mr. Atkins says in the London *Graphic:* "She, like Cleopatra's barge, beggars all description." She is rated at 11,400 tons burthen, and carries four eighty-ton guns, whose muzzles are large enough to take in a boy of ten years. The walls of the turrets are said to be four feet thick, being composed of an outside casing of steel-faced iron, one foot thick; then a layer of teak-wood, one foot thick; then a second casing of iron, one foot thick; then another layer of teak-wood, and, finally, an inside lining of iron, two inches thick; the turrets weigh, with their contents, six hundred and fifty tons each, and are noiselessly swung around the circle with perfect ease by the machinery below deck. The charges of powder and shot are brought from the magazines and placed in the gun by machinery, and the ramrod is worked by steam-power. The capacity for coal is twelve hundred tons; but the consumption is so enormous, that, if the vessel should be kept under full speed, this amount would not last one week, while her sailing power is considered much below the average. In addition to her guns, she is provided with Whitehead torpedoes, which are placed in pneumatic tubes, and shot forth with immense velocity from the side of the vessel, at a depth of ten feet below the surface of the water. She is also provided with Gatlings, Nordenfeldts, and other guns of small calibre, for defence against torpedo-boats.

A curious device to prevent excessive rolling is to be tried. A sort of enormous trough is to be constructed across the centre of the vessel, into which about sixty tons of water are to be pumped, and the air is to be exhausted from the space above the water. It is supposed that, as the ship will roll more rapidly than the water can move, the weight of the water will tend to act as a counter-

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poise. Anyone who is familiar with the scientific toy called the "criopherus," or water-hammer, in which a little water shaken in a vacuum-tube falls with a concussion like solid metal, will, we think, be excused for some incredulity in regard to the practicability of this device. Another curious advantage is claimed for this vessel, viz.: that she can be sunk in the short space of fourteen minutes by opening the water-tight compartments and the torpedo-holes. She is further provided with all the latest mechanical improvements, such as ventilating-shafts, steam steering-apparatus, electric lights, etc., etc. She has made three trial trips, which have been pronounced successful, one being from Plymouth to Gibraltar, when she experienced heavy seas in the Bay of Biscay, and behaved admirably, the rolling being but ten degrees, while the sea was washing over the turrets.

FRUITS OF SCIENCE *VS.* FRUITS OF NATURE.

The old adage, "where ignorance is bliss, 'tis folly to be wise," is too forcibly impressed upon the mind of the writer to permit him to dwell at length upon the sources from which many of the delicious flavoring extracts and delicate *mille fleurs* essences are now obtained, lest he should offend the æsthetic taste of his readers. Avoiding, therefore, any allusion to substances affecting the palate, or the still more sensitive olfactories, he may, perhaps, venture to show that the chemist, having ascertained by analysis the composition of nature's pigments, has actually reproduced, by synthesis, nearly all the natural dyes used for coloring fabrics, and he has done this, not merely as an amusement or as a scientific curiosity but on a scale which is growing into a business of enormous proportions, and giving employment to thousands of working-people. An idea of the present extent of this industry may be gained from the following statement:

In 1869, the discovery was made by German chemists that the coloring substance called *alizarin*, found in the madder-root, could be artificially manufactured; prior to that time, the average annual value of the madder-root product was over five million dollars. In 1868, the enormous quantity of sixty thousand tons of madder-root were sent into the market. "But, in ten years later, a quantity of artificial *alizarin*, more than equal to the above amount, was sent out from the various chemical factories; so that, in ten years, the artificial production had overtaken the natural growth, and the three

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or four hundred thousand acres of land which had hitherto been used for the growth of madder can henceforward be better employed in growing corn or other articles of food; . . . . and we get our *alizarin*-dyeing done now for less than one-third of the price which we had to pay to have it done with madder."* The lowest estimate of the value of the artificial *alizarin* produced annually at the present time is seven and one-half million dollars; while the value of the annual production of all the coal-tar, or aniline, colors in Germany, France, England and Switzerland is considerably more than twice this amount. When we learn that the artificial dyes are produced by the utilization of a substance (coal-tar,) which was formerly a refuse material, found in gas-retorts, we cannot fail to be impressed with the immense economic value of such a discovery, though it is difficult to realize that the delicate shades of color which are now produced in silk and other fabrics by these aniline dyes owe their origin to such a forbidding substance.

It is probable that a still greater revolution is to be witnessed within the next ten years, and a greater triumph is to be accorded to Germany in the recent discovery by one of her *savants*, Professor Adolf Bæyer, of the means of artificially forming indigo. "Here, then, we have another proof of the fact that the study of the most intricate problems of organic chemistry, and those which appear to many furthest removed from any practical application, are in reality capable of yielding results having an absolute value, measured by hundreds of thousands of pounds. In proof of this assertion, it is only necessary to mention that the value of the indigo imported into this country [England,] in the year 1879 reached the enormous sum of close on to two million pounds sterling, whilst the total production of the world is assessed at twice that amount; so that, if, as is certainly not impossible, artificial indigo can be prepared at a price which will compete with the native product, a wide field is indeed open to its manufacturers."†

The value of indigo as a coloring matter has been known from very early times; but its history, though interesting, would be out of place in a brief note, and the chemical steps by which it has been produced are far too complicated to admit of a clear exposition,

* Address by H. E. Roscoe, LL. D., F. R. S., President of the Chemical Society, London, England.

† *Ibid.*

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except to a technical expert; nor is the method of its artificial manufacture so interesting to the general reader as the knowledge of its accomplishment.

The domain of organic chemistry is a vast one, and it is as yet but imperfectly explored. It is a labyrinthine wilderness, in which the molecules and atoms are almost hopelessly entangled; but a little light is filtering through the mazes of these complicated combinations, and a simpler alphabet of the science is coming into use; there is sad need for such, as the following example of a single reaction will show:

$$n[C_6H_4(NO_2)C_2.COOH + H_2 = C_8H_5NO + CO_2 + H_2O]$$

Ortho-nitro-phenyl-propyolic acid. Indigotin.

A still greater prize is awaiting the chemist who shall discover the means of artificially producing cinchonia and quinia, which are now obtained from the bark of the cinchona-tree, and morphia, obtained from the juice of the poppy, of which such vast quantities are annually consumed. These alkaloids are all true salts, formed by the combination of an organic acid and a base, and there appears to be no insuperable reason why they may not be produced economically in the laboratory of the chemist as well as in the laboratory of nature. It certainly was far more difficult to conceive the possibilty of artificially producing *alizarin;* but, this step having been already gained, the others would seem within comparatively easy reach.

A. E. O.

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UNIVERSITY ITEMS.

IN the last number of this magazine, we called attention to the application of the Provost to the City Councils, asking that a portion of the Almshouse grounds adjoining the property of the University should be sold and conveyed to the Trustees, to be held by them for the educational purposes of the University. Mayor King forwarded the application to both branches of Councils, with a message recommending its favorable consideration. It was referred to the joint-committee on finance and city property, and a special meeting was held on January 19th, when a number of eminent citizens were present to urge the advantages that would accrue to the city from the sale on the proposed terms. The committee resolved unanimously to report an ordinance authorizing the Mayor to execute a suitable deed of sale; and, at a special meeting of Councils on January 24th, the ordinance was duly reported and passed unanimously by both chambers. It received the signature of the Mayor on the same day. It is not to be regretted that an attempt was made to prevent the execution of the deed, by a certain party, by asking for an injunction. A preliminary injunction was granted, and on January 28th Judge Elcock heard the argument for its continuance by Messrs. Heverin and Shakespeare, while the City Solicitor and Messrs. George W. Biddle and William Henry Rawle represented the Mayor and the University, and urged the dissolution of the injunction and the refusal of another injunction upon an amended bill. The Court did refuse the injunction, and on January 30th the Mayor executed the deed of sale.

The property thus acquired by the University consists of about thirteen and one-half acres, exclusive of streets. It is admirably adapted for the erection of large buildings. The ground is elevated, well drained, and thoroughly healthy. The purposes for which this ground is needed were briefly indicated in our last issue, and will be found more fully stated in the affidavit of the Provost in the suit above mentioned, which we present below. The unanimous expressions of approval and interest elicited by the application of the University and the action of Councils, showed most forcibly the strong hold this institution has upon this community, and the clear determination that nothing shall be wanting to enable

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it to advance and expand, so as to keep pace with the ever-growing requirements of modern education.

The demonstration of this feeling must strengthen the hands of the Provost and Trustees, by assuring them of the cordial support which the community is ready to give to every wise and liberal enterprise on the part of the University. We look to see an immediate and large increase in the benefactions of our wealthy citizens to aid an institution that has shown itself determined to provide for the largest needs of the future. Important measures have been announced; it is evident that they are necessary; it is equally evident they will be very costly, and that liberal endowments must be forthcoming to ensure their success.

The acquisition of the additional ground gives to the University of Pennsylvania a rare chance for growth and development, and an exceptionally favorable position. But there is one further improvement that is immediately necessary. We allude to the removal of the pauper department from Blockley, leaving the present buildings to be renovated and used as a city hospital, conducted on a creditable basis. It is disgraceful that a large poor-house, with its obnoxious population, should be tolerated in such a quarter of the city; and it seems evident that the first essential towards securing improved administration, both of poor-house and city hospital, is to separate widely these two totally distinct and incompatible institutions. We doubt not that many of the alleged abuses connected with Blockley Almshouse are directly traceable to the impracticable system of organization maintained there by the city, and we look to Councils to effect promptly a change that will doubtless be approved by the entire community, along with the members of the Board of Guardians.

The establishment of a station on the Pennsylvania Railroad, at the South Street Bridge, makes the University readily accessible from all parts of the city and neighboring country, and we predict a rapid increase in the number of students in attendance in the various departments.

The affidavit of Dr. William Pepper is as follows:

1. The application for the purchase of the land which is authorized to be conveyed to the University by ordinance of 24th January, 1882, has grown out of the absolute needs of the institution for more space. The increase in the number of students

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attending the various departments of the University has been so great—from six hundred in 1871 to over one thousand at the present time,—that it will soon be necessary to erect a spacious building for the scientific department alone. This building will occupy the only available site on the present property of the University.

2. But in addition there is an immediate need for a large library building. The University now has very large collections of books which are unavailable from want of space. The plans for the library building are in course of preparation, and will provide a large room suitable for public lectures, etc., and abundant space for books and for reading-rooms, which will be, under suitable regulations, open to the public.

3. Considerable space is also needed for a large museum building, which shall always be open to the public.

4. It is important that an observatory shall be erected, and a site will be reserved for this structure.

5. One of the most urgent needs for this additional land is for the veterinary school and hospital which the Trustees intend to establish. All over America, the need of such a school is strongly felt, and the city that first provides it in suitable form will take the lead in a most important matter. Large sums of money will be freely given if suitable ground can be secured for this purpose; but without this additional space this useful project must fail. A supply of skilled veterinary surgeons, and a better understanding of the nature and treatment of the diseases of our domestic animals, would save millions of dollars annually to this country.

6. Houses of residence or dormitories are also needed in connection with a great university which, like ours, draws its students from all parts of the world, and space must be provided for this building. Large sums of money will be available for the endowment of free scholarships, to enable deserving but needy students to profit by the practical teachings of the University; and it is one of the chief honors of the University of Pennsylvania that every trust confided to it during the century and a half of its existence has been scrupulously kept.

7. I can speak officially of the very large number of young men who apply annually for gratuitous instruction at the University. We have always dealt with such applications as liberally

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as possible; but hereafter it will be impossible to grant them, from want of space, unless room for more buildings is secured. As part of the condition of the proposed conveyance, the Trustees will establish fifty free scholarships, of an annual value of at least seventy-five hundred dollars, to students selected from public schools of Philadelphia. It must not be thought that the education received by the great bulk of students at the University is merely a classical and literary one; it is, on the other hand, in the highest sense, a practical one, and fits our graduates for immediate entrance upon the most important walks of practical life, such as mechanical, mining and civil engineering, chemistry, architecture, etc. There is not a single one of the graduates of the scientific department of the University who cannot speedily obtain lucrative positions in connection with the great industrial works of our city and country. This is, therefore, a matter which concerns every citizen, since the object is to furnish increased facilities, not only for the comparative few who can take a classical education, but for the enormous number who seek practical and scientific training. It is clear, therefore, that, unless this conveyance is made, the growth of this great institution will be effectually checked, and before long Philadelphia will lose her prestige as the seat of one of the greatest universities of America. All similar institutions have extensive lands; and we must have more space if we are to compete successfully with them. Wealthy citizens will give large sums of money for the specific purposes above-mentioned, if this land is secured.

8. It is less than eight years ago since the University obtained from the city the land upon which the Hospital stands, and which is reserved exclusively for hospital purposes. It also received two separate appropriations of one hundred thousand dollars each from the State for the erection of a hospital in which two hundred beds free for persons injured shall be maintained; and a further promise was made to maintain fifty beds for the poor of the city of Philadelphia. It was expected that many years would elapse before these conditions could be fully complied with; but the liberality of the citizens of Philadelphia has enabled the Trustees to advance so rapidly, that by next summer the full accommodations called for will be provided. One hundred and sixty-five thousand dollars over and above the two hundred thousand dollars from the State will have

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been spent in the erection of the buildings, and an endowment fund of five hundred thousand dollars additional has been received and invested as a special trust. The charity of the Hospital has been extended without stint to all worthy applicants, as may be judged from the fact that already 39,448 out-patients have been treated in the dispensaries, and 5,499 have been treated in the wards. Of this number, the superintendent tells me that about eighty-five per cent. have been free patients, while the remaining fifteen per cent. have paid from three dollars a week upward for their board. The annual cost of maintaining the Hospital has averaged about twenty-five thousand dollars. These facts will show the operation of a single one of the numerous trusts managed by the Trustees of the University.

9. They give no idea, however, of the magnitude of the operations of the whole University, and of the practical benefits it confers upon the city. We disburse two hundred thousand dollars annually; and the students who come to us from outside of Philadelphia spend in this city not less than one hundred thousand dollars annually in addition. They come to us from every part of America, and from many distant countries,—from Australia, Japan, Brazil and Europe.

10. It is impossible to estimate the advantage to a great city like Philadelphia of having thousands of active and successful men scattered over the earth, most of them retaining some sort of connection with us through the fact of having graduated at our university. This question, therefore, is really a great municipal one, and surely merits being dealt with in the largest and broadest spirit. It is not a matter of giving the city land to a private corporation. The University is not a private corporation; it is really an integral part of the city itself. It already holds trusts which give to it this character, and it asked for this additional land on the conditions that it will never sell any part of it without the consent of the city, and that it will build thereon no buildings, save for educational purposes.

11. It did not ask for it for any possible gain or profit to itself, but solely because the growth and increased importance of this great community, and the corresponding growth and increase of our great university, render additional facilities and additional space absolutely indispensable.

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At a regular meeting of the executive board of the Society of the Alumni of the Departments of Arts and Sciences of the University of Pennsylvania, held December 15th, 1881, the committee on Commencement Week exercises made a report which was unanimously adopted. In this report, the committee recommended that the board should request the Undergraduates to hold their public entertainments, which are now scattered through the college-year, within ten days of Commencement Day, and, as far as may be desirable, within the University buildings; and, further, that the secretary of each class be requested to communicate to the secretary of the Society the order of the Commencement Week exercises, which shall be incorporated in a notice, to be sent to each Alumnus a week before such exercises shall commence. It was further recommended that an oration be delivered annually before the Society and invited guests, in the University Chapel, upon the evening preceding Commencement Day, by some prominent orator, to be elected by the board. A resolution was passed by the board empowering the committee to select an orator and to co-operate with the Undergraduates in any effort which may be made on their part to enforce the recommendations of the committee. The action of the Alumni board is heartily approved of by Provost Pepper, and it is hoped that the interest of the Alumni in Undergraduate affairs may be increased. It is proposed to hold a joint meeting of the committee and class presidents Tuesday evening, February 14th, at the University Club. The board committee is composed of the following gentlemen: Alfred G. Baker, Class of '51; Henry Budd, Jr., Class of '68; Robert H. Neilson, Class of '70; Chas. A. Ashburner, Class of '74; Edward G. McCollin, Class of '78.

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BRIEF MENTION.

A CIRCUMSTANCE of peculiar interest in the history of periodical literature is to be found in the fact that on the 4th February *Chambers's Journal* attained to the ripe age of half a century. Fifty years is a long period of life for a journal of any kind, and under any change of circumstances; but such a term of life in a popular periodical, adopting at the start and sustaining, under the same management, throughout that whole period an exceptionally high standard of excellence and a singular purity of tone, is really phenomenal. There are time-honored quarterly reviews and monthlies that can boast of longer life, but they are addressed to special classes, or else have enjoyed the support of the wealthy; it is questionable if there can be found any other instance of a really popular journal, addressed to the masses of the people and supported wholly by that constituency, putting out, week after week, for fifty years, sixteen pages of solid and instructive reading to a hundred thousand readers, for the price of a penny and a half, without change of management, and without deviation from the standard adopted in the beginning. It is a triumph in the field of periodical literature, and a contribution to the welfare of humanity of incalculable value. Well deserved was the greeting of Sydney Smith when he called upon Dr. William Chambers in London, and said: "You are surprised, probably, at my visit. There is nothing strange about it. The originator of the Edinburgh *Review* has come to see the originator of the Edinburgh *Journal*." That visit happened nearly forty years ago, and Dr. Chambers, surviving his brother Robert and nearly all his old friends and fellow workers, is able in his old age to write his "Reminiscences of a Long and Busy Life" in the journal in which he wrote, fifty years ago, in its first number, the opening words which have been the key-note of his thoughts in the conduct of the *Journal* ever since: "The principle by which I have been actuated is to take advantage of the universal appetite for instruction which at present exists; to supply to that appetite food of the best kind, in such form and at such price as will suit the convenience of every man in the British Dominions." These words Dr. Chambers, as he quotes them, modestly describes as "written in a fevered state of feeling." We may, perhaps, be permitted to

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characterize them as words of practical good sense and of broad philanthrophy; and, as fellow-workers in that limited domain of periodical literature which relies upon no sensational element for success, it is with heartfelt pleasure that we send across the waters our greetings to this time-honored journal in its year of jubilee, and our hearty congratulations to its venerable editor who had the courage to begin such an enterprise, and conduct it with the same unvarying steadfastness of purpose, through all these years.

S. W.

The first number of *Our Continent*, the new illustrated weekly journal, has made its appearance. It has been looked for with great interest, and it well fulfils the promise held out in its prospectus. It is emphatically a strong number, and as there is no doubt that the succeeding issues will come up to the same standard, this new undertaking deserves to be recognized as a valuable addition to the list of American periodicals. Its conductors are men of exceptional literary ability and business capacity, while the list of promised contributors includes some of the most able and entertaining writers, both at home and abroad. It begins, therefore, under the most favorable auspices, and possessed of all the elements requisite to insure success. No more opportune moment could be found to launch such a project upon the public favor. There is an eager and craving hunger for periodical reading of an entertaining sort, and the hunger must be appeased. Quarterly journals are things of the past, monthlies are well enough in their way, but the hunger becomes painful before the month rolls around. Weekly, daily, even semi-daily periodicals are required, for no one nowadays is satisfied without seeing at least two newspapers in a day. Perhaps in the well-conducted weekly journal may be found the happy medium which will satisfy this demand and at the same time conduce to the public good. There are many reasons why this should be so, and very clear proof of the fact that it is so may be found in the enormous circulation of the weekly editions of our daily papers. We soon find out that hasty and desultory reading is unsatisfactory, and, though we read the daily papers to get the latest news of current events, we are more likely to do more extended reading at longer intervals. In the domestic life of our American people, nearly all of whom are hard workers, there is a

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habit of doing a great many things once a week, and the habit which applies of necessity to household duties is likely to be made applicable to pleasure and recreation also. In very many households whose means will not permit access to all the periodical literature, the arrival of the weekly paper is an event of the week, and the day of its arrival naturally becomes a stated time for reading. If *Our Continent* should succeed in supplying this want among the masses of the people, by furnishing really instructive and entertaining reading at a moderate price, its promoters will be doing substantial good, and will deserve to be well rewarded for their efforts. We heartily wish them a large measure of success.

S. W.

Semper quid novi ex Africâ! A most interesting field in Goethe literature, which, for some reason, has hitherto entirely escaped the attention of the admirers of that wonderful intellect, has just been filled by the arduous labors of the learned Dr. Herman Rollett, *Stadt Archivär* of Baden-bei-Wien. The "portraits of Goethe" are the objects of his research, and the results of ten years' labor are about to be embodied in a volume which will contain three hundred *Goethe-bildnisse*, chronologically arranged and artistically described, forming a fitting copestone to the vast amount of literature already devoted to that giant genius. The hands into which this great work has fallen are well worthy of the task. Nearly forty years have elapsed since his "*Frühlingsboten aus Œsterreich*" led the way to a renown second to that of no living poet of the German tongue. But the laurels of poetry were not sufficent for Dr. Rollett, and for some years he has been devoting himself with a thoroughly German zeal and application to studies of art and art history, as a preparation for the present volume.

America should be represented in this vast undertaking. If any American engraved portraits of Goethe exist, as no doubt they do, they should be communicated to Dr. Rollett, to ensure absolute perfection to the work,—a consummation of which the whole civilized world may well be proud. H. P., Jr.

The seed sown years ago by the Handel and Haydn Society of Boston in its first "triennial" festival has borne good fruit. Naturally, those engaged in getting up subsequent festivals were at

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first more concerned in bringing together a chorus and an orchestra of monster proportions than in giving adequate performances of symphony and oratorio. But even the jubilee of 1872 had its bright side; for there were moments when the vision of the regiment of red-shirted firemen who wielded the hammers in the "Anvil Chorus" from "*Trovatore*" had faded from sight, and when the echoes of their deafening clangor had died away. There were intervals when Mr. Zerrahn held the *bâton*, and when singers and players seemed fully impressed with the importance of the better work they had in hand. Moreover, we have to thank Mr. Gilmore for affording us a chance to hear the excellent foreign military bands, and to see Strauss leading the orchestra in several of his waltzes.

Within the past ten years, much of this has been changed. There have been festivals, indeed; but now earnest, skilful, learned musicians have the direction. Mr. Theodore Thomas and Dr. Damrosch have succeeded in making New York the musical capital of the United States. While the large enterprises they have undertaken require so great an outlay of time, money and labor as to invest the question of ways and means with vital importance, they have never sacrificed their regard for their art to the needs of the hour. They would, indeed, feel that they were trifling with the host of singers who gather from far and wide at their mere request, if the work they asked them to take part in were not worthy of their best efforts. As a result, these concerts educate singers and players as well as audiences. Of the remoter influence of such occasions, as illustrated in the greater zeal with which the various societies go back to their own work, it is needless to speak.

Preparations for the spring music festivals in New York and in Cincinnati are already far advanced, and Mr. Theodore Thomas is to lead in both. The directors of the Cincinnati festival have awarded the prize for a composition for chorus and orchestra to Mr. W. W. Gilchrist, of this city. The competition was confined to composers of American birth; but the list of judges included two such distinguished Europeans as Herr Reinecke of Leipzig and M. Saint-Saens of Paris. The work is a setting of the Forty-Sixth Psalm, and its performance at one of the festival concerts will be looked forward to with much interest. S. A. S.

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NEW BOOKS.

THE PORTRAIT OF A LADY. By Henry James, Jr. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 1882.

Mr. James, as is his wont, commences by interesting the reader deeply, not only in what may be supposed to be his heroine, but in her surroundings, or, rather, the *mise en scène* in which she first appears.

Nothing can be more delightful to the imagination than the charming old country-house, the sunny, quiet afternoon, the beautiful lawn, —which are cut so clearly that one can fairly see them; nor more interesting than the group of dissimilar men and dogs to whom *Isabella Archer* suddenly and mysteriously appears. Of course, *Lord Warburton* falls in love with her, and would fain marry the princess at once; but no,—she has ideas, or, rather, ideals, and, longing to see the world, she declines a rent-roll and the peerage. Yet in the manner of her refusal of *Warburton*, and later of *Goodwood*, we have our first dim suspicions that, after all, we are not looking at the portrait of a lady, but at a very clever mechanical drawing of an automaton, who moves perfectly in every part, but who, after all, is not alive. Not being in love with either of her adorers, why not say so frankly, and be done with it? Nevertheless, she is still interesting, and one feels with *Ralph Touchett* the delight of spectatorship and expectation of a "brilliant career which would not be wanting in the unexpected." A new power shortly comes to her in the shape of money, and with it trouble and blight; for she is instantly made use of,—unconsciously, of course,—and married by *Madame Merle*, the villain of the piece, to a cold, cynical impersonation of selfishness, who recalls vividly *Grandcourt* in "Daniel Deronda."

Ending there is none; but that the reader does not expect, for Mr. James invariably shirks the consequences which his character-building produces, and the reader is left to arrange matters according to his own sweet will. *Isabella Archer* cannot be called heartless; for, strictly speaking, she has no heart, and it is her intellect which suffers in her utter failure to obtain happiness or success in the career she thought she chose for herself. Introspection was a great snare to her; she would have been much happier could she but have applied her cousin's advice to "take things more easily. Don't question your conscience so much; it will get out of tune, like a strummed piano. Keep it for great occasions Don't try so much to form your character,—it's like trying to pull open a rosebud; "—from which it may be inferred that *Miss Archer* had herself very much on her own mind; indeed, she confesses to *Ralph* that she was absorbed in herself, and "looked at life too much as a doctor's prescription." Occasionally, her self-consciousness is

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most amusing to the spectator; as, for instance, in the query: "Who was she, what was she, that she should hold herself superior to this great opportunity?" And one is forcibly reminded of the banquet of beauty which *Grosvenor* feels that he should not withhold from his female admirers. As a whole, her character seems to lack consistency; for surely unconventionality was her god, and yet, as the drama of her life advances, she yields, however unwillingly, to the customs of society, and, though for a moment moved by the stormy passion of *Goodwood,* she dismisses him, (forever, it is to be hoped,) and the indications are that she will return to Rome. It seems rather a picture of a lady, than a portrait.

On the contrary, *Madame Merle* is real. One becomes so interested in her talk, her *savoir faire,*—and then so tired of her cleverness; she is too complete, and, although she had herself well in hand, she never satisfied her ambitions nor won any of the prizes. There can be no doubt of her being flesh and blood. Her crime is well concealed, and only serves to make the latter end of the book more repellent.

Mr. Buntling and *Henrietta Stackpole* are amusing, but so unlike any known type of American or English life, that it is doubtful if even Madame Tussaud would admit them to her gallery; but *Ralph Touchett* is simply delightful. The portrait, apparently unknown to the artist, is really of him, and is so faithful to nature that the reader must think of him as a personal friend.

Mr. James's style is finished and polished till it is almost painful; one has to take it in sections (as Dundreary thought his lady-love proposed to take him), and a microscope is needed to do it justice. Most novels lose by appearing serially; but, on the contrary, it is the only way to do justice to this one; for, though it is never commonplace, it is at times tedious, and requires more attention in the following than is justified by the result.

Mr. James is apparently making the American girl his study, and has struck various chords, from *Daisy Miller* to *Isabella Archer;* but the key-note of that complex production of modern life is as yet untouched by him. E. S. P.

VIEWS ON VEXED QUESTIONS. By William W. Kinsley. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1881.

Here we have a book, enjoyable throughout, full of thought, and which cannot fail to be instructive. Parts of it have already appeared in THE PENN MONTHLY; and, as an apology to the author for the tardiness of this notice, (for the book has been on hand for some little time,) it may be stated that the reviewer felt moved to read it through carefully, in the midst of many other avocations, before writing about it.

The first chapter is on "The Supernatural," and Mr. Kinsley

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grasps and emphasizes as a factor in the workings of the complicated universe the *will-force* of a divine creator and organizer,—a force which is in reality as verily a phenomenon in the universe as any other. He is abreast of the conclusions of science, and sums up what he has to say in this chapter with the following words: "The theory which I adopt, and in this paper have attempted to prove, is that physical, and perhaps intellectual, phenomena are due to an efficiency once imparted by the Creator to the earth and its inhabitants, but now abiding in them, operating apart from himself, and subject to fixed conditions; that through compliance with these conditions the forces of matter and of thought become servitors of the Divine will in the same way as of the human, only in an immeasurably greater degree. This theory, I think, accords most perfectly with the claims of science, and enables sad and discouraged souls to feel the warm grasp of the hand of their heavenly Father."

In the next chapter (pages 89–150), the author deals with "Mental Life Below the Human," and discusses the questions: "Are Animals, First, Rational? Second, Moral? Third, Immortal?" A vast number of interesting facts are put before the reader, and at the close of the chapter (page 149,) Mr. Kinsley says: "Although it is extremely difficult, as we have seen, if not impossible, to draw sharply the dividing line between the mineral and the vegetable, between the vegetable and the lower animal, and between the lower animal and man, yet no one can rise from a careful examination of their prominent characteristics without carrying with him a profound conviction that each marks not only an important but a radical departure in creation. This series of changes is an ascending one, constituting four successive steps in the evolution of a divine ideal."

In the third chapter, the title of which is "When Did the Human Race Begin?" (pages 151–188,) various answers to the question are given, as put forth by the advocates of differing views, and the closing paragraph will give some idea of the author's treatment of the subject: "While these many widely differing notions witness to the confusion in which this whole subject is yet involved, they also show some reconciliation possible, and encourage Christians to still hold firm their confidence, and with patience wait."

This ends the "First Part" of the volume. "Part Second" begins with "Satan Anticipated;" and, although some readers will undoubtedly dissent from the author's views of certain "*necessities*," as propounded on pages 201-202, in their bearing on a very mysterious subject, yet it must be said that the whole tenor of the article, showing how highest good is evolved, or may be, out of deepest evil, cannot fail to be encouraging to all who feel the gravity of struggle as a law of being.

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The moral of the next chapter, on "The Key to Success," (pages 231–254,) may be summed up in a short sentence near its end: "No personal advancement not founded upon pronounced personal merit should ever be sought for or accepted;"—an honest, manly sentiment, and one which ought to operate very widely, not only as a principle of individual life, but also as the very foundation-stone of good government, the very key-note of "Civil Service Reform."

The character of that child of genius, and morbid sensibility, and erratic morals, Percy Bysshe Shelley, is analyzed in the next chapter (pages 255–302). The writer concludes it with these words: "It has been my purpose simply to show how Shelley, surcharged as he was with imagination, individualism, enthusiasm, love and hope, while exhibiting in his life and writings many apparently vital contradictions, actually mantained, in the main drift of both his thoughts and acts, as strict a self-consistency as comports with usual human frailty. Precisely how far he was accountable for his morbid mental morals, his dangerous doctrines, and still more dangerous modes of life, or how far he was the helpless creature of organism and circumstance, I leave an open question, preferring that the responsibility of its decision shall rest with that higher tribunal to which he has gone,—'The Court of Final Appeal.'"

The concluding chapter of the book is an enthusiatic and loving *résumé* of the life and character of the gifted and plucky Brontë sisters.

Mr. Kinsley's volume is heartily commended as both interesting, healthy and instructive. J. A. H.

My First Holiday; or, Letters Home from Colorado, Utah and California. By Caroline H. Dall. Boston: Roberts Brothers. 1881.

The most noticeable thing about this book to an untravelled Eastern reader is the new impression it gives of California as regards climate and products, as well as, in many respects, the manner of life of the inhabitants. As regards the first, the author seems to have found little but fog and dampness,—so much fog as seriously to interfere with the enjoyment of sight-seeing, and dampness to an extent which makes neuralgia and rheumatism prevailing diseases, and renders life in the open air after sunset, which is one of the compensations of summer in this longitude, almost an impossibility there. Accompanied with this, there is (or, at least, was during the summer of 1880,) an almost total lack of rain, so that, between the dust, and the roughness and discomfort of all the various modes of conveyance, it must require a great deal of enthusiasm to make travelling anything but a very serious sort of amusement.

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Indeed, the whole tone of the book, whether the author is describing the railway journeys, with all the obstacles and annoying discourtesies she met with, or the characteristics of the life she encountered, while in the Pacific States, is rather discouraging to anyone contemplating either a visit or a residence there. Nevertheless, the book is very interesting and well worth reading. The author's views are, generally speaking, those of a "very advanced" thinker, —she is, we believe, a Unitarian preacher; but the thoughts aroused in her mind by the scenes through which she passed are nearly always valuable, as, for example, all she has to say about Leadville and its horrors, which are described near the beginning of the book, and again, by way of retrospect, on pages 180 to 182. Again, on page 295, there are some excellent remarks on the connection between woman's household duties, especially cooking, and temperance, which we heartily recommend to all women who have any home responsibilities. Finally, the concluding pages give the author's reflections on the shooting of President Garfield, *à propos* of the assassination of an editor who was fighting the local "machine" of the town where he lived, and among them this, which we earnestly hope may prove a true prophecy, on page 419: "And what is this harvest? . . . *It is the triumph of Civil Service Reform.* This will make the lives of public men safe, will diminish the pressure upon public officers, and will give us statesmen where we have had politicians."

The style of the author is, on the whole, very good; but here and there we find flights of sentiment or imagination which we might wish had been omitted. For instance, on page 30 occurs this remarkable sentence: "A valley, gracious as Paradise and noiseless as the night, opens from a bend in the river, five hundred feet below. Gay teams with four horses catch a glimpse of us, and wave through the silence white banners of cheer"! Generally, however the descriptions are better than this. R. F. W.

CAMBRIDGE TRIFLES; OR, SPLUTTERINGS FROM AN UNDERGRADUATE PEN. By the author of "A Day of My Life at Eton." New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1881.

This little book is an anonymous republication of some articles that appeared originally in the *Cambridge Review*, collected and arranged by their author so as to give a continued though unconnected account of his university life. Each article or chapter forms a complete story of some incident or event, or gives the writer's impression of some custom or institution, and may be read consecutively or by itself, and as the advertisement says, "may be taken up at any moment or laid aside." It is in that way we would advise that it should be read. For, taken consecutively, you become not a little wearied with the constant reference the writer makes, though in a

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very pleasant, ironical way, to the annoyance he was subjected to from piano-playing and the continual tea-drinking every student seems to indulge in, until you are almost lead to believe that students at Cambridge do nothing but play pianos and drink tea. Had he reserved all his allusions to piano-playing for his very bright article on "Music," and all his tea-drinkings for his chapter on "Five O'Clock Tea," (Chapters VIII. and X. respectively,) you would not, having read the previous articles consecutively, have had already such a surfeit of both these subjects as to unfit you for a proper enjoyment of the very real wit of these two chapters.

A short quotation from the article on "Music," above referred to, will illustrate very aptly the general style of the book. Speaking of a man who had a room directly above his, and particularly annoyed him with his piano-playing, he says:

"I've never been able to catch him at his leg work yet. He's lately got a new pair of boots, very thick and strong, and I had hoped he had been meaning to begin a system of grinds, or riding or bicycling, or anything to take him away for at least some time in the day; but it has only resulted in the production of a series of louder crashes from the instrument than before. D' you think now there is any way of stopping him? 'Music hath charms,' I know, and 'the man that hath not music in his soul'—at least, Peddle has music in his sole, or thinks he has—it's all very well; but when it comes to a man making a piano into a means of taking regular and violent exercise, as if it were a bicycle, I think that it is high time that somebody set to work to suppress him."

The article on "Lectures" is a very excellent commentary upon the lecture system, its use and abuse, alike by the lecturer and the scholar, and is applicable to and may be appreciated by the student in many of our universities, as by those to whom it was addressed.

The book is divided into two parts, with a short "Legend" of a few pages added. The first part he designates "Egotistical Essays," and, speaking in the first person in a deprecatory, apologetic way, expresses his thoughts and opinions of those usages, customs and institutions of the university which he thus criticises. The second part, "Σπερμολογος," ("a babbler of idle talk,") is a collection of the supposed conversation or gossip of a "σεπρμολογος," a type of student common everywhere,—a man good enough at heart and without spite or malice, who unable to apply himself, wastes his own time and others, in discussing and criticising the behavior and methods of his fellow students, trying to persuade his hearers that all others are wrong, their systems faulty, and the plan he advises, or the method he is shortly to adopt, is the only proper course to pursue. And thus he goes on, always suggesting but never carrying anything into effect, until finally, examinations

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drawing near, he concludes that he was not cut out for a professional man, so what is the use of his getting a degree; better start right into business, or, as they call it at Cambridge, "go down." The author makes a very skilful use of this character, not only to draw his moral condemning the class, but also, as in the "Egotistical Essays," either to commend certain practices and customs by making the very complaints in the mouth of the complainer evidence the advantages of the thing complained of, or by the praise of the person praising to condemn.

On the whole, the book is a bright addition to a class and style of writing which of late years has been popular, as well in this country as in England, and should be generally encouraged, as tending to increase literary tastes among the undergraduates in our colleges and make their college press much more interesting and readable than in the past. H. L. G.

The Artist and His Mission: a Study in Æsthetics. By Rev. William M. Riley, Ph. D. Philadelphia: John E. Potter & Co. 12mo. Pp. xi, 165.

The author of this work styles himself "Professor of Ancient Languages, Palatinate College," and dates his preface "Myerstown, Pa." He starts out in his prefatory note with two acknowledgments, both of which are clearly apparent upon an examination of his pages, and either of which would be sufficient excuse, if any were needed, for not inflicting another book upon mankind. "In the first place," he says, "he has scarcely anything to set forth that is *original*, and in the second his reading has been confined to a very *limited* sphere." The material seems to have been first used in the form of lectures before a school class, where originality is not often looked for and less often found; but the question that will suggest itself to every inquiring mind is: "Why, when at the outset he makes this acknowledgment, did he go any further, and put his lectures into print?" Unfortunately for the reader, the volume does not answer the query, for certainly this "Study in Æsthetics" will not tend to elucidate the science of the beautiful; its utterances being involved and obscure from the beginning to the end. It is an attempt at higher metaphysics without having mastered the fundamentals, and consequently the triteness of some of the observations would be amusing for their puerility were it not that the loftiness and sublimity of the theme preclude such feelings. To think of a writer upon a profound subject placing a foot-note to the word *sensuous*, "guarding the reader against confounding *sensuous* with *sensual!*" The introduction is devoted to the artist's mission, method and resources; then follow three divisions on *the sense of beauty in general; the sense of beauty*

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unfolding itself in æsthetic productivity; and *the sense of beauty as the endowment of the individual artist,* considering under the last head *talent, geniality* and *genius.*

We regret that we cannot recommend this book for anything. Much more lucid treatments of the great subject of æsthetics can readily be found, and notably in the charming work of Eugène Veron, which has been translated into English and issued as one of the "Library of Contemporary Science." C. H. H.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

Art Needlework. Part I. Outline Embroidery. (Art-Work Manual.) Edited by Charles G. Leland. New York: Art Interchange Publishing Co.

The Way of Life. By George S. Merriam. Cloth. 12mo. Pp. 205. $1.00. Boston: George H. Ellis. (J. B. Lippincott & Co.)

A Study of the Pentateuch. For Popular Reading. By Rufus P. Stebbins, D. D. Cloth. 12mo. Pp. 233. $1.25. Boston: George H. Ellis. (J. B. Lippincott & Co.)

Ecce Spiritus. A Statement of the Spiritual Principles of Jesus as the Law of Life. Cloth. 12mo. Pp. 238. $1.25. Boston: George H. Ellis. (J. B. Lippincott & Co.)

Tender and True. Poems of Love. Cloth. 16mo. Pp. 180. $1.00. Boston: George H. Ellis. (J. B. Lippincott & Co.)

Numa Roumestan. By Alphonse Daudet. Translated by Virginia Champlin. Cloth. 12mo. Pp. 312. $1.00. Boston: Lee & Shepard. (J. B. Lippincott & Co.)

Books of All Time. A Guide for the Purchase of Books. Compiled by F. Leypoldt and Lynds E. Jones. 32mo. Sewed. Pp. 80. $0.10. New York: F. Leypoldt.

A Reading Diary of Modern Fiction. Cloth. 32mo. Pp. 160. $0.25, $0.50, $1.00. New York: F. Leypoldt.

Memories of Old Friends. Being Extracts from the Journals and Letters of Caroline Fox, of Penjerrick, Cornwall. Edited by Horace Pym. Cloth. 12mo. Pp. 378. $1.50. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co.

Esau Runswick. By Katherine S. Macquoid. (Trans-Atlantic Novels.) 16mo. Sewed. Pp. 362. $0.60. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. (J. B. Lippincott & Co.)

Eunice Lathrop, Spinster. By Annette Lucille Noble. (Knickerbocker Novels.) 16mo. Sewed. $0.60. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. (J. B. Lippincott & Co.)

The Art of Voice Production; With Special Reference to the Methods of Correct Breathing. By A. A. Pattou. Cloth. 16mo. Pp. 106. $1.00. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. (Porter & Coates.)

The World's Witness to Jesus Christ. By the Rt. Rev. John Williams, D. D. Cloth. 12mo. Pp. 79. $1.00. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. (Porter & Coates.)

English Literature in the Reign of Victoria, with a Glance at the Past. By Henry Morley, LL. D. Cloth. 12mo. Pp. 361. $2.00. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. (Porter & Coates.)

The Dingy House at Kensington. (Trans-Atlantic Novels, No. XII). 12mo. Sewed. Pp. 392. $0.60. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. (Porter & Coates.)

Dramatic Sonnets of Inward Life. By A. M. R. $1.25. Newport: T. W. Richards & Bro. (Porter & Coates.)

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THE

PENN MONTHLY.

APRIL, 1882.

THE INGERSOLL-BLACK CONTROVERSY, FROM THE JEWISH STANDPOINT.

A DISPUTATION reminding one of the theological bouts of the Middle Ages, which Heine burlesques so finely in his account of the rabbi and the monk in the Aula of Toledo, has been raging in the columns of the *North American Review*, between Colonel Ingersoll as the great enemy, and Judge Black as the protagonist, of Christianity.

The last word in the *Review* has been spoken by the former. He disposes of the Scriptures curtly by dividing them into the Old Testament, which ascribes to God cruelty and injustice in the past, and the New, which attributes to Him still greater injustice and cruelty in the endless future. As the Old Testament has been written, in all its parts, by men of my own race, and is still the groundwork of the religion which I profess, I ask leave to mingle in the fray, and to stand up for, not my *creed*, but my *religion;* that is, for the law or doctrine which teaches me what is the right *deed*.

Colonel Ingersoll will probably say: "I am willing, in the name and on behalf of modern thought, to engage in controversy with one who represents the three hundred and fifty million Christians, real or nominal, of America, of Europe, and of the isles of the sea; but why should I bandy words—why should I break a lance, —with the champion of that insignificant band of Jews, of whom

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seven millions, at the most, are scattered over the globe, and half of these, barbarians in barbarous Russia? What matters it what they believe or what they practise?" But I claim recognition, as representing a broader constituency than even Judge Black; for all Christians, whether Protestant or Catholic, Roman or Greek, and all Moslems, whether of the Sunnah or the Shiah, are but branches of that one tree of which we form the stem; they are children of that family of which Israel is the eldest son. Not desiring to defend those parts of Christianity, any more than those parts of Islam, in which these religious systems have departed from the old standards, or have compromised with the idolatrous worship or polytheistic thought of the heathen, I can only defend the glorious truths which the Christian and the Mussulman share with their teacher,—the eternal Jew.

As Colonel Ingersoll makes his little point on the pro-slavery tendencies of Judge Black, and as my Southern dwelling-place may subject me to the suspicion of sinning similarly against the light of the age in which I live, it may be proper for me to brush aside from the beginning all aspersions of that sort, and to establish my thorough soundness on that score. Living then, as now, in a Southern city, I did, in 1853, while editing a German newspaper, translate for and publish in it "Uncle Tom's Cabin." In 1856, I was one of fourteen, out of five thousand in that city, who gave their votes to Fremont. I have never voted any but a Republican ticket since, and have on all political questions taken what most men consider the liberal side.

I wish, also, to premise that I am none of your make-believe, so-called progressive Jews. I attend and help to support an old-fashioned synagogue; I keep with fair strictness the Sabbath that begins on Friday and ends on Saturday at dark; I abstain from the flesh of unclean animals, and I teach my sons and daughters the Hebrew text of the Scriptures. This will sufficiently explain my standpoint.

The mistake which Colonel Ingersoll makes in his estimate of the books of the Old Covenant is two-fold: First, the reproaches which he cast upon the view of God's government of the world, as therein taught, are really reproaches upon any system which starts from a belief in God; secondly, his judgment upon the laws and rules of conduct taught in the Jewish Scriptures, and especially in

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the Pentateuch, shows that he is a stranger to the fundamental idea of all modern philosophy, which, if I mistake not, is progress, or growth and development; in one word, evolution.

I am quite willing to concede to him that the Christian idea of a Creator who consigns untold myriads of sentient beings to the torments of hell for endless ages to come, is a notion abhorrent to the feelings of all but the most depraved or the most narrow-minded of men; and I will add, further, that it is a notion contrary to all sound reason, and that for its truth, outside of the authority of the Gospel, (the *good* tidings,) no proof of any kind can be found. But, when he says that the cruel sufferings which are predicted, in the name of the Lord, for Israel on the earth, in the farewell song of Moses, ("I will send among them the tooth of beasts, with the fury of the serpents of the dust,") indicate a degrading view of the Godhead, which could be entertained only by a blood-thirsty, selfishly heartless priesthood, he places himself on entirely different ground; for the truth is that sufferings such as this line indicates, and others, greater, bitterer, sharper, have befallen the children of Israel. Either the infliction of these sufferings came through the will of God, or God is not Almighty, he does not govern the world. "*Dii quidem sunt, sed res humanas non curant,*" as the disciples of Epicurus said when they were afraid to deny God straightout; unless we take refuge in the Parsee belief of a benign Ormuzd and an evil-designing Ahriman. Isaiah (or his continuator,) disposes of the latter phase of belief in the short and dry words: "He [the Lord,] formeth light, and createth darkness; maketh peace, and createth evil." And I have no doubt that in the nineteenth century, and in English-speaking countries, even those who are most thoroughly freed from Biblical prepossessions will agree on this subject rather with Isaiah than with Zoroaster.

Colonel Ingersoll either dares not, or cares not, to deny the existence of God. Nor do I care to go into metaphysical disquisitions to prove that there is a God; but I take his existence for granted. There is a world, containing sentient beings; these have suffered —they do suffer,—much pain; this is a great evil. For this evil, God has to answer. Moses and the prophets, in speaking of some of these sufferings, which have certainly taken place, aver that they were inflicted by God. Isaiah says that all evil, in its origin or creation, comes from God. It is impossible to give any definition

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of one god according to which these averments of Moses and Isaiah must not be literally true. It does not follow that God, in inflicting pain in certain instances, acted upon the motives which the Hebrew prophets and writers ascribed to Him, these motives being always connected with the supposed design of God to further a certain standard of law and morals, and a certain polity for the development of mankind, which is peculiar to the Hebrew books. But that is a very different question. If these standards are true, if this polity is good, then we cannot be deemed blasphemous when we imagine God as working out their accomplishment.

And this brings me to the second flaw in Colonel Ingersoll's attack upon the Old Testament. He calls it barbarous, cruel hostile to freedom and to human rights, because it comprises only the first and not also the later steps in a certain course in which mankind has been educated, from the call of Abraham to the present day, and which is by no means fully accomplished. A movement in which the teachings of Abraham, of Moses, of Samuel, of Isaiah and Jeremiah, of Ezra and Nehemiah, of the Maccabees, of Hillel and Gamaliel, were the successive steps which afterwards, through the "converts of the gate," and, still later, through Christianity and Islam, in modified forms, found its way into the wider circles of the Gentile world, has tended to soften the manners, to broaden the sympathies, and to elevate the feelings, of mankind to such a degree, that the first lessons, when contrasted with the result acquired, appear to some of us harsh, narrow and base.

As a good Jew, I attach no importance to our Scriptures, except so far as they can influence our conduct. Ours is a religion, not of creed, but of deed. A man can hold the very best standing in our religious community without believing anything more of the history told in our Scriptures except the general fact that the Lord, in some way or other, made known His will that we should obey His laws,—those laws which are set forth in detail in the five books of Moses, and insisted on by the historians, psalmists and prophets. The Pentateuch is very clear on this subject. It is said in Deuteronomy: "What does the Lord thy God ask of thee, BUT to fear Him, and to do all His laws, ordinances and judgments which He has commanded our fathers?" This may be difficult enough; but to some minds much easier than the literal belief in the historic

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truth of certain events, let alone the belief in certain dogmas about the attributes of God. The same doctrine is expressed in the Fifteenth Psalm, where the whole duty of man is set forth in certain virtues of truthfulness and charity; faith in any given dogma is not among them. And it is stated more pointedly in the well-known and beautiful verse of Micah: "He told thee, O man, what is good, and what the Lord demandeth of thee: but to do judgment and to love kindness, and to walk humbly with thy God." One exception to this doctrine is found seemingly in the words of Habakkuk: "The righteous man shall live by his faith;" but the last word is simply a mistranslation of the Hebrew "*emunah*," which means "constancy," or "faithfulness," but not "faith," in the sense of belief.

For a practical illustration showing how, even in the Middle Ages, a belief in the literal import of the Bible story was deemed immaterial, I need but refer to Moses Maimonides, the contemporary and friend of the Sultan Saladin. He is best known as the author of the "*Moreh Nebuchim*," or "Teacher of the Perplexed," a book which has no other object than to fritter and purge away every trace of anthropomorphism from all parts of the Bible. After starting out with the self-evident proposition that the hand of God, His arm, His mouth, could not be taken literally, he proceeds to show that we cannot understand the reference to His mercy or to His wrath any more literally than the references to bodily parts, and that the Biblical phrase, "God was angry," means merely that God acted in such a way, that, if the action had been that of man, we would ascribe it to anger, and "God is merciful" means He acts so that analogous actions of a man would be ascribed to feelings of mercy. For this, Maimonides was warmly opposed, even anathematized, by some rabbis of Aragonia and France; but the great mass of the Jewish people, not caring for or not understanding his great metaphysical work, acknowledged his authority as a teacher of their laws and religion. His "*Yad Ha'hasakah*," a digest of political, moral and ceremonial law from the Talmudic standpoint, remained for several hundred years the main standard of decision in all Jewish schools and tribunals. His creed, in thirteen articles, which he composed, half as a concession to, half as a bulwark of defence against, the Christian and Moslem, was soon after his death put into measure and rhyme, and is sung every day,

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or at least every Sabbath, in all the synagogues of Jewry. Moses ben Maimon observed the law; and, no matter how freely he dealt with popular beliefs, he kept his standing, not as a member only, but as the leader of his people. But for the un-Jewish meddling with matters of faith, into which the rabbinical tribunal of Amsterdam allowed itself to be driven at the instigation of Calvinist preachers, Spinoza, whose opinions did not differ very far from those of Maimonides, might have lived and died in the Synagogue, undefiled by the taste of swine's flesh and the happy father of circumcised sons.

The religion of Israel is a rule of conduct; its only aim is to make better men and women than otherwise would people the world; men are to know God and to worship Him, and Him alone, in order to become holier and purer. "But," says Colonel Ingersoll, "the nation began its life under the law with rapine and murder; the first order given to it in the name of its heavenly master was to kill off the natives of Canaan, including their women and children." I do not wish to evade this grave accusation, which is commonly the first and loudest in the mouths of all enemies, both of our religion and of our race. But the gallant Colonel should consider that both he and I advocated, for four long and weary years, from 1861 to 1865, the vigorous prosecution of the war in which at least two hundred and fifty thousand Southern, and as many Northern, soldiers were killed, and many of the widows and orphans, at least of the former, perished from want; all this in order to insure to the American people certain institutions which he and I thought of sufficiently great importance to justify the loss of all those lives. To Moses and Joshua it seemed just as important that the Israelites should occupy the land of Canaan alone, not as the masters of an enslaved race, whose vices they would soon learn and make their own, as it seemed to him and to me that the Union should be held together and that the slave-holders should not rule it. Later experience showed that only those tribes which extirpated the Canaanites within their allotted borders developed any national or religious life; such were the tribes of Judah, Benjamin and Ephraim; the four northern tribes, who failed to "drive out" the old inhabitants, contributed little or nothing to the strength of the Israelitish race. If the southern tribes had been as willing to settle among the Amorites and Jebusites as the tribes in the northern

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plain—Naphthali, Issachar, Zebulon and Asher,—were to settle and to mingle with the Canaanites, Hittites and Phœnicians, there would be no dispute now about either the Christian or the Jewish religion; for, long before the advent of Jesus of Nazareth, the laws of Moses would have been forgotten. For a few hundred years, the "chosen people," or, at least, a few of its tribes, had to dwell separately before acquiring those traits—good or bad, as you may choose to call them,—which enabled them afterwards to retain their identity, their faith and constancy, amidst a dispersion of thousands of years. If half a million of American young men might properly be sacrificed to the necessities of the Union, why not an equal or smaller number of Canaanite women and children? Perhaps to kill at once was more humane than to enslave them, which would have been the only alternative.

If we, then, assume that in the Divine Providence Israel had a great and holy mission, and we find that it had to conquer for itself seats in which it might safely dwell alone till it became strong enough to issue forth and scatter the "sparks of holiness" (to use the Cabalistic phrase,) among all nations, we cannot help justifying all the indispensable means for that purpose. Don't turn up your eyes in horror at this application of the Jesuitical maxim that the end justifies the means. We all justify the killing of healthy young men in war, provided we favor the ends or purposes of the war to which this killing is a means. That we, in modern times, are shocked at the killing of defenceless women and children, is only the result of the more refined feelings which Judaism and the religions that sprang from it have brought into the world. Julius Cæsar felt no pangs of conscience at exterminating whole tribes of Gauls whose country he thought was needed for Roman settlers and their families; and no one at Rome had the least idea of blaming him for it. The women and children of Canaan had to die in order that a religious and moral system should grow up of which mercy to the weak should be the corner-stone, and which would, for untold ages, as long as its influence should be felt by mankind, shield the women and children of all countries, not only from massacre, but from all sort of wrong and oppression.

The Pentateuch contains in itself the germ of all social progress, from the time of its first draft or beginnings to the present. Social progress is nothing more nor less than the gradual giving up of

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the natural advantages which the strong have over the weak; and it is worked out simply by the successive abolishment of inequalities. This progress will go hand in hand with the spirit of mercy and loving kindness; for it is this alone which makes the strong willing to give up the hold which they have upon the weak. Among all Aryan races of antiquity, the power of the strongest had intrenched itself in the popular belief in a religion of which the worship by each person of his male ancestors was the groundwork. In Egypt, the king himself was worshipped as a god. The Chaldean kings claimed divine descent. The first step towards the regeneration of mankind was a democratic religion. Men had to learn that God is one, is supreme, is infinitely powerful; that all human beings are alike small, all also alike great, in His eyes; none descended from Him, or from His like; all descended from the last and noblest of his creations. This starting-point gained, the true road could not fail to be struck. All abuse of power would be attacked in turn,—that of the master over the slave, of the noble and priest over the commoner, of the husband over his wife or wives, of the males over females, of the father over his children, the king over the people, the judge over the culprit, the rich over the poor, the creditor over the debtor, the native over the stranger. In none of these relations of life are the laws of the Pentateuch as merciful to the weaker as those of the United States have been since December 18th, 1865, which is very much to the Pentateuch's credit: for it shows that a nation which reads the Bible for a few hundred years will carry forward its spirit beyond the capacities of the rude and untrained men to whom its laws were first entrusted, thirty-three hundred years ago.

The Pentateuch recognizes slavery as lawful, and does not seek to abolish it; but it brings before us God opening His most solemn revelation with the announcement that He it was who brought out hundreds of thousands of slaves from the house of bondage. Hence, in all struggles between the bondsman seeking to free himself and his master seeking to hold him, the sympathy of the believer in the words heard on Sinai must be on the side of freedom. But this is not enough. Practical laws follow to limit the slaveholder's rights. One day of the week, one out of seven, belongs to the slave, on which he must not even be *allowed* to work. If his master beats him, so as to spoil his eye, or even his tooth, he

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must set him free. If the master kills him out of hand, he is guilty of murder. If the slave is treated so badly as to be driven into running away into another city, he must not be surrendered to his master. It is only seventeen years since America reached this degree of enlightened progress; and all this was the rule for heathen slaves! The rules as to Hebrew bondsmen and bondswomen are such that they cannot be designated as slavery at all. The release after a service of six years, and the enforced dismission in the "year of jubilee," are too well known to require reference to the Book. Never, in the palmiest days of ancient Greece, was the Pan-Hellenic spirit so strong as to forbid the enslavement of the citizens of one commonwealth by those of another. In the days of Demosthenes, a slave-driver, who had bought from King Philip the unhappy inhabitants of a Greek city in Thrace, was permitted to lead his human merchandise through the length and breadth of Hellas, the "right of transit," as we used to hear it called in this country.

The husband had many privileges which the present American or British husband does not enjoy. For instance, he might marry more than one wife. This was the law of all Asia. But the Pentateuch would not allow him to discriminate between wives. A girl that had been bought (Exodus, xxi.), even a "fair captive" (Deuteronomy, xxi.), if taken for a wife, had to be treated on an exact equality of legal rights with the noblest, and the hated and ugly with the last favorite. A man must allow the right of primogeniture—the double portion and attending honor,—to the first-born, no matter how he felt towards his mother. These rules must have gone far to discourage polygamy; and we find that it was practised but little among the Israelites, and in the days of Christ had become almost unknown. The husband was also protected against his wife's unfaithfulness by the death penalty which was (I think very properly,) denounced against adultery; but he was not allowed, as among other nations of antiquity, to take the law in his own hands; and the curious provisions, in the fifth chapter of Numbers, for trying secret unfaithfulness by the ordeal, are mainly important in this respect. He could also, like the Roman and Greek husband, divorce his wife; but here, again, restrictions were interposed to discourage the exercise of this power; the wife could never be taken back if she had once been defiled by the embrace of another man; and, where a man had been compelled to marry

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a maid in vindication of her honor, he was not allowed to divorce her at all. The sages of later days, acting in the spirit of the law, sought to clog the facility of divorce still further, by imposing heavy pecuniary burdens on the husband. One of them, who claimed to speak by authority, failing to comprehend that laws given for the conduct of men, even if divinely ordained, must conform to human nature, (or, as he called it, the hardness of men's hearts,) tried to abolish divorce altogether; but in this he failed. The laws of the Pentateuch very sensibly take notice of men's "hard-heartedness," or human nature; so do the laws of every well-governed community.

The Mosaic law demands satisfaction from the ravisher or seducer, either by marriage or in money. Herein it is more liberal, more favorable to the weaker sex, than the *Code Civil* of France, which says: "*La recherche des paternités est interdite.*" By the "laws of the ten tables," which governed Rome with but little change till the beginning of the civil wars, no woman could inherit at all: "*Sei fidios non est, proxumos adgnatos famuliam habeito* ("If there be no son, let the next male kinsman have the household"). The Hebrew law-giver said: "If he have no son, ye shall make his inheritance pass to his daughter."

The Hebrew husband was not taught, like the Moslem, to look upon his wife as simply made for his pleasure. No; the newly-married man is exempted from all civil and military duty for one year, that "he may cheer the wife that he has taken." The Greek, ancient as well as modern, kept his women purposely in ignorance; the Hebrew law-giver required that his laws should be read before the assembled "men, women and children" (Deuteronomy, xxxi.). And we find the importance of women all through Bible history; and for this purpose I am willing to include the New Testament, for its women were all Jewesses. Much has been said about the cruel and mean spirit of the Book of Esther; but what interests me most in it is the assumption of the writer that Esther, a Jewish girl, trained by her pious cousin, should, as a matter of course, know how to read and write. It was the elevating spirit of the law of Israel that gave this accomplishment to her, or, if the whole story is a romance, which gave this accomplishment to the daughters of Zion alone among all Asiatic women. Even now, the Jewish women of Russia, all or nearly all, can write and read; and but very few of the others.

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The *patria potestas* of Romans, Greeks, and other Aryans, with whom the head of the family was the lord of the lives and limbs, not only of his children, but even of his grandchildren, was bad enough; but the abuse of parental power was even worse in and around Palestine, where fathers "made their sons and daughters to pass through the fire to Moloch." The abolition of this horror is one of Abraham's greatest merits. The descendants of the Canaanites who lived at Carthage never abandoned the inhuman rite till they were exterminated by the arms of Rome, as their brethren in Southern Palestine had been exterminated by Judah and Benjamin. Perhaps the cause of humanity lost no more in either case than when the cannibals were exterminated in the Caribbean Islands.

The Pentateuch makes an end of the undue power of the father. The mother is put on equality with him in the respect due from the children: "Ye shall every man fear *his mother and his father*" (Leviticus, xix., 3). Can the contemners of the Mosaic law find a similar sentence in any other ancient code, from China to Iceland? The law of the rebellious son (Deuteronomy, xxi., 18), who is to be stoned for gluttony, drunkenness and disobedience, may seem savage enough; but he is to be condemned only on the joint accusation of father and mother for disobedience to both; and, as no mother would or could ever have joined in such an accusation, this law made an end to the father's power over his children's lives. But the Pentateuch does not confine itself to enjoining on children the fear and respect of their parents, or to punishing him who strikes or curses father or mother; it notices, also, the father's duty to his children; he must teach them religion, he must give them rest on the Sabbath, he must make them partakers of his holiday joys, he must leave them his estate as a heritage. The impression which the whole of the Mosaic legislation made on the sages of later times is such that the Mishnah deals much more fully with the father's duty to teach his sons some industry by which to earn a living, and to make provision for the support of his daughters after his death, than of the children's duties toward their parents, with which the Chinese classics are stuffed, to the exclusion of almost everything else. Nevertheless, at all times, Jewish children have been dutiful enough to their fathers and mothers.

As the Hebrew father was not an inchoate god, so the king, also, was a mere man, one of the people, whose first duty, as laid down

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in the law, (Deuteronomy, xvii., 15,) is not to let his heart be raised above his brethren. No room was here for a Roman divine *imperator*, whose statues defiled every heathen temple; no room for Zeus-descended kings of heroic Greece, or for the Odin-descended kings of the Saxons and Northmen. "Thou shalt put a king over thee;" it is the sovereignty of the people from which the royal power flows. He cannot govern, except in accordance with a code which gives him no prerogatives and allows him no place but one strictly executive. The Mishnah carries out the spirit of the old law to its logical sequence when it says: "The king does not judge, and is not judged; he cannot testify, and no one testifies against him;" that is, he is, in modern parlance, a constitutional king, who can do no wrong, because he has no power to do wrong, and may, therefore, enjoy freedom from responsibility. The ideal was not realized by more than two or three kings of the House of David, by one or two of the Hasmoneans, and during three short years by Herodes Agrippa; but the people of Israel and Judah at all times understood their rights, and Naboth of Jezreel was just as willing as the miller of Potsdam, in a later age, to stand up for his freehold against his king. That little passage about a king's duty, in Deuteronomy, and the story of Naboth and King Ahab, opened the eyes of Englishmen to the relation of king and people, and brought Charles I. to the block and drove his son into exile, just as that other little passage which forbids the delivery of the fugitive bondman to his master ripened into that "higher law" which overbore all the Constitutional bulwarks of American slavery.

A law which restricts the kingly power would be incomplete if it did not also limit the power of the criminal judge and give to the accused all the guarantees of a fair and open trial. The Mosaic law prescribed these limits and gave these guarantees, at an earlier day, most probably, than the code of any other nation. In capital matters, there was a numerous jury,—the congregation; this was to judge between the manslayer and the redeemer of blood (Numbers, xxxv., 25). In later practice, a court of twenty-three judges was constituted for this purpose, of whom, of course, the greater number must have been non-professionals. No torture could be inflicted; for no confession was wanted,—nothing but the mouth of two witnesses could convict. Witnesses for the accused, to contradict those for the prosecution, were admitted, and the latter were

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exposed to the punishment which their testimony threatened to the accused, if they should be detected in falsehood. The accused could not be tried again after an acquittal had once been pronounced; for "thou shall not kill the acquitted and justified [such is the traditional meaning of the passage], for I will not justify the wicked" (Exodus, xxiii., 3). The culprit who is condemned to stripes must not receive more than forty; for he is still our "brother," and should not be degraded. All doubts, both of fact and law, must be resolved in favor of life and limb. Such, at least, was the jurisprudence of the Pharisaic party, the one which was most thoroughly imbued with the spirit of the law and most hostile to heathen influences. I am sorry to say that their humanity made it as hard to convict a murderer before a *sanhedrim* in Palestine, as before a jury in Kentucky. But they honestly aimed to bring about the rule of justice tempered with mercy, and to eliminate vindictiveness and ferocity from the administration of the laws; and they went much further on those lines, with nothing but the Pentateuch to guide them, than many philosophic rulers of their own and of much later times.

The Mosaic law recognized no caste. The Aaronitic priesthood and the Levites, though their functions were hereditary, intermarried with other tribes; that they should do so, is expressly contemplated by the law (Leviticus, xxii.). To prevent them from becoming an oppressive aristocracy, they were not allowed to hold any land beyond their houses and kitchen-gardens; but the judges, elders, officers, were selected from all tribes alike. The absence of family names was perhaps the best safeguard against the rise of a nobility. Descendants of converts rose to high rank among the sages of the Second Temple. What a vast improvement was this over the curse of caste that overspread all the rest of the ancient, world. Think of the Brahmins and *kshatriyas* bearing down upon the *sudras* of India; the priestly and warrior castes of Egypt, holding all its lands and filling all the offices of government; the *eupatrids* of early Athens, the *patricii* of Rome, the *jarls*, *karls* and *thralls* of the North; the *boyars* and *serfs* of Pan-Slavonia. Here was the example of a divinely-appointed commonwealth of equal freemen, long before Thomas Jefferson penned the sublime exordium of our "Declaration of Independence." The exclusion of certain tribes—Ammon and Moab,—from all communion with

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the chosen race is often made a reproach to the Mosaic law. But compare it with all other systems of antiquity. The Italian, the Greek, the Persian, the Hindoo, pronounced this same exclusion against the outside world, not merely against certain enumerated tribes. More than that, the Italian or Greek of each city could not under the common law of his country, intermarry with the maidens of a neighboring city, unless there were a special treaty between the two States granting the right of intermarriage. It took a struggle of over a hundred years before the *patricii* of Rome—that is, the families of the oldest settlers,—granted this right to the *plebes*, the descendants of later elements of the city's growth. Nothing short of an act of sovereign power, of rare occurrence, and guarded with jealous precaution, could confer on the Greek of one little town the citizenship of another town, at a distance of six miles from his birthplace. The *metoikoi* of Athens, whose families had been settled within the walls for hundreds of years, and had paid their taxes and done service to the State, though of pure Greek, even of good Ionian blood, still never became citizens; they could not vote in the *ecclesia*, nor sit as judges in the *dikasteries*, nor fill the most trifling office. An Israelite was at home anywhere within the twelve tribes, and so was any *ger*; that is, any non-Israelite dwelling among Israel and willing to submit to its laws. The Pentateuch tells us on forty-five occasions: "One law shall be for the native and for the stranger that sojourneth among you;" and adds once: "Thou shall love him [the stranger,] as thyself." Here is the first code that provides for the full naturalization of aliens. Even for those sojourners who have not taken upon themselves the full observance of the law, a tender provision is made; for the meat of animals that are "torn," *i. e.*, not slaughtered according to law, may be sold to the alien, (*nokhri*,) but must be given to the sojourner (*ger*). The rich have enough solid advantage over the poor, in all conscience, without the law giving them its special assistance. But the criminal laws of all nations—at least, in their childhood,—gave to the rich the great advantage that all murder, all manslaughter, all mayhem, had its fixed tariff of fine or damage set upon it, which the rich man could easily pay, while the poor man could not pay it, except with the greatest effort and sacrifice, or, if not able to discharge it at all, had to suffer slavery or death. The Polish or Hungarian noble, less than a hundred years ago, paid a small fine for

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killing a peasant. The Mosaic law says sternly: "Thou shalt not take an atonement for the soul of the murderer." It also says: "Eye for eye, tooth for tooth, bruise for bruise." Perhaps the Pharisees were wrong when they refined this into a mere measure of damages, which the rich man could pay more readily than the wrong-doer of slender means. But, at all events, human life could not be paid for with ready money; the meanest human creature, whether Hebrew or alien, was respected as the image of the Maker.

In the laws regulating charity, the sojourner again plays an important part. Charity, by the bye, reminds me of Colonel Ingersoll's charge against the Christians, that they were very late in establishing hospitals. I have never examined the truth of this charge; but I know that the nation to whom the Mosaic laws were addressed, as far as any record reaches back, always kept up their hospitals for the sick poor, under the name of "*hekdesh*,"—"consecration," —deeming them the complements and fit successors of the sanctuary. He also reproaches the Christians with the cruelty which they, until very lately, practiced on the unfortunate lunatics, whom they sought to punish for being possessed by devils. There is some truth in this charge; but here, again, we who have preserved the ancient standards may boldly deny all participation in guilt. The ignorant among the Jews in the days of Christ and his apostles held this foolish belief about the causes of lunacy; from them it passed into the Gospels, and was thus handed down to later generations of all races; but the learned and thoughtful whose opinions are recorded in the Mishnah never shared this superstition. That book never mentions the insane, except in connection with deaf-mutes and infants, who are not responsible for their doings and cannot enter into any contract or perform any valid act. To "whisper over an affliction"—that is, to drive out devils,—was denounced by the doctors of the Mishnah as a deadly sin, and whoever practised this art was at once recognized as a Christian, as a backslider from the true faith of Israel. The only feeling which the Jew (or the Moslem,) ever entertained for the insane, was that of unalloyed pity.

But let me turn to the Mosaic laws that regulate charity. There is the corner of the field and the gleanings: "Thou shalt leave them to the poor and to the stranger: I am the Lord thy God." Here the poor man and the stranger need not beg; they can work,

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with none to shame them. The poor and the stranger, the widow and the orphan, are not only to be kept from starvation; they are also, in a measure, to enjoy life; hence, the second tithe, which the owner is to spend at the festivals in company with all those who have no harvest of their own, "in bread and in meat, in wine and in strong drink, and in all that thy soul desireth." The wild growth of the Sabbatic year, when the land lay fallow, was common property, to be eaten by all, including, not only the stranger and the slave, but also the beasts of the field. But, more than this, it is made the duty of the rich man to lend to the poor free of interest, whenever he can give him a sufficient pledge; and a curse is pronounced on him who refuses to lend because he fears that in the year of release the borrower will repudiate the debt. No one can deny that these laws have struck deep root among the nation to whom they were addressed. For, if charity (in more than one sense,) can be carried to a fault, it has been done among the Jews. The doctors of the Mishnah say, if a beggar comes to you who has been accustomed to ride on horseback, you ought to provide him with a horse; and this is observed to this day, almost to the letter.

Without sharing the absurd abstention from the flesh of animals which the worship of brute beasts imposed on the Egyptian, and the belief in the transmigration of souls on the Hindoo and the Buddhist, the Hebrew law-giver knew what was due from man to the lower creation. The very ox and ass are to have their rest on the Sabbath; no beast is to be castrated in the Holy Land; the ox is not to be muzzled while threshing; the wild growth of the Sabbatic year belongs to beasts as well as to man. The law-giver knew that he who practices his cruelty on beasts, will, on occasion, give vent to it when dealing with his fellow-men. But, in fact, no such motive is needed; in the words of the proverb: "The righteous man knoweth the soul of his beast."

The treatment of poor debtors under the Mosaic law differs also most favorably from that in vogue among other nations of antiquity. The cruelty of the Roman laws of the "ten tables" towards insolvent borrowers has become proverbial; thousands of them, even in the latter days of the republic, languished in the *ergastula* of their heartless creditors, and their sufferings were a constant source of irritation. As the history of Athens is commonly told, its people were the prey of dissension for many years, arising from

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the grinding of debtors, till Solon carried out a partial remission of burdens, known as the "*seisachtheia.*" Perhaps he had learned the remedy in his Asiatic travels. But we need not go back to ancient times, when we know that, in the eighteenth century, in enlightened England, debtors were put in jail for life, and were allowed to starve in it ; for no one was held to provide their support. The worst that could happen to the debtor under any construction of the Mosaic laws must have been to be sold into a servitude of six years; but it rather seems that only the fine imposed for stealing could be enforced in this way: "If he has it not, he shall be sold for his theft." Our exemption laws were anticipated in the words: "Thou shalt not take in pledge the upper or the lower mill-stone;" our appraisement laws by the words: "He shall bring out the pledge to thee to the street;" our homestead laws by the institution of the "jubilee;" our discharges in bankruptcy or insolvency, by the seventh year,—the year of release. The law-maker recognized that the enforcement of contracts between creditor and debtor is not in itself the highest aim of society; he was too wise and too good to say: "*Fiat justitia, ruat cœlum!*" When I remember all these laws, that prepared the way for the abolition of all slavery, for the dethronement of all kings, and the levelling of all castes,—for the protection of the wife and daughter, as well as of the dependent son,—when I see the holding out of equal rights to the stranger, of well-considered charity to the poor, and of wise leniency to the debtor,—and all this amid the crushing cruelty of nations, both rude and refined, to the north and the south, the east and west, of those to whom these laws were addressed,—I cannot help exclaiming, in the words of the Book: "What nation is there so great, that hath statutes and judgments so righteous as all this law, which I set before you this day?"

Yet, when considering the progress of mankind in freedom, justice and charity, I cannot overlook the merits of the Ionian tribe of the Greek race, of the Athenian democracy, of the philosophers and statesmen of the city on the Ilyssus. But its greatest mind was Plato's, and Plato's greatest work was the "*Symposion.*" What unspeakable abomination does he there, though the mouth of *Aristophanes*, honor with the name of love! How can true love, and respect between husband and wife, be found in a land in which the most disgusting of vices is openly practised by philosophers and statesmen?

It took the promulgation of the laws of Israel to bring a corrupt world to the acknowledgment of charity and decency as virtues, and of beastliness as a crime. The civilized world is still far from pure; family life is not everywhere what it should be; but there has been a vast progress for the better,—throughout Christendom, at the least, and especially in those countries in which the word of God, commanding man to be fruitful and multiply, has been held in higher regard than the command of a pope or patriarch to priests and monks, to live, in defiance of nature's law, in celibacy.

Perhaps it was a mere lucky accident, that the legislator or legislators of the race of Israel hit upon laws and teachings which tended to bring their people, and, through them, all mankind, to universal freedom and justice, and also to purity and true love; but, when to this lucky accident is joined the other coincidence of a great and accurate prediction, I think—perhaps it is prejudice,—that I see the finger of God. The records of Israel, after giving in the first eleven chapters of Genesis the oldest traditions of the human race which the ancestors of the Hebrews brought from "Ur of the Chaldeans," proceed thus: "The Lord said to Abram: Get thee out of thy country, and from thy kindred, and from thy father's house, unto the land that I will show thee. And I will make of thee a great nation, and I will help thee and make thy name great, and thou shalt be a blessing. And I will bless them that bless thee, and curse him that curses thee, and *in thee all the families of the earth shall be blessed.*"

We do not know when these words were first written. They were never truly published till Ezra the Scribe made it a rule for every Jewish town to have its own synagogue, and to keep therein its copy of the Books of Moses, which were read three times in each week. At that time, the Jews knew by commercial intercourse, direct or indirect, all the lands on the Mediterranean; they knew Abyssinia, Arabia, and the road to India; they knew Media and Armenia in the North, Persia and Susiana in the East. They might have suspected vast countries lying beyond all those of which they had heard reports,—beyond Tarshish, beyond Ophir. They did not find that anybody, or any family of the earth, blessed itself in the name of Abraham, except Israel and a few insignificant tribes in stony Arabia. Not quite twenty-five hundred years have passed since Ezra published the Pentateuch. We find now, that,

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with the exception of Colonel Ingersoll and a few very learned men like him,—also, with the exception of a few wild Indians and Esquimaux,—all the families of North and South America, of Europe, of Northern and Western Asia, of Northern and Eastern Africa, and of the islands of the South Seas, do bless themselves in the name of Abraham and call themselves his children. Among them are about one hundred and seventy-five millions who pronounce the name Ibrahim; but they also call him the "friend of God." These latter are now pushing boldly forward into the interior of the "Dark Continent," and are teaching its dusky natives to give "praise to God, to the Lord of the World, the Merciful, the Compassionate, the King of the Day of Judgment." The sons of Ibrahim by Ishmael are also converting in every year hundreds of thousands of the idol-worshippers of far-distant Hindostan. In no age since the death of Ponar, the second Caliph, has the number of those who trace their faith and the law (mistakenly, perhaps,) to Abraham, "the friend of God," increased so rapidly as it does in our own day. The child may now be born that will see the prophecy literally fulfilled,—when none will worship any god but the One, nor elsewhere than in the synagogue, the church, or the mosque, all alike consecrated to the memory of Abraham.

When that time comes, it will be found that the class in which Colonel Ingersoll seeks a prominent place—the revilers of all positive religion and of all revelation,—will have served a good purpose. When the religion of Abraham has conquered all the heathen, it is time for it to be purged of its dross. I hope a "revolt of Islam" is now in preparation, and will, in due season, bring the sons of Ishmael back to that law of moral progress which was unfortunately left out of the teachings of a prophet who so well understood the doctrine of God's unity. In the meanwhile, Christianity should also shake off the worship of saint and Virgin, in which three-fourths of its votaries are sunk, and the belief in mysteries, called metaphysical, because they are meaningless, which even the most enlightened Christians still profess, though unable to explain them. An untruth may have served a temporary purpose; the un-Jewish parts of Christianity—the Atonement, the Incarnation, the Trinity, the eternal punishment of unbelievers, —were such concessions to the gross views of the heathens as would reconcile them to monotheism thus modified and disfigured;

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but truth alone can be eternal. Robert Ingersoll and those like him may break the idols which the followers of that true-hearted Jew, Jesus of Nazareth, in their error have placed around the Ark of the Lord; but, when they have broken them, they will perceive, to their wonder, that the Ark still stands,—that it still holds the eternal truths that were revealed to Abraham and to Moses, and that "I am the Lord; I change not; therefore, ye children of Jacob are not consumed."

L. N. DEMBITZ.

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THE BOOKS OF CHILAN BALAM.*

CIVILIZATION in ancient America rose to its highest level among the Mayas of Yucatan. Not to speak of the architectural monuments which still remain to attest this, we have the evidence of the earliest missionaries to the fact that they alone, of all the natives of the New World, possessed a literature written in "letters and characters," preserved in volumes neatly bound, the paper manufactured from the bark of a tree and sized with a durable white varnish.†

A few of these books still remain, preserved to us by accident in the great European libraries; but most of them were destroyed by the monks. Their contents were found to relate chiefly to the pagan ritual, to traditions of the heathen times, to astrological superstitions, and the like. Hence, they were considered deleterious, and were burned wherever discovered.

This annihilation of their sacred books affected the natives most keenly, as we are pointedly informed by Bishop Landa, himself one of the most ruthless of Vandals in this respect.‡ But already

* Read before the Numismatic and Antiquarian Society of Philadelphia, at its twenty-fourth annual meeting, January 5th, 1882.

† Of the numerous authorities which could be quoted on this point, I shall give the words of but one, Father Alonso Ponce, the Pope's Commissary-General, who travelled through Yucatan in 1586, when many natives were still living who had been born before the Conquest (1541). Father Ponce had travelled through Mexico, and, of course, had learned about the Aztec picture-writing, which he distinctly contrasts with the writing of the Mayas. Of the latter, he says: "*Son alabados de tres cosas entre todos los demas de la Nueva España, la una de que en su antiguedad tenian caracteres y letras, con que escribian sus historias y las ceremonias y orden de los sacrificios de sus idolos y su calendario, en libros hechos de corteza de cierto arbol, los cuales eran unas tiras muy largas de quarta ó tercia en ancho, que se doblaban y recogian, y venia á queder á manera de un libro encuardenada en cuartilla, poco mas ó menos. Estas letras y caracteres no las entendian, sino los sacerdotes de los idolos, (que en aquella lengua se llaman 'ahkines,') y algun indio principal. Despues las entendieron y supieron lèer algunos frailos nuestros y aun las escribien.*"—("*Relacion Breve y Verdadera de Algunas Cosas de las Muchas que Sucedieron al Padre Fray Alonso Ponce, Comisario-General en las Provincias de la Nueva España,*" page 392). I know no other author who makes the interesting statement that these characters were actually used by the missionaries to impart instruction to the natives; but I learn through Mr. Gatschet, of the Bureau of Ethnology, Washington, that a manuscript written in this manner by one of the early *padres* has recently been discovered.

‡ "*Se les quemamos todos,*" he writes, "*lo qual á maravilla sentian y les dava pena.*"—"*Relacion de las Cosas de Yucatan,*" page 316.

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some of the more intelligent had learned the Spanish alphabet, and the missionaries had added a sufficient number of signs to it to express with tolerable accuracy the phonetics of the Maya tongue. Relying on their memories, and, no doubt, aided by some manuscripts secretly preserved, many natives set to work to write out in this new alphabet the contents of their ancient records. Much was added which had been brought in by the Europeans, and much omitted which had become unintelligible or obsolete since the Conquest; while, of course, the different writers, varying in skill and knowledge, produced works of very various merit.

Nevertheless, each of these books bore the same name. In whatever village it was written, or by whatever hand, it always was, and to-day still is, called "The Book of Chilan Balam." To distinguish them apart, the name of the village where a copy was found or written, is added. Probably, in the last century, almost every village had one, which was treasured with superstitious veneration. But the opposition of the *padres* to this kind of literature, the decay of ancient sympathies, and especially the long war of races, which since 1847 has desolated so much of the peninsula, have destroyed most of them. There remain, however, either portions or descriptions of not less than sixteen of these curious records. They are known from the names of the villages respectively as the Book of Chilan Balam of Nabula, of Chumayel, of Káua, of Mani, of Oxkutzcab, of Ixil, of Tihosuco, of Tixcocob, etc., these being the names of various native towns in the peninsula.

When I add that not a single one of these has ever been printed, or even entirely translated into any European tongue, it will be evident to every archæologist and linguist what a rich and unexplored mine of information about this interesting people they may present. It is my intention in this article merely to touch upon a few salient points to illustrate this, leaving a thorough discussion of their origin and contents to the future editor who will bring them to the knowledge of the learned world.

Turning first to the meaning of the name "*Chilan Balam*," it is not difficult to find its derivation. "*Chilan*," says Bishop Landa, the second bishop of Yucatan, whose description of the native customs is an invaluable source to us, "was the name of their priests, whose duty it was to teach the sciences, to appoint holy days, to treat the sick, to offer sacrifices, and especially to

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utter the oracles of the gods. They were so highly honored by the people that usually they were carried on litters on the shoulders of the devotees." * Strictly speaking, in Maya "*chilan*" means "interpreter," "mouth-piece," from "*chij*," "the mouth," and in this ordinary sense frequently occurs in other writings. The word, "*balam*"—literally, "tiger,"—was also applied to a class of priests, and is still in use among the natives of Yucatan as the designation of the protective spirits of fields and towns, as I have shown at length in a recent study of the word as it occurs in the the native myths of Guatemala.† "*Chilan Balam*," therefore, is not a proper name, but a title, and in ancient times designated the priest who announced the will of the gods and explained the sacred oracles. This accounts for the universality of the name and the sacredness of its associations.

The dates of the books which have come down to us are various. One of them, "The Book of Chilan Balam of Mani," was undoubtedly composed not later than 1595, as is proved by internal evidence. Various passages in the works of Landa, Lizana, Sanchez Aguilar and Cogolludo—all early historians of Yucatan,—prove that many of these native manuscripts existed in the sixteenth century. Several rescripts date from the seventeenth century,—most from the latter half of the eighteenth.

The names of the writers are generally not given, probably because the books, as we have them, are all copies of older manuscripts, with merely the occasional addition of current items of note by the copyist; as, for instance, a malignant epidemic which prevailed in the peninsula in 1673 is mentioned as a present occurrence by the copyist of "The Book of Chilan Balam of Nabula."

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* "*Relacion de las Cosas de Yucatan*," page 160.

† "The Names of the Gods in the Kiche Myths of Central America." Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society, Vol. XIX., 1881. The terminal letter in both these words—"*chilan*," "*balam*,"—may be either "*n*" or "*m*," the change being one of dialect and local pronunciation. I have followed the older authorities in writing "*Chilan Balam*," the modern preferring "*Chilam Balam*." Señor Eligio Ancona, in his recently published "*Historia de Yucatan*," (Vol. I., page 240, note, Merida, 1878,) offers the absurd suggestion that the name "*balam*" was given to the native soothsayers by the early missionaries in ridicule, deriving it from the well-known personage in the Old Testament. It is surprising that Señor Ancona, writing in Merida, had never acquainted himself with the Perez manuscripts, nor with those in the possession of Canon Carrillo. Indeed, the most of his treatment of the ancient history of his country is disappointingly superficial.

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I come now to the contents of these curious works. What they contain may conveniently be classified under four headings:

Astrological and prophetic matters;

Ancient chronology and history;

Medical recipes and directions;

Later history and Christian teachings.

The last-mentioned consist of translations of the "*Doctrina*," Bible stories, narratives of events after the Conquest, etc., which I shall dismiss as of least interest.

The astrology appears partly to be reminiscences of that of their ancient heathendom, partly that borrowed from the European almanacs of the century 1550–1650. These, as is well known, were crammed with predictions and divinations. A careful analysis, based on a comparison with the Spanish almanacs of that time would doubtless reveal how much was taken from them, and it would be fair to presume that the remainder was a survival of ancient native theories.

But there are not wanting actual prophecies of a much more striking character. These were attributed to the ancient priests and to a date long preceding the advent of Christianity. Some of them have been printed in translations in the "*Historias*" of Lizana and Cogolludo, and of some the originals were published by the late Abbé Brasseur de Bourbourg, in the second volume of the reports of the "*Mission Scientifique au Mexique et dans l'Amérique Centrale.*" Their authenticity has been met with considerable skepticism by Waitz and others, particularly as they seem to predict the arrival of the Christians from the East and the introduction of the worship of the cross.

It appears to me that this incredulity is uncalled for. It is known that at the close of each of their larger divisions of time (the so-called "*katuns*,") a "*chilan*," or inspired diviner, uttered a prediction of the character of the year or epoch which was about to begin. Like other would-be prophets, he had doubtless learned that it is wiser to predict evil than good, inasmuch as the probabilities of evil in this worried world of ours outweigh those of good; and when the evil comes his words are remembered to his credit, while, if, perchance, his gloomy forecasts are not realized, no one will bear him a grudge that he has been at fault. The temper of this people was, moreover, gloomy, and it suited them to hear of threatened danger

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and destruction by foreign foes. But, alas! for them. The worst that the boding words of the oracle foretold was as nothing to the dire event which overtook them,—the destruction of their nation, their temples and their freedom, 'neath the iron heel of the Spanish conqueror. As the wise Goethe says:

> "*Seltsam ist Prophetenlied,*
> *Doch mehr seltsam was geschieht.*"

As to the supposed reference to the cross and its worship, it may be remarked that the native word translated "cross," by the missionaries, simply means "a piece of wood set upright," and may well have had a different and special signification in the old days.

By way of a specimen of these prophecies, I quote one from "The Book of Chilan Balam of Chumayel," saying at once that for the translation I have depended upon a comparison of the Spanish version of Lizana, who was blindly prejudiced, and that in French of the Abbé Brasseur de Bourbourg, who knew next to nothing about Maya, with the original. It will be easily understood, therefore, that it is rather a paraphrase than a literal rendering. The original is in short, aphoristic sentences, and was, no doubt, chanted with a rude rhythm:

> "What time the sun shall brightest shine,
> Tearful will be the eyes of the king.
> Four ages yet shall be inscribed,
> Then shall come the holy priest, the holy god.
> With grief I speak what now I see.
> Watch well the road, ye dwellers in Itza.
> The master of the earth shall come to us.
> Thus prophesies Nahau Pech, the seer,
> In the days of the fourth age,
> At the time of its beginning."

Such are the obscure and ominous words of the ancient oracle. If the date is authentic, it would be about 1480—the "fourth age" in the Maya system of computing time being a period of either twenty or twenty-four years at the close of the fifteenth century.

It is, however, of little importance whether these are accurate copies of the ancient prophecies; they remain, at least, faithful imitations of them, composed in the same spirit and form which the native priests were wont to employ. A number are given much longer than the above, and containing various curious references to ancient usages.

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Another value they have in common with all the rest of the text of these books, and it is one which will be properly appreciated by any student of languages. They are, by common consent of all competent authorities, the genuine productions of native minds, cast in the idiomatic forms of the native tongue by those born to its use. No matter how fluent a foreigner becomes in a language not his own, he can never use it as does one who has been familiar with it from childhood. This general maxim is ten-fold true when we apply it to a European learning an American language. The flow of thought, as exhibited in these two linguistic families, is in such different directions that no amount of practice can render one equally accurate in both. Hence the importance of studying a tongue as it is employed by natives; and hence the very high estimate I place on these "Books of Chilan Balam" as linguistic material,—an estimate much increased by the great rarity of independent compositions in their own tongues by members of the native races of this continent.

I now approach what I consider the peculiar value of these records, apart from the linguistic mould in which they are cast; and that is the light they throw upon the chronological system and ancient history of the Mayas. To a limited extent, this has already been brought before the public. The late Don Pio Perez gave to Mr. Stephens, when in Yucatan, an essay on the method of computing time among the ancient Mayas, and also a brief synopsis of Maya history, apparently going back to the third or fourth century of the Christian era. Both were published by Mr. Stephens in the appendix to his "Travels in Yucatan," and have appeared repeatedly since in English, Spanish and French.* They have, up to the present, constituted almost our sole sources of information on these interesting points. Don Pio Perez was rather vague as to whence he derived his knowledge. He refers to "ancient manuscripts," "old authorities," and the like; but, as the Abbé Brasseur de Bourbourg justly complains, he rarely quotes their words,

* For example, in the "*Registro Yucateco,*" *Tome III.*; "*Diccionario Universal de Historia y Geografia,*" *Tome VIII.* (Mexico, 1855); "*Diccionario Historico de Yucatan,*" *Tome I.* (Merida, 1866); in the appendix to Landa's "*Cosas de Yucatan*" (Paris, 1864), etc. The epochs, or *katuns*, of Maya history have been recently again analyzed by Dr. Felipe Valentini, in an essay in the German and English languages, the latter in the "Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society, 1880."

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and gives no descriptions as to what they were or how he gained access to them.* In fact, the whole of Señor Perez's information was derived from these "Books of Chilan Balam;" and, without wishing at all to detract from his reputation as an antiquary and a Maya scholar, I am obliged to say that he has dealt with them as scholars so often do with their authorities; that is, having framed his theories, he quoted what he found in their favor and neglected to refer to what he observed was against them.

Thus, it is a cardinal question in Yucatecan archæology as to whether the epoch or age by which the great cycle (the *ahau katun*,) was reckoned, embraced twenty or twenty-four years. Contrary to all the Spanish authorities, Perez declared for twenty-four years, supporting himself by "the manuscripts." It is true there are three of the "Books of Chilan Balam"—those of Mani, Káua and Oxkutzcab,—which are distinctly in favor of twenty-four years; but, on the other hand, there are four or five others which are clearly for the period of twenty years, and of these Don Perez said nothing, although copies of more than one of them were in his library. So of the epochs, or *katuns*, of Maya history; there are three or more copies in these books which he does not seem to have compared with the one he furnished Stephens. His labor will have to be repeated according to the methods of modern criticism, and with the additional material obtained since he wrote.

Another valuable feature in these records is the hints they furnish of the hieroglyphic system of the Mayas. Almost our only authority heretofore has been the essay of Landa. It has suffered somewhat in credit because we had no means of verifying his statements and comparing the characters he gives. Dr. Valentini has even gone so far as to attack some of his assertions as "fabrications." This is an amount of skepticism which exceeds both justice and probability.

The chronological portions of the "Books of Chilan Balam" are partly written with the ancient signs of the days, months and epochs, and they furnish us, also, delineations of the "wheels" which the natives used for computing time. The former are so important to the student of Maya hieroglyphics, that I have added photographic reproductions of them to this paper, giving also representations of

* The Abbé's criticism occurs in the note to page 406 of his edition of Landa's "*Cosas de Yucatan*."

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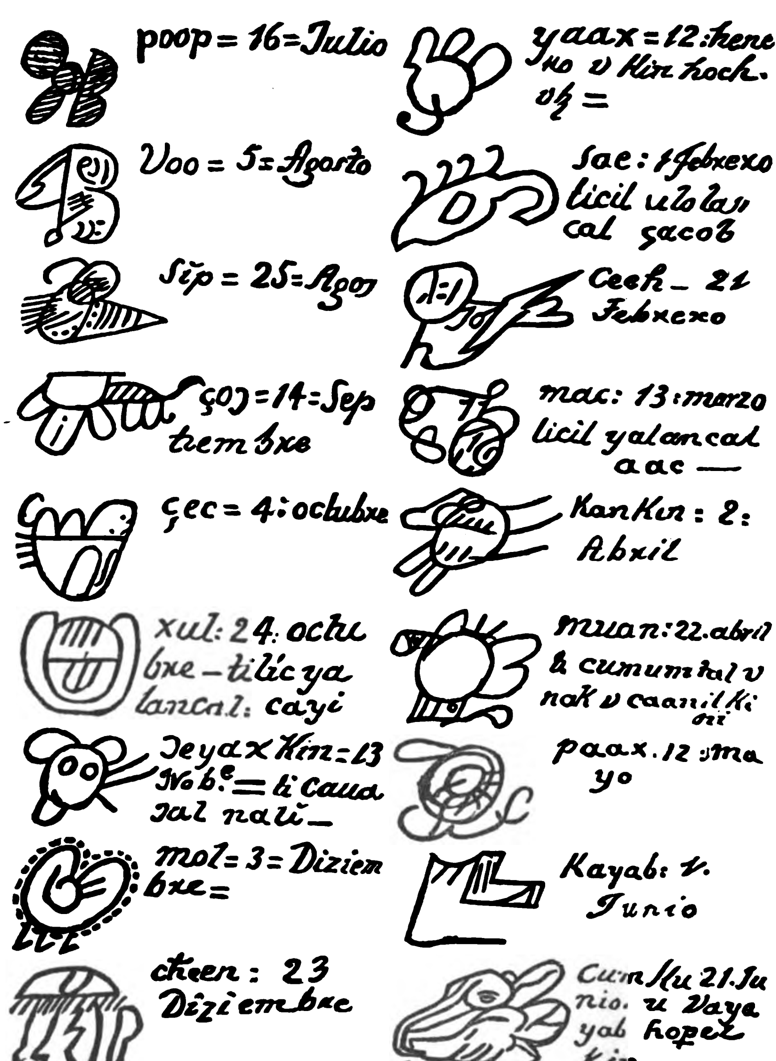

SIGNS OF THE MONTHS, FROM THE BOOK OF CHILAN BALAM OF CHUMAYEL.

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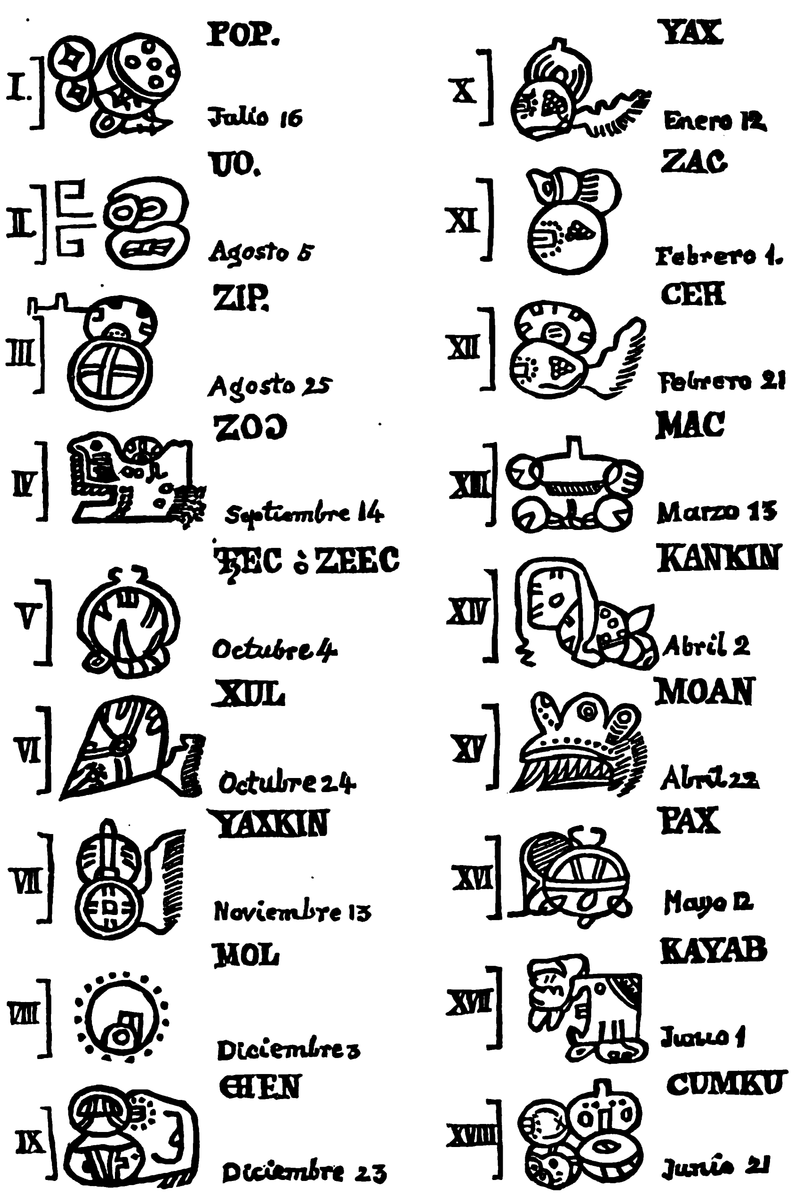

SIGNS OF THE MONTHS, AS GIVEN BY BISHOP LANDA.

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those of Landa for comparison. It will be observed that the signs of the days are distinctly similar in the majority of cases, but that those of the months are hardly alike.

The hieroglyphs of the days taken from the "*Codex Troano*," an ancient Maya book written before the Conquest, probably about 1400, are also added to illustrate the variations which occurred in the hands of different scribes. Those from the "Books of Chilan Balam" are copied from a manuscript known to Maya scholars as the "*Codice Perez*," of undoubted authenticity and antiquity.*

The result of the comparison I thus institute is a triumphant refutation of the doubts and slurs which have been cast on Bishop Landa's work and vindicate for it a very high degree of accuracy.

The hieroglyphics for the months are quite complicated, and in the "Books of Chilan Balam" are rudely drawn; but, for all that, two or three of them are evidently identical with those in the calendar preserved by Landa. Some years ago, Professor de Rosny expressed himself in great doubt as to the fidelity in the tracing of these hierogylphs of the months, principally because he could not find them in the two codices at his command.† As he observes, they are *composite* signs, and this goes to explain the discrepancy; for it may be regarded as established that the Maya script permitted the use of several signs for the same sound, and the sculptor or scribe was not obliged to represent the same word always by the same figure.

In close relation to chronology is the system of numeration and the arithmetical signs. These are discussed with considerable fulness, especially in the "Book of Chilan Balam of Káua." The numerals are represented by exactly the same figures as we find in the Maya manuscripts of the libraries of Dresden, Pesth, Paris and Madrid; that is, by points or dots up to five, and the fives by single straight lines, which may be indiscriminately drawn vertically or horizontally. The same book contains a table of multiplication in

* It is described at length by Don Crescencio Carrillo y Ancona, in his "*Disertacion sobre la Historia de la Lengua Maya*" (Merida, 1870).

† "*Je dois déclarer que l'examen dans tous leurs détails du 'Codex Troano' et du 'Codex Peresianus' m'invite de la façon la plus sérieuse à n'accepter ces signes, tout au moins au point de vue de l'exactitude de leur tracé, qu'avec une certaine réserve.*"—Leon de Rosny's "*Essai sur le Déchiffrement de l'Ecriture Hiératique de l'Amérique Centrale*," page 21 (Paris, 1876). By the "*Codex Peresianus*," he does not mean the "*Codice Perez*," but the Maya manuscript in the Bibliothèque Nationale. The identity of the names is confusing and unfortunate.

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Spanish and Maya which settles some disputed points in the use of the vigesimal system by the Mayas.

A curious chapter in several of the books, especially those of Káua and Mani, is that on the thirteen *ahau katuns*, or epochs of the greater cycle of the Mayas. This cycle embraced thirteen periods, which, as I have before remarked, are computed by some at twenty years each, by others at twenty-four years each. Each of these *katuns* was presided over by a chief or king, that being the meaning of the word *ahau*. The books above-mentioned give both the name and the portrait, drawn and colored by the rude hand of the native artist, of each of these kings, and they suggest several interesting analogies.

They are, in the first place, identical, with one exception, with those on an ancient native painting, an engraving of which is given by Father Cogolludo in his "History of Yucatan," and explained by him as the representation of an occurrence which took place after the Spaniards arrived in the peninsula. Evidently, the native in whose hands the worthy father found it, fearing that he partook of the fanaticism which had led the missionaries to the destruction of so many records of the nation, deceived him as to its purport, and gave him an explanation which imported to the scroll the character of a harmless history.

The one exception is the last or thirteenth chief. Cogolludo appends to this the name of an Indian who probably did fall a victim to his friendship to the Spaniards. This name, as a sort of guarantee for the rest of his story, the native scribe inserted in place of the genuine one. The peculiarity of the figure is that it has an arrow or dagger driven into its eye. Not only is this mentioned by Cogolludo's informant, but it is represented in the paintings in both the "Books of Chilan Balam" above noted, and also, by a fortunate coincidence, in one of the calendar-pages of the "*Codex Troano*," plate xxiii., in a remarkable cartouche, which, from a wholly independent course of reasoning, was some time since identified by my esteemed correspondent, Professor Cyrus Thomas, of Illinois, as a cartouche of one of the *ahau katuns*, and probably of the last of them. It gives me much pleasure to add such conclusive proof of the sagacity of his supposition.*

* "The Manuscript Troano," published in *The American Naturalist*, August, 1881, page 640. This manuscript or codex was published in chromo-lithograph, Paris, 1879, by the French Government.

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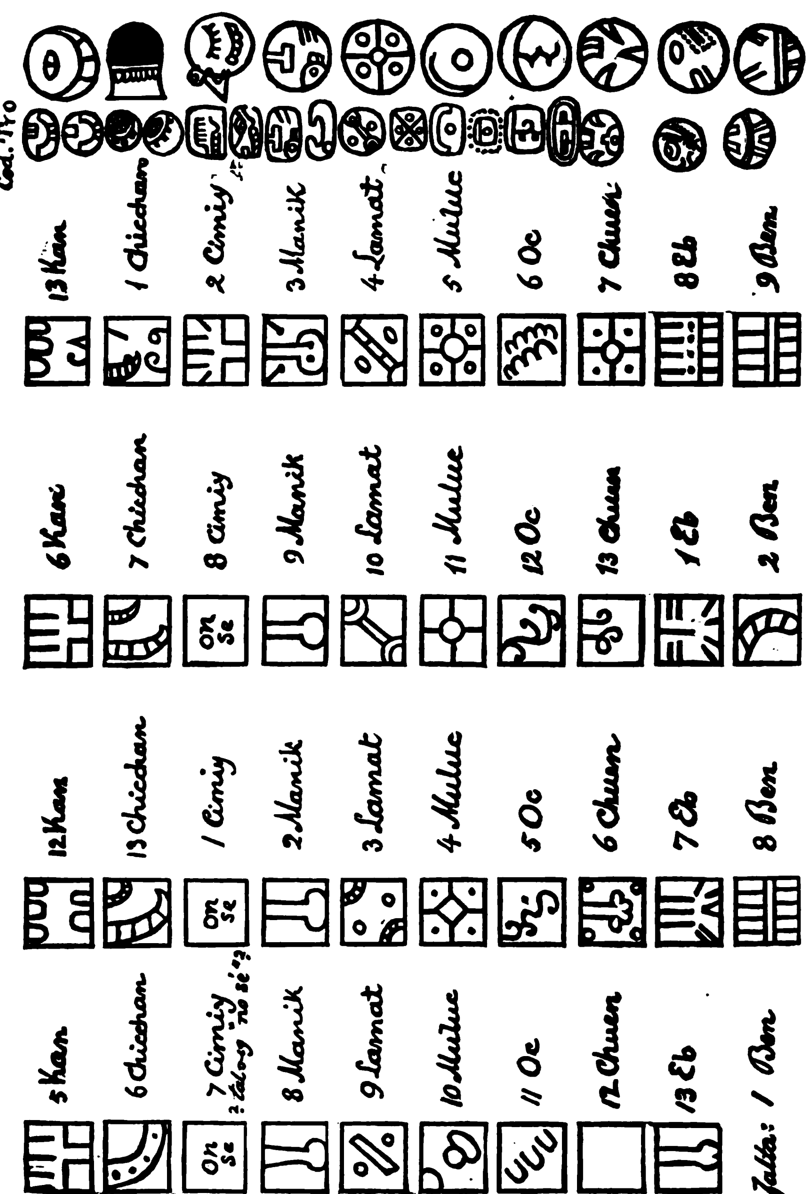

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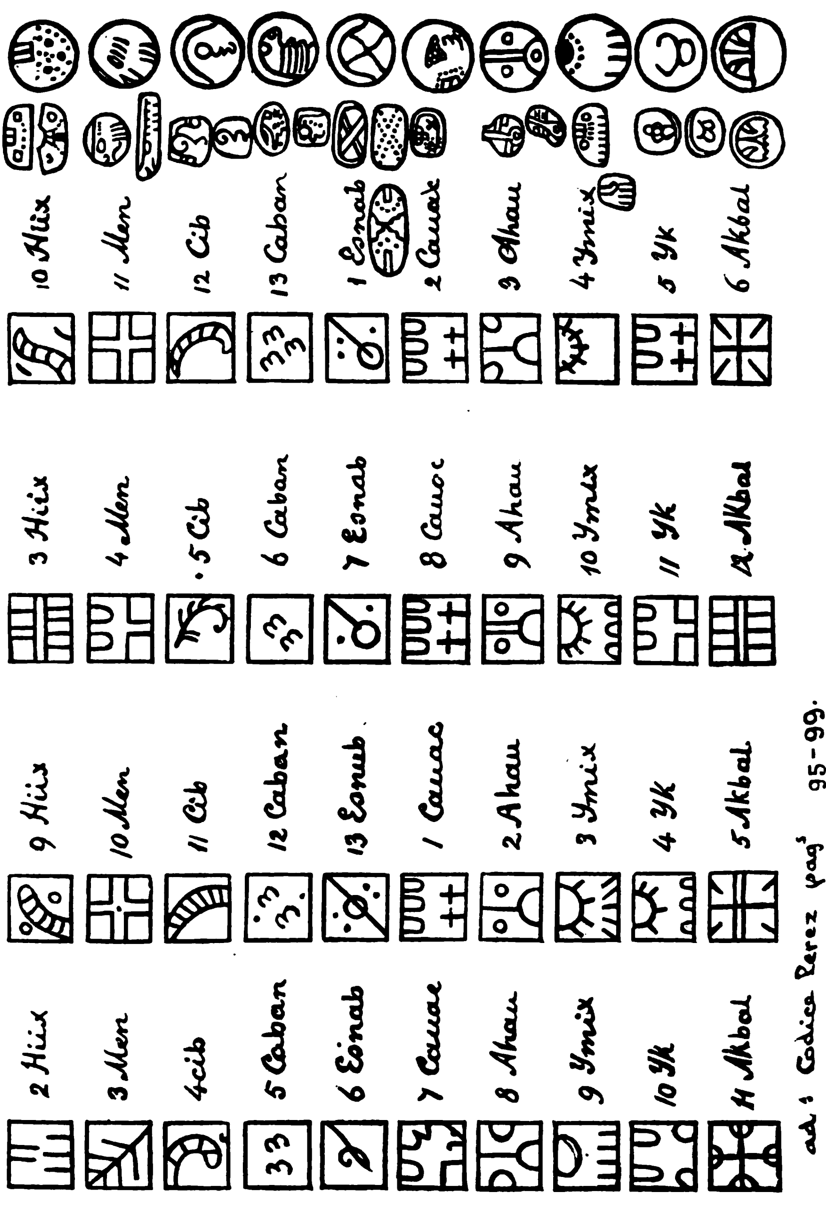

SIGNS OF THE DAYS.

The first column on the right is from Landa. The second is from the "*Codex Troano*." The remaining four are from the Book of Chilan Balam of Káua.

There is other evidence to show that the engraving in Cogolludo is a relic of the purest ancient Maya symbolism,—one of the most interesting which have been preserved to us; but to enter upon its explanation in this connection would be too far from my present topic.

A favorite theme with the writers of the "Books of Chilan Balam" was the cure of diseases. Bishop Landa explains the "*chilanes*" as "sorcerers and doctors," and adds that one of their prominent duties was to diagnose diseases and point out their appropriate remedies.* As we might expect, therefore, considerable prominence is given to the description of symptoms and suggestions for their alleviation. Bleeding and the administration of preparations of native plants are the usual prescriptions; but there are others which have probably been borrowed from some domestic medicine-book of European origin.

The late Don Pio Perez gave a great deal of attention to collecting these native recipes, and his manuscripts were carefully examined by Dr. Berendt, who combined all the necessary knowledge, botanical, linguistic and medical, and who has left a large manuscript, entitled "*Recetarios de Indios*," which presents the subject fully. He considers the scientific value of these remedies to be next to nothing, and the language in which they are recorded to be distinctly inferior to that of the remainder of the "Books of Chilan Balam." Hence, he believes that this portion of the ancient records was supplanted some time in the last century by medical notions introduced from European sources. Such, in fact, is the statement of the copyists of the books themselves, as these recipes, etc., are sometimes found in a separate volume, entitled "The Book of the Jew,"—"*El Libro del Judio*." Who this alleged Jewish physician was, who left so wide-spread and durable a renown among the Yucatecan natives, none of the archæologists has been able to find out.†

The language and style of most of these books are aphoristic,

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* "*Declarar las necesidades y sus remedios*."—"*Relacion de las Cosas de Yucatan*," page 160. Like much of Landa's Spanish, this use of the word "*necesidad*" is colloquial, and not classical.

† A "*Medicina Domestica*," under the name of "Don Ricardo Ossado, (alias, *el Judio*,)" was published at Merida in 1834; but this appears to have been merely a bookseller's device to aid the sale of the book by attributing it to the "great unknown."

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elliptical and obscure. The Maya language has naturally undergone considerable alteration since they were written; therefore, even to competent readers of ordinary Maya, they are not readily understood. . Fortunately, however, there are in existence excellent dictionaries of the Maya of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, which, were they published, would be sufficient for this purpose.

A few persons in Yucatan have appreciated the desirability of collecting and preserving these works. Don Pio Perez was the first to do so, and of living Yucatecan scholars particular mention should be made of the Rev. Canon Don Crescencio Carrillo y Ancona, who has written a good, and I believe the only, description of them which has yet appeared in print.* They attracted the earnest attention of that eminent naturalist and ethnologist, the late Dr. C. Hermann Berendt, and at a great expenditure of time and labor he visited various parts of Yucatan, and with remarkable skill made *fac-simile* copies of the most important and complete specimens which he could anywhere find. This invaluable and unique collection has come into my hands since his death, and it is this which has prompted me to make known their character and contents to those interested in such subjects. DANIEL G. BRINTON.

* In his "*Disertacion sobre la Historia de la Lengua Maya ó Yucateca*" (Merida, 1870).

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HIGHER MEDICAL EDUCATION.*

IN a copy of the *Pennsylvania Gazette* published in Philadelphia on June 30th, 1768, will be found an account of the first annual commencement at which medical degrees were conferred in America. The occasion was that of the commencement of the College of Philadelphia, of which the University of Pennsylvania is the direct lineal descendant and successor. At this commencement, held June 21st, 1768, the degree of bachelor of medicine was conferred upon ten candidates. The charge, as it was then called, was delivered jointly by the Provost, Rev. Dr. William Smith, and Dr. Shippen, the Professor of Anatomy and Surgery. From that day until this, except in 1772, and for five years more, during which the operations of the College were interrupted by our national struggle for independence, the annual roll-call, as heard to-day, has been repeated, until the number of its medical graduates exceeds ten thousand. One hundred and seven times has this roll been called; one hundred and seven times has the parting charge been made; and well may he, to whose lot it has fallen to make the one hundred and eighth, look about him and ask what is there left for him to say. Sound advice, cheering words and wholesome warning have been spoken again and again by men whose impressiveness I cannot hope to equal. These, therefore, I will not attempt to-day. There is, however, one subject which I deem quite worthy of the present occasion, and I shall be glad if I can excite in you even a small portion of the interest I feel in it myself. That subject is higher medical education and the position your *Alma Mater* has taken in relation to it.

It is well known to you (but perhaps not to all the large audience present), that, five years ago, the feeling of dissatisfaction with the then prevailing system of medical education, which had for some time existed in the minds of the trustees of this university, culminated in a determination to make an immediate change. According to the old system, a student could, if he desired, earn the degree of doctor of medicine in two courses of medical lectures of

* A valedictory address delivered at the Commencement exercises closing the one hundred and sixteenth annual session of the Medical Department and the fifth of the Dental Department of the University of Pennsylvania, March, 15th, 1882.

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but five months' duration, while each one of these courses was an exact repetition of the other. All other trades and occupations required three and even more years, not of verbal instruction, but of actual hand labor, before the learner was considered fit to carry on his business independently of his master or teacher. This was the case with the carpenter, the stone-cutter and the machinist; but the physician, who dealt with human life and its tenement, exceeding in delicacy and intricacy the most subtle of machines, was often qualified by eighteen months' instruction, and even less. And yet the profession of medicine has always been accorded a place among the liberal professions, which are so called because of the amount and variety of acquirement and the intellectual training which are prerequisites to those entering them. These conditions are, and always have been, observed in European countries, and that they were also observed in the early history of this may be learned from an examination of the history of the mediical department of this university, where it will be found that, at its origin, each student, before being eligible to the degree of bachelor of physic, was required either to have taken a degree in college, or to satisfy the trustees and professors of the school concerning his knowledge of the Latin tongue and such branches of mathematics and experimental philosophy as were judged requisite to a medical education. Finally, the degree, not of doctor, but of bachelor of physic, was conferred upon those who had complied with these requirements, had served a sufficient apprenticeship to some reputable practitioner, attended at least one course of lectures, extending over six months, on anatomy, materia medica, chemistry, the theory and practice of physic, one course of clinical lectures, and the practice of the Pennsylvania Hospital for one year; also, passed a private and public examination before the medical trustees and professors, and publicly defended a thesis in the English or Latin tongue. The degree of doctor of medicine was conferred only after three years more had intervened, the candidate had attained the age of twenty-four years, and had written and publicly defended a thesis in the college, unless he was beyond seas or so remote on the continent of America as not to be able to attend without manifest inconvenience; in which case, on sending a written thesis, such as should be approved by the College, the candidate might receive the doctor's degree, but his thesis was to be printed and published at his own expense.

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It will be seen from the above that one hundred and fifteen years ago it was not easy to obtain the doctor's degree in America, and that he who had complied with its requirements had well earned the right to be regarded as one of a liberal profession. This is not the time or place to follow the steps of the change; but suffice it to say that in time these conditions were so far removed that large numbers, not only of the uncultured, but even the unscrupulous, flocked into the ranks of the so-called profession, and made the protection of its standard, the credulity of the people, and the mystery of their trade, stepping-stones to success; while the real professional training of the educated physician, obtained under difficulties and at great cost, and for the most part in foreign countries, received but partial recognition. Such a system of medical education also, failing to furnish the training which qualified for original investigation and such thorough study of disease as would lead to improvement in methods of treatment and modes of cure, failed to develop the science of medicine proportionately with other knowledge. This fact could not escape the attention of a people whose growing intelligence was a part of the development of a great nation, and they could not fail to see the defects in a science so pretentious and yet so feeble. Hence, their confidence gradually weakened, and they became ready to grasp at anything which promised, even if it did not insure, more satisfactory results at less inconvenience.

Such were the results of medical teaching in this country for some years previous to 1870. In that year, Harvard University adopted for its medical school a compulsory three years' course, graded, and with an academic year of nine months' length. In 1877, in accordance with the action already referred to, this university adopted a compulsory three years' course, also graded, in which attendance was required during an annual winter session of five months, while instruction was provided for the entire academic year. The step taken by Harvard was a comparatively easy one; for the medical department of that university, although among the oldest in the country, had never been a large school, and the compensation of the professors was proportionately small. The latter, therefore, made no great pecuniary sacrifice in making the change, while the change itself advanced the school from a second-rate position to one of the highest class. With the University of

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Pennsylvania, however, it was different. The reputation of the school already exceeded that of any other in the country, and its classes, since the removal to the improved new quarters in West Philadelphia, were growing rapidly. Grave questions of guarantee and compensation had to be settled, while a temporary reduction of income to the professors had to be anticipated. All this, however, was adjusted, and the change made with the consent of all interested. The event is too recent to demand further details now. But, instead of the class falling off, as was anticipated, the number of actual students was not diminished. The second year of the "new plan," as it is now commonly called, began with a larger freshmen class than the first, and the third with a still larger class.

But the medical faculty were not satisfied with what had been accomplished. One of the most gratifying and immediate results was a marked improvement in the previous education and gentlemanly bearing of the student of medicine, and a much larger proportion of those who came to the University possessed degrees in arts or science. But it was found at the term examinations that some were still defective in this very important condition of a liberal profession,—a previous education,—and that, according as this deficiency existed, their qualifications in the professional branches were also defective, and they were, in consequence, unprepared to go on with their classes. This being the case, the question arose: "Why should such begin the study of medicine at all? Is it not better that disappointment should be met at the threshold than at a later stage, when both time and money have been expended?" The answer was so evident that the faculty decided that a preliminary examination should be instituted, which should be passed by all who did not possess a collegiate degree or could not present satisfactory evidence of at least a fair English education. Instantly, for the session of 1880–1, the first-year class fell from one hundred and thirty-five to one hundred and ten, a reduction of nearly twenty per centum; for the session of 1881–2, a still further, but not greatly increased, reduction in the freshman class occurred. But mark the effect on the character of the class! Of the regular full-course students admitted the year previous to the institution of the preliminary examination, twenty-five per cent. possessed degrees in arts or science; while, of those admitted for the session following, thirty-three per cent. were college graduates, and the propor-

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tion of failures at the first professional examination was decidedly less. Moreover, of the entire number of full-course students attending during the past session, twenty-eight per cent. are college graduates, while the percentage in 1879 was but twenty-two per cent.

Further, I ask attention to the following fact as one of no small importance. Notwithstanding the usual loss from withdrawals, in consequence of failure at examinations, and other causes, the class which entered for the session 1880–1, the first after the inauguration of the admission examination, began its second year with its numbers increased ten per cent. over those of its first year. This is something quite unprecedented in the history of colleges with graded curricula, each class being, as a rule, largest as a freshman class, losing as it ascends in grade, until, as a senior class, it has been decidedly cut down. The exception in this case is chiefly due to admissions to advanced standing from other colleges, but in part, also, to fewer failures in the first professional examinations. Finally, the effect of the action of this university on other medical schools has also to be alluded to. Slowly they are following in its wake and making changes, more or less considerable, all tending in the same direction,—towards prolongation of the period of study,—showing that the principle of our method is acknowledged and the leaven of reform is working as it should.

The faculty, therefore, have every reason to be confident of the result hoped for, and believe that the temporary falling off is but the forerunner of large accessions, as the advantages of a prolonged and graded curriculum become known. Indeed, they are already committed to further steps in the same direction. At their request, the trustees have decided that the length of the compulsory winter term of instruction, instead of being five months, shall hereafter be extended to six. Nor will they rest satisfied until an academic year is obtained of the same length as that of the collegiate department, —that is, nine months,—and the finished physician shall not only be thoroughly trained in all that pertains to his profession, but he shall also possess a university education or its equivalent. Of great importance in the accomplishment of the former, are deemed the establishment of a course preparatory to medicine in the Towne Scientific School of the University and the more recent organization of a fourth year or post-graduate course. These two courses,

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in addition to the three years of the regular curriculum, really furnish the opportunity, to those who desire it, of a five years' course, in which it is believed will be found all the requirements of a thorough and complete medical education.

It has recently been said that "a university education and training make men too dilettante, and seem rather to unfit them for that struggle to make and maintain a position which must ever be the lot of the medical practitioner." Such a statement I can only regard as an apology for an existing low grade of medical education. To say that a university education is in any way a disadvantage to a physician, seems to me to be almost equivalent to decrying all culture. Are the problems of the physician of such an elementary character that he does not need the intellectual training and varied acquirements acknowledged to be essential in the other liberal professions? Are the refining and purifying tendencies of culture less important to him, whose association with men and women is only during the hours when their sensibilities and sensitiveness are heightened by disease, than to the lawyer, whose contact is only with the healthy and strong,—than to the clergyman, whose relation to the sick is certainly more limited? That good and reliable physicians have resulted from the old methods, none will deny. But the advocates of the new contend that it is in spite of the defects of the old; while all must admit, that, among physicians produced by the former, the best have been those previously well educated. On the other hand, it must also be acknowledged that the profession is overrun and degraded by hundreds of the incompetent and unprincipled, who are effectually excluded by the new conditions. With such admissions as these, can there be anyone who would not prefer the risk of dilettanteism on the one hand to that of ignorance and incapacity on the other?

To become the champions of such a standard as that which is the aim of your *Alma Mater*, I invoke you, members of the class of 1882. Be not satisfied with being yourselves one of the first fruits of her efforts in this direction, but become active in its support and securing its success. Talk of it, write of it, insist upon it in the instances of those whose course you may control. The time has come when a line must be drawn between those who graduate upon the old and upon the new systems. The public have a right to know, and you have a right to indicate, that you are graduates under

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the latter. To this end you are justified, and it seems to me you are required to follow the usual initial letters of your professional degree by the words, "University of Pennsylvania," "Harvard," or whatever the degree may be; and I am gratified to see that this example is set by graduates of many years' standing.

To you, graduates of the dental department, I need scarely say I make no distinction between you and your brothers of the medical. What has been addressed to one has been addressed to the other. You, also, have an important duty. You rightly aspire to be members of a liberal profession, and I, for one, am glad to welcome you. But for you I would make the same conditions as for the medical student,—a thorough preliminary training and a thorough grounding in all the branches of a medical education. These accomplished, you can select the specialty of your choice without fear or favor. Indeed, it is evident that the specialist should possess, if anything, a broader culture than the general physician or surgeon. For it cannot be denied that the tendencies of the practice of a specialty are to narrow the sphere of thought, while it also increases one's knowledge and usefulness in that department. It is necessary, therefore, that such tendency should be counterbalanced by a breadth of preliminary culture and general professional training greater than that of one whose range of thought and action is less restricted in practical life.

With this hour, friends and fellow-alumni, our official relation terminates, and your independent professional career begins. It is your commencement. From it you go forth to carve your respective niches on the temple of the world's usefulness; we go back to the work of conducting others to the goal which you have reached. Both have a responsible duty, and each needs the sustaining support and encouragement of the other. I have told you what I would have you do for us; but I have purposely refrained from giving you lengthy advice as to how you might best attain what is commonly called success. Success has received various interpretations at the hands of men. I will not pause to analyze them, but will simply say that in my own judgment there are three words which comprehend all the conditions of a true success. They are thoroughness, truthfulness, and energy. There can be no success without thoroughness. Thoroughness, not only in the work and duties of your own profession, but in all the responsibilities of life,

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be they great or small. Whatever is worth doing it all, is worth doing well. A very simple motto, recalled from the associations of my own college life, conveys more than pages could otherwise express, and you will do well to remember it and live by it. It is, "*Minimum minimum est; sed fidelis esse in minimo magnum est,*"—a very little thing is a very little thing; but to be faithful in a little is great. Again, to be truthful and sincere in all your relations—with those who employ you, your professional friends, and, above all, to yourselves,—secures a degree of confidence without which no success can be permanent. Finally, each of these may be elements of a man's character, and, if not united with an energy of purpose and conduct, he will fail of success. Energy alone often leads to chaotic results; but, when tempered by thoroughness and a strict regard for the truth, the outcome is a dignity and "repose in energy" which is acknowledged to be fruitful in most lasting if not most rapid results.

With a banner illumined by these words for its device, I do not fear to launch you on the swift current of the struggle for success, satisfied, that, whatever may be the hidden dangers of your course, you will in the end moor safely in the desired haven. It may be, scarred and weatherbeaten; it may be, no longer young and joyous; but none the less masters of the coveted goal and worthy sons of an *Alma Mater*, who, chastened and dignified by well-nigh six score years of honorable motherhood, gives you now her parting blessing and bids you "God speed!" in a useful, happy and prosperous career.

JAMES TYSON.

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A FAMOUS CHATEAU.

THE Château of Rambouillet is a palace where feudal knights lived like little kings. Monarchs have feasted there and at its gates have asked, when fugitives, for water and a crust of bread. It commenced its career as a cradle of knights; it is finishing it as an asylum for the orphans of soldiers. The commencement and *finale* are not unworthy; but between the two there have been some less appropriate disposals of this old chevalier's residence. Where the knightly D'Amaurys held their feudal state, where King Francis followed the chase, and the Chevalier Florian sang, and Penthièvre earned immortality by the practice of heavenly virtues,—where Louis enthroned Du Barry, and Napoleon presided over councils, holding the destiny of thrones in the balance of his will,—there the sorriest mechanic had, with a few francs in his hand, the right of entrance. The gayest *lorettes* of the capital smoked their cigarettes where Julie d'Angennes fenced with love, and the bower of queens and the refuge of an empress rang with echoes born of light-heartedness and lighter wines. The late Emperor Louis Napoleon, however, established a better order of things.

To a Norman chief and to the Norman tongue, "Rabouillet," as it used to be written, or the "rabbit-warren," owes the name given to this palace, about forty miles from Paris, and to the village which clusters around it. The early masters of Rambouillet were a powerful but an uninteresting race. It is sufficient to record of the chivalric D'Amaurys, that they held it, to the satisfaction of few people but themselves, from 1003 to 1317. Further record of them is unnecessary. One relic of their time, however, survived to the period of the first French Revolution. In the domain of Rambouillet was the fief of Montorgueil. It was held by the Prior of St. Thomas d'Epernon on the following service: the good Prior was bound to present himself yearly at the gate of Rambouillet, bare-headed, with a garland on his brow, and mounted on a piebald horse,—touching whom it was bad service if the animal had not four white feet. The Prior, fully armed like a knight, save that his gloves were of a delicate texture, carried a flask of wine at his saddle-bow. In one hand, he held a cake, to the making of which had gone a bushel of flour;—an equal measure of

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wheat was also the fee of the lord. The officers of the latter examined narrowly into the completeness of the service. If they pronounced it imperfect, the Prior of Epernon was mulcted of the revenues of his fief for the year ensuing. In later days, the ceremony lost much of its meaning; but, down to the period of its extinction, the wine, the cake and the garland were never wanting; and the maidens of Rambouillet were said to be more exacting than the baronial knights themselves, from whom many of them were descended. The festival was ever a joyous one, as became a feudal lord whose kitchen fire-place was of such dimensions that a horseman might ride into it and skim the pot as he stood in his stirrups.

It is a singular thing, that scarcely a monarch has had anything to do with the lordly residence of Rambouillet, but mischance has befallen him. The kings were unjust to these lords of Rambouillet and the latter found for the former a Nemesis. Francis I. was hunting in the forest of Rambouillet when he received news of the death of Henry VIII. of England, with whom he had struggled on the Field of the Cloth of Gold. With the news, he received a shock which the decay sprung from many excesses could not resist. He entered the *château* as the guest of the Chevalier d'Angennes, in whose family the proprietorship then resided. The chamber still exists wherein he died, roaring in agony, leaving proof of its power over him in the pillow, which, in mingled rage and pain, he tore into strips with his teeth. Leon Gozlan has given a full account of the extraordinary ceremonies which took place in honor of Francis after his death. "In front of the bed on which lay the body of the King," says M. Gozlan, "was erected an altar, covered with an embroidered cloth; on this stood two golden candlesticks, bearing two lights from candles of the whitest wax. The cardinals, prelates, knights, gentlemen, and officers whose duty it was to keep watch, were stationed around the catafalque, seated on chairs of cloth of gold. During the eleven days that the ceremony lasted, the strictest etiquette of service was observed about the King, as if he had been a living monarch in presence of his Court. His table was regularly laid out for dinner by the side of his bed; a cardinal blessed the food; a gentleman-in-waiting presented the ewer to the figure of the dead king; a knight offered him the cup mantling with wine, and another wiped his lips and fingers. These functions, with many others, took place by the solemn and sub-

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dued light of the funeral torches." The after-ceremonies were quite as curious and as extraordinarily magnificent; but it is unnecessary to describe them here.

A king in not much better circumstances than Francis, just before his death, slept in the castle for one night. It was a night in May, 1588, and Jean d'Angennes was celebrating the marriage of his daughter. The ceremony was interrupted by a loud knocking at the castle-gates. The wary Jean looked first at the visitors through the wicket, whence he saw Henri III., flurried, yet laughing, seated in an old carriage, around which clustered dusty horsemen, grave cavaliers, and courtiers scantily attired. Some had their points untrussed and many knights were without their boots. An illustrious company, in fact; but there were not two nobles in their united purses. D'Angennes threw open his portals to a king and his knights flying from De Guise, who had gotten possession of Paris, and Henri and his friends had escaped in order to establish the regal authority at Chartres. The two great adversaries met at Blois; and, after the assassination of Guise, the King, with his knights and courtiers, rode gayly past Rambouillet on his return to Paris to profit by his own wickedness and the folly of his trusted and well-beloved cousin, the Duc.

Not long before this murder, the Hôtel Pisani in Paris was made jubilant by the birth of that Catherine de Vivonnes who was at once both lovely and learned. She lived to found the school of lingual purists whose doings are so pleasantly caricatured in the "*Précieuses Ridicules*" of Molière. Catherine espoused that noble chevalier, Charles d'Angennes, Lord of Rambouillet, who was made a marquis for her sake. The chevalier's lady looked upon her marriage rather as a closing act of life than otherwise; but, then, hers had been a busy youth. In her second lustre, she knew as many languages as a *lustrum* has years. Ere her fourth had expired, her refined spirit and her active intellect were sickened and tired of the continual sameness and the golden emptiness of the Court. She cared little to render homage to a most Christian king who disregarded the precepts of Christianity, or to be sullied by homage from a monarch, which could not be rendered without insult to a virtuous woman. Young Catherine preferred, in the summer eve, to lie under the shadow of her father's trees, on the spot subsequently occupied by the Palais Royal. There she read works

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coined by great minds. During the long winter evenings, she lay in stately ceremony upon her bed,—an unseemly custom of the period,—and there, surrounded by chevaliers, wits and philosophers, enjoyed and encouraged the "cudgelling of brains." At her suggestion, the old *hôtel* was destroyed, and, after her designs, a new one built; and, when, in place of the old dark panelling, obscurely seen by casements that kept out the light, she covered the walls of her reception-rooms with sky-blue velvet, and welcomed the sun to shine upon them, universal France admiringly pronounced her mad, incontinently caught the infection, and broke out into an incurable disease of fancy and good taste. In a word, Catherine was the first æsthete of her time.

The fruit of the union above spoken of was abundant; but the very jewel in that crown of children, the goodliest arrow in the family quiver, was that Julie d'Angennes who shattered the hearts of all the amorous chevaliers of France, and whose fame has, perhaps, eclipsed that of her mother. Her childhood was passed at the feet of the most eminent men of the period, not merely known as aristocratic chevaliers, but also as distinguished wits and philosophers. By the side of her cradle, Marot enunciated his tuneful rhymes, Voiture his conceits, and Vaugelas his learning. She lay in the arms of Armand Duplessis, *then* almost as innocent as the little angel who unconsciously smiled on that future ruthless Cardinal de Richelieu; and her young ear heard the elevated measure of Corneille's "Melite." To enumerate the circles which were wont to assemble within the Hôtel Rambouillet in Paris, or to loiter in the gardens and on the hills of the country *château* whose history is here sketched, would occupy more space than can be devoted to such a purpose. The circle comprised parties who were hitherto respectively exclusive. Noblemen met citizen wits, to the great edification of the former; and Rambouillet afforded an asylum to the persecuted of all parties. They who resisted Henri IV. found refuge within its hospitable walls, and many nobles and chevaliers who survived the bloody oppression of Richelieu sought therein solace and balm for their lacerated souls. Above all, Madame de Rambouillet effected the social congregation of the two sexes. Women were brought to encounter male wits, sometimes to conquer, always to improve, them. The title to enter was worth joined to ability. The etiquette was pedantically strict, as

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may be imagined by the case of Voiture, who, on one occasion, after conducting Julie through a suite of rooms, kissed her hand on parting from her, and was very near being expelled forever from Rambouillet as the reward of his temerity. Voiture subsequently went to Africa. On his return, he was not admitted to the illustrious circle, but on condition that he narrated his adventures, and to these the delighted assembly listened, all attired as gods and goddesses, and gravely addressing each other as such. Madame de Rambouillet presided over all as Diana, and the company did her abundant homage. It was the weak point of this assembly, that not only was every member of it called by a feigned, generally a Greek, name, but the same rule was applied to most men and things beyond it; in fact, the very oaths—for there were little expletives occasionally fired off in ecstatic moments,—were all by heathen gods. Thus, France was *Greece*, Paris was *Athens*, and the Place Royale was only known at Rambouillet as the *Place Dorique;* the name of Madame Rambouillet was *Arthemise*, that of Mademoiselle de Scudéry was *Aganippe*, and *Thessalonica* was the purified cognomen of the Duchesse de Tremouille. But out of such childishness resulted great good, nothwithstanding Molière laughed and that the Academy derided Corneille and all others of the innovating *coterie*. The times were coarse; things, whatever they might be, were called by their names; ears polite experienced offence, and at Rambouillet periphrasis was called upon to express what the language otherwise conveyed offensively by the medium of a single word. The idea was good, although it was abused. Of its quality, some conjecture may be formed by one or two brief examples, and it may be said, by the way, that the French Academy ended by adopting many of the terms which it first refused to acknowledge. Popularity had been given to much of the remainder, and thus a great portion of the vocabulary of Rambouillet has become idiomatic French. "*Modeste*," "*friponne*," and "*secrète*," were names given to the undergarments of ladies which we now should not be afraid to specify. The sun was the "*aimable illuminateur;*" to "fulfil the desire which the chair had to embrace you," was simply to "sit down." Horses were "plushed coursers," a carriage was "four cornices," and chairmen were "baptized mules." A bed was the "old dreamer;" a hat, the "buckler against weather;" dinner was the "meridional necessity;" the ear was the "organ, or

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gate, of hearing;" and the "throne of modesty" was the polished phrase for a fair young cheek. That there is nothing very edifying in all this, is true; but the fashion set people thinking, and good ensued. Old indelicacies disappeared, and the general, spoken language was refined. If any greater mental purity ensued from the change, it is scarcely possible to give the credit of it to the party at Rambouillet; for, with all their proclaimed refinement, their nicety was of the kind described in the well-known maxim of the Dean of St. Patrick's.

One of the most remarkable men in the circle of Rambouillet was the Marquis de Salles, Knight of Saint Louis. He was the second son of the Duc de Montausier, and subsequently inherited the title. At the period of his father's death, his mother found herself with little dower but her title. She exerted herself, however, courageously. She instructed her children herself, brought them up in strict Huguenot principles, and afterward sent them to the Calvinistic college at Sedan, where the young students were famous for the arguments which they maintained against all comers —and they were many,—who sought to convert them to Popery. At an early age, he acquired the profession of arms, the only vocation for a young and portionless noble; and he shed his blood liberally for a king who had no thanks to offer to a Protestant. His wit, refinement and gallant bearing made him a welcome guest at Rambouillet, where his famous attachment to Julie, who was three years his senior, gave matter for conversation to the whole of France. Courageous himself, he loved courage in others, and in his love for Julie d'Angennes was fired by the rare bravery exhibited by her in tending a dying brother, the infectious nature of whose disease had made even his hired nurses desert him. In the season of mourning, the whole Court, led by royalty, went to do homage to this pearl of sisters. But no admiration fell so sweetly upon her ear as that whispered to her by the young Montausier. One evidence of his chivalrous gallantry is yet extant. It is in that renowned volume called the "*Guirlande de Julie*," of which he was the projector, and in the accomplishing of which knights, artists and poets lent their willing aid. It is a superb vellum tome. The frontispiece is the garland, or wreath, from which the volume takes its name. Each subsequent page presents one single flower from this wreath (there are eighteen of them), with verses in honor of

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Julie, composed by a dozen and a half of very insipid poets. This volume was sold, some years since, to Madame d'Uzes, a descendant of the family, for eighteen thousand francs.

As everything was singular at Rambouillet, so, of course, was the wooing of Julie and her lover. It was a very long courtship, and it is to be doubted, if, in the years of restrained ardor, of fabulous constancy, of reserve, and sad yet pleasing anguish, the lover ever dared to kiss the hand of his mistress, or even to speak of marriage, except by a diplomatic paraphrase. The goddesses of Rambouillet entertained an eloquent horror of the indelicacy of such unions for which Molière has whipped them with a light but cutting scourge. The lover, moreover, was a Huguenot. What was he to do? Like a true knight, he rushed to the field, was the hero of two brilliant campaigns, and then wooed her as chevalier of half a dozen new orders, *maréchal-du-camp*, and Governor of Alsace. The nymph was still coy. Montausier again buckled on his armor, and in his third campaign was captured by the foe. After two months' detention, he was ransomed by his mother for two thousand crowns. He re-entered Rambouillet lieutenant-general of the armies of France, and he asked for the recompense of his fourteen years of constancy and patience. Julie was shocked; for she only thought how brief had been the period of their acquaintance. At length, the Marquis made profession of Romanism, and thereby purchased the double aid of the Church and the Throne. The King, the Queen, Cardinal Mazarin, and a host of less influential members, besought her to relent, and the shy beauty at length reluctantly surrendered. The marriage took place in 1645, when Julie was within sight of forty years of age. The young men and the wits had, be assured, much to say thereupon. The elder *beaux esprits* looked admiringly; but a world of whispered wickedness went on among them, nevertheless. Montausier, for he was now a duke and a Knight of the Holy Ghost, became the reigning sovereign over the literary circle at Rambouillet, during the declining years of Julie's mother. Catherine died in 1665, after a long retirement, and almost forgotten by the sons of those she once delighted to honor. The most delicate and the most difficult public employment ever held by the Duc, was that of governor to the Dauphin. This office he filled with singular ability. He selected Bossuet and Huet to instruct the young prince in the theo-

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retical wisdom of books; but the practical teaching was imparted by himself. Many a morning saw the governor and his pupil issue from the gilded gates of Versailles to take a course of popular study among the cottages and peasantry of the environs.

The heart of this *preux chevalier* was shattered by the death of Julie in 1671, at the age of sixty-four. He survived her nineteen years. They were passed in sorrow, but also in continual, active usefulness; and, when, at length, in 1690, the grave of his beloved wife was opened to receive him, Fléchier pronounced a fitting funeral oration over both. The daughter and only surviving child of this distinguished pair gave, with her hand, the lordship of Rambouillet to the Duc d'Uzes, "*Chevalier de l'Ordre du Saint Esprit.*" The noble family of D'Angennes had held it for three centuries. It was in 1706 destined to become royal. Louis XIV. then purchased it for the Count of Toulouse, legitimatized son of himself and Madame de Montespan. The Count was Grand Admiral of France at the age of five years. In 1704, he had just completed his twenty-fifth year. He is famous for having encountered the fleet commanded by Rook and Shovel, after the capture of Gibraltar, and for having withdrawn out of range when he found himself on the point of being utterly beaten. He behaved as bravely as it was possible; but the Government was dissatisfied, and Pontchartrain, the Minister of Marine, recalled him, sent him to Rambouillet, and left him there to shoot rabbits, and, like Diocletian, raise cabbages. His son and successor was the great Duc de Penthièvre, who was made Grand Admiral of France before he knew salt water from fresh, and studied naval tactics with little vessels afloat on a miniature fish-pond. This Grand Admiral never ventured on the ocean; but he bore himself nobly on the bloody field of Dettingen, and won imperishable laurels by his valor at Fontenoy. For such scenes and their glories, however, he cared but little. Ere the French "*Te Deum*" was sung upon the last-named field, he hastened back to his happy hearth at home. Rambouillet was then the abiding-place of all the virtues. There the home-loving Duc read the Scriptures, while his duchess sat at his side, making garments for the poor. There the Chevalier Florian, his secretary and his friend, meditated those graceful rhymes and that harmonious prose in which human nature is in pretty masquerade, walking about like Watteau's figures, in vizors, brocades,

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high heels, and farthingales. When the Duchesse died, after the birth of her sixth child, her husband withdrew to La Trappe, where, among other ex-soldiers, he for weeks prayed and slept upon the bare ground. Five of his children died early. Among them was the chivalrous but intemperate Prince de Lamballe, who died soon after his union with the unhappy princess who fell a victim to the ferocity of the French Revolutionists.

It was by permission of the Duc, who refused to sell his house, that Louis XV. built in the adjacent forest the hunting-lodge of St. Hubert. An assemblage of kings, courtiers, knights and ladies there met, at whose doings the good Saint would have blushed, could he have witnessed them. One night, the glittering crowd had galloped there for a carouse, when discovery was made that the materials for supper had been forgotten, or left behind at Versailles. "Let us go to Penthièvre!" was the universal cry; but Louis looked grave at the proposition. Hunger and the universal opposition, however, overcame him. Forth the famished revellers issued, and knocked at the gates of Rambouillet loud enough to have waked the "seven sleepers." "Penthièvre is in bed!" said one. "Penthièvre is conning his breviary!" sneered another. "Gentlemen, he *is* probably at prayers," said the King, who, like an Athenian, could applaud the virtue which he failed to practice. "Let us withdraw," added the exemplary royal head of the Order of the Holy Ghost. "If we do," remarked Madame du Barry, "I shall die of hunger; let us knock again." To the storm which now beset the gates, the latter yielded; and, as they swung open, they disclosed the Duc, who, girt in a white apron, and with a ladle in his hand, received his visitors with the announcement that he was engaged in helping to make soup for the poor. The monarch and his followers declared that no poor could be more in need of soup than they were. They accordingly seized the welcome supply, devoured it with the appetite of those for whom it was intended, and paid the grave noble who was their host in the false coin of pointless jokes. How that host contrasted with his royal guest, may be seen in the fact told of him when a poor woman kissed his hand and asked a favor as he was passing in a religious procession. "In order of religion before God," said he, "I am your brother. In all other cases, forever your friend." The Order of the Holy Ghost never had a more enlightened member than he.

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In 1785, Louis XVI. in some sort compelled him to part with Rambouillet for sixteen millions of francs. He retired to Eu, taking with him the bodies of the dead he had dearly loved while living. There were nine of that silent company; and, as the Duc passed with them on their sad and silent way, the clouds wept over them, and the people crowded the long line of road, paying their homage in honest tears.

Then came that revolutionary deluge which swept from Rambouillet the head of the Order of the Holy Ghost, and the entire chapter with him, and which dragged from the meadow and the dairy the Queen and princesses, whose pastime it was to milk the cows in fancy dresses. The Duc de Penthièvre died of the Revolution, yet not through personal violence offered to himself. The murder of his daughter-in law, the Princess de Lamballe, was the last fatal stroke; and he died, forgiving her assassins and his own. During the First Republic, there was nothing more warlike at Rambouillet than the Merino flocks which had been introduced by Louis XIV. for the great benefit of his successors. A scene of some interest occurred there during the last days of the First Empire. On the 27th of March, 1814, the Empress Maria Louisa, with the King of Rome in her arms, his silver-gray jacket bearing those ribboned emblems of chivalry, which, until recently, could be seen upon it at the Louvre, sought shelter there, while she awaited the issue of the sanguinary struggle which her own father was maintaining against her husband. The Empress passed three days at Rambouillet, solacing her majestic anguish by angling for carp. Ultimately, the Emperor of Austria entered the hall where his imperial son-in-law had made so many knights of the Legion of Honor, to carry off his daughter and the disinherited heir. As the three sat that night together before the wood-fire, the Archduchess Maria Louisa talked about the teeth of the ex-King of Rome, while two thousand Austrian soldiers kept watch about the palace.

The gates had again to open to a fugitive. On the last of the "three glorious days" of July, a poor, pale, palsied fugitive rushed into the *château*, obtained, and not easily, a glass of water and a crust, and forthwith hurried on to meet captivity at last. This was the Prince de Polignac. Two hours after he had left, came the old monarch, Charles X., covered with dust, dropping tears like rain,

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bewildered with past memories and present realities, and loudly begging for food for the "two children of France," the offspring of his favorite son, the Duc de Berri. In his own palace, a king of France was compelled to surrender his own service of plate before the village would sell him bread in return. When refreshed there-with, he had strength to abdicate in favor of his son, the Duc d'Angoulême, who at once resigned in favor of his nephew, the Duc de Bordeaux; and, this done, the whole party passed by easy stages into an inglorious exile. With them was extinguished the Order of the Holy Ghost; and never since that day have the emblematic dove and star been seen on the breast of any man in France.

Louis Philippe would have liked to appropriate Rambouillet to himself; but the Government assigned it to the nation, and let it to a phlegmatic German, who had an ambition to sleep on the bed of kings and could afford to pay for the gratification of his fancy. It was on the expiration of his lease that the *château* and its grounds were made over to a company of speculators, who sadly desecrated the fair Julie's throne. Napoleon III., be it said to his honor, gave it a worthy occupation as an asylum and a school for the children of the brave. It was once the home and the cradle of the most famous of French warriors; it is now the home of the orphans of soldiers who were as brave as any of those knights of old who were ever welcome at the *château* of the Seigneurs d'Amaurys.

WILLIAM DE BEAUVOIR FRYER.

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MUNICIPAL REFORM AND CIVIL SERVICE REFORM.*

ON the evening of 18th January last, Mr. Bullitt read before the Social Science and the Civil Service Reform Associations a paper upon the subject of municipal reform which is worthy of and ought to receive the careful consideration of every citizen of Philadelphia. Mr. Bullitt has brought to bear upon the solution of this important question, not only his trained professional ability, but also the special knowledge and experience which he gained from service in the constitutional convention of 1873, and from active participation in the work of the municipal commission of 1876.

The county of Philadelphia, which in 1790 had only fifty-four thousand inhabitants, is now a great city, with one hundred and fifty thousand dwelling-houses, comprising within its limits a territory of nearly one hundred and thirty square miles, and having a population of eight hundred and fifty thousand persons, of whom more than one hundred and seventy thousand are voters. Rapid as has been the growth of the city in population, its debt, its expenditures, and its annual tax levy, have increased in a greater ratio. In 1860, its total funded and floating debt was $21,356,759.86, and the annual cost of its administration was $2,682,548.13. In 1875, the annual appropriations for the departments reached the alarming total of $10,105,919.89. On the first of January, 1877, the funded and floating debt was, at its maximum, $73,574,146.92. Since then, there has been a reduction in the municipal indebtedness and expenditure, so that, on 1st January, 1882, the total funded and floating indebtedness was $68,629,403.72, with a general cash balance in the treasury amounting to $2,742,025.18, and with available assets (including that cash balance,) amounting to $27,445,-373.84. The revenues for 1881 were derived from the following sources:

Taxes,	$10,704,331.93
Water-rents,	1,474,164.11
Other sources,	1,715,984.56
Total revenue,	$13,894,480.60

* A paper read before the Social Science Association and the Civil Service Reform Association, on the form of municipal government of the city of Philadelphia, on Wednesday, January 18th, 1882, by John C. Bullitt, Esq. Philadelphia: Allen, Lane & Scott's printing-house.

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The expenditures were for—

Interest on debt and sinking funds,	$4,861,990.85	
Warrants of prior years,	509,749.62	
Appropriations to departments,	6,528,615.78	
Public buildings,	756,507.21	
Other sources,	1,131,207.04	
		$13,788,070.50
Leaving, as surplus for the fiscal year 1881,		$106,410.10*

The real and personal property liable to taxation is assessed at $553,775,229 as its full value, which, taxed at the rate of $1.90, will produce, for the year 1882, $10,417,396.14. This sum, large as it is, does not represent the total municipal burden upon the citizens for the year 1882; for $1,500,000 will be collected for water-rents, and a sum which it is not possible to estimate accurately must be paid by property owners for grading, paving of highways, and other municipal assessments.

The consideration of the figures thus presented will convince everyone that the proper administration of the municipal government of Philadelphia, involving the collection of a revenue of fourteen millions of dollars annually, the faithful custody of that large sum, and its intelligent expenditure in the preservation of the health of the city, the protection of private and public property from loss by fire or theft, the improvement and preservation of the highways, and the care of the municipal property, is, in itself, a business which demands, not only that those to whom its performance is entrusted should be intelligent and honest, but also that such a system of administration should be adopted and enforced as will secure the best practical results. It needs no laboured argument to prove that there is a necessity for a thorough reform in the administration of the municipal affairs of Philadelphia. The city is neither well, nor cheaply, governed. If it were well governed, its citizens would cheerfully bear the necessary cost of its municipal administration. If it were cheaply governed, its citizens would not expect to enjoy those benefits of an unstinted municipal administration which they now pay for, but do not receive. Its highways are not well paved, well lighted, properly repaired, nor adequately cleaned. Its sewers are not scientifically constructed, nor kept in good order. The water

* For the figures as to the municipal debt, income, expenditures and taxation, I am indebted to Controller Pattison's reports for 1879, 1880, 1881, 1882.

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which is furnished to its citizens, for manufacturing and domestic uses, is at times insufficient in quantity and always polluted by impurities. From these causes, there has resulted an alarming increase of diseases of a malarial type, until now, in the opinion of competent medical experts, the public health is in such condition, that, if an epidemic were to be imported, it would rage with uncontrollable fury.

It is unnecessary to do more than to refer to the recent scandals of municipal maladministration. The city solicitor, in the performance of his duty, has instituted a legal investigation into the operations of the gas department, and its trustees, instead of courting an examination, have, by legal technicalities, postponed the day of reckoning. Corruption and peculation in the tax, water and highway departments have brought subordinates in those departments to the bar of justice. Paid servants of the city have tampered with the ballot-box and have thwarted the expression of the popular will at the polls. Apart from any question of fraud, it is certain that the large sums which have been raised by taxation have not been intelligently expended. Yet the city has been fortunate in many of its officials. It has had a succession of faithful and intelligent mayors. While some of its councilmen have been, and are, men who are not fit to be entrusted with any public or private trust, it has had in its legislature many public-spirited citizens, whose faithful performance of irksome duties has not received adequate popular appreciation. It has had, among the chiefs of its many departments, intelligent officers, whose energies, if they had been directed in harmonious co-operation, would have produced results of great value to the city. Especially has it been fortunate in its present controller, (to whom Mr. Bullitt pays a merited compliment), whose business ability, courage, and sleepless vigilance have put the finances of the city on a sound basis and guarded the treasury from depredation.

Despite individual instances of nonfeasance, misfeasance and malfeasance in office, the vice of the city government, and the cause of most of the evils resulting from civic maladministration, is to be found, as Mr. Bullitt clearly shows, not in the ignorance or corruption of the city's officers, but in the inherent defects of its system of government, which is substantially that which was created by the consolidation act of 1854, when the population was but half of its present size and when the annual revenues and expendi-

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tures were less than one fourth of their present figure. The mayor is nominally the head of the city government. Practically, he is only its chief of police, authorized to check by his veto improvident legislation, but with no power of appointing to, or practically supervising, the municipal departments, other than the police. In the councils, there are vested, not only legislative powers, not only the control of the city's purse up to the limit of its income, but also important executive functions, which they exercise by means of their committees. It is these executive functions which make the office of councilman valuable to corrupt men. There are twenty-four departments, to whom distinct and specific appropriations are made, who are independent of each other, whose chiefs are elected by councils, whose action is subject to the executive supervision of the committees of councils and whose chiefs appoint as their subordinates and clerks only those whom councilmen or influential political leaders may designate.

With a system of administration so radically faulty in theory, it would be impossible to secure an intelligent and economical administration, even if all the officials were fitted in character and ability for the performance of their duties. It is, therefore, as Mr. Bullitt justly says, not an adequate remedy for existing abuses of civic administration to secure the nomination and election of the right sort of councilmen. If the continuance of good administration is to depend solely upon future victories of reform principles at the polls, the prospect cannot be regarded as encouraging; for it is the essential nature of all popular movements to grow slowly, wax strong, and, becoming disintegrated by victory and disheartened by defeat, to gradually decline. Popular enthusiasm is evanescent. Volunteers may fight bravely in a single pitched battle or during a brief campaign; but they cannot conduct a long war with the sober steadiness of regular soldiers. The victories of the reform party in Philadelphia during the last two years, are due, in the main, to the self-sacrificing efforts of a few men, who, at a great cost in energy, in money, and in time, have rendered possible a substantial and lasting reform in municipal government. It is not to be expected that those men, or others animated with a like unselfish purpose, can forever continue the good work. It is, therefore, the dictate of political foresight to take advantage of the present favourable condition of things, and to secure, under the influ-

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ence of the present active and energetic reform sentiment, such a modification of the municipal government as will give a permanent ascendancy to the principles of reform, and will insure for the future the administration of the city government upon business principles.

Mr. Bullitt shows unanswerably that a restriction of the franchise, in the election of municipal officers, to those who have a property qualification, is neither desirable, efficacious, nor possible.

The essential features of an effectual reform are these: The mayor should be the responsible executive head of the city government, he should appoint and remove the heads of the various departments, and they, in their turn, should appoint their subordinates, not in the exercise of favoritism or unrestrained individual discretion, but upon such a settled system as will dissociate the business of the city from politics. The departments should be few in number, and so organized that they can work harmoniously; the councils should be shorn of executive power and confined within the limits of their legislative duties. Under Mr. Bullitt's plan, the mayor is clothed with the powers and charged with the responsibilities which should properly appertain to his high office; the departments are reduced in number from twenty-four to eight, and subjected in common to the control and supervision of the mayor; the councils are reduced to their proper place in the municipal government, shorn of their executive functions, and permitted to meet so infrequently that leading and influential citizens can, without injury to their private interests, serve the public therein.

This is, substantially, the plan of reform which the municipal commission of 1876 reported, which was submitted to the legislature of 1878, and which that body of enlightened statesmen sent to a committee, from whom it never was intended to be, and it never was, returned. We do not propose to enter into a discussion of the details of Mr. Bullitt's plan. As explained by him, it is, with one exception, homogeneous and admirably calculated to effect the objects for which it is framed. That exception is that it does not provide for the application to the municipal government of the principles and practices of civil service reform.

Mr. Bullitt says (page 16): "That portion of the executive authority [the power of appointment,] is very largely wielded by a set of men (and often by one man,) under no respon-

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sibility whatever by season of any official position. The tendency is to throw the control of appointments into the hands of those who seek to get possession of the city through their tools. These men may hold no office themselves, and yet their power may be seen, and felt, and recognized, in every executive appointment." And, again, (page 23,) Mr. Bullitt says: "The control of your city government has fallen into the hands of those who use it only for their own illicit gains, and your form is such that you not only enable them to attain this control, but you furnish from your city treasury the means with which they perpetuate their power and bind you all the more securely to their misrule. You spend annually a million and a half of dollars in public education. This is done for the purpose of improving, refining and enlightening your people up to a high standard of moral as well as intellectual culture. But, at the same time, you are maintaining in the departments of your city government a training-school for political rogues and public plunderers quite as efficient for its purpose as your much-boasted system of public education is for the objects it is intended to attain. Year by year, it turns out its graduates skilled in the manipulation of elections, and public accounts, and contracts, and in the appropriation of public money; and, although now and then some public-spirited citizens may, through the means of reform committees, by the expenditure of large sums of money and the most untiring energy, succeed in bringing one or more to the bar of justice and to the measure of punishment demanded by the crimes committed, yet the great body remains unexposed, unpunished, and all the more ready and able to continue their nefarious practices, because they have baffled investigation and escaped detection and conviction."

Considerations such as these ought inevitably to lead to the conclusion that it is of no more importance whether a clerk in the city treasurer's, city controller's, or the highway office, be in politics a democrat or republican, than whether he be in his religion a roman catholic, a baptist, a methodist, a presbyterian, or an episcopalian. The imposition of a religious test for such an employment would be regarded as an outrage; yet in what respect is the imposition of a political test more defensible? Is it desirable that a contractor who does work for or furnishes supplies to the city, should appoint the officers who are to pass upon and certify

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to the correctness of his account, or direct its payment? Obviously not. Is it any more desirable that the trustees of the gas works, or some political leader for whom that contractor provides votes on election-day, should appoint the officer who is to pass upon that contractor's accounts? And yet how are tests of this debasing and corrupting character to be eliminated, unless such a system of appointment to office shall be adopted as will render appointments upon political or personal grounds absolutely impossible?

Every man who has had anything to do with local politics, knows that the employés in the various municipal departments are the active political workers, and that their influence is steadily and skilfully exerted in opposition to reform. The practical remedy, the only remedy, for all this, is to enforce by law and practice the rule that all appointments to subordinate offices in the municipal government shall be made upon a system which will exclude favoritism, so that every citizen, whatever his birth, former nationality, religious creed, or political or personal affiliations, shall have an equal opportunity of offering himself for the service of the municipal government, that the city shall have for its service an unrestricted choice among all of its citizens, that the tenure of office shall be during good behavior, and good behavior shall be held to mean the faithful performance of duty to the city, and not the rendering of partisan or personal services. To sum it up, in President Arthur's words, "the rules which should be applied to the management of the public service, should conform, in the main, to such as regulate the conduct of successful private business."

No plan of municipal reform, which does not, as an integral part, include the application of civil service reform rules to the municipal government, will be effective. It is their control of the municipal offices which creates and consolidates the power of our rulers. Deprive them of that control, eliminate from our municipal elections the "cohesive power of public plunder," and there will no longer be political "workers" and "strikers" to intimidate rightful voters for reform, personate absent voters, stuff ballot-boxes, and fraudently thwart the popular will.

This is the question of the hour for the citizens of Philadelphia. Political "bosses" and "rings" will not give up their power without a struggle, and in opposition to them all good citizens, of every

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political creed, must be banded together, and from now until next November there must be earnest work upon the part of all public-spirited citizens to secure the nomination and election of honest and intelligent members of the legislature, who, rightly representing the intelligence of the city, will promote and accomplish the passage of a bill which shall be based upon the plan so ably advocated by Mr. Bullitt.

Mr. Bullitt says "that most serious mischiefs have resulted from the fact that our fundamental law has been the work of men elected to the legislature from all parts of the state, many of whom had no sufficient experience or knowledge to enable them to understand the subject, and no such interest as would induce them to care whether we had a good form of government or not." Yet others believe that the country members of the legislature are, with rare exceptions, honest, and sufficiently interested in the welfare of the city of Philadelphia to aid by their voices and their votes the enactment of any legislative measure of relief which is pressed by all or a great majority of the city representatives, and supported by an earnest and aroused public opinion of the city. But, when the city has for years tamely submitted to misgovernment, which, in its practical effects, was not distinguishable from robbery, and when the city, year after year, returned representatives who had disgraced it, it was not to be expected that the country representatives should trouble themselves to reform abuses for whose removal neither the city members nor their constituents actively exerted themselves.

If Philadelphia will send to the next legislature a delegation, whose members shall be sufficiently intelligent to know what reform is needed, sufficiently earnest to work for its accomplishment, and sufficiently pure and courageous not to be deterred by bribes or threats, the necessary relief will be afforded and the municipal reform bill will become a law. Will the citizens of Philadelphia do their duty in this? C. STUART PATTERSON.

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SCIENCE.

VALUE OF ACCURACY OF OBSERVATION.

THE absurd story of the boy's estimate of the number of cats which he saw in the barn, is not so unique an exaggeration as might at first sight appear. It is certainly not much more extravagant than some of the observations which are recorded from time to time, in the scientific periodicals, by enthusiastic investigators, who are prone, too often, to allow "the wish to become father to the thought," their powers of observation being thereby rendered so abnormally acute that they unconsciously exemplify the wit and wisdom of the distich,—

> "Optics sharp it needs, I ween,
> To see what is not to be seen."

It is related of Rafinesque, that, when a certain new plant, which he described as coming from Central America, was proved to have been a myth, he exclaimed: "Well, if it wasn't there, it ought to have been!"

Some time ago, there appeared in London *Nature* a circumstantial account of an experiment, which, had it succeeded as described, must have set at naught one of the best known laws of magnetic action. Every school-boy is familiar with the curious experiment of the rod of iron suspended, like Mahomet's coffin, in mid-air, by surrounding it with a coil of insulated wire of larger diameter and passing a current of electricity through the wire. The magnetic attraction thus produced, acting with equal force on all sides of the rod, draws it within the core, where it may be sustained without contact with the coil as long as the current passes. Doubtless this experiment suggested to the investigator mentioned above the idea of casting molten iron in a cylindrical mould surrounded by a coil of wire, through which a strong current was passing. The experiment was made, and it was stated that the magnetic attraction of the coil drew the molten iron towards the sides of the mould with such force that the casting was found to be partly hollow in the centre,—an effect such as might possibly have taken place had the mould been rapidly rotated at the time of casting the molten iron. The writer had the curiosity to repeat this experiment, and, although it is true that a little hollow space appeared at the top of the casting, it showed itself just as well

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when no current was passed through the coil and consequently no magnetic action present. Furthermore, it is well known that the most powerful magnet has no influence upon molten iron, or even upon white-hot iron; so that the magnetic attraction could not have commenced until the metal had become solid and its molecules incapable of moving in obedience to its influence. The hollow space was simply due to the shrinking of the iron, which remained fluid longest in the centre of the casting. This shrinkage on cooling is a common property of cast iron, and is a familiar bugbear to every founder.

The power of noting accurately even the most simple object or phenomenon, is much more rare than we might suppose, and its possession is a characteristic of the man of genius. It is by careful observation of the habits of that unattractive and heretofore seemingly useless creature (except to the early bird), the garden worm, that Darwin has recently been enabled to convince us, that, long before the invention of the plough, or even before man existed, "the land was, in fact, regularly ploughed, and still continues to be ploughed, by earth-worms." It is truly said that these facts adduced by Mr. Darwin convey a striking lesson "in the principle that nothing is so minute that it can be despised."

In astronomical work, where it is often necessary to deduce results of the greatest magnitude from the most minute observations, the probable amount of error of each observer of an eclipse or other phenomenon is a very important consideration, which can only be determined by the most careful tests; the "personal equation," as it is called, thus becomes a mathematical factor which must not be neglected in the calculation of results. This personal equation may be said to have both a positive and a negative value; for, while the more enthusiastic observer is apt to err from excess of zeal, the more cautious or lethargic one will often fail to note all that should be seen.

It is not altogether an allegorical expression, that there are "eyes which see not," as Mr. Hamerton has so well shown in his "Thoughts About Art." How many of us go through life without ever realizing that our eyes have to be educated to see, as well as our tongues to speak, and that only the barest outlines of the complex and ever-changing images focussed on the retina ordinarily impress themselves upon the brain? That the education

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of the eye may be brought to a high state of perfection, is shown in numerous ways. There are many delicate processes of manufacture which depend for their practical success upon the nice visual perception of the skilled artisan, who almost unconsciously detects variations in temperature, color, density, etc., of his materials, which are inappreciable to the ordinary eye. The hunter, the mariner, the artist, the scientist, each needs to educate his eye to quick action in his special field of research, before he can hope to become expert in it. The following story, which is quite *à propos*, is related of Agassiz, and it is sufficiently characteristic of this remarkably accurate observer to have the merit of probability. We are told, that, once upon a time, the Professor had occasion to select an assistant from one of his classes. There were a number of candidates for the post of honor, and, finding himself in a quandary as to which one he should choose, the happy thought occurred to him of subjecting three of the more promising students in turn to the simple test of describing the view from his laboratory window, which overlooked the side-yard of the college. One said that he saw merely a board fence and a brick pavement; another added a stream of soapy water; a third detected the color of the paint on the fence, noted a green mould or fungus on the bricks, and evidence of "bluing" in the water, besides other details. It is needless to tell to which candidate was awarded the coveted position. Houdin, the celebrated *prestidigitateur*, attributed his success in his profession mainly to his quickness of perception, which, he tells us in his entertaining autobiography, he acquired by educating his eye to detect a large number of objects at a single glance. His simple plan was to select some shop-window full of a miscellaneous assortment of articles, and to walk rapidly past it a number of times every day, writing down each object which impressed itself upon his mind. In this way, he was able, after a time, to detect instantaneously all of the articles in the window, even though they might be numbered by scores. We remember having read, several years ago, in the *Saturday Review*, a clever and charmingly written article, called "Vague People," which was as true as it was witty, and conveyed a lesson of sufficient value to entitle it to more than a mere ephemeral celebrity.

The power of the mind to appreciate numerical quantities is largely determined by education and practice; thus, the variation

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of a few units in a sum containing several millions seems trifling, while we are accustomed ordinarily to ignore altogether fractions beyond the third or fourth decimal-point. Yet these quantities, though seeming to contract or expand in value according to the proportion which they bear to the whole numbers to which they are subjoined, are as stable as were the laws of the Medes and Persians. The student of the modern atomic theory of matter must learn to acquire clear mental conceptions of particles of less diameter than the one hundred millionth part of an inch and of less weight than the one hundred millionth part of a grain, and to discriminate readily between differing fractions, even when the whole numbers to which they belong are so large as to be entirely inappreciable to the uninitiated; while the astronomer, on the other hand, must grasp multiples whose units are as far beyond the reach of the ordinary intelligence.

Professor Tyndall has given us the following happy simile, which illustrates one of the thoughts which we have here endeavored, however feebly, to convey. He says: "The varying judgments of men on these and other questions are accounted for by the doctrine of relativity, which plays so important a part in philosophy. Two travellers upon the same peak, one having ascended to it from the plain, the other having descended from a higher elevation, will be differently affected by the scene around them. To the one, nature is expanding; to the other, it is contracting; and feelings are sure to differ which have such different antecedent states."

A. E. Outerbridge, Jr.

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UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA.

DR. ROBERT MEADE SMITH, the Demonstrator of Physiology in the University, has been engaged for some time past in the study of intestinal digestion. Our entire ignorance of any positive knowledge of the composition of the secretion of the small intestine, and of its action on the different food-stuffs, depends upon the failure of all attempts as yet to secure a pure secretion, free from pancreatic or biliary juice, and yet keep the intestine in its normal condition. The method of Thiry, the best process yet described, of resecting a loop of intestine, one end of which is closed and the other fastened to the opening in the abdominal walls, while the continuity of the intestine is restored by again uniting the divided canal, has entirely failed to give any reliable results; for, although the isolated loop still has its circulation maintained, the necessary removal of the mucous membrane of the part experimented on from contact with the other intestinal juices and contents of the intestine, and its consequently enforced functional inactivity, renders it impossible to regard its secretions as at all representing a normal intestinal juice.

The method which Dr. Smith has found to give the most reliable results, is to establish a fistula in the duodenum, about six inches below the pancreatic duct, using a tube similar to the ordinary Bernard gastric canula, the inner plate of which is rolled on itself, so as to form a section of a tube, and thus adapt itself to the curved anterior walls of the intestine; the stitches which fasten the tube in the gut also serve to unite the canal to the abdominal walls and to close the wound in the latter. Dogs subjected to this operation usually do well, and in from two to three weeks are entirely recovered from the effects of the operation. When it is desired to collect the intestinal secretion, the animal is allowed to fast for thirty-six hours, so as to remove all *débris* of food from the intestine, and a thin rubber bulb, with a narrow tube, is then passed in through the tube into the intestinal canal, and carried just below the opening of the pancreatic duct. The bulb is then slowly distended with warm water, and the intestine thus entirely occluded and all fluids prevented from passing from above downwards. Another similar bulb is then passed down the intestine for about twelve inches, and distended, and the portion of intestine between the two, communicating with the canula, washed out with distilled

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water. The dog is then supported by straps around his body, which only restrain him when he attempts to move, and the secretion which flows from the tube is caught in a funnel and collected. In this manner, from twenty to forty cubic centimetres of intestinal juice, absolutely free from pancreatic juice and bile, as shown by the chlorine and Gmelin's tests, can be collected in an hour, while by Thiry's method only a few drops are to be obtained.

Dr. Smith finds that intestinal juice thus collected has an invariably alkaline reaction, with a specific gravity of 1018., is pale yellow in color, and filters with difficulty. Analysis shows that in one hundred parts of the filtered juice there are:

Water,	98.860001
Albumen, Ferments, Mucin,	.547560
Chlorides of Sodium, Magnesium and Potassium, Sulphates and Carbonates of Sodium and Potassium, Carbonate of Calcium,	.592410
	99.999971

Two ferments have been isolated, one converting starch into sugar and the other changing cane-sugar into grape-sugar.

Dr. Smith is making a thorough study of the chemical composition of the secretion thus collected, and the digestive action of its ferments, and his results promise to be most interesting and valuable, and to throw some positive information on this obscure subject.

Thomas J. Ashton, Esq., a member of the bar, died on the 21st of February last. He was a graduate of the Department of Arts and of the Law Department of the University. He was vice-president and one of the most active members of the Society of the Alumni of the Law Department, and his loss will be much felt. At a special meeting of the board of managers of this society, held Monday, February 27th, the following minute, expressive of their respect and esteem, was ordered to be entered on the records of the Society and sent to his family:

"Minute.—The Board of Managers of the Society of the Alumni of the Law Department of the University of Pennsylvania sincerely mourn the death of Thomas J. Ashton, Esq., Vice-President of the Society. For many years, Mr. Ashton has been an active member of this body, and his untimely death has left a vacant place in our

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affections that cannot be filled. Energetic, prompt, and devoted to the interests of the Law School, a careful lawyer, a brave soldier, an upright citizen, and, withal, a courteous, high-minded gentleman, he fulfilled the measure of his duties in all the relations of life. He has been taken from us in the prime and vigor of manhood, with apparently a long career of usefulness before him; but, though his life was all too brief, he has left a record of work well done, in which his family, his friends and the community of his native city may well take pride."

The Trustees of the University, at a recent meeting, removed all age-restrictions upon candidates for admission to the Collegiate Departments. The average age of the classes for the last eight years had been shown to be over seventeen; and the Trustees accordingly argued that the future could be trusted wholly to the requirements in scholarship. The result, it is to be hoped, will not be the lowering of the average age, but the gradual, imperceptible raising of the standard. For, while the Faculty cannot henceforth say to a student who comes badly prepared, "You are too young to be admitted," neither can a student who comes badly prepared make the quasi-demand sometimes made, "I am old enough to be admitted, and do not wish to wait another year." The age of admission will now be simply the age at which a man comes *fully* prepared.

The Franklin Scientific Society's lectures have been unusually successful this winter. The subjects have been judiciously varied, two lectures being illustrated; but all the lectures have treated worthy subjects in a scholarlike way. The audiences have been more than good,—in some cases, very large; and this fact shows a popular demand for information upon important subjects given in a serious way, that the University should certainly respect. Such lectures will never appeal to the crowds that go only to be amused; but "the cultured few" seems to be a larger term numerically than has often been supposed; and the University can safely assume that it has a duty to this "few."

Yale and Harvard both give public evening courses of this sort. What will the University do?

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BRIEF MENTION.

MR. DAWES has introduced into the United States Senate a bill for the reform of the civil service which differs in some important particulars from that presented by Mr. Pendleton. The Senator from Massachusetts agrees with the Senator from Ohio in making entry into the civil service depend upon competitive examination in specified cases, in basing promotion upon the same test, and in requiring a probationary service of six months before the appointment of successful candidates be made permanent. Mr. Dawes, in his speech advocating the passage of his bill, disclaims any intention of antagonizing Mr. Pendleton, and proclaims himself a "contributor to the same great endeavor," considering the features in his own bill rather in the light of amendments than anything else to the provisions of the Ohio Senator's plan.

It will be remembered that Mr. Pendleton's bill provides for the appointment of a commission to supervise the examinations. Mr. Dawes considers this machinery expensive and cumbersome, and as interfering with the direct responsibility of the heads of departments for the work of their subordinates, and proposes, in place of it, that the examinations shall be supervised by a board composed of three persons in each executive department, which board shall be appointed by the President, and shall, "until changed by him, conduct all examinations for admission into or promotion in said departments, under rules and regulations to be approved and promulgated by him." The bill goes on to declare "that the provisions of this act shall apply to custom-houses, post-offices, and all other bureaux and offices connected with the civil service in which more than twenty persons are employed, [Mr. Pendleton's bill makes fifty the number,] and the head of the department which controls such custom-house, bureau, or office, may designate a board, to consist of one of the board of examiners in such department and two others employed in any such post-office, custom-house, or office, not situated in the city of Washington, to conduct the examinations provided for in this act."

Another point in which Mr. Dawes's bill differs from Mr. Pendleton's, is that the former provides that appointments, after examination, shall be made "from among the *three* highest on the list

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of those so examined, marked, and graded;" while Mr. Pendleton's only requires that the places shall be filled "by selections from among those graded highest as the results of such competitive examinations." Mr. Dawes's bill provides that this act shall not "apply to any person whose annual compensation, as fixed by law, is *less than nine hundred dollars*, nor to any person employed merely as a laborer or workman, nor, unless by direction of the Senate, to any person who has been nominated for confirmation by the Senate." Mr. Pendleton's bill has the same provisions, except that it says nothing about those "whose annual compensation, as fixed by law, is less than nine hundred dollars."

Why Mr. Dawes's bill makes this exception, is not apparent. Indeed, there seems to be an omission in both bills to guard against the appointment into the service of those whom political bias may seek to introduce as "heelers" or "rounders," and whose annual compensation would be apt to be "less than nine hundred dollars." Mr. Dawes's bill, however, provides that "the President is *authorized, in his discretion*, to apply such examination also to officials with a salary of less than nine hundred dollars." It would be much better to make proper examinations *obligatory* upon these as well as others, and not leave it to anyone's "discretion" whether they shall be had or not.

On the whole, with the exception of the clause providing, in Mr. Dawes's bill, for the selection of appointees from among the *three* graded highest after examination, we are inclined to think Mr. Pendleton's will most certainly secure the benefits to the civil service which both gentlemen desire. It may cost a little more; but the money will be well spent in securing a uniform system of examinations and in avoiding the exercise of various acts of "discretion" in the carrying out of the rules, which might in some cases practically evade them. Mr. Dawes claims that his bill simply embodies in its provisions the actual method of working the New York post-office by Mr. James. This may be very true; but it is also true that not *every* head of a post-office or a custom-house, etc., is a Mr. James. *Voilà!* Give us plenty of Jameses, and, (if we could secure a perpetuation and universal appointment of such men as heads of departments,) we might not need rules for Civil Service Reform. The object of such rules is to make every man in such positions a James in spite of himself. The bill which will

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most effectually secure this end, will be the best for the country. Of the two now before it, Mr. Pendleton's seems most adapted to secure it. The subject, however, is one for earnest discussion; and, in the improved temper of many Senators and Representatives with regard to it, we may hope, much more cheerfully than we could a year ago, that some practical conclusion will soon be reached,—that legislation, and not the possibly good intentions or "discretion" of any man or set of men, will free the country from the curse of the "spoils system" and those who uphold it. J. A. H.

"*Oeszehasonlitó Irodalomtörténelmi Lapok*," perhaps, will not look to an English reader as a very inviting combination of words. Will "*Acta Comparationis Litterarum Universarum*" strike the ear as better? These are two out of the eleven titles, in different languages, which form the heading of the *Journal of Comparative Literature*, published at Koloszvar, Hungary. Its columns are open to high-class, critical contributions in every language, and a strange, polyglot appearance is presented by each number. Its object is to widen the field that confines those who write but their mother tongue, striving to diffuse among the world's thinkers the knowledge of their respective workings. It has been especially rich in folk-songs of various nations, and devotes an exclusive department to matter relating to the celebrated Hungarian poet and patriot, Petöfi.

The chief editors are the learned Dr. Hugo Von Meltzel and Dr. Brassai, of the University of Koloszvar, who are assisted by ninety-six *socii operis*, representing every spot on earth and every shade of literary activity. Australia and Austria, Sicily and Scotland, Amsterdam and Philadelphia, Paris and Mexico, Constantinople and Calcutta, Rome and Japan, are but a few of the countries and cities whose writers are numbered among the co adjutors in the work.

The motto of the magazine is the very true passage from Schiller: "*Miserum est et vile problema unius tantum nationis scriptorem doctum esse; philosophico quidem ingenio hic quasi terminus nullo pacto erit acceptus.*" H. P., Jr.

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NEW BOOKS.

COUNTRY PLEASURES: THE CHRONICLE OF A YEAR, CHIEFLY IN A GARDEN. By George Milner. Boston: Roberts Brothers. 1881.

The love of nature is like the appreciation of harmony in music. To a large part of mankind, the sense seems to be wanting. The man in whom it is not inborn may, perhaps, find pleasure in the beauty of landscape or flower, just as he who is without an ear for music may enjoy to some extent the melody of a pretty tune; but the true love for nature, which finds beauty at all seasons, in the dreariness of cloud and rain, as well as the glory of sunshine, in the melancholy of change and decay in the fall of the year, as in the joy of bursting spring, is to him a thing incomprehensible. "The love of Nature's works," in a mind like that of the author of the little work before us, is well described in the quotation from Cowper with which he introduces his first chapter:

> "Neither business, crowds,
> Nor habits of luxurious city life,
> Whatever else they smother of true worth
> In human bosoms, quench it, or abate."

The work consists of notes taken throughout the year 1878, chiefly in a large garden in "an ancient parish on the southeastern side of Lancashire," quite near a large and growing city,—presumably Manchester. Some are made in the surrounding country, and those for the month of August in the Island of Arran. They are interesting, rather as lively pen-pictures, and suggestions of how much of beauty and instruction, to him who will see it, may be found in commonplace surroundings, than as containing any original scientific information.

The very numerous quotations from the English poets with which the book is filled, are, perhaps, its most noticeable feature. Let the author make his own apology for this: "The reader is asked to regard them, not as excrescences, nor even as extraneous gems selected for the enrichment of the text, but as something correlative with, and indeed essential to, the idea and plan of that which has been attempted. It has been the writer's habit to associate certain passages of literature with certain scenes of natural beauty, or with particular phases of country life, in such an intimate way that the pleasure given by the one was in no small degree dependent upon the existence and recognition of the other."

The author, like many another, has evidently received inspiration from White of Selborne; and to a habit of keen and close observation worthy of a disciple of White he unites a poetic vein which adds much to the charm of his descriptions. For instance: "No other wind gives the shrill whistle that the north does. The

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south sighs, the southwest sobs, the northwest blusters; but the true north seems to blow a thin, keen note through a high-pitched reed." "It is at night that the feeling of winter is most strong; and the *dumbness* of it is the first thing that strikes you; there is much to see, but nothing to hear. The water-courses are frozen; the birds are all hidden,—who knows where?—and the winds are still; but how beautiful are the white, leaning roofs of our old homestead, and the red glimmer in the windows of the neighboring farm, seen across a long stretch of snow; and how marvellously the stars seem to dance among the black branches of the trees!"

What dweller in Southern Pennsylvania will not feel the truth of this comment on July? "There is no doubt, also, that Nature, generally, is beginning to assume an air of gravity, if not of solemnity. The childlike joyousness is gone. If I am asked to account for this, I can only answer that it seems to me to be chiefly owing to the deep color of the woods and the silence of the birds."

There is some rather quaint and amusing account of the customs and superstitions of the inhabitants of neighboring districts of Lancashire, out of the way of the frequented highroads. Considering the nearness to a great town, some of them seem to be curiously primitive and secluded. Ghosts, fairies and boggarts still abound, undisturbed by the shriek of the steam-whistle, greatly to the satisfaction of the visitor, of course, but to the terror of the peasantry. There is something quite piteous in the absurdity of the following prayer, actually used, Mr. Milner says, until recently, by an old crone before she retired to rest:

> "Fro' o' mak o' witches, an' wizarts, an' weasel-skins,
> An' o' mak o' feaw black things 'ut creepen up deytches,
> Wi' great lung tails,—may the Lord deliver us!"

We put down this charming little book with the feeling that the author has not been presumptuous in the hope, expressed in the preface, that "it will, at least, show how far it is possible, even in the neighborhood of a large town, to study the common aspects of nature, and to interest the circle of a family in the simple pleasures and home-bred observances of a country life."

W. W. M.

THE NEW INFIDELITY. By Augustus Radcliffe Grote. Cloth. 12mo. Pp. 101. $1.25. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. (Porter & Coates.)

In the preface to this book, the author states that it is written for to-day, and, while probably rather embodying some of the current shades of opinion than discussing the merits of the state of affairs between religion and science, he has endeavored to show that there is an essential difference between the religious temper of the Aryan races and the Semitic. He has also, so he goes on to say, tried to show that revealed religion is not directly attacked by the discov-

eries of science. In the concluding sentences of the preface, the author, in alluding to the alleged conflict between religion and science, says, most truly and sensibly: "On both sides, then, there is abundant cause for toleration and good temper at the present juncture. The case between religion and science will at last come to a proper and peaceful conclusion, if fairly stated by both parties with the view of bringing out the real merits and following all possible lines of agreement with charity and good will." The book is an interesting one, and full of thought which, whether one agrees with it or not, is entitled to respect from the spirit in which it is expressed.

Difficulties of belief are stated which many persons feel; and the author's views seem to be the result of varied reading and honest reflection, joined with an earnest and tender love of truth. He draws attention to the fact that "there stands outside of the Church a growing multitude. They are trying to find out the truth; they have good hearts, and are full of love for mankind. What is to become of them, and how can they be best used in social progress?" The final result of his cogitations may be understood by the concluding periods of his book, which are as follows:

"To lose one's self in the work of helping others becomes the resource alike of the believer and the infidel. For this bright, suffering, immense world presses on us as a problem, which, if the orthodox answers incorrectly, the agnostic simply avoids. To both, the need of activity in a good direction becomes a necessity of their lives. What is needed is a mutual charity and acknowledgment that the ends of both are pure. And, if the one is sustained by visions of immortals who rejoice with him, and who, at his translation, will open their celestial ranks to him at the bidding of a merciful God, he should not judge harshly his brother, who, through no fault of his own, is deprived of this resource and passes through a life full of riddles to a death full of darkness, his only comfort the consciousness that he has striven for truth and rectitude, and that he leaves behind some good accomplished. With him, as with the new infidelity which he represents, there is a full sympathy with the conditions which have produced orthodoxy, and there is no need that he should be told to refrain from scoffing at a tragedy in which he himself is an actor,—wearing about his brows a crown whose thorns do pierce him. If for him the butterflies, like flying flowers, only give him pleasure from their beauty, and convey no lesson of immortality, it is not that he has starved Psyche, but that her eyelids drooped and turned to marble as he gazed, and left him in the world alone. He can only look for a wider Elysium, a more liberal Paradise, the eternity of matter and space; while he humbly hopes that what he has done in this world may have been in the right direction and prove a benefit to those who come after."

J. A. H.

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SIR RICHARD WHITTINGTON, LORD MAYOR OF LONDON. By Walter Besant and James Rice. New York: G. Putnam's Sons. 1881. Vol. VIII. "New Plutarch Series."

The aspiration of the American school-boy to be some day the President of the United States finds its parallel in the dream of his English brother that he will become Lord Mayor of London. Apart from the interest which the biography of a Lord Mayor possesses in connection with such a parallel, there is a great deal in the history of Sir Richard Whittington which must expressly attract the people of America,—the land of self-made men,—from the fact that he was one of the earliest examples of the value of self-reliance as an element of success in life. A wholesome lesson may be learned from the struggles and successes of one who was among the first to be selected by mankind as the creature of individual effort in the pathways outside of the trade of arms. The chances for success in his time were not as to-day; for, though the competition was not so great, yet the avenues were less numerous and narrower, and the heights of success more rugged.

Though the name of James Rice appears upon the title-page as one of the authors of this work, Mr. Besant states in the preface that the writing was done by himself, because of his associate's illness, Mr. Rice having handed to him such notes as he had made.

Necessarily, from the skill and experience of the authors, the diction is good; but the work impresses one as a faithful compilation of history from the records of the British Museum, rather than the biography which might have been expected from the very interesting novelists who are its authors. This is due, no doubt, to the very limited amount of material from which to compile a life of Whittington,—the authors having been compelled to make the work a history of the people, manners and customs of the fourteenth century, rather than a personal history of its subject; for, though later investigations have brought Whittington's name out from the mists of legend, they have also taken away from his life many of the details which successive romancers had woven about it.

Very interesting descriptions of old London and of the business and pleasures of its inhabitants will be found within the pages of this work, and comprise its chief interest; indeed, so far as it is to be considered as a biography, the "Legend of Sir Richard Whittington," an old tale of very ancient date, which forms an appendix to the book, contains almost the whole of the personal history.

The authors think that Whittington was neither a country clown nor a low-born town lad, but was of gentle birth, his father being a knight and a squire, and that, therefore, though it was to his pluck that he owed his success, yet he did not labor under disadvantages of birth. The cat story is discussed at length, and the conclusion reached, that, freed from its exaggerations, it is true.

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The work is introduced by a very interesting account of the charters of London and the difficulties of the citizens in maintaining the rights guaranteed by them, and concludes with the usual excellent index of the "New Plutarch Series."

S. W. C.

THE OPIUM HABIT AND ALCOHOLISM. By F. H. Hübbard, M. D. New York: A. S. Barnes & Co.

That the habitual abuse of the various narcotics, particularly opium, is rapidly increasing in this country, is proved by the number of books that have appeared within the past year, describing the manner in which these habits are acquired, their injurious effects upon the system, and the treatment to be employed in breaking them off. In the little volume before us, the attempt is made to cover rather a wide field, the subjects considered being the opium, alcohol, chloral, chloroform, bromide of potassium and Indian hemp habits. The author regards the opium habit as a disease, formidable in nature, but still amenable to treatment, the functions of the mind and body resuming their normal activity as soon as the pathological conditions created by the drug have been removed. In illustration, the histories of a number of cases, both simple and complex, are cited, together with the methods employed in their successful treatment, attention being called to the importance of removing any painful affection that may have originally led to the use of the narcotic. Of those addicted to the abuse of alcoholic drinks, six classes are made, including the periodical drunkard, the individual who takes a single and regular early morning dram, those who imbibe many times each day without becoming intoxicated, those who drink moderately every day, and sometimes only become grossly inebriated, those who after drinking one glass of liquor lose all power of self-control, and drink until they become stupefied, and, finally, the confirmed dipsomaniacs. A curious method is given for destroying the taste for alcohol, consisting in saturating every morsel of food taken with a mixture containing whiskey, sherry wine, port, lager beer, gin, cider, rum and champagne; the patient may relish this diet for a short time, but soon grows disgusted, eats very little of the saturated food, vomits nearly all he does swallow, and, after being brought to the verge of starvation, is said never again to be able to endure either the taste or smell of liquor. Dr. Hubbard advises that every young man should be so treated. Beyond the unqualified recommendation of bleeding in *delirium tremens*, the plan of treating alcoholism is not markedly different from that usually adopted. The chloral, bromide of potassium and chloroform habits arc considered more briefly than the opium or alcohol habits, and very little is said about the Indian hemp habit.

Dr. Hubbard's book is, to say the least, unsatisfactory; several chapters have been inserted—on phthisis and dyspepsia,—which

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seem to be foreign to the subject-matter, there are signs of careless proof-reading, and an unfortunate mixture of English and Latin is noticeable in the numerous formulæ given. That the work did not satisfy the author himself, is shown by a remark made in the introduction, namely: "I take this opportunity to inform my readers that a growing general practice has made it necessary for me to prosecute my labor during the limited time at my disposal between calls. Anyone similarly situated will appreciate the difficulty I have experienced in preparing a connected history of my methods."

HAND-BOOK OF LIGHT GYMNASTICS. By Lucy B. Hunt, Instructor in Gymnastics at Smith College, Northampton, Mass. Boston: Lee & Shepard. 1882.

The system of "light gymnastics" introduced by Dr. Dio Lewis consists in the employment of light wooden dumb-bells, wands and rings, in certain movements of the body, and marches, by which all of the muscles of the trunk and limbs are brought into play, without that risk of overstraining attendant upon the use of heavy weights, upright ladders, parallel bars, and the various paraphernalia of the old-fashioned gymnasium. The tendency of the gymnast of the old school was to exercise one set of muscles and neglect others; so that, while the arms and chest, for instance, became beautifully developed, the lower portion of the trunk and legs remained comparatively puny; in order, too, to endure the violent exercise, it was necessary for the boy or man to be naturally strong and athletic. The new system, on the contrary, as it calls all the muscles into action, develops the body symmetrically, and, from its gentleness and capacity of being graduated to the needs of the individual, is adapted to those who exercise to become strong; for example, children of both sexes, and men who lead sedentary lives. On this account, it has become very popular, and, with various modifications, has been introduced into many of our schools and colleges, since the advantages of a combined mental and physical training in the preparation for active life have been more uniformly recognized. In the introduction of the little book before us, the authoress states the conditions to be observed by those who undertake the exercises; the most important of these are the following: "Never overwork, particularly at the beginning, and avoid all exposure and draughts while resting between and after the exercises;" "go into the gymnasium regularly, without omitting a day, and always in a dress that is correct in every particular." The book proper consists of a full description of the wand, ring, dumb-bell, and other exercises, with a chapter on the gymnasium dress for girls.

To those who wish to learn the different exercises included under the head of "light gymnastics," or to those engaged in teaching others, Miss Hunt's little book will prove of value.

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AN ARTISTIC TREATISE ON THE HUMAN FIGURE; CONTAINING HINTS ON PROPORTION, COLOR AND COMPOSITION. By Henry Warren. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1881. 12mo. Pp. 82. Illustrated.

This little volume is the sixth of the series of "Putnam's Art Handbooks," edited by Susan N. Carter, Principal of the Women's Art Schools, Cooper Union, New York, and merits the same commendation that has been bestowed upon its predecessors in the series. It is reprinted from the fourth London edition, and the comments of the editor, given in foot-notes, seem to be very judicious and proper. The student will find the treatment of the subject more general than the title would imply, as may be seen from the chapter-headings,—"Drawing," "Different Kinds of Line," "Shading," "Proportion and Drawing of the Figure," "Composition," "Construction of a Picture," and "Color,"—and, considering the brevity of the work, the chapters are remarkably clear. Mr. Warren's opinion, "that the drawing of the human figure is best brought about by the previous study of what are called still-life objects, and more particularly of architectual forms," will not be generally accepted, although we are not by any means sure but that he is right. This book is intended, of course, only for beginners, and by them it will be found quite useful.

C. H. H.

THE VICAR'S PEOPLE. By George Manville Fenn. Swd. 16mo. Pp. 451. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. (Porter & Coates.)

Scene: Carnac, a sea-coast village of West Cornwall, with several abandoned mines which had been productive only to those who "had gone in on the ground floor" and sold out at a profit to people who found their mistake in buying when it was too late.

One might suppose that the *Vicar* was the principal personage; but he is not. The book is true to its title; and a very poor set some of the people are. The hero of the story is *Geoffrey Trethierch*, a mining engineer, and a fine fellow, who comes to Carnac to make a reputation and a fortune. He does both; but in a way different, during part of the story, from his anticipations and his hopes. *John Tregenna* is the *Iago* of the plot; but the reader will be satisfied with his fate. The characters are strongly drawn and the story is full of interest from first to last,—an interest none the less from the fact that results seem to be anticipated from the first, only to be found doubtful as the plot thickens. The perusal of the novel will be found a very pleasant break in the course of more solid reading.

JOHN BARLOW'S WARD. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. "Trans-Atlantic Novels Series." Pp. 287.

The old story, of course: unselfish lover, misunderstood wife,

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suffering of both husband and wife in consequence of the misunderstanding, final clearing up, and a supposed poetic justice in marrying off the somewhat fiendishly selfish sister-in-law to a "High Church parson," who "has a little money, and is rather an invalid," and "who means to travel in Italy with his wife." The type and paper are good; and, if people *will* read in railroad cars, this book will help to render a ride less tiresome. J. A. H.

THE FORTUNATE ISLAND, AND OTHER STORIES. By Max Adeler, Boston: Lee & Shepard. 1882.

Mr. Max Adeler tells us, by way of preface, that, "if the tales herein contained are not so amusing as others he has written, they will, perhaps, be found to be quite as entertaining, and possibly, in some particulars, more instructive." We shall always hold it a merit in a humorist when we find that he can abandon a vein which he has industriously worked for a number of years, and yet hold us as willing readers.

In the tales comprising the volume before us, we note an evident desire to drop the boisterous fun which characterized the earlier work of Max Adeler, for gentle, yet pointed, satire of the follies and foibles of the day. While in "The Fortunate Island" and in "The City of Burlesque" there is still much to remind us of the grotesquely comic of the Max Adeler of old, we find no traces of it in the sketch entitled "An Old Fogy," which, for grace, feeling, and a quiet charm of manner, seems to us, at least, superior to the other stories that make up the volume. X.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

Our Homes. ("American Health Primers.") By Henry Hartshorne, A. M., M. D. Swd. 16mo. Pp. 150. $0.30. Philadelphia: P. Blakiston, Son & Co.

Epitome of Post-Biblical History, for Jewish-American Sabbath Schools. Adapted from the German of Dr. David Leimdorfer, and considerably enlarged. By Sigmund Hecht. Cloth. 8vo. Pp. 130. $0.50. Cincinnati: Bloch & Co.

The St. Clair Papers. The Life and Public Services of Arthur St. Clair, Soldier of the Revolutionary War, President of the Continental Congress, and Governor of the Northwestern Territory. With his Correspondence, and other papers. Arranged and annotated by William Henry Smith. 2 volumes. Cincinnati: Robert Clarke & Co.

The Gospel in the Stars; or, Primæval Astronomy. By Joseph A. Seiss, D. D. Cloth. 12mo. Pp. 450. $1.50. Philadelphia: E. Claxton & Co.

Marriage and Parentage. Cloth. 12mo. Pp. 185. New York: M. L. Holbrook. (E. Claxton & Co.)

John Quincy Adams. ("American Statesmen.") By John S. Morse, Jr. Cloth. 12mo. Pp. 315. $1.25. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. (E. Claxton & Co.)

Studies in Mediæval History. By Charles J. Stillé, LL. D. Cloth. 12mo. Pp. 473. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co.

Morocco: Its People and Places. By Edmondo de Amicis. Translated by C. Rollin-Tilton. Cloth. 12mo. Pp. 374. $2.00. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. (Porter & Coates.)

Garfield's Place in History. An Essay. By Henry C. Pedder. Cloth. Pp. 104. $1.25. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. (Porter & Coates.)

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THE

PENN MONTHLY.

MAY, 1882.

ART EDUCATION AND ART PATRONAGE IN THE UNITED STATES.

I.

SOME years ago, William Morris Hunt, the artist to whom we owe the mural paintings in the Capitol at Albany, was invited to lecture at Yale College. In reply to the invitation, he wrote a long letter, declining the honor, which he finally deemed it best to suppress, substituting therefor a short and formal note. The letter was, however, preserved, and Dr. Henry C. Angell gave it to the public in his "Records of W. M. Hunt," which appeared originally in the *Atlantic Monthly*, and were afterwards published in book form. From this letter the following extracts are taken:—

"One capable artist, with his assistants, employed as formerly, would produce more good workers than all the schools in the country, and with this difference: that works would be produced, instead of theories and advice and teachers. If good art is produced, take advantage of the fact, instead of inveigling hundreds into an occupation where not one in a thousand can make a living, unless he resort to talking, toadying, or speculation. . . . It seems to me high time that something should be done to encourage producers. The country is being overrun with art-teachers and lecturers, because we don't want doers, but talkers. When we really want art, there will be a call for artists to paint, and producers will be respected, employed and encouraged. The world seems to want machines to manufacture artists, poets, statesmen

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and philosophers; but when these exist, neither their work nor their opinion is wanted. One is invited cordially to join the gang, and produce what he is not to produce—works. . . . . If Michael Angelo and Titian were living to-day, they would not be called upon to paint. They would be listened to by the wise, and told that the Greek only could produce art. Were they even to lecture from Maine to Georgia, artists would not necessarily rise up in their wake." .

William Morris Hunt is responsible for many queer things, painted as well as spoken, but nothing will be found in all the writing on art that has of late years afflicted the country, showing a better appreciation of the present artistic situation in the United States, and going more thoroughly to the very root of the question which it is the purpose of these papers to discuss, than the extracts just quoted. They contain the pithiest statement yet made of the strangely anomalous and dangerous condition into which art and artists have been forced in our country,—a statement which is all the more weighty, as coming from one who was himself an artist. It may be suggested, however, that it is simply the outcome of a mind embittered and diseased by unsatisfied ambition. But it needs only to be amplified, to convince all thoughtful persons that this is not so. To undertake this amplification will be my first and principal task.

We have heard a good deal, lately, of the great artistic development within these United States, and certainly the interest we have shown in matters of art has increased most marvellously. But it seems about time to stop in our career, and to examine what the development has led to. So far as I can see, the result may be summed up briefly thus:—An increase of schools, of artistic societies of all sorts, and of exhibitions; and an enrichment of technical methods, which latter, however, is due mainly to influences from beyond the sea. "Only this and nothing more." *

"The world seems to want machines to manufacture artists, poets, statesmen and philosophers; but when these exist, neither their work nor their opinion is wanted. One is invited cordially to join the gang and produce what he is not to produce—works." That is what Hunt said, and Hunt was right. It suits the present state of affairs among us, exactly.

* I ignore the museums, which are the most promising results of our "development," as they have only a secondary bearing upon the question under discussion.

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As evidence, I submit the following facts:

From a statement which I have lately made up, I find that there are at least thirty special schools in the United States in which "art" is taught. One-half of these schools are devoted to the training of artists proper and teachers of art, and the number of pupils attending them amounts to over 2,400. The other half comprises the schools for designers, skilled artisans, etc., and the attendance in them is between 3,000 and 4,000. With this second division of the army of learners, however, we are not concerned. If the schools which these artisans attend make them, indeed, more skilled, and do not corrupt them into unskilled artists, we will vote them a blessing. Our business lies more immediately with the 2,400, the great majority of whom are women.

Vasari, in the introduction to the third part of his "Lives," exults over the fact that, owing to then modern improvements, it was possible for an artist in his day to produce six pictures in one year, whereas formerly it took six years to produce one picture. We can beat that, as everyone knows quite well from the auction sales of some of our artists, who turn out seventy-five to one hundred pictures yearly with the greatest ease, even if we must admit that these pictures are not great frescoes or altar-pieces. But in spite of this fruitfulness of our painters, we will accept the modest sixteenth century estimate, and will call six works per annum the producing capacity of each artist. Now, if we place the course of study in our schools at four years, which will give us an average of 600 pupils in each class, we shall have a yearly accession of 600 to the ranks of our artists, with a producing capacity of 3,600 works per annum. Furthermore, if, for argument's sake, we assume that there were no artists in the country when these young men and women began to study (which is manifestly untrue), and if we vouchsafe to each of them a life of only thirty years after they have left school (which is little enough, as artists are notoriously long-lived), we shall have, in thirty years from the time the first of the 2,400 entered school, 18,000 artists, with a producing capacity of 108,000 works per annum! And this upon the presumption that the number of pupils remains stationary, while one of the great arguments for our development is drawn from the fact that the attendance increases from year to year. I know well enough, of course, that not all of these students will reach the aim with

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which they entered upon their career. But we can discount the figures given to our heart's content, we can kill off as many of these unfortunates as we please, we may even say that fully one-half will never be producers, and still the number left will be simply appalling.

I argue, then, that we are producing altogether too many artists, and my argument is still further borne out by these figures:—

In the year 1881 there were exhibited in the leading exhibitions of the six leading cities of the United States, about 6,500 works of art. Nearly all these works were by American artists, and nearly all of them were for sale; and although some of them are here counted more than once, having travelled from city to city in quest of purchasers, it is easily seen that the number given is very far from covering the whole number of works produced during the year. For, as I have before stated, these figures are taken from the catalogues of the leading exhibitions, such as that of the National Academy of Design, in half a dozen of the leading cities only, leaving unaccounted for at least twenty other cities in which exhibitions were held and reported upon in the papers, and all the "special sales," "artists' sales," auction sales, and dealers' exhibitions held in the year 1881.

Another fact which speaks volumes is this, that, with all this machinery of exhibitions, auctions and dealers, our artists are still complaining of insufficient facilities for selling.

And this leads us to inquire into the success of our exhibitions. The large number of exhibitions and sales held during the year may be a sign of active demand, and of a healthy state of the market. The test will be found in the monetary returns.

At the last exhibition of works by living American artists, held at the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, there were sold, out of 258 works, two small pictures, and the Museum itself expended a few hundred dollars on small sculptures. At the exhibition of the Boston Art Club, January, 1881, there were sold, out of 289 works by 181 artists, none. At the water-color exhibition of the same club, in the spring of 1881, there were sold, out of 475 works by 229 artists, 50, amounting to $2,500. At the exhibition of the Massachusetts Charitable Mechanic Association, Boston, fall of 1881, there were sold, out of 462 works (not including etchings, etc.,) by 278 artists, four canvasses, amounting to $650.

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Things are not, however, as bad everywhere as they are in Boston. The two most successful exhibitions of 1881 were those of the American Water-Color Society, and the National Academy of Design, both of New York.

At the former, the sales amounted to $32,000. But the catalogue showed 803 exhibits by 266 artists, so that, had the proceeds been divided pro rata, each artist would have received $121.* At the National Academy, with 438 exhibitors and 752 exhibits, the sales were reported at $42,838 for 120 works, which, divided among the exhibitors, would have given each artist $96. And it must, furthermore, be borne in mind that the prices reported—in these cases as in all other cases,—are "catalogue prices;" that is to say, asking prices which in very many instances are far from representing the actual selling prices.

Again, the total amount realized in the year 1881, in ten of the leading exhibitions of which reports were attainable, was $114,104,—always at "catalogue prices." In these same exhibitions there were shown 4,955 works, which we will reduce to 3,500, to eliminate wood-cuts, etchings, and works counted more than once. But even so, if the proceeds, *as reported*, had been divided per canvas, each would have brought its author less than $33, out of which sum would have had to be paid the frame, and, in some instances, the carriage to and from the exhibitions. To this it may be added that every one of the so-called "artists' sales" of the year 1881, that is to say, the auction sales arranged by the artists themselves, of which I have seen reports, were failures.

How many hopes must have been blasted, how many mouths must even have gone unfed, if these exhibitors were all dependent upon these exhibitions! And sadder still to think of is the fate of those who were turned away. At the National Academy alone, quite as many works as found a place on the walls were absolutely refused! † Nevertheless, the results of the year 1881 are lauded as extremely satisfactory, the Academy exhibition having been, I believe, the most successful in point of sales ever held. It is within

* The figures at the Water-Color Exhibition of 1882 were nearly the same: Number of exhibitors, 243; sales, $31,000; pro rata, $128.

† At the Water-Color Exhibition of 1882, the proportion was still more unfavorable, as, out of about 1,600 works offered, about 1,000 were refused. This, as the reader will remember, led to the Exhibition of Rejected Water-Colors.

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the memory of all interested in such matters, that there were hardly any sales at the Academy exhibitions. Some years ago, a regular saleswoman was engaged, and she did better. But the comparatively brilliant results of the late exhibitions are mainly due to the efficiency of the gentleman who at present manages the sales. That his is the triumph, may be gathered from the fact that his advent in the Philadelphia exhibitions has been followed by similar results,—a fact which reminds me of the apparently paradoxical, but in reality severely logical, saying of a friend, that in a certain city of the United States, which shall remain nameless, no pictures are *bought;* they are all *sold!*

Art is "an occupation," said William M. Hunt, "where not one in a thousand can make a living, unless he resort to talking, toadying, or speculation." That is precisely the meaning of my friend's paradox.

In the face of these facts it behooves us, for the sake of humanity, as well as for the sake of art, to pause, and give serious consideration to our present system of art education and art patronage.

"If good art is produced," said Mr. Hunt, "take advantage of the fact, instead of inveigling hundreds into an occupation where not one in a thousand can make a living." In other words: "Do not induce more and more young men and women to apply themselves to art, so long as you have not work enough to do even for the good artists already among you."

Webster defines the verb *inveigle* as follows: "To persuade to something evil by deceptive arts or flattery; to entice; to seduce; to wheedle." It is a hard word to use in the light of this definition; yet I fear that Mr. Hunt was justified in using it.

But, before I proceed, I must beg of my readers most earnestly that they will not misunderstand what follows, as I hope that they have not misunderstood what went before. Whatever I may say against our prevailing system of art education does not stamp me an enemy of art schools on general principles. As we are now situated, art schools are a necessity, and the question is only as to their quality. Furthermore, I wish it to be distinctly understood that I am the last man likely to say anything against drawing in our public schools, from the primary classes up to the highest institutions embraced in our system, so long as it gives itself for what it really is and must be: that training of eye and hand, and

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that imparting of a knowledge of form which every one ought to have. Such teaching of drawing, however, is not "art education." As well might we call writing and grammar "poetical education."

Having thus defined my position, I can now endeavor to answer the question which will naturally arise in the reader's mind: How do we "inveigle" young people into the occupation of which Mr. Hunt has drawn such a doleful picture?

The answer is simple enough. By lowering the standard of art education; by easing the way of the student beyond all warrant; and by holding out rewards which, while they may serve to heighten the self-esteem of the pupil, are utterly worthless, either intellectually or materially.

It is not to be gainsaid that most of our art-schools are of a very elementary character. That, however, is not a crime, so long as they are acknowledged to be elementary, and are thorough as far they go. Speaking of the school of drawing and painting at the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston, Professor Ware, its late secretary, says: "The school is distinctly elementary, and as such is not to be compared with such institutions as the Art Students' League in New York, the organization of which is specially adapted to students in a considerable state of advancement." No danger can arise from an institution whose limitations are so clearly understood, and so openly expressed. Nor is anything to be feared from a school like that of the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts. The admirable results it has shown are amply explained by the great importance attached in it to the study of anatomy, and by the last paragraph of its circular, which states that "the Academy does not undertake to furnish detailed instruction, but rather facilities for study, supplemented by the occasional criticism of the teachers." Plainly, this is not "a machine to manufacture artists." The danger arises from those schools which, by high-sounding titles and flattering prospectuses, hold out the vain hope of leading their pupils to the very pinnacles of art, and then, perhaps, cap the climax by sending those whom they have misled forth into the world with a certificate or diploma. I shall not endeavor to analyze the motives which animate these institutions. Whatever the motive, the result is the same. Take, for instance, the institution which bears the noble title of "The Massachusetts Normal Art School." No objection could be urged against it, if it were simply

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called, as it ought to be, a "Seminary for Teachers of Elementary and Industrial Drawing." But when we see the crude still-lives, and the weakly heads which are a regularly recurring feature of its exhibitions, and when in their presence we recollect that one of the certificates of this school entitles the holder to teach in *art* schools, our hearts sink within us.

Let us be just, however, in our attempts to fasten the blame where it belongs. Much of the lack of profundity which we may complain of in some of our art schools is chargeable to a general lack of profundity throughout the nation. Our tendency toward haste leads us to seek elevated railroads in all departments of life, and often induces us to take empty glitter for the reality. I think I am right in saying that the whole of the high-sounding terminology at present in vogue in the State of Massachusetts, from the "State Director of Art Education" downwards, is a concession made to the public, whose interests could not be aroused by the solid benefits of simple "instruction in drawing," but who eagerly caught at the gaudy bauble of "art education."

"Some there are," says Cennino Cennini, in his "Libro dell'Arte," written early in the fifteenth century, "who follow art from poverty and the necessity of life, and hence for profit, and also from love of art. But above all are to be praised those who strive after art from love, and from nobility of mind only. You, then, who are lovers of this beautiful striving from nobility of mind, come to art above all others, and clothe yourselves in advance with this garment: namely with love, fear, obedience, and perseverance. And place thyself under the guidance of a master as early as possible, and part from the master as late as thou canst." In Cennino's 104th chapter occurs the well-known passage in which he speaks of thirteen years as the period necessary for study, to which he adds the admonition "to draw continually, and not to stop, either on holidays or working days. And thus," he continues, "is the gift of nature changed to solid skill by great practice."

Possibly some of my readers may object to Cennino as a mere handicraft's man, and not an artist. To these I would recommend the following from Leone Battista Alberti's "Tract on Painting," where it occurs in the second book: "Whosoever practises painting, let him learn this art from the very foundation. Those who desire to gain glory in painting, let them have this one great care:

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to reach that fame and name which were reached by the ancients. And it will be well here to remember that greed has ever been the enemy of worth. A mind bent only on gain will scarcely be able to acquire fame. I have seen many who have failed of gaining either riches or fame, because at a time which ought to have been devoted to study, they were already running after gain; these certainly would have reached fame, and riches and pleasure as well, if they had continued to increase their talent by study."

Art teaching in those days was not done in schools at all. A boy was apprenticed to a master as in any other trade, and he had to learn all the mysteries of the trade through untold drudgery from the very beginning. It is unnecessary to adduce examples with the story of the lives of Raphael and Dürer present to our minds. The advantages of this workshop instruction were two-fold: it accustomed the pupils to hard work, prevented their merely playing at artist, and was sure to crush the love of art out of them unless it was genuine and deep-seated; and it left them with something to do at the end of their apprenticeship, for the good masters were always in need of good journeymen.

From the time of Michel Angelo, whose short and fitful career as a learner is quite in accordance with his self-willed character, "workshop instruction" was displaced by "academies," "apprentices" became "students," and "master-painters" and "master-sculptors" were finally transformed into "cavalieri," "commendatori" and "professori"—in spite of all which fine titles the decline of art continued uninterruptedly.

It goes without saying that workshop instruction is no longer feasible, that much of what was then taught would now be useless, and that schools and academies are a necessity. But if we compare with this by-gone method of instruction the four-year courses of our schools, and if we consider that even so careful a school as that of the Museum at Boston exacts of its pupils, as obligatory, only "three hours [of attendance] a day, for four days in a week," we shall no longer be surprised to find that but few of our artists have that thorough training, that wonderful skill of hand, which we are apt to look upon as the special privilege of the old masters, and the lack of which, in our own land, is so often deplored as a lack of artistic temperament. The secret, however, lay in this, that these men *clothed themselves in the garment of love, fear, obedience, and,*—above all else—PERSEVERANCE!

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A still greater evil, however, than the low grade of our schools is the undeniable tendency towards the multiplication of these incompetent institutions. Every city, every village almost, wants to have its "art school," when it ought to be satisfied with an ordinary drawing class. If we desire "to do something" for art, we straightway open a new art school, or, in the words of Hunt, we cordially invite a new lot of young people to join the great gang of those who are asked to produce works which they had better not produce, because nobody wants them. And to fill our classes and swell the list of pupils, we make the terms as easy and the course of study as pleasant as possible, and we give prizes and medals and honorable mentions, and possibly certificates or diplomas. And with these and a completed course of instruction, but nevertheless with a totally inadequate education, these students are sent forth into the world to begin the battle of life.

Now, what are these young men and women to do? Having "graduated" from "art schools," and having been led to look upon themselves as "artists," the most natural thing for them to do is to paint pictures or model reliefs, or what not. And pictures they paint, or reliefs they model. And having painted their pictures or modelled their reliefs, they turn to you or to me, and say: "My dear madam," or "My dear sir, won't you buy my works?" But you shrug your shoulders, and I shrug my shoulders, and Tom, Dick and Harry shrug their shoulders, and the critics make fun of the pictures and reliefs, if they deem them worthy of notice at all, and the result is that they remain unsold.

"Have we not done enough for you by paying for part of your education? What more can you expect of us?"

And once more the question recurs: What are these young men and women to do? If they were wise enough to laugh at the world's indifference, and energetic enough to do downright hard work, they would throw away their brushes and modelling-sticks and begin a new career,—difficult enough, no doubt, but not as difficult, at least, as that in which, to quote my text again, "not one in a thousand can make a living without talking" and sundry other unpleasant operations. Few, however, take this course; some because—looking upon themselves as slighted geniuses, Raphaels and Michel Angelos in disguise,—they will not; the great majority, probably, because they cannot. And so there is nothing

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left for them but to turn round and *teach;* that is to say, to inveigle others into the ranks of Mr. Hunt's hopeless gang,—a calling which their certificate of proficiency, mayhap, expressly authorizes them to exercise. Our cities abound with so-called artists who undertake to teach what they do not themselves know, and whose lives must often be embittered, if by nothing else, by the knowledge of their own incompetence. And as each incompetent teaches several others, everyone of whom is in turn compelled to do the same thing, it is quite evident that the curse must spread in ever-widening circles.

That this sad result is the outcome of well-meant effort, of charity, of enthusiasm, cannot be doubted. We are admired by all the world for the large sums we expend upon benevolent and educational institutions, and French writers especially are astounded at the art schools cropping up all over the country, and all of them, with one exception, the result of private effort and munificence. Some people have even gone so far as to envy us these possessions, and to deplore that, besides the *Ecole des Beaux-Arts* and one or two provincial institutions, there are no art schools in France. Would to heaven that we had one great, thorough, yet broad, national school of art, with a Louvre and a Luxembourg alongside of it, the one to teach us the lessons of the past, the other to cheer and honor the workers of to-day!

Looking all these facts squarely into the face, I have come to the conclusion—at which some of my readers may possibly be shocked—that what we need at the present moment is the *discouragement* rather than the *encouragement* of art study.

I repeat, distinctly and deliberately, *discouragement. Discouragement,* that is to say, (by raising the standard and tightening the discipline of our art schools,) to those who would take up art from necessity or indolence only, as an easy and genteel occupation, and who, having no calling, can have no hope; but the best of *encouragement* to those who are willing to work faithfully and resolutely, and who come clothed in the garb of "love, fear, obedience and perseverance." We need not fear that by following such a course we shall incur the danger of stifling some genius. Genius cannot be stifled, and will work its way up in spite of all obstacles. Furthermore, there is nothing to prevent us from being continually on the lookout for genius, and to lend it a helping hand as soon as it shows its head above the crust.

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As means of such encouragement, I would suggest the endowment of one, or at best a few, of the schools of the country in a manner which would enable them to develop into normal institutions of their kind, instead of frittering away our means in the erection of numberless buildings and the purchase of numberless sets of casts and other appurtenances; the promotion to these higher schools of only the talented pupils of the lower schools, coupled with scholarships for those who need them; and the establishment of travelling purses, with the obligation attached to them to send home each year a certain number of works executed during the year. Half a dozen such *bourses de voyage* would outweigh all the prizes, medals, mentions, certificates and diplomas given throughout the whole country. S. R. KOEHLER.

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THE LOST PAPERS OF BENJAMIN FRANKLIN.*

IN the year 1840 were found in St. James's, London, on the top shelf of an old tailor's shop, loosely bundled, original papers of Benjamin Franklin. What significance these had, the finder did not know, either then or till long afterwards, when he had sold them; nor does the general reader know to this day, whether they were of little or great importance, through what vicissitudes they had reached their strange resting-place, or even the fact that they were found and still exist.

Franklin, after disposing by bequests in his last will and testament, of a large portion of his library, wrote:—"The residue and remainder of all my books, manuscripts, and papers, I do give to my grandson, William Temple Franklin." William Temple Franklin therefore became, by virtue of this clause, sole and absolute owner and master of all the original papers of his grandfather. What the amount and range of these papers might be, the world never was informed and had no means of ascertaining, but the world thought itself justified in suspecting that they were much larger and more diverse than those accounted for by subsequent publication.

Perhaps, if it had been generally known that Franklin himself was, by his own confession, singularly unmethodical; if it had been duly considered that he was an enormous writer on all sorts of topics, for the daily and urgent wants of his times; that he was philosopher, statesman, diplomatist, man-of-the-world, philanthropist, and served coincidently and actively in all these capacities, it might have been adjudged that his unmethodical ways and absorbing life would fully account for his papers as published by his grandson being less voluminous and remarkable than otherwise there was reason to believe that they should be. If it had been at the same time generally known that his grandson was a procrastinating, inefficient man, and that his first fault of delay as an editor, causing his authoritative publication to be anticipated by such publications as were eagerly received by the world, led to his still further delay, the obloquy from which he suffered as the supposed sup-

* Authorities. Senate. Mis. Doc. No. 21, 1st Session, 47th Congress. Sparks. Bigelow.

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presser and vendor of some of the most important of his grandfather's papers might not have been incurred. But if, instead, it had been generally known that, from the period when Franklin returned, in 1785, from France to America, until his death, in 1790, he spent much of his leisure in arranging his papers, the knowledge of that fact alone would inevitably have outweighed the knowledge of his grandson's inefficiency, and it is certain that the odium attaching to his grandson, so far based on mere suspicion, would have been considered warranted by fact. Taking therefore, in sum, into consideration, that the public believed Franklin to have been methodical, and that it was ignorant of the effect on William Temple Franklin's affairs, of his having been anticipated in his first publication, the public was justifiable in its belief in the grandson's delinquency; and we perceive that, if to its belief on one point, which was not founded upon knowledge, and to its ignorance on another, which was profound, had been added the fact of Franklin's having carefully prepared his papers in anticipation of his death, the balance would have inclined still more against the unfortunate grandson, to whom nothing is in truth chargeable but general inaptitude and inefficiency, as the papers found in 1840, which have not yet seen the light of day, fully prove.

Nearly ninety years is a long time for a memory to await vindication, and the train of events which naturally led to requiring it are only less extraordinary than the purely fortunate stroke which has rendered the vindication of William Temple Franklin, as far as moral obliquity is concerned, certain and complete. That any honest man, however poorly endowed with judgment, should not, in the exercise of so great a trust as the publication of the papers of his grandfather, and he Franklin, have been able, if but for once, to rise above the level of himself, and drawing unto himself the wisdom of the nearest and dearest friends of the illustrious dead, to edit the papers in a manner to satisfy the world, is almost beyond comprehension. That a conscientious man, as these papers prove William Temple Franklin to have been, should, with the amplitude of his inherited literary treasure, have contrived so to publish, and so to withhold for future publication, as to cause disappointment—first, in the non-appearance of anything, and then disappointment in what he finally published; that he should for long years have submitted, except in one fiery moment, without vigorous protest

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against the insinuations made, and the charges and denunciations launched at him, equally passes the bounds of ordinary comprehension. And yet all this we must, on the testimony of the papers themselves, acknowledge to be true, and place it to the account of a fatuity, which, as incomprehensible as the accepted consequences, is really the sole explanation of the fact of their existence.

The acts of William Temple Franklin, however, concern us not, except incidentally, as in justice to a memory unjustly assailed. Their chief interest lies in their having injured, albeit unintentionally, the reputation of his grandfather; for, not only did his negligence fail by its omission to establish a just correspondence between his grandfather's life and posthumous record, but its omission was not without its effect, in times of political heat, of lending tongue to the slander of even the venerable Franklin himself. Who, indeed, prominent in times of political excitement, can hope to escape this venom, from which not even the spotless purity of Washington proved a sufficient shield? But it is nevertheless through William Temple Franklin's acts that we are constrained to trace the history of the strange loss of Franklin's papers and their strange recovery,—through the accident, if the reader will, of a commonplace orbit of life intersecting the track of a great luminary traversing intellectual space. Summed up in a word, the truth is that William Temple Franklin was an honest, inefficient man of moderate ability, and Franklin a loving grandfather, who overestimated his character and mind; and out of these circumstances grew consequences, not altogether to be expected, but as evidently natural as are all trains of events where we have the opportunity to observe them from their commencement to their close.

Franklin died in Philadelphia on April 17th, 1790. In the course of the year, William Temple Franklin went from Philadelphia to London for the purpose of editing the Life and Works of his grandfather. He had, on May 22d, written from Philadelphia to his grandfather's old friend, M. le Veillard, who lived at Passy, near Paris, telling him that his grandfather had bequeathed all his manuscripts and papers to him, Temple Franklin, and requesting M. le Veillard not to show to anyone the corrected autobiography of Franklin (of which he had the original in his own possession), which Franklin had some time previously sent for the private use of M. le Veillard and his immediate circle of friends. As an addi-

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tional precaution, he requested M. le Veillard to place the autobiography in an envelope, seal it, and superscribe it with the name of William Temple Franklin.

It was presumed that William Temple Franklin took the same precautions regarding a duplicate of the corrected autobiography which, it was believed, with good reason, Franklin had sent to his friends, Dr. Price and Benjamin Vaughan, of London. It was thought at the time, with good reason, owing to a statement made by M. de la Rochefoucauld-Liancourt in his eulogium upon Franklin, delivered on June 13th, 1790, to the effect that the memoirs of Franklin would be published as soon as certain expected additions could be made to the manuscript "in our possession," that the published fragment of the autobiography which anticipated William Temple Franklin's expressed intention of publishing it complete, was printed from the manuscript which M. de la Rochefoucauld-Liancourt stated, upon the same occasion, had been sent to himself and M. le Veillard jointly; and, consequently, that William Temple Franklin's cautionary letter to M. le Veillard had failed to reach him in time to prevent his being forestalled in his design.*

At all events, the fact remains that we find William Temple Franklin met, at the very outset of his editorship of his grandfather's papers, by a severe disappointment through the appearance of Buisson's unauthorized edition of the Works of Franklin, including the autobiography,† of which latter he himself was the rightful owner; and this a work of such superlative merit, that in the first draught, and through successive additions, it had awakened the admiration of Franklin's friends, as a masterpiece worthy of his name.‡ It must be confessed that here was a *contretemps* calculated to dampen the ardor, to awaken the bitterness, of the

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* Whence, and in what manner, the fragment of autobiography published escaped, will probably never be known. M. le Veillard did not know; we have his word for it, which is not to be doubted. It would require much space to discuss the probabilities, and even then the balance could not be adequately adjusted.

† That is, the fragment of it.

‡ One small, unauthorized publication of the Works had been issued in London, prior to Buisson's edition, in Paris; but this was so insignificant as not to deserve mention, except for the sake of precision; whereas Buisson's edition, in its first as well as in its second form, Castéra editor, 1797, was, and is still, regarded as meritorious. It may be well here incidentally to note that the date of Buisson's second edition, as given by Mr. Sparks, is 1798.

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editor, and to increase the jealousy with which he regarded his remaining treasures.

To many another man, to most men, the knowledge that two unauthorized projects were afoot early in 1791, for a translation into English of the French of Buisson's edition, would have been an incentive to put forth the utmost exertion to retrieve a first disaster; but a promise that the projects should be held in abeyance for a while, in consideration of his announcements that he would fulfil his duty, was fatal to the easy-going editor. Up to this time, by the fact of his being innocent and wronged, William Temple Franklin was entrenched in the strongest position, and here the culpability, if that can be called culpability which grows out of mere inefficiency, begins. Nearly two years elapsed without performance of his promise, and then the two threatened editions appeared. Nothing can be better evidence of the low estate to which he had sunk in the eyes of his grandfather's friends, than the fact that the editors of one of the editions were Dr. Price and Mr. Vaughan, who belonged to that honored circle. Then came numerous reprints of those translations, chiefly from Buisson, of the Autobiography and Works; and perforce of the anxiety of the public to know all that could be known of Franklin's works, perforce of the dilatoriness of William Temple Franklin, and the interest of publishers in gain and competition with their fellows, he found himself a literary pauper, while in possession of a mine of untold literary wealth. He was no longer in a position to be able to find a publisher. The combined book-trade was pecuniarily interested against him. No faith was any longer placed in his promises. He had forfeited confidence entirely. Yet, as we have seen, there was no proof of his dishonesty. Given the conditions described, an eager public, eager publishers, a disappointed and irresolute man, and we have the consequences perfectly compatible with the presumption of honesty of purpose in the man.

If the charge of inactivity had been the sole accusation against him, it would be easy to understand that William Temple Franklin might have determined to bide his own time, and publish when he could publish to pecuniary advantage, which advantage would also imply the circulation which would be in the interests of his grandfather's fame; but innuendoes and charges of his having proved derelict to his trust were rife; it was positively asserted that he

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had parted with, to the British Ministry, for a money consideration, papers which they would not permit, if possible to prevent it, to see the light of day. That under these desperate circumstances he should not in some way have managed, for his own and his grandfather's sake, to silence the thousand tongues of rumor by a first publication, even though it were an instalment of only a single volume, is astounding, but is part of the history of this extraordinary case. Only once, would it seem, did he, then in Paris, in 1807, awaken from his lethargy and reply to a diatribe copied into a newspaper there from an American newspaper, which charged that he had, without shame and without remorse, sold to the British Government the sacred deposit committed to his care by his grandfather, and that Franklin's works were thus lost to the world; and satisfactorily prove to the editor of the paper that the allegation was false. Yet Mr. Bigelow remarks, that "whatever impression this letter may have upon the mind of the reader of to-day, it is certain that it did not shake the general conviction of William Temple's contemporaries, that he had yielded to influences anything but friendly to the memory of his grandfather or honorable to himself."

At last, in 1818, twenty-eight years after his grandfather's death, appeared William Temple Franklin's edition of the Life and Works of Franklin, in the preface of which he affirmed his faithfulness to the trust confided to him.* But this publication, instead of dissipating, confirmed the public doubts, which now grew into certainty. Scarcely anything in the work related to Franklin's long diplomatic career of nine years, first as one of the Commissioners, then as Minister Plenipotentiary to France. The public was disappointed, justly disappointed, and wreaked its vengeance on the head of the offending editor, who with a single editorial statement to his preface could have withered detraction and re-established his fair fame. Nothing in circumstances over which he had had any control, as well as those over which he had had no control, was allowed to be wanting to increase the load of obloquy under which he had apparently been content to live, but of which we must fain believe he

* Mr. Sparks says, 1817, Mr. Bigelow, 1817, but Mr. Stevens, 1818; and whatever the date as given in some title-pages, a review in the *North American Review*, Vol. VII., 1818, evidently treats the work as just having appeared. Mr. Stevens, in his *list*, gives the quarto as 1818, the octavo as 1817-9.

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could not have realized the amount if we must acknowledge that he knew of its existence. The statement which he might have added to the edition of his grandfather's Life and Works, and had confirmed by the publisher, but did not add, the statement which would have set all right, was that they had reserved the evidently missing papers, and others, for a second edition, because the publisher was unwilling to accept the risk of issuing more than then appeared. Beyond that he was not under obligation to go in the statement, the business arrangement with the publisher having been that the papers so reserved were selected to overlap the preceding dates, in order to insure sale as a whole to the volumes of both the first and second edition, to be eventually rearranged and incorporated in a single work.

The same joint folly and fatality beset the unfortunate editor to the end. In 1818, shortly after the appearance in England of his edition, he went to France, where he married, and died in Paris in 1823, leaving, as far as is known, no will or memorandum relating to the remaining papers. His widow administered upon his estate shortly afterwards, and on the 27th of September, 1823, removed from the bank the old iron-bound chest in which the papers had been deposited for safe-keeping.

Here we reach a blank, impossible from our present information to fill with certainty. How shall we account for the finding, in 1840, seventeen years after William Temple Franklin's death, of the Franklin papers in their entirety, both the published and the unpublished ones, not placed in any receptacle, but loosely bundled up on the top shelf of an old tailor's shop in London? William Temple Franklin's having had rooms in the house would account for the presence there of that portion of the papers which had gone as "copy" to the printers. But what did the iron-bound chest contain, if not the papers which had not gone to the printers? and if it contained those papers at the time of William Temple Franklin's death, for what reason were they deposited with the published papers? That a likely finder should have been, as it proved, a person who had been a fellow-lodger with William Temple Franklin, is evident. The only difficulty is to account for the presence, in the former lodgings, of original unpublished manuscripts, now estimated as sufficient to make in print five volumes of the size of those belonging to Sparks's Life and Works of Franklin, and es-

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timated, when reserved by William Temple Franklin's publisher for a second edition, to make as much again, with reprinted matter, as the six octavo volumes which he issued. The circumstantial evidence points to the conclusion, that, whatever the iron-bound chest may at one time have contained, it did not at the time of William Temple Franklin's death contain either the published or unpublished papers, but that when he went to France he left all the papers in his old quarters over the tailor's shop in London, where they were duly found, as narrated, by his quondam fellow-lodger. But another theory is plausible. The bank where the papers had been stored was that of Herries, Farquhar & Co., in the quarter known in London as St. James's, where William Temple Franklin had lived when he edited his volumes.* It is readily conceivable, therefore, without any stretch of imagination, when we consider that only five years had elapsed since he had left England for France, that his living representative, whether his widow or an accredited agent, had the chest removed to the former lodgings, in order to examine its contents; that then, it being found to contain only papers, it might, to avoid its transportation, have been left there for safe keeping; and finally, that in the course of time, some one wanted and took the chest. This is, however, not the likelier of the two suppositions. But if the other be true, what did the trunk contain when removed from the bank? Perhaps nothing of moment; perhaps all the important papers had been gradually withdrawn from it by William Temple Franklin, when he was engaged snipping and arranging and concerting with his publisher what should go into a first and what into a second edition of his grandfather's Life and Works.

The finder kept these manuscripts in his possession for ten or eleven years, offering them for sale successively to the British Museum, to Lord Palmerston, and to successive American Ministers to the Court of St. James's. He was not aware of the division that had been made of the papers into two instalments, and supposed that he was offering merely the manuscripts of Franklin, which had been already printed; and it was for this reason that the papers were repeatedly declined. Not discouraged, he, in due course of time, applied, to the same purport, to Mr. Abbott Law-

* The bank, the full firm style of which is Herries, Farquhar, Davidson, Chapman & Co., is still in existence, No. 16 St. James's Street, London, and is known in banker's lists and directories as that of Herries, Farquhar & Co.

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rence, the American Minister in London, who, although explicitly disavowing any knowledge of such matters and any authority from the United States to make such a purchase, put him in the way of finding a purchaser in the person of Mr. Henry Stevens, an American, resident in London, a life-long collector of Frankliniana, who at once bought the whole collection. This purchase took place in 1851.

Mr. Stevens, upon becoming the owner of the collection, set to work to repair, collect, bind, and arrange it, expending in the process, including copies and additions, over a thousand pounds sterling. Putting himself into communication with Mr. Colburn, William Temple Franklin's old publisher, he learned the whole history of their connection. The success of the edition, Mr. Colburn stated, had fallen far short of their expectations, and he had not had the courage to resume the labor that would have been involved in obtaining from the dilatory editor the promised second instalment. He had not, he said, heard of William Temple Franklin's death until some time after the event, and then, upon inquiring for the papers, he had been unable to trace them. In consequence, in 1833, he had been compelled to resort to the publisher's device for producing a new edition when new material is lacking—that of merely printing a new title-page.

Mr. Stevens remarks, *à propos* of Mr. Colburn's statements, "Hence, one may see by comparison with the copy that went to the printer, and [is] still preserved, how the omissions, the cut-outs, the transpositions, the mutilations, and the many other defects of omission and commission in the first series occurred; and as these volumes became the standard for future editors and historians, one can readily see how much Dr. Franklin has suffered from incomplete editorship; and hence, also, one can readily see how the loss of the second and more important series, intended to remedy these defects, not only placed Dr. Franklin in a false light, but gave a false coloring to American political history generally."

Mr. Stevens, speaking in another place of what he evidently gleaned from Mr. Colburn, says: "Temple Franklin, having little experience of editorial work, and having for many years been the confidential assistant and private secretary of his grandfather, felt that, as the manuscripts had been left to him, and he himself had been *magna pars* in all his grandfather's public and private affairs,

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he had a right to alter, cut about, rearrange, enlarge or abridge the papers as he thought needful for publication." Then, evidently coming down to his own knowledge as received from the evidence of the papers themselves, Mr. Stevens adds: "But he did this with no dishonest purpose. Some curious and many strange instances of this literary gerrymandering appear still in the original manuscripts; and many more will be developed by comparing the original manuscripts with the printed copy, the alterations being made with scissors or pins, but without destroying anything. Though the original manuscripts were cut about and pasted into long slips for the printer, they have been carefully and with great expense soaked apart and rearranged in their proper places, little the worse for their adventures." To take a single, although egregious, example of the mode of editing described, consider Mr. Stevens's statement that "only half of Franklin's letter to Benjamin Vaughan, of the 9th November, 1779, is given in the text by Temple Franklin; the other half having been scissored out and transferred to a note in the autobiography, giving further particulars of the history of the little London book, LIBERTY AND NECESSITY."

"Mr. Sparks," says Mr. Stevens, "reprinted Temple Franklin's *copy*, as far as it aided him, but he could not get behind it or fathom its suspicious omissions and other serious defects.* He, however, had no suspicion that Temple Franklin's edition contained only half the works of Dr. Franklin. Mr. Sparks, in the preface to his first volume, gives an interesting account of the many sources of his new materials. He experienced great difficulties, but was rewarded with eminent success. He added, he says, about six hundred and fifty articles, including letters and miscellaneous pieces, of which upwards of four hundred and sixty had never before been printed. But he gained no clue to the real Franklin papers." . . . "Mr. Sparks, aware from Franklin's will, and many other sources, that the papers had been brought to London by the grandson, sought earnestly for them when he was in England, about 1834, while editing his ten-volume edition, but he found little to fill up or correct, and nothing whatever of the

* Mr. Stevens cannot mean by "copy," the manuscript from which William Temple Franklin printed. That was lost. He must mean the *text* of William Temple Franklin's edition of his grandfather's Life and Works.

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papers intended for the second series of six volumes. Mr. Sparks returned, believing them irrecoverably lost. He had no suspicion that they had been put aside for a second series."

Was fatality too strong a word to use in connection with the vicissitudes through which these papers have passed? Mr. Sparks believed the papers to exist, made search for them, was in earnest, as everyone knows Mr. Sparks must have been, and yet, in 1834, Mr. Colburn, of all men the likeliest to know of their whereabouts, who, in point of fact, in 1833, had believed in their existence, for, as mentioned, he had just previously searched for them, seems not to have been consulted. But even that, it seems, would have been of no avail. We have to contemplate the extraordinary fact that a publisher of several volumes, who must have known where the editor had lived while editing them, did not take the forlorn hope of finding a clue to the manuscripts, or the manuscripts themselves, by visiting the old tailor's shop. Somebody blundered.

When at last, on January 26th, 1867, Mr. Bigelow became the possessor, through M. P. de Senarmont's presenting him with the autograph of the autobiography, and in 1868 published the fact that it contained eight pages of manuscript not printed by William Temple Franklin, and twelve hundred differences from his text, the evidence against William Temple Franklin seemed conclusive to all men. And when Mr. Bigelow asked the question: "By whom were these changes made in the text of this manuscript?" its stunning unanswerableness caused by contrast the importance of the three following questions to dwindle into insignificance.

But in the light of new evidence none of these questions are unanswerable. Taking them *seriatim*, but in inverse order, the least important first, let us consider them in the light of this new evidence.

Mr. Bigelow. "How happened it that this posthumous work, which may be read in nearly every written language and is one of the half-dozen most widely popular books ever printed, should have filled the book-marts of the world for a quarter of a century without ever having been verified by the original manuscript?"

It was at least once so compared; actual verification, of course, must have proved impossible. Mr. Stevens says (Senate Mis. Doc. No. 21, 47th Congress, 1st Session): "The writer [Mr. Stevens

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himself] saw it in 1852, at Amiens, in the possession of M. de Senannont, a relative by marriage of M. de Veillard, who had been beheaded in 1794. He spent two days with that amiable gentleman and his family, and was permitted to collate the autograph draft with Temple Franklin's printed text of the autobiography."

MR. BIGELOW. "Why was the publication which purported to be made from the manuscript deferred for twenty-seven years after their [its] author's death?"

That is now accounted for by circumstantial evidence, and by the testimony of Mr. Colburn, reported by Mr. Stevens.

MR. BIGELOW. "How came the closing pages to be overlooked?"

Any such thing is now credible regarding William Temple Franklin. He took the copy from the widow, Mme. le Veillard, on the ground that, being more legible than the original, it was better adapted to the printer's use. To him, the confidant and secretary of his grandfather, who for years doubtless knew of all that his grandfather wrote, comparison with the original and the copy would have seemed utterly unnecessary. To his slipshod editorial ways, such verification would have seemed a work of supererogation. And if any one surmise that William Temple Franklin knew of the existence of eight manuscript pages of matter more than he published, and could have had any reason to suppress, and did suppress them, let him consult the matter in print representing those eight pages, and his mind will be disabused.

MR. BIGELOW. "By whom were these changes made in the text of this manuscript?"

Let Mr. Stevens reply. After giving a circumstantial account, by date, of the manner in which the autobiography was written, he says: "The 'mutilations,' therefore, were Dr. Franklin's own revisions and amendments.* He was anxious to improve it, and even asked his friend, Benjamin Vaughan, to look it over and suggest corrections; for, he said, in his old age, he had not confidence in his own judgment. Temple Franklin, in 1790, brought the original draft to London, and soon after exchanged it for the revised copy, both belonging to himself, deposited with M. le Veillard. He unquestionably did right in printing from Franklin's own corrected

* The word *mutilations*, as quoted by Mr. Stevens, does not refer to Mr. Bigelow's strictures, but to an editorial, in 1881, of the London *Daily News*.

copy, instead of the autographic original draft. That his old friend might possess a substantial memorial of Franklin, the grandson left the original draft with the Veillard family."

. . . . "It is an important relic of the great American statesman and philosopher, but it would manifestly have been wrong, under all the circumstances, for Temple Franklin to print the original draft (though somewhat corrected) instead of the copy revised and corrected by the author. Franklin himself may have erred in judgment sometimes and chosen a secondary word; but, in almost every instance, the last construction of the sentence and the word substituted rest on good foundations. Temple Franklin, therefore, may be discharged as not guilty."

The burden, therefore, lies with Mr. Stevens, of proving that the manuscript copy of the autobiography in question, in his possession, warrants his statement that it represents Franklin's own revisions, and that, in consequence, William Temple Franklin was "right in printing from Franklin's own corrected copy, instead of the autographic original draft." Upon the establishment of this point hinges, of course, the complete relief of William Temple Franklin from the charge of malfeasance in this portion also of his great trust; and of its being settled in the affirmative, the reader, it is presumed, has now little doubt. Viewing the matter broadly, it may be correctly said, perhaps, that the obligation of proving or disproving the allegations referred to rests upon those to whom would be easy an antecedent act enabling Mr. Stevens to bring forward his evidence by the production of the papers themselves.

We have now reached, in due course, the consideration of the question as to the best form which this enabling act could assume. We enter upon a stage of this strange history, less important than that of the finding of the Franklin papers, in respect that the importance of the discovery of them must immeasurably transcend that of who shall be the eventual possessor of them, but one which deeply concerns the fair fame of the Government, as the representative of the honor of the nation. On the 17th of last December, the Hon. James G. Blaine, then Secretary of State, addressed the following letter to the Hon. John Sherman, Chairman of the Committee on the Library, United States Senate; which letter, with the accompanying documents, consisting chiefly of a report from the Librarian, and a description of the Franklin papers by their owner,

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Mr. Henry Stevens, was referred by the Senate to the Committee on the Library, and ordered to be printed.

"DEPARTMENT OF STATE.

"WASHINGTON, December 17th, 1881.

"SIR:—In January of this year an offer, made on the part of Mr. Henry Stevens, an American gentleman residing in London, to sell to the United States his collection of the original papers of Benjamin Franklin, was communicated to Congress by my predecessor.

"The Joint Committee on the Library, to whom the matter was referred, failing to make a report thereon, the opportunity for the purchase at that time was lost, and its proprietor returned to his original intention of disposing of the collection at public auction to any bidder who would make an advance upon the price at which it was offered to the United States.

"Believing that in the failure to acquire these papers the national archives might sustain an irreparable loss, I caused the librarian of this department, who was entrusted with the execution of certain official duties in Europe, to make, at London, an examination of them, and upon his report took steps to induce Mr. Stevens again to withdraw them from sale, and give the United States another opportunity to secure them. This, Mr. Stevens at length consented to, although two purchasers stood ready to take them at the price he demanded, and he agreed to withhold them until January, 1, 1882, from both public and private sale.

"I herewith transmit the report which has been made by the librarian of the Department, of the results of his examination.

"Convinced of the authenticity and the very great historical value of these papers, and that they are necessary to complete the archives of the Government, of a very important period of its history, I now recommend that immediate action be taken in Congress for the appropriation of the amount necessary for the purchase of the collection; that is to say, seven thousand pounds sterling."

"I have the honor to be, sir, your obedient servant,

"JAMES G. BLAINE.

"HON. JOHN SHERMAN,
"Chairman of the Committee on the Library,
"United States Senate."

The librarian of the State Department, Mr. Theodore F. Dwight, had made a report to Mr. Blaine, in accordance with Mr. Blaine's instructions, from which report the following extract is taken:

"The document of greatest individual importance is the duplicate original of the Petition of the Continental Congress to the King. It is in a perfect state of preservation. As many of the

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delegates who signed it were continued in office during the period of the adoption of the Declaration of Independence, we have in the signatures to the Petition names which have unhappily faded from the latter document, and on this account the Petition has become of singular value.

"It is to be regarded as the earliest of the series of instruments which mark the decisive periods in the history of the establishment of the United States. They may be named in the following order:

"THE PETITION OF 1774. THE DECLARATION OF 1776. THE ARTICLES OF CONFEDERATION. THE CONSTITUTION. . . . . .

"Of the two thousand, nine hundred and thirty-eight documents in this collection, two thousand, three hundred and ten have never been printed. . . . . That is to say, nearly four-fifths of the number still remain unknown to the world. . . . . .

"These papers are more than relics or antiquarian curiosities; they are the veritable records of our history, and are as worthy of a place among the national archives, as those of Washington, Jefferson, and Hamilton."

The collection contains, among many other precious documents, the original letter-books of the American Legation in Paris, during the Revolutionary War, and subsequently; in all, from 1776 to 1785. These include correspondence with France, Holland, Russia, Spain; negotiations for subsidies to carry on the war; letters relating to Paul Jones and his captures; to Captain Cook and his voyage of discovery; to privateering, to negotiations for peace, to the treaty. Records and correspondence of the Commissioners on the part of Great Britain, who negotiated the treaty of 1783. Copies of important State papers. The Petition of the Continental Congress to the king is the duplicate of the one presented to the king by Franklin, and now deposited in the British archives. To guard against loss, the document in duplicate was signed by all the members of the Continental Congress and despatched to Franklin by two ships. This copy is, therefore, equally original with that in the British archives, and of equal, in fact the same, historical importance and interest.

Shall the collection become the property of the country, or shall it be scattered broadcast over the world? This is the question which Congress has been called upon to meet, and, so far, does not seem to intend to meet; for, as we learn from the date of Mr. Blaine's letter, and the statement in its first paragraph, the subject of the purchase of the papers has now been before Congress

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for more than a year. It is impossible, as government functionaries tell us, to expedite the routine. Yes, sometimes; but sometimes, too, routine is so expedited that the idea of its existence is obliterated. Whether or not, in any particular case, it shall be expedited, and if so, to what degree, depends upon what interest is concerned for it to move, to move rapidly, or not to budge. Franklin is dead, and gratitude to him is dead in the breasts of the many to whom gratitude is the expectation of favors to come; and interest is dead among the many who do not recognize that he was one of the great ones of earth, "whose distant footsteps," if not to his own country, will to the world "echo through the corridors of Time."

The apathy with which, as far as known, the announcement of the recovery of the papers has been received by the nation, and the seeming indifference to securing them shown by the delay of Congress, mark an episode in the history of the great man, and bring a sense of depression to the contemplative mind reflecting on the wealth of industry, intellect and patriotism which has brought so poor a heritage of interest and gratitude to one who deserved so well of his countrymen and who ceaselessly lived and labored in his country's cause. What nobler spectacle has the world ever presented, save in its drama of dramas, in which a few obscure men laid down the law which has subdued nations, than Franklin standing in his grand simplicity before the House of Commons, confronting boldly the array, flashing the sheet-lightning of his replies, illuminating the whole subject of the Stamp Act and British oppression of the Colonies, promulgating a yet new faith to the world in the interest of an oppressed people?

But for his influence in France, where he seemed to personify the justice of the struggling cause of America, where his commanding intellect, philosophic port, intimacy with the first men of the land, made his a towering presence, scarce inferior to majesty's itself, as we may judge, after making all due allowance for complaisance, when the king could say that Franklin had made him the second man in his own capital, it is a question whether the French alliance with America ever would have been accomplished. Accomplished, Franklin became, in the interest of the Confederation, besides minister,—merchant, banker, consul, secretary, prize-commissioner; and, although associated with Arthur Lee and Silas

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Deane, it was to his persistent efforts alone that the Colonies were indebted for means necessary to the continuance of the war.* To Franklin, the ministers accredited to the courts of Europe looked up as to their diplomatic chief, and not in vain, for pecuniary assistance and wise counsel.

Too much engrossed in his country's affairs to pay attention to recording his work in a form which from his potent pen could not have failed to make it more durable than bronze, Franklin was content to make history and to leave his fame to his country's care. How his natural hope and confidence have been requited, we find in the prevailing ignorance of his countrymen of the debt they owe him. The last evidence is before us in the indifference of Congress to securing the papers which have at last providentially been found. The State Department at Washington is the place where these documents should be, and the nation is the only purchaser consorting with the importance of the possession. Still, Congress gives no sign that it will move for its own honor and that of the whole country. As much, indeed, more, interest seems to have been awakened by a late offer of the papers of the Count de Rochambeau, a name which, however glorious, might, but for Franklin, have had, as far as the annals of America are concerned, no significance in history. The man who introduced Lafayette to Washington, as the papers under consideration testify, the man who more than any other of his countrymen caused France to welcome America with open arms to the family of nations, has, beside a Frenchman, small place according to his deserts in the memory of his countrymen.

And yet the history of Franklin is the history of his country's creation. With the exception of the peerless Washington, he stands first of those who contributed to the success of their country's cause and made her respected in counsel, as she was in war, throughout the world. Whether we consider Franklin, first as the loyal subject of the British crown, or afterwards as the patriotic rebel, the astute statesman, the finished diplomatist, the minister-plenipotentiary, we find him alike admirable in every sphere;—when young, wise beyond his years; when old, wise—the genius

* The claim of Franklin for payment for services *ex-officio* as Minister to France, was never settled by Congress. See, in the tenth volume of Sparks's Life and Works of Franklin, a letter from him to the President, and another to the Secretary of Congress.

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incarnate of common sense, the epitome of justice, the typical man of his native land. But what is his reward for a life spent in useful works and patriotic devotion to his country? In his own country only one city, whose dust he shook in sorrow from his youthful feet, honors him as great—the great Bostonian. That city to which he wended his way, which he adopted as his dwelling place, the foundation of whose prosperity he laid in hospital, college, library, which he loved with an ever-increasing love, in which he lived out his well-rounded life, ending with his simple record that he died, knows him not, highly though he be regarded, honors him not according to his great deserts.* In France he is known as great; in Europe as the greatest man, save Washington and Lincoln, of all Americans; but in his own country what recognition is there of him in proportion to his deserts? The history of these lost papers tells. For Franklin, whom, living, his countrymen loved, now, rising from the dead, his countrymen have no ear.

What avails it to recite these facts, known to every thinker in the land? In a democratic republic the people must be the motive power, or there is none. The scene shifts endlessly, shutting out the memory of all but what has just passed. At each instant the worthy as well as the unworthy are lost to sight. We live in the present, for the future to be blest, with slight background of ancestral memories. Life pushing forward to the attainment of material gain is shorn of the charm that perspective lends to the commonplace and the great, through which, intermingled, men are ever passing.

But if the memory of Franklin can afford to relinquish a part of the recognition which is its due, can the nation afford to appear indifferent to so great a man and benefactor, to let the stigma rest upon it of apparent indifference to its own early history? Are we ephemeræ, creatures of a day, whose knowledge and interests, short as their lives, stretch not backward beyond their immediate sires? America has no crown-jewels, but the record of the noble deeds of their ancestors may well form the appanage of her people, associated with her resplendent tiara of Liberty, Freedom, and Independence.

* The list would be long which should attempt to enumerate all that Franklin did for the benefit of that city. He brought about the paving and cleaning of its streets, organized its first night-watchmen, fire companies, and militia.

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THE SHRIVING OF GUINEVERE.

STILL she stood in the shunning crowd.
"Is there none," she said, aloud,
"None who knelt to me, great and proud,
Will say one word for me, sad and bowed?
Alas! it seems to me, if I
Were one of you, who, standing by,
Hear gathered in a woman's cry
The years of such an agony,
It seemeth me that I would take
Sweet pity's side for mine own sake,
And, knowing guilt alone should quake,
For chance of right one battle make."
But, no man heeding her, she stayed
Beneath the linden's trembling shade,
And peered, half hopeful, half afraid,
While passed in silence man and maid.

She, staring on the stone-dry street
Through the long summer-noonday heat
And stirring never from her seat
Half saw men's shadows pass her feet.
"Ah me!" she murmured, "well I see
How bitter each day's life may be
To them who have not where to flee
And are as one with misery."
But, whether knight to tourney rode,
Or bridal garments past her flowed,
Or by some bier slow mourners trode,
No sign of life the woman showed.

When as the priestly evening threw
The blessed waters of the dew,
About her head her cloak she drew
And hid her face from every view;
Till, as the twilight grew to shade,
And passed no more or man or maid,
A sudden hand was on her laid.

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"And who art thou?" she moaned, afraid.
Beside her one of visage sad
Which yet to see made sorrow glad
Stood, in a knight's white raiment clad,
But neither sword nor poignard had.
"One who has loved you well," he said,
"Living I loved you well, and dead
I love you still; when joys were spread
Like flowers, and greatness crowned your head,
None loved you more. Not Arthur gave—
He will not check me from his grave,—
So deep a love; nor Launcelot brave
With purer love had yearned to save."
"Then," said the woman, still at bay,
"Why do I tremble when you lay
A hand upon my shoulder? Stay,
What is thy name, sir knight, I pray?
For wheresoever memory chase
I know not one such troubled face,
Nor one that hath such godly grace
Of solemn sweetness any place;
But, whatsoever man thou be,
What is it I should do for thee?"
Whereon, he, smiling cheerily,
Said: "I would have thee follow me."

Not any answer did he wait,
But turned towards the city gate;
Not any word said she, but straight
Went after, bent and desolate;
And, as a dream might draw, he drew
Her feet to action, till she knew
That house and palace round her grew,
And some wild revel's reeling crew,
And dame and page and squire and knight,
And torches flashing on the sight,
And fiery jewels flaming bright,
And love and music and delight;
But slow across the spangled green

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The stern knight went and went the queen,
He solemn, silent and serene,
She bending low with humble mien.
But where he turned the music died,
Love-parted lips no more replied,
And, shrinking back on either side,
Serf and lord stared, wonder-eyed,
Or marvelling shrunk swift away
Before that visage solemn, gray:
Till where the leaping fountains sway
Thick showed the knights in white array.
Then, as he passed beneath the trees,
Where turned his eyes, by slow degrees
Fell silence and some strange unease,
Whilst whispered some: "Who may it be?
What knight is this? And who is she?"
But only Tristram looked to see,
And trembling fell upon his knee.
Then said a voice full solemnly:
"Of all the knights that look on me,
If only one of them there be
That never hath sinned wittingly,
Let him the woman first disown,
Let him be first to cast a stone
At one, who, fallen from a throne,
Is sad and weary and alone.
Him, when the lists of God are set,
Him, when the knights of God are met,
If that he lacketh answer yet,
The soul of him shall answer get."

Then, as a lily bowed with rain
Leaps shedding it, she shed her pain,
And towering looked where men, like grain
Storm-humbled, bent upon the plain;
Whilst over her the cold night air
Throbbed with some awful pulse of prayer,
As, bending low with reverent care,
She kissed the good knight's raiment fair.

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When as she trembling rose again,
And felt no more in heart and brain
The weary weight of sin and pain,
For him that healed she looked in vain;
And from the starry heavens immense
Unto her soul with penitence
Came as if felt by some new sense
The noise of wings departing thence.

S. Weir Mitchell.

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"MEMORIES OF OLD FRIENDS."*

THIS is a book of great and varied interest. It is at once a contribution to our knowledge of many persons of the highest eminence in literature and an example of diligent and careful use of remarkable opportunities. It is, indeed, wonderful that a young girl scarcely more than twenty should be able to reproduce so fully conversations upon high and varied themes. Evidently, the keenly intellectual men who came within her range discerned in her the capacity to grasp the thoughts they wished to utter. They could not but see the quick intelligence, the answering mind,—above all, the utter purity of heart,—of their young listener, and they might well give to her of their best. We feel, as we read, how great must have been the joy of such companionship. It is good to contemplate the elevation of character and the poise and balance of mind of Caroline Fox when this high intercourse began. Exquisitely feminine as she plainly was, it is clear, also, that she possessed a strength and serenity which enabled her to meet on their own ground men who were already known as leaders of thought and whose fame was to grow brighter as the years went on. No woman can fail to see how high a position was instantly given to one of her sex, of good natural endowment, who had been diligent in the cultivation of her powers,—how true an equality was accorded her as her natural right. In these days, and in this country especially, when we hear much of the claims of women and of the scant respect which is paid to them, it is, perhaps, well to see how, by a natural instinct, honor is given to a woman who has put from her all frivolous aims and given her whole mind to elevating thoughts and studies.

Caroline Fox was of a well-known Quaker family at Falmouth, described by Carlyle as "the principal people in that place,—persons of cultivated, opulent habits, and joining to the fine purities and pieties of their sect a reverence for human intelligence in all kind." And, again: "Something like proficiency in certain branches of science, as I have understood, characterized one or more of this

* "Memories of Old Friends. Being Extracts from the Journals and Letters of Caroline Fox, of Penjerreck, Cornwall." Edited by Horace Pym. Philadelphia J. B. Lippincott & Co.

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estimable family; love of knowledge, taste for art, wish to consort with wisdom and wise men, were the tendencies of all; to opulent means superadd the Quaker beneficence, Quaker purity and reverence,—there is a circle in which wise men also may love to be." The wealth of this family has not hindered their diligent cultivation of mental power, nor has it trenched on that meek temper and bearing which are the strength and the charm of the Friends. Possibly, elsewhere in England the rich Quaker families are not wholly free from a certain assumption, not to say arrogance, which is greatly in the way of their continued influence. Wealth in England is almost more a source of temptation in this way than it is with us; there the striving after higher social position makes the rich supercilious to those of the class from which they wish to ascend. In this book there is scarcely any reference to social differences; the writer is of the high company to whom literature has brought the truest refinement. Her life was free from all excitement, and into her home of peace came the wise and good, and found there companionship and refreshment. Family affection, rich stores of books and of pictures, scientific attainments, leisure for study, opportunities of travel,—above all, wealth of heart and purse to help those who were in need,—these were the blessings of that Falmouth household. But diligence and unwearied activity seemed to be their rule of life. At the age of sixteen, Caroline Fox began a careful record of her thoughts and experiences, and by the time she was twenty she had acquired a skill in noting down the substance of conversations, even upon the most difficult themes, almost equal to that of the late Nassau Senior. She was in her twenty-first year when John Stuart Mill and John Sterling began their intimacy with her. All barriers seemed to go down at once. and these gifted men poured out to their eager listener their glowing thoughts. Now, after forty years, comes their requital; for this rejoicing listener with infinite pains and care noted down what they had uttered, and we who read perceive, as we have never done before, how truly noble both were in heart and mind. Their inmost souls seemed to be open to their young hearer; the fine, deep nature of Mill—a nature very few could fathom,—was perceived by her with clear discernment. He has misled the world in his autobiography; for in it we hardly find the evidence of that tenderness of heart, that reverence and gentleness, which the careful record of

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this writer shows to have been his chief characteristics,—at least, in that thirty-fifth year of his life.

Here is Caroline Fox's account of his outward appearance on her first meeting him: "A very uncommon-looking person; such acuteness and sensibility marked in his exquisitely chiselled countenance, more resembling a portrait of Lavater than any other that I remember. His voice is refinement itself, and his mode of expressing himself tallies with voice and countenance." Five days later, comes this record of his talk: "Avoid all that you prove by experience or intuition to be wrong, and you are safe; especially avoid the servile imitation of any other; be true to yourselves; find out your individuality, and live and act in the circle around it. Follow with earnestness the path into which it impels you, taking reason for your safety-lamp and perpetually warring with inclination. Then you will attain to that freedom which results only from obedience to right and reason, and that happiness which proves to be such on retrospection. Everyone has a part to perform while stationed here, and he must strive with enthusiasm to perform it. Every advance brings its own particular snares, either exciting to ambition or display; but in the darkest passages of human existence a pole-star may be discovered, if earnestly sought after, which will guide the wanderer into the effulgence of light and truth. What there is in us that appears evil, is, if thoroughly examined, either disproportioned or misdirected good; for our Maker has stamped his image on everything that lives." Here is a passage worthy to be pondered in America,—shall we say in Philadelphia?—on the influence of habits of business on literary pursuits: "John Mill considers it the duty of life to endeavor to reconcile the two,—the active and the speculative; and from his own experience and observation the former gives vigor, and system, and effectiveness, to the latter. He finds that he can do much more in two hours, after a busy day, than when he sits down to write with time at his own command. . . . Nothing promotes activity of mind more than habits of business."

Mill's stay in Falmouth was caused by his attendance upon hi brother, who was dying of consumption. A month later, in writing from London, and referring to the death of his brother, he says: "We know this, that, on the day when we shall be as he is, the whole of life will appear but as a day, and the only question of any

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moment to us then will be: 'Has that day been wasted?' Wasted it has not been by those who have been, for however short a time, a source of happiness and of moral good, even to the narrowest circle. But there is only one plain rule of life eternally binding and independent of all variations in creeds and in the interpretations of creeds, embracing equally the greatest moralities and the smallest. It is this: "Try thyself unweariedly till thou findest the highest thing thou art capable of doing, faculties and outward circumstances being both duly considered; and then *do it.*" Various lighter records are made of intercourse with Mill in that year, 1840, and two or three following years. Speaking of some of the eccentricities of Mrs. Grote, Mill said Sydney Smith declared her to be the origin of the word "grotesque."

At last, in 1859, comes this final record: "I am reading that terrible book of John Mill's on liberty; so clear, and calm, and cold. He lays it on one as a tremendous duty to get one's self well contradicted and admit always a devil's advocate into the presence of your dearest, most sacred truths, as they are apt to grow windy and worthless without such tests, if, indeed, they can stand the shock of argument at all. He looks you through like a basilisk, relentless as fate." Then follow the pathetic words: "We knew him well at one time, and owe him very much. I fear his remorseless logic has led him far since then. This book is dedicated to his wife's memory, in a few most touching words. He is in many senses isolated, and must sometimes shiver with the cold."

The impression made by John Sterling on the ardent mind of Caroline Fox was, perhaps, less vivid than that produced by Mill; yet there is copious record of his talk and abundant evidence of his sweet, kindly nature and his varied gifts of mind. The testimony which is borne, as it were, incidentally, to his reverent and religious spirit, is the more valuable from the differing views presented by his two biographers, Archdeacon Hare and Carlyle. The latter speaks almost in scorn of his brief term of service as curate for Hare, and dwells on his taking orders as the error of his life. Quite other than this is the impression one gathers from the ample notes of Caroline Fox. It seems clear from the record that she makes, that his religious feeling continued to the last. He gives her, indeed, to understand that it was failing health that led him to give up his curacy. It is to be remembered, in reading

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Carlyle's book, that the grim philosopher, however he may have passed away from dogmatic belief, had still in his blood the prejudices of many generations of Scotch Presbyterianism. Prelacy was to him a thing to be abhorred; hence, the Church of England, in every phase of it, was repulsive to him. Sterling, who was ten years his junior, would approach him naturally with a certain deference, and hence may have appeared to assent to views to which he was merely a listener. Sterling could not but be profoundly impressed by Carlyle; he is recorded as saying that there were but three men in England in whom he could perceive the true elements of greatness,—Wordsworth, Carlyle and the Duke of Wellington.

The record in regard to Sterling is, as we have said, very full, and it is of remarkable interest; it will be read the more eagerly from the controversy, so to call it, which the two biographies have occasioned. It is curious to note that Stuart Mill had also proposed to write the life of Sterling. Miss Fox has, by her record of his words as they fell from his lips, presented a picture of him which neither of his biographers has been able to give. Her intercourse with him was from 1840 almost to 1844, the year of his death. Carlyle's life appeared in 1851; this is her comment upon it: "It is a book likely to do much harm to Carlyle's wide, enthusiastic public. It is painful enough to see the memorial of his friend made the text for utterances and innuendoes from which one *knows* that he would now shrink even more than ever; and God alone can limit the mischief. But He can. That the book is often brilliant and beautiful, and more human-hearted than most of Carlyle's, will make it but the more read, however little the world may care for the subject of the memoir. The graphic parts and portraiture are generally admirable, but not by any means always so."

Of Dr. Calvert, a friend of Sterling, and of Mill, and of Carlyle, much is recorded by our journal-writer. He and Sterling became acquainted at Madeira, whither they had been driven by the same malady,—consumption. They were at Falmouth together during two later winters, in the same hopeless pursuit of health. Much that is recorded of Calvert's talk is very striking; as, for instance: "He does not agree with Carlyle and others, who think that we all have a message to deliver." "'My creed is that man, whilst dwelling on the earth, is to be instructed in patience, submission,

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humility.'" Again, he says of Carlyle that "he found it would not do to be much with him, his views took such hold on him and affected his spirits. None but those of great buoyancy and vigor of constitution should, he thinks, subject themselves to his depressing influence. Carlyle takes an anxious, forlorn view of his own physical state, and said to him one day: 'Well, I can't wish Satan anything worse than to try to digest for all eternity with my stomach; we shouldn't want fire and brimstone then.'" It is interesting to note that Dr. Calvert was a nephew of that Raisley Calvert to whom the whole world is indebted for his bequest to Wordsworth, enabling the latter to give himself wholly to the cultivation of his poetic powers. Dr. Calvert died in 1842, at Falmouth. Sterling wrote his epitaph, of which the following are the concluding lines:

> "Of varied wisdom and of heart sincere,
> Through gloomy ways thy feet unfaltering trod.
> Reason thy lamp and faith thy star while here,
> Now both one brightness in the light of God."

From Mill and from Sterling, Miss Fox had heard much of Carlyle. With the report of such enthusiasts as these, it was natural for her to await with keen excitement her own sight and knowledge of the great man. One must feel a certain envy of the company, who, forty years ago, awaited the appearance of this strong thinker, at the opening lecture of his course on "Heroes." Miss Fox was of the number, and was in eager expectation. This is her account of his appearance: "A tall, robust-looking man; rugged simplicity and indomitable strength are in his face, and such a glow of genius in it!—not always smouldering there, but flashing from his beautiful gray eyes, from the remoteness of their deep setting under that massive brow. His manner is very quiet; but he speaks like one tremendously convinced of what he utters, and who had much—very much,—in him that was unutterable, quite unfit to be uttered, to the uninitiated ear; and, when the Englishman's sense of beauty or truth exhibited itself in vociferous cheers, he would impatiently, almost contemptuously, wave his hand, as if that were not the sort of homage which truth demanded. He began in a rather low, nervous voice, with a broad Scotch accent; but it soon grew firm, and shrank not abashed from its great task." Then follows a report or *résumé* of the lecture, quite wonderful in its way, seeing that it

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is given from memory, showing how very powerfully her own mind had been impressed. Miss Fox returns with Miss Mill from Carlyle's lecture to the Mills's house in Kensington Square. John Mill, she says, was quite himself; he had, in the middle of dinner, to sit still for a little to take in that Miss Fox and her sister were really there. They were shown Mill's charming library,—"the mother so anxious to show everything, and her son so terribly afraid of boring us." Mill read to them that striking passage in "Sartor Resartus" on George Fox's making to himself a suit of leather. "How his voice trembled with excitement, as he read: 'Stitch away, thou noble Fox,'" etc. We seem to read between the lines a little romance between this young girl of twenty and the wise, grave, but fascinating, man of thirty-five. There are little pathetic bits here and there in the book. Speaking of assistance Mill had given her brother in some mental trouble, Miss Fox records: "I remarked on the pleasure it must be to help others in this way. 'I had much rather be helped,' he answered." Again, she notes: "Cunningham showed us his likeness of J. S. Mill, which is beautiful; quite an ideal head, so expanded with patient thought, and a face with such exquisite refinement."

But we have got back again to Mill, when we should have been speaking of Carlyle. Miss Fox and her sister visited the great man soon after they had heard him lecture. He seems fully to have appreciated their fresh, responsive natures. They returned to Falmouth, and a month later comes this *naïve* record: "Uncle and Aunt Charles paid the Carlyles a delightful little visit when in town, the most interesting point of which was that Carlyle ran after them, and said: 'Give my love to your dear, interesting nephew and nieces!' which had better be engraved on our respective tombstones! I walked *tête exaltée* the rest of the day." Much is recorded in the few following years of intercourse with Carlyle and of his rugged talk. With the memory of the somewhat crabbed records of the "Reminiscences" fresh in our minds, it is pleasant to come upon words that take us back to his more healthy, happier time. A Cornish miner had shown unselfish heroism, and Carlyle proposed a subscription for him, and wrote these words as a heading for the paper: "To Michael Verran, seemingly a right brave man and highly worthy of being educated, these small gifts of money, if they can assist him therein, are, with

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all hopefulness and good regard, presented by certain undersigned fellow-wayfarers and warfarers of his."

Of Wordsworth, Miss Fox makes full and reverent mention; but she is, perhaps, less happy in this than in her other journalizing. It may be said that the great poet was rarely brilliant or sententious, though his talk was always weighty and strong. It is curious that we have comparatively little record from anyone of his table-talk, so to call it, deeply though he impressed all who were around him. In Mr. Crabb Robinson's diary, though we are told of numberless occasions of his being with Wordsworth, and, indeed, of a lengthened journey taken with him, little that the poet said is given. One sentence which Miss Fox noted we may quote. "Poetry," said Wordsworth, "is no pastime, but a serious, earnest work, demanding unspeakable study." There is a final entry in the journal; but it is a record made by an aunt of Miss Fox, of a a visit to Wordsworth in the last year of his life: "The gentle, softened evening light of his spirit is very lovely, and there is a quiet sublimity about him as he waits on the shores of that eternal world that seems already to cast over him some sense of its beauty and its peace." The name of Coleridge occurs, of course, very frequently among the brilliant group to which this book introduces us. S. T. C. had, it is true, passed away before the records began; but of Hartley much is told that is very interesting. Of Mr. and Mrs. Derwent Coleridge, there is loving mention again and again, and a true delineation of both. They still survive, the objects of never-failing love and admiration to a daily lessening circle. To all who know them, indeed, the mention of their names brings a glow to the heart.

We conclude our reference to this very interesting volume by an extract on the power of music which seems to us peculiarly felicitous in expression. One has a certain satisfaction in reading from the pen of a member of the Society of Friends so glowing a tribute to this high gift, reminding one of the ejaculation of good Izaak Walton: "Lord! what music hast Thou provided for the saints in heaven, since Thou providest bad men such music on earth?" Miss Fox is speaking of an evening at the Chevalier Bunsen's, and of her meeting the grand, old German composer, Neukomm. She says: "The spirit of the evening was Neukomm. The inventor of a silver (?) lute of some sort came to introduce his instrument,

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and its breathings were indeed exquisite; and very marvellous was it when the two musicians improvised together, just taking the '*Ranz des Vaches*' as a motive, to hear how they blended their thoughts and feelings in true harmony. But I was glad when the flute was silent and Neukomm poured out his own heart through the voice of the organ. He led one whither he would, through regions of beauty and magnificence, and then through quiet little valleys, where nothing could be heard but the heart's whisper,—so pure, so tender, you leaned forward to catch what it said; and then you were carried onward into a spirit-world, where all around 'were such things as dreams are made of.' And then such a swell of harmony, such exulting strains, would bespeak the presence and the triumph of some great idea, revealing to man more of himself and of his Maker. Then, again, that trembling voice: 'Can He love such a one as I?' And then the final magnificent swell of sound, triumphing over doubt, and fear, and weakness. I never heard music without words say half as much as I heard this evening."

And now we make an end. We have quoted enough, we think, to show how full the life of Caroline Fox was of happy work for mind and body,—how healthy and pure her nature,—her own personal influence giving itself out always for good. Her lot seems, as we have said, to have left little to be desired; no higher position in rank, no added wealth, could have bettered it. Anxieties and troubles she had, it is true; some are spoken of, some hinted at; and, for the rest, one knows that each heart has its bitterness. But birth and training, and large sympathy, all went to make her strong to meet what was sent to her. Little could she have thought, as she made her records in her quiet home, of the multitude of readers in her own and other lands who would derive comfort and refreshment from them; little, too, could she have foreseen the stimulus which her example of steady cultivation of mental power would exert on many of her sex, gifted, like her, with leisure and opportunity. But, to us all, such a book should be as fresh and invigorating to the mind and heart as a walk among mountains, or on the writer's own breezy downs, is to one's physical nature.

ELLIS YARNALL.

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A LESSON IN THE GRASS.

BESIDE a tiny silver stream,
And sheltered by a broken wall,
Divided from the river's gleam
By grasses brown, and sere, and tall,

One little spot of April lay
Upon December's rugged breast;
And, though he shook his temples gray,
Its trustful verdure was at rest.

Its green blades drew from wintry sky
A memory of the summer past,
And whispered to the stream hard by:
"A brighter day shall come at last,

"When you, within your tinkling bed,
And I, to breathings of the spring,
Shall oft rejoice o'er winter dead,
And of the new-born season sing.

"Until that happy time shall be,
In faith we'll wait for good unseen,
When you shall sweeter sing to me
And I shall wear a brighter green."

I heard the sound the grasses made,
In whispering to the brook hard by;
And, though the east wind swept the glade,
Less bitter seemed the wintry sky.

Be strong, my heart; beat brave and true;
Let not life's cold steal thro' thy door;
Some kindly wall shall shield thee, too,
And God will bring thy spring once more!

HERBERT WELSH.

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THE POOR OF PARIS.*

IN a series of carefully considered studies, M. Othenin d'Haussonville, well known for his earlier work on the charities of Paris, has analyzed the question of the poor of that great city. As usual, the mere official returns are a very insufficient basis upon which to establish the rules that govern the relations between poverty and misery, and the successive gradations downward into crime and vice. However, the estimate of those receiving public assistance in Paris in 1881, a fair approximation at best, numbers 354,812. Of this great total, twenty-eight thousand are children, and it must be borne in mind, that, apart from those of this class who are abandoned owing to the utter destitution of their parents, there are many more who are sent out of Paris simply to be kept alive on the smallest sum that will serve to secure them a home. Then, of the adults, 201,100 receive public assistance at their own homes and 125,712 in hospitals and asylums. Of course, many of these are the same individuals, and still more frequently members of the same family; but, then, of the fifteen thousand cases of child-birth, many are fairly entitled to this degree of public medical assistance who are in no sense members of the permanently pauperized classes. The great bulk are those who are regularly entered on the books of the public alms-givers; the minority only figure there on rare occasions. In Paris, as in the rest of France, public officers visit and assist the poor at their own homes, by virtue of authority from the Bureau of Charity; each ward has its own office, and its own list of the poor in it, prepared every December. Every three years, these lists are revised by controllers, who base upon them a distribution of the money voted annually among the twenty wards of the city of Paris out of the municipal treasury. The permanent list includes the blind, paralytics, cancer patients, bed-ridden, and those over seventy-five; the temporary list is made up of accident cases, sick, women in confinement, nurses in care of abandoned children, orphans, households with three children under fourteen or two when one is very ill, a mother about to give birth to her third child, women deserted by their hus-

* "La Misère à Paris." *Revue des Deux Mondes*, Paris. Part I., June 15th; Part II., October 1st, 1881.

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bands, widows and widowers with at least two children under fourteen or one child seriously ill, and so on, through almost all kinds of destitution and distress. The former, as well as the classes entitled to temporary assistance, are too often only thus hastened on to their permanent pauperization. The true aim and purpose of all charity ought to be to prevent the accidental and occasional recipient of alms from becoming a chronic pauper, just as the real aim of all prison reform ought to be to deter first offenders from joining the criminal classes.

In Paris, the temporary cases are twenty-eight thousand, the regular, permanent recipients are one hundred and twenty-three thousand, making a total of one hundred and fifty-one thousand, out of a total population of two millions. Great, far too great, as is this number, is it small or large, as measured by the statistics of London? In London, in 1861, with a population of 2,800,000, there were one hundred and three thousand poor in receipt of public assistance to the amount of five millions of dollars. In 1871, with a population of 3,250,000, there were one hundred and sixty-seven thousand poor; this was in 1874 reduced to one hundred and eighteen thousand, in 1879 to ninety-eight thousand; but it increased in 1880 to one hundred and five thousand,—about three per cent. of the whole population,—including both in-door and out-door relief. Paris shows a percentage more than double. It must be borne in mind that in London public aid is given arbitrarily by each board of guardians of separate work-houses, at a total cost of nearly ten millions of dollars,—double in 1881 of that of 1861. There is a much greater repugnance to resort to the public authorities in London than in Paris; while there is much larger private almsgiving in the former city, by all sorts of charitable foundations; in Paris private charity is nearly always distributed on personal inquiry of the individual cases. While the misery of London is much more shocking on the surface than that of Paris, there is a marked diminution in the percentages of English pauperism; in 1849 it was six per cent., in 1871 but four per cent., in 1879 only three per cent., a result due much more to the increase of temperance, and consequent saving of earnings by the working classes, and to a judicious distribution of public and private alms, than to any theoretical cure of pauperism. In Paris, in the last twelve years, there has been little variation in the proportions be-

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tween population and pauperism; in 1869 it was one to fifteen, in 1877 one to seventeen, in 1880 one to sixteen; while the increase of population has been exceeded by the increase of general well-being, as shown in the greater amount in the savings-banks and other evidences of growing prosperity. There still remains the difficult problem of ascertaining why pauperism should still hold its own and remain a fixed factor, in spite of the steady increase of wealth and the growing prosperity of the country. To solve this it is worth analyzing the figures showing the number of the poor in receipt of public alms in the different wards; and in Paris, as well as in Philadelphia, these indicate the proportion and distribution of wealth and poverty through all successive gradations. In the eleventh ward or *arrondissement* of Paris there are 14,500, in the twentieth 12,800, in the nineteenth 10,800, in the thirteenth 10,700, in the fifth 7,100; while, in proportion to population, in the thirteenth it is one to six hundred and seventy-one, in the twentieth one to seven hundred and seventy-nine, in the nineteenth one to nine hundred and nine, in the fifteenth one to forty-seven, in the sixteenth one to twelve, falling down even to one in nine.

In Paris, as elsewhere, poverty gradually leaves the heart of the town and takes refuge in the new outskirts, thus trying to secure quarters at a rate commensurate with slender means varying with the seasons. Invading the almost rural suburbs, following up the lines of new streets and cheap buildings, the pauper population carries new terrors for those who first meet it, in the evil habits of its members, young and old, the dishonesty and vices of all who sink into this shifting yet always degrading companionship. In old Paris, there are still streets full of misery, crowded, wretched quarters, hanging close on to the fashionable residences, and largely fed by the charity which it demands almost as a right of its well-to-do neighbors. Even the march of improvement has left untouched these unwholesome alleys, with their haunts of vice and their reeking hordes of successive beggars and criminals. Lodgings of two rooms let for fifty dollars a year, a single room from thirty to forty dollars, and those that have but an hour or two of day-light, and are hardly large enough for a single bed, rent for twenty-five dollars; while a family of six may be crowded into it, with such furniture as can be got from charity, public or private, looking to the hospital as the only refuge in case of sickness, and

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living from day to day in doubtful fear and hope of the means of livelihood. Yet, even in such a region, the taverns are busy as the men and women return from their work, and twice a week a ball finds patrons from the same class. Cellars, garrets, narrow passages,—all are crowded with a population which from day to day earns and spends its wretched wages. The assistance of public charity is sought as a means of fighting off the direst necessity, and there is in the poorest Parisian an intense desire to preserve an appearance of respectability and to hide from neighboring eyes the extreme of misery which compels an appeal to the authorized agencies.

The careful study of each quarter of Paris shows that every district has its own share and species of misery,—a distinctive population, with particular resources, separate modes of making the best of the locality, and a new relation of landlord and tenant in each direction. In one part of Paris, there is a whole colony of one-story barracks, built on leased ground and let in single rooms for fifty cents a week, yielding twenty-five per cent. per annum, paid in advance. The tenant has no furniture, a bundle of straw furnishing warmth; while the ground landlord, when the lease is up, destroys a whole settlement, expelling a horde of miserable occupants, only to let the land again for the same wretched use. Half rag-pickers, half thieves, is the general description of the class living in this way, and their vices are largely the result of the way in which they live. Of 46,815 lodgings occupied by poor people in Paris, eighteen hundred were rented for less than twenty dollars a year, twenty-five thousand for less than forty dollars, six thousand for less than fifty dollars, only one thousand paying more than that, the rest being the free quarters of porters and others who gave some service in return. Of the whole number, more than one-half were but one room, seventeen thousand two rooms, one of them generally a little kitchen; three thousand had no chimney or fire-place, or other means of heating, five thousand were only lit from the roof, and fifteen hundred opened only on a passage-way or entry; eleven thousand, five hundred had two beds, six thousand had three, one thousand had four, eighty-two had five. Dr. Marjolin, as President of the Children's Aid Society, reported the result of his visit to sixteen hundred such lodgings, and declared that the moral injury was as great as that to the health of the occupants.

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In a healthy part of Paris, the deaths were fifteen to one thousand of the population; in a quarter filled with the poor, they rose to thirty-six, and the living were often worse off with their ailments and miseries.

There is in Paris a special inspection of unhealthy houses, and since 1840 there has been a regular report made every five years. Between 1871 and 1876, there were 17,434 cases in which the owners were obliged to increase the water-supply, improve the water-closets or other privies, that eighth Egyptian plague, or enlarge the supply of air, light, or ventilation. But this makes a very small impression on the evils caused by the bad habits or want of cleanliness of the lodgers themselves. To meet these cases, there is in Paris a feeble effort to provide wholesome lodgings at moderate prices, on the condition of proper use and enjoyment of their improved homes by the tenants, subject always to strict rules. What has been done at Mulhouse, Anzin, Creuzot, and other manufacturing centres, was attempted during the Empire in Paris, where a number of good apartments, let for from forty dollars to sixty dollars, were supplied in new buildings; this has been done on a larger scale by private individuals and by companies, and at Passy and Auteuil a workman can get a small house with a little plot of ground for a rent of sixty dollars. In London there are twenty-seven societies working for this end; but in Paris land is much dearer and harder to get, and the working classes prefer their lodgings in houses five or six stories high, while they dislike the restraint of constant inspection,—the only condition of absolute sanitary morals,—and have no fancy for owning their own houses or living for twenty years under the same roof, working at the same shop or factory, and putting all their savings in a home, even to make it their own. Then, when, out of forty-six thousand lodgings, only seven thousand cost forty dollars a year or more, what use is it to offer them at sixty dollars, or to hope to draw four per cent. out of investments which can hardly pay two per cent., unless the difference be credited to charity?

Some years ago, a large land-owner built eight great houses, with twelve hundred lodging-apartments, some of them let as low as twelve dollars a year; but workmen would not go there, or, if they did, would not stay, complaining that they were too much like barracks, the stairs too steep, the entries too dark, the rooms

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too small,—complaints that had some foundation in fact. Now, the seven great gates are closed, to prevent the tenants from decamping without paying rent, and only one entrance, closely watched, is kept open. Of the two thousand tenants, not a hundred have any decent means of livelihood; the rest are mere wanderers, living as best they may and steadily growing worse, defacing and destroying the houses, attracting public notice by their vicious courses and by the dreadful havoc of disease engendered by their own utter want of decency. There, and in so many other parts of Paris, might well be inscribed the words of St. Augustine: "*Genitus per immunditiam, vivens in miseria, moriturus in angustia.*" There is a large class of the poor in Paris who do not even own their own furniture,—a bed, a table, and two or three chairs, —enough to give a certain degree of ease and relative dignity. The bed and the workmen's tools are protected by law, but not against the folly or misfortune of the owner; and Paris is full of those who do not own even these, and four times a year there is a moving spectacle of the poor who carry their few personal effects in their arms as they seek new quarters,—"furnished rooms," so called in a sort of mockery of their utter wretchedness. Then there is that large floating population which comes from the country to earn the better wages of Paris, living in barracks, fifteen or twenty beds in a room, saving every possible penny to invest on their return home in another bit of ground, which is tilled by the family, their joint economies producing that gain which characterizes the French peasant and constitutes a large part of the nation's wealth.

The police returns in Paris show 10,481 hotels, with over 1,373,000 persons registered in them in a single day; but, as these make no distinction between the great hotels in the American sense and the wretchedly furnished lodging-houses of the worst class, such figures serve little purpose. According to a division made according to the prices, there were nearly two hundred thousand lodgings of the cheapest kind. In 1878, M. d'Haussonville published in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* of June 1st an account of his personal inspection of the worst of these. His report was confirmed by the official visitors, whose description exceeded even the horrors he had pointed out. A decree on the subject, published by the Prefect of Police, provided a great many measures for correcting the worst evils; but it has never been enforced, partly for want of

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means, partly for want of legal authority. In London, Parliament took the initiative in this direction in 1851, and in 1875 it digested the successive laws in the General Sanitary Act, regulating the number of lodgers in one room, the size, the ventilation, the light, the inspection, the care of the sick, the instant transfer of all contagious cases to hospitals, and providing abundant administrative authority to enforce its provisions. In Paris, there is a whole army of homeless, houseless wanderers, pursued by the police, but still finding shelter of some kind without money or price,—in winter in the boats filled with charcoal and other freight on the Seine, in summer in the Bois de Boulogne, at all seasons in the great markets, —where the honest dealers coming in from the country for miles around are crowded out of their own stalls and benches by the vagabonds, who snatch a hasty slumber until the police make their rounds, easily distinguishing the one class from the other and soon filling the station-houses.

In 1880, there were nearly fourteen thousand arrests in Paris for vagabondage. The rise and fall of this class of police offences varies in regular stages, from the order of the Empire to the disorders that marked its fall, with a curious suggestiveness, and now, with the restoration of good administration, the percentage has gone back again to its old proportions. Out of the whole number, only thirteen hundred were convicted, and of these eleven hundred received the minimum of less than three months' imprisonment. One hundred and twenty-six under sixteen years of age were returned to their families or to houses of refuge; yet the majority of them had neither homes nor means of livelihood, and were, strictly and technically, vagabonds. But, imprisonment for short terms being worse than no punishment, and the law making no provision for compelling them to work, it is cheaper and easier to let them loose at once than to crowd them into prisons already overflowing with a worse class of offenders. A plan for keeping them in confinement long enough to teach them a trade and to inculcate habits of industry, after much discussion, is again postponed. Meantime, Paris attracts good and bad from all parts of France and far beyond, who come in the hope of earning a livelihood, either honestly or otherwise, and six or seven thousand are annually sent home as a mere police regulation. Of those who remain, the majority wander around in a vicious circle of offences,

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often escaping positive crime, but always on the edge of it. Private charity has set on foot the simple remedy of free night-lodgings. Opened in 1878, over forty-eight thousand persons were housed in two years. Of these, there were teachers, engineers, lawyers, officers, newspaper men, painters, pianists,—all classes, indeed, whose moral shipwreck was even greater than their material ruin. Over ten thousand, however, were farm-hands and day-laborers, drawn from the country to Paris in the hope of high wages and finding refuge in these asylums, when their little store was spent while waiting for employment. The day at each of these asylums is, of course, quiet and uneventful; but at night-fall, when the inmates gather together, a pretty strong hand is needed to keep them in order. The volunteer members of the society that undertook this work attend and recite a simple prayer in the living-room, and then the bed-room is opened, where any decent applicant is given, free of charge, lodgings for three successive nights, which may be prolonged for any reason satisfactory to the officers. In 1880, of the twenty-six thousand lodgers, thirty-nine hundred got work through the agency of the association. The same task was undertaken for women by the Philanthropic Society, which, next to the Maternal Aid Society, is the oldest, as it is the most useful, charity in Paris; it has Catholics, Protestants and Jews on its management. In 1879 it opened an asylum for women and children, where a hundred are often lodged decently over night. Naturally, the rules for cleanliness and as to identification are more exacting than those that are in force for men. On its lists are workingwomen, domestic servants, teachers, artists, and deserted wives of all classes; beds and lodging are given for from three to five nights, with meals night and morning, and help in finding redress, sympathy in sorrow, and succor at the time of greatest need. Of seventy-two hundred women received since this asylum was opened, over one thousand have been restored to their proper spheres of life. The worst class to deal with are the unmarried women just out of hospital with their new-born children. They receive six dollars each from the guardians of the poor, intended to enable them to gain strength; but, in point of fact, it is used to get rid of their offspring and to begin again a life of indulgence. The saddest cases are those of widows or deserted wives, whose sorrowful condition is

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best attested by their mention of husband or children who were fortunate enough to die before their destitution threw them out on the world. The benefit and usefulness of these night-refuges would not be increased by multiplying them, especially as was once proposed, to the extent of one in each ward; for that would only tend to encourage a floating population without homes, always sure of an asylum in these public quarters. In London, the thirty work-houses have each its casual ward, with beds open to all comers, bath, meals, and a small amount of work, supposed to make the recipients unwilling to return to the strict police supervision so much in contrast with the charity and tender kindness extended to the same class in Paris. But in London, out of the thirty-seven thousand received in 1879, fourteen thousand were identified as professional tramps, while no effort is there made to find work or to restore them to their original and better place. In Paris, the mere exercise of charity, the gift of clothes, especially those of children that have died, brought by the grieving mother, enables the poor to help the poorest and to relieve their own sorrow by an act of kindness to others still more wretched and unfortunate; and this is the distinguishing feature of all French charity.

The question of how far it is possible for those who are well-to-do to understand and penetrate the minds and thoughts and consciences of the poor, is more than a merely literary one, although a whole school has grown up in admiration of M. Zola's painful pictures of the worst classes. There are two books that come much closer home than the novels that have obtained so much popularity; "The Secret of the Poor of Paris," published in 1863, by M. Corbon, and "The Workman in 1870," by M. Denis Poulot, himself a workingman, especially deserve close study. The former deals only with the well-to-do mechanics, numbering not more than half of the whole number; the latter with his own trade, iron-workers, and of these, he says, forty per cent. work more than they drink, sixty per cent. drink oftener than they work, ten per cent. only work without drinking, ninety per cent. drinking more or less and furnishing the best customers to the saloons near every iron industrial establishment. It is from M. Poulot's book that M. Zola has drawn most of the language and all of the ideas of his characters. What sort of a childhood have the children born in this class? Close and unwholesome lodgings, rough language and bad habits

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in the adults, wild adventures in the streets, an easy acquaintance with juvenile as well as adult vices,—such are the preparations for the school-life of such as are fortunate enough to have even a brief period of instruction before they are swallowed up in the busy life of work to which they look forward. What can the best teachers do during the few hours of each day that the children are entrusted to them,—not always willingly,—to correct the evil influences of bad homes?

The hardships and risks, moral as well as physical, that environ the life of young apprentices and working-people—girls even more than boys,—between thirteen and eighteen, the evils that surround them, in speech, and example, and influence, in shops and factories, may well sap the foundation of any love of virtue that was born or inculcated. But even suppose that all these risks are happily passed, and the young workman has taken a wife from among the young workingwomen; what are the chances of a happy domestic life? While the people from the country find no charm in the landscape, and look to the city for their amusements, the working classes hasten to leave the towns on their infrequent holidays, and to find fresh delight in the fields and pastures, the parks, and other districts open for their rambles. Then, the people of Paris, poor and rich, find an unceasing resource in the theatres, and, unfortunately for the lack of sufficient attraction within the reach of their shallow savings, variety saloons have grown up, with every shade of good and bad performances, both on and off the stage; in many of them, a whole family of a Paris workingman may often be found, the children drinking in mischief from songs and scenes that hardly ruffle the morals of their toil-stained elders. The Parisians, male and female, have little of that natural love of the Germans for music; and the open-air concerts or the winter-gardens of every German town, and of all those in America where the Germans have established themselves in large numbers, supply an innocent amusement that is almost unknown in France, in spite of the national taste for crowds.

On the other hand, the French have a real love of art, and this is cultivated by the easy access to the great national collections, to the frequent exhibitions, and by the constant display of prints of famous pictures in the shop-windows. Any visitor of the homes of the decent poor will receive a lesson in the refining influences of

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true art in seeing how much oftener the reprints, even of the cheapest kind, are those of good pictures than of the kind that are too often made to represent French taste in art. The question of the extent to which religious influences control the working population of Paris, is one that requires nice dealing. The growing hostility of all classes in France to the exercise of religious duties by themselves, and of lay functions by clergymen, is an open manifestation of the change extending through all countries with established churches. In Paris, of the twenty-seven thousand and five hundred burials registered in a given six months, five thousand had no religious ceremonies, and, in proportion to the populations of the various wards, those of the working classes show that more than one-half of the interments were without any clerical services. All this, with other changes characteristic of a growing indifference to any form of religion, is the outgrowth of the last thirty years. The efforts of Protestant missionaries to attract to their churches the workingmen who have abandoned all attendance on those of the Roman Catholic faith, have had but small success. Materialism, with its promise of corporal rather than spiritual regeneration, of an improvement in wages, of less work and more pleasure, is the doctrine that finds readiest acceptance from the working classes.

The moral condition of the people of Paris, including the highest as well as the lowest, has steadily fallen under the assaults made upon the foundation of all religious faith and the traditions of virtue. Paris and its inhabitants are constantly exposed to a siege of its morals; its passions and its vices grow in greater proportion than its defences; books, pictures, photographs, lectures, appeals to the basest and most criminal tendencies, in the theatres, at the concert-saloons, are offered at every turn; even the police, as if tired of a thankless office, are growing lax in their supervision, and the humble virtues of the working classes have little protection from the authorities, high or low. Even the charity that, in its exercise as an act of devotion, is such a resource for the well-to-do, adds to the general injury done the poor. It makes the occasional help, given out of pure humanity, an excuse for withholding any effort to secure a real improvement of their condition. The right to public or private assistance suggests a reason for exaggerating temporary disability, so as to continue to enjoy the fruits of leisure

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at the expense of somebody else; there is always a temptation to lying, and idleness, and dishonest courses, until the pity that leads to charity is worn out by incessant deception. The fault, however, is often less with the poor than with the circumstances that keep them in distress; ignorance, vice, cowardice, idleness, are the causes of their wretchedness.

M. d'Haussonville promises, in a continuation of his careful study of the poor of Paris, to examine into the origin, and to point out the remedies, as far as they can be found, of this great reproach of modern civilization. What he has to say on these points will be of interest and value here, too; for in many respects we have a great deal to learn from the lessons of the great cities of the Old World. Philadelphia should make provision for the better class of those nightly wanderers, who now find refuge, such as it is, in the station-houses. Much good would be done by extending the charity shown to women in their confinement, to the care of the mother and her child for a reasonable time after its birth. The utter absence of any provision for those who, by misfortune, or even vice, are quite without other resources than theft, is a crying shame in the midst of the general comfort and well-being of this city and of the whole country. The existence in our midst of unwholesome streets, infected districts, vile lodgings, unfit for human habitation, is an infinite discredit, only lessened by the efforts of a small knot of good men and women to gradually convert that region which is most conspicuous into one of decent houses. The municipal authorites do little or nothing to break up these and other such haunts of vice and sources of crime and misery. With all our comfortable satisfaction at the homes of our working classes, there is too much disposition to pass slightingly over the evils and the miseries that accompany poverty in our midst. To examine it as M. d'Haussonville is doing in Paris, Paris, to find its causes, to point out its remedies, and to enforce them, is a task that yet remains to be taken in hand.

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SCIENCE.

PRODUCTION OF IRON AND STEEL IN THE UNITED STATES.

ALTHOUGH statistics make dry reading, they sometimes convey very valuable information in a concise form. The report of the production of iron and steel in the United States, prepared for the tenth census by the Secretary of the Iron and Steel Association, is a case in point; and, as many of the readers of THE PENN MONTHLY may not have the opportunity or leisure to examine the report *in extenso*, we cull from the advance-sheets, which have been recently issued, the following interesting and most important particulars.

The total amount of iron and steel produced in the United States at the time of preparing the ninth census (in 1870,) was 3,665,215 tons; ten years later, it had increased to 7,265,140 tons, or nearly double, while the amount paid for wages had increased less than thirty-seven per cent. The proportion of Bessemer steel produced had increased 4,486 per cent.(!) and of pig-iron eighty-four per cent.

The most remarkable increase of production in any particular locality was in Cook County, Ill. In 1870, the State produced but twenty-five thousand tons of rolled-iron and no pig-iron; in 1880, its products included ninety-five hundred tons of pig-iron, two hundred and five thousand tons of Bessemer steel, and over twenty-eight thousand tons of bar-iron. Pennsylvania still heads the list as a producer of these valuable commodities; but, judging from the vast deposits of iron ores in our Western States, which, until very recently, have been entirely overshadowed by the more glittering metals, gold and silver, we believe that our State is destined to lose its supremacy as a producer of iron, and also of coal, ere many years have elapsed.

The State of Colorado, which may be called our great mineralogical cabinet, has already made itself famous for the wealth of gold and silver which it has yielded; but, in future years, when its glory as a producer of precious metals shall have declined, like California, Colorado will not be dependent, as her sister State now is, mainly upon agricultural resources, but will come to the front as the great iron and coal mart of the West. Surprising as

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it may seem, it is stated, on reliable authority, that there is more and richer iron ore in Colorado than in Pennsylvania, and more coal to melt it with. Within the past year, a blast-furnace has gone into operation at South Pueblo, using native ore and native fuel; and preparations are being made to continue the experiment, which has been so successfully commenced, upon a very much larger scale. The rapid increase of railroads and manufactories in the far West has created a demand for iron and coal which the East cannot long continue to supply, the cost of transportation often exceeding the value of the material.

CARBONIZING WOOD.

The rapid depletion of our forests is becoming more and more apparent, and in a few years the havoc made by the lumberman and the charcoal-burner will, without doubt, produce serious inconvenience, especially in our own State. Any steps, therefore, which may be taken to lessen this evil, or to utilize products which are now recklessly wasted, should meet with favor. It would be difficult to find a more wasteful process of manufacture than the time-honored plan of preparing charcoal by smouldering fires in kilns, usually constructed of mud, unless it may be in the analagous method of making coke. There is an excuse for the crudity of the latter process, however, in the fact that it is a new industry, which has only grown to large proportions within a very few years. The charcoal-burner is blissfully ignorant of the fact, that, for every bushel of coal that he makes, he gives to the winds a number of valuable products, resulting from the carbonizing of the wood, which might readily be recovered by the use of proper appliances; while it is possible, at the same time, to obtain a larger yield and better quality of charcoal.

It is true that some efforts to recover pyroligneous acid resulting from the distillation of wood by carbonizing it in brick chambers have already been made; but they have only been partially successful, owing to the very inadequate appliances used. Recently, however, experiments have been conducted at a large iron-mining works at Port Leyden, in this State, under the supervision of a practical chemist; and they seem to have given excellent results as far as they have gone. The plan adopted is to carbonize the wood in closed wrought-iron retorts. The "plant" consists of twenty-four retorts capable of producing three thousand bushels of charcoal

per day, and the number of retorts is soon to be increased to forty-eight. The yield of charcoal is said to be sixty-six bushels for each cord of wood, or about twenty bushels per cord more than that which is obtained by the ordinary method of carbonizing. The charcoal thus produced is, as we might expect, much denser than ordinary charcoal, weighing nineteen pounds per bushel when made from beech, maple and birch woods. Owing to the superior density of this coal, it was found that the burden of iron ore in the blast-furnace in which it was used experimentally could be increased twenty-five per cent. without increasing the proportion of fuel. In addition to the charcoal thus made, one hundred and eighty-five gallons of pyroligneous acid were obtained from each cord of wood carbonized, which, in the ordinary process of "meiler"-coaling, and in most cases of kiln-coaling, is allowed to go to waste. It was further found that the combustion of the uncondensable gases resulting from the operation gave sufficient heat to maintain the temperature of the retorts up to the required degree, after the fire was started, without using other fuel.

The products of distillation vary, of course, with the kind of wood used, the hard woods (such as oak, birch, beech, chestnut, etc.,) yielding larger percentages of acetic acid and of methylic alcohol (wood-naptha); while pine wood yields principally turpentine, which is similarly condensed and recovered. The process is so simple, and the results are apparently so satisfactory, that it is surprising that these improved methods of carbonizing wood were not adopted years ago.

CELLULOID AND ITS USES.

The purposes to which this substance may be applied seem to be almost limitless, and the manufacture has grown, within a very few years, to an important industry. We have recently seen some beautiful specimens of "nature-printing" done with celluloid plates, in which the representations of ferns, grasses and sea-weed were so perfect as to merit the title of *fac-similes*. There was no evidence of the graver's tool upon the plates, and it would be a skilled artist, indeed, who could produce by hand with great labor what is here accomplished by simple pressure in a few moments. The plates were prepared by covering an ordinary printer's block of hard wood with plastic celluloid, and pressing the fern-leaf or other object upon its surface. As soon as the material becomes hard, the

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object is detached, when it leaves a perfect *intaglio*, from which hundreds of copies may be printed with as much ease as from an ordinary wood-cut; or, if it be preferred, a *relievo* may be taken from the *intaglio* and used as the printing-block.

In view of the novel uses of celluloid which are constantly presenting themselves to our notice, a brief account of its preparation may be found profitable to those readers of THE PENN MONTHLY who are interested in these science notes. It is well known that ordinary cotton undergoes a remarkable change of properties (though remaining the same in outward appearance,) by simply subjecting it for a short time to the action of nitric and sulphuric acids. It is found that cotton thus treated, when dried, is a very inflammable and even highly explosive substance, as dangerous in this respect as gun-powder; and on account of this quality it is commonly called "gun-cotton," to distinguish it from ordinary cotton. It is found, moreover, that this cotton has acquired another new and surprising quality; viz., of complete solubility in alcohol and ether, forming a clear solution. When this solution is poured over a glass plate, the volatile fluid portion quickly evaporates, leaving a perfectly transparent film, somewhat like hardened gelatine, on the glass. We presume that everyone is familiar with this substance, which is so important a material to the photographer, and is called "collodion." Now, it has been found that gun-cotton (or other similarly treated wood-fibre,) is also soluble in camphor by the aid of heat, when treated with it in a closed vessel under pressure, and the resultant mass is called "celluloid;" but it is, in effect, nothing more than solidified collodion. In this form it resembles ivory very closely, and it has largely superseded ivory for ornamental and useful objects, on account of its cheapness. As a manufacturer of celluloid aptly remarked, "We can make our own elephants, while the ivory-men have to catch theirs." By the aid of pigments, the celluloid may be colored of any desired shade, and it is even made to imitate tortoise-shell so perfectly that it is difficult to distinguish the real from the counterfeit article.

The subject of celluloid and its uses is sufficiently interesting to deserve a more extended notice; but, as our space is limited, we can only add to this cursory glance at its manufacture a brief list of uses to which it is applied: *Imitation ivory*,—piano and organ keys, billiard-balls, combs, brushes, umbrella and cane handles,

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handles of knives and forks, harness-mountings, chess-men, etc.; *imitation tortoise-shell*,—card-cases, cigar-cases, combs, jewelry, and fancy articles of all kinds, such as frames for spectacles, eye-glasses and opera-glasses, etc.; it is used for making musical instruments, such as flutes, flageolets, drum-sticks and drum-heads, etc.; *imitation amber*,—mouth-pieces for pipes, etc.; *imitation coral*,—jewelry of the most elaborate designs, and in all shades of pink, from the darkest to the lightest tints. In fact, it has been said by an enthusiast that "nearly every thing we have now, except what we eat, is made out of celluloid." This should, of course, be flavored with a grain of salt.

ZERO.

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UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA.

THE annual commencement of the Medical and Dental Departments came off on the 15th ult. The number of graduates from the former was one hundred and seventeen, to which should be added five who received the degree of doctor of medicine at the commencement in June, 1881, making the total for the year one hundred and twenty-two. This is the largest graduating class since the adoption of the "new plan," and is within five of the number graduating for the session of 1876–7, the year preceding the change, and exceeds that for the session of 1875–6 by one. The graduates from the Dental Department numbered forty-one, which, with one at the June commencement preceding, make the total since the last annual commencement, in March, 1881, forty-two.

The valedictory address to the graduating classes, by Professor Tyson, already published in the April number of this magazine, was listened to with more than usual attention, many of the audience learning for the first time what has been done by the University in the direction of higher medical education.

The Henry C. Lea prize was divided between D. K. Gottwald and Horace F. Jayne *ex æquo*, the Alumni prize between E. T. Robinson and Henry Wile *ex æquo*. The theses of G. W. Johnston, Carl H. Reed, Herbert E. Smith, A. Judson Daland, Alexis D. Smith, George E. Shoemaker, Charles Claxton, W. Frank Haehnlen and N. Archer Randolph were announced as of distinguished merit; and those of George M. Boyd, C. S. Dolley, J. L. Elliott, W. M. Gray, Howard A. Kelly, C. R. Matchett, D. W. B. Kupp, C. H. Loder, M. C. Radcliffe, J. Schmidt, P. N. K. Schwenk, D. W. Shelly, J. E. Sheppard, J. S. Tait and W. J. Taylor received honorable mention.

The morbid anatomy prize—a Zentmayer's histological microscope,—was awarded by the Professor of Morbid Anatomy, for the best thesis on any subject in morbid anatomy, illustrated by microscopical specimens, to J. Wright Blackburn, with honorable mention of William H. Stewart.

The anomaly prize, awarded by the Demonstrator of Anatomy, Dr. Charles T. Hunter, for the best record of anomalies found in

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the dissecting-room, was divided between Howard A. Kelly and Horace F. Jayne.

The osteological prize,—a copy of "Quain's Anatomy," in two volumes,—offered by Dr. C. B. Nancrede, the Demonstrator of Osteology and Syndesmology, for the best essay upon any subject connected with osteology and syndesmology by a member of the first-year class, went to E. C. Fahrney, with honorable mention of M. Howard Fussell.

Fifty-one out of one hundred and seventeen graduates from the Medical Department received general averages of ninety or over, and were announced as having received honors of the first class; eight of the graduates of the Dental Department received similar honors.

The omission of the usual display of floral and other gifts from the friends of graduates, inaugurated this year by request of the class, was generally favorably commented upon. A few thought a tameness and want of enthusiasm resulted; but the majority considered that the omission, by avoiding the distraction incident to the racing of the flower-bearing ushers through the aisles and passage-ways, the presence of the mounds of flowers on the stage, and the confusion of their final distribution, secured a greater interest in the more important parts of the commencement which added to the dignity of the occasion. Certainly, at no recent commencement was the interest manifested in the exercises apparently so great; while all congratulated themselves on the shortening of the proceedings at least an hour by the omission of the distribution of the flowers. It is hoped that the example set by the class of 1882 will be followed by succeeding classes.

Over a year ago, the three Alumni societies of Arts, Medicine and Law of the University of Pennsylvania appointed a joint committee of fifteen members for the purpose of considering a plan for the establishment of some definite connection between the Board of Trustees and the Alumni of the University. This joint committee consisted of the following members of the several Alumni societies:

Arts,—Rev. James W. Robins, D. D., I. Minis Hays, M. D., Robert H. Neilson, Henry Budd; Medicine,—William Pepper, M. D., Alfred Stillé, M. D., Horatio C. Wood, M. D., J. H. Hutchin-

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son, M. D., W. F. Norris, M. D.; Law,—J. Sergeant Price, Samuel C. Perkins, Henry C. Olmsted, Walter G. Smith, J. Levering Jones. Mr. J. Sergeant Price was elected chairman and Dr. I. Minis Hayes secretary of said committee.

This joint committee, though a special committee consisting of Messrs. Price, Norris, Robins, Olmsted and Jones, had a number of conferences with a committee appointed by the Board of Trustees to meet them. The Trustees did not think it wise to ask for any amendments to their charter; but, desiring that the influence and the services of the Alumni might be made available for promoting the prosperity and usefulness of the University, they unanimously adopted the report of their committee, which provided that a committee should be appointed by the Alumni, to be called "The Central Committee of the Alumni of the University of Pennsylvania;" that said committee should be authorized, for every third vacancy which might exist in the Board of Trustees, to nominate four persons deemed by said committee to be qualified to fill such vacancy; that such nominations should lie over for at least four weeks, and thereafter be voted on by the Trustees; if no one of such nominees were elected, that the committee should be requested to make new nominations, to be considered in the same way, until the vacancy should be filled; that the Central Committee should divide itself into sub-committees,—one for each department,—whose duty it should be, from time to time, to attend upon the examinations and recitations, and other exercises, of the department for which such committee had been selected, and to confer with the Professors and the Faculty thereof in all matters that might tend to improvement or be deemed advisable for the correction of errors; that each of such committees should meet at fixed times, and keep minutes of its proceedings, and should annually, or oftener, if they deemed the same expedient, make a report to the Central Committee, and that the same, if approved, should be forwarded to the Board of Trustees; that the Central Committee should appoint a committee, to be styled "The Committee on Property and Endowments," which committee should be furnished annually by the Treasurer with a copy of his accounts and his report to the Trustees of the income and assets of the University, in order that the Alumni, through said committee, might be kept advised of the condition of the University as to its income and expenditures, and be thereby

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enabled to co-operate with the Trustees in securing additions to its resources.

At a recent meeting of the joint committee, the above proposition of the Board of Trustees was accepted, and the following plan of organization was subsequently, on motion of Dr. Pepper, unanimously adopted:

"I. The Central Committee of the Alumni of the University of Pennsylvania shall consist of thirty (30) members, six (6) to be elected annually, to serve for a term of five (5) years, by the duly qualified electors voting by ballot, in person, on Commencement Day, in the city of Philadelphia.

"II. Of the six so elected, two (2) shall be representatives and graduates of the Collegiate Departments of at least three years' standing, two (2) shall be graduates and representatives of the Medical and Collateral Departments, and two (2) graduates and representatives of the Law Department.

"III. Any person that has received a degree, honorary or otherwise, from the University, shall be a duly qualified elector, except those who are members of the Board of Trustees, or other officers of government or instruction in the University, none of whom shall be eligible as members of the Central Committee or entitled to vote at the election of said members.

"IV. The Central Committee shall annually appoint one principal and two or more assistant inspectors of polls, who shall, on Commencement Day, from ten o'clock A. M. until four o'clock P. M., at some place in said city of Philadelphia fixed by said Committee, receive the votes for members of the Committee, and they shall sort and count such votes, and make public declaration thereof after the closing of the polls; and said inspectors shall be provided with a complete list of the persons qualified to vote at such election, and no person shall vote until the inspectors find and check his name upon such list. The names of the persons voted for, the number of votes received for each person, and the vacancy or place in said Committee for which he is proposed, shall be entered by said inspectors upon a record kept by them for that purpose, which shall, after such election, be forthwith made up, signed, and delivered by them to the Central Committee. In case any person not eligible to membership in the Committee is voted for, his name shall not be counted in making up the returns. The

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persons receiving the highest number of votes for the places or vacancies in each of the three sections of the Committee, shall, to the number of members to be elected, be deemed and declared by said Committee elected members thereof.

"V. The Central Committee shall give notice of the place of the polls, the hours during which they are open, the number of members to be elected, and the terms for which they are to serve together with a list of the twelve (12) candidates, four in each section, who received the highest number of votes at the last nomination, by publishing the same, at least ten days before Commencement, in a newspaper or newspapers printed in the city of Philadelphia.

"VI. The terms of office of each class of members of the Central Committee shall extend to the close of Commencement Day of the year in which such terms severally expire, and the members elected on any Commencement Day shall supply the places of the class of members that goes out of office at the close of that day, and the vacancies then existing in the Committee. Whenever there is a failure on Commencement Day to supply any places or vacancies in the Committee, the same may be filled by vote of the remaining members of the Committee.

"VII. In order to secure nominations for the ensuing election, the Central Committee shall annually select eighteen (18) persons (six for each section,) eligible to membership in the Committee, and shall send, on or before April 15th, to all the qualified electors that can be reached through the post-office, a printed list of the persons so chosen, together with a list of the vacancies to be filled. Each elector receiving such lists shall nominate candidates, to a number not exceeding the number of vacancies to be filled, either by striking out the names of all the other persons on the list except those he desires to nominate, or by inserting new ones, and shall return such amended list to the Central Committee before May 15th. The persons receiving in this way the highest number of nominations in each section, to the number of twice the number of vacancies to be filled, shall be considered the regular nominees of the Alumni, and as such their names shall be published by the Committee at the time of announcing the place and time of holding the election, as hereinbefore provided. At the election, however, the electors shall have the privilege of voting either for these or for any other duly qualified persons they may select.

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"In order to accomplish the first election of the Central Committee, the present joint committee of the Alumni societies shall send, on or before April 15th, 1882, to the qualified electors, a list of sixty (60) persons (twenty for each section,) possessing the several qualifications and chosen from the different Departments in the same proportion as provided for by the general rule in regard to the annual election of members of the Central Committee in Section II. From this list each elector shall strike at least thirty (30) names, and return it to the joint committee before May 15th, 1882. A list of the forty-five (45) candidates (fifteen in each section,) receiving the highest number of nominations, shall be published by the joint committee, together with the other notices of the time and place of holding the election, in the same manner as provided for in the case of the Central Committee. The election shall be held subject to the same rules as hereinbefore established, and in general the joint committee shall perform all the duties of the Central Committee until said Central Committee is constituted. The thirty members of the Central Committee, upon the announcement of the result of the first election, shall be divided by lot into five classes, of six each, one class to serve for one, one for two, one for three, one for four, and one for five years.

"The Central Committee thus constituted shall have and enjoy the powers and privileges conferred upon it by the Board of Trustees of the University contained in the plan adopted by them December 6th, 1881, and such other powers and privileges as may hereafter, from time to time, be conferred upon it by the Board.

"The officers of the Committee shall be a President, a Secretary, and a Treasurer, to be elected annually, at such time and in such manner as the Committee may determine. The Committee shall adopt such by-laws, rules and regulations, for its own government and the transaction of business, as it may deem expedient."

The scheme, as above matured, was presented to the Board of Trustees at their meeting held Tuesday, March 7th, 1882, whereupon the following resolution was adopted:

"*Resolved*, That the Trustees of the University of Pennsylvania do approve of the articles of association of the Central Committee of the Alumni of the University, as submitted to the Board of Trustees this day, and do hereby invest said Committee with all the

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rights, privileges and functions therein expressed, subject to all the provisions in the Charter and statutes of the University now in force and the statutes of the said Trustees which may be hereafter ordained."

The Alumni of two departments have cause of congratulation upon the election to the Board of Trustees of Samuel Dickson, Esq., a graduate in Arts in 1855, and in Law in 1859. Mr. Dickson, unlike too many graduates, has kept up his studies in more directions than that of his professional work. He will, therefore, doubtless make a useful Trustee,—one who may safely be trusted to contribute his share to that further development which the University needs.

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BRIEF MENTION.

"HENRY W. LONGFELLOW *died at his residence in Cambridge, at 3.15 this afternoon.*" These few and sorrowful words were telegraphed from Boston on 24th March last, and the intelligence they conveyed was despatched over the land and under the sea; and, wherever the English tongue is spoken, the poet's death is mourned as a loss, not only to American literature, but to that of the world. In Cambridge, the bells rang out seventy-five solemn and monotonous sounds, and proclaimed to the people that their great poet, kind friend, and neighbour was no more on earth.

The death of Mr. Longfellow has caused universal sorrow. Such was the character and influence of his writings, that many, who had never seen his face, mourned not only the extinction of an intellectual light, but the loss of one regarded as a personal friend; for is it not true that his writings, prose and poetry, have secured their universal admiration and acceptance by their sympathy, simplicity, pathos, and purity? He was the poet of the home and its affections, and he felt deeply, that, so long as "truth is stranger than fiction," the elements of poetry and romance will not be wanting in the secret hopes and fears, anxieties, struggles against temptation, good resolves, and feeble or no fulfilment of them, of a single human life. His power over the hearts and minds of his readers is in the forcible and graceful utterance of thoughts and emotions which at times have controlled almost all who have lived. His songs have dignified and raised to the domain of poetry some of the experiences of our daily lives usually regarded as prosaic and common-place, and have shed light and beauty on the path we tread in our journey to the grave. If a predominant imaginative faculty be essential to constitute the poet, Mr. Longfellow will not be in that respect regarded as the greatest of his age, but by the force and expression of his human sympathies he has appealed to the consciousness of his readers and has secured their reverent affection, and in this he is without a rival.

In character and manner, as well as in the oral or written expression of his thoughts and feelings, he illustrated the great excellence of earnestness and simplicity. He was natural, sympathetic and affectionate. His love for the few friends with whom he was most intimate was deep and abiding, and, as his journey on the path of life continued, and the shadows lengthened as he walked

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toward the setting sun, he missed the old, familiar faces, and lamented their departure in words which one can now apply to him :

> "When I remember them, those friends of mine,
> Who are no longer here, the noble three,
> Who half my life were more than friends to me,
> And whose discourse was like a generous wine,
> I most of all remember the divine
> Something that shone in them, and made us see
> The archetypal man, and what might be
> The amplitude of nature's first design.
> In vain I stretch my hands to clasp their hands;
> I cannot find them. Nothing now is left
> But a majestic memory. They meanwhile
> Wander together in Elysian lands,
> Perchance remembering me, who am bereft
> Of their dear presence, and, remembering, smile."

And in another sonnet he says :

> "Good night! good night! as we so oft have said,
> Beneath this roof at midnight, in the days
> That are no more, and shall no more return.
> Thou hast but taken thy lamp, and gone to bed;
> I stay a little longer, as one stays
> To cover up the embers that still burn."

As "genius is ever a secret to itself," he could not understand the popularity of some of his poems, and he said that he gave reluctantly for publication the "Morituri Salutamus," that noblest hymn to age ever written, and that will be read with delight and benefit by unborn generations. Regarding old age, not as an excuse for indolence or rest, but as an encouragement to continued, if not increased, activity, he says :

> "Whatever poet, orator or sage
> May say of it, old age is still old age.
> It is the waning, not the crescent moon,
> The dusk of evening, not the blaze of noon. . . .
> What then? Shall we sit idly down, and say,
> The night hath come; it is no longer day?
> The night hath not yet come; we are not quite
> Cut off from labor by the failing light;
> Something remains for us to do or dare;
> Even the oldest tree some fruit may bear; . . .
> For age is opportunity no less
> Than youth itself, but in another dress.
> And, as the evening twilight fades away,
> The sky is filled with stars invisible by day,"

On 27th, February 1877, he reached his seventieth year, and, in reply to a congratulatory letter, he wrote to a friend in Phila-

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delphia: "You do not know yet what it is to be seventy years old. I will tell you, so that you may not be taken by surprise when your turn comes. It is like climbing the Alps. You reach a snow-crowned summit and see behind you the deep valley, stretching miles and miles away; and before you other summits, higher and whiter, which you may have strength to climb, or may not. Then you sit down and meditate, and wonder which it will be. That is the whole story, amplify it as you may. All that one can say is that life is opportunity."

Last year, the latest volume of his poems was published, and the title announced to the world that he regarded his literary career as at an end. The "Ultima Thule" had been reached, and, in the harbour of the "utmost isle," the sails were lowered and he sought for rest. In his pleasant home, consecrated as it was to him by the memory of so much joy and one great sorrow, and in full possession of that which should accompany old age,—"honour, love, obedience, troops of friends,"—encircled by the affections of those who were near to him and crowned with the veneration and homage of the world, his old age

> "was serene and bright,
> And lovely as a Lapland night."

Mr. Longfellow's personal appearance is widely known by portraits, engravings, and photographs; but all these want the effect of his gracious presence and manner.

> "He had all good grace, to grace a gentleman."

The fascination of his gentle and courteous manner was felt by all who came within the sphere of its influence. Men of eminence in science, literature and art recognized in him a congenial and sympathetic companion; educated and refined women acknowledged the power of a mind feminine in the delicacy of its perceptions and sentiments; and little children, to whom he was ever a kind and familiar friend, found in his thorough naturalness and simplicity that which made them unembarrassed and happy in his presence.

During the last year, his health and strength slowly but certainly diminished, and the solemn termination of his beneficent and happy life was near. On the 24th of March, 1882, his spirit took its departure from its earthly habitation and "joined the dead, but sceptred sovereigns, that rule our spirits from their urns;" and there, in the spot on earth the poet loved the best, and which had been his happy home so many years,

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"Dead he lay among his books;
The peace of God was in his looks.

As the statues in the gloom
Watch o'er Maximilian's tomb,

So those volumes from their shelves
Watched him, silent as themselves. . . .

Let the lifeless body rest,
He is gone, who was its guest. . . .

Traveller! in what realms afar . . .
Shines the light upon thy face?

In what garden of delight
Rest thy weary feet to-night? . . .

Lying dead among thy books,
The peace of God in all thy looks."

The pomp and pageantry of funeral ceremonial were not needed for him, and his burial, like his character and life, was simple and unostentatious. In reverent sorrow, kindred and friends followed the mortal remains to that city of the dead whither so many whom he loved had gone before; and now the fitting conclusion is the last stanza of his translation of De Manrique:

"His soul to Him who gave it rose;
God led it to its long repose,
Its glorious rest.

. . . . . .

Its light shall linger round us yet,
Bright, radiant, blest."

J. P.

International arbitration and universal peace—are they not glorious ideas? Such are the objects of an English association which numbers in its ranks some of the most prominent thinkers and publicists of the whole world. The substitution which it proposes of arbitration for war, to be effected through the medium of an international tribunal, would be a matter really presenting no especial difficulty, if the public mind of all nations were sufficiently educated. All wars are relics of barbarism, remains of the days when no man was considered of any account until he had killed an enemy; they are uncertain and indecisive, useless, costly and ruinous, both to the vanquished and to the victor. It is not necessary to be a visionary in order to believe that a generation which has experienced the Geneva and Halifax Awards, to say nothing of

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minor instances, will live to see many more such arbitrations. The world spends in fruitlessly keeping up standing armies more than enough to clothe and feed all its poor. The *ten millions* of men at arms, who are kept watching each other, withdrawing so many producers and turning them into locust-like consumers, could return to the fields, where their stalwart arms would be of avail, and the *five hundred and sixty-eight million pounds sterling*, which it is computed they annually cost the world, might be used for promoting the arts of peace.

If the principle of international arbitration were once adopted, a general disarmament, except for police purposes, could take place,

> "And man, by love and mercy taught,
> Shall rue the wreck his fury wrought,
> And lay the sword away."

Even in the most despotic and tyrannical Governments, public opinion can make itself felt; how much more so in countries where thought and speech are free. Here in America it is peculiarly our duty to further the great work of philanthropy; its consummation would be the crowning glory of our century. The times have fully ripened to receive this idea, and it needs only the active co-operation of writers and thinkers to force it as a necessity upon the Governments of the world,

The means by which the *International Arbitration and Peace Association of Great Britain and Ireland* propose to effect this end is by the formation in each country of a similar federation, which shall send delegates annually to a central congress, into whose hands shall be committed the supervision and general direction of the associations. Each association shall spread its principles by addresses, lectures, public meetings and every method of educating the popular mind, and shall sedulously correct, as the occasion arises, any misstatements in newspapers, etc., calculated to promote international suspicion or ill-feeling.

The association is no incongruous combination of long-haired men and short-haired women, such as have too often sullied a good cause, but is composed of some of the "solidest" names in Europe; Earl Derby, Earl Shaftesbury, Sir John Lubbock, John Brinton, Esqre, M. P., Sir Travers Twiss, Karl Blind, M. Perier, Père Hyacinthe, and a host of other well-known names, are among its friends and advocates. We trust that the greatest possible success may attend the movement. H. P., Jr.

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NEW BOOKS.

A MANUAL OF HISTORICAL LITERATURE. By Charles Kendall Adams, LL. D. New York : Harper & Brothers, 1882.

This book cannot be commended too highly. Its plan is admirable and its execution is equal to its plan. It is everything it was intended to be and everything that can be desired; which is far more than can be said of many volumes which are well done and have attained a high standard as authority. The author of this volume is professor of history in the University of Michigan, at Ann Arbor, and he tells us, in the preface, that the work "owes its origin to the suggestion of President White of Cornell University, who, some five years ago, did me the honor to propose to share with me the labors and responsibilities of preparing a work similar in character to the one now laid before the public." President White's appointment as Minister to Berlin put an end to his share in the work; and, while appreciating his ripe scholarship, we are glad that this "Manual" has come from the press the work of one hand, especially when it devolved upon so able a hand, for the unity of the work is preserved more perfect. It is a bibliography of historical literature, or, more truly yet, an analytical index to the most desirable historical works, comprising brief descriptions of the most important histories in English, French and German, together with practical suggestions as to methods and courses of historical study.

There are nine hundred and sixty-seven works critically described in this manual, which is divided into thirteen chapters,—the first chapter being introductory, *on the study of history*,—classified respectively under one or the other of the following heads: *Universal history*, *histories of Antiquity*, *of Greece*, *of Rome*, *of the Middle Ages*, *of Modern Times*, *of Italy*, *of Germany*, *of France*, *of Russia and Poland*, *of the Smaller Nationalities of Europe*,—Spain, Portugal, Switzerland, Turkey, modern Egypt, Holland, Belgium and Sardinia,—*of England*, and *of the United States*. The works in these chapters are again subdivided into histories of limited periods, arranged chronologically, and histories of civilization and institutions, arranged alphabetically by authors' names. Each chapter, again, consists of two parts, the first being devoted to descriptions of books, and the second to suggestions to students and readers as to the best order and method of using them. We have thoroughly and carefully examined this manual, and we must candidly say that we cannot find that it has a fault. The works recorded comprise all the volumes of history that any general reader or general student will want to examine or consult, and the criticisms upon each of these works are concise and candid, pointing out both the merits

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and the defects. Of course, we cannot say that our views always coincide with those of Professor Adams; but it would be almost a miracle if the views of any two men upon a body of literature like this could always be in accord. We can say, though, that he is a wonderfully erudite and sagacious critic, and his volume is a monument to a marvellous amount of study and labor expended upon it.

This "Manual of Historical Literature" is a book that no one with any pretence to cultivation should be without; every teacher must have it, each librarian should keep it by his side, among his ready-reference volumes, and all intelligent booksellers ought to distribute copies among their clerks. It is so seldom that we are able to speak in this favorable manner of a new book, that it is a downright pleasure to do so when the rare opportunity occurs. The work is supplemented by a copious index of thirty-five pages, the proof-reading of which, however, has not been sufficiently careful, and, therefore, the page-references are not always correct.

CHARLES HENRY HART.

STUDIES IN MEDIÆVAL HISTORY. By Charles J. Stillé, LL. D., late Provost of the University of Pennsylvania. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1882.

This book is an outgrowth of Dr. Stillé's occupancy of the chair of history in the University of Pennsylvania, and doubtless will be hailed with pleasure by many of the Doctor's former pupils, as well as by historical students in general, as a welcome addition to that very important branch of learning known as the philosophy of history. The work, to which it is impossible to do justice within the bounds of a magazine notice, may be described as a summing up; it assumes on the part of its readers a certain and tolerably full knowledge of the events of the era of which it treats, and then analyzes their causes, relating only so much of historical narrative as is necessary to illustrate the positions and lessons which the author desires to impress upon his readers. Dr. Stillé's object is to show how the conditions of society in the Middle Ages were established, to what they owed their origin, and he also shows the effect of many of the mediæval institutions upon the modern times. He starts with the great conflict between the Roman and the barbarian ideas, and shows the civilization and religion of the former overpowering the mere brute force and wild love of independence of the latter, and how the Roman name and sentiment dominated the barbarian imagination, as exemplified in the dream of a world-wide empire of Charlemagne. He shows, also, how, soon after the apparent realization—in part, at least,—of that dream, the empire was rent and the originals of the present French, German and Italian nations had their rise on the treaty of Verdun. He traces the feudal system and its effect in France, Germany and Eng-

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land, shows the rise of the Moslem power, of the free cities, and of Parliamentary rights in England, besides treating of education in the Middle Ages and the condition of the laboring and commercial classes.

The great feature of Dr. Stillé's book, however, and a most valuable one, is the prominent position he assigns to the work done by the Church in the great cause of human enlightenment and progress. We are too apt, in the present day of material progress and so-called free thought, to overlook the claims of the Church in this respect. We, of course, acknowledge Christianity as the great civilizer and ameliorator of the human condition; but we are too apt to imagine that the work of civilization has been done by the divine precepts of our Master, working upon the heart and conscience directly, and thereby making men better, and to forget that this work, undoubtedly divine, undoubtedly God's work, has been performed by a divinely instituted means, the Church of God, a visible organism, which often controlled by its authority before it called into existence love. The barbarian, who would not even have understood the Sermon on the Mount, was awed by the man who came to his camp, with the insignia of his holy office upon him, and spoke to that savage in the name of One who was king over all the earth, and who commanded him to be baptized or to perform works of mercy; and, when awed, he was taught through the beautiful ritual of the Christian Church, the constant preaching, through the blessed sacrament, of truths, which, had they simply been announced to him, would never have effected a lodgment in his brain. This great service of the Church to mankind Dr. Stillé puts before us in a clear and striking manner; he shows us how, when the civil power shrank, cowering before the invaders, the Church interposed and protected the trembling Romans; he calls to our minds the missions organized by Gregory the Great; he does full justice to the noble religious orders of St. Francis and St. Dominic, and the protection afforded to learning by the Church in the time whose darkness, but for her, would have been the blackness of night itself.

With this scant notice, we must dismiss a book which contains much food for thought and which we recommend as a valuable assistant to anyone who desires to make his studies in mediæval history something deeper than mere glances at the picturesque exterior of the time covered by it. H. B.

THE GOSPEL IN THE STARS; OR, PRIMEVAL ASTRONOMY. By Joseph A. Seiss, D. D. Philadelphia: E. Claxton & Co.

New departures from old standpoints necessarily meet with opposition. Prejudice, indifference, ridicule, should a far-reaching change be proposed, set up themselves, singly or in bands, to tear to pieces the new progression. Even those in advanced posi-

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tion care not to turn aside and lead the way, as long as old routine is not greatly obstructed or outside thought much disturbed. Teachings from ill-weighed probabilities, and thus erroneous, but still teachings handed down from all time, have so warped many minds that the sharp probe of truth from much weightier probabilities, or from closer investigation, finds little penetration and no permanent resting. But, when the subject treated of has an outlook into the unknown and mysterious, mere disbelief takes up her attack with bitter and scornful weapon, to crush out unwelcome doctrine.

"The Gospel in the Stars" comes in for much of this sort of criticism and treatment, which would hastily set it in the balance with old stories long exploded, yet still rehearsed as history; or with doubtful legends of antiquity, passing from mouth to mouth till finally recorded by the father of history or the broad philosopher, and accepted on reputation, with no further probability added.

The author of the volume here presented to notice brings to his work a mind clear, logical, and full of the fruits of research. In no sense *working up* a theme, he exhibits the real outgrowth of a life devoted to the interpretation of the sure word of prophecy. His analysis and exposition of the Apocalypse, that little read and less understood canon of Scripture, in which converges nearly all of sacred prediction, show clearly that the interpreter stands on solid foundation,—even this, that the Holy Spirit who inspired the foretelling of things about to come to pass, knew what He meant to say and how to say it in terms comprehensible to those who would study it aright. The Sacred Word clearly shows that primeval man was no barbarian, but a divinely instructed being, who had at command the arts of advanced progress,—music, mechanics, city and ship building; sun, moon and stars were given to him for signs and seasons, for days and years, so that their signification could be nothing less than divine. After the first population had been swept away, a few who escaped the flood possessed and carried over the earlier knowledge with which were laid, here and there, the beginnings of a new civilization, too soon obscured by the growing night of apostasy and degradation; but, wherever a purer faith survived, there the stars carried, as from the first, a sacred message. The oldest books, the most ancient records, the earliest and latest writers, stand in array for a divine original for physical astronomy and against the heathenish parasite.

The last three lectures by wide induction present a sustained weight of probabilities not to be lightly thrown aside or branded as mere speculations, as every serious and thoughtful reader will find. Admitting them into belief, the arguments, deductions and teachings of Dr. Seiss, under each and all of these wonderful

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signs, by fair and unforced method, will convince of the "good news" brought by the stars, even though their full import may not be received. The motto should be: "Read without prejudice, then with candor judge."

It is noted regretfully that the make-up of this volume falls below the standard of these days of book-making. The typography is fair and readable, but the paper poor and cover gaudy. A new edition—there should be many,—will correct these oversights.

R.

THOMAS CORWIN: A SKETCH. By A. P. Russell, author of "Library Notes." Cincinnati: Robert Clarke & Co. 1881.

This little book is, as its title states, simply a "sketch;" but it is a graphic one, depicting, principally, the wonderful oratorical and conversational powers of Mr. Corwin, aided by a wonderful force of facial expression and of gesticulation. As an instance of the latter, a story is told of his being at a dinner-table in Mexico where no one but himself understood English and where he understood not a word of Spanish, the language of the place. A sufficiently difficult position for "conversation"! But Corwin was equal to it. "He spoke to the lady on his right in the most pleasing and vivacious way, making the best of his characteristic and peculiar facial expressions, gesticulating a little, and set her responding in Spanish, and laughing; then he turned to the lady on the left, and did the same; and then they laughed and talked, and enjoyed themselves exceedingly; but never a word did either of them understand of what the other was saying." The "sketch" gives many instances of Corwin's oratorical powers in circumstances of graver character and which are not wanting in interest.

The author, with a keen sense of the difference between the sentiments of public men when Corwin was in his prime and the new code which is now disgusting the civilized world and disgracing American politics, thus writes of the time when his hero's last term of service was passed in Congress: "He missed the high social atmosphere which had sweetened his public life, and the chivalrous honor and generous courtesy which made it safe sometimes to think aloud and pleasant always to be a gentleman. That old set never felt each other's elbows; and they looked straight into each other's eyes, everyone a man. . . . The cherished thing called character was such a creation as the possessor had been able to make it, hedged about by such defences as its weaknesses had made necessary; and its shadow, reputation, was of quick blood enough to require to be cautiously dealt with. Especially was character, as connected with the public service, jealously and scrupulously guarded and defended. That old-time virtue, which had, not many years before, caused a Secretary of the Treasury to

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confess an *amour* and all the petty pecuniary expenses attending it, rather than to permit himself to rest under suspicion that the exchequer had been drawn upon to meet demands beyond the ability of his own private purse, was still in existence, still governed as a rule of conduct, and still sometimes required voluntary personal exposure to defend suspected official integrity and honor. In private life, the character might lapse a little and recover itself, but in public life never; delinquency was ruin. And the people, too, felt the crime, like a wound that refused to be cicatrized, flowing forth afresh with every remembrance."

Would to God that "old-time virtue" might return! In place of it, what do we see now? Men in public position, suspected and charged with all crimes that ought to make a man infamous unless he can clearly prove his innocence,—such crimes as conspiracy to defraud the Government and people, as robbery, as using official position to promote personal ends,—what do we see such men doing? Demanding investigation, and using every possible means to secure it and clear themselves? Yes; "demanding investigation," indeed; and, when the investigation is accorded, throwing, by the help of counsel learned in the law, every possible legal quibble and technicality in the way of an honest investigation. In the light of day and in the presence of an outraged people, they scout the folly—folly most truly in those who know themselves to be guilty,—of being proved either guilty or not guilty, and move heaven and earth to shelter themselves under the protecting ægis of some legal technicality, under cover of which they too often go scot-free. Such things may make the unlearned wonder at the ingenuity of American *law;* but they cause grave doubts as to the purity of American *justice*, to say nothing of the corruption of American *honor*.

J. A. H.

Sensation and Pain. By Charles Fayette Taylor, M. D. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1881.

This brochure of seventy-seven pages is the substance of a lecture delivered before the New York Academy of Sciences, in March, 1881. The author treats, in a semi-popular way, of the physiology of sensation, including a discussion of reflex action, automatism, and consciousness. He makes free use of both the facts and opinions of Bain, Carpenter, Spencer, Huxley, Foster, and other latter-day psychologists and physiologists. The burden of the book is a discussion of the difference between objective or externally excited sensations and those which are subjective or centrally initiated. Objective sensations come from without the nerve-centres. Rays of light fall on the retina, and we become conscious of light and shade; we reach forth our hand, and we become conscious of something touched. Subjective sensations are the memories of previous

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objective sensations; they have been registered and are re-excited from within. Pain and other sensations are often subjective. We cannot believe the evidence of our senses. Attention, occupied with one sensation, excludes others. Taylor gives a number of illustrations of self-deception and errors of perception, the result of confounding central and external sensations. The monograph sets forth clearly an important and somewhat abstruse problem in physiology. C. K. M.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

How to Live; or, Health and Healthy Homes. By George Wilson, M. D. Second Edition, with Notes and Additions by J. G. Richardson, M. D. Sewed. 16mo. Pp. 307. $0.75. Philadelphia: P. Blakiston, Son & Co.

Hand-Book of Charity Organization. By Rev. S. Humphreys Gurteen. Cloth. 8vo. Pp. 254. Buffalo: Published by the Author.

Bulletin de L'Académie Royale des Sciences, des Lettres et des Beaux-Arts de Belgique. Bruxelles: F. Hayez.

Annuaire de L'Académie Royale des Sciences, des Lettres et des Beaux-Arts de Belgique. Bruxelles: F. Hayez. 1882.

European Breezes. By Marie J. Pitman ("Margery Deane"). Cloth. 12mo. Pp. 318. $1.50. Boston: Lee & Shepard. (Porter & Coates.)

Field Botany: A Hand-Book for the Collector. By Walter P. Manton. Cloth. 16mo. Pp. 41. $0.50. Boston: Lee & Shepard. (Porter & Coates.)

Conversation: Its Faults and Its Graces. Compiled by Andrew P. Peabody. Cloth. 16mo. Pp. 152. $0.50. Boston: Lee & Shepard. (Porter & Coates.)

The Book of the Dead. By George H. Boker. Cloth. 12mo. Pp. 214. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co.

Kear: A Poem in Seven Cantos. By Rev. E. A. Warriner. Cloth. 12mo. Pp. 170. $1.25. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co.

John Inglesant: A Romance. By J. Henry Shorthouse. Cloth. 12mo. Pp. 445. $1.00. New York: MacMillan & Co. (Porter & Coates.)

Comparative Edition of the New Testament, Containing the Authorized Version and the New Revised Version, Arranged in Parallel Columns for Comparison and Reference. Cloth. 12mo. Pp. 690. Philadelphia: Porter & Coates.

First Aid to the Injured. By Peter Shepherd, M. B. Revised and added to at the request of the First Aid to the Injured Association of New York. Cloth. 16mo. Pp. 88. $0.50. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. (Porter & Coates.)

The Social Law of Labor. By William B. Weeden. Cloth. 12mo. Pp. 315. $1.50. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. (Porter & Coates.)

Enigmas of Life, Death, and the Future State. By A. H. Dana. Cloth. 12mo. Pp. 250. $1.25. New York: Charles P. Somerby. (Porter & Coates.)

Theology or Mythology: An Inquiry into the Claims of Biblical Inspiration and the Supernatural Element in Religion. By Alfred H. O'Donoghue. Cloth. 12mo. Pp. 194. $1.00. New York: Charles P. Somerby. (Porter & Coates.)

The Daggatouns: A Tribe of Jewish Origin in the Desert of Sahara. A Review. By Henry S. Morais. 12mo. Sewed. Philadelphia: Edward Stern & Co.

Onesimus: Memoirs of a Disciple of St. Paul. By the Author of "Philochristus." Cloth. 12mo. Pp. 308. $1.50. Boston: Roberts Brothers. (Porter & Coates.)

The Reading Club and Handy Speaker. Edited by George M. Baker. 16mo. Cloth. Pp. 99. $0.50. Boston: Lee & Shepard. (E. Claxton & Co.)

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THE

PENN MONTHLY.

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BALZAC, A MORALIST.

WHAT is a moralist? To moralize is "to think, speak or write on subjects relating to right or wrong; to make reflections or remarks on good or evil, or on virtue or vice." So says an excellent English dictionary. It is needless to state that we have plenty of moralists—in the pulpit, in the press, at the bar, on the bench, in literature, on the stump, and even at our elbows. Unfortunately, each has a moral test of his own, and it is difficult to tell who is an authority. The sectarian preacher cannot be strictly just towards one who belongs to a different persuasion; the moral standpoint of the partisan editor is out of the question; judges and lawyers are limited to what is moral in a legal sanction; while in literature, on the stump and at our elbows the moralist is independent of any test but that of "private judgment."

The moralist with whom we have to deal is the dramatist. In this term we include every writer of a novel. All playwrights and novelists, whether they mean it or not, do "write on subjects relating to right or wrong," and "make reflections or remarks on good or evil, or on virtue or vice." They cannot escape being moralists, if they would. The basis of all plots, from "Medea" down to "Daisy Miller," is some question, trifling or serious, of right or wrong, some absorbing aspect of good or evil. It is not necessary to enlarge on this point. The imagination may bear us off to the realm of fancy; our sympathies or antipathies may be played upon; our love of humor may be appealed to; our senses and theories

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may be flattered; but it is only right or wrong, good or evil, which at bottom fixes our attention and controls our criticism in the long run.

It is not easy to be a moralist. Only those who test human conduct by their own experience or education utter moral judgments with facility. Gross violations of what should be, like the seven mortal sins, are easily adjudicated; but not those subtle vacillations of conduct proceeding from motives in which good and evil are almost indeterminately mingled. Two or three illustrations show how great the difficulty is. Love is a proper sentiment; but how often are selfishness and passion mistaken for it. To be sensitive concerning the affections is laudable; but is not this very sensitiveness the main-spring of jealousy? And likewise with indignation, scorn, hatred, when they merge into misanthropy, and with resentment when it turns into revenge. Filial duties are held to be so sacred as not to permit any infraction of them; and yet moral necessities sometimes require disobedience. The more refined and cultivated we become, the more are we interested in the complexities of emotion. Dramatic art flourishes only in epochs of great expansion of ideas and sentiments, as we see in the Grecian and Renaissance eras of social development; when direct pathways are marked out, as in rude times, on the *terra incognita* of emotion, and moral mile-stones and guide-posts are set up by sacerdotal authorities, the dramatist is needless. It is only when the problems of right and wrong, the mysteries of good and evil, get to be too subtle for their interpretation that the dramatist appears and helps them along.

Once satisfied that the dramatist is a moralist, the next thing is to know who is a complete or a capable one. Here, as in everything else, tastes differ. Let us suggest the characteristics of a complete and capable moralist. In our judgment, he who discriminates good and evil in human conduct according to the natural play and interdependence of *all* our emotions, is a complete moralist; he who sees the point where impulse ends in harm or benefit; who can discriminate between egotism and altruism; who detects the real beneath the conventional and the artificial; who brings into contrast every human quality and attribute, without deeming nature defective; who, in short, presents human emotion, thought and action in normal relationships, free of the narrowness

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of private judgment, the bias of personal sympathy and the dicta of creeds and councils.

It seems to us that the model moralist, the moralist who has helped along the Christian system of ethics, is Shakespeare. His superiority in literary and dramatic skill is admitted; but this does not account for our loyalty to him which amounts to devotion. Other dramatists are equally perfect in expression, equally graphic, witty, full of invention, pathetic, overflowing with "strange conceits," rich in imagination, profound thinkers, too; but we do not recur to them again and again, as we do to Shakespeare. Shakespeare does not stand alone in the exposition of the passions. He is not the only dramatist who moves us with the effects of ambition, of jealousy, of ingratitude, of revenge, of love, of misanthropy; but he is unique in one thing, that, in portraying the eternal conflict between passion and virtue, "he embraces all that exists and is evolved within the plastic region of human conduct, so various and manifold, at times heterogeneous and occult."* In catering to that love of speculation on the problems of human intercourse which is an undying instinct within us, and which no accumulation of knowledge and no development of science will eradicate, he best comprehends moral and psychological problems of every description. Episodes of human conduct are not created by him out of partial conceptions of right and wrong; he advocates no exclusive ideal of misery or bliss. Certain types of men and women being placed in certain surroundings, high or low, barbarous or civilized, he shows us how unavoidable is their fate according to moral contingencies. If noble beings like Hamlet and Desdemona prove victims of the wicked, it is because Shakespeare exposes in their careers the worth of affections that are dearer than life. In their struggles with evil, they are not cowards; on the contrary, they are brave and devoted through that moral energy which constitutes perfect grace of man and woman in every social emergency. Contrast Shakespeare's conceptions with those of other dramatists which please us for a time, or even with those which last side by side with his, but to which we do not resort for daily inspiration. Why do they charm us less when there is no question of poetic embellishment? Because, on subjecting them to the ultimate test of the good or the evil inherent in every ideal situation, we find, or

* Professor Knight.

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feel, in them some failure in moral equilibrium, and necessarily in psychological or artistic harmony. Characters, incidents and ideas in the hands of less sensitive dramatists are more or less forced or discordant, more or less governed by local and temporary contingencies.*

Most English novelists and playwrights, for instance, exaggerating the social bearings of love, create personages and situations which transcend moral probabilities. French dramatists err in the same direction with regard to conjugal infidelity. Old English comedies, in which the villain of the piece suddenly repents and becomes virtuous, afford special examples of this artistic incompleteness. The works of Richardson and Marivaux, which contain much delicate and accurate observation of society, are conspicuous instances of psychological exaggeration. Dickens often mars the moral and psychological unity of his creations by trenching on the burlesque, and, through a like exaggeration, is melodramatic when he would be tragic. Thackeray, on the other hand, with all his exaggerations, rarely fails to maintain the moral order of things. Fielding, Smollett, Byron, who are designated as immoral, live because they are faithful to natural, if sometimes sensual, currents of emotion. With Shakespeare, who is more comprehensive,—which comprehensiveness is the secret of his impersonality,—nature and the ideal are one. The subtle workings of Macbeth's conscience under the influence of his ambitious wife is the mode by which "a generous heart, the slave of a fatal idea and capable of remorse,"† comes to perdition. And so with Lady Macbeth, who is without the sympathies of woman, and with Iago, who is without the honor of man. The mother of Hamlet presumes to control her son through filial reverence; the evil of her nature becomes transparent through the moral law by which Hamlet forces her to self-conviction. The maiden innocence of Ophelia, with all the charm that Shakespeare throws over it, is

* We have lived to see in our own times abundance of plays—and they have had great success throughout Europe,—overflowing with the ebullitions of a "good heart" and abounding in strokes of generosity, while, nevertheless, a keener eye cannot fail to detect the author's disguised purpose of undermining the strictness of moral principle and the reverence for all that ought to be sacred to man, the sentimentality being but a means of bribing to himself the languid, soft-heartedness of his contemporaries.—SCHLEGEL.

† Taine's "History of English Literature."

not meant to atone for weakness in relation to the prime emotion in a woman's breast; hence our acquiescence in the derangement to which he consigns her. The play of "Hamlet" throughout is a series of profound moral problems, demonstrated by Shakespeare through his superior apprehension of the dependence of the ideal on moral law.

The foregoing is by way of preface to what we have to say concerning a great prose dramatist of our own century; one who is admitted to be a genius, and yet, almost in the same breath, denied to be either a poet or a moralist. This genius is Balzac, author of *La Comèdie Humaine*, or in English "The Drama of Human Life." We begin by a comment on Shakespeare, because we are obliged to try Balzac by one of his peers. We shall attempt to show that Balzac, like Shakespeare, is both poet and moralist, the one through his imagination and the other through his wonderful insight into man's emotional nature. Some of the so-called spots on Balzac's genius must be stated, so that the reader may know what we have to contend against. Balzac is styled a cynic, incapable of doing justice to a virtuous woman, morally and intellectually superficial, realistic in a way that implies materialism, aiming low instead of high, and especially sordid, which latter defect is an idiosyncracy that too largely guides his artistic pen. We shall not undertake to refute these charges in detail, the significance of which depends so much on personal taste, adequate knowledge of the society Balzac depicts, and more particularly on philosophical aptitudes. A general view of the epoch, however, from which Balzac derives the material for his works may explain away some of them, especially the last one.

Balzac's theme, like Shakespeare's, is human nature. One difference between them, whatever others may be, is that of epoch. Shakespeare presents us not so much with the humanity of the island and generation in which he was born, as with that of the Renaissance epoch of which all Europe was the theatre. Almost all, or at least the best, of Shakespeare's subjects, are, as far as England is concerned, of foreign derivation. Like Chaucer, Shakespeare is of English soil, but his material is chiefly Continental.* We do not find a specially English cast of emotion or of intellect in Romeo, in Othello, in Iago, in Bassanio, or in Benedict; and

* Victor Le Clerc.

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assuredly Portia, Desdemona, Juliet, Viola, Beatrice, Miranda, Imogene, are not specially English types of women. Where, in any record of English customs, do we find the like refinement, the delicacy of sentiment, the archness, the gaiety, the scope of feminine genius, embodied in Rosalind? The grossness which taints so many of Shakespeare's characters may be local, but the finer traits are of another clime. Indeed, they belong to no one race or country, but issue from a wonderfully intuitive grasp of *all* human sympathies and attributes. Balzac, on the contrary, confined himself not only to the human nature of his epoch, but to the men and women of the community in which he lived. He seems to have been of Molière's opinion, that the dramatist who fails to make us recognize the people around us, does nothing. Whether the people amongst which Balzac lived should be accepted as typical of the period, we will not stop to determine; we simply assert that nowhere else in Europe at that time did human passions and interests present the same novel and complex phenomena. It behooves us, accordingly, to have some clear idea of the motives and influences which prevailed with his generation to render Balzac's power intelligible.

The people depicted by Balzac belong to the period following the French Revolution, when society, everywhere stirred to its depths, was settling down to a new order of things. The passions had donned a new and modern dress. Old tests of worth and experience, the criterions of character and position according to ideas of caste and culture belonging to a, literally, ancient *régime*, had been set aside. In contemporary struggles for social and personal distinction, the principle of equality had removed every former obstacle. The sanction of merit was now vested in individual success rather than in any precise standard of thought, feeling or aspiration. It was a period of renewed human energies, the beginning of a new standard of material and intellectual power. The symbol of a man's worth no longer consisted of a suit of mail, nor in a privileged possession of the soil; on the contrary, his value to society depended on his capacity for labor, the proof of which was the amount of money he could accumulate. Various phenomena indicate this standard of merit. The Jews, who in the past had never enjoyed any other than money power, were civilly and socially emancipated and often ennobled. Splendid feudal *châteaux*

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fell into the hands of the modern lords of capital. The moneyed man could obtain almost any woman he liked for a wife or companion, and exercise a proportionate amount of social influence, without much question of his integrity, mode of living, or origin. The low-born who formerly had the Church as a stepping-stone to social position, now find consideration through wealth and become political leaders on that account. Women become acknowledged factors in business, and the laws both of trade and wedlock secure to them increased financial influence. The opulent prevail at the expense of established institutions and of men whose worth depends upon experience and knowledge. The middle class in whom this mighty power is vested, "the formidable Third Estate," rules all other classes. Balzac is charged, personally and artistically, with being sordid, because he entered into industrial ventures and because, in his various delineations of character, he makes so much of money and money transactions. Is it not natural, in reply to this charge, that Balzac, in such an epoch, and with his keen insight into every sort of motive, should detect the ideal of his age and use it, especially in his wondrous exposition of contemporary vice and virtue? We cannot see any difference, psychologically, between the mediæval romanticism of Scott as an ideal background for his figures and the nineteenth-century industrialism of Balzac. De Rémusat writes, in 1842: "We see society materialized. Every interest is thought respectable, simply because it is an interest. . . . . . The result is industrial epicureanism, ardent, exclusive devotion to positive affairs, a craving for comforts and a blind desire for repose."

Such being the spirit and temper of the epoch, let us place ourselves at Balzac's standpoint and determine for ourselves whether he was an "arrant charlatan" when not a "simple dramatist;" whether he was or was not governed by a "natural sense of morality." To do this effectively, we take a representative story, one by no means simple in its construction, called *La Rabouilleuse*. Its central idea is the evil of maternal fondness, or, in other words, the effect of the absence, or lapse rather, of paternal authority, in the family, one of the foundation-stones of French society. Balzac himself, in his dedication of the story to Charles Nodier, states his object in writing it. "Here," he says, "is a work filled with occurrences which the law cannot reach; owing to the privacy of the

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domestic circle, the finger of God, so often called chance, is substituted for human tribunals. Its moral, although set forth by one of a mocking humor, is not less striking than suggestive. The story, in my judgment, contains information of value both to the family and to maternity. . . . . . May a society founded wholly on the influence of money, tremble on contemplating the powerlessness of justice against the combinations of a system which defies success through its sanction of the means employed to obtain it."

Rouget, a doctor in Issodun, marries the prettiest girl of the place, the only daughter and heiress of Descoings, a rich wool-broker. Madame Rouget is a little giddy, as is apt to be the case with merely pretty women; her husband is an arbitrary man, cold in feeling and a decided sensualist. This couple have two children, a boy coming first and, ten years after, a girl. The father, wrongly suspecting that the girl is not his child, through the long interval between the births, but that of a friend intimate in his family, sends her at an early age to Paris, where, living with a maternal aunt, she may be out of his sight and finally disinherited. That he is the parent of the girl, in spite of his suspicions and the gossip of the town, is evident through her resemblance to her paternal grandmother.

Agatha, which is her name, grows up a beauty of the Madonna type. She has an oval face, pure complexion, soft blue eyes with long lashes, and a calm, placid, tender expression. A secretary in the office of a government minister, named Bridau, and subsequently one of Napoleon's devoted adherents, falls in love with her and marries her. "Pious, without being devout, Agatha has no instruction but that what is given to women by the Church, and is an accomplished spouse in the ordinary sense of the term. It is her ignorance of worldly matters which engenders more misfortunes than one."

Two children, both boys, are born to this couple. Philippe, the eldest, strikingly resembles his mother. Although a blonde and with blue eyes, he has a boisterous air which readily passes for vivacity and courage. Old Claperon, a friend of the family, taps him on the cheek two or three times a month and declares there is no lack of pluck in those eyes! The little fellow, thus stimulated, struts about and assumes a resolute air. Through the tendency which this species of flattery gives to his character, Philippe becomes adroit in physical exercises. In his battles at school he acquires that hardiness and contempt of pain which gives birth to military valor, but which naturally begets a great aversion to study, "the serious problem of the equal culture of mind and body not being yet solved by any system of public instruction." Because Philippe resembles her physically, Agatha concludes on a

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moral resemblance, and firmly believes that, one day, he will possess all her delicacy of feeling, fortified with the energy of the man. "Philippe, moreover, was noted for saying those smart things which make parents think their children are going to be remarkable men, while Joseph remained taciturn and meditative. The mother was quite satisfied that Philippe would be a marvel, while from Joseph she expected nothing."

Agatha becomes a widow with a moderate income, and, that she may live within her means, changes her apartments. The new one consists of three rooms, "which betoken the effects of grief and sentiment. Her bed-room, at the end of three months, and as it continued to be up to the sad day of her leaving it, displayed an accumulation of objects of which no description can furnish an orderly conception. Cats quartered themselves on the easy chairs, while the canaries, sometimes let out of their cages, left their imprint on all the furniture. The kind-hearted widow placed seed for them in every corner; the cats had their food in dilapidated saucers. Bits of her wardrobe were scattered about. The room was redolent of provincial habits and conjugal fidelity. Everything that had belonged to Bridau was preserved with scrupulous care. His office utensils were as closely guarded as the armor of a paladin by his widow. A single detail shows Agatha's tender regard for her husband's memory. His pen was carefully put into a sealed envelope and thus inscribed: 'The last pen my husband used.' The cup he had last drunk from was placed under a glass case on the mantel piece. Bonnets and false hair, at a later period, garnished the glass shades which covered these precious relics. Although this young widow was only thirty-five years old, never, since Bridau's death, had she shown any sign of coquetry or of a woman's sensitiveness to her personal appearance. Parted from the only man she had known, esteemed and loved; one who had never caused her the slightest chagrin, she no longer felt like a wife, everything seeming indifferent to her—she did not even take pains in dressing herself."

Another important character is Widow Descoings, Agatha's paternal aunt, to whom her father had consigned her in her infancy, and who becomes her companion in adversity, and likewise the special patroness of Joseph. She is sixty-five years old, and in the days of her conjugal felicity was renowned as "the pretty grocer." She occupies an apartment in the same house with Agatha, is fond of good things, likes to cook nice dishes, and has one passion, that of the lottery. To indulge this passion she had borrowed money from Agatha, which, having lost, she made up to her by assigning to her a portion of her annuity, besides devoting herself wholly to Agatha's family.

The time comes for Philippe and Joseph to choose their respec-

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tive professions. Joseph, to the horror of his mother, determines to become an artist. With Agatha, this means a vagabond, and she is sure that he will be a constant source of chagrin to her. To forestall a sad future for her son, she calls on an eminent sculptor, who had noticed Joseph's talent and befriended him, and intercedes with him to oppose her son's decision, entreating him not to debauch Joseph in this fashion. The sculptor smiles; but, on her persisting in regarding the artistic career as degradation, he becomes enraged and Agatha leaves his studio. Philippe, who is to give his mother no trouble, finds his way into the French military academy. He becomes a lieutenant, enters the army at the close of Napoleon's career, serves with credit, and obtains rank and rewards, including the decoration of the Legion of Honor. Infatuated with the Emperor's fortunes, or rather misfortunes, Philippe, on the fall of the empire, refuses to serve the Bourbons, and becomes a genteel military idler. Agatha, flattered by all this, regards him as a great character. Philippe enters into Bonapartist conspiracies, and is arrested, but, protected by his mother's friends, escapes punishment. He frequents coffee-houses, plays billiards, drinks and smokes. To get him out of the way, his mother, under the pressure of her good counsellors, induces him to leave the country, and she accordingly provides him with an outfit of ten thousand francs, which subjects the rest of the family to great privations. Poor Joseph, who is studying art, is compelled to wear coarse shoes, common blue stockings and to dispense with coat and gloves, and to live on bread, milk and cheese. Philippe sails for the United States and falls a victim to a celebrated Socialist scheme in Texas, where he loses his capital. Some time elapses without news of him. Meanwhile, Madame Bridau experiences a severe pecuniary loss by the flight of her financial agent. Three days after this disaster, a draft comes from Philippe, for one thousand francs, and, eight days afterwards, a letter stating that he had sailed for Havre and would require another thousand francs on his arrival.

Aided by Madame Descoings and Joseph, Agatha obtains both sums and sets out for Havre to welcome her son home. Philippe arrives in due time, still more brutalized and hardened through his American experiences; his fond mother, however, overjoyed to see him, fits him out in new clothes, and both return penniless to Paris. Aunty Descoings and Joseph receive Philippe kindly. That very evening they gather together a few friends to honor his return, when the usual social card-playing takes place. Philippe being without money, Madame Descoings gives Joseph twenty francs to slip into his brother's hands, which sum is soon lost and more beside. On Philippe becoming ill-tempered, which is due to his bad luck, his mother whispers in his ear: "You must be tired, my son," and coaxes him off to bed.

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To defray the expenses of Philippe's return and installation, Agatha is obliged to sell some of her furniture. Ten days are necessary to accomplish this. Meanwhile, Philippe passes his mornings in *cafés*, talking politics, and in lounging on the boulevards. In the evening he gambles and, on winning, drinks a bowl of punch and returns home. His poor mother, who sits up for him and hears his voice outside her door, singing on his way to bed in his garret, jumps up and rushes out, exclaiming: "How merry Philippe is this evening!" and kisses him, quite insensible of the combined odors of punch, brandy and tobacco. "My dear mother," he says to her on one of these occasions, "you are perfectly happy, are you not, now that I lead the most regular life in the world?"

Philippe's dissipated career, under the protection of his mother, and of which she herself, with Joseph and Madame Descoings, are the victims, goes on unchecked. The partiality of Agatha continues unabated. Under cover of her fondness for Philippe, he commits crime. On one occasion, when his depravity is brought home to her, the act he commits involving the loss of all she possesses, Agatha is thunderstruck. Philippe threatens to commit suicide. Agatha promises to forget all if he will but live, to which he consents, "to please her." Aunt Descoings prepares a nice dinner to make him feel comfortable, while Agatha supplies him with segars. Soon after this Philippe pilfers money from Joseph, who leaves his small stock of cash where his brother can get at it. Entering Madame Descoings' room in the night, while she sleeps, he takes money from the pocket of her dress. He is an officer and as such enjoys a pension; but this has been mortgaged for three years to pay a "debt of honor." His mother, on being informed of this fact, exclaims: "After all, Philippe has noble sentiments and is not really bad! Joseph, my son, you must indulge your brother, he has been so unfortunate!" One event, however, brings things to a crisis. Madame Descoings' passion, as above stated, is the lottery. She submits to every privation, that she may make annual investments in lottery tickets. This she has done for twenty years, always purchasing the same combination of numbers, while Joseph is her sole confidant; but even he does not know where she keeps her money, which is sewn into the lining of her mattress. Her savings now amounting to the requisite sum, the ticket which is to make them all happy is to be bought. One evening, overjoyed at the thought of it, Madame Descoings imprudently expresses her delight before Philippe, whose cupidity is ever on the alert. "Where," says he to himself, "can this old crone keep that money!" Turning the matter over in his mind one afternoon, while the old lady is out of the house, he forces open the door of her bed-room and proceeds to search it. On examining the mattress, he detects the

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treasure under the lining, which he rips open, and, taking the money, he decamps. It is unnecessary to follow him to the gambling-hell, where he loses it. Early that evening Madame Descoings and Joseph sit over the fire, indulging in the pleasures of castle-building, when Madame Descoings suddenly starts up and runs off to her bed-room. In a few moments Joseph hears a shriek, and reaches the apartment just in time to catch his good old patroness in his arms and lay her fainting on a couch. His mother enters and restores her aunt to consciousness. On recovering her speech, she exclaims: "They were there this morning; he has taken them,—the monster!" "What?" demanded Joseph. "I had twenty louis sewed up in that mattress—my savings for the last two years. Nobody could have taken them but Philippe!"

The charge proves to be true. Agatha, stabbed to the heart, comes back into the room, a changed woman.

> "She walked along as white as the lawn of her night-dress, the same as spectres walk, noiselessly, slowly, as if sustained by some superhuman and yet apparently mechanical effort. She held a candle which threw its light full in her face and showed her eyes fixed in horror. Her hair, scattered over her brow through an involuntary movement of her hand, rendered her so terribly beautiful as to nail Joseph to the spot, breathless at this apparition of remorse, appalled at this statue of despair."

Phillippe is heard coming up the stairs, and enters the room intoxicated. His mother reproaches him for the misery he has caused, and on his replying in an insolent manner Joseph strikes him to the ground. He falls in a state of delirium. On the doctor's appearance, he pronounces Philippe to be in a more dangerous condition than any of the others. A raging fever keeps him in the house for a month. Finally he recovers, but is nevertheless banished. On his leaving his home, there is a reaction of sentiment in his favor on the part of his mother, who, as he descends the stairs to go away, embraces him and gives him a hundred francs.

We must return now to Madame Descoings. On the removal of Philippe from the room, Agatha tries to convince her old aunt that she was the one who had taken the money, and begs her aunt to reimburse herself by accepting her table-service, which is its equivalent in value. On opening the box in which she kept it, she finds nothing but a pawn-ticket, deposited there, of course, by Philippe. Joseph comes to her rescue with his savings, which amount to nearly the required sum; furthermore, to please his good old patroness, he offers to go at once and buy the lottery-ticket. But he is too late; the lottery-offices are closed for the night. The next morning the drawing takes place and Madame Descoings' favorite numbers come out and gain the great prize. An old friend of the family, who drops in casually, mentions the circumstance of the drawing and its result; whereupon the old lady swoons and, five days afterwards, expires.

Here ends the first act. Not only is the story remarkable for

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invention, but equally so for moral sequences. Its incidents and characters are consistent with the civilization of the day and of the community in which the scene is laid, while the sentiment, effective through simple means, is of tragic grandeur. Good and evil according to certain social exigencies, in other words, a modern conflict of instincts and sentiments, is as powerfully set forth as in any heroic portrayal of man and his acts during the Renaissance epoch, or in antiquity.

A scene like that above described would serve an ordinary novelist for the catastrophe of his plot. Balzac, however, knows that the end is not yet; with him a moral finality is of more consequence than dramatic effect. Passion, with him, is not an artistic plaything; he has a method of his own, which is exhaustive. To explain the phenomena of passion, according to its own logic, is, we may say parenthetically, the only "philosophy" Balzac pretends to.

The scene shifts to Issodun, the provincial town where Agatha was born. Philippe has been arrested on a charge of conspiracy, which is too much for her maternal heart. Her last resource is her godmother, living at Issodun, opposite to the house in which she was born, and which is now occupied by her brother Jean Jacques Rouget. Agatha, accordingly, writes to her godmother to ascertain whether her brother can be got to render her any assistance. Her godmother replies by urging her to come to Issodun, stating in her letter that her brother is the victim of a concubine, from whom she may save him and, at the same time, recover a portion of her father's estate. On the strength of this, Agatha and Joseph depart for Issodun, leaving Philippe to his fate, who however, is looked after by a friend of the family. Thither, we follow them.

Dr. Rouget, Agatha's father, has now been dead seventeen years. True to his determination, he had disinherited his daughter as far as he could and left his property to her brother. Five years before this, Dr. Rouget had observed a girl about thirteen years of age thrashing a stream for the purpose of driving fish into a net held by a man some distance off, which occupation, in the dialect of the country, is called *rabouiller*. Struck with the girl's beauty of form and feature, Dr. Rouget asks her if she will come and live with him; indeed, he buys her of the man she is serving, who is her uncle, for an annuity, intending probably to degrade her on her reaching maturity. But the Doctor subsequently changes his mind, or, becoming too old, is indifferent to her, so that when he dies she is left a dependant on his son. Flore, or *La Rabouilleuse*, an epithet bestowed on her by the townspeople on account of her former

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occupation, becomes the son's concubine. As she is the victim of circumstances, she serves and flatters this young man, who is a feeble mortal, through personal interests, until, finally, a real passion is kindled in her breast by one Max Gilet, a dashing leader of the mischievous blades of the town. Just as Agatha and Joseph make their appearance in Issodun, Max and Flore, who are domiciled with Agatha's brother, are plotting together to get control of the Rouget estate.

The gossips of Issodun regard Max Gilet as a natural son of Dr. Rouget's. In any event, he has been a successful soldier like Philippe, but, being out of service, is now leading the life of a respectable roysterer. He, with a gang of youthful followers, form a club devoted to the playing of practical jokes. In the narration of these capers, Balzac describes a provincial town, the houses, the people, the manners, the customs, so minutely and vividly that we seem to live in and breathe the same atmosphere, and take personal interest in all that goes on there. One of the club's wild pranks, on which the story turns, is the hoisting of a cart belonging to a poor Spanish grain-dealer named Fario, to the top of a ruined tower, and, while officiously trying to get it down for him the next morning, causing it to be dashed to pieces for the amusement of the assembled crowd. Nobody knows how the cart got there. Fario, however, suspects that Max Gilet is the author of the "joke;" he, accordingly, determines to assassinate Max, and makes the attempt soon after the arrival of Agatha and Joseph.

Max tells the officers of justice, who take his deposition, in relation to the assassination, that he believes the blow was given by Joseph in revenge for the efforts made by him to prevent Joseph from cheating his uncle out of some family pictures, of which he alone knew the value. Joseph is arrested and imprisoned. Max, however, not being able to maintain the charge, and, moreover, anonymously informed that it would be refuted on trial, confesses that he was mistaken, and Joseph is at once released. Max's object is gained. Joseph, disgusted with his experiences in Issodun, as well as his mother, who is also glad enough to get away, leave the next morning, to the great satisfaction, not only of Max and Flore, but of the whole population, which regards the departure of the two Parisians as a signal victory gained over two designing people that had come there purposely to defraud innocent folks.

Fortunately for the Bridaus they have warm friends. Among them is Desroches, a lawyer; satisfied of the justice of Agatha's claim on her father's estate, he determines to follow the matter up. He starts on the principle of "set a thief to catch a thief." Philippe has been tried for conspiracy, but, for want of proof, is simply condemned to live in a provincial town under the surveillance of the police. Desroches manages to have him assigned to

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Issodun. Philippe reports himself accordingly, and, duly instructed by the lawyer, begins operations. He makes the acquaintance of Max and Flore in a familiar, confidential way, with a view to undermine their influence with his uncle. In a good cause, Philippe seems to rise in everybody's estimation. Imposing in appearance, bold, intelligent, and a successful soldier, everybody with whom he comes in contact likes and supports him. His own cupidity, moreover, is excited by tracing out that of Max and Flore. In maturing his plan against these parasites, he forms an alliance with the Spaniard Fario, and finally succeeds in forcing Max into a duel. Flore, instinctively recognizing Philippe as her master, becomes anxious for the result, and wishes to withdraw from Issodun, marry Max and retire with their gains to Paris. But it is too late. The duel comes off, and Max is killed. On Philippe reporting his success to Desroches, who informs Agatha, the latter returns to Issodun, and Philippe again becomes the object of maternal solicitude.

We now reach the third and last act. The Ethiopian cannot change his skin nor the leopard his spots. Morally reinstated through his proceedings in his mother's behalf, enjoying her sympathy, which protects him in all his machinations, Philippe avails himself of the opportunity to advance his own interests. He now plots on his own account. The Rouget property might as well come into his hands as into those of any other heir. He converts Flore into a passive instrument, and next secures her marriage with his uncle "in the interest of family morals;" while he obliges her to see that his uncle executes some reversionary papers in his favor, in case of his death. On completing these arrangements, Philippe takes the newly-married pair to Paris, where, plunging them into all sorts of dissipation, the feeble Rouget dies. Philippe then returns to Issodun, winds up the Rouget estate, goes back to Paris, marries Flore, through whom most of the property comes to him, becomes a lieutenant-colonel, and finally, in this moneyed epoch, is ennobled on account of his wealth.

Time passes on and Philippe gets to be socially conspicuous. "One afternoon, Agatha and Joseph, on their way home on foot in a storm, observe Philippe in a passing carriage, with an escutcheon on its door surmounted by a count's crest; he is on his way to a royal reception, and the wheels splash mud on them, as he returns them a protecting bow."

Philippe's last act, in which he over-reaches himself, is an effort to secure a splendid matrimonial alliance. Flore is demoralized and discarded, and he believes that she will soon die in destitution and in obscurity. Agatha, in the meantime, fulfilling her duties as clerk in a bureau, and living with Joseph, who patiently pursues his artistic career, scarcely makes both ends meet. Pressed for

money one day, and unknown to Joseph, she dispatches a note to Philippe asking him for a loan. Philippe returns a heartless, insulting reply, which so shocks his mother that she faints away. This blow proves the final one. Aware that her end is approaching, she summons her confessor to her bedside.

"How," she demands of him, "have I offended my God?" He replies consolingly but, at the same time, truthfully, "Your life, my daughter, has been one long mistake. You have fallen into the pit dug for yourself by your own hands, for only on our weak side do we come to sorrow. You have given your heart to a monster who has been the object of your pride, while you have not understood the child who has been your greatest honor. You owe your subsistence to Joseph, whilst your eldest son has always robbed you. The poor child who loves you sincerely with no return for his affection, supplies you with your daily bread, while the rich one, who has never cared for you, despises you and longs for your death."

The rest of the story is soon told, Philippe, foiled in his matrimonial scheme, goes into the army and dies in Algiers in an engagement with a troop of Arabs. Joseph lives through his professional trials, obtains an eminent position and inherits the remains of his brother's fortune. Poor Flore dies in a hospital; but not before enjoining those who stand at her bedside to "Live prudently; for all of us have our Philippe."

Such is an outline of the drama which, we think, proves Balzac a moralist. Its incidents are local, natural and dramatic; while every character is brought to its moral end as justly as the characters in "Hamlet." The filling up of the outline consists of admirable descriptions and episodes, each with its special interest and subtle psychological import, only to be appreciated in the novel itself. Rarely do we find fictive scenes and personages of such absorbing interest. We seem to form part of the family of Madame Bridau, invisibly sharing in its experiences. Patient, tender, amiable, self-sacrificing, wholly unselfish, our sympathy goes along with her, involuntarily, in spite of her maternal perversity. Joseph sums up her character in one phase: "Oh, mamma, you are a mother the same as Raphael was a painter."

Philippe, one of Balzac's greatest creations, is an incarnation of modern egotism. Depraved and hateful, a speculator on his mother's affection, and the cause of her death, intelligent and shrewd in playing on natural sentiment for his own advantage, he is a social monster of the same category as Iago. Only through a rare moral instinct, akin to that of Shakespeare, could the tragedy of modern life be so consistently and artistically evolved.

Balzac's moral perceptions do not hinge on conventional standards of taste or conduct. He portrays human feelings, thoughts

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and actions according to personal idiosyncrasies and physiological fatalities which develop naturally in the social *milieu* which he untakes to explain. Certain human organizations exist in society for weal or woe, just as certain vessels navigate the ocean well or ill, according to the winds and tides which conduct them safely into port or dash them against rocks. It is not a good model, fine rigging or fine construction which secures safety, but knowledge of tempests, currents and shoals, and obedience to the laws which govern elemental forces. All of Balzac's works, and especially his master-pieces, may be appreciated in this way. In the "Peau de Chagrin," the moral of the story is the penalty of an ever-shortening life following upon orgy and dissipation. In "Eugénie Grandet," the evil that springs out of the selfish tyranny of a miser. In "La Récherche de l'Absolu," that of fatally pursuing a hobby, innocent in itself, but at the expense of domestic duties. In "La Cousine Bette," the ferocity of lust. In "César Birrotteau," the follies and failures of commercial worldliness. In "Père Goriot," such a masterly exposition of ingratitude as to make King Lear come up to the mind of the critic we have alluded to above, and change a current of adverse criticism into one of unbounded praise.

Some of the passions of "La Comédie Humaine" are wholly modern, or, at all events, old ones so developed as to present new and perplexing psychological problems. Whether Balzac meant to do more than extract the dramatic element out of the mysteries of life, is of little consequence; in his exposition of human emotion, he adheres, like Shakespeare, to moral law, which is sufficient to account for the scope and popularity of his genius.

John Durand.

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ART EDUCATION AND ART PATRONAGE IN THE UNITED STATES.

II.

IN the first half of this paper, I have endeavored to give a clear statement of the evils which at present afflict us, and to point out the remedy, so far as art education is concerned. But education must be supplemented by patronage,—if I may be permitted to use so hateful a word, for want of a better. If, then, we suppose for a moment that we have stopped rearing artists indiscriminately, wantonly, blindly,—indeed, I am tempted to say, *criminally*,—as we are now doing, we are confronted by the question: "What shall we do with the artists we already have, and more especially with those we shall rear in future?" "If good art is produced," says Mr. Hunt, "take advantage of the fact;" and he adds: "It seems to me high time that something should be done to encourage producers." But, if our good art is to be seen in our exhibitions, it is evident, from the statistics presented, that we do not take any very great advantage of it, and that we must use other means to encourage producers. Possibly we may learn a lesson from history as to what these means ought to be.

In all its greatest periods, art has been national and monumental; those of its works which have left the deepest impress upon the mind of mankind were wrought for the council-chambers and temples of the world, not for the cabinet. The question is whether such a cultivation of the arts is possible with us. Various reasons have been assigned, tending to negative this question. Political and religious Puritans have said that a high state of the arts is a sign of decay,—of the enjoyment of luxury, rather than of the energy of acquisition; that the arts are the servants of lordly and priestly power, and a source of peril to a republic. In our own case, moreover, it has been claimed that we, being a mercantile and manufacturing people, are by nature and circumstances incapable of artistic aspirations. Lastly, the theory has been advanced, that, owing to the change in intellectual conditions, the era of art lies forever behind mankind.

If art were really a poisonous flower, if it were the spontaneous product of the moral morass of the imperial Rome of antiquity, or of the equally if not more iniquitous papal Rome of the fifteenth

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and sixteenth centuries, we, as true lovers of liberty, might, indeed, hail the comparative feebleness of our art as a manifestation of health. Fortunately, however, the truth is to be found on the other side. In antiquity, the arts grew up in the healthy atmosphere of the (comparatively) democratic States of Greece,—notably in the most democratic of them all, in Athens,—and thence were transplanted, after they had reached the limits of the development then possible, to the monarchical courts, and finally to Rome, where they led the sickly, although apparently exuberant, life of hot-house plants. Precisely the same spectacle we see repeated in the Italy of the Renaissance. That Rome was not the home of the arts, that Roman art was but an offshoot of the great Florentine tree, is a universally recognized fact. Art followed its natural course of development in Italy only so long as the city republics of the country—however incomplete as republics they may have been,—retained their independence. And I wish to lay special emphasis upon the fact, and to bring it out in the strongest possible light I can throw upon it, that these republics, which were the principal centres of development in Italy at the time,—not for the arts only,—were distinctly commercial and industrial in their character, governed by the citizens through the representatives of the trades and guilds in which they were organized.*

* A writer in the New York *Tribune* of March 19th, in reviewing Mr. Symonds's "Age of the Despots," makes that author say, in substance, "that freedom, the freedom of cities and peoples, and the liberty of the individual, did not tend to the advancement of literature and art" in Italy. This is a curious result to arrive at from a careful perusal of the book. At the very beginning, on page 6, Mr. Symonds says: "The reason why Italy took the lead in the Renaissance was that Italy possessed a language, a favorable climate, *political freedom, and commercial prosperity*, at a time when other nations were still semi-barbarous." The italics, of course, are mine. Mr. Symonds's whole book reads almost like a panegyric of Florence; she is called "the noblest of Italian cities" (page 56), and it is claimed for her that the primacy of her citizens "in literature, the fine arts, law, scholarship, philosophy and science was acknowledged throughout Italy" (page 183). It is true that Mr. Symonds dates the beginning of the enslavement of Florence from the elder Cosmo de' Medici; but he, nevertheless, speaks of the Florentines as "the sober-minded citizens of a still free city" (page 96,) as late as 1471. The commercial character of Florence is repeatedly dwelt upon. See, especially, the extract from Varchi's "Storia Fiorentina," given by Mr. Symonds in Appendix II., page 537.

The same spirit pervades Mr. Symonds's volume on "The Fine Arts." Having weighed the claim of the Medici to praise or blame, the author concludes his fifth chapter as follows (page 265): "Meanwhile, what was truly great and noble in Renaissance Italy found its proper home in Florence, where the spirit of freedom, if only

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At the head of them all stands Florence. As early as the year 1300, nearly everyone in Florence, we are told, could read. Even the mule-drivers sang the *canzoni* of Dante, and many of the finest manuscripts which have come down to us from that day are said to have been the property of Florentine artisans. And all this intellectual life, we are assured, rested upon a general solidity of character which resulted from the participation in affairs of state, from commerce and travelling, and, more than all, from the systematic exclusion of idleness from the city. The superiority of the Florentines was so well recognized at the time, that Pope Boniface VIII. called them a fifth element of the world. It is hardly necessary to recall the fact that the three great luminaries of early Italian literary history—Dante, Petrarch and Boccaccio,—were Florentines. The rise of the movement known as the Renaissance, in literature as well as in art, is also traceable to industrial and mercantile Florence. The study of Greek is concentrated in and emanates from that city; and Boccaccio, the merchant's son, and himself trained as a merchant in early youth, claims the honor of having been the first Italian to obtain copies of the Homeric poems from Greece. Florentines, again, were those men who first made the study of antiquity and the collecting of ancient manuscripts their aim in life. Cosmo de Medici (1389–1464,) is one of the pioneers in this movement, not only as an appreciator of antiquity and a collector of its remains, but also as the patron and active friend of less fortunate men engaged in similar pursuits. Niccolò Niccoli, a Florentine citizen who died as early as 1436, ruined himself by his love of antiquity; and it was for him that Poggio, another citizen of Florence, searched the Abbey of St. Gall for ancient manuscripts in 1415, while attending the Council of Constance. To the same circle also belonged Giannozzo Mannetti, who served his apprenticeship with a merchant, for some time kept the books of a banking-house, studied perspective in company with Paolo Uccelli, and finally became one of the most celebrated speakers of his much-speaking time. That was the same time when Florentine fathers occasionally provided in their testaments for the fining of their sons by the State, should they neglect to carry on some trade or

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as an idea, still ruled, where the populace was still capable of being stirred to super-sensual enthusiasm, and where the flame of the modern intellect burned with its purest, whitest lustre."

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business. It was only after these citizens of Florence had shown the way, says Burckhardt,—good authority in these matters,—that princes and popes began seriously to concern themselves with humanistic studies. In the study of archæology, by means of the careful examination of ancient remains, the Florentines again took the lead. The year 1403 finds Brunelleschi and Donatello at Rome, measuring and drawing its artistic treasures under the greatest disadvantages, at a time when most of them were still buried in the earth and interested the Romans themselves only as materials for the lime-kiln. It has, therefore, been claimed for these two great artists that they were the founders of modern archæology. In the arts, it is quite superfluous to add, the Florence of the fifteenth century was as much the principal seat of supreme activity and development as it had been in the days of Giotto. Brunelleschi and Donatello have been honored with the title of "the two founders of the Renaissance;" but their aspirations and endeavors would have been in vain,—would probably never have been born,—had not their native city furnished the soil upon which they could grow. It provided the space and the freedom necessary for the expansion of the individual which is impossible in the surroundings of despotism; it offered, again in the words of Burckhardt, "the highest political consciousness, the greatest wealth of forms of development," which made it worthy to be called "the first of the modern States of the world."

If, now, from the Florence of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, we turn to the Rome of the same period, what do we find? While the busy, commercial city was at the height of its artistic glory, while Ghiberti was at work upon his celebrated gates, while Brunelleschi and Donatello, as we have already seen, were studying the antiquities of Rome, and the former was fitting himself to vault the dome of St. Mary of the Flower, the condition of the old mistress of the world "was [I quote Professor Norton,] wretched in the extreme. Nothing was left of the dignity of the ancient city but its ruins. There was no settled civic order, no regular administration of law or justice. Life and property were insecure. The people were poor, suffering, and turbulent. Rome was the least civilized city of Italy."

And this artistic and intellectual supremacy of Florence, this leadership in all that is worth striving for, this proud position

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at the head of the advancing columns whose task it was to dispel the gloom of the Middle Ages and to rend the clouds that had gathered, so that the light of the sun of humanity might once more be shed upon an almost devastated world, is due, next to the natural capacities of the race, to that realistic, practical and mercantile turn of the Florentine mind which we may claim to be also our own heritage, and which is so often denounced by self-styled idealists as the enemy of all higher pursuits. I might call numerous witnesses to support my position; but limits of space demand that I should content myself with one. "The Florentine men of business," says Professor Norton, "had long since learned the importance, first, of choosing capable and trustworthy agents, and then of leaving them unimpeded in the discharge of the duties committed to them. The whole course of procedure in regard to the construction of the cupola [of St. Mary of the Flower, of which Professor Norton is speaking,] indicates the foresight and good judgment of the men who had it in charge. It is a fine exhibition of the high qualities of Florence at a period when her streets were alive with the varied activities of a flourishing commerce, when her people were still confident in their own powers, full of restless vivacity of mind, and when a group of such artists as the modern world had never seen were ennobling her with the products of the emulous rivalry of their genius."

Another fact which is of the highest importance in the light of a lesson to ourselves and which, therefore, we must not overlook, is this, that even for Florence the best time was when she was freest and most active, and when the Medici were still inscribed among the members of the guild of woollen weavers. With the decay of those branches of actual industry which had made her famous the world over,—the weaving of silks and woollens,—and with the undue increase and preponderance of banking, her decay began; and when her bankers aspired to be princes the end was nigh. Happy, indeed, were the days of the early Renaissance! The most valiant deeds of Renaissance art, the various stages of its healthy development, were crowded into this period,—the cupola of Brunelleschi, the gates of Ghiberti, the adornment of Or San Michele, the frescos of Masaccio, the writings of Leone Battista Alberti. And how did the Medici themselves, as well as the character of their art-patronage, suffer under the influence of the

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change from merchants to princes! There is hardly a more pleasant picture to call to mind than the garden of Lorenzo il Magnifico, with its collection of antiquities. Under the supervision of old Bertoldo, the pupil of Donatello, it became a sort of academy for the artists of the day. In this garden, Lorenzo mingled freely with the young men who studied there, and it was here that he said to the youthful Michael Angelo, after the occurrence with the faun's head: "Go, and tell thy father that I would like to speak to him." The result is well known; but it is well known, also, that these same Medici were the curse of Michael Angelo's life. Anton Springer, one of the latest biographers of Raphael and Michael Angelo, has conclusively shown that the artistic glory which courtly historians have heaped upon Pope Leo X., the son of Lorenzo, is in no wise merited. He has proven that Leo degraded art to the rank of a courtesan, and that, while he reduced Raphael to the position of a decorator, his only office in life, as towards Michael Angelo, seems to have been to thwart that artist's plans and prevent their execution. For Professor Springer's arguments, I must refer the reader to his book, much as I would like to spread them on the record in support of my own reasoning. A far more pleasant picture in the art-history of Rome is supplied by the relations of Raphael to Agostino Chigi. Next to Pope Julius II., it was he who enabled Raphael to show his powers at their best, in the frescos of Sta. Maria della Pace and the Farnesina. And how well Agostino Chigi cared for his name! Who would remember Chigi, the merchant and banker, simply for his wealth? Had not his ambition risen above the dust,—even though it were gold-dust,—he would now be numbered with that nameless crowd whom Dante encountered on the confines of hell,—

> "Of whom nor infamy, nor good, was known,"—

and whose dull, uneventful lives doom them to eternal oblivion. But, as the friend and patron of Raphael, his name lives forever and rivals even that of the proud Medicis on the papal throne.

It would be an easy matter to show, by numerous examples, the baneful influence of princely patronage, even if we do not forget the Visconti of Milan, or the rulers of Mantua and their relations to Mantegna. What advantage did Dürer derive from the patronage of the Emperor Maximilian, the last of the knights? An order for a nonsensical wood-cut, ten and a half by nine feet, and in pay-

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ment illegal demands upon the city treasury of Nuremberg, which the council paid reluctantly in part, and in part refused altogether. He fared better with Jacob Heller, cloth-monger of Frankfurt, who, in spite, of an angry correspondence with the artist, paid the seventy florins demanded in advance of the price originally stipulated for the picture ordered, and expressed himself satisfied to boot. And, in the case of Holbein, the first picture which we think of when his name is mentioned is the "Meyer Madonna," executed for the money-changer of Basle. Next to this, his popular fame rests upon the "Dance of Death," which was designed to order for a book-seller of Lyons; and in England the only larger compositions for which he was commissioned were "The Triumph of Riches" and "The Triumph of Poverty," painted for the merchants of the Steel-Yard, while the king and his court had no better employment for his brush than the counterfeiting of their own amiable visages.

I have dwelt principally upon Florence in support of my argument; but I might cite, in addition, Siena, with its Duomo and the paintings in its public palace; Pisa, with its Campo Santo; Venice, that greatest and most lasting of the mercantile republics of Italy, which was the home of the second great school of Italian art; and I might, finally, ask the reader to remember, that, when art put on another garb and prepared to walk along new paths, it was in commercial Holland that it found a congenial home. Verily, in the light of history, we need have no fear that the commercial character of our republic might be a stumbling block to our art.

The remaining objection, that, owing to the change in intellectual conditions, the era of art lies forever behind us, seems at first sight to be more potent. Undoubtedly, in the present unsettled state of philosophical conviction or religious belief, with a mixed population of agnostics, atheists, Christians of all shades, orthodox and liberal Jews, watered with a vast mass of people who are totally indifferent to these matters, all of whom are entitled to respect and equal rights, a religious art, such as that of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, is not to be looked for. But is there nothing besides this, notably in our own case? Does not our State revolve around the grand central idea of liberty, which has brought together here all the people of these States, and has united them by a bond more noble, even if it should not be more powerful, than that of blood? Is not the development of this idea traceable all through

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our history? And is not this history as picturesque, as full of color, as any other? I claim that it is. Nevertheless, it must be admitted that our art has as yet received but little inspiration from it. And this may well lead us to ponder over the question: "How is it that we, a people full of energy and activity, and therefore imaginative,—for imagination lies at the bottom of all activity,—free, successful and wealthy, of mixed blood,—which is conducive to health,—how is it that we have thus far shown so little true appreciation of art?" Even the great centennial era through which we have just passed has not given that impetus to art which might have been looked for; a few monuments, and that is all. Surely, our commercial character has not stood in the way. The phenomenon must, therefore, be traceable to other causes. I shall leave it to the psychologist, however, to discover what they are. Meanwhile, I shall endeavor to show, that, so far as opportunities and material go, no good reason can be assigned why our own mercantile republic should remain behind the old mercantile republics of Italy as regards art.

Professor Norton, in his book on "Church-Building in the Middle Ages," which I have before quoted, has drawn for us an admirable picture of the activity of Venice, Siena and Florence, as shown in the erection of the churches of St. Mark, Our Lady of the Assumption, and St. Mary of the Flower. The book, as I have read it, has seemed to me not so much a mere learned study in the history of art as a glowing delineation of the civic pride, tinged with religious fervor, which induced the entire people of these cities, without regard to faction, to concentrate their energies and to lavish their wealth upon these monuments. At the same time, it impressed me as a powerful although indirect protest against our own indifference in such matters. That this indifference does exist, that we have no civic pride, cannot be denied; but it is difficult to find a reason why it should not be otherwise. Undoubtedly, the building of churches as civic undertakings is a thing of the past. There are other undertakings, however, as worthy and as noble,—more worthy, indeed, and more noble,—which only await our bidding to assume shape.

On the 28th of December, 1880, the city of Cambridge celebrated the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of its foundation. As I read the oration delivered upon this occasion by Colonel Hig-

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ginson, the public palaces of the old Italian cities and the great town-halls of Flanders and Germany rose up before my eyes; and I pictured to myself the citizens of Cambridge, carried away by the enthusiasm of the centennial era, resolving to build a new town-hall which should be worthy of the celebrated university city and a monument to the elevated spirit of its people. And in the council-halls of the new building I saw at work a master, with a band of pupils, decorating their walls according to the programme laid down by the orator—unwittingly, no doubt,—in his picturesque historical sketch of the city. There was the semi-military exploring party on that cold winter day of 1630, in the primeval forest which then stood where now rise the halls of the university; the election beneath the oak tree on May 17th, 1637, in which Winthrop triumphed over Vane; there was the feast given to Goffe and Whalley, the "regicides," by the magistrates, in 1660; the meeting of the freeholders, in 1774, in opposition to the so-called *mandamus* councillors; "the horrors of the midnight cry" preceding the battle of Lexington; the burial by torchlight of Hicks, Marcy and Richardson; and, lastly, Washington assuming command under the elm. These, and many other subjects from which an artist might readily choose, were suggested by Colonel Higginson's vivid oratory. And then, in the pursuit of my fancies, I seemed to see other cities, stung into activity by a spirit of peaceful emulation, bent upon equalling and, if possible, outdoing Cambridge; and I saw the great city-halls rising up everywhere, as in the days of old, and a busy and happy crowd of architects, sculptors and painters at work upon them, celebrating the deeds of the forefathers—out of whose trials, and labors, and triumphs, have resulted our own happiness and the hope of the world,—as they had never been celebrated before.

I must beg my readers' pardon for building such castles in the air, and they are quite at liberty to laugh at them as childish. My aim was to show that the opportunities, as well as the material, for great monumental undertakings are at hand, if only the desire existed to utilize them. Indeed, the material is richer here and more varied than anywhere else. The history of the discovery of the continent, the Puritan history of New England, the Knickerbocker history of New York, the history of the settlement of Maryland, the reminiscences of the War of Independence every-

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where,—these and many other subjects will surely be the welcome themes of the artists, if not of our day, at least of the future. Possibly, however, we shall have yet a while to forego the hope of much national, State and municipal art patronage. But, even so, much remains to be done. Not all of the art of the best days of Italy was directly inspired by the State. The artists were kept busy by orders emanating from corporations of all kinds, who took a pride in having their halls or the chapels dedicated or owned by them decorated by the best artists of their day; and in this they were largely followed by private persons. When our halls of exchange shall be decorated like the Cambio of Perugia, when the religiously inclined shall feel it necessary to sanctify their places of worship by the glories of art, when the walls of our concert-halls shall be covered with the creations of genius, and when art will thus be found everywhere, even in the crowded haunts of business,—then, and not until then, may we hope to see our dreams of a national art realized. Small beginnings are even now noticeable here and there; but a vast field, which might be cultivated to the greatest advantage, both of artists and the great body of the coming generations of American men and women, is still absolutely untouched. Our public-school buildings are becoming more spacious from year to year; but their halls, in which the pupils are gathered every morning and on every festive occasion, are suffered to remain in chilling nakedness. I know of only one,—the hall of the Girls' High School in Boston,—which has been decorated, and that with casts from the antique only, by the generosity of citizens of Boston. What a glorious field these halls would offer for the brush of the painter and the munificence of the man of wealth!

But the objection is urged that we have no artists capable of executing such works. I deny the validity of the objection; I stigmatize it as born of prejudice and blindness. From the days of Trumbull—whose great merits we are only beginning to realize,—down to our own day, we have wronged our artists by unjust indifference and distrust. If the mentioning of names were not out of place here, it would be an easy matter to point out a number of artists whose past achievements would be a sufficient guarantee for the satisfactory execution of any task that we might be likely to confide to them. But, if we allow the objection to stand for argument's sake, we are confronted by the question: "How shall

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we get these artists? Shall we not go into the water before we have learned to swim?" In that case, it is absolutely certain that we shall never get into the water and shall never learn to swim. Italy did not stand by until she had a Raphael to decorate her walls. Generations of men worked before him, and frequently one generation destroyed the work of its predecessors to make room for what was conceived to be better. That is the inexorable law of progress; if there had been nothing to destroy, there would have been nothing better to put in its place.

"One capable artist, with his assistants employed as formerly, would produce more good workers than all the schools of the country." When Mr. Hunt wrote this, he had in view a condition of things such as we have just been picturing to ourselves. And, by adding: "When we really want art, there will be a call for artists to paint, and producers will be respected, employed and encouraged," he showed that he was alive, also, to another advantage which such a condition of things would bring with it.

Modern artists are manufacturers of pictures,—I pray that they may pardon the expression,—which they paint on speculation and for which they must seek a market. (See my text.) But the artists themselves are not responsible for this anomalous position. It is we, the public, who force them into it, because we are not able to supply the ideas upon which they might base their works. Not so in the ages, the arts of which are, by common consent, called "great." It was the ideal of the entire Greek race that inspired the Greek artist, a world that lived in each Greek breast and brain, and which the sculptor or painter had only to make visible to the eye to delight his countrymen. In the gradual accomplishment of this realization, Greek art ran its course, ever and ever repeating itself, ever and ever refining upon itself. Had Phidias been compelled to invent his subjects, had he been forced to rack his brain forever for new means to tickle the sluggish fancy and open the reluctant purses of his fellows, had every new Zeus, or Athene, or Aphrodite, been greeted with a yawn, and the remark: "O, we've seen this before! Can't you give us something new?" it is not very likely that we should have any Greek art to sigh over to-day and to inspire the remark which Mr. Hunt puts into the mouths of our wise men, "that the Greek only could produce art." It cannot too often be iterated that the artist must not, cannot, be an

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original creator in the sense of the invention of subjects. His great office, as sublime as any that may be entrusted to man, is the realization, the clothing with form and life, of the ideals of his fellow-men, and, consequently,—provided the artist does not live disdainfully apart from his fellows,—the realization of his own ideal.

I know that there are artists, real as well as so-called, whose lip will curl at the opinions here expressed. Let them sit at the feet of history, as we have sat there. Let them read, for instance, the story of Luca Signorelli's great frescos in the Duomo at Orvieto. It is delightful reading, and most instructive,—how Luca was called before the representatives of the "little council;" how they voted to employ him with fifteen black beans "yes" and three white beans "no" (the very reverse, by the way, of our own custom); how he was bound to execute the histories according to the directions of the *camerlengho;* how he was enjoined not to paint less figures on the walls than were shown in his drawings, although he might paint more if he wished to; and more to the same effect. Degrading, is it not? And yet which is better,—to have a whole city eagerly watching your progress, to know that you are the exponent of the highest aspirations of the best of your fellow-men, to be in demand at half a dozen places at the same time, or,—to paint on speculation, try this, that, and the other subject, send to all the exhibitions about the country, and await the result in anxiety? It does not seem difficult to choose. But I repeat that the artist cannot create the conditions which will present such an alternative. "*When we really want art,* there will be *a call* for artists to paint." It is evident that this want must come from the public, and that we shall not *call upon* our artists to paint unless we have ideas which we long to see realized. Until that time arrives, things will have to go on as now, and pictures will be *sold,* not *bought.*

I sum up my argument. We have more artists already than we care to employ; yet we continue to multiply insufficiently equipped schools, which turn out ill-trained graduates, doomed to misery. Humanity demands, therefore, that we should try to reduce the number of students, teach those well who remain, and find work for them when we have taught them. This can only be done by the creation of a national, truly American school of art, not limited to painting pictures for parlor ornaments, (although

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these are by no means to be excluded,) but called upon, also, to exhibit its powers in the execution of monumental tasks. That such a school cannot be created artificially, is self-evident. I have shown, however, that the opportunities and the material for such a school are ready. The only question, therefore, that remains to be answered, is this: "Are we, as a people, capable and desirous of developing such a school?" It is for the future to answer this question; but I live in the faith that the reply will be in the affirmative. And I believe, also, that this art of our future will be more glorious than anything that has gone before.

When the city of Florence breathed again more freely, in the years that followed the expulsion of Piero de' Medici and the death of Savonarola, the revival of her spirit showed itself also in a renewal of artistic activity, and it was resolved to decorate the council-hall in the palace of her Gonfaloniere. For one of these proposed decorations, Michael Angelo drew his great cartoon. And what did it represent? An episode from the wars against Pisa, the old commercial rival of Florence, whom she hated unto death and had set herself to subjugate. Covetousness, envy, pride, injustice, all the worst passions of the human heart, dictated the choice of the subject. Thus did she, at the end of her own career, erect a monument to that most fatal departure from a true commercial policy which was one of the causes of her ruin. Fortunately, there are no such blemishes to be found as yet in our own history; and let us hope that there never will be. We may, indeed, claim, however numerous our imperfections, that we have jealously kept the jewel which has been entrusted to us, and that we have even been mindful to increase its brightness. How much purer, nobler, grander, will, therefore, be those works of art which we have seen arise in our vision,—which will not be born of superstition and fear, of pride and hatred, but of love, truth, and good will to all men, and which will be monuments, not of tyranny and oppression, but of liberty, justice and humanity. S. R. KOEHLER.

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HISTORY OF THE FIRST UNITED STATES BANK.

I.

A NATIONAL bank was included in Hamilton's scheme for restoring the finances of the country. Long before, in a letter to Morris,* he had not only given weighty reasons for founding a bank, but had accompanied them with a plan of the institution itself. The necessity for its existence cannot be measured by the present situation of the Government. At that time, there were only three banks in the country, whose capital was about two million dollars. Their bills were not a legal tender, and there was only a meagre supply of gold and silver in the country. Indeed, including the circulation of the banks, money was so scarce that the only way of effecting not a few exchanges was by the primitive method of barter. More money, therefore, was greatly needed, and the Government daily suffered for want of it. So long as only gold and silver were used, and no national bank existed, the Government incurred considerable expense and difficulty in transferring money from place to place.† A national bank was imperatively required that should fulfil both purposes, as well as many others, among which may be mentioned the temporary loaning of funds to the Government.‡

A bill for establishing the bank was introduced; whereupon, a very lengthy debate ensued. The discussion raged chiefly around the points of its constitutionality and expediency. The bill finally passed, and was signed by the President, after getting a written opinion from each of his Cabinet officers concerning its constitutionality. The capital of the bank was fixed at ten million dollars, for one-fifth of which the Government could subscribe. Its existence was limited to twenty years, and it was forbidden to charge more than six per cent. interest. The subscriptions of individuals were payable, one-fourth in gold and silver and three-fourths in the six per cent. stocks of the Government then bearing interest, or in

* Hamilton's "Works," Vol. I.

† Gallatin's "Consid. of the Currency and Banking System, Writings," Vol. III., page 328.

‡ For history of national banking and Treasury notes, see "Knox's Report, Compt. of Currency," 1875.

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three per cents. at one-half of their nominal value. The subscription of the Government was to be paid from borrowed money, which was immediately to be reloaned and finally reimbursed in ten annual instalments, with interest. No other loans exceeding one hundred thousand dollars were to be made to the United States without authority of law.* The bank was authorized to establish offices of discount and deposit in the several States, and its notes were to be received in payment of dues to the Government. It was authorized to sell the Government stock received for subscriptions, but not to become a purchaser.† Of the capital, five million, seven hundred thousand dollars were reserved for the chief bank, which was to be established at Philadelphia, while the balance, four million, three hundred thousand dollars, was to be divided among eight branches that were to be established in the principal cities of the Union. The entire capital was immediately subscribed, and application was made for four thousand additional shares within two hours after the books for subscriptions were opened. Oliver Wolcott was offered the presidency, but declined the offer, and Thomas Willing of Philadelphia was elected.‡

It would have been not only an useless but a disadvantageous operation for the Government at that time to pay for its stock by drawing money from Europe and then immediately remitting it as a loan from the bank. In doing this, there would have been a loss on exchange, in consequence of overstocking the market with bills, and a loss in interest by the delays incident to the operation, beside necessarily suspending the useful employment of the money. To the bank alone could any benefit have accrued in proportion to the delay in restoring or applying the fund to its primitive destination. How, then, was the end to be accomplished of paying the subscription-money in order to vest the Government with the title to the stock, of getting the means to make payment from the foreign fund, (which, of course, must first be placed in the Treasury before it could be used,) and replacing the same? For none of these steps could be omitted without violating the law. The following plan was devised and executed. The Treasurer of the United States drew bills on the American commissioners in

* See Sec. 19, Act March 3d, 1795. 3 C., 2 S., ch. 45.

† Act February 25th, 1791. 1 C., 3 S., ch. 10.

‡ "Gibbs' Adm.," Vol. I., page 68.

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Amsterdam for the sum required to pay the bank, which were purchased by it. By issuing warrants in favor of the Treasurer on the bank, the amount was placed in the Treasury. Other warrants were subsequently issued on the Treasury in favor of the bank for the amount of the subscription-money, which it receipted as paid. By this operation, the Government paid for its stock. Immediately, the bank loaned two million dollars to the Government, in fulfilment of a stipulation in the act of incorporation, and paid the amount by redelivering the bills purchased from the Government. These bills were then cancelled, so that, in fact, no money was drawn from the foreign fund during the operation of paying for the stock.*

It may be noted, however, that, while the stock had been obtained in such a manner as to satisfy the law, the real operation consisted in getting the stock by a promise that the two millions to be given therefor should be paid in ten annual instalments of two hundred thousand dollars each. Let us trace briefly how the Government executed its promise. The first instalment was due the 1st of January, 1793. In November of the previous year, Hamilton submitted a proposition to the House respecting the matter. But Congress failed to act in time; so Hamilton left a deposit for the amount with the bank, which had the effect of suspending interest on the instalment. Congress took no action until the 2d of March, when the Secretary was authorized to pay the instalment with foreign money. The Attorney-General, however, decided that he could not apply the foreign fund in that way until the 25th of June; so that not until the 20th of July following was the first instalment paid,—a delay of more than six months. Hamilton's inability to provide funds from any other source, or at an earlier period, reveals the weakness of the Treasury at that period. The second instalment was paid in the same manner. Congress was duly notified to make provision for paying it, but acted more slowly than before; for not until the 4th of June, 1794, was any action taken. Hamilton resorted to the same expedient for stopping interest and securing the instalment,—by making a deposit for the amount due. The next year, Congress acted more promptly,† though too late for making payment at the time

* Hamilton's "Works," Vol. III., pages 365 and 451.

† January 8th, 1795.

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specified. The next two payments were not made until 1797, when a portion of the stock was sold and four hundred thousand dollars were applied in paying the fourth and fifth instalments. The remaining payments were made with more regularity and with less difficulty.

The new Government had not been going long before the necessity arose for getting a temporary loan to meet accruing obligations. Congress authorized the President to empower the Secretary of the Treasury to make loans for paying the appropriations of the year, and to pledge the duties on imports and tonnage for their repayment.* Such an anticipation of the revenue could not be avoided, if the expenditures of the Government were to be paid when they became due. Though an old custom with other Governments, there was no sanction for it save a great and immediate necessity. At the starting of the Government, there were no funds, and, though steps were early taken to raise a revenue, of course, no money at once flowed into the Treasury, while its obligations soon began to accrue. Hence the necessity of borrowing for a short period, until the revenue increased sufficiently to maintain the Government. Grave as was the situation of the Government at the outset, several unexpected accidents required the expenditure of considerable sums before there was time to get them by additional taxation. Thus, these temporary loans which were derived from the bank continued for a longer period than was expected in the beginning, and caused no little difficulty to the Treasury before they were discharged. Gallatin declared that this was poor financiering, because the Government was burdened with more interest. Little did he dream, when pronouncing this criticism, that within fifteen years he would suggest the issuing of Treasury notes, which were essentially loans of the same character.†

These loans were of three distinct kinds. They were in anticipation of the taxes for current expenditures. The last of these was made in 1795.‡ The sinking fund commissioners were authorized to borrow money, not exceeding one million dollars annually, in anticipation of the revenues, to pay interest. Each loan of this

* Act March 26th, 1790. 1 C., 2 S., ch. 4.

† "Sketch of the Finances, Writings," Vol III., page 105, *et seq.*

‡ Sec. 7, Act March 26th. The last one was for two million dollars, in anticipation of the direct tax. Act July 16th, 1798. 5 C., 2 S., ch. 85.

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kind was to be reimbursed within a year from the time of making it. Loans were also founded on the revenues, but the money received was applied for a specific rather than a general purpose. The first loan of this kind was to cover the expense of an Indian war. Congress appropriated one hundred and fifty thousand dollars from the surplus revenues of 1791, and five hundred and twenty-three thousand, five hundred dollars from accruing duties, for this purpose. The President was then "empowered to take on loan, on account of the United States," the latter sum, which was to be reimbursed from the surplus of duties. Accordingly, Hamilton contracted with the bank for a loan of four hundred thousand dollars.*

Another loan for one million dollars was authorized March 20th, 1794.† It was a part of the settling price with Algeria. The Algerine corsairs had preyed on American commerce, inflicting serious damage, and a number of Americans had been taken prisoners and carried away to the land of the moon. Two ways were suggested for rescuing them. One way was to build and equip a navy, and declare war against Algeria; the other was to ransom the prisoners. The latter was the cheapest; the former was the most spirited. The desire, or, perhaps, necessity, for economy outweighed the desire to revenge the insult sustained by the nation. Only two hundred thousand dollars of the sum needed to pay the pirates could be obtained, which was borrowed of the Bank of New York, at five per cent. interest. The 4th of February, 1795, the President submitted the subject to the consideration of Congress. The House referred the matter to the Secretary of the Treasury, to ascertain at what price the desired loan could be procured. The result of his negotiations was that the Bank of the United States offered to lend eight hundred thousand dollars in six per cent. Government stock, if certain duties were pledged for payment. The stock was borrowed, and the house of Barings was designated to negotiate the sale of it and to remit the proceeds to General Humphreys, who was conducting the negotiations for the Government. Before the arrival of the stock in England, the market-price had fallen, and it was sold at a sacrifice. The Secretary of the Treasury was denounced as the author of the whole

* Act April 27th, 1792. 2 C., 1 S., ch. 27, § 16.

† Act 3 C., 1 S., ch. 7.

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transaction, including the treaty, by the party opposed to him. The members of both parties had voted for the treaty, the terms of the loan had been communicated to the committee appointed by Congress to consider the subject, and approved by them, and the bill which was the outcome of their consideration of the matter was passed without opposition. The measure could have been easily defeated by the party who denounced the action of the Secretary, for they constituted the majority. There was no ground whatever for complaining of Wolcott's conduct.*

The next loan of the bank was for one million dollars. It was authorized at the same time as the Algerine loan.† Differences multiplied and intensified, first with Great Britain and afterwards with France, and more money was needed to prepare for war than could be raised immediately in the ordinary manner. The succeeding loan was for two million dollars, which was authorized in December, 1794.‡ The rate of interest was five per cent. The money was spent in preparing for war. In February§ of the following year, another loan for eight hundred thousand dollars was authorized, to reimburse the bank for a similar sum borrowed the year before. The next month,|| the Government was authorized to borrow the money appropriated for increasing the naval armament and other purposes connected with the army and navy. Under this authority, one million dollars were borrowed,—one-half in April and the balance in October. On the same day,¶ a law was enacted for the support of the public credit and the redemption of the public debt. In January of the following year, therefore, the commissioners of the sinking fund borrowed five hundred thousand dollars of the United States Bank, to pay the interest on the public debt. The same year,** also, under a law which empowered them to borrow not exceeding the sum just mentioned, to pay any loan due to the Bank of the United States or the Bank of New York, three hundred and twenty thousand dollars were borrowed of the

* Ellsworth's letter to Wolcott, March 8th, 1796; "Gibb's Adm.," Vol. I., page 306; *ibid*, 141, 188, 320, 434.

† Act March 20th, 1794. 3 C., 1 S., ch. 8.

‡ Act December 18th, 1794. 3 C., 1 S., ch. 4.

§ Act February 21st, 1795. 3 C., 2 S., ch. 25.

|| Act March 3d, 1795. 3 C., 2 S., ch. 46.

¶ *Ibid*, ch. 45.

** Act May 31st, 1796. 4 C., 1 S., ch. 44.

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latter institution. One other loan of two hundred thousand dollars was made by Wolcott of the United States Bank, the last of December, 1798.

Thus, from the beginning, the Bank of the United States was very accommodating to the Government. But the loans were not promptly paid; the balance grew larger every year. At the end of 1792, the amount was $2,556,595.56, which increased to $6,200,000 three years afterward.* Both Hamilton and Wolcott had urged the increase of taxation as the true remedy for preventing an accumulation of indebtedness; but Congress was very slow in applying it. The bank became impatient. The loan of so large a portion of its funds to the Government crippled its operations. The expedient proposed by Wolcott was to commute the debt into a funded domestic stock, bearing six per cent. interest, and irredeemable for such a period as would invite purchasers at par. A bill was introduced into the House authorizing the commissioners of the sinking fund to issue six per cent. stocks to the amount of five million dollars, which they were restricted from selling below par, the proceeds of which were to be paid to the bank. The stock was to be redeemable in 1819. In consequence of delaying taxation, the credit of the Government had been weakened, and the stock could not be sold at par when the bill passed the House, and the directors of the bank saw very clearly that the bill would furnish no relief. They addressed a letter to the Secretary of the Treasury. "Public funds," said the directors, "like other property, are exposed to feel the impression which contingent circumstances operate upon its value; a stipulation, therefore, that it shall not be sold, but at a given price, in order to extinguish the debts contracted with the bank, is an illusory provision, and places the demands of the institution on a very unsafe and unsatisfactory footing; it is likewise opposed to the practice of all nations habituated to the support of public credit, under the operation of a funding system. They, therefore, cannot but view a conditional arrangement, by which the bank may be compelled to wait an indefinite period of time for payment, as an infraction of a contract and incompatible with the justice of this country. In bank operations, where punctuality is so essential, and therefore so strictly observed,

* See "Otis's Report on the Condition of the Treasury Department," January 28th, 1801. 1 Finance, page 690.

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there is but little difference betwixt a delay and a refusal of payment."* They could get no relief by purchasing the stock, even at the rate specified, though not worth so much, because the charter precluded their doing such a thing.

The next day, Wolcott addressed a letter to the Senate, stating that the bill with this restriction would not furnish relief. As there was no possibility of obtaining the money abroad, nor of Congress providing a sufficient revenue, he suggested the necessity of giving the commissioners power to obtain loans unclogged by any conditions which could possibly occasion a failure of public credit. The act, therefore, was modified; not more than one-half the stock could be sold under par, and, as a final resource, the commissioners were authorized to sell the bank-shares for the same purpose.

Even thus amended, the act was not what it ought to have been. The fact cannot be denied that the majority in Congress, who were now opposed to the Administration, did not care to relieve the Government from its financial embarassments. They granted appropriations without hesitation, but refused to increase the taxes, which was the true remedy. Had this step been taken, these temporary obligations would not have multiplied so rapidly. But they declined to do so, and, when no way was left, except to fund them, Congress was so slow and ineffective in doing this that the good opinion hitherto entertained of the honesty of that body was shaken.† Chauncey Goodrich, one of the most prominent and fair-minded members of the House, wrote, concerning the plan of funding the bank loans: "If this operation had been adopted early in the session, the stock could now have been sold at or above par. The delay and the wound to public credit from the preposterous conduct of the House during the session, has created some embarrassments to a successful administration of the finances."‡ Three weeks later, he wrote: "The most serious embarrassment is in the Treasury Department, owing to the perverse and ruinous delay of the House of Representatives in not seriously and early adopting the system devised by the Secretary of the Treasury; that, I have before advised you, was to create stock to pay the anticipations at the bank. Two months ago, stock would have sold at par;

* Communication to Senate, May 11th, 1796. 1 Finance, 412.

† "Gibbs's Adm.," Vol. I., page 346, *et seq.;* Act May 31st, 1796.

‡ Letter to Oliver Wolcott, May 4th, 1796; "Gibbs's Adm.," Vol. II., page 336.

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now, that can't be done. The Senate have given an unexpected and unfortunate direction to the business."* What that turn was, we have just described.

The new stock failed to attract purchasers; after several months had passed, only eighty thousand dollars had been subscribed, and there were no more subscriptions. So the commissioners were compelled to sell a portion of the bank-stock to reimburse the bank. Hamilton denounced the action of Congress, and wrote to Wolcott: "I shall consider it as one of the most infatuated steps that ever was adopted."† Of the five thousand shares owned by the Government, twenty-one hundred and sixty were sold at twenty-five per cent. advance, or for five hundred dollars per share. The sum received, $1,080,000, and also one hundred and twenty thousand dollars obtained from the sale of the new Government stock, were paid to the bank. Shortly afterwards, six hundred and twenty shares more were sold for $304,260.‡ After that period, the Government made more strenuous efforts to reduce its indebtedness to the bank; but several years elapsed before it was finally discharged. The opposition which was shown to the establishment of the bank§ continued throughout its existence. One of the earliest charges brought against Hamilton after accepting office was that he displayed favoritism toward the bank in drawing foreign bills and depositing the proceeds there solely for its benefit. He contended that the funds were drawn to purchase a portion of the public debt,—an application of the money which was "productive of positive and important advantages." Hamilton completely refuted the charge by showing that the larger portion of the bills had been drawn by the Banks of North America and New York, and whatever benefit had accrued from the operation was gained by them. When the national bank was established, it was understood that the public deposits would flow into it. Yet they went there gradually, and not by any sudden alteration of the current. Indeed, Hamilton sought to remove them by way of payments, rather than by direct transfer. So far did he succeed in this intention,

* Letter to Oliver Wolcott, May 4th, 1796; "Gibbs's Adm.," Vol. II., page 339.

† "Works," Vol. VI., page 143.

‡ For account of sales of shares, see 1 Finance, pages 467-500; 2 *ibid*, page 351.

§ See "An Enquiry into the Principles and Tendency of Certain Public Measures," Philadelphia, 1794.

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that he declared a cautious regard had been paid to the convenience of the former institutions and the reverse of a policy unduly solicitous for the accommodation of the Bank of the United States had prevailed. Indeed, so much had this been the case, that it might be proved, if it were proper to enter into the proof, that a criticism had been brought upon the conduct of the Department, as consulting less the accommodation of the last-named institution than was due to the Government and to the services expected of it.*

A. S. BOLLES.

* Hamilton's "Works," Vol. III., page 413.

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ANOTHER VACATION.

IN a recent number of this magazine, an account was given of a "Vacation Cruise," the object of the article being less to tell of a pleasant trip than to enforce some of its sanitary lessons. From the same motive, the writer continues the subject in this article, with, however, a change in the scene of the vacation,—the one on sea, the other on land, and having no other feature in common than that each was in the open air and devoted exclusively to muscular culture; but with this mental reservation implied,—that said muscular culture was valued only because it was the substratum on which nine months of faithful mental labor must rest subsequently. This is the moral inspiration which directed each trip and impels the account of each. True, another element might be supposed to have entered into the keen relish with which such excursions were continued. Evolutionists might hint that it was a remaining mental trait, handed down from the time when our ancestors slept under umbrageous banana-leaves or swung by prehensile terminations from tree to tree in some tropical forest of long ago. Be it so! Justified by its results, how lovingly we should cling to an instinct of the race.

The former article was written mainly to fellow-students and professional men; this is likewise dedicated to them, for the very reason that none need it so much as they. It is the custom with our contemporaries to have a deal of good-natured fun at the expense of the college athlete, and even to hint that, perhaps, more time devoted to study and less to the manly sports would approach more nearly the ideal college-life. There is force in the friendly criticism in many cases, and yet in others it has a positively injurious influence. Most of those who become college students, and most of those who enter one or the other of the learned professions, have been raised without the necessity of the hard physical exercise which would solidify their frames; and it is certain that after they really begin the work of life they will find themselves where systematic physical culture has become out of the question (or so, at least, they will imagine,) from want of time or from force of popular prejudice against many invigorating sports. Hence, if ever, for such it must be during college life that this constitu-

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tional vigor is gained. Society and prudery have nothing to say against the mental and bodily dissipation of the sea-side or a fashionable watering-place. Neither have we; for both have their uses, though the same tribunal would judge the serious health-seeker, if she were a female, rather harshly, if she could handle a twenty-pound dumb-bell, and if she confessed that she actually loved the exercise.

Let this vacation be spent on shore, and anywhere in the mountains of Colorado or of our own State. I wish to describe no particular one, but to draw certain general conclusions from many.*

First, what is the special object to be gained by a vacation of "roughing it"? Briefly, we may answer this by two words,—physical vigor; *i. e.*, banishing of disease, or tendency to disease, from the system. It includes actual strength, sound digestion, due performance of the functions of heart and lungs, restoration of eyesight, and rest for an over-taxed brain. It conduces to longevity; it gives a keener relish for mental exercise and a greater freedom in it, along with sounder judgment in performance of daily duty.

These are the results; but how are they to be attained? This answer, too, is equally brief and simple,—by abandoning, for a time, mental work, and by out-door life, combined with muscular exercise. Out-door life? What is implied by such an expression? An absolute dwelling in the open air, both by night and by day. It would appear that no possible explanation of such terms could be needed, and yet, so far has the multitude of our studious ones departed from a normal, ancestral mode of living, that the very term, out-door life, has become in some sense devoid of meaning, or, at least, has come to have a very perverted and pernicious meaning. To the ordinary male invalid, it means languid walks on cloudless days, along well-cleared paths, with confinement to closed rooms at night. To the female invalid, it too often degenerates into a sun-bath as she sits by a lake-side and muses on, no one knows what, returning to her hotel, as the shadows darken, to undergo imprison-

* The writer asks the pardon of the reader for volunteering the statement that he has served as a private soldier and as an officer during the war; that he has camped out with the thermometer forty-five degrees below zero, in the forests of Northern British Columbia; that he has "done the Rockies," and sweltered in Arizona, to say nothing of minor excursions. The apology may be accepted when it is remembered that it is only such an extended experience which could justify some of the remarks that follow.

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ment for the next twelve hours. At best, it is but half the prescription, even if one remained both by day and by night in the open air, but did nothing more. Strength and absolute longing to be back at work, because one is too well to be wasting time, come only after exercise of the muscles has worn out and thrown off the dead cells in an organization and replaced them by new, solid tissue. Sun-baths and languid walks will not confer the maximum muscular contractility. This can only come from a judicious maximum muscular exercise. Two comrades from the same camp will show different results. The one who "makes the camp," who cuts the wood, carries the water, and does the hunting, very often does it all because the life has made him so full of vigor and restless impulse that he cannot be less active. The other may do the musing, watch the ripples on the lake, and note how the winds toy with the leaves, and even be the better for it; but which of these two will succeed the better in the struggle of life, hardly admits of a question.

Therefore, exercise to the maximum, so long as one does not produce exhaustion, is the other half of the prescription. One safe-guard, and one only, for even the weakest,—let that exercise be steady and steadily increasing, (but never spasmodic and violent), until you find your restless muscles actually craving to do that which is out of the routine. This caution is simply in the interest of a physiological law which might be formulated thus,—*never use your strength faster than you make it.* Alas! that one should here have to add this caution,—do not mistake indolence for exhaustion. It is, of all errors, the most common, and one by which the patient sorely tries our most popular doctors. Frequent change of camp is a means by which judicious, healthful exercise may most certainly be obtained, especially if each move compel the erection of a new shelter. Hence, take nothing approaching a tent, save a good canvass for a roof. This will render labor requisite to give you a comfortable abiding-place, and will, at the same time, afford a perfect protection against storm. Few men who have camped out will wonder that fire-worshipping represents a certain stage in human civilization, rather than a special religious creed; in other words, that it is inherent in humanity, rather than the product of a race, or a local idea. Long after the scenes of land and lake shall have been obscured by the flight of years, one finds the camp-fires burning away in memory just as they did in the camp. The night

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made full of company by the "lambent flame," the genial warmth, the dense darkness outside of the fire-charmed area, all linger. Hence, then, a camp-fire for its own dear sake, and because to make it compels exercise which will do your flaccid muscles good. It is singular that among our athletic games lassoing has never become popular. It is at once among the easiest to learn and the most attractive when learned. I know of nothing which gives greater range of muscular freedom, with fewer injurious consequences, than this. Therefore, in your camp outfit, give the lassó a place. Whatever else you may take, have just as little outside help as possible. A guide may be requisite; but more than one is a positive nuisance, who breeds discontent in a camp and tempts you to have him do what your own interest demands that you should do for yourself. The spruce bed, in the mind of an habitual camper, has become an unexpressed poem. The balsamic fragrance rises before him as the odors of incense. But the spruce bed has quite other uses, which lie in the fact, that to make a good one you must work. True, it is an easy, meditative task, one by which haste is not engendered. It develops no tremendous energy; but still we put it down in the column headed "healthful labor."

This would sound as if camping were exclusively for the sterner sex. It is nothing of the sort. Whatever difference of opinion may exist as to the necessity of a summer vacation, once that necessity, or the reasonableness of it, be admitted, then there is no option as to the duty of making it as productive of good results as possible. Camping is simply one of a class of summer recreations which both sexes may enjoy with benefit to their physical well-being. The very strongest objection taken to it on this score will be founded upon the truth that there is nothing modern society so much abhors as a perfectly robust, healthy woman. Under eighteen, she is voted a "hoyden," and after that an "Amazon." Granting that envy may have something to do with such a decision, or, if it do not have, then regretting all the more that vigorous womanhood is not desired, one may fairly predict that even the advancing wave of woman's rights will hardly remove maternity from the privileges of nearly half of the next generation. And, in the interest of a healthy race, this, alas! too plainly demands an increase in female vigor,—a vigor which can be gained very seldom

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by drugs alone, but which is almost sure to follow a systematic, out-door, active life.

The open air! This is a wide range, and its dangers are among the most prolific themes of certain writers. It has its dangers; the germs of disease may lurk in it, every zephyr that fans one's cheek may be freighted with malaria, and every breath may invite a host of diseases to enter in and take possession of our mortal frames; but no one proposes deliberately to seek for a healthy vacation in any such region,* any more than he would drink the water of a cholera-plagued town in preference to that which ripples down our mountain declivities. The use of any potent agent implies a knowledge of the forces we are invoking; and the fresh, open air of the forest is no exception to the law. We shall be wise if we do not mistake supposed for real knowledge of its action. There are several safeguards which *must* be observed by weak frames, and which *should* be observed by all. First, the body should never be allowed to remain excessively warm; neither should it be allowed to become unpleasantly cold,—and, least of all, suddenly so. The obvious preventive here is woollen clothing. No weak one should retire at night in wet clothing; nor should he exercise one day to the verge of exhaustion, and meditate and repent over it the next. There is a sensible mean which will soon come to the rescue of any person who deserves good health. With these limitations, and others such as common-sense will suggest, I venture to assert, that, unless one is an absolute, confirmed, hopeless invalid, there is nothing in the summer air of our higher, uncultivated regions, by night or by day, which should prevent his or her sleeping out in camp, *if properly protected from extreme cold and from rain-storms.* I will even go further, and assert that for a large class of sufferers, and notably those of pulmonic troubles, a positive good will result in the majority of cases.

There is still one more conclusion which I have come to, not hastily, but from the somewhat extended observations I have had opportunity of making; *i. e.*, that neither in the army, nor in the snows of a long winter campaign in British Columbia, nor under

* The writer has abundant reason to know how filth from a hotel in one of the most salubrious regions of this State could make the whole atmosphere of the neighboring forests absolutely pestiferous, and that a return of healthfulness to the neighborhood ollowed a cleansing of the hotel and its surroundings.

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the almost unendurable heat of Arizona, nor on the plains or peaks of Colorado, have I ever seen one man injured by *exposure to night air*, notwithstanding the fact that I have camped with invalids and with strong men, treating, in my camp location and camp duties, the weak and strong alike. Let me be understood that I lay down no generalizations for other observers. I, on the other hand, should be exceedingly hard to convince that I am in error, unless by one who has had actual experience in such *real*, out-door life as one finds in the service where my observations were made. It is not to be supposed that no cases of sickness are engendered in the army or in camp; on the contrary, excessive fatigue may send an invalid to the bitter end rapidly, and in spite of the most salubrious atmospheric surroundings, both by day and by night. I have now in mind a companion of years ago, who left his school and entered the army, apparently a "confirmed consumptive," yet who gained in a few months more than twenty pounds in weight, continuing his improvement until, in the forced marches of Buell, he succumbed from sheer exhaustion. There was no mistake whatever in the diagnosis of his disease; certainly, none so far as our point is concerned.

In 1873, I had under observation two persons, one a distinguished gentleman from New York, whose lungs had been pronounced by one of the most celebrated physicians of that city as seriously impaired (I use language much more moderate than his medical adviser). Within a week from the time this gentleman left Denver, he was camping near the summit of the Argentine Pass in Colorado, at, say, an elevation of twelve thousand, five hundred feet above the sea-level, and on ground soaked by melting snow. During the ensuing six months, he did full and laborious duty, returning to civilization in the fall, after a season of genuine camping out, with increased weight, a new lease of life, and to this day is in active business. The other was a soldier, an enlisted man, whose wasted frame, hectic flush, cough, and night-sweats, told too plainly what his doom might be; yet in six months even he had become fleshy, and, so far as one might judge, restored to health. His subsequent history I never learned. Such examples are apt to prove tedious; but I cannot forbear citing just one more, especially as it is the case of a young medical man from Philadelphia. A few years ago, he noted his failing health, and found

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that he was decreasing rapidly in weight; abandoning a post of honor, he sought the mountains of Colorado and became a "prospector," exposing himself by day and by night in an almost reckless manner. A few months ago, he wrote to me, saying that he had gained much in weight and considered himself as absolutely well. These are all extreme cases, and involve exposure such as no judicious physician would willingly subject any patient to. They, however, serve the useful purpose of showing that the popular dread of night air in any temperate region which is healthy by day is an absolute fallacy, and dangerous, because it induces a health-seeker to undo by a night's imprisonment all the good he has gained during the day. The contrasts one witnesses between recovering and sinking invalids are painful, especially when fully assured that many of the latter are so because of their dread of "night air." It was simply horrible to see those who had journeyed half-way across the continent in search of health, moping by day about Denver, and inhaling the coal-gas of a close hotel at night, and to contrast them with the two gentlemen alluded to, who came in full of vigor from a prolonged period of exposure and hard labor, yet both of whom were desperately sick seven months before.

In fact, looking at the history of these health resorts for pulmonic sufferers in the light of twenty years or more, one cannot fail to be struck with the fact that Minnesota and Colorado were, as sanitary stations, in their zenith before the appliances of a modern civilization swept away the open cabins of the hunter and pioneer, and replaced them by the costly and beautiful buildings which now are the pride of those prosperous States. And the temptation is equally strong to ask whether California and Florida do not enjoy their reputation for healing the same class of diseases still more because the temperature is warm enough to invite the sojourners there to perpetual, or well-nigh perpetual, out-door life, rather than from any other specific virtue. Even here I can hardly avoid the remark that I have known many amiable, docile, patients, who "did take proper care of themselves," to die; and I have in mind, at the same time, a hardened mortal who was warned about going duck-hunting and *exposing* his tender lungs, who positively refused to die, and at last recovered, even though there appeared to be no reason known to medical science why he should have done so. (The moral constitution of such a man as the latter

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was, of course, too unusual to draw any general conclusions from.)

These all are extreme cases, such, I may repeat, as no judicious physician would advise a repetition of. They fairly raise the question: "Is there no limit to the use of this out-door life as a health-giving power?" There unquestionably is. There is a stage at which a sufferer may fold his hands and husband his strength; for not enough recuperative power remains to enable him to add to his slender stock. Such an one should have no inducement offered to attract him out, or to lure him away from home by the hope of recovery. There are organic diseases which no mode of life, however normal and healthy, can cure or even retard the course of.

It is for others that this has been written; it is to place before those sedentary ones who are "only a little ailing," the necessity for exercise and plenty of fresh air, as well as judicious medical care; it is to encourage those who love the vigor of solid, muscular manhood, with its possibilities, its comforts,—and its trials, too,—to take "that vacation;" it is to justify the young collegian in his athletic sports,—for it may be that duty or false dignity will prevent his having the benefit of them in maturer years. Yes; there are other reasons, too,—reasons which one hardly dares to utter above a whisper,—why this is written; in just the faintest hope that it may lead to the conviction that our sisters and daughters might, with advantage to themselves and to those who are to call them by the tenderest of all terms,—mother,—share in these out-door, muscular sports and vacations. No single, *solid* muscular fibre was ever created until it was earned by activity. In our æsthetic rage, just now, it would hardly be wise to give unqualified approval to the sentiment of the water-loving youth who declared "he could never marry anyone unless she could pull a bow-oar or mind her luff." Still, it has a value,—even such an expression as this. One might, when estimating the importance of fresh air, and plenty of it, even remember that man's nearest relative, the agile dweller in tropical forests, soon dies from pulmonary troubles when cared for, as best can be, in the closed cages of our zoölogical gardens.

There is also another reason why the race has something of good to hope for in the open-air life we have endeavored to

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advocate. Some of the monstrous bits of wearing apparel which deform and ruin the feet as organs of locomotion, and which carry their baneful effects up into the spinal column,—some of the checks which impede respiration and retard digestion,—might be (for a time, at least,) abandoned, and well-disposed nature allowed a chance to do her best with our physical organization.

J. T. ROTHROCK.

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"MAN'S ORIGIN AND DESTINY."*

IT is quite possible to admire the learning of an author, to be generally pleased and instructed by what he has written, and, at the same time, to regret the tone of some portions of his work and also to dissent from some of his conclusions.

The above-mentioned book professes, in the preface to the second edition, to be knowledge acquired as the result of various scholarly pursuits, "and especially those philological and archæological studies which, beginning in 1834, continued to be the recreation of a busy life till 1874." One may ask, in amazement: "If the varied reading and study which have produced this book were simply recreations, what must have been the amount and character of serious work?" The result here before us may be criticised in various ways by scientific men. We shall aim to notice it simply from a popular point of view,—not improperly, since it is addressed to the popular understanding and intended to influence it,—the substance of the work having been originally put forth in the shape of popular lectures at the Lowell Institute. As one of the enlarged audience to which the book is addressed, we may say in all sincerity that it is full of learning of a most varied character, full of interest, and, withal, with a certain "snap" which prevents its ever being dull. It is one of those productions which throw much and pleasant light upon the works of creation, and, by its presentation of clearly ascertained physical facts, must be welcomed as an aid in correcting some theological opinions in connection with the sacred Scriptures which from time to time need modification, and in securing which modification true scientists should ever have the thanks of all lovers of truth. The mistake many theologians have made is that they assume *their understanding* of what the Scriptures say to be the only true as well as the final deliverance on the subject; and the more bigoted portion of them have not hesitated to heap abuse upon those who have brought to light new facts which shake their theories. It is also a mistake shared by some scientists, on the other side. It is to be regretted that such

* "Man's Origin and Destiny, Sketched from the Platform of the Physical Sciences." By J. P. Lesley. Cloth. 12mo. Pp. 442. $2.00. Boston: George H. Ellis. (J. B. Lippincott & Co.)

a man as Professor Lesley should have allowed himself to imitate some of the theologians in the *tone* of some of his attacks; for such a name, as may be shown below, is warranted by some of his language. But, before noticing what seems to be objectionable, it it pleasant to let the Professor describe his own position,—one, we cannot help feeling, with which some of his utterances are in a measure inconsistent. That he is a "believer" in the broad sense of the term, he is careful to tell us in the following beautiful passages: "But all for each, and each for all, is God's grand spell upon the universe, by which he marshals its forces against disorder and establishes eternal harmony; drawing slowly forth his silken rainbow-colored ribbon from that mist of threads which hovers behind the loom." And, again: "All I would say in this introductory lecture is this: that I do not believe in a beginning without God, any more than in an end without Christ; and, therefore, you may expect to hear me treat all the facts and details of the investigation into the early life of mankind upon the earth, not only by the rules of the naturalist, but also in the spirit of the spiritualist, and with a profound faith in Christianity as the blooming of the century-plant" (page 18).

But, then, in connection with these statements, attention should be given to what the Professor says, on pages 20 *et seq.*,—and says very justly,—about the difference between an ignorant and an enlightened Christianity, and the absurd use made by some Christian teachers of Paul's admonition to Timothy about "science, *falsely* so called." Mr. Lesley writes a valuable commentary upon these words, and one which may be profitably studied by many zealous men, through the whole of the second lecture, on "The Genius of the Physical Sciences, Ancient and Modern." With this we are in hearty accord; but to some statements in other parts of the book exception is taken.

Educated and thoughtful Christians have pretty generally come to the conclusion that the sacred Scriptures, old and new, were *not intended* to teach *physical* science authoritatively. They are the records of *spiritual* science, and only there are they authoritative. The records of the Old Testament give us the history of the slow development and training of the conscience in the life of a wonderful race avowedly selected for that purpose. That is their main point. Other things—traditions, views of physical science, archæ-

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ology, etc.,—come in incidentally in accordance with the knowledge of the times, and may or may not be at fault without in the least impairing the authority of the records in their *proper sphere.* That is a matter for science, *truly* so called,—*i. e.*, a knowledge of physical fact and the clearly ascertained laws of fact,—to give us light upon. And in very truth this has been the noble mission of all *true* science in these latter days. In the New Testament, we find the highest and most authoritative promulgation of the laws of *spiritual* science, the which, if a man follow, he will be spiritually saved.

If Professor Lesley had simply stated the matter in some such way, his utterances in parts of his book would not be as painful or seem as harsh and unwarrantable as they do to some who reverence the Old as well as the New, and consider that, after all, what excites his condemnation *may* be rather a misunderstanding of the Old than its own inherent faultiness. For instance, he says, (page 44,) with reference to some "Mosaic" records, that they are "old Jew legends, so palpably heathenish and contrary to all we now know that it is not worth while to try to show their absurdity." And, again, in speaking of the races of men being different in species, he says (page 117): "There is absolutely *no* reason for supposing them to be of one species, except an absurd legend ascribed to an ancient Semitic law-giver and preserved among a number of similar legends of various dates, inconsistent with themselves, with each other, and with the legends of surrounding nations. . . . Then, the descendants of Seth are made to live each one a thousand years, and, when the earth was peopled, partly by a crossing of the human stock with angelic blood, the work of the Creator was spoiled and had to be begun again. . . . This hotch-potch of old Hebrew legends, made sacred to our hearts by lectures from the pulpit and recitations at the mother's knee,—this tissue of absurdity called the Biblical history of the origin of mankind,—is absolutely the sole and entire argument for not considering the human races as much distinct in kind and origin as are the llama and alpaca, or the vicuna and alpaca, or the springbok and the goat," etc. With reference to this last topic, he further says (page 119): "I account it probable, then, that the races of mankind have always been distinct, and that they probably made their

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appearance on the planet successively; perhaps the black and meagre races first, and the white race last."

It is thus plainly evident what Mr. Lesley's views on these subjects are, and that he proclaims them contemptuously as being utterly opposed to the "tissue of absurdity called the Biblical history of the origin of mankind." But, may it not, after all, and to the credit of the "Biblical history," as it states its own story, be simply the fact that some ***explanations*** of the Biblical record involve the absurdity, and not the records themselves? Because there is not absolute unanimity of view as to what the records really state. There are writers who have arrived at precisely the same scientific conclusions, as to the variety of the races of men and the ages which have elapsed since man first appeared on the earth, which Professor Lesley claims to be scientifically true, and yet who, extending their researches over a wider field, do not find the necessity of stigmatizing the earlier portions of the "Biblical history" as a "hotch-potch," "a tissue of absurdity." They dissent entirely from the popular understanding of the matter; but they claim, that, while the popular understanding is erroneous, the record itself, when its meaning is truly known, is in accordance with—at any rate, is not opposed to,—the conclusions which science has arrived at in some very important matters. For instance, Dominick McCausland, (who has brains enough to be a Queen's counsel and a doctor of laws in the old country,) in his "Adam and the Adamite," (third edition, London, 1872, page 151,) after stating the fact of the variety of races very much as Professor Lesley has done, uses this language: "Thus, all the evidences that are available on the subject—geological, archæological, philological, physiological and historical,—tend to establish the proposition, that, of the three apparently distinct races of mankind which are now, and have been from time immemorial, inhabitants of their respective sections of the earth's surface, the *Caucasian was the last to make its appearance.*" . . . [A conclusion precisely that of Dr. Lesley.] . . . "There is no evidence to the contrary, except the supposed authority of the Scriptures;" . . . [Dr. Lesley again; only McCausland goes on to say:] . . . "and this, [*i. e.*, "the supposed authority of the Scriptures,"] instead of warranting, *forbids the conclusion that the earliest human inhabitants of the earth were of the highest type of organization.*" He then deals with the

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true meaning of the Hebrew record, shows it to be clouded by the received translations, and arrives at the conclusion stated in the preface to the third edition to be "that the true construction of the sacred history of Adam's creation is perfectly consistent with the facts which philosophic research has established respecting the remoteness of the first dawn of humanity on the earth;" and he furthermore calls attention to the fact, which is patent, even in our imperfect version of the Hebrew original, that the Hebrew records themselves incidentally allude to the fact that other races of men were on the earth when "the Adamite" first made his appearance; so that the historical portion of the Hebrew Scriptures, "ascribed to an ancient Semitic law-giver and preserved among a number of similar legends of various dates," really being in accord (if it be only incidentally,) with the latest gospel of science in these matters, it is hard to see why one, rather than the other, should be labelled "a tissue of absurdity."

Now, it will not do to put this aside as a mere after-thought of apologists for the Scriptures. It *is* an after-thought, but one of honesty, and, furthermore, one of the same sort which men of science constantly make in their domain of knowledge when they find that they have been mistaken in their understanding of facts. It is simply a review of conclusions in the radiance of a clearer light; and it is, from first to last, a question of the *right interpretation* of the records in a language confessedly obscure, and which may some day be even better understood than they are now. In short, by the testimony of competent scholars, the Scriptures, rightly understood, no more teach that the various races of men are but one race than they teach that the world and all on it were made in six literal days of twenty-four hours each.

Again, with reference to the alleged great age of the antediluvian patriarchs, which Professor Lesley also labels "hotch-potch," there can be no doubt that the general popular understanding of the records which give them is that which is naturally suggested by the surface of the English—and perhaps other,—versions of the Hebrew. But the Professor's method of dealing with them is not the only one. The Rev. T. P. Crawford, a missionary in China, was impressed with the inconsistency of this popular view with the latest conclusions of science; and he set himself to study, not the English version, but the original language of the records; and his

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understanding, as a consequence, of their true meaning, enveloped as it is in the obscurity of a language very peculiar in its idioms, is much more in accord with the present state of scientific knowledge. What that is, and how he came to it, is best shown by quoting part of the introduction to his book, "The Patriarchal Dynasties from Adam to Abraham." He begins by admitting the truth of the discoveries and conclusions of modern science, and then says: "Divines, as well as scientific men, constantly feel the need of more time in which to account for the many evidences of high antiquity arresting their attention, than the Hebrew Scriptures, or even the Septuagint version of them, seem to furnish. . . . The difficulty, as I shall endeavor to show, is apparent rather than real, having grown out of a general misunderstanding of the tabulated names and dates recorded in the fifth and eleventh chapters of the Book of Genesis. My attention was first drawn to this fact over three years ago [his book was published in 1877], while preparing an 'Epitome of Ancient History' in the Chinese language. This language, which I have been using nearly a quarter of a century, presents many thoughts and expressions in striking resemblance to those of the ancient Hebrew. Influenced by this resemblance and a casual remark of an ordinary man, I discovered the key, as I confidently believe, with which to unlock the casket and bring to light the true ages of the patriarchs and the system of chronology contained in those important chapters. I shall, therefore, attempt in the present work to establish the two following propositions: I. That the antediluvian patriarchs did not live as individual men to the marvellous length of over eight and nine hundred years, but, on an average, only one hundred and twenty, and the postdiluvians one hundred and twenty-eight; II. That the two tables of Genesis present, in regular succession, nineteen patriarchal houses, dynasties or governments, covering a term of at least ten thousand five hundred years' duration." Mr. Crawford then proceeds, in the body of the work, to show that this mode of interpreting the dates, etc., is in strict accordance with the peculiar methods of expression in the Hebrew language; and he makes out a strong case,—one which brings the record, *correctly understood,* into a large measure of harmony with the claims of modern science.

Here, then, are two instances, at least, of Biblical scholars, perhaps each one of them as much an authority in his department of

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interpreting the meaning of Hebrew records as Professor Lesley is in his department of interpreting the meaning of strata, bones, teeth, buried forests, etc., etc., and who are so far from believing that the Mosaic account is a "hotch-potch," a "tissue of absurdity," that they actually show it to be in accord, when rightly understood, with the conclusions of modern science and Dr. Lesley himself,—in everything but his jaunty assumption that it is all trash. "*Ne sutor ultra crepidam.*"

While referring to the Scriptures, it may be well to state that the *New* Testament, at least, is full of the "doctrine of the ages,"—a doctrine very much obscured, if not entirely obliterated, by the perfectly arbitrary ***paraphrases***, rather than translations, of the "authorized" English version and of the text of the "Revision," although the latter does put the correct translation into the margin. In reading the Greek, one is constantly struck by the remarkable way in which the very phraseology of the text asserts the existence of all the "ages" which the most advanced scientist can need for his theories.

Professor Lesley's book comprises teachings upon two periods,—the past and the future, with the present as a bridge between them. To the past he devotes nine of the sixteen lectures, with an introductory, "On the Classification of the Sciences." These lectures deal with "The Genius of the Physical Sciences, Ancient and Modern," "The Geological Antiquity of Man," "The Dignity of Mankind," "The Unity of Mankind," "The Early Social Life of Man," "Language as a Test of Race," "The Growth of Architecture," "The Growth of the Alphabet," and "The Four Types of Religious Worship." He then passes to the future, and devotes seven lectures to views of it concerning "The Possible in Destiny," "The Destiny of Man," "The Physical Destiny of the Race," "The Social Destiny of the Race," "The Future Economies of Mankind," and "The Intellectual and Moral Destiny of the Race,"—all followed by a full index.

This article has already reached a greater length than was intended when it was begun, and the substance of what can now be said about the lectures on the future of the race, with all the questions involved therein, is simply that those who care to know what Professor Lesley's theories on that subject are had better read for themselves; read, however, with the distinct understanding, that,

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when dealing with the *future*, the greatest scientist is as much a *theorizer* as anybody else,—even a theologian. The *competent* physical scientist (and such pre-eminently is the graceful and learned scholar who has produced these lectures,) may state, in reference to the future, with an authority other men cannot claim, what will be the result of the operation of known physical laws. Beyond that, his authority becomes mere conjecture, plausible or otherwise, as the case may be. When he gets into the domain of the moral and the spiritual, he must doff the gown of his scientific professorship and don the theological, and be judged accordingly. A great many persons may disagree with Mr. Lesley's views on such subjects who would bow with respectful submission to his scientific dicta. But, however one may differ in regard to his theories, those theories will be found worth considering. There is great food for thought in them. He never grows tiresome. It is hardly fair to judge of an author's work by an extract here and there; but perhaps one or two such extracts may give some idea of the spirit in which he treats this latter portion of his subject, although they cannot give an adequate presentation of the many-sided thought which in turn sparkles, instructs, deeply impresses, or, it may be, extorts a growl from some theologian who does not look at things through the author's glasses.

In Lecture XI., on "The Possible in Destiny," this passage occurs (page 297): "Is there a destiny of failure? Certainly not. Failure is merely failure; a check from the surrounding success. What one gains, another loses; what one loses, another gains. Each attains its own possible, though not another's. There are eddies in all rivers. While the whole succeeds perfectly, parts succeed only partially. The current shoots ahead, the eddies lag; but the whole river reaches the sea, except what rises into the sky."

In the lecture on "The Destiny of Man," with reference to the element of *fatalism* in the ordering of the future, the following (pages 303 and 304,) serves as a text for enlarged discourse: "'*Kismet,*' murmurs the Turk, on the approach of the cholera or plague, and sits down to smoke his pipe. '*Deo volente,*' whispers the Christian, as he hurries into the hospital to save whom he can. And there he finds already in advance of him the man of science, calmly studying the *unalterable law* of diseases, and the trained nurse, instructed in a routine as intelligent and regular as that of

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the solar system, representing in her sacred person the mind, the heart and the hand of God,—all these in one,—and she, also, a fatalist, knowing how to say of any patient, *saved!* or, *doomed!* but never, *damned!* The future destiny of mankind is for all to become fatalists in the Christian sense; to say: 'If thou wilt not what I will, then, O Lord, I will what thou willst; and so we shall still be agreed.'"

With reference to the religion of the future, the author says (page 432,) that "it will, in fact, become merely the harmony of morality and philanthropy. Morality and philanthropy? For the mystic, these are cold words. To the Christian intelligence, they are words burning hot with man's gratitude for the past and confidence in the future. Words? No, not words, but names,—names for a new and future zeal for doing good. 'Freely ye have received,' they say; 'freely give.' New names for vital godliness. Names for that boundless, absolute, ecstatic, self-sacrificing love of the Father, which shone on the face of Jesus the Anointed and the Anointer,—which has illuminated the faces of thousands of saints and martyrs who died calling on His name and claiming the performance of His promise that the truth should make them free with the glorious liberty of the sons of God."

This glorious liberty of truth-seeking belongs to both the author and to every reader of this most readable collection of lectures. It is one of those contributions to human knowledge which may help greatly in the reconstruction of some theological dogmatism shown thus to be out of harmony with God's truth, "written and graven" in the physical structure of His universe, and based only on a *misunderstanding* of parts of His written "word;" and, be it never forgotten, scientists *may* sometimes dogmatize, as well as theologians.

J. ANDREWS HARRIS.

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SCIENCE.

PROGRESS OF ANILINE CHEMISTRY.

A FEW months ago, we alluded to the rapid growth of this industry in Europe, and it is a source of gratification to learn that the effort is now being made to manufacture aniline colors in this country. For several years past, we have been exporting large quantities of the raw material, called anthracine cake, to Europe, and importing the coloring materials made from it, paying a high price to the foreigners and also an import duty of fifty cents a pound and thirty-five per cent. *ad valorem.* The consumption of aniline colors in the United States is rapidly increasing, and has already attained large proportions. The manufacture is confined to a few large houses, representing English capital and German skill; while the profits are such as only great monopolies can demand. Some idea of the importation of aniline into this country may be gained from the following interesting report of our consul (Mr. Mason,) at Basle, Switzerland. He says:

"The records of this consulate show that the exports of aniline colors from this district to the United States during the past quarter amounted to 278,041.37 francs, an increase of 90,737.34 francs, as compared with the returns for the same quarter of last year. As has been repeatedly stated in these reports, the trade in aniline products is the one branch of manufacture and commerce that shows a constantly increasing vitality and importance. The exports of ribbons and watches, silk-tissues and cheese, vary with the changing seasons and fluctuating markets; the shipments of the wonderful dyes which the skill of modern chemists has evolved from bituminous tar show a steady and uniform increase.

"Other branches of manufacture are mature and fully expanded; the aniline marvel, like electric illumination, is in the full vigor and interest of rapid and profitable development. It offers a field in which new discoveries are of enormous value, and in which intelligent energy, backed by competent capital, can hardly fail to command financial success.

"For these reasons, and because the United States offer peculiar advantages for aniline manufacture,—by reason of the abundant materials which they possess,—I have thought proper to add

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something more comprehensive and complete to the several brief suggestions already submitted on this subject.

" Aniline colors are manufactured by treating one or more of three substances—viz., benzole, anthracine and naphthaline,—with salts of copper, salt, and other chemicals and acids, under various conditions of pressure and temperature. The benzole, anthracine and naphthaline are obtained from the decomposition of coal-tar in the following proportions:

" From one hundred pounds of coal-tar there are derived:

" Benzole, ...	pounds,	2½ to 3
" Anthracine, ...	"	¼ to ½
" Naphthaline, ...	"	6 to 8

" There are thus derived, from each one hundred pounds of tar, from nine to twelve pounds of products available for the purposes of aniline manufacture. Of these, the most important is benzole, which is composed of twelve parts of carbon and six of hydrogen. It, therefore, offers the two fundamental elements in proportions which, when combined with other elements by chemical processes, produce a great variety of brilliant coloring matters and practically perfect substitutes for numerous organic materials of large commercial value.

" Thus far in Europe, the distillation of coal-tar and the manufacture of aniline colors have not been combined by any one establishment. The manufacture of aniline materials from the tar is one branch of business; the production of colors from these materials is quite another. Aniline color-makers prefer the English benzole, as being more rich and productive, although benzole is largely manufactured in France and Germany. The English product costs in London from one dollar to one dollar and ten cents per gallon; that made on the Continent is somewhat cheaper.

" From anthracine, the second product of coal-tar, is manufactured alizarine, the substance which has almost entirely superseded madder and destroyed the profitable culture and sale of that comparatively expensive vegetable dye-stuff throughout the world.

" From naphthaline is made the beautiful variety of light albocarbon colors, so important in the repertory of modern dye-stuffs.

" There are now manufactured, in the four large aniline color laboratories within the district of Basle, between forty and fifty different dyeing materials, which are variously used for coloring

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silks, cotton, leather, and other substances, as well as for the manufacture of colored writing and printing inks. Many of these colors are readily soluble in water, and unite perfectly with the goods without the use of a mordant; others are soluble in alcohol or water impregnated with acids; and still others require the use of mordants to render the color clear and permanent. The strength or coloring capacity of some of these dyes is wonderful, a single grain or crystal of the solid pigment being enough to make a dye sufficient to color a large quantity of textile material. Another noticeable quality is the superior affinity of the aniline color for the fabric to be dyed. This is so positive that in many aniline dyes repeated immersions of silk, cotton or wool take up the whole amount of color, leaving the water or spirit in which it was dissolved almost transparent and pure.

"For the more complete information of those interested, and to illustrate how a whole gamut of gradually deepening tints and shades can be produced from one color by simply increasing the strength of the dye or adding certain chemicals, there are inclosed, as a supplement to this report,—

"1. Samples of sixteen principal aniline coloring substances; viz., safranine, erythrosin, fuchsine, malachite green, scarlet, acid green, alkali blue, methyloidet, eosine, gray, methyl blue, orange, cotton blue, opal blue, sienna brown, aniline indigo.

"2. Samples of thirty-three shades and tints of silk colored with aniline dyes.

"3. Sixty samples of colors on woollen yarns, adapted to all kinds of weaving, knitting and embroidery.

"4. Samples of eleven shades of gray, blue and brown wool, dyed with different combinations of one material; viz., the recently discovered indigo substitute.*

"The value of this latter discovery will be apparent when it is remembered, that, while vegetable indigo costs at wholesale in Europe three dollars and twenty cents per pound, this aniline substitute for it, which produces a scale of perfectly solid, permanent colors, can be created in exhaustless quantities and sold at a profit for fourteen cents per pound. Even in India, where the culture of vegetable indigo has long been an important branch of agriculture, and in China and Japan, where the popular taste for color amounts

* These samples may be seen at the Department of State, Washington.

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to a passion, these aniline dyes are rapidly superseding all others, and a large proportion of the colors manufactured in the district of Basle are sent directly to the remote East.

"From the American standpoint, the whole subject of aniline chemistry is undoubtedly of the highest interest and importance. Coal-tar, as well as the fuel and other materials used in the distillation of benzole, anthracine and naphthaline from that substance, are all more cheap and abundant in the United States than in any part of Europe. The acids and chemicals required in producing aniline colors from the three products named may be somewhat more costly at home than abroad; but the high duties which are at present levied on imported aniline colors will far more than compensate for this slight disadvantage. It is simply a question of how soon American capitalists will see their opportunity, and, by engaging practical and competent European chemists, establish this wonderful branch of manufacture on a large and profitable scale in our own country. In order to attain the best results, the scope of a single firm should include the production of aniline materials from the tar as well as the manufacture of colors from these materials by the methods already in use.

"Reference has been made in previous reports on this topic to the fact that the residuum of petroleum refineries—the dark syrupy liquid left in the retorts by the process of distillation,—has come into prominence as a source of benzole and other aniline materials. Of the practical value of this discovery, it is, perhaps, somewhat early to judge definitely; but highly interesting and promising results have been already attained. The opinions of experts on this subject vary from wary skepticism to entire confidence; but recent developments would appear to give the optimists a decided advantage.

"The production of benzole from the refuse of petroleum was discovered, about three years ago, by a professor of chemistry in the Polytechnic School at Zurich. His process consisted in passing the petroleum vapor over a surface of heated bricks or tiles; but just at the moment of success the overworked brain of the chemist became deranged, and in a fit of temporary madness he committed suicide, leaving the only knowledge of his discovery with a clever young student who had served as his assistant in the laboratory. The student resumed the experiments, attained what was regarded

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a practically successful result, patented the discovery in the United States, and has recently established a laboratory there, with capital furnished from Basle, to develop his process on a commercial scale. It is believed here, by those in the best position to know all the facts, that the success of this enterprise is demonstrated.

"Within the past few months, some notable discoveries have greatly enlarged the scope of aniline production. From benzole, as derived from petroleum, there are now produced, in experimental quantities, *extracts of vanilla* and *cinnamon*, which are chemically identical with the same extracts produced from natural vegetable materials. Not only this, but the German chemists have essayed to produce *quinine* by similar methods, and have already attained results that warrant their confident expectation of early and complete success.*

"There is now in process of organization in Central Europe a company with large capital to establish in the United States a manufactory of flavoring extracts and substitutes for various vegetable drugs from aniline materials.

"The circumstances under which this information has been obtained preclude a more detailed allusion to the subject in this connection; but the mere statement of the fact should be sufficient to show the rapidly broadening field of aniline chemistry and indicate its future possible importance as a source of wealth in the United States. All these discoveries are of vast commercial value, and are, as a matter of course, carefully guarded.

"The earliest fruits of such inventions will be inevitably harvested, even in the United States, by European capitalists and their chemists, who are so far in advance of their American competitors in this whole field of research; but it is contrary to the traditions of American enterprise that our country should remain permanently dependent upon foreigners for what can be readily manufactured at home. It is asserted, with what truth I am unable to judge, that, in so far as the manufacture of aniline colors has been attempted in the United States, the result has been more or less

* Quinine has not yet been artificially produced; a substance called "chinoline" is manufactured from aniline, nitro-benzole, glycerine and sulphuric acid, which, though chemically different from quinine, closely resembles it in its effects and has been used medicinally as a substitute for quinine. It is predicted that the next step will be the conversion of artificial chinoline into quinine.

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unsatisfactory, the home-made dyes being inferior in quality to those imported from Europe. If this be true, the only cause for it must be want of experience and skill in the processes of manufacture.

"In respect to abundant and excellent materials, and a tariff that should stimulate and protect competition, the United States certainly enjoy advantages which are unequalled by those of any other country."

DARWIN AND HIS CRITICS.

The biographical notices of the late Mr. Darwin which appeared simultaneously with the cable announcement of his recent death, have, no doubt, served to familiarize everyone—to some degree, at least,—with the life and life-work of this remarkable investigator; but a few reflections thereon may not be out of place in these notes of current events of scientific interest.

It is undisputed that Darwin's investigations mark an epoch of the greatest importance in the history of the intellectual and scientific progress of his time, and it is probable that no other philosopher of modern times has exerted an influence in any degree comparable with that of the world-renowned author of the "Origin of Species." Certain it is that no one has succeeded in eliciting such keen controversy within the ranks of rival schools of philosophy, or of awakening such bitter animosity in the minds of the more numerous professors of various theological creeds.

Whatever views we may individually entertain in regard to the tendency of Darwin's teachings, we cannot but admire the equanimity with which he bore the sarcasms of his rivals and the gross misrepresentations of his more or less ignorant critics, who, blinded by prejudice, did not hesitate to accuse him of blasphemy and other sins. So far from resenting such attacks, he seems always to have courted the fullest criticism, and even to have pointed out, with conscientious pains, the weak spots in his arguments, showing a philosophic spirit, devoid of passion, exhibiting a love of "truth for truth's sake," and a fearlessness of the consequences of expressing his convictions, which should call forth the approbation of all who admire such truly moral qualities. It is a trite remark that "the world moves;" and we are just as powerless to stay the progress of thought as we are to alter the earth's revolution in its orbit. The most startling hypotheses—those which seem to de-

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viate most widely from the accepted opinions of one generation,—so often become the orthodox tenets of the next succeeding one, that it is foolish, if not dangerous, to condemn any new doctrine of the formation of our world or any new theory of nature's operations in it, simply because it does not harmonize with our accepted cosmology. In point of fact, our views of the universe and its Author are continually undergoing changes, which are, for the most part, so gradual that they are imperceptible to our narrow view; but we have only to cast our mental vision backwards for one or two generations to find, perhaps to our surprise, that many of our most familiar doctrines were, at their first inception, eyed askance by those whom we are accustomed to-day to consider as our beacon-lights.

We deprecate the controversies between "religion" and "science," which have waged so fiercely during the past few years, as they seem to us to be as demoralizing in their tendency as they are unnecessary. Is it rational to suppose that the mind of man can remain fixed, as though cast in an iron mould, in the midst of such activity and such discoveries as characterize our present era? Must man's faith be something forever differentiated from his understanding? Is he to add, to the sufficiently numerous mysteries encompassing him on all sides, the still greater one that two diametrically opposite doctrines may both be true? for instance, that the world was made in six days, *literally*, and yet that vast cycles of time were consumed in its gradual evolution from a chaotic mass? Is the professor of Christianity *necessarily* so jealous of his faith that he cannot allow the light of science to penetrate into its sacred abiding-places? or does he justly fear that the truths of science will conflict with the truths of revelation?

When we see the philosopher devoting his life to the search for truth, without the thought of reward, other than that which comes through the love of truth,—when we see whole classes of new facts brought to light, all tending to prove the unity of law and harmony of purpose running through nature's complex operations,—when we see such investigations often resulting in actual benefit to man, as well to his physical as to his intellectual needs,—may we not admit that the labors of these men are not only productive of good results, but indicative of good motives? We should, at least,

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understand both the results and the motives before we venture to condemn either.

The *North American*, in commenting upon the cable reports of the allusions made to Mr. Darwin by the English divines, says: "The change of feeling which has taken place in England within the last twenty years is strikingly illustrated by the contrast between the honor that is being paid to Charles R. Darwin's genius, now that he is dead, and the obloquy which was heaped upon him by the clerical and the middle-class press when his famous theory of the descent of man was first made public. The book which made his reputation aroused a furious storm of antagonism and denunciation. Darwin was abused without reserve, and was declared, on the one hand, to be a lunatic, and, on the other, to be a malignant atheist and an enemy of religion. Pious people groaned in spirit at the mention of his name, and were inclined to wonder that the publication of such atrocious doctrines should be permitted. To-day, he is to be honored with burial in Westminster Abbey; and the leaders of the Anglican Church are declaring from their pulpits that his opinions are not inconsistent with the teachings of the Scriptures." ZERO.

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UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA.

THE resignation of Cadwalader Biddle, Esq., for twenty years Secretary and Treasurer of the University, struck many a graduate, as it did every trustee and officer of instruction and government, as the severance, not of an official relation, but of the more cordial relation of friendship. The writer of this paragraph paid term-bills as a student to Mr. Biddle, and he has since deposited many a University check with Mr. Biddle's signature attached. His experience is that of not a few members of the present University staff; and he does not fear to challenge their testimony, as he is happy to bear his own, not only to the rare ability and fidelity with which Mr. Biddle discharged his every duty during the long period of his service, but also (and especially,) to the singular courtesy which characterized his every act. Mr. Biddle was actually anxious to do one a favor; no appeal to him within the bounds of his duty ever failed to be honored, and that with a kindliness of manner, a gentleness of spirit, and a genuine sympathy, that touched the recipient of the favor far more deeply than even the favor itself.

The office laid down by Mr. Biddle has been held by his brother, Caldwell K. Biddle, (1853–62,) and his father, James C. Biddle (1830–8). Both Cadwalader and Caldwell K. Biddle graduated from the Department of Arts; and it is a cause of congratulation that their mantle, though now divided, has fallen on two other University graduates,—Wharton Barker (1866,) as Treasurer, and the Rev. Jesse Y. Burk (1862,) as Secretary. So may it ever be, that the sons of the University render her her most important services!

By the way, speaking of University graduates now in her service, it may be doubted whether even the Alumni themselves know how largely they are represented in her councils and her faculties. The Provost, nine Trustees, the Treasurer, (who is also a Trustee,) the Secretary, and at least thirty-seven Professors and other instructors, are graduates of one or more departments. Besides, the Central Committee will soon bring thirty more graduates into at least a collateral position; and there cannot be an Alumnus of any year who does not consider it his bounden duty to

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adopt the University's interests as his own. It is Gospel truth that free reception of benefits implies an equally free giving in return; and surely the Alumni cannot now count themselves neglected.

The following books have recently been added to "The Rogers Engineering Library:"

"Separate System of Drainage," Monson.
"Intermittent Downward Filtration," Denton.
"Purification of Water-Carried Sewage," Robinson and Melliss.
"Sanitary Engineering," Denton.
"Manual of Heating and Ventilation," Schumann.
"Waterworks," Hughes.
"Architect's Letter," Masters.
"Plumber and Sanitary Houses," Hellyer.
"Healthy Dwellings," Galton.
"Dwelling-Houses," Corfield.
"House Drainage," Ough.
"American Sanitary Engineering," Philbrick.
"Thermodynamics," Röntgen.
"Plumbing, House-Drainage, Etc.," Buchan.
"Dictionary of Engineering," Spon. "Supplement," three volumes.
"Materials and Construction," Campin.
"Elements of Machine Design," Unrin.
"Graphical Statics," two volumes, Du Bois.
"*Erleichterungs Tafeln*," Crelle.
"Rectilinear Motion," Atwood.
"*Mécanique Analytique*," two volumes, Prony.
"Skeleton Structures. Steel and Iron Bridges," Henrici.
"*Cours de Mécanique*," two volumes, Duhamel.
"*Leçons de Mécanique*," Navier.
"*Resistance des Matériaux*," Morin.
"*Mécanique*," Sonnet.
"*Théorie Mathématique de l'Elasticité des Corps Solides*," Lamé.
"*Mécanique*." Carnot.
"Dynamics, Construction of Machinery, Equilibrium of Structures and Strength of Materials," Warr.
"Mechanics of Fluids," Jamieson.

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"Mechanics of Engineering," two volumes, Weisbach.
"Elements of Mechanics," Nystrom.
"Mechanics of Engineering," Whewell.
"Caloric," Metcalfe.
"*La Représentation des Corps*," Bardin.
"Dynamics," Nystrom.
"Mississippi and Ohio Rivers," Ellet.
"Examples for Roofs," Trendall.
"Report on the Art of War in Europe," Delafield.
"Topographical Drawing," Smith.
"*Construction des Théâtres*," two volumes, Cavos.
"History of Manual Arts, 1661."
"*Cours de Mécanique*," Belanger.
"*Graphische Statik des Maschinengetriebe*," Hermann.
"Motion of Points and Motion of a Rigid Body," Whewell.
"Gravitation," Airy.
"Railway Engineering and Earthwork," Baker.
"Treatise on Bracing," Bow.
"Hydraulic Formulæ," Neville.
"Construction of Oblique Bridges," Bashforth.
"The Linn-Base Decimal System," Mann.
"*Cours de Topographie*," Lalobbe.
"The Algebra of Ben Musa."
"St. Louis Bridge," Woodward.
"Nautical and Hydraulic Experiments," Beaufoy.
"*Théorie des Determinants*," Brioschi.
"*Nociones de Fisica Elemental*," Torres.
"Poor's Railroad Manual, 1869-70."
"Construction of Roads and Bridges," Rogers.
"Theory of Equations," Todhunter.
"Inventional Geometry," Spencer.
"Strength of Materials for Steam Boilers."
"Report on the Industrial Arts, Paris Exposition, 1867," Barnard.
"United States Geological and Geographical Survey of Idaho and Wyoming," Hayden.
"Report of the United States Geological Survey," King.
"Monograph of North American Pinnipeds," Allen.
"United States Geographical Survey," Volume 8, Archæology.

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"*Saggio delle Opere di Leonardo da' Vinci,*" Codice Atlantico.

"*Monographie du Nouveau Théâtre du Vaudeville, Paris,*" Magne.

"*Castelli e Ponti di Maestro Niccolo Zabaglia e Obelisco Vaticano,*" Domenico Fontana, Roma, 1743.

"*Architectonographie des Théâtres,*" Donnet, Orgiazzi *et* Kaufmann.

Presley Blakiston, of Philadelphia, has published a book by Dr. Edward T. Bruen, the Demonstrator of Clinical Medicine in the University of Pennsylvania, entitled "A Pocket-Book of Physical Diagnosis." To quote the language of a recent review: "The work treats of the diagnosis of the diseases of the heart and lungs, and is full of practical hints and valuable points. The pathological changes giving rise to the symptoms, and physical signs, are described in a concise and thorough manner at the beginning of each chapter, and the author refers to them again and again when he explains the physical signs of the particular group of diseases under consideration. In this way, the student is led to reason out for himself the source of the sounds he hears when making an examination of the chest, and thus becomes independent of mere memorizing of sounds, which, at best, is a difficult task."

The first volume of the *International Encyclopædia of Surgery,* which Professor Ashhurst is editing, has been published, and appears to be exciting quite as much attention in England as in this country. It has been very favorably reviewed by several of the London journals, and particular praise is given to the articles by American contributors. The French translation of Vol. I. is in active preparation, and will shortly be published by Messrs. Baillière in Paris. It will also be translated into Spanish. The second volume will, it is expected, be issued during the coming summer.

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NEW BOOKS.

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS. By John T. Morse, Jr. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co.

Before considering this very excellent book, a word should be said of the proposed series of "American Statesmen," of which it forms the first number. It is announced as a series of biographies of men conspicuous in the political history of the United States, and with the object, not to give merely a number of unconnected narratives of men in American political life, but to produce books which shall, when taken together, indicate the lines of political thought and development in American history,—books embodying in compact form the result of extensive study of the many and diverse influences which have combined to shape the political history of our country. It is very evident, therefore, that this series of books is one of the most important which has been projected for a long time; for it will cover much ground heretofore almost untouched, and will present to the masses of the people what, just at the present time, they are so willing and even eager to have,—a political history of our country from the War of the Revolution to the War of Secession, in a form which will be intelligible, agreeable and instructive. In the lives of our eminent statesmen will be found embodied the political history of our country, and from the well-written lives of such men, which everybody will gladly read, will be gained an insight into the scenes in which they played a leading part, far deeper and clearer than can be obtained from ponderous histories, which so few people will read at all. The life of John Quincy Adams fitly begins the series; there are announced for early publication the lives of Alexander Hamilton, John C. Calhoun, Andrew Jackson and John Randolph; and those of James Madison, James Monroe, Henry Clay, Albert Gallatin, Patrick Henry, together with Thomas Jefferson and Daniel Webster, are in preparation. They will be issued in uniform sixteen-mo volumes, at the price of one dollar and twenty-five cents each. Messrs. Houghton, Mifflin & Co., the publishers, and Mr. Morse, the editor, will deserve the best thanks of the public for projecting so valuable a series of books.

In his life of John Quincy Adams, Mr. Morse has performed his difficult task extremely well. For it is a task of more than ordinary difficulty to treat so large a subject in so small a compass; to sum up in a small book of some three hundred pages the character and public work of a man who labored with indefatigable zeal and industry for more than sixty years in public life, and whose own notes of his work, as recorded in his dairy, fill twelve large volumes. The very fact of having this splendid mass of material at his command has made Mr. Morse's task the more difficult,

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and the crowning excellence of the book is to be found in the fact that the biographer presents to us, in this small volume, a life-like picture of the subject of his pen, such as could not otherwise be obtained, except by a careful study of the whole diary of the great statesman as well as of the historical events occurring during the long period of his public life. Although Mr. Morse is an enthusiastic admirer of the subject of his portraiture, his delineation of his life and character is thoroughly just and truthful, both in its outline and in all its details. There is no attempt to ignore or cover up those peculiar traits of character, disposition and temperament which made John Quincy Adams the most unpopular man in public life of his time, or that peculiar hardness which developed only censoriousness and acrimony, and which seemed to make so unlovely the character of this man of many enemies and of so few friends. On the contrary, these traits are brought out and expressed in the portrait with marked distinctness and in almost painful detail, and in the completed picture we see them, not as the characteristics of a man small in intellectual calibre and mean in spirit, but rather what they really are,—the accidental accompaniments of a splendid intellectual development united with a singular intensity of purpose, untiring energy, indomitable power of will, uncompromising integrity and unflinching courage, and displaying an apprehension of the highest problems of statesmanship so strong and so comprehensive that the whole character of the man and his career as a statesman have alike commanded the admiration of the world. A Minister abroad at the age of twenty-seven, a State Senator at thirty-five, and in the national Senate a year later, Secretary of State at the age of fifty, and President at fifty-seven, and then, at the age of sixty-three, entering the House of Representatives, and remaining there until his death, at the age of eighty-one, the life of John Quincy Adams presents an instance of a political career unparalleled in length and diversity in the history of our country. His active political career, extending from a period shortly after the adoption of the Federal Constitution down to the close of the Mexican War in 1848, covered almost the whole of that glorious period in which our national Government was firmly established and its policy defined, that later and much less glorious period which marked the decline of the true principles of republican government in the substitution of the vicious system of party spoils for the good civil service contemplated by the founders of our Government, and also that later period in which arose the agitation of those disputed questions as to slavery which led ultimately to the great upheaval of the nation in the war of secession. Very fitly, therefore, the life of John Quincy Adams begins the series of biographies of American statesmen which Mr. Morse tells us is intended "to indicate the lines of political thought and development in American history, and to

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embody in compact form the result of extensive study of the many and diverse influences which have combined to shape the political history of our country." For John Quincy Adams was the last of the line of great statesmen who filled the Presidential chair, and his Administration was the last in which the true principles of good government were faithfully and honestly applied at every point. Just now, when the conviction is forcing itself upon the minds of the people that before it is too late we must get back into the path of good government from which we have gone so far astray, no better guide could be offered to us than this study of the life of one so conspicuous for purity of patriotism, singleness of purpose, and broad, intelligent statesmanship. S. W.

THE SOCIAL LAW OF LABOR. By William B. Weeden. Boston: Roberts Bros. 1882.

In reality, a series of six explanatory essays, treating of "Personal Property," "The Corporation," "The Guild," "Labor Associations," and "Society, New and Old." Beginning with the earliest form of society,—the family,—the writer brings us through much that is of interest to the student of political economy, shows us the shaping influences of religion and the growth of law, until he reaches those vexed questions concerning capital and labor, which, for so many a day, have been ringing in our ears, with so little prospect of a practical solution. Whether capital employs labor or labor employs capital, it would be a difficult matter to determine, in view of the eminent authorities who have argued conclusively on either side; but certain it is that all the arguments and theories which have thus far been advanced do not touch the root of the trouble, which, after the lapse of every few years, breaks out, in some variation of the old form, between employer and employed. The suggestions here offered tend to prove that underlying all these questions is an important element, which the author calls "the social need," a force caused by the combination of human will and human circumstance, and without which this working-day world would soon develop a millenium, when the "boss" would boss no longer and the "hands" would no more cry out: "Let us strike!" From this "social need" have sprung, not only the products of united capital and labor, but the many and intricate organizations which make up what we call society; and, in order to stimulate the "social need," and thereby benefit both producer and consumer, society must continue its kaleidoscopic combinations and urgent demands. Mr. Weeden's purpose has been to point out, rather than define, this process of development,—to show that from earliest times this social law has called the laborer into existence, that it is not a mere economic but a psychologic force, and that on it rest four divinely ordained institutions,—the individual, the family, the Church, the State. J. L. B.

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NEWFOUNDLAND TO MANITOBA. THROUGH CANADA'S MARITIME, MINING AND PRAIRIE PROVINCES. By W. Fraser Rae. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1881.

The preface of this book states that it consists chiefly of letters written to *The Times*, of London, with certain additions, and all carefully revised. It does not read like the sketchy and superficial remarks of an ordinary newspaper correspondent, but more like the well-considered observations of a thoughtful traveller. Beginning with Newfoundland, Mr. Rae gives an interesting account of its early history and settlement, and follows this with a statement of its present condition, of the various problems which are now before the inhabitants, and of the capacity of development and future prospects of the country. He proceeds to do the same thing successively for Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island. There is nothing said about the Canada provinces proper, the author apparently thinking enough is already known about these, but he gives one chapter to the different railway systems of the Dominion, praising the condition and management of the roads very highly, and predicting great pecuniary successes for them in the future. Indeed, the only fault to be found with the book is that it takes too rose-colored a view of everything, and praises soil, climate, inhabitants and scenery to such an extent as to make us, in this latitude, who think of British North America as the source of most of our extremes of heat and cold, feel a little doubtful whether the author did not listen too willingly to some of the land-agents against whom he especially warns intending immigrants.

Five chapters are given to descriptions of the routes from Toronto to Manitoba, and to Manitoba itself, with its capital city, Winnipeg. There are histories of the Mennonite and Icelanders' settlements in Manitoba, and scattered through the book are statements of the way the Canadian Government deals with the various classes of immigrants, as well as with the Indians. There are three useful maps, the print and paper are very good, and on the whole the book is well-suited to one who wishes to obtain information at second hand about the countries it describes. R. F. W.

ARCTIC SUNBEAMS; OR, FROM BROADWAY TO THE BOSPHORUS. By Hon. Samuel S. Cox. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons.

This is a sprightly and agreeable book of travels, but hardly satisfactory to those who look in a book of travels for more than a hasty and superficial glance at places of interest. It is questionable if the book will prove satisfactory to anyone; for the experienced traveller is not satisfied with anything which is superficial, while one who has not gone over the same ground as the author, but who wishes to be really informed, will not succeed in getting much valuable information from Mr. Cox's book. Perhaps, however,

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between these two classes of readers there may be a third, who will find enjoyment in skimming over the surface of a great deal of ground, and in the pleasant and familiar manner of describing everything, with an occasional dash of humor, characteristic of the author. The journey extends from Holland to Copenhagen and Christiania, Lapland, Norway, Sweden and Finland; then to St. Petersburg and Moscow, and finally to Odessa and the Bosphorus. The book is to be followed by another, to be called "From the Porte to the Pyramids," from which it would appear that Mr. Cox has adopted that very pleasing alliterative form of title which recalls with so much pleasure such delightful books as "From Cornhill to Cairo." The book is extremely well printed and the illustrations are good. It is gratifying to see that the Messrs. Putnam's Sons in this, as in so many of their publications, show a kindly regard for the comfort and welfare of their readers by printing in large type and on paper which is not glazed. S. W.

MOROCCO AND ITS PEOPLE. By Edmondo de Amicis. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons.

It is always a pleasure to welcome a new book from the pen of Signor de Amicis, and this one comes with a special pleasure; for it treats of a country and a people, which, while quite outside of the beaten track of ordinary travel, are of very peculiar interest. Like all the other books of this very gifted writer, this one has the charm, which so few books of travel have, of presenting a vivid and life-like picture of both the country and its people; and here it is a picture clear in outline and rich in color, such as can be seen only through the brilliant atmosphere and under the cloudless sky of Northern Africa. Good-tempered, kind-hearted, with a keen sense of humor, a careful and accurate observer, and possessing an exceptionally brilliant power of description of all he sees, Signor de Amicis seems to come up to the full measure of the writer of books of travels such as will carry to a large class of readers much information, profit and enjoyment. An entire absence of any effort at didactic treatment makes reading his books a pleasure instead of a task; and, while much and varied information is the result of such reading, there is the pleasurable sensation of acquiring it by a species of natural absorption, instead of taking it in specific doses into the inner man. Wherever he goes, and whatever new countries he may make the subjects of his pen, Signor de Amicis will be followed by many admiring readers. S. W.

ART NEEDLEWORK. PART I. OUTLINE EMBROIDERY. "Art-Work Manuals." Edited by Charles G. Leland. New York: Art Interchange Publishing Co.

The most noticeable feature about this manual on outline em-

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broidery is the clear and practical manner in which the subject is presented to the reader. Such a manual meets very well the growing demand for the information so greatly needed by the very large number of those who have recently taken up this kind of work. For art needlework justly claims a place in the foremost ranks of the useful arts; and, although since its recent revival, among us, a great deal of very crude and inartistic work has been done in the absence of proper instruction and of a just appreciation of the difficulties of the art, yet, notwithstanding the many drawbacks, the movement of this revival has been a steady and a healthy one, and very much has already been accomplished.

The materials of various kinds suggested in the manual for embroidery are all good, and evidently much care has been taken to warn the beginner against anything that may be injurious or unsatisfactory in starting work. We must differ, however, from the writer of the manual in the opinion that all crewels work equally well; in our judgment, the English crewels are superior by far to all others for every kind of embroidery. Although great efforts have been made by our own manufacturers of crewels, and very great care has been used in their preparation, still there remains something yet to be done to produce with them that softness and smoothness of effect in embroidery which can be secured now only by the English crewels. In all other respects, this manual is full of good suggestions and will be a valuable aid to any student of embroidery who has the advantage of a good instructor. The manual will also go far to impress upon the student the value and importance of good instruction, which is the one thing especially needed to advance the art to a position of practical value in this country. E. D. W.

THE LITERARY LIFE: AUTHORS AND AUTHORSHIP. Edited by William Shepherd. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1882.

This publication is the first of a series in which the editor's aim has been to present to the lovers of literature some interesting facts concerning the writers of books, their methods, and their efforts to achieve fame, besides much about authorship in its varied aspects and from every possible standpoint, all of which form the subjects of this initial volume. It consists principally of a compilation of the best thoughts and opinions of men of great note in literature, with a running editorial commentary thereon, both instructive and able. Among the many authors quoted on the subjects of which this volume treats, are Thackeray, Oliver Wendell Holmes, George William Curtis, Matthew Browne, J. G. Holland, Mark Twain, Washington Irving and Charles Lamb. Their views are given *in extenso* in "The Literary Life," and must have their due weight and influence with all those who love books

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and the makers thereof. There will also be found in this work a charming collection of anecdotes of famous authors, and of their trials, their struggles and their successes. The volume comprises thirteen chapters, one of the most interesting of which is "Concerning Rejected MSS." From the first page to the last, there is neither a dull nor a commonplace line. Mr. Shepherd is to be congratulated on the admirable manner in which he has performed his task, and the modesty of his preface, wherein he introduces this charming little volume to the public.

THE ART OF VOICE-PRODUCTION, WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE METHODS OF CORRECT BREATHING. By A. Patton. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1882.

The volume before us is a small book, written for the enlightenment of singers and singing teachers, and contains many valuable points and suggestions. The author starts with some general remarks on breathing, and says, very pertinently, that "the correct use of the breath in singing is the very essence of vocal art, and, as such, is the key-note to success or failure;" and, further on: "Breathing for singing should not deviate from nature's usual orderly and peaceful condition." He then considers the different methods of breathing, which he divides into the clavicular, the costal and the abdominal types, the last of which he considers the only correct method of breathing in singing. In this division (for there are no chapters in the book), the writer takes occasion to give sound advice to ambitious singers how to preserve the normal condition of the upper air-passages and to warn them against pernicious habits of breathing and singing. He then gives a short description of the larynx, or "voice-box," and of the vocal cords and their mode of vibration during vocalization, touching the minuter details of the physiological action of the cords in singing. It would, perhaps, have been more to the purpose of the author had he improved the opportunity offered by the publication of his book to dispel the erroneous popular idea that the vocal cords are two semi-elastic bands, stretched across the opening of the larynx, and that they act solely as strings in the production of the voice; for it is a well-established fact that the vocal cords are not bands, but shelf-like projections from the inner sides of the larynx, and that they act more as a double reed, such as is used in the hautboy or basson, than as strings, in vocalization. He also lays but very little stress upon the action of the resonant cavities of the pharynx, mouth and nose, although they have more to do with the production of a perfect tone than might be imagined. The author is not a believer in the theory of the registers of the voice, and contradicts himself when he says that they are found only in an untutored and perfectly natural voice; while, throughout the book, he lays great

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stress (and correctly so,) upon the perfect subordination to the laws of nature on the part of the singer.

The typography and proof-reading are excellent, and the book is gotten up in a style calculated to do credit to the publishers.

C. S.

Opium-Smoking in America and China. By H. H. Kane, M. D. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons.

This book is written by one who has, for some years past, made a special study of the abuse of narcotics. Its contents may be classed under two heads: First: Facts concerning the drug. Second: Facts concerning the smoker. Under the former, it treats of the introduction into this country of the vice of opium-smoking, its increasing prevalence, the legislative proceedings adopted in certain Western States with a view to its suppression, and, finally, the preparation of the drug for the pipe and the mode of smoking it. Certain false ideas and mis-statements concerning this latter point are rectified, notably those contained in a recent article in *Scribner's Monthly*, and in the opening pages of "Edwin Drood." Under the second head, it describes the effect of opium-smoking upon the novice and the *habitué*, compares these with the results of opium eating; enumerates the pathological effects upon the different systems and organs of the body, and gives an outline of the method and drugs employed by the author for the cure of the habit.

Dr Kane's experience has led him to take strong ground in favor of the view, that, although the "physical ill wrought by opium-smoking is less than that resulting from the other modes of using the drug, the moral deterioration is much greater." This demoralizing effect is partly due to the fact that opium-smoking is not a solitary vice. "I have never," says Dr. Kane, "seen a smoker who found pleasure in using the drug at home and alone, no matter how complete his outfit or how excellent his opium." This statement is confirmed by the testimony of a San Francisco police-officer, quoted by Dr. Kane, who says: "I have had men who could easily buy their own outfits and the purest opium, tell me that when the longing comes on them they cannot satisfy it, except in a low Chinese den; that the idea of smoking good opium in a clean pipe, and in their own rooms, don't seem to fill the bill."

A most interesting fact concerning the habit of opium-smoking is its nomenclature, from which source an addition to our already large vocabulary of slang may be expected. Thus, the preparation of opium for the pipe is called cooking it, and he who prepares it a "cook." Smokers are divided into "long-draw" and "short-draw" men, according to the depth of their inhalations, while an immoderate smoker is known as a "fiend." The smoking apparatus is called a "lay-out;" a smoking den, a "joint," etc.

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The appearance of this book is well timed. If the author be correct in his statements regarding the spread of this vice, public attention cannot be too soon directed toward devising means for its suppression. We think, however, that its increase is partly to be attributed to a species of vicarious action, many of its victims having adopted it as a substitute for excessive drinking. Besides the facts above noticed, the book contains many others treated in a manner that is calculated to interest and attract the general reader as well as the physician. Certain mistakes in spelling, such as *erethrism* (p. 93,) and *beastiality*, (p. 122,) are probably typographical errors.

F. P. H.

CYCLOPÆDIA OF PRACTICAL QUOTATIONS. By J. K. Hoyt and Anna L. Ward. New York: I. K. Funk & Co.

When Mary Cowden Clarke prepared her admirable "Concordance to Shakespeare," the great army of literary workers and lovers of reading were surprised to find what a valuable book it was, and wondered how they had managed to get on without it for so long a time. But, since a concordance to the writings of a single author proved to be so valuable, it became evident that one which would serve as an index to the works of all the great writers in prose and verse would be immensely more useful; and it is a rather singular fact, that, in these days of active book-compilation, no satisfactory book of the kind has been given to the public until the publication of the book before us. The books of Bartlett and Allibone are the principal ones which have been published; but each of them falls very far short of being complete, or even full enough to be of really practical value. The very laborious work of preparing such a book has been carefully and thoroughly done by Mr. Hoyt and Miss Ward, one of whom, at least, as a journalist of long experience, is well fitted for the task, seeing that he has a practical knowledge of the value of ready access to a vast amount of material, and of such a methodical arrangement of it that anything wanted may be immediately found. The title of the book is one with which we might be inclined to find some fault; but, in all fairness, we are bound to respect the right of authors to give to their books whatever names they please; for parents have certainly a right to name their own children. The book, itself, in this case, is a most excellent one, being a collection of over seventeen thousand quotations, from at least twelve hundred authors, very conveniently arranged and admirably indexed. Besides the English quotations, there are nearly two thousand from the Latin, and a full collection of proverbs and familiar sayings from the Latin, French, German, Italian, Portuguese and Spanish, and also a glossary of Latin law terms and phrases, and of ecclesiastical terms and definitions relating to both the Jewish and Christian Churches. The

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indices are remarkably full and complete, including one of the authors quoted, with the nativity, birth and death of each, a topical index of both the English and Latin subjects, a concordance to the English quotations, and also to the translations from the Latin, with a separate index to the Latin quotations. The book, therefore, being much more than a mere collection of quotations, as a summary of useful knowledge from the best thoughts of the best writers, will form a very valuable book of reference, and will go far to remove the popular impression that the special mission of such a book is to lie upon the conventional American parlor-table, to be used to while away an occasional five minutes or to be diligently studied on the sly to gather an abundant supply of embellishments for conversation. S. W.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

The Cyclopædia of Practical Quotations, English and Latin. By J. K. Hoyt and Anna L. Ward. New York: I. K. Funk & Co.

The Story of Chief Joseph. By Martha Perry Lowe. Cloth. 12mo. Pp. 40. Boston: D. Lothrop & Co.

History of the Incorrect Latitudes, as Recorded in the Journals of the Early Writers, Navigators and Explorers, Relating to the Atlantic Coast of North America. By the Rev. Edmund F. Slafters, A. M. Sewed. 8vo. Pp. 20. Boston: Privately printed.

The Defence of the Bride, and Other Poems. By Anna Katherine Green. Cloth. 12mo. Pp. 124. $1.00. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. (Porter & Coates.)

The Present Religious Crisis. By Augustus Blauvelt. Cloth. 12mo. Pp. 196. $1.50. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. (Porter & Coates.)

The American Irish and Their Influence on Irish Politics. By Philip H. Bagenal. Author's edition. Cloth. 16mo. $1.00. Boston: Roberts Brothers. (Porter & Coates.)

The Graphic Arts. By Philip Gilbert Hamerton. Cloth. 12mo. Pp. 508. $2.00. Boston: Roberts Brothers. (Porter & Coates.)

"No Gentlemen." Cloth. 12mo. Pp. 348. Chicago: Henry A. Sumner & Co.

Political Economy in One Lesson: A Lecture by Alphonse Courtois. ("Economic Tracts," No. V.) Translated by W. C. Ford. New York: The Society for Political Education.

Health-Hints From The Bible. By A Physician. Sewed. 16mo. Pp. 249. $0.50. Philadelphia: P. Blakiston, Son & Co.

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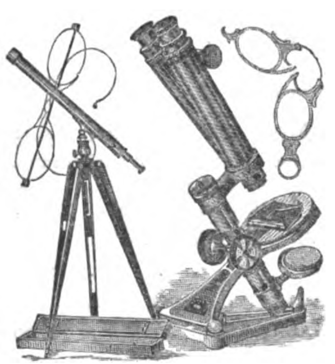

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Contents.

Balzac, a Moralist,—*John Durand*, ... 401

Art Education and Art Patronage in the United States, II.,
—*S. R. Koehler*, ... 418

History of the First United States Bank, I.,—*A. S. Bolles*, 431

Another Vacation,—*J. T. Rothrock*, ... 441

"Man's Origin and Destiny,"—*J. Andrews Harris*, . . . 450

Science,—Progress of Aniline Chemistry; Darwin and His Critics, ... 459

University of Pennsylvania, ... 467

New Books,—John Quincy Adams,—John T. Morse, Jr.; The Social Law of Labor,—William B. Weeden; Newfoundland to Manitoba,—W. Fraser Rae; Arctic Sunbeams,—Samuel S. Cox; Morocco and Its People,—Edmondo de Amicis; Art Needlework,—Charles G. Leland; The Literary Life,—William Shepherd; The Art of Voice-Production,—A. Patton; Opium-Smoking in America and China,—H. H. Kane, M. D.; Cyclopædia of Practical Quotations,—J. K. Hoyt and Anna M. Ward, ... 471

Books Received, ... 480

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