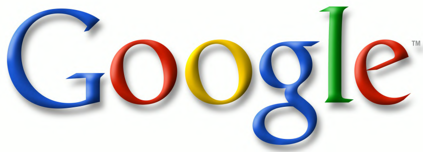

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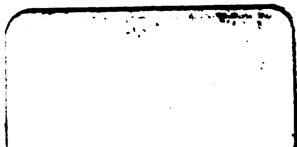

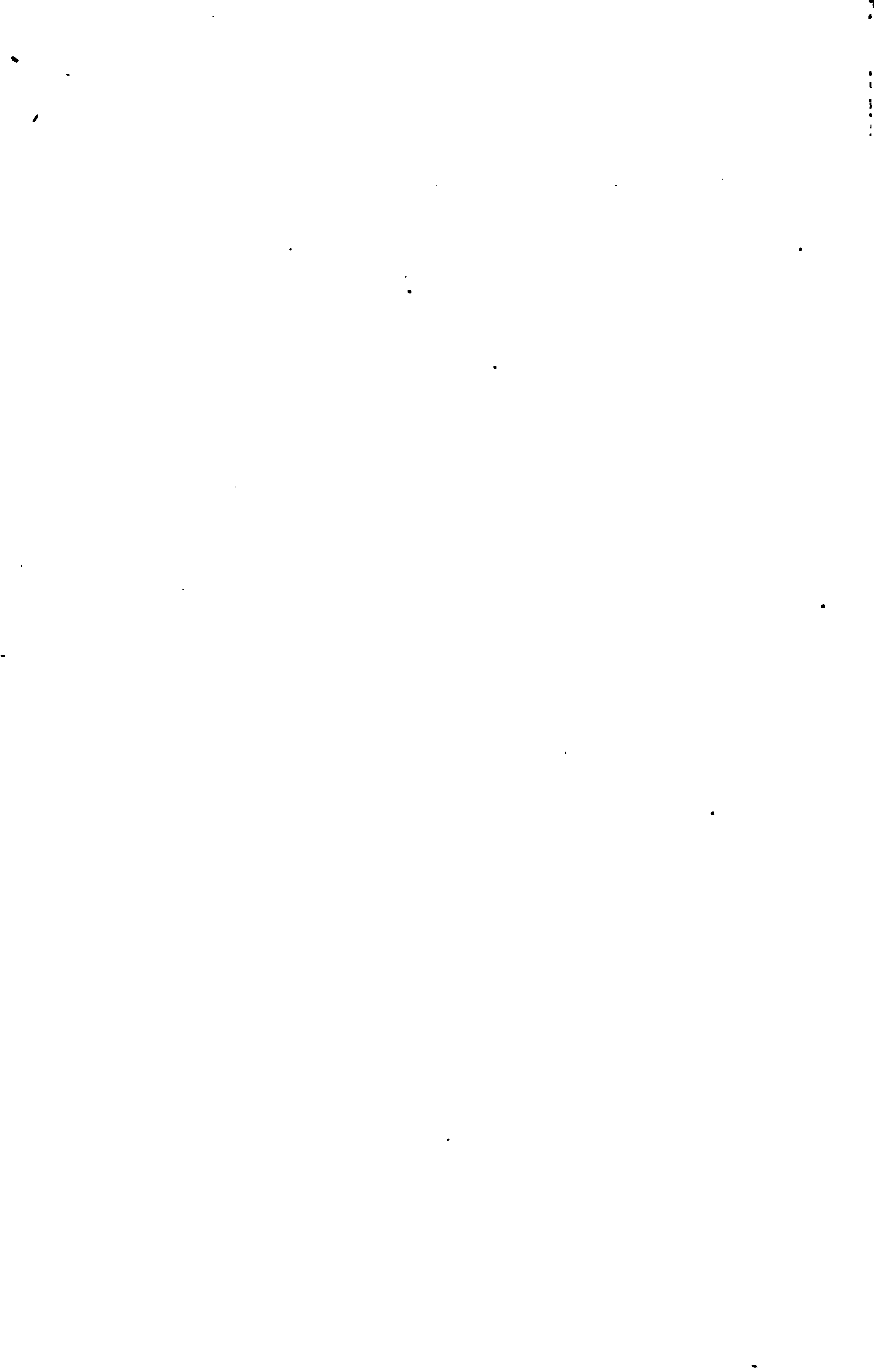

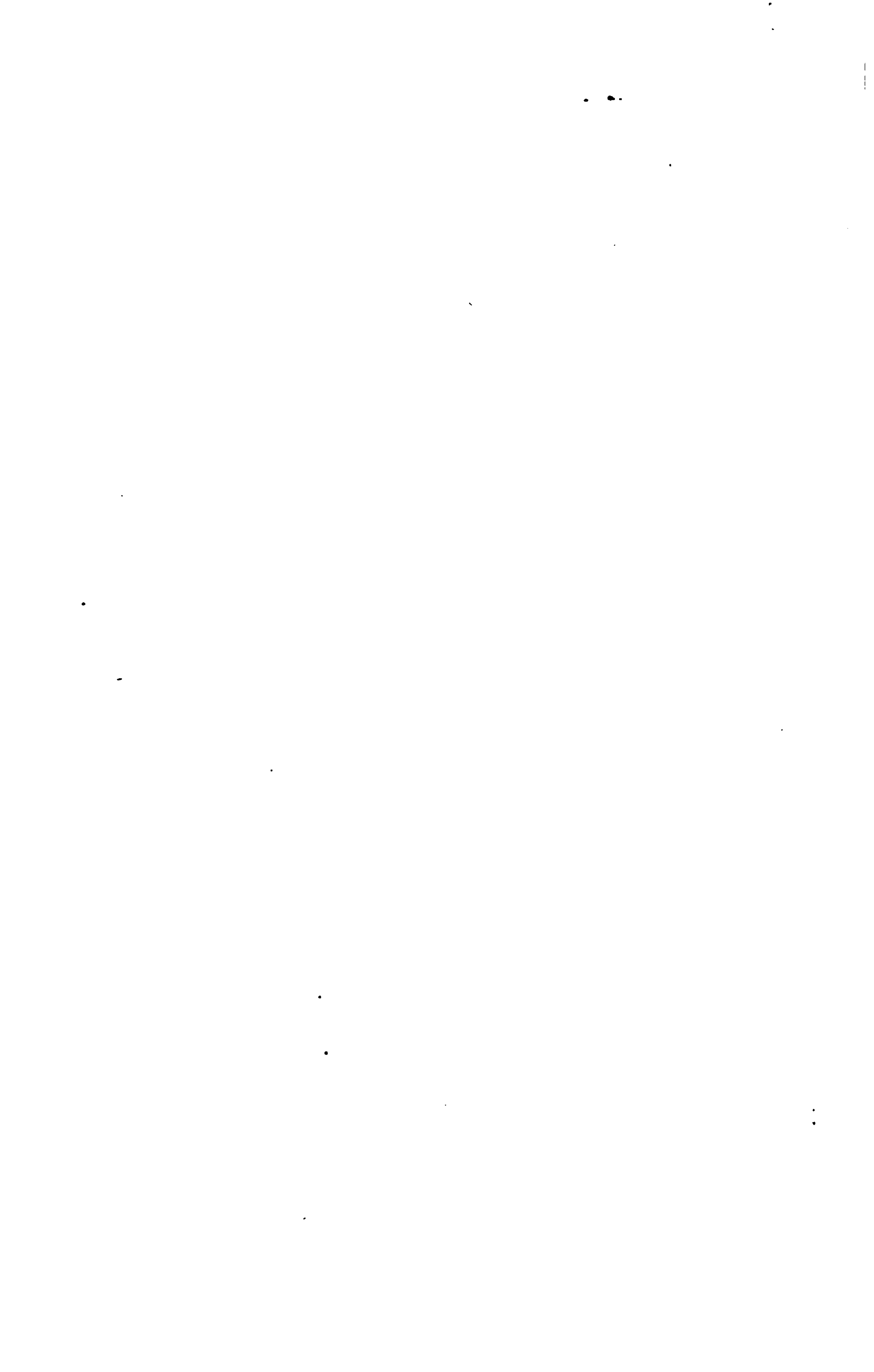

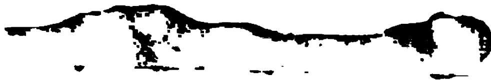

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ARTICLE I.—THE SIN OF MASSACHUSETTS.

The Emancipation of Massachusetts. By BROOKS ADAMS. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 1887.

MR. BROOKS ADAMS has written a book. This book will, I fear, cause unmixed delight to that very considerable and increasing class of persons who are a little weary of hearing the praises of the commonwealth of Massachusetts sounded by her sons. Every one is willing to acknowledge that Massachusetts is a very remarkable state, whose contributions to the world's welfare have been considerable. The world is correspondingly grateful, but it is a trifle tired of being informed, in season and out of season, that salvation has come out of Massachusetts only. It is therefore somewhat refreshing to have a son of the most distinguished family of the state rise up and tell us that the foundations of the commonwealth were laid in iniquity, and that her career of shame was only relieved by occasional honorable deeds on the part of individuals down to the latter part of the last century. If Mr. Adams

or some other son of Massachusetts would only publish a supplement to the book, which should contain an account of her career during the subsequent time, constructed on the same principles as the present volume, the people who are tired of hearing of the glories of the state would be completely rested.

And while the weary public will thus be refreshed by Mr. Adams' book, the more judicious will be grieved by the spectacle of a bird fouling its own nest. But even the judicious, if they have any knowledge of history, or of the methods of history, cannot but be greatly entertained and diverted by the antics of Mr. Adams. To see an Adams indulging in antics is alone worth the price of the book, and no instructed reader can close the volume without reflecting that Mr. Adams has inherited the somewhat crooked temper of his distinguished grandfather, if he has not inherited all of his more admirable qualities.

The book is difficult to classify. It hardly professes to be historical, and no one who is in the least acquainted with the methods of historical writing would think for an instant of calling it a history. I may say, without fear of contradiction, that it is not a poem. It is not a work of fiction, for the events which are here recorded, are, for the most part, real events, about which there is no serious dispute. It is not an essay in science, nor a philosophical treatise. Mr. Adams has gotten together some isolated notions of current science and philosophy and has worked them for all they are worth; and is evidently of the opinion that he has a theory of things, but few will be persuaded to share his opinion on this point, and certainly the cultivation of his philosophy is only a secondary aim of this work. As nearly as can be determined, the book is a volume belonging to that very interesting sort of literature known as "confessions." But it differs from such works in being not the record of a life, but the confession of sin such as the devout Catholic pours into the ear of the priest. And it differs again from this, in the fact that it is not his own sins that he undertakes to confess, but those of Massachusetts. He cannot fail to convince the reader that he has assumed the office which once belonged to the Hebrew high-priest, and has come up, not indeed into the Holy of Holies, but into the office of a

publishing house, to confess the sins of the whole people. He seems indeed to have constituted himself a sort of conscience for the state, and lays down its burden of guilt at the feet of the public. We trust that Massachusetts will now feel better, and will be able to sleep nights.

Unless it was the purpose of Mr. Adams to make a vicarious confession of this sort, it is certainly difficult to guess what may have been his aim. Why he should cherish a violent animosity to the Puritan founders of New England does not appear, but he pursues them very much in the spirit of a man who has an hereditary feud, and proposes to finish it up by annihilating all his enemies at one fell swoop. It is somewhat grievous to see so much energy expended without effect, for there can be no doubt that the Puritan fathers will come up smiling for another round, if we may be permitted to use such language concerning such very grave persons. I am not the first, who, in speaking of Mr. Adams' book has found that his language tended to light and somewhat flippant forms, for the reading of the book is in itself a blow to seriousness, from which it must take any reader some time to recover.

The contents of the book may be described in a very few words. The facts which Mr. Adams has collected are not unfamiliar. Every student of the history of New England is acquainted with them. The originality of the book consists in the fact that these things are thus collected and put in a certain order, without regard to other and very closely related things. Mr. Adams has chosen to pick out all the examples of misgovernment in the early history of Massachusetts, and all the mistakes in policy which the enlightened eye of the modern student sees to have been mistakes, and he has arranged these and put them into a book. It must strike any reader of ordinary intelligence with surprise to find the book so small. And these things are presented as affording a true picture of the Puritan commonwealth. Furthermore, wherever he comes upon a disputed incident, he always seems to choose the most discreditable version of it, and sets it forth without a hint that his account is open to reasonable doubt. He also chooses for his own ends, to ascribe to the leaders of the colony the worst motives for their conduct that can be conceived. According

to his view, only the opponents of the Puritan rule could possibly have been influenced by respectable motives. Greed of power, selfishness, "refined malice," hatred of mankind, hypocrisy, untruth, and kindred qualities were the prevailing characteristics of that stock from which the Adamses and other great men have sprung, and which the blind-eyed children of Massachusetts have been wont to regard with so much reverence.

Mr. Adams has undertaken to show that the verdict of history concerning the New England Puritans is a mistaken one, and he has attempted to do this, not by producing facts which have been hitherto overlooked, but by re-arranging facts which are perfectly well known. A reader who knew nothing of history except what was contained in Mr. Adams' book, and who was so stupid as not to ask why the book is so fragmentary in its character, must necessarily form from its perusal a very unfavorable opinion of Massachusetts. But the general public will not be affected by it at all, except as regards Mr. Adams himself. The verdict of history on this point has been made up with uncommon care. The cool judgment of the world has been reached in the face of the strongest prejudices, and in spite of a real dislike for the Puritans themselves. So careful has been the process that the result cannot be overthrown, except by testimony which has not as yet been produced. Even those who dislike the Puritans most are accustomed to acknowledge that they were very excellent men, and that their very faults contributed to the success of their work. And the strongest admirers of the Puritans are ready to admit all that Mr. Adams has proved against them in this volume. No one at this date thinks of denying that they were narrow, bigoted, and overbearing, that their political ideal was an impracticable one, that their narrowness often led them into cruelty and wrong, or that they were "bumptious" and disagreeable. And one may admit all this, and yet not have a particle of sympathy with the view of Mr. Adams concerning them. For admitting all this, one may yet retain the conviction that they were men of uncommon sincerity and honesty of purpose, and of very sturdy moral fibre, who, for the sake of their convictions, and for the assertion of their rights, were willing to suffer exile and loss. Such men are the ones who make epochs

of progress in human history, and who often bring about other results and far better ones than they were themselves able to conceive or understand, by simply acting up to such light as they have. Persons of finer grain and less rugged moral force, might have been more to Mr. Adams' taste, but such persons would never have laid the foundations of the commonwealths of New England. The Puritans questionably "builded better than they knew," but it was because of their intention to build just as well as they knew. Mr. Adams can never persuade the public that the commonwealth of Massachusetts was hatched out of a cockatrice's egg. The notion is what Mr. Adams himself would call "unscientific."

It is singular that any man could give so much attention to the early history of New England as Mr. Adams has done without seeming to catch so much as a glimpse of the purposes of the early Puritan settlers. He is evidently somewhat at a loss to understand why these persons came hither, and altogether at a loss to understand why they behaved as they did after they got here, unless indeed it can all be accounted for on the theory of "pure cussedness." Mr. Adams does indeed say that the Puritans came to Massachusetts in "the hope, with the aid of their divines, of founding a religious commonwealth in the wilderness which should harmonize with their interpretation of the Scriptures;" but he seems to regard this hope as in itself an offense, and the means which they used to make their hope a reality, he regards as unrighteous, because it was illegal. He makes a historic and legal survey of the nature of charter grants by the crown, and finds that the use which the Massachusetts Puritans made of their charter was illegal. He might have saved himself the trouble. No one pretends that they used their charter in a strictly legal manner. They were, by the very character of the undertaking, revolutionists. They came to this country for the express purpose of escaping from the sort of government which oppressed them in England. They wanted to get rid of the law as they knew it, and when they got three thousand miles away from the seat of British government, they proceeded to establish a government of their own, on such principles as seemed good to themselves. The Massachusetts Puritans had a charter as a trading corporation.

They made dexterous use of it for furthering their own ends. That the use which they made of it was not altogether legal may be admitted at once, without prejudice to their case before the tribunal of public opinion. The action of revolutionists is never legal. That is the peculiarity of their situation, and Mr. Adams understands this perfectly. Indeed the case of the Puritans could hardly be better put than Mr. Adams himself puts it when he comes to speak of the revolution of 1776. With the change of a very few words, his language might be applied to the Puritans of 1628 quite as well as to their progeny in a later time. On page 317 he says:

> The generation now living can read the history of the Revolution dispassionately, and to them it is growing clear that our ancestors were technically in the wrong. For centuries Parliament had been theoretically absolute; therefore it might constitutionally tax the colonies, or do whatsoever else with them it pleased. Practically, however, it is self-evident that the most perfect despotism must be limited by the extent to which subjects will obey, and this is a matter of habit; rebellions therefore are usually caused by the conservative instinct, represented by the will of the sovereign, attempting to force obedience to the customs which a people have outgrown.

Now our ancestors of the Revolution were technically in the wrong, as Mr. Adams says. And all revolutionists and reformers are technically in the wrong. Their action is a violation of law, and obedience to law is ordinarily one of the first duties of man. And this fact seems to trouble Mr. Adams very much when he considers the doings of the Puritan revolutionists, although he gets over it easily enough when he comes to the revolutionists of '76.

There can be no doubt that the early Puritan emigrants came to this country with a perfectly fixed determination to establish commonwealths which should afford them a protection from the oppression to which they had been subjected in England. They proposed deliberately to settle in a place where the English law could not control them. They were a feeble folk, and they were ready to draw whatever aid and protection they could from any quarter. If they could find any such aid by a liberal interpretation of their charter, they would do that; but they meant to carry out their purpose at any cost to themselves. This revolutionary intention was born

of a powerful religious conviction. This fact Mr. Adams fails to grasp. He says (page 7):

> The number of clergymen among the emigrants to Massachusetts was very large, and the character of the class who formed the colony was influenced by them to an extraordinary degree. Many able pastors had been deprived in England for non-conformity, and they had to choose between silence or exile. To men of their temperament silence would have been intolerable; and most must have depended upon their profession for support. America therefore, offered a convenient refuge. The motives were less obvious which induced the leading laymen, some of whom were of fortune and consequence at home, to face the hardships of the wilderness. Persecution cannot be the explanation, for a government under which Hampden and Cromwell could live and be returned to Parliament was not intolerable; nor does it appear that any of them had been severely dealt with. The wish of the Puritan party to have a place of retreat, should the worst befall, may have had its weight with individuals, but probably the influence which swayed the larger number was the personal ascendancy of their pastors, for that ascendancy was complete.

Now this is Mr. Adams' explanation of the reasons why these men left civilization and came to settle in the wilderness. The ministers came, because they must have an opportunity to talk, and because they were dependent on their profession for their bread and butter. The laymen came because of the complete ascendancy of the ministers over them: an ascendancy so complete that it left them no room for the exercise of their personal judgment, but compelled them to leave behind the wealth and position which they possessed in their own land, that they might deliver themselves over, bound hand and foot, to these ministers who desired to make a living out of them. This is a very astonishing theory. It does not seem to have occurred to Mr. Adams that the silencing of the ministers might be a very great grievance to the laymen, and that they might think that the fact that they were not permitted to hear the Gospel preached in the way which they believed to be right was a sufficient reason for forsaking houses and lands and honors. Indeed Mr. Adams proceeds throughout on the theory that whatever religious conviction or bigotry or intolerance or fervor there may have been, belonged exclusively to the clergy, and that the laymen were, at worst or at best, only ignorant and helpless instruments in the hands of their clerical leaders

and governors. This is of course nonsense. The laymen were just as thoroughly imbued with religious conviction and zeal as were the ministers. And they were men of great weight of character, precisely of the same kind as those who fought the battles of the commonwealth a few years later. The English government at that time was intolerable for such men. Mr. Adams is peculiarly unfortunate in his choice of an illustration. Hampden and Cromwell could not live under such a government. They overthrew it. And what was intolerable to these men, was intolerable also to the Puritans of the emigration. They could not overthrow the government, not having sufficient strength; and so they ran away to America and established a government of their own. To set up such an explanation as Mr. Adams sets up for the conduct of men who so evidently were fired with a conviction of their own rights, and with a powerful religious motive, is a somewhat remarkable and not very decent proceeding. Their judgment, their good sense, their reasonableness, may be doubted, but not their sincerity, if sincerity can ever be proved by deeds.

The form of government which the Puritans set up on these shores was that of an aristocratic republic. Democracy would have been abhorrent to their souls had it been suggested to them. They wanted the rule of the best. As to who the best were, they had no sort of doubt. This aristocracy was to be perpetuated, not by ordinary generation, but by regeneration. Only those who were born again could inherit political power and privilege. It never entered into their plan that drunkards, vagrants, libertines, paupers, atheists, unbelievers, half-believers, Episcopalians, Baptists, Quakers, and Spiritualists or witches (all of which classes were by them comprised in a single category, as "the wicked"), should have any political power, or any part whatever in the government. What was the use of coming across the ocean and into the wilderness to get away from the rule of the devil, if he were still to be present in politics by his recognized emissaries? They wanted the rule of the best, and so they would have no one taking part in public affairs who was not a member of the church. In the colonies of Massachusetts Bay and New Haven, there was an express provision that no one should take part in the

government who was not a church member; in Plymouth and Connecticut the same end was practically accomplished, although there was, I believe, no express ordinance to that effect.

When the Puritans had thus established their governments, they proceeded to defend them by all means in their power. That these means were often futile and unfit, no one to-day would think of denying. The earlier part of Mr. Adams' book is mainly a re-statement of some of the cruel blunders and disasterous follies which they committed in their heroic attempt to defend from the incursions of evil the kingdom of heaven on earth, which they fondly believed that they were founding. Their sense of ownership in their colony, which Mr. Adams considers so wicked because of its illegality, does not appear so bad to most of the descendants of the men who were "technically wrong" in the American revolution.

The peculiar constitution of these Puritan governments could not long endure. The determining principle of the aristocracy was not one which worked well in practical politics. The line which separated the good from the evil, while it seemed clear enough to the founders, was really quite an arbitrary one. It was maintained indeed after the meaning had largely gone out of it. Those Puritan men, who, because of their high character and abilities led the colonies out of the mother country, were remarkably well fitted to rule them. But they erred in supposing that in the generations to come men of that type would continue to be bound together into unity by any ecclesiastical or political ties. The great change in the internal constitution of the New England colonies was the encroachment of the democratic principle upon the aristocratic constitution. The history of the change from aristocracy to democracy is one of extraordinary interest, and I have a glimmering suspicion that Mr. Adams thought that he was writing this history, but he seems to have given up the idea before he finished the book, and well he might. This change to democracy had to come. In changed circumstances, and after a trial, the original plan became evidently absurd. The aristocracy of church members ceased to be manifestly the best rulers, and, through gradual modifications, the local governments became almost pure democracies. This revolution was effected more

peacefully and more gradually than any similar revolution of which we have knowledge, although one would judge from the account which Mr. Adams gives, that it was spasmodic and explosive. It involved some pretty bitter struggles indeed, as such political changes always must, but the assumption that throughout these struggles all the clergy were on one side and all decent people on the other, which Mr. Adams seems to make, is overthrown by information contained in his own book. The clergy in New England have always been somewhat conservative as a body, and a large part of them were found with many other good men on the conservative side in this struggle, but many were found on the other side also from time to time, and those who were conservatives were not necessarily men of diabolical character.

Mr. Adams makes a great many gratuitous assumptions, but the most remarkable of them all perhaps is to the effect that "the orthodox New Englander was the vassal of his priest." It is upon this remarkable assumption that Mr. Adams has constructed his whole theory of New England history, which his volume is apparently designed to illustrate. It is hopeless to attempt to deal with such a method of thought as this. It is useless to inform Mr. Adams that the orthodox New Englander was no man's vassal, but a sturdy, independent, enterprising man, who did his own thinking, and who built a state in the woods by his energy and rugged determination. He had a goodly store of able ministers because he wanted them. This seems so strange a taste to Mr. Adams that he cannot believe in it, and so he sets up the theory that the people did not have the ministers, but the ministers had the people, and that they governed and oppressed them. It is useless to try to set Mr. Adams right in this matter. Had he been capable of being set right, his error would have been corrected by the course of reading which he has been through in order to make this book. This is selected as a sample of the assumptions which Mr. Adams makes in order to explain things which are altogether explicable upon obvious grounds, but which apparently Mr. Adams cannot thus explain, because he cannot conceive that there was any real good in the Puritan minister, or any real worth and manhood in the Puritan layman.

It would be possible to point out, were it worth while, how, at almost every point, Mr. Adams has really misrepresented things in the most deceitful of all ways. He has told the truth in his historical statements, but he might as well have lied. For he has wrenched events out of their places in history, and set them forth without the relationship to other events, which often puts another color upon them. For instance, the persecution of Baptists was a very bad thing, but it is a thousand times worse when it is related in isolated nakedness, as it is in this book, than when it appears as a single event in that long groping struggle for personal and religious liberty in which these men were engaged.

Mr. Adams is evidently a student of Herbert Spencer. It is to be hoped that he will continue his studies, and that when he finds the following text, he will lay it to heart. "Not as adventitious will the wise man regard the faith that is in him—not as something which may be slighted and made subordinate to calculations of policy, but as the supreme authority to which all his actions should bend. The highest truth conceivable by him he will fearlessly utter, and will endeavor to get embodied in fact his purest idealisms, knowing that, let what may come of it, he is thus playing his appointed part in the world—knowing that if he can get done the thing he aims at—well; if not—well also, though not so well." If ever a man had a reverence for the faith that was in him, and made all his actions bend to it, it was the New England Puritan. And the calm judgment of history, seeing his limitations, and his errors, and his narrowness, and his faith, and his energy, says—"Well." But a gentleman from Massachusetts jumps up and shouts, "It isn't well; it's bad; very bad indeed." And the persons who happen to hear him, conclude that there are Adamses and Adamses.

ARTICLE II.—THE VIA MEDIA IN ETHICS.*

NO science is of so vital and universal interest as ethics. It concerns every human being. And yet during the last two and a half centuries no science has made such limited progress. Even psychology has made greater advance. No careful student of the history of ethics can fail to recognize the truth of this unwelcome statement. Such is the fact; how can we explain it?

1. A partial explanation of it is found in the fact that ethics has not yet received a proper treatment. The scientific method —the greatest of modern discoveries—has not been applied to this science. To the scientific method we understand the following to be essential: Exact observation, careful experiment, rational hypothesis, and the verification of the hypothesis. As a result of this neglect, the line between the science of ethics, and the metaphysics of that science has never been clearly drawn; the two are constantly confounded. In almost all the other sciences this distinction has been made, and is realizing abundant and valuable results. The physicist, at the outset, takes certain things for granted—matter, force, time, and space. The inquiry concerning the ultimate nature of these fundamental assumptions belongs not to the science of physics, but to the metaphysics of physics. Why not do the same in ethics?

It is urged that ethics does not so readily admit of this distinction. We are told that in the study of ethics it is difficult not to become involved in the ultimate problems of philosophy; in ethical speculation we are constantly treading on the verge of the abysses of metaphysics. The difficulty is real, but for this very reason the demand for this distinction is the more urgent. In this age of accurate knowledge nothing can be called science which cannot stand the scrutinizing test of the scientific method. Ethics, if it is to be a science, must be as truly and as rigidly scientific as any other branch of human

* An Essay presented at the Anniversary Exercises of Yale Theological Seminary, May, 1887.

learning. The scientific treatment of ethics is a demand of the day, not simply for sake of a scientific investigation, but also as a means of securing a firmer and more satisfactory basis for the solution of the practical ethical quesions of the hour.

2. A brief survey of the history of modern ethics confirms our judgment. Modern ethics, as a science independent of Christianity, has its starting point with Hobbes. All the ethical theories which have been propounded since his day may be briefly reduced to two opposing systems—Hedonism, egoistic or universal, and Intuitionism, dogmatic or philosophical. Hedonism may be defined as the ethical theory that explains moral ideas and distinctions in terms of pleasure and pain. The opposite theory, which is commonly designated as Intuitionism, teaches that "rightness is a quality belonging to actions independently of their conduciveness to any ulterior end," and that we have the power to recognize this quality of action. Hobbes was a materialist in psychology, and a hedonist in ethics. His famous Leviathan called out answers from many moralists. Cudworth, with the Cambridge Platonists, was his first antagonist from the standpoint of Intuitionism. These conflicting schools have been always more or less apparent since the days of these two leaders. The Utilitarian and Intuitional schools of to-day are the lineal descendants of these types of thought, though they are now greatly modified. Thus during the last two and a half centuries the various schools of ethics have been occupied with polemics, and have chiefly concentrated their efforts upon a search for the true ground of virtue, as if this were the only fundamental problem of ethics.

This is, however, far from being the case. Ethics deals not with the effect of actions as the Hedonists teach; nor with the quality of actions as the Intuitionists maintain, but with the cause of actions—the doer himself.

3. Although these rival ethical schools have thus sought the mastery the one over the other, no critical and candid student of the science can say that either of them is adequate to the real problems of life and thought.

A defect common to them both is that the attempt is made to account for the ethical by a single faculty of the human soul; at least each system emphasizes the one faculty of the soul to

the neglect of every other. To the Intuitionists, the intellect is of prime importance; to the Hedonists the sensibility. But the subject of ethics is the whole man, and not his intellect, nor his sensibility alone. The will is also an essential element of his nature, but where it has not been entirely overlooked, it has occupied merely a subordinate position in the thought of these schools. Hence the haze that overhangs all English ethical speculation. The most prominent contemporary writer on ethics in England, Prof. Henry Sidgwick himself, is not entirely guiltless of this oversight.

Again, the general tendency of Hedonism is psychological while that of Intuitionism is metaphysical. Hedonism endeavors to find the basis of ethics in the sensibilities, and has a strong psychological spirit, whether its psychology is correct or not. Here is the strength of Hedonism; its weakness is, that it does not raise the question what this constitution of man implies. On the other hand, the strength of Intuitionism is found in its search for the ground and the objective significance of the ethical. But its order of investigation has not been psychological. Here is its characteristic weakness. Thus each is weak where the other is strong.

This brief survey of the history of ethics, with its comparison of the different types of ethical speculation suggest to us its real problems, and its true method. The problems of ethics are-two fold: the psychological and the metaphysical. The one aims to answer the question—How is the ethical possible? In other words, what are its subjective and objective conditions? The other concerns itself with the question, What is the ultimate ground of the principles which are assumed in its possibility? In other words, what is the ground, and what is the significance of morality?

The method of ethics should be the scientific method. For ethics is a science, and should be treated as such. It ought not to be confounded with either theology or metaphysics. This does not imply, however, that ethics does not need metaphysics. The assumptions involved in the possibility of the ethical necessarily lead to metaphysics, and the ethical finds its ultimate interpretation in God—the Absolute Good. Ethics without metaphysics is a building without foundation. This is the

point which Intuitionism rightly emphasizes. But the order of investigation ought to begin with man's capacity for morality, and not with God. It is the merit of Hedonism that it takes this starting point.

Thus the true ethical method is found in a judicious combination of the spirit of the two historic types of ethical theory. Such are the problems, and such the method of ethics. The brief review which we have given of both assures us that a scientific treatment of ethics will bring a more satisfactory result than has yet been attained, and will ground ethics upon a firmer basis than ever before. Thus and thus only can ethics be saved on the one hand from the stigma and the bondage of a theological treatment, and on the other from becoming superficial and Godless.

RIKIZO NAKASHIMA.

ARTICLE III.—GOSSE'S LIFE OF SIR WALTER RALEIGH.*

IT is eighteen years since the last new Lives of Raleigh appeared in England—Edwards' and St. John's—both in the same year, (London, 1868, 2 vols. each), and almost fifteen since we reviewed them in the pages of the *New Englander*.† A literary expert has now attempted the task of biography again,—in smaller compass,—a more condensed story,—comparing the new data and facts given by the biographers of 1868 with each other and with older ones, and adding others from historical sources now first opened. To the student of Raleigh's character and life two questions at once occur, on opening Mr. Gosse's interesting volume: What new knowledge is added to the old store, and what statements heretofore accepted are exploded as untrustworthy? What superiority, as a piece of standard literary work, has this "Life" over others? Referring to our former essay for a sufficient sketch of this celebrated man's career,‡ we propose to answer these two questions.

Mr. Gosse adds two new ways of spelling the family name, to the fourteen we have hitherto noted, viz: Rawlyh, the form used by the elder son Carew, and Rauleygh, the earliest form used by Sir Walter.§ Their father employed still another. It is spelled two other ways in a single deed, and once three ways in another. Walter was then in his twenty-sixth year. "It is amusing to find that the family had not decided how to spell its name."

At Oxford he seems, to Mr. Gosse, to have been a commoner both at Oriel and at Christ Church. He must have left the University in 1569, to have witnessed what followed the battle of Jarnac in France in May of that year, and joined the Hu-

* *English Worthies*, Edited by ANDREW LANG, (12th volume), *Raleigh*, by EDMUND GOSSE, M.A., Trinity College, Cambridge Univ. New York, Appleton. pp. v, 248.

† No. cxxi, October, 1872, pp. 660–688.

‡ *Ibid*, p. 664.

§ Cayley gives also the form Rale, which had escaped our notice, and makes seventeen variations.

guenot camp in October. He fought there, Mr. Gosse concludes, until 1574 or 1575, and was in the Middle Temple in 1576. The Middlesex Records, one of the new authorities, mentions two yeomen who broke the peace, Dec., 1577, as in the service of "Walter Rawley, Esq. of the Court," with lodgings at Islington. This is the first evidence yet found of his being a courtier at the age of twenty-five. The story of the plush cloak told by Fuller, Mr. Gosse discredits as an account of his introduction to the Queen, but regards it as likely enough to have been true of their later intimacy. All the biographers are as much "at sea," as to the order of his earliest voyages with Sir Humphrey Gilbert, as the two half-brothers were on the decks of their ships. Probably in 1578 they sailed together a second time; though Edwards places this event after the orders of Council forbidding them to sail in 1579. Mr. St. John's evidence of Raleigh's voyage to the West Indies earlier seems to be unassailed.

The first authentic date Mr. Gosse has from Raleigh himself of any incident in his life is Feb. 22, 1580, in a letter to Lord Burghley from Cork, Ireland, where he landed with a hundred foot soldiers. He was sent to reinforce Sir Warham Sentleger, an old personal friend, who was holding Cork with forty men against a Catholic expedition. In Sept., Lord Grey de Wilton, known to Raleigh's early literary circle, took command at Dublin with Edmund Spencer as his secretary. Fulke Greville and other minor Elizabethan poets were then in Munster with the troops, to the entertainment, doubtless, of Spencer and Raleigh. The Irish massacres they witnessed seem to the new biographer "positively Japanese," and he furnishes more evidence of the fierce part Raleigh took in them. He mentions new instances, also, of his gallantry, daring, and brilliant military skill. In 1581 Raleigh became acting Governor of Munster, and afterward of Cork.

"It was at this time (August), or possibly a little earlier in the year, that Raleigh made his romantic attack upon Castle Bally-in-Harsh, the seat of Lord Roche. On the very same evening that he received a hint from headquarters that the capture of this strongly fortified place was desirable, he set out with ninety men on the adventure. His troops arrived at

Harsh very early in the morning, but not so early but that the townspeople, to the number of five hundred, had collected to oppose his little force. He soon put them to flight, and then, by a nimble trick, contrived to enter the castle itself, to seize Lord and Lady Roche at their breakfast table, to slip out with them and through the town unmolested, and to regain Cork next day with the loss of only a single man."

That such a man, with his tall and brilliant person, his splendor of dress, his plausible tongue, his Devonshire accent pleasant to royal ears, and his romantic popular renown should succeed at such a court as that of Elizabeth was thoroughly natural. It has been questioned whether he was earlier a Protestant soldier in the Netherlands—as Naunton says he was (*Fragmenta Regalia*, p. 48)—but that she sent him thither in 1582, with the Duc d'Alencon whose wooing had fared ill, in place of the Earl of Leicester with whom she was just then angry, is certain. He had been paid £200 for his Irish services the first of February, and the last of March was back again and settled at Court as the Queen's first favorite. Dates are henceforth clear and certain. A little incident from the Middlesex Records exemplifies Raleigh's habit of gorgeous court attire in those days—"April 26, 1584, a gentleman named Hugh Rew stole at Westminster and carried off Walter Raleigh's pearl hat-band and another jewelled article of attire, valued together in money of that time £113. The owner, with characteristic promptitude, shut the thief up in Newgate, and made him disgorge." For four years his place near the Queen was one of distinction and royal confidence. Mr. Gosse credits him with the flexibility and foresight of a first rate courtier, but denies him,—apparently because Elizabeth would never make him a Privy Councillor,* but sought his advice in private—the name of statesman. It was on her motion, however, that he entered Parliament, where she knew that statesmanship was needed.

* A dozen years later she would have made him a Privy Councillor—indeed he was just about to be sworn in—if Sir Robert Cecil's jealousy had not prevented. Cecil suggested that if he became a member of Her Majesty's Privy Council he must resign the office of Captain of her Guard which he had long held, a sacrifice he well knew Raleigh would not make. Mr. Gardiner pronounces the latter "the man who had more genius than all the Privy Council put together."

Just before this she knighted him. Wealth greater than other biographers had ascribed to him, Mr. Gosse shows now became his. On the older authorities we reckoned the lands he acquired in three Irish counties at twelve thousand acres: Mr. Gosse * says "about forty thousand acres." Raleigh tried, with no great success, to make these fruitful by colonizing from the West of England,—reparation in part for the fearful slaughter of former years in which he shared. One authentic record Mr. Gosse has obtained of his securing vessels on the Norfolk coast for defense against the Armada. He follows the ordinary story of the expeditions Raleigh was sending meanwhile across the Atlantic but he denies that Raleigh ever set foot in Virginia. Some of these expeditions were of the nature of privateering enterprises. He was always ready for them. A picturesque passage is here worth quoting:

"It must be understood that Raleigh at this time maintained at his own expense a small personal fleet for commercial and privateering ends, and that he lent or leased these vessels, with his own services, to the government, when additional naval contributions were required. In the *Domestic Correspondence*,† we meet with the names of the chief of these vessels, 'The Revenge,' soon afterwards so famous, 'The Crane,' and 'The Garland.' These ships were merchantmen or men-of-war at will, and their exploits were winked at or frowned upon at court as circumstances dictated. Sometimes the hawk's eye of Elizabeth would sound the hold of these pirates with incredible acumen, as on that occasion when it is recorded that 'a waistcoat of carnation colour, curiously embroidered,' which was being brought home to adorn the person of the adventurer, was seized by order of the Queen to form a stomacher for his royal mistress. It would be difficult to say which of the illustrious pair was the most solicitous of fine raiment. At other times the whole prize had to be disgorged; as in the case of that bark of Olonne, laden with barley, which Raleigh had to restore to the Treasury on July 21, 1589, after he had concluded a very lucrative sale of the same." When these ships of his sailed as merchantmen, they brought new products to the soil of Ireland,

* *New Englander* for Oct., 1872, p. 669.

† Edited by Edward Edwards.

as when they captured and plundered on the high seas they brought wealth to English marts. In this, again, this versatile man of affairs seemed to make reparation for the ruthless ferocity of his military career. He had meantime, with Lord Burghley, advised the Queen to more leniency towards the Irish chiefs. He rented property in Ireland besides the great estates that became his, and improved it. Sir John Pope Hennessy says:

"The richly perfumed yellow wall flowers that he brought to Ireland from the Azores, and the Affane cherry, are still found where he first planted them by the Blackwater. Some cedars he brought to Cork are to this day growing at a place called Tivoli. The four venerable yewtrees, whose branches have grown and intermingled into a sort of summer house thatch, are pointed out as having sheltered Raleigh when he first smoked tobacco in his Youghal garden. A few steps further on, where the town wall of the thirteenth century bounds the garden of the Warden's house, is the famous spot where the first Irish potato was planted by him. In that garden he gave the tubers to the ancestor of the present Lord Southwell, by whom they were spread throughout the province of Munster."

Of Raleigh's disgrace at Court, 1588-1592, after Essex turned against him, and his marrying the Queen's maid of honor, and how he was busied in those years, and what happened to him, the new biographer gives the usual account. His summary and arrangement of facts is clear and excellent. After the capture of the great Spanish carrack, the Madre deDios, by the expedition that was chiefly Raleigh's, and his being sent down to Devonshire from the Tower of London to prevent pillage, the Queen recognized the marriage, and he was set at liberty to sail for Guiana. Of this expedition Mr. Gosse gives the most compact and satisfactory compiled narrative that we have seen; Raleigh's own accounts are largely used, of which he says: "It is true that he relates marvellous and fabulous things, but it is no less than just to distinguish very carefully between what he repeats and what he reports. For the former we have to take the evidence of his interpreters, who but dimly understood what the Indians told them, and Raleigh cannot be held personally responsible; for the latter, the testimony of all later

explorers, especially Humboldt and Schomburgk, is that Raleigh's narrative, where he does not fall into obvious and easily intelligible error, is remarkably clear and simple, and full of internal evidences of its genuineness."

This judgment agrees with that of the unknown editor of "The Discovery of Guiana," in Constable's edition of 1820 (*The History of the World*, vol. vi., pp. 110), viz: "notwithstanding his belief in *El Dorado*, and other traits of credulity, it is impossible to peruse his narrative without respect for that sagacity which, in an age but little skilled in such views, could so clearly discern the advantages which England might derive from establishing colonies upon the banks of the Orinoco."* Mr. Gosse gives twenty-two pages out of his two hundred and forty-eight to this first voyage to Guiana; St. John, but thirteen out of six hundred and eighty-seven; Edwards, thirty-eight out of seven hundred and twenty-three—incorporating accounts of the expeditions of others,—and Cayley ("to this day the most interesting 'Life,' as a literary production," Mr. Gosse says with justice), twenty-six out of eight hundred and ninety-two. The new biography also has twenty-two pages appropriated to the attack on Cadiz to twenty-seven in the larger work of St. John, twenty-nine in Edwards's, and twenty-two in that of Cayley, who embodies Raleigh's own letter on the action, eleven pages—to which in Edwards's second volume ("Letters") seventeen pages are given. The latter author, however, narrates "The Islands' Voyage" in a separate chapter of sixteen pages, as St. John does in one of eight, while Cayley and Gosse give to it only two or three pages. The latter does ample justice to the knight's exploits of Cadiz and Fayal. The events at Cadiz, he says, "were not merely a critical test of the relative strength of Spain and England, closing in a brilliant triumph (for England), but to Raleigh in particular they were the climax of his life, the summit of his personal prosperity and glory." Mr. St. John says of the 21st of June, 1596, that St. Barnabas Day is "often the brightest in the year," and that this day "was likewise the brightest of Ra-

* Constable's edition, before me, also contains the "Considerations," "Orders to the Commanders of the Fleet," and "Apology for the last Voyage."

leigh's life." Edwards says: "The decline of Spain dates from the day when Raleigh in *The War Spright*, marshalled the way into Cadiz harbor, passing "the wasps" of galleys with "a blare of trumpets" and making straight for the two great galleons, some of whose crews had heard Richard Grenville's dying words in 1591." Tokens of this decline "occur on the pages of Spanish history, in an unbroken series, during two hundred and seventy years from the June of 1596." And Spain has never recovered from Raleigh's attack.

From this climax of fame and influence all the biographers note the steady change of fortune that went on for a score of years and more till the mournful close of a gallant and brilliant life. As the powers of the Great Queen waned, misunderstandings and personal conflicts with those nearest her person, like Essex and Cecil, multiplied. On his return from Guiana he had thought "that coming from the West, with an empire in his hand, as a gift for Elizabeth, the Queen would take him into favor again, but he was mistaken." Little prize money from Cadiz and Fayal; his sorded mistress claimed all; large expenses in Guiana; so stood his financial accounts. The offices of Vice Chamberlain, Lord Deputy in Ireland, member of the Privy Council were successively denied him,—so reads the record of preferments sought. His chronic tendency to rheumatism and consumption developed within a few years; his wound at Cadiz causing feebleness and pain—so ran the story of his increasing bodily ailments. He left the great town palace of the bishops of Durham, on the site of what is now "Adelphi Terrace," which he had leased from the Queen in 1584, and retired to Sherborne in Dorsetshire, which she had given him seven years later. Why he was called with Lord Cobham, to assist Ostend while besieged by Cardinal Albert, no one from Cayley down to Gosse, has been able to tell. There was need of him to grace the "Royal Progress" in 1601, and receive Tully from France. He "must begin to keep sheep betime," he said, if no high office was open to him. He strove to get out of the whirl of plot and peril that surrounded Essex. If Cecil befriended him at all, it was only to checkmate Essex. "Although now, and for the brief remainder of Elizabeth's life," says Mr. Gosse, "he was nominally in

favor, the saturnine old woman had no longer any tenderness for her Captain of the Guard. There was no longer any excuse for excluding from her presence so valuable a soldier, and so wise a courtier, but her pulses had ceased to thrill at his coming." At last she made him Governor of Jersey. "It gave him once more the opportunity to cultivate his restless energy, to fly hither and thither by sea and land, and to harry the English Channel for Spaniards, as a terrier watches a hay-stack for rats." He was Lord of St. Germain and judge in civil causes. "He established for Jersey," says Edwards, "a trade with New Foundland, which in aftertimes became very fruitful"; he undertook, says Gosse, "to register real property according to a definite system, abolished the unpopular compulsory service of the *Corps de Garde*, and lightened in many directions the fiscal burdens which previous governors had laid on the population. Raleigh's beneficient rule in Jersey lasted just three years." The year it began he was also in Cornwall, "improving the condition of the tin-workers and going through his duties in the Stanneries Court of Lostwithiel. We find him protecting private enterprise on Roborough Down against the borough of Plymouth, which desired to stop the tinworks, and the year closes with his activities on behalf of 'the establishment of good laws among tinners.'" Better business this and safer than intriguing at London against Essex and Cecil, or humoring the fierce moods of the Virgin Queen! Edwards says very justly, "wherever he had any post of duty, for how brief a time soever, he sowed the seed of some good harvest or other for posterity to reap."

Of the rapid decline of this wonderful man when English rule fell from the strong hands of Elizabeth, into the weak and perverse hands of James; of his being stripped one by one of all the offices long held which were wanted for royal favorites and toadies; of Essex's break with Raleigh, Cecil, and the Queen and of his death; of Raleigh's reception of the Duc de Biron in the Queen's absence, and his growing intimacy with Lord Cobham; of the attempts of James VI. of Scotland, to enlist Raleigh in his favor as to the succession; of his last expedition to Virginia, which never reached Virginia, but saw and named Martha's Vineyard; of his share in the Queen's Spanish

and Irish policy, and of the ignominy and woe he suffered at the hands of James and Cecil, Mr. Gosse gives the usual account. Very truly he remarks: "If he" (Raleigh), "had died in 1603, unattainted, in peace at Sherborne, it is a question whether he would have attracted the notice of posterity in any very general degree. To close students of the reign of Elizabeth, he would be" what Mr. Gardiner has pronounced him. "But he would not be to us all the embodiment of the spirit of England in the great age of Elizabeth, the foremost man of his time, the figure which takes the same place in the field of action which Shakespeare takes in that of imagination, and Bacon in that of thought. For this something more was needed, the long torture of imprisonment, the final crown of judicial martyrdom. The slow tragedy closing on Tower Hill is the necessary complement to his greatness." The recital of that tragedy occupies the last half of the new biographer's pages, a clear and well-ordered narrative, with no concealment of weaknesses, no panegyric of great qualities disclosed, with nothing added that is new,—a story whose deep and pathetic interest forbids its ever growing old. The details of the trial at Winchester, of the long term in the tower of London, the second voyage to Guiana and the scene on the scaffold do not go beyond those given by Edwards and St. John, but they are well handled and presented with simplicity. If unpublished documents shall ever add anything to our knowledge it will be received with as much interest in the land of whose colonization he was the "father," as in that in which he was born. For this, the agency of our countrymen in placing a memorial of him on the walls of the church in whose chancel Lady Raleigh buried his body—St. Margaret's, Westminster—is ample security. His head, dissevered by the executioner's axe, "is supposed now to rest in West Horsley Church, Sussex."

The earliest of this extraordinary man's writings mentioned in this volume is a paper of October, 1582, advising Elizabeth to be less severe with Ireland, which was partly prepared by Lord Burghley. Its title in the "Irish Correspondence" is *The Opinion of Mr. Rawley.* Five years and four months later he was knighted. Half a dozen years later still, after he had

entered Parliament, his noble elegy on his friend Sir Philip Sidney was written. This is not the epitaph which formerly hung on a tablet from a pillar in St. Paul's Cathedral,* where Sidney was buried, but a more finished production, as these stanzas show.

> "England doth hold thy limbs, that bred the same;
> Flanders thy valour where it last was tried;
> The camp thy sorrow, where thy body died;
> Thy friends, thy want; the world thy virtues' fame."

> "The heavens made haste, and stayed nor years nor time;
> The fruits of age grew ripe in thy first prime."

After mentioning his birth in Kent and education at Oxford—

> "Great gifts and wisdom rare employed thee thence,
> To treat from kings with those more great than kings;
> Such hope men had to lay the highest things
> On thy wise youth."

There are fifteen verses in all, forming "one of the finest of the many poems which that sad event called forth. It blends the passion of personal regret with the dignity of public grief, as all great elegiacal poems should." Mr. George S. Hillard printed it in the 5th volume of his edition of Spencer's Works (Boston, 1839), with the elegies of Matthew Roydon, Lodowick Bryskett, the Countess of Pembroke and Spenser ("Astrophel"), but without a name, appending the note of Todd; "To the following poems I am unable to assign their authors; but no reader will imagine them the productions of Spenser." Mr. Gosse says: "This elegy appeared with the rest in *Astrophel* in 1595" (Spenser's own publication), "but it had already been printed in 1593, in the *Phœnix Nest*, and as early as 1591, Sir John Harington quotes it as Raleigh's." There must have been those living who knew it was not his, if it was not, including the real author. It has some of the spirit of Raleigh's work, though hardly of his best. Philip Masterman says of all these poems, "They possess no intensity of feeling," but names Bryskett's, "in iambic lines of three feet, without

* The epitaph, perhaps not written by Raleigh, began thus:

> "England, Netherlands, the heavens and the arts,
> The soldier and the world have made six parts
> Of the noble Sidney."

It was quite likely an imitation of Raleigh, but a poor one.

rhyme," as possessing "considerably melody." Hillard follows him in saying: "They are none of them above mediocrity."*

About this time the intimacy of Raleigh and Spenser began, "the two men," Mr. Gosse observes, "in many respects the most remarkable Englishmen of imagination then before the notice of their country." "Dean Church has noticed that to read Hooker's account† of 'Raleigh's adventures with the Irish chieftains, his challenges and single combats, his escapes at fords and woods, is like reading bits of the *Fairy Queen* in prose.'" How the poets came together in Ireland, was told in these pages years ago,‡ but our author gives us something new in respect to a poem of Raleigh's then alluded to by Spenser, and long regarded as lost. Spenser's allusions are in his *Colin Clout's come home again*, 1595, and in his sonnet to Raleigh prefixed to the *Faery Queene*, 1596. The "Shepherd of the Ocean," as he calls Raleigh in *Colin Clout*, delighted with Spenser's piping one day, took his pipe in hand

> "And played thereon, for well that skill he con'd,§
> Himself as skillful in that art as any."
> "His song was all a lamentable lay
> Of great unkindness, and of usage hard,
> Of Cynthia, the Ladie of the Sea,
> Which from her presence, faultless him debarred,
> And ever and anon, with singulf rife,‖
> He cryed out to make his undersong,
> 'Ah! my love's queen, and goddess of my life,
> Who shall me pity when thou doest me wrong?'"

* Spenser's rank had been declared by William Webbe, in his "Discourse of English Poetrie," 1586 (Asber's *Reprints*, 1870). "One, who if not only, yet in my judgment, principally deserveth the title of the rightest English Poet, that ever I read; that is, the Author of the Sheepeheardes Kalender, intituled to the woorthy Gentleman Master Philip Sidney, *whether it was Master Sp.* or what rare Scholler in Pembrooke Hall soever," p. 85. In the *Life and Times of Sidney*, by S. M. D. (Boston, 1858), Raleigh's sonnet is ascribed to Spenser, the author probably knowing that the brother poet published it with his *Astrophel*, but not that two others had printed it before.

† In his "Supply of the Irish Chronicles," a supplement to Holinshed.

‡ *New Englander*, for October, 1872, 669–671.

§ "Cond," knew.

‖ "Singulfe rife," frequent sobs. Mr. Hillard ascribes the Queen's unkindness to the Throckmorton incident, but this did not happen till after Raleigh and Spenser returned from Ireland to "Cynthia's land."

In the London *Athenæum* for 1886 (first two numbers), Mr. Gosse gave his account of what he deems the discovery of part of this lost lay, "Raleigh's *magnum opus* of 1589, quite considerable enough to give us an idea of the extent and character of the rest." He condenses the results in the volume before us (pp. 46–7).

"In 1870 Archdeacon Hannah printed what he described as a 'continuation of the lost poem, *Cynthia*,' from fragments in Sir Walter's own hand among the Hatfield MSS. Dr. Hannah, however, misled by the character of the handwriting, by some vague allusions in one of the fragments, to a prison captivity, and most of all, probably, by a difficulty in dates which we can now for the first time explain, attributed these pieces to 1603–1618, that is to say, to Raleigh's imprisonment in the Tower. The second fragment, beginning 'My body in the walls captived,' belongs, no doubt, to the later date. It is in a totally distinct metre from the rest, and has nothing to do with *Cynthia*. The first fragment bears the stamp of much earlier date, but this also can be no part of Raleigh's epic The long passage then following, on the contrary is, I think, beyond question a canto, almost complete, of the lost epic of 1589. It is written in the four line heroic stanza adopted ten years later by Sir John Davies for his *Nosce teipsum*, and most familiar to us all in Grey's *Churchyard Elegy*. Moreover, it is headed 'The Twenty-first and last Book of *The Ocean to Cynthia*.' Another note, in Raleigh's hand writing, styles the poem, *The Ocean's Love to Cynthia*, and this was probably the full name of it. Spenser's name for Raleigh, the Shepherd, or pastoral hero, of the Ocean, is therefore for the first explained. This twenty-first book suffers from the fact that stanzas, but apparently not very many, have dropped out, in four places. With these losses, the canto still contains 130 stanzas, or 526 lines. Supposing the average length of the twenty preceding books to have been the same, *The Ocean's Love to Cynthia* must have contained at least ten thousand lines. Spenser, therefore, was not exaggerating, or using the language of flattery towards a few elegies or a group of sonnets, when he spoke of *Cynthia* as a poem of great importance. As a matter of fact no poem of the like ambition had been

written in England for a century past, and if it had been published,* it would, perhaps, have taken a place only second to its immediate contemporary, "The Faery Queene." We hope some day to see this long lost work and all he produced in verse, gathered into a complete collection.

But an active life took his pen away from the service of poetry till his destruction had been compassed and death was near. His first publication was a tract in prose, 1591, describing the fight of the "Revenge" with Spanish ships off the Azores, and vindicating his captain, Grenville. Anonymously published, Richard Hakluyt, eight years after was permitted to ascribe it to Raleigh. "It is written in a sane and manly style, and marks the highest level reached by English narrative prose as it existed before the waters were troubled by the fashion of Euphues. Long entirely neglected, it has of late become the best known of all its author's productions." In 1595, he sent forth his *Discovery of Guiana.* "Two editions appeared in 1596, it was presently translated into Latin and published in Germany, and, in short, gained a reputation throughout Europe." Mr. Gosse says of it:—he has nothing better than these critical remarks:—

"The *Discovery* possesses a value which is neither biographical nor geographical. It holds a very prominent place in the prose literature of the age. During the five years which had elapsed since Raleigh's last publication, English literature had been undergoing a marvellous development, and he who read everything and sympathized with every intellectual movement, could not but be influenced by what had been written. During these five years Marlowe's wonderful career had been wound up like a melodrama. Shakespeare had come forward as a poet. A new epoch in sound English prose had been inaugurated by Hooker's *Ecclesiastical Polity.* Bacon was circulating the earliest of his *Essays.* What these giants of our language were doing for their own departments of prose and verse, Raleigh did for the literature of travel. Among the

* "Yet till thou *thy Poeme* wilt make knowne," Spenser's sonnet to Raleigh. The first sonnet to Spenser prefixed to the Faery Queene, was "that noble and justly celebrated sonnet which alone would justify Raleigh in taking a place among the English poets." Gosse, p. 49.

volumes of navigations, voyages, and discoveries, which were poured out so freely in this part of the reign of Elizabeth, most of them now only remembered because they were reprinted in the collections of Hakluyt and Purchas, this book of Raleigh's takes easily the foremost position. In comparison with the bluff and dull narratives of the other discoverers, whose chief charm is their *naiveté*, the *Discovery of Guiana* has all the grace and fullness of deliberate composition, of fine literary art, and as it was the first excellent piece of sustained travelers' prose, so it remained long without a second in our literature. About the same time Raleigh drew up the very remarkable paper, not printed till 1843,* entitled *Of the Voyage in Guiana.* "By this means (colonization, commerce, etc.) infinite numbers of souls may be brought from their idolatry, bloody sacrifice, ignorance, and incivility, to the worshipping aright of the true God, and to civil conversation. It will stop the mouths of the Roman Catholics, who vaunt of their great adventures for the propagation of the Gospel; it will add great increase of honor to Her Majesty's name upon earth to all posterity; and in the end be rewarded with a starlight splendency in the Heavens, which is reserved for them that turn many unto righteousness."

All through these years his letters supply materials for history, when he did not finish it in treatises. In respect to his naval expeditions against Spain, they are full and minute. Now and then some tract for the government came from his pen, like the *Discourse touching War with Spain, and of the Protecting of the Netherlands.* It had no influence with James. His principal industry was to be bestowed on his great history. But once, when Cecil, then Earl of Salisbury, passed away, his elasticity returned, and his keen appreciation of that cold and selfish statesman set him upon the making of this epigram (1612):

> "Here lies Hobinall our pastor whilere,
> That once in a quarter our fleeces did shear;
> To please us, his cur he kept under clog,
> And was ever after both shepherd and dog;

*I suspect an error here. Edwards (i, 198) gives the same quotations as Gosse, but they are from the "Considerations," etc. in Constable's edition of 1820 (before me), vol. vi., p. 115 of Appendix.

For oblation to Pan, his custom was thus,
He first gave a trifle, then offered up *us;*
And through his false worship such power he did gain,
As kept him on the mountain, and us on the plain."

His *Marriage Discourses*, *Prerogative of Parliament*, *Cabinet Council*, *Discourse of War*, *Observations on Trade and Commerce*, were written in these years—the last of these perhaps the first English argument for free trade. It disappeared, "as so many of Raleigh's manuscripts had disappeared before it, and was only first published in the *Remains* of 1651." In the copy of the *Remains* (1702) belonging to the writer are also included *The Sceptic*, *Maxims of State*, *Advice to his Son*, and *The Magnificency and Opulency of Cities*, but not *The Invention of Shipping*, all of which must have been produced in these years. The pamphlets touching his last voyage are of melancholy interest, but show little of his power and skill. One poem of some length, but little merit, addressed to the Queen, Anne of Denmark, always his friend, was a desperate plea for his life. The short poems written in view of immediate death are too well known for quotation. One of this character, which Mr. Gosse deems "the most extraordinary and most brilliant" of all, *The Pilgrimage*, he assigns to the time, years before, when he expected to be put to death at Winchester. The publication of his writings—save the geographical ones issued by himself—seems to have been somewhat accidental and largely posthumous. Ben Jonson brought the first volume of the *History* through the press; John Milton the *Cabinet Councils.**

On the whole Mr. Gosse's work must be pronounced a serviceable one, compact, clear in recital, judicial to a good degree, without any high merit, and noticeably wanting in the glow one would expect such a life as Raleigh's would give to the narrator and the narration. It has a steady-going, matter-

*On January 5, 1615, after the book (the *History*) had been selling slowly, the King gave an order commanding the suppression of the remainder of the edition giving as his reason that "it is too saucy in censuring the acts of kings. It is said that some favored person at Court pushed inquiry further, and extracted from the king the explanation that the censure of Henry VIII. was the real cause of the suppression," p. 180. (See Raleigh's *Preface*, pp. xiv.-xvi.)

of-fact air about it, and nothing of the brilliancy that would be felt to mate well a career of such vicissitudes and romance. But only another Raleigh could do complete justice to Raleigh. It is certainly the best guide we have to the literature of the subject, a bibliography of which, from another hand, is promised. And it is the fullest of the one volume biographies, thus far, and probably will be till all the documents, public and private, are accessible. But the remark with which we opened the subject fourteen years ago in these pages is still true: "A life of the most brilliant gentleman and most versatile genius in English history during the reigns of Elizabeth and the first James, which shall be worthy of taking the place of an English classic, is yet a desideratum."

Let us close with one of Mr. Gosse's best pieces of literary criticism, his apt and just observations upon the *History of the World.*

"It was a folio of 1,354 pages, printed very closely, and if reprinted now would fill about thirty-five such volumes as are devised for an ordinary modern novel. . . The book is brilliant almost without a rival in its best passages, but these are comparatively few, and they are divided from one another by tracts of pathless desert. . . . . It is not fair to dwell upon (its) eminent beauties without at the same time acknowledging that the book almost wilfully deprives itself of legitimate value and the true human interest by the remoteness of the period which it describes, and by the tiresome pedantry of its method. It is leisurely to the last excess. The first chapter, of seven long sections, takes us but to the close of the Creation. We cannot proceed without knowing what it is that Tostatus affirms of the empyrean heavens, and whether, with Strabo, we may dare assume that they are filled with angels. To hasten onwards would be impossible, so long as one of the errors of Steuchius Eugubinus remains unconfuted; and even then it is well to pause until we know the opinions of Orpheus and Zoroaster on the matter in hand. One whole chapter of four sections is dedicated to the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil, and the arguments of Goropius Becanus are minutely tested and found wanting. Goropius Becanus, whom Raleigh is never tired of shutting between his critical teeth, was a

learned Jesuit of Antwerp, who proved that Adam and Eve spoke Dutch in Paradise. It is not until he reaches the Patriarchs that it begins to occur to the historian that at his present rate of progress it will need forty folio volumes, and not four, to complete his labor. From this point he hastens a little, as the compilers of encyclopædias do when they have passed the letter B."

"With all this, the *History of the World* is a charming and delightful miscellany, if we do not accept it too seriously. Often for a score of pages there will be something brilliant, something memorable on every leaf, and there is not a chapter, however arid, without its fine things somewhere. It is impossible to tell where Raleigh's pen will take fire. He is most exquisite and fanciful where his subject is most unhopeful, and, on the other hand, he is likely to disappoint us where we take for granted that he will be fine. . . . By far the most interesting and readable part of the *History* is its preface, a book in itself."

GEORGE F. MAGOUN.

ARTICLE IV.—MARGINALIA *LOCKE*-A-NA.

A FEW months ago the Librarian of Yale College purchased for the Library a valuable collection of miscellaneous pamphlets in several volumes—treating of topics theological, political, philosophical, and economical. Such collections are always more or less interesting. On the fly leaf of one of these volumes, containing 41 pamphlets, the following memorandum is written. "This very valuable collection of Tracts came from the United Libraries of John Locke and his nephew Lord Chancellor King." On examining the titles and matter of these Tracts it was found that several of them consisted of a series of critical strictures upon Locke's Essay on the Human Understanding by the celebrated or rather the notorious Thomas Burnet, 1635–1715, Master of the Charter-House and author of the "Sacred Theory of the Earth." These comments are more or less pertinent and pointed and represent many of the current criticisms of the times, upon Locke's doctrines, both theological and philosophical. Of a series of three the first two were written in 1697, seven years after the issue of the first edition of the Essay and the third in 1699, i. e., after the publication of the third edition. The first is written in a deferential and courteous tone and urges a few of the current philosophical and theological queries or objections which oppressed most of Locke's critics and dissentients and which were drawn out at some length by Stillingfleet, the one antagonist of Locke who is now remembered by reason of the fact that a summary of his strictures with Locke's replies has till the present time been republished in every edition of the Essay. To this brief essay of Burnet, the first of the Tracts before us, Locke made a brief and somewhat contemptuous reply of two and a half pages, which was attached to his reply to the Bishop of Worcester's answer to his first letter. Upon this brief notice Burnet issued his Second Remarks with more spirit and ability without eliciting a word of response from Locke. Two years afterwards, in 1699, he published his Third

Remarks of which the first paragraph indicates that he was still smarting from the silence of the philosopher. He begins thus:

"Sir: I have not yet received the favor of your answer to my second letter or second remarks upon your Essay upon Human Understanding. You ruffled over the first remarks in a domineering answer without giving any satisfaction to their contents but the second being more full and explicit, I was in hopes you would have been more concerned to answer them and to answer them more calmly and like a philosopher." But notwithstanding this challenge he did not draw the fire of Locke in a public reply. But he did move him so far that in the solitude of his own study he filled the liberal margins of the pamphlet with remarks and counter criticisms, in his own handwriting. For several reasons these are an interesting memorial of the past. They are holographic from Locke's own hand as is evident from the well known autograph of the author of which there are several specimens in these pamphlets. They are brief and pointed and spirited, expressing his positions in brief statements which are often corrections of and antagonistic to those of his critic. Now and then they are more clear and explicit than the corresponding statements or reasonings of the Essay, being Locke's explanations of his own meaning by answering questions, the removal of objections, and the introduction of distinctions, the necessity for which could be made necessary only by the test of controversy. At all events we have in these Marginalia Locke's exposition of his own treatise in the solitude of his private thinking, with no thought of any public audience or any tribunal other than that of his own reflective judgment. We fancy some of our readers will not be uninterested to follow these comments of the often vexed philosopher as he thinks aloud his not always patient thoughts, and now and then indirectly answers the inquiry of the perplexed reader, as to what he actually did think, when what he actually believed or intended to say, has long been a matter of dispute or uncertainty. For the gratification of this class of readers and the information of all of Locke's admirers and critics we have copied these marginalia in text and comment, giving the latter always in Locke's own words, which some-

times display Locke's own feelings in an unmistakeable fashion, and of the former as much as seemed necessary to explain the commentary.

The first remark of Burnet's which elicits any comment from Locke is in the continuation of the sentence already quoted and is as follows: "You best know the reason of your silence, but as it will be understood in several ways so it may be subject to that construction among others, that you could not satisfy those objections or queries without exposing your principles more than you had a mind they should be exposed." Upon this Locke makes this brief comment.

He y[t] reads my books with a fair minde could not make such a construction.

Upon Conscience Burnet writes: "Conscience you say is nothing else but our own opinion of our own actions. But of what sort of actions, I pray, in reference to what rule or distinction of our actions? Whether good or evil or as profitable or unprofitable or as perfect or imperfect." Locke retorts:

An ingenuous and fair reader cannot doubt but that I there meant *opinion* of their morality.

Burnet reiterates, "But the question is, what laws those are that we ought to obey, or how we can know them without revelation, unless you take in natural conscience for a distinction of good and evil or another idea of God than what you have given us." Locke replies:

It is not conscience y[t] makes the distinction of good & evil conscience only judging of an action by y[t] w[ch] it takes to be y[e] rule of good & evil, acquits or condemns it.

The next comment of Burnet reads thus: "If they (the Patriarchs) had no other guide to virtue and piety than your idea of God and the Soul with an arbitrary difference of good and evil, I wonder how they could attain to such a degree of righteousness as would bear that eminent character from God and his prophets. Upon this occasion also we may reflect upon Natural Faith and the Nature of it." * * * Now how shall a man in the state of Nature have just grounds of this Faith if he have no other idea of God than that he is an

All Powerful, All Knowing and Eternal Being? How from this can he prove that he will be a rewarder of those that seek Him." Upon these remarks Locke comments somewhat warmly.

This author makes great professions to write only for truths sake. I think it does not very well agree with ye character to impute to me what is not mine. For where is it I so much as mention much less assert *an arbitrary difference of good & evil.* Fair writers never fail to quote the words that they would charge as blamable in themselves or consequences. I desire he would quote the words from whence he insinuates here as if I excluded out of the Idea of god all other Ideas but eternity, omnipotence & omniscience. To judge of the fairness of our Author in this point I desire the Reader to consider w^{t} I say B. II, Chap. cxxiii. § 33–35. And if he thinks y^{t} I say B. IV, Chap. x, § 6 be not true, y^{t} an eternal omnipotent omniscient being being once established the other attributes of god cannot be made out I desire him to say so, & then to make them out some other way.

(1.) This author blames my principles not for falshood, but deficiency, because he cannot make out all & just soe much as he would by them. If they are true I am glad, noe thing sure but truth will follow from truth. If they will not serve this author's turne I should be glad he would lay down such as would y^{t} we might see them. For truly I am not at leisure to draw for every one all those consequences from mine wch he would have made out to him, and so fall to work for his satisfaction as often as any one requires me to prove this or prove that from my principles. For whose sake my essay was writ my epistle to the reader tells. And if it has been acceptable to them I have my end. If it has been of any use to others I am glad too. Those finding it deficient will do wisely to seek how to supply themselves better; but they will do what neither becomes men nor Christians if they make sinister or malitious interpretations of my not having enterd into all the particulars they would have me when they cannot disprove ye truth of anything I have handled.

The next remark which elicits a comment from Locke respects the much vexed question concerning innate ideas, and first of all as these are supposed to be given in practical principles. Upon this point Burnet insists that those who hold to such ideas and principles are misrepresented and misunderstood and urges "If by principles you understand distinct knowledge that is distinct ideas and distinct propositions, we do not hold distinct ideas in that sense, yet so you seem to represent them and their ideas, and you call their characters fair characters, indelible characters, stampt, imprinted, engraven in the mind; for all those expressions you use upon that occasion. You exagger-

ate the matter and set the question at what height you please, that you may have the fairer mark to shoot at." Upon this Locke remarks:

Pray say plainly what is innate & imprinted & how far, & then it will be seen how far y^u & I disagree.

In this immediate connection Burnet insists: "If you had reflected upon that common distinction of knowledge as clear or obscure, general or particular, distinct or indistinct, whereof we have daily instances in the life of man you might have represented more softly and conceived more easily those natural impressions." "When a child feels the difference of bitter and sweet he knows and understands that difference in some kind or degree for it hath its consequences and becomes a principle of action to him. Now whether you please to call this principle knowledge or sense or instinct, or by any other name, it still hath the effect of knowledge of some sort or other and that before the child hath the name of Bitter or Sweet, pleasant or unpleasant; much less can he define what either of them is." To all this Locke sharply retorts:

But has the child the Ideas of bitter & sweet innate. And has the child y^t has ye Ideas of bitter & sweet the Ideas of moral good & moral evil.

Very soon Burnet discusses the question of innate Moral Ideas, and says: "Accordingly I understand by Natural conscience a Natural Sagacity to distinguish Moral Good and Evil or a different perception and sense of them, with a different affection of the mind arising from it; and this so immediate as to prevent and anticipate all External Laws and all Ratiocination." To which Locke rejoins by the very question which we should expect he would ask:

What is this affection of the minde from conscience antecedent to all external laws & ratiocination?

In continuing his argument Burnet says: "You will not now say I believe that if there was such a natural principle in the soul of man, infants or young children would be able to distinguish moral good and evil. For you might as well expect that in a seed there should be leaves, flowers and fruit, or that in the rudiments of an embryo there should be all the parts and

members of a complete body distinctly represented, which in continuance are fashioned and brought to perfection." To all which Locke replies in a somewhat remarkable concession:

If moral Ideas or moral rules (w[ch] are the moral principles I deny to be innate) are innate, I say children must know them as well as men. If by moral principles y[u] mean a faculty to finde out in time the moral difference of actions, besides y[t] this is an improper way of speaking to cal a power principles: I never denyd such a power to be innate, but y[t] w[ch] I denyd was y[t] any Ideas or connection of Ideas was innate.

Burnet continues his argument as follows: "We are differently affected by their impressions, and so is a child before any Reflection or Ratiocination; though neither of us can give an Idea of the affection we feel nor of the particular modification and action of the Body wherein it arises.

"This shows us that there may be a power in the soul of distinguishing one thing from another without Ratiocination; and if in sensible qualities, why not also in Moral Relations such as good and evil, True and False?" Locke responds:

Such an inward distinguishing sensation antecedent to all sense or supposition of an external moral rule should be proved, till then the supposeing of it is but laying down a foundation for enthusiasme.

On the same page Burnet continues: "Now, if this account of Natural Conscience or what you call Practical Principles, be true, there are, in my opinion, in your third chapter, mentioned above, several defective reasonings or ill-grounded suppositions." To which Locke responds:

I call not conscience practical principles. Produce the place where I soe represent it. He who confounds the Judgm[t] made with the Rule or law upon w[ch] it is made, as the Author doth here, may perhaps talk soe.

Burnet reiterates in the same connection: "You say yourself, I deny not that there are natural tendencies imprinted on the minds of men, and that from the very first instances of Sense and Perception there are some things that are grateful and others unwelcome to them, some things that they incline into and others that they flie." Upon which Locke comments as follows:

Men have a natural tendency to what delights, and from what pains them. This universal observation has established past doubt. That the soul has such a tendency to what is morally good, and from what is evil has not fallen under my observation, and therefore I cannot grant it for as being.

Burnet perseveres in his tenacity: "You seem to make account that if conscience was an innate principle, it should be invisible and unextinguishable, and commonly received without doubt or question. Then to prove that it is not so, you bring in several barbarous or semi-barbarous people as your witnesses, Mengrelians and such other gentlemen, that are not of my acquaintance." Locke rejoins:

This Author mistakes what I say, B. I., C. III, § 9, wch is y^t moral rules are not innate, for if they were they would be in all men; and if they were in ye minds of men they could not without all touch of conscience be transgressed as many instances shew they are.

Burnet waxes somewhat warm when he writes on the same topic: "In the meantime, Sir, as your plea is weak in my opinion, so methinks, you have an ungrateful office, to rake up all the dirt and filth you can from barbarous people to throw in the face of human nature. This some will think an indignity cast upon mankind and a piece of ingratitude to our Maker." To which Locks replies no less warmly:

And what is it in those who give us such descriptions as are to be found of the heathen world immersed in Idolatry and corruption.

Burnet proceeds in the same strain: "But seeing man is made up of various principles and such as often interfere with one another, what wonder is it to see some following this, some that; some better, some worse. There is a law of the members as well as of the mind, and these are at war, and sometimes one gets the victory, sometimes the other." Locke corrects him thus:

The question is not what the event will be of several inclinations (for y^t is it wch the Author here cals principles) drawing several ways. But whether ye law being present in ye minds (as it must be if it be innate) a man can transgresse it without judging himself guilty.

Burnet resumes thus: "But if you say further, that there are not only rude and barbarous people but also civilized nations that have had practices and customs contrary to what are called the Laws of Nature or Natural Conscience, etc., etc."—and Locke interrupts him suddenly by reminding him that:

Conscience is not ye law of Nature, but judging by y^t wch is taken to be ye law.

Burnet also adds: "Exorbitant practices against natural conscience are no proof that there is no such principle." And Locke responds:

Practice without touch of conscience shews ye law transgressed not to be in ye minde as a rule.

Burnet urges in the same breath: "As on the other hand, it is a strong proof of natural conscience as the Supreme Law, if we find instances and actions, etc."—Locke interrupts him in the middle of the sentence by remarking that,

Conscience is the judg, not ye law.

Burnet introduces with an air of triumphant confidence: "As when a secret project was offered to the Athenians, how they might make themselves the greatest people in Greece, the motion was referred to Aristides, and he made the report to the Senate * * * Never was proposed a more profitable project nor a more dishonest." Locke is equally triumphant in his reply:

Because Aristides and Fabricius owned the rule of right in those cases of justice ergo ye Rule of not murdering, or preserving their children was innate or owned in the minds of those who without remorse of conscience broke it. A very good argum^t^.

Burnet urges again: "And if those rules (viz: of Virtue and Honesty) be neglected more or less by men, or appear little amongst some people, this is no good proof that there are no such principles. As it is no sufficient argument that there is no sun in the firmament because his light is obscured in cloudy days or does not appear in foggy regions."

To this Locke replies:

This Author abounds in similes wch have ye ill-luck when brought to ye paralel to be ag^t^ him. As though the sun be in heaven yet those y^t^ are in the darke who manifestly doe not guide their steps by it shew that his light is not innate.

Burnet writes: "So I do not see any necessity of universal consent or universal uniformity to declare a principle to be natural." Locke's comment is:

What this Author has to say about *Natural principles* I know not. That wch I deny is y^t^ practical principles or rules are innate.

Burnet proceeds to say: "Yet I think no man will deny the sense of music to be natural to mankind without ratiocination. So also for beauty." Locke says:

Prove the distinguishing sense of virtue & vice to be natural to mankinde before they have learnt ye measures of virtue & vice from something besides y^t^ sense & you will have proved something.

Burnet writes: "I should be glad to know if you allow any powers or principles to be innate in your sense of the word. If you allow none at all not their last mentioned nor so much as willing or nilling this or that, the controversy will be changed; and I desire to know what idea you can form of a soul or spirit without any power or any action. I wish that may not be the supposition that lies at the bottom of your philosophy, that the soul of man is no distinct substance from God or the body, but either a divine influence or the power of the body. Locke's comment is:

This author to bring in a very well natured suggestion sticks not to contradict himself for in ye foregoing period he questions whether I allow any innate powers, and here he supposes I make the soule to be *the power of the body*, wch power is certainly innate.

Again Burnet changes his front: "To proceed a little further you have an odd exception in your 12th paragraph to show that the dictates of natural conscience are not truths because they are not formed into propositions, etc." Upon this Locke remarks:

As odd as it is, it is true, yt there is noe truth or falshood but in a verbal or mental proposition.

Burnet proposes this question: "Do we not preserve ourselves; do we not make use of reason without the formality of a law telling us it is our duty to do these things?" To this question Locke makes the following answer:

Yes, we may doe it without the formality of a law. But conscience cannot acquit or condemn us for what we doe without a law telling us it is our duty to doe or forbear.

After citing two passages, Burnet adds: "There were both the sayings of heathens that had no other law than the law of natural conscience." To which Locke proposes the following:

That had noe other law but the law of nature to guid their conscience. To express it right, soe it should be.

Burnet proceeds with his argument thus: "When you offer a child bitter instead of sweet, he turns away his head and makes grimaces when he has no law or duty prescribed nor any logic than that which was born with him or what he sucked from the breast of his mother. Then as to punishments and rewards, there is a presage of them from natural conscience and they are furthermore deducible from the nature of God if you allow him moral attributes as we do." Locke adds this comment:

> Shew such an aversion in children to all immorality as soon as they are capable of moral actions and yt will be something to yr purpose. Are Rewards and punishmts deducible from the nature of god by any one without Ratiotination. But tis without Ratiotination yt yu contend Natural conscience works.

Burnet adds directly to the foregoing: "Indeed, in your way, upon your idea of God and your uncertainty of the immortality of the soul I do not see how possibly you can prove future rewards and punishments without a revelation, nor consequently give us a foundation for morality and natural religion."

Upon this Locke is content with the following comment:

> If yu doe not see how from my idea of God how I can prove future rewards and punishmts what ever be the cause of yr want of sight in the case I shall not examin. But if yu have another Idea of God than I have and can prove the existence of such a God from other principles than mine I shall thank yu for supplying this defect in my essay.

In the following paragraph Burnet urges that Locke's argument against a natural conscience would apply with equal force against the Christian religion. "You say that it is impossible that men should without shame or fear break a rule which they could not know God had set up and would certainly punish the breach of, which they must if they were innate. But in this place which they must if they were Christians—to a degree to make it a very ill bargain to the transgressor. Does not this hit the Christians as well and as manifestly as those that share natural conscience."

To this Locke replies:

> Is it possible then yt men in whom the Gospel is ye principle of Action to break ye rules of it without shame or fear?
> It hits some yt are called not those yt realy are Christians.

Burnet repeats his argument thus: "You instance in duels and bloody wars, etc., among Christians. You might have applied all those things particularly to Christians, but still we should have thought it no good proof that there is no Christian law no more than it is that there is no natural conscience."

To this Locke replies:

Doe y[u] prove that there is a natural conscience in y[r] sense and the question will be decided. But false or invidious consequences that reach not the case will not doe it. They shew only ye good will not the good cause of such a talker.

It is I think a good proof y[t] there is no Christian law setled in the mind as a natural principle of action in those y[t] doe see without touch of conscience w[ch] is the case of those I mention.

Burnet continues his questions: "Do we not see men every day, in spite of laws external or internal, divine or human, pursue their lusts, passions and vicious inclinations? Though they have not only the terrors of another life to keep them in awe and order, but see before their eyes God's gibbets, whips, racks and torturing engines, etc., etc." Upon which Locke breaks out with the exclamation:

What! whilst they have the terrors of those things as unavoidable for that action before their eyes.

Burnet proceeds: "If all these united forces and restraints cannot keep them from extravagant evils, can we think it strange that the single principle of natural conscience should be suppressed or suffocated by the stupidity or vices incident to human nature." Whereupon Locke remarks:

Natural conscience supposed an innate principle suffocated by ye stupidity or vice is a pretty thing.

Burnet next remarks: "You call for a list of the laws or principles of conscience and so the Papists do for a catalogue of fundamentals." Upon which Locke writes:

Of those who say there are a set of fundamental propositions necessary to be believed by every one for salvation it is reasonable to ask a list of them. And of those who say there are innate laws of rules of right or wrong tis reasonable to demand a list of them and he yt cannot produce what he soe talks of tis plain folly.

Burnet proceeds: "As to the dictates or principles of natural conscience (call them laws of nature or what you please) we

say in general, they are for the distinction of good and evil." Locke observes:

1. Conscience dictates not but acquits or condemns upon the dictates of a superior power.

Burnet adds: "But the cases are innumerable as in other cases of conscience wherein there may be occasions for their exercise." Upon which Locke observes:

2. Though the objects be innumerable yt please or displease yet sense can immediately upon the application of every one of them distinguish wch delights or wch offendes. Has conscience such a discerning sense of moral good and evil in every action?

Burnet tries a more defiant attitude: "This minds one of your dilemma in a following section which you propose as very powerful or conclusive in these words. But concerning innate principles I desire those men to say whether they can or cannot by education and custom be blamed and blotted. If they can we must find them clearest and most perspicuous nearest the fountain in children and illiterate people who have received least impression from foreign opinions. Let them take which side they please they will certainly find it inconsistent with visible matter of fact and daily observation.

The close you hear is in an high tone. But for trial of this argument, let us use the same method which we did before; see then we put Christianity in the room of innate principles, so put now in their place the power and principles of reasoning. So the sentence will read thus: "But concerning this power and principle of reasoning I desire these men to say whether it can or cannot be blurred or blotted out." All of this Locke thus disposes of:

Natural powers may be improved by exercise and afterwards weakend agn by neglect and soe all the knowledg got by the exercise of those powers. But innate Ideas or propositions imprinted on the mind I doe not see how they can be improved or effaced.
Define *Principle.*

Burnet adds: "All men will distinguish between a power and the actual and prevailing exercise of that power which may be hindered by various circumstances, etc., etc. I see this word innate is still a stumbling-stone; and we must ask again whether you allow any powers to be innate to mankind? We

say those forementioned powers are innate, but the exercise of these more or less is conditional and depends upon the condition of the body, culture, and other circumstances." These remarks bring out from Locke a pointed reply and frank explanation of his use of *innate.*

I think noe body but this Author who ever read my book could doubt that I spoke only of innate Ideas, for my subject was the understanding and not of *innate powers* and therefore there must be some very particular reason for our A—s soe understanding me if he does soe understand me.

At this point the discussion takes another turn and Burnet proposes as a problem the possibility of Cogitant matter, which he supposes Locke to have asserted. He urges, "You bring no positive evidence of this possibility of cogitation in matter; and I think it unconceivable according to our Faculties and Conceptions that matter should be capable of cogitation as a form of matter either *innate* or *impressed.*" To which Locke rejoins:

Can y^u^ then conceive an unextended created substance? Can y^u^ conceive an unextended & unsolid substance moving or moved by matter? Can y^u^ conceive Ideas or thought produced by ye motion of matter?
The positive proofs of the one side & the other should be ballanced.

Burnet's first reason is: "That unity we find in our perceptions is such a unity as in my judgment is incompetent to matter by reason of the division or distinction of its parts." Upon which Locke observes:

This argum^t^ of unity if it has any force in it supposes all our perceptions of sense to be made in a point wch cannot be unlesse all our nerves terminate in a point.

Burnet had also urged next: "Pray then tell us what part of this body is that which you make the common percipient; or if that be too much, tell us how one part of the body may or can be so." To which Locke had replied:

I make noe part of the body soe. But how any part of the body may or can be soe I will undertake to tell when y^u^ shall tell how any created substance may or can be soe.

Burnet urges from the analogy of motion: "You say in a system of matter, 'Tis impossible that any one particle should either know its own, or the motive of any other particle, or the

whole know the motive of every particle. Put Cogitation now in the place of Motion and the same argumentation holds good." To which Locke rejoins:

> 'Twould be impossible if it were supposed to be in matter as matter. But if god gives it to a certain systeme of matter soe disposed it is then in that systeme.

Burnet prosecutes his argument in the same strain: "I may further add that not only the different perceptions that come to the soul from different parts and motions of the body, but also the different operations of the mind and understanding, simple Apprehension, Judgement, Ratiocination, must all lie under the Prospect, Intuition and Connection of some one common Principle, and that must be a principle of such a perfect unity and simplicity as the Body, any part of the body, or any particle of matter is not capable of." To which Locke replies:

> If an inability to explain how any system of matter can thinke be an argu^{mt} ag^{t} a material soule, the inability to explain how body by motion can affect an immaterial being will be an argu^{mt} ag^{t} an immaterial soule. But such arguers raise great trophies from the ignorance of others, but think themselves safe in their own. When both sides are equaly ignorant I think noe advantage can be made of it on either side.

Burnet next urges from the nature of Free-Will: "'Twer an odd thing to fancy that a piece of matter should have Free-will and an absolute power like an emperor on his throne, to command as his slaves about him all other parts of matter." Locke replies:

> All the same difficulties are ag^{t} the conceiving how an immaterial created substance can begin, change or stop its own motion or thoughts, or give any motion or determination to body. But where is it I have said body has those powers? When y^{u} have demonstrated humane soules to be immaterial & explained how these powers are in them, y^{u} have s^{d} something ag^{t} me & shall finde me y^{r} glad convert. If argum^{ts} from our shortsightednesse be good and y^{t} any principles or systeme is false because it removes not all difficulties, lay down y^{rs} & see whether it will not be liable to as strong objections of defect, & as invidious inforency, if it be the way of lovers of truth to make them.

Burnet goes on to say: "You must fix this self-moving Faculty to some one part of that system (for every part hath not the power and free-will upon any supposition) and when you have assigned that divine self-moving part or particle of the body, we shall examine the power and capacities of it" Locke rejoins in a similar strain:

Yᵘ too must fix yʳself moveing substance to some part of the body, & when yᵘ have assigned the part or particle of the body it is fixed to we shall examine its operations.

Burnet urges an argument from the nature of Free-Will as follows: "If matter be capable of it, if it can deliberate, consult, choose or refuse, then matter is capable of virtue and vice, duty and religion, Merit and demerit, and also of punishment and Reward, which hypothesis about the powers of matter as to the Will, would furnish all our Rules in Moral Philosophy, as the former the Understanding, all in Natural." Upon this Locke comments:

That knowledg & will placed in a solid substance will more pervert yᵉ rules of moral philosophy than if placed in a substance void of solidity remains to be proved.

Burnet procedes: "Neither do I see a capacity in any part of the body for memory or Remembrance especially as to some Ideas. Take what part you please to be cogitant or reminiscent. (I suppose it will be some part of the brain), all our new acquired ideas must work some change in that part and leave some marks there for a foundation of memory." Upon which Locke offers a series of comments:

Yᵘ doe suppose indeed. But can yᵘ say yᵘ see a capacity of remembrance in an immaterial substance? Yᵘ say, 1ˢᵗ Remarks, p. 9, *yᵘ doe not understand how yᵉ soule if she be at any time without thoughts what is it that produces the first thought agⁿ.* Yᵘ may if you please apply this & yᵉ rest yᵘ have said to Remembrance & see whether yᵘ understand memory better.

Burnet then takes up a more general strain: "To these reflections upon the nature of our faculties and the powers of matter it would not be fair nor satisfactory to give us a short answer and tell us every thing is possible with God. 'Tis true every thing that is possible is possible to God, but we must also consider the capacities or incapacities of the subject. *Quiquid recipitur recipitur ad modum recipientis.* And what you suppose *possible* may be supposed *actual. Possibili posito in actu, nihil sequitur absurdi.* Pardon the old axioms by which you are obliged to vindicate the actual existence of such powers and properties as we are treating of from absurdity and to make them intelligible if you would have them received." To which Locke rejoins with some spirit:

I would not have them received when another hypothesis is produced wherein there are not the like difficulties & things as remote from humane conception. Produce such an one & yu have me yr gratefull scholler. But objections from ignorance & ye weaknesse of humane capacity does not this; And such objections invidiously heard (as I think it is clear yrs are) are not great marks that yu ever seriously thought of any such thing. Finding fault is an easy businesse & not always of the most elevated understandings. You Presse me to a contest, *ede tua* stake too, & then it will be seen whether yr or my principles are clearest & leave fewest difficulties to humane understanding

How do yu know that they have not corporal marks in the brains? But if memory be in an immaterial substance, pray make me understand how comes it that a disease blots out all yt is in ye past memory, as I may call it, & yet leave a future memory, i. e., a power to retain future perceptions.

Burnet turns again to a point previously discussed: "In motion you properly so called besides the change of situation there is a *vis movens*, which is not the power of matter nor any modification of it, but the power of a superior agent acting on matter. In like manner if there was a *vis cogitans* in the body or in any other matter, it would not be a power of matter nor any modification of it any more than the *vis movens* is." Upon which Locke remarks:

When yu have explained & helped us to conceive a *Vis movens* in any created substans yrs will be a good objection agt it in a solid substance.

Burnet proceeds: "We can distinctly conceive the mechanical properties of matter and what results from them, but as cogitation cannot be any of those nor an effect of them, so neither can I any more conceive the power of Intellection or Ratiocination communicated to certain systems of matter, than I can conceive penetration of dimensions communicated to certain parts or systems of matter, etc., etc." Upon this Locke observes:

Pray tell us how yu conceive cogitation in an unsolid created substance. It is as hard, I confess, to me to be conceived in an unsolid as in a solid substance.

Burnet also urges: "If we grant such arbitrary powers whereof we have no idea or conception to be communicable to matter, there will be no end of imputing powers to matter according to every one's fancy or credibility." Locke very briefly replies:

The objection is as good agt finite immaterial substances.

Burnet expands his own views as follows: "As to the state of that question, How far cogitation is communicable to matter? we allow that a spirit may act and cogitate in matter and be so united to some systems of it that there may be a reciprocation of actions and passions betwixt them according to the laws of their union. But still all these cogitations are the powers of the spirit, not of matter. Suppose involuntary motion which proceeds from the Will. If that Will may be power of matter, then it may have the power of motion or of the determination of motion, and it seems easier to me, an easier supposition to make *vis movens* communicable to matter (which I think cannot be allowed), than a *vis cogitans*. If they both be the powers of matter, Innate and Superadded, God and matter are the whole of the Universe, without particular spirits or spiritual substances, permanent and distinct in their individuation." To all this Locke replies at some length:

Y[u] *allow* here of suppositions as unconceivable and as unexplicable as any thing in the thinking of matter. For, to use y[r] way of argueing, 1st I desire y[u] will help me to conceive an unextended, unsolid, created substance, for y[t] I suppose y[u] mean here by spirit. 2° to conceive how such a substance acts & cogitates in a solid substance. 3° to conceive how it is united to some systems of matter. 4° to conceive how it can act on or suffer from matter, &c. For to use your own words, "*It would not be fair nor satisfactory to give us a short answer and tell us every thing is possible to god,*" and "*If we grant such arbitrary powers of wch we have noe Idea nor conception—there will be no end of imputing powers according to every one's Fancy or Credulity.*" According to w[ch] rule of y[rs] all that is allowed beyond what we can conceive must goe for *Fancy or Credulity*. And therefore pray let us see that phylosiphie of y[rs] bounded by such rules as may keep us from unconceivable suppositions.

The last utterance of Burnet which Locke deems worthy of any comment is the general statement: "I have noted those doctrines you see which chiefly relate to the soul of man and found agreeable to or consequential upon the principles of the Deists." Locke dismisses this as follows:

When y[u] have demonstrated the soule of man to be immaterial y[r] own hypothesis will be clear of these objections ag[t] mine, & I shall come over to y[u] & be clear too, if y[u] know more than I can goe beyond probability y[t] it is soe. All my accusations of Philosophical Deisme let the fault of y[t] be what y[u] please fall upon y[r]self & own hypothesis.

NOAH PORTER.

ARTICLE V.—CHRISTIANITY AND MODERN ECONOMICS.

IT is the object of this paper to show that there is a new economic system, theoretical and practical, and that it stands in a special relation to Christian ethics. Economic science is changing because practical methods of industry are doing so; theory waits upon practice. The change involves a scientific recognition of moral forces in business life because the industrial revolution is calling those forces into active exercise; it is enabling and requiring the individual man to place his business life on a higher moral level; it is subjecting the general process of distributing wealth to the control of the moral forces of society; it is calling on ethical agencies, the church, the benevolent society, the school, and within scientific limits carefully applied, the state, to take a part in guiding economic development.

At a time when such interference was working mischief the doctrine of *laissez faire* originated; and economic science spent its energy in warning philanthropic agencies, public and private, to keep wholly out of the industrial field. Now that moral agencies are clearly needed and are actively at work in this domain, the science is obliged to change its attitude and to formulate, if it can, the principles that should govern their action. A divorcement of ethics and economics characterized the theories of the past; and it was based on apparent separation between them in practical life. The present movement is restoring the union in theory and in practice. It is (1) enabling the individual to call his moral nature into fuller action; it is (2) subjecting the division of wealth to moral arbitration; and it is (3) breaking down the barriers that barred the church, the benevolent society, the school and the state from participation in economic affairs.

The science of Political Economy has been traditionally based on the assumption of unrestricted competition. This is essentially a self-seeking process, and the science was, there-

fore, avowedly based on selfishness in the individual man. In so far as men were purely selfish their actions could be predicted, and laws of industry could be formulated. The first evil resulting from this method was a certain unreality in the science. It did not correspond with the facts of life. When competition was at its worst the man of business never became the morally dessicated creature that the scientific formula called for. The second evil was practical; it was a certain reaction of the scientific tendency upon actual business methods. It is an ancient bit of humor that the theological doctrine of total depravity is not one that is well adapted to become a practical rule of life. Economic theories have tended to make the law of selfishness a practical rule. They have legitimized it, and given the sanction of scientific approval to the baser impulses that, in human nature, need no such assistance.

It is impossible that this system should have won the currency that it did but for the belief that it worked well in practice; and this belief actually prevailed. Harmony doctrines were the order of the day. We were taught that the greed of one man is an adequate check on that of another, and that universal greed works out the highest attainable good of all. "Hands off, then, state, church, etc. Let selfishness have its perfect work;" such was the practical injunction. The system was an apotheosis of greed. The ignoble character of this theory, and the unreality of its basal assumptions long ago attracted attention.

"Observe," said Mr. Ruskin, writing in 1862, "I neither impugn nor doubt the conclusions of the science if its terms are accepted. I am simply uninterested in them, as I should be in a science of gymnastics which assumed that men had no skeletons. It might be shown, on that supposition, that it would be advantageous to roll the students up in pellets, to flatten them into cakes, or to stretch them into cables; and that when these results were effected, the reinsertion of the skeleton would be attended with various inconveniences to their constitution. The reasoning might be admirable, the conclusions true, and the science deficient only in applicability. Modern political economy stands on a precisely similar basis. Assuming, not that the human being has no skeleton, but that

it is all skeleton, it founds an ossifiant theory of progress on this negation of a soul; and having shown the utmost that can be made of bones, and constructed a number of interesting geometrical figures with death's heads and humeri, successfully proves the inconvenience of the reappearance of a soul among these corpuscular structures. I do not deny the truth of this theory; I simply deny its applicability to the present phase of the world."

This language expresses the feeling of many who are impressed by the dismalness of the traditional science, but do not clearly see what is to be done about it. The criticism is met by the assertion that the economist studies man only in our relation, in which he is in fact as selfish as the theory requires. Outside of the market he may be full of benevolent impulses; but here, as economists, we have nothing to do with him. We study him only as a buyer, a seller, and a getter of gain; and in these processes, though he be elsewhere a philanthropist, he is selfish enough to justify any theory.

Ways however existed in which, even amid the competitions of the market, the higher motives of men made themselves felt in a manner to demand recognition. Of late the business world has been revolutionized, and has come, in a more general way, under the dominion of moral law. I shall try only to state in this paper the moral significance of this revolution. The essential facts concerning it are these: the period now closing has been characterized by abnormal competition. Carried to unnatural lengths this process produced a moral distortion in men; it impelled them, while actually engaged in traffic, to take a lower moral plane than they would consent to occupy in any other relation. It made them, in a sense, morally dualistic, having one code of ethics for social and family life, and another for the place of exchanges. The man of business acquired the power to harden his nature that he might make money, and soften it that he might properly use it. He was Dr. Jekyl in the home, the drawing-room and the church, and Mr. Hyde in the counting-house. Yet in his worst estate he was never as merciless as the pure theory of economics demanded. Competition was never an unrestrained process; the sense of right in men controlled the modes and

limited the range of its operation. The market was indeed an arena; but the contest that took place in it had its rules. There were things which the gladiators might not do, and the restraints multiplied with growing civilization. These limitations made righteousness possible on the earth; greed, as scientifically licensed, never engulfed the moral forces of society, nor wholly stifled the individual conscience. At its worst the market was subject to the latent control of moral law.

The industrial developments now taking place are making this latent sovereignty more open and universal. The face of the world is changing in a way that alarms the superficial observer, but inspires him who sees deeply and clearly. It is Christianity that is entering the industrial world, bringing, at the outset, a sword, but in the end, peace and the possibility of human brotherhood.

Unlike indeed are the apparent results and the real results of the industrial revolution now in progress. The things which are seen are strikes, lockouts, and class antagonism; those which are not seen are new principles of business life, and the moderating of the cruder forms of self-seeking. The new system has not yet assumed the definiteness of shape that would make the nature of the transition fully apparent. The surface phenomena are misleading, and seem to the superficial view, to mean rather the unchaining of demons than the ushering in of God's kingdom in the industrial world. Yet what is occurring is, precisely speaking, a second uncloistering of religion; it is carrying the spiritual influence into secular regions from which it was formerly debarred. Of this fact there is no doubt. Look abroad and see whether religion is not everywhere concerning itself with secular affairs. It is only the Christianity that can be and will be practically applied that is to retain the allegiance of the coming generation.

Economic changes are the occasion of the distinctively practical quality of the religion of the present and future. The industrial revolution is removing a chief cause of the dual morality of the men of the market. It is making it unnecessary to doff one's Christian character as a garment, in order to succeed in business dealings. Every business man knows that

competition sometimes forces him to be, to a degree, merciless. "I am a manufacturer," said a gentleman recently to me; "can I pay my men what on the highest ground, is their just proportion of the returns of social industry? My margin of profit is small, and I must pay for my materials at the same rate as my competitors. If I give my workmen more than the market rate for the kind of labor they perform, I shall go to the wall in six months, and my men will then be idle." The kind of labor that these particular workmen performed was of the death-dealing sort; it produced a disease that killed them in a few years; yet the competitions of the market fixed their wages at a rate pitifully low and their employer could not help it. Not only is it true that one well disposed manufacturer cannot struggle against the competition of many bad ones, but a large number of well meaning employers are sometimes placed at the mercy of a single one of the baser sort. They must meet his prices or surrender their business to him; and if they accept his prices for their products they can pay only his rate of wages.

In a recent monograph of American Economic Association, Professor Henry C. Adams of Michigan and Cornell Universities, has placed this moral point of competition in a practical light. "Suppose that of ten manufacturers nine have a keen appreciation of the evils that flow from protracted labor on the part of women and children; and were it in their power, would gladly produce cottons without destroying family life, and without setting in motion those forces that must ultimately result in race-deterioration. But the tenth man has no such apprehensions. The claims of family life, the rights of childhood, and the maintenence of social well-being are but words to him. He measures success wholly by the rate of profit and controls his business solely with a view to grand sales. . . .The nine men will be forced to conform to the methods adopted by the one. Their goods come into competition with his goods, and we who purchase do not inquire under what condition they were manufactured. In this manner it is that men of the lowest character have it in their power to give the moral tone to the entire business community."

Such, according to Professor Adams, is the action of old

time competition on the outward morality of the men who engage in it. The moralist will, of course, perceive that the forced reduction of their outward actions to uniformity does not necessarily reduce their essential characters to a level. The nine men may reduce wages reluctantly and only at the last moment, and may stand ready at the first opportunity to restore them. They may possibly even keep them throughout the process higher, by some very slight margin, than those paid by their competitor. The point which interests us is the improbability of their doing this. Their practice will react detrimentally on their principles; and this reaction will be exaggerated if they happen to have been brought up in the economic school which extols the social working of pure self-interest.

A change that shall temper the action of competition, and at the same time make constant appeals to man's sense of justice will clearly act favorably on individual character. The era of abnormal competition is in fact drawing toward its close. Individualism of the extreme type has had its day. In its place is appearing a tendency for which the term *solidarism*, if there were such a word, would be a fitting designation. Producing agents heretofore independent are uniting and working collectively.

The primary step in this movement toward consolidation consists of that supplanting of little shops by great manufactories which has been going on ever since the first applications of steam as a motive power. Heat is cheaper than muscular energy; machines are quicker and more accurate than hand labor; and large establishments, by the mere fact of their size, are more economical than small ones. They drive the small ones to the wall and possess the field.

This stage of the consolidating process is marked by an intensely active competition. It is, in fact, a Darwinian struggle for existence that leads to the survival of the great establishments. There ensues, however, and is at the present day, actually taking place, a secondary consolidation which reacts on the competition itself. The few surviving establishments that emerge from the struggle for existence are uniting their fortunes in gigantic "pools" or "trusts," till it looks as though every article of common use would soon be controlled by a vast though extra-legal corporation. Scores of staple articles,

from screws to steel rails, from spool silk to anthracite coal, are controlled by associations that limit the supply and fix the prices seemingly at their own pleasure. These monopolies are more apparent than real; a certain residual competition controls the dealings of both manufacturing and transporting pools; but the fact of union and of nearly uniform prices is of untold importance. In particular it places the market in a wholly new attitude towards moral agencies. Single producers do not, under the new régime, have the market under their control. The soulless man of whom Professor Adams speaks can no longer degrade a hundred better men to his own level. In the tempering of competition by union, and in fixed schedule prices, the business man finds a partial escape from the inexorable law that developed in him a dual morality, and made it harder than for a camel to pass through the needle's eye, for a man of the market to obey therein the laws of Christ's kingdom.

This partial escape from the pressure that creates a special and moral code for business relations is an immense gain from recent developments. How far-reaching it may prove in the end can only be appreciated by those who realize the blight that personal morality has suffered, and who perceive of how vital consequence it is that the Christian man should be enabled to serve God *while* doing business, instead of feeling constrained to devote himself to God and to mammon alternately. Yet inasmuch as these effects are mainly inward and spiritual, they come with less observation, and may to many seem less important than another effect of the same tendency to consolidation to which I have referred.

The union of capital necessitates the union of labor. These two consolidations radically change the method of adjusting wages.

I am not guilty of supposing that I need here to offer an argument for the rightfulness of the principle of labor union. That is now regarded as nearly axiomatic. Few indeed are the minds that cannot see that, as capital consolidates itself, labor must do the same. Even if the impersonal thing called capital were of exactly the same importance as the personal thing called labor, there would be no equity in the division of products between them by a contest in which massed forces on the

one side should contend with scattered forces on the other. If a consolidated labor union were to dictate terms to a thousand employers, isolated like the master workmen of mediæval times, the conditions would be unfair to capital. If a corporation dictates terms to a thousand independent workmen, the conditions are equally unfair. All argument, however, on this point is made to be antiquated by the progress of events, which affords object lessons everywhere, and which has, in fact, converted the capitalist world itself to a belief in the rightfulness of the principle of labor union.

What forms a union may take, how it may be led, what it may do, are questions wholly apart from that of the principle of union itself. On these points there is much to be said. Unions must be crude before they can be perfect; they must act unwisely before they can act wisely. No more than any other product of evolution can a trades union attain its second stage before passing through the first. It happens to be in the first stage in which at present we are studying them; are we blind enough to look no farther?

The permanence of the fact of labor organization is nearly as obvious as the justice of the principle on which it is based. The unions have come to remain, and are certain to strengthen and consolidate. They will learn by experience that their true end is not belligerent, and will endeavor to perfect the new system of distribution. Individual competition of the old type is definitely abrogated. "Where two bosses are after one man," said Richard Cobden, wages rise; where two men are after one boss, wages fall." This rule was adapted to a business system, in which little detached shops made goods each for its local market. Consolidate the shops in the great corporations, and you destroy the conditions in which the rule can operate; you suppress the competition on one side. Organize the workman, and you balance the forces; but you complete the abrogation of the old rule. Thenceforward the adjustment of wages will not be a question of man dealing with man, but of masses of men dealing with other masses. Competition, then, as a regulator, is in its old form abolished. In a greatly modified shape, which it would be interesting to study, it is reappearing; but now it is the agent and assistant of another regulator of a directly ethical character.

A free contract is one that is made between parties who are not under any compulsion to deal with each other. If A makes a bargain with B, knowing that C and D are equally ready to treat with him, A, at least, is free; and if B has a similar alternative open to him, the contract is clear from all compulsion. The wage contract was once made under conditions like these, but it is so no longer. When a corporation deals with a multitude of independent workmen, the corporation is free, but the workmen are, practically, not so. The open alternative is the test of economic liberty. In making a bargain with a particular workman the employer has an alternative course open to him; he can at any time find one workman in the open market. Not without hardship and risk can the man find another employer. The conditions of such a wage contract are inequitable.

Reverse the position and you perpetuate the wrong, though changing its direction. If a consolidated labor union could so perfect its discipline as to deal collectively with a hundred separate employers, the open alternative, the door of essential freedom, would exist only in the case of the workmen.

Equalize the conditions by completely organizing both labor and capital, perfect both the pools and the affiliated labor unions, and you close the alternative on both sides, and make adjustment of the wage contract apparently a process of crude force.

The conditions that I have supposed are somewhat ideal; consolidation has nowhere gone to such actual lengths; but the adjustment of wages is effected under conditions which tend toward this ideal, and, in some quarters, already approximate it. Here the division of the product of industry is effected by a contest between massed labor and massed capital. It is not crude force only; it is a crude appeal to equity. Every great strike or lockout is, in modern times, an appeal to public opinion. The old rule for strikes was that those made on a rising market sometimes succeed; while those against a falling market always fail. It is now necessary to add that great strikes, sustained by the public sense of right, often succeed; while those condemned by that sentiment usually fail.

Unconsciously and without our own volition, we have come under a crude system of quasi-arbitration. It remains to de-

velope the system, and to avoid the loss and embitterment involved in the present mode of obtaining a verdict. In a sense, arbitration is an accomplished fact, and it remains to accept the results and perfect the tribunals. The moral forces of society are at work in the industrial field;—the exigency has forced them into it;—it remains to direct the manner of their working.

What shall we do with the rising tide of labor organization? Shall we command the sea to stand still, like Knut; or scourge it, like Xerxes? Shall we seem to resist the irresistible? Let us rather refrain from this movement, and let it alone; for if it be of the wrath of men, it will come to naught; but if it be a part of the Divine order, we cannot stay it, though haply we may be found fighting against eternal Providence.

While this movement cannot be stayed, it may be directed. A labor union may, like blind Ajax, have more strength than light, and may be easily decoyed into fatal directions, or guided into safe ones. Seldom indeed in history have crises occurred in which the clear thought of an earnest man could be made to count for as much as it may now do in influencing human destiny.

The Secretary of the Connecticut Valley Economic Association lately made a tour in the Hocking Valley, where a desperate effort was recently made to crush labor unions altogether. He found that events had led employers to reverse this policy; they are now at work extending and perfecting the organization of their men. All are rejoicing in the results thus far gained. In this desolated region there is now peace and a fair measure of prosperity. It is said that this outcome has been hastened by the wise efforts of Dr. Washington Gladden, and it is certain to be hastened, wherever similar troubles prevail, by the "Applied Christianity" which he has taught. The crisis is general, and the opportunity that is opening for the school and the church, for men of study and men of business, is correspondingly great. A ship freighted with human destiny is driving before the wind, impelled resistlessly and steered blindly. If there are principles governing the navigation of it, how carefully should they be studied! How earnestly should they be applied!

JOHN B. CLARK.

UNIVERSITY TOPICS.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE MATHEMATICAL CLUB.

THE *Mathematical Club* was formed November 27, 1877, and has now had eighty-three meetings. The following is the record for the past year:

November 16, 1886.—Professor Gibbs explained a method of computing elliptic orbits, based on a certain vector equation. This equation had previously been the subject of discussion in the *Mathematical Club*, and had been used by Professors Phillips and Beebe in 1881 in the determination of the orbits of Swift's comet. On this occasion a new method of solving the equation was proposed.

November 30.—Professor Newton discussed some observations which he had collected on the path of the meteor of September 6, 1886. This meteor, which fell at about 8:15 P. M., was visible over all New England and a large part of New York State. Loud detonations were heard in the southern part of New Hampshire. The height at disappearance was about 20 miles, very nearly vertically over Epsom, N. H. The course was about S. 25° E. and the angle of the path with the horizon about 37°.

January 25, 1887.—Professor Gibbs showed how the vector equation, considered in the meeting before the last, might be applied to the computation of parabolic orbits, and in particular, how far Olbers' method would be modified by its use.

March 15.—Professor Hastings gave an account of some experiments which he had recently made to determine the degree of accuracy of Huyghens' law of double refraction in Iceland spar. The principle indices of refraction for the spectral line D_2 were observed as well as the extraordinary index for an inclination of about 37° to the crystalline axis. The value of this last index, computed from the accepted law, differed from the observed value by 2·5 units in the sixth place of decimals, the probable error of observation being about three of these units.

May 4.—Mr. E. F. Ayres gave some account of the more recent methods of treating the geometry of the triangle, based upon the relations of the ortho-, in-, and circum-centers, and the median, symmedian and Brocard points. Mr. I. Fisher gave some propositions relating to systems of tangent circles, and exhibited a "Rowing Indicator" of his own invention for recording the work done by a rower in actual practice by a series of indicator diagrams on a ribbon of paper. These diagrams show the characteristic qualities, as well as the comparative efficiency of different rowers and of different varieties of stroke.

J. WILLARD GIBBS, *Sec'y.*

THE POLITICAL SCIENCE CLUB OF YALE UNIVERSITY.

AT the opening of the School of Political Science in the graduate department of Yale University last fall it was proposed to form a Political Science Club. This club, resembling a German *Seminar*, and similar organizations in Johns Hopkins University and Columbia College, was to supplement the regular work of the graduate students in the lecture and recitation rooms. It was intended to offer opportunities for original research in the lines of History, Industrial, and Political Science, which opportunities were, of course, to a large extent lacking in the ordinary work of the department. Such work was very desirable and the benefit derived by the members from the meetings during the past college year has been very satisfactory to the originators of the Club. The Club was organized in October of last year, its membership comprising the Faculty and students of the School of Political Science. Fortnightly meetings were held in one of the college recitation rooms during term time, at which papers, prepared by the members, were read; and these were always followed by a general discussion of the subject, in which those present joined. A sketch of the papers read will best describe the scope of the work done by the Club. The subject of one paper was The Fiscal System of Vermont. The various sources of revenue were enumerated, the system of State taxation, the grand list, and the method of assessing and levying State taxes were fully discussed. The subject of another paper was the history of the

personnel of the United States Supreme Court. The writer examined the changes in the complexion of the federal Supreme Bench since the adoption of the Constitution, as brought about by Presidential appointments and their influence on the Court's decisions. Special reference was made to the Jackson and Van Buren appointments and the consequent decline of the Court's good character. Two meetings of the Club were given to a thorough discussion of Convict Labor and Industrial Schools. Then followed a paper on the career of Ferdinand Lassalle, the first labor agitator. Perhaps the most interesting and scholarly production of the year was a history of the Granger movement. The study of Railway Administration has proved a favorite one among the graduate students. Two papers were read, as the result of individual research in that direction; one on the distinct interests of Directors, Bond-holders, and Stock-holders of Railway Corporations; the other on the relation between Railway Capitalization and Rates. Ancient history was represented by an exhaustive thesis on State control of Industry in the 4th century. A number of students in the Law School became interested in the work of the Club, and one contributed an essay on Public Rights in Private Property. Professor Sumner's lectures on the Constitutional History of the United States were the best attended in the graduate course of study and suggested several subjects for special investigation. Such was the case with the paper on the United States Supreme Court, and also with one on the Internal Improvements of Ohio, and another on the changes in State Constitutions of the Union. The last named paper treated particularly of the tendency toward an elective judiciary and of changes in legislation regarding suffrage.

The success of the Club during its first year's existence has been very gratifying. The work of the members in preparing their essays has been careful and exact, and all feel that, aside from the direct advantages of the School of Political Science, they have acquired great benefit not only from their individual researches, but also from association and discussion with members of the Faculty and their fellow-students. It is proposed to concontinue the Club next fall on the same plan as heretofore.

J. C. SCHWAB.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE CLASSICAL AND PHILOLOGICAL SOCIETY OF YALE COLLEGE.

Monday, November 29, 1886.—Professor Seymour presented a communication on Archæology in Greece, speaking of the national schools of Archæology at Athens, of learned societies of the Greeks; of the recent discoveries on the Athenian Acropolis, and throughout Greece.

Monday, January 17, 1887.

Communications were offered as follows:

By Mr. Roberts on the Lesbian dialect, Mr. Castle on the Thessalian dialect, Mr. Buck on the Bœotian dialect, while Mr. Hunt discussed the characteristic differences and resemblances of the various Aeolic dialects.

Monday, February 7, 1887.—Mr. Waters presented a paper on Petronius, giving a somewhat detailed account of the Satyricon, and pointing out the differences between the work of Petronius and those of Lucilius, Horace, and Juvenal; showing that the Satyricon must not be included in the same category as the Menippeæ of Varro. The grammatical peculiarities of Petronius were briefly indicated, the detailed discussion of them being reserved for another time.

Mr. Bourne presented the latest archæological arguments for the European origin of the Indo-European family, based largely on Penka's treatise, "die Herkunft der Arier;" urging that the original Indo-European type was tall, dolichocephalous, and blonde, and that it seems to have spread from Scandinavia.

Monday, February 28.—Mr. Van Name spoke on the Romanizing of the Japanese language, giving a sketch of the Chinese alphabet and of its introduction to Japan, and of the Japanese syllabaries (Katakana and Hiragana). He mentioned the indications of a movement to substitute the Roman characters for the Chinese method of writing, and gave an account of the proposed form of the Roman alphabet.

Professor Ripley read a paper on the Sources of Goethe's Italienische Reise, calling attention to Goethe's principles of style as shown in the changes of form from the original letters to the published work.

Monday, April 4.—Professor Knapp discussed prothetic E in certain Romance languages, with reference to the influence of the old Celtic language.

The Secretary read extracts from recent Athenian journals, giving accounts of the laying of the corner stone of the new building of the American School of Classical Studies, and of recent archæological discoveries.

Monday, April 18.—Professor Peck criticised Müller's edition of Ennius, prefacing his criticism by remarks on the poet and his works, on his latinity, on Ennius in the judgment of the ancients, and on the time when his works disappeared. Müller's edition was pronounced valuable as taking cognizance of what has been done since 1854, for the criticism and interpretation of Ennius, but dissatisfaction was expressed with Müller's arbitrary treatment of the text, and warning was given that the book must be used with great caution.

Monday, May 9.—Professor Harper presented a paper on the ă-vowel in Semitic languages, discussing three points: (1) the changes in Hebrew, Arabic and Assyrian, through which the ă-vowel has passed; (2) the relative frequency of the ă-vowel and of those derived from it in those languages; and (3) the use and force of this vowel, as compared with the ĭ and ŭ-vowels.

Monday, June 6.—Dr. R. F. Harper presented a paper on the Decipherment and Contents of the Assyrian Inscriptions.

THOMAS D. SEYMOUR.

CURRENT LITERATURE.

MOMMSEN'S PROVINCES OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE.*—No student of history will regret that Mommsen decided to resume his history of Rome, with a consideration of the political and social condition of the provinces during the first three centuries of the empire. The immediate continuation of his earlier volumes would have been welcome, and may still be hoped for; but such a continuation would not have been so valuable a contribution to existing knowledge. The collapse of the Republic, and the establishment of the Empire are well set forth in the Latin writers of the period, who have been preserved, and these events have been studied with zeal and intelligence by modern historians. But ancient and modern writers alike looked *to* Rome or *from* Rome; the provinces as social aggregates, as growing or decaying communities, literary or industrial centers received little attention. For a knowledge of their condition we must resort to the by-ways of literature, the provincial novel just making its appearance, the local, panegyric, private correspondence, coins and medals, public and private inscriptions, in short to every kind of ancient remains. These sources, of course, have to be examined in writing any other portion of the history of Rome, but in a view of the provinces these collateral materials become our main reliance.

For utilizing such materials Mommsen is extraordinarily well fitted; one might almost say his life has been spent in the study of them. At the age of twenty-six, in the year 1843, with the aid of the Berlin Academy of Sciences, he undertook an archæological tour in France and Italy to investigate the Roman inscriptions in those countries. Three years were spent at this. In 1851 he published his *Corpus Inscriptionum Neapolitanarum*, and the next year his *Inscriptiones Regni Neapolitani Latinae.* In the great *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* he has edited some seven volumes, embracing the inscriptions found in Asia, the Greek prov-

**The Province of the Roman Empire from Cæsar to Diocletian.* By THEODOR MOMMSEN; translated with the author's sanction and additions by WILLIAM P. DICKSON, D.D., LL.D., Professor of Divinity in the University of Glasgow. 2 vols., pp. xiv., 397, 396. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

inces in Europe, Illyricum, Cisalpine Gaul, and the southern half of Italy with Sicily and Sardinia.

After many years of such work, he combines the information which he has gathered from the various sources we have indicated into readable form, and produced a work of the greatest interest. Briefly, we have studies of foundations, and studies of decay and death; we see Europe prepared for the reception and transformation of new peoples, and, on the other hand, we watch the decline of ancient civilization.

Of these various pictures most English readers will turn to those of Britain and Judea first. The essay on Britain strikes one as disappointingly meagre, perhaps from patriotic feelings, but too much attention seems to have been given to the wars in Britain, and too little to its social condition. English specialists have complained that the work of their archæologists has not been sufficiently utilized. One of the most interesting points in this chapter is a discussion of the reasons for the conquest of Britain. Mommsen shows that it was undertaken as a political necessity; that the early emperors were unwilling to attempt it, yet regarded it as necessary to complete the subjection of the Celtic peoples. While unsubdued, Britain was a constant source of danger to Gaul, and was connected with it rather than separated from it by the channel.

In Gaul the development of the culture of the vine is the subject of some interesting remarks. The winters in northern Gaul were too cold for any but hardy varieties, and on the other hand the Italians viewed with jealousy any extension of vine-growing in Gaul. Consequently for the earlier centuries beer* was the common drink. The selfish hostility of the Italians was less favored by the government under the emperors than under the Republic, but we read that Domitian gave orders to destroy half the vines in all the provinces.

* The following is Mommsen's version of an epigram of Julian's on this "false Bacchus:"

"Du, Dionysos, von wo kommst du? Bei dem wirklichen Bacchus!
Ich erkenne dich nicht; Zeus Sohn kenn' ich allein.
Jener duftet nach Nektar; du riechst nach dem Bocke. Die Kelten,
Denen die Rebe versagt, braueten dich aus dem Halm,
Scheuer- nicht Feuersohn, Erdkind, nicht Kind des Himmels,
Nur für das Futtern gemacht, nicht für den lieblichen Trunk."

The translator gives no version of this epigram, and makes its authorship obscure by rendering "*Sein*" referring to Julian by "this."

The discussion of the condition of Judea holds the attention well. Mommsen accepts the advanced views on the Old Testament, and Prof. Dickson inserts a cautionary remark. The Apocalypse is utilized as a contemporary source, and is the subject of a long critical note. The parts of the work dealing with the Greek provinces are exceedingly interesting. There is a very striking and vivid description of Alexandria with its scholars and its mob of hoodlums, an instructive comparison between Alexandria and Antioch, and a singularly happy and appreciative sketch of Plutarch as a literary man of the best type in that age. As regards the political relations between Rome and her Greek subjects it is interesting to see the influence of philhellenism on the Romans. They allowed the Greek cities a nominal independence, and according to Mommsen far more latitude than was good for them. Athens and Sparta, in recognition of their great past, enjoyed especial privileges. The account of North Africa illustrates the opposite inclination; former possessions of the great enemy, Carthage were subjected to more than usual vexations.

It has been possible within the bounds of this notice to call attention only to some of the chief features of these volumes, but every page of them contains instruction. Students will wish that the author had been more free with his references; he quotes often as follows: "a jurist of the third century," "a novelist," "the poet of Bordeaux," (Ausonius), references proper enough for the general reader, but annoying to those who would like to know exactly the sources of the information.

Prof. Dickson's translation is close, sometimes too close. It gives one the idea that it was done rapidly by a person thoroughly familiar with German. The mistakes are few, but rough expressions are not rare. For instance, *Landesdialect* is rendered "land-dialect," instead of "local idiom," "vernacular." In the opening sentence of chap. III. the ordinary rendering of the word *Reich* gives rise to an inexactness of expression in: "Like Spain southern Gaul had already in the time of the republic become a part of the Roman Empire," "Roman realm" would have been much better. "Reich" is a somewhat puzzling word. Since for centuries the "Deutsches Reich" was "the empire" Reich has come to be regarded as the equivalent of empire, whereas its equivalent is realm. Empire and kingdom are specific meanings only, whose application must be tested by the facts. By translating "Reich" empire the editor of a well known Historical Atlas

has filled his map with such names as "Merovingian Empire," "Visigothic Empire," "Empire of the Vandals," "Ostrogothic Empire," "Empire of Clovis," "Longobardian Empire," every one of which is a direct stumbling block to the student, confusing his mind, and obscuring one of the greatest facts in history. In vol. I, p. 118, Rhine is found instead of Rhone in the sentence: "The flourishing condition of the two great emporia on the Rhine, Arles and Lyons;" probably a mere error of the press. The original edition lacks an index, which has been thoughtfully supplied by the translator. It will always be a puzzle why such industrious scholars as the Germans so often stop just short of making their efforts completely successful. No part of the labor of making a good book brings forth so much fruit as that bestowed upon the index, and without it the result of years of labor may be almost useless for the average student.

These volumes are illustrated with eight maps by Professor Kiepert. Externally these volumes are not very attractive looking.

EDWARD G. BOURNE.

THE STAR IN THE EAST.*—The substance of this book is a course of lectures delivered before the Lowell Institute on "Christianity and the Early Aryan Religions," but some changes have naturally been made, especially in the last chapter. The author thus defines his object: "The purpose of this short study in the early Aryan religions is to call attention to the witness that they bear to man's need of the gospel, and to show that that need has been answered, just in so far as any people, or rather individual, was prepared to receive it." (p. 13). There seems to be another motive also for the present publication, namely, to influence men to adopt the author's theory of the best method of advancing mission work.

The plan pursued in this book is to describe Vedaism, Brahmanism, Buddhism, Hinduism, and Zoroastrianism, discuss their philosophical ideas, and attempt to show that the perfect fulfillment of these ideas is to be found in Christianity. The author confesses that he is entirely unacquainted with the Aryan languages, and has obtained all his knowledge of the original texts from translations. The description of these religious systems is on the whole good, but the discussion of their philosophical theories

* *His Star in the East.* A Study in the early Aryan Religions. By LEIGHTON PARKS. Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 1887.

has not always the merit of clearness. Still no one but an uncommon master of logic and lucidity could hope to unravel, in a manner satisfactory to the average reader, the contradictions and labyrinthine mazes of Hindu speculation. What is stated as fact with respect to these religions, is generally in harmony with the received opinion of Orientalists, but some exceptions must be made. For example, on page 40 the author says that, "the most careless reader of these (Vedic) hymns cannot fail to be struck with the absence of anything like the fear of the gods." Possibly this might be the conclusion of such a reader as is mentioned, but numerous passages may be cited, in which fear of the gods is most distinctly noticed, as being felt by both animate and inanimate creation. Compare Rig Veda 166.4, 5; 85.8; 574.2; where the Maruts are objects of fear: 302.5; 88.5; where Agni is mentioned in the same way, and 599.2; 918.8; 313.10; 472.2; where Indra is referred to. It is quite true that the ancient Hindus felt much more at home, so to speak, with their gods, than many other peoples, but no religion can exist without the element of fear. On page 28 the statement is made that "the Hindus believe that the original Veda was written by Brahma," which is certainly a rather sweeping assertion, as no little discussion has arisen among the Hindus themselves, as to whether the Veda was ever inspired at all. On page 32 the author says of Indra that he "at first was God of gods." If this is intended to mean that there was any idea in early Vedic times that Indra was lord over the other gods, it is distinctly wrong. Indra is simply the most conspicuous; so far as really divine and godlike attributes are concerned, Varuna surpasses him. Moreover the exaltation of Indra began at a later period, so that the words "at first" are particularly out of place.

The mythological explanations are usually very fanciful, and the author seems to feel obliged to clothe all ancient myths with too great sublimity. Where the Soma-worship is described, the author seems to have forgotten that Soma was nothing but an intoxicating beverage, and that to the simple Hindu mind the state of intoxication was so wonderful and inspiring, that its cause was considered divine. It seems much more reasonable and simple to say that the Hindu idea of sacrifice was occasioned originally by the fact that the early Aryan, having so low an estimate of divinity, thought that the gods needed food as well as men, than to imagine that he philosophized about the "mutual dependence of each

life upon all other life," the "unbroken ring of existence," and perceived that "all energy must return upon itself." This simpler view is more in harmony with our author's own reasoning, when, in discussing Vedic morality, he says that their prayers "which at first might seem to show no feeling save that of selfishness, are nevertheless more than that," for they pray "as men who feel that they have a claim on the gods, as those who have kept the faith in the midst of a perverse generation."

But in all this, the author's great purpose is plainly seen, which is to make as much of an affiliation as possible between the doctrines of these religions and those of Christianity, not to depreciate the latter, but to exalt the former. He regards each one of the religions in question, as a "revelation of the divine character to man," and plainly says in respect to Vedaism, that a man who does not believe this, will find in the Rig Veda "nothing but the weary repetition of extravagant epithets addressed to the Dawn or to the Maruts, a confused mythology, and sometimes gross sensuality." This is indeed the view of almost all Sanskrit scholars, and it requires a vivid imagination to take any other.

The author then adds that this "same man might read the revelation to Israel and fail to see the writing of the finger of God." It is with the idea of this statement that we must take issue. Quite recently what is called the science of Comparative Religion has become fashionable, a science which practically considers all religions as having the same origin, and asserts that they are all subject to the process of evolution. Undoubtedly certain religious ideas and aspirations are inherent in the mind and heart of man, and are everywhere manifested, but they can not be properly brought under the head of revelation. The great error of this new science consists in overlooking the distinction between religious systems which have been developed by the mind, and that religion which has been directly revealed by God. The former may be evolved, the latter never. Up to a certain point the comparison of the external manifestations of all human cults with revealed religion is proper and useful, but beyond that point, there is so fundamental a difference that no real comparison can be instituted. Mr. Parks takes the ground that all Aryan religions, and by inference all possible religions, have been revealed, and asserts that to deny this, is to deny "God's Fatherhood," and that "from him cometh down every good and perfect gift." But God himself, by implication, in the Bible denies the

right of any other religion to be called a divine revelation. Of course the author, in carrying his theory out, comes continually to conclusions which we cannot admit. On page 83, he says, "The divine life—delights in sacrifice. It was with this mind that St. Peter wrote of Jesus, 'He was the Lamb slain from the foundation of the world.' We can claim then as divine truth the Brahmanic belief that creation was an act of sacrifice." Just as truly can the ordinary belief of men that something can not be obtained for nothing, which is the real idea of the Brahmanic sacrifice, be considered as divine truth.

Mr. Park's admiration of Zoroastrianism is intense, but one remark in his chapter on that religion makes one inclined to drop the book in disgust. On page 241 he says, "it may be questioned whether the resurrection of Jesus could have found acceptance, had not Zoroastrianism prepared a *nidus* for that belief."

The two last chapters contain a plea for a return to the "apostolic" method and spirit of missions, by which our author apparently means that we must teach all men that their old beliefs really contain the basis of Christianity and only need to be evolved a little more. The usual horror of dogmatism is expressed, which leads one to long for that glorious time when no man shall have any dogmas of any kind, but shall calmly and peacefully agree with everv one else.

This book is pleasant reading but does not carry conviction to our mind.

Adelbert College. S. B. PLATNER.

REALISTIC PHILOSOPHY.*—This work has received the highest commendation from the religious and secular press. Therefore, passing over the merits of the treatise, we shall endeavor to criticize the author's fundamental position, which may be called materialistic realism. Such statements will be selected from the two volumes as are characteristic rather than exceptional.

The first volume opens with the assumption that Yankees are practical, and therefore the American Philosophy should be Realism. We think such a statement as the author makes in vol. ii., p. 202, refutes the above inference. "Truth is truth whether we observe it or no." We may have an American Tariff or Monroe Doctrine, but philosophy, if it deal with objective, eternal truth, should be the same in America and Germany.

* *Realistic Philosophy.* By JAMES MCCOSH, D.D., LL.D., President of Princeton College. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

The author evidently prefers the dogmatic to the critical method. He admits, for example, (on pages 5 and 6, vol. i.) that there is reason for doubt as to what is perceived, directly, by the senses; but explains that we must resolutely hold that it is something external to the mind that is thus perceived. See also vol. ii., pages 4, 29, 103, etc. Now that certain states of my mind are produced by something not myself, is a metaphysical assumption which may be valid. But it is altogether dogmatic and unfair to state, on the basis of that assumption, that we know matter, as extended, directly. (vol. ii., p. 29.) And it does not help Dr. McCosh's Realism to postulate something extra-mental; for he thereby cuts off all connection between the "space" or "thing" and his mind. As T. H. Green has said, "How can energy and extension be at the same time apart from consciousness and in it?"

We do not think that he has annihilated Kant, either in his treatment of the senses or of the categories. In vol. i., p. 52, e. g., Dr. McCosh says: "In all these intuitive conceptions there can be no mistakes." Still, on the same page, he admits mistakes in judgments. And he does not seem to have considered the fact that all perception involves judgment. Why should vibrations be sensed as colors?

Again he says, (p. 206, vol. ii.): "I have the same evidence of the existence of the thing appearing as I have of the appearance." This is not true if "thing" is considered extra-mental. That I refer a state of self-consciousness to myself as subject is a fact universally admitted. That some extra-mental reality produced that state may be true. But it does not rest on the "same evidence." "There can be no pledge for the truth of our thinking that lies outside of all our thought."*

We do not see how Dr. McCosh can consistently speak of Berkeley's idea of power as "vague" when he himself tells us that "a hammer comes in contact with a stone," (vol. ii., p. 107) as if the statement were philosophically true.

Unless Dr. McCosh should drop his materialistic realism, and go over to ideal-realism, it would be interesting to see him attempt to refute, critically, Mr. Spencer's hypothesis (which the Dr. heartily dislikes),—the evolution of mind from physical powers. (vol. ii., p. 277.) If the atoms are wholly outside of any mind; if they think nothing, feel nothing, know nothing,—how can the assumption that one atom does anything at all in view of

* Lotze: Grundzüge der Logik, etc., S. 148. Leipzig, 1883.

what other atoms are doing, rid itself of self-contradiction? Perhaps Dr. McCosh's irony against Mr. Spencer recoils upon himself: "Perhaps they had loving attachments to each other, perhaps they had some morality, say a sense of justice," etc. (i., 182.) We know the unity of consciousness directly; but not, external to mind, the unity of a bundle of atoms.

CLARENCE D. GREELEY.

EDWARDS ON FIRST CORINTHIANS.*—The author presents his treatise with the utmost modesty, alleging his remoteness from any great literary center as an excuse for his lack of acquaintance with "the latest researches and speculations." However that may be, he has what is far more important, good scholarship of his own, independence of judgment, a sound historical and critical sense and a reverent Christian spirit. He has not taken up the epistle in merely scholastic methods, but in a way which is at once scientific and practical. He pleads in the preface for a fresh study of the New Testament as containing the principles which alone can vitalize our religion and theology. He would not handle the epistle before him in the manner or in the spirit of controversy, but would try to draw from it, as from a living spring, living truths of Christian thinking and Christian life. He has constantly in mind the work of the Christian teacher. "To determine the worth of a doctrine, we must ask, not whether it can be argued about, but whether it can be preached." (p. 6).

Only a continuous use of such a work can thoroughly test its merits in detail, but the examination of it upon a few points, leaves the impression of its worth. The introduction contains not only a discussion of the time, place and occasion of writing, but a useful sketch of exegesis as applied to the epistle.

The commentary bears something of the form, as it includes the substance, of exegetical lectures delivered in the theological classroom. The textual and grammatical notes are sufficiently copious to put the student in possession of the chief critical data, while not overburdening the mind with a mass of learned material which can have no use for any except the specialist. The stress is laid upon the development of the doctrinal contents of the epistle. This end is well attained, and we predict for this work a permanent place in the literature of New Testament study.

GEORGE B. STEVENS.

* *A Commentary on the First Epistle to the Corinthians*, by THOS. CHAS. EDWARDS, M.A., Principal of the University College of Wales, Aberystwyth. Second Ed. A. C. Armstrong & Son. New York, 1886. pp. 491.

WARFIELD'S INTRODUCTION TO THE TEXTUAL CRITICISM OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.*—This is one of a series of handbooks which is appearing under the name of "The Theological Educator," under the supervision of Rev. W. R. Nicoll, M.A., editor of the "Expositor." They are especially adapted to the needs of theological students, but are popular in style and sufficiently free from mere technical material to be available for intelligent readers of the Bible generally.

We are gratified that Professor Warfield does not leave the chair of New Testament criticism at Alleghany for that of Doctrinal Theology at Princeton, without giving the theological public some fruit of his diligent and successful labors in the field of Textual Criticism. This, indeed, he had already done in his thorough review of Westcott and Hort in the Presbyterian Review for April, 1882, and in his valuable contribution to Schaff's "Companion to the Greek Testament" on the "Geneological Method" of Textual Criticism, (pp. 208–224). But the little volume before us will render a yet wider and more important service. It supplies precisely the handbook which teachers in this field can place in the hands of their students, confident of its accuracy and conformity to the latest and best sources of information.

These handbooks are issued in elegant form by Mr. Thos. Whittaker, of New York, at 75 cents each. In the list of authors thus far published, Dr. Warfield's is the only American name.

GEORGE B. STEVENS.

VINCENT'S WORD STUDIES IN THE NEW TESTAMENT.†—Since Archbishop Trench so forcibly taught us in his "Study of Words" that words are "fossil poetry" and "fossil history," we have been content to think that they might be much else besides, and have been firmly convinced of the dignity and value of their study. Especially is this true of the words of the New Testament which employs a heathen tongue for the expression of its peculiarly spiritual message and teaching. In the volume before us (which is to be followed by another treating of the words in the writings of Paul and John), Dr. Vincent has undertaken so to

* *Warfield's Introduction to the Textual Criticism of the New Testament*, by REV. BENJ. B. WARFIELD, D.D., Prof. of Theology, Princeton, N. J. Thomas Whittaker, 2 and 3 Bible House, New York, 1887. pp. 225.

† *Word Studies in the New Testament.* By MARVIN R. VINCENT, D.D. Vol. I. The Synoptic Gospels, Acts of the Apostles, Epistles of Peter, James, and Jude. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1887. pp. 822; price $4.00.

set forth the shades of meaning and peculiar force connected with the different words of the New Testament as to give to the English reader something of the better insight and clearer apprehension which come from a careful study of the original. The work is neither a dictionary nor a commentary, but, in the author's own language, stands "midway between," and seeks to open "the native force of the separate words of the New Testament in their lexical sense, their etymology, their history, their inflection, and the peculiarities of their usage by different Evangelists and Apostles." (Preface, p. 5.)

The book does not deal primarily with the Greek words, although a careful knowledge of the original and a careful study of critical authorities were necessary to the author and underlie his work. The book is for students of the English Bible, as distinguished from professional students who are trained in the Greek language. It is none the less true, however, that such students might derive from it much valuable aid. The work expressly disclaims any purpose or desire to take the place of the Lexicon and Critical Commentary for the scholar who is furnished with the means of working the Greek text for himself. Its claim is the modest one of explaining in as few words as possible the force and point of words which a translation can but inadequately preserve: which the ordinary reader can readily appreciate when the critical student has sought them out and clearly presented them.

It results, of course, from the effort to comment on the whole dictionary of the New Testament, that many of the observations are trivial. But this is a necessary incident of all detail-work. Not all words in the New Testament have hidden and suggestive meanings, and it were a fanciful or forced process which should seek to make them appear so. Dr. Vincent, in the spirit of a true scholar, has drawn out occult meanings only where they exist, and has nowhere evolved meanings from his own consciousness while claiming to evolve them out of the text.

Although the work proceeds upon the basis of the older English version, the original Greek words, as well as those of the R. V., are also given. The book will be a valuable help to Bible study if those who need it will only use it. Many a preacher who does not have time or inclination to do thorough work on his Greek Testament would do well to go over a chapter a day with the aid of this "Word-Study." How many will have the

patience to do it—for patience will be required, since it will not be exciting work? We have apprehensions. But we were reviewing the book, not its readers, or those who ought to be such. We unhesitatingly pronounce it a painstaking, scholarly, and valuable aid to the understanding of the ideas and truths of the books of which it treats.

GEORGE B. STEVENS.

CADMAN'S "CHRIST IN THE GOSPELS."*—This book presents the entire Biblical material bearing on the life of Christ, in the very words of the New Testament. This it does by following the writer whose narrative is fullest in any given portion, indicating variations from his narrative by placing them in brackets in small type. Thus the body of the text presents the fullest account obtainable from the gospels, while the variations of expression and detail are easily noted by reference to the bracketed portions. By means of small figures, 1, 2, 3, etc., the compiler indicates in each passage or fragment of a passage which author he is here following—whether the first, second, third, or fourth gospel. In questions of chronology and harmony, Mr. Cadman has followed the best authorities without introducing discussion or notes on the subject. The full index and the highly interesting map representing the journeys of Jesus, with the key for its use, are features of the book of much interest and value.

It would be a highly useful book for any person who wished to study the life and teaching of our Lord in order, as it places before the student in compact form the full material for his study, which he could collect and adjust for himself only by laborious and often discouraging comparison of passages. We esteem it a highly interesting and useful book; interesting as showing how well the total material of the gospels can be combined into a continuous history, and useful as saving the student the perplexing preparatory work of harmonizing and adjusting the separate narratives—a labor which few Biblical readers have the patience or skill to carry through.

GEORGE B. STEVENS.

* Or, *Life of Our Lord in the Words of the Evangelists.* American Revision, 1881, with self-interpreting Scripture, map of Jesus' travels, and a Dictionary of proper names, by JAMES P. CADMAN, A.M., with an introduction by Rev. P. S. HENSON, D.D. Sixth edition. Chicago: Amer. Pub. Soc. of Hebrew. 1886. pp. 1–380.

THE EARLY TUDORS.*—The useful series, "Epochs of Modern History," including this last addition now offers a fairly complete presentation of the History of England, from the conquest to the middle of the last century. Mr. Moberly's work is a careful compilation from the best writers upon the period under consideration. His range of view is wide, taking in the social, literary, and industrial features of the period. His style is straightforward, and sometimes vivacious. The account of the Renaissance is intelligent, and the expansive and stimulating effect of the discoveries of antiquity and the New World upon men's minds is properly appreciated. On page 242 the Utopia is spoken of as if written in English, though the facts are correctly stated elsewhere. In the preface, Ranke's "History of the Reformation in Germany" is said to have been translated by Miss Austen. It should be Mrs. Austin.

WARREN'S BOOK OF REVELATION.†—In this volume we have an attempt at a popular exposition of the Apocalypse. Dr. Warren regards it as a series of "pictorial writings," for the interpretation of which one must have the "key." This he finds in the "ἐν τάχει" of the first verse, "Things which must shortly come to pass." The Apocalypse having been written about A. D. 68, we find the speedy fulfillment of some of its prophecies in the destruction of Jerusalem and the woes that befell the Jews; all of which were symbolically foretold in the first eleven chapters. The Parousia, following the "seventh trumpet," was the second coming of our Lord, for the establishment of his new kingdom, the beginning of the judgment of the dead, and the access of all mankind to God, through the mediation of Christ.

In the part beginning with Chapter xii., Dr. Warren finds imagery which symbolizes important events that were to follow in secular and ecclesiastical history to the end of time. For instance, the beast coming up from the sea, is the Roman Imperator (Emperor), and the "second beast" is the Pontifex Maximus (Chief Priest). The Scarlet Woman is Rome. The thousand years of the martyr's reign begins with the Conversion of Constantine and ends with the rise of the Ottoman power—the

* *The Early Tudors: Henry VII., Henry VIII.* By the Rev. C. E. MOBERLY, M.A., late a master in Rugby School. New York. Charles Scribner's Sons.

† *The Book of Revelation;* by ISRAEL P. WARREN, D.D.

"Gog and Magog" of Chapter xx. The entire exposition, which Dr. Warren has given, is mainly like that of Professor Stuart, and is well worthy of careful study.

M. G. BULLOCK.

HANDBOOK TO THE REVELATION OF JOHN.*—This volume is one of the most valuable of the "Meyers Commentary" series, published by Funk & Wagnalls. Good expositions of the "Revelation" are not so abundant that Bible students will not be glad to own this volume. Dr. Düsterdieck's well-known exegetical skill will commend the work, whatever one may think as to certain of his ideas concerning the Apocalypse. For example, Dr. Düsterdeick rejects its commonly accepted Johannean Apostolic authorship, though he gives it a "deutero-canonical" authority, which he thinks is proven by its true prophetic character. He attributes to the book an ethical rather than a magical inspiration. It is highly poetic and its poesy stands in the same relation to the subject of the prophecy, as the rhetoric of Paul, or the Apostle John, to the contents of their messages.

The time of its composition was previous to the destruction of Jerusalem, and its author one John—not the Apostle—residing probably at Ephesus. There is embraced in the vision of the seer the anti-Christian Judaism, and the—if possible—more anti-Christian heathenism, realized and symbolized in the Holy City—full of iniquities and Rome drunk with the blood of martyrs. Jerusalem is to be destroyed, her glory trodden under foot; Rome, the great Harlot, must be judged; Satan and the demoniacal powers be overthrown, and at the "Parousia," the dead will be raised and judged, and death and hell be cast into the lake of fire. Dr. Düsterdieck evidently does not find our modern rabbinical millenarianism in the Apocalypse, for he holds that it is "incorrect to directly refer the particular visions of seals, trumpets, and vials, to particular events in secular, ecclesiastical or governmental history, but regards the entire course of temporal things as tending according to God's order to an eternal fulfillment."

M. G. BULLOCK.

* *Critical and Exegetical Handbook to the Revelation of John;* by FREDERICK DÜSTERDIECK, D.D. Translated and edited by Henry E. Jacobs, D.D.

THE ART AMATEUR for June begins the seventeenth volume with a new cover. It contains many attractive illustrations. Three figure and drapery studies in two colors, a full-page portrait and a number of pen drawings accompany a biographical account of Sir Frederick Leighton, President of the British Royal Academy. There is a notice of the Paris Salon, with an admirable two-page drawing of Ridgway Knight's picture, "In October," together with reviews of the American Artists' and Prize Fund Exhibitions and the new Seney Collection; also an amusing French account of the Morgan sale, and a timely article on composite photographs. There is a suggestive "talk" with John La Farge on the re-decoration of the American "meeting house."

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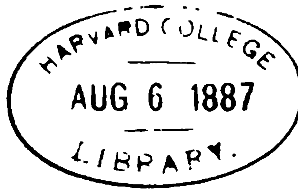
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NEW ENGLANDER

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YALE REVIEW.

No. CCIX.

AUGUST, 1887.

ARTICLE I.—THE AMERICAN SCHOOL OF CLASSICAL STUDIES AT ATHENS.

I AM often led to contrast my two visits to Athens: I went to Greece in 1872 under favorable circumstances for those times; I was fresh from my studies in Germany where I had read with special reference to my visit to classic lands; I had spent several months in Italy with careful study of the monuments and museums. I was with a philological friend of more experience, the Director during the past year of our school at Athens. We had good letters of advice and introduction, and found pleasant friends, and met the prominent scholars of the country. But, in spite of our former studies, everything seemed strange or only half familiar to us. We lost much time in securing our orientation; our memoranda of objects to be more carefully examined proved incomplete and unsatisfactory, of course; we were unable to obtain the books necessary for any true study of the topography and ruins. In short, with a fair preparation (as such things go), with good friends, and the best of weather,—we found that so far as systematic

study was concerned, much of our time was wasted. We enjoyed the scenery, the air, the ruins, the acquaintance with the people; we gained a better appreciation of some important elements of ancient life; we understood better than ever before the political history of the Greeks, after seeing the boundaries set by nature; we were interested, we were roused, but we were not instructed. My work would have been still more *dilettante* if I had been alone and unintroduced. I could find no proper support and sympathy and guidance for my studies. The work of the French school had been interrupted by war; the German Institute was not yet opened.

In the Spring of 1886 I was in Greece again, and had both experience and observation of the privileges offered by the American school. I learned more in five days than in my first five weeks in 1872. This was not simply because I had been in Attica before, nor because I had continued my studies, and knew what I wanted to see, what statements I desired to verify or correct,—but mainly because of the American school. One can hardly estimate too highly the simple boon of using the library of the school; that I could refresh my memory each morning concerning what I was to see during the day; and at evening study the learned discussions and elucidations of what I had just seen. The very air of the school was redolent with philological and archæological ideas. Some of the members were interested in epigraphy, others in topography, others in architecture. I learned the latest views from enthusiastic teachers, on the very spot where the evidence could be presented before my eyes. An afternoon devoted to the ruins of the great Theatre, with a companion who has made a careful study of the remains, is better than a dozen learned treatises based mainly on obscure notices in the scholia from the old grammarians. A morning spent in roaming among the foundations cut in the rock of the old Cranaan city with a skillful guide is worth more than many books. I do not see how any member of the school, though making a specialty of some one subject, can fail to absorb a great mass of theory and information on the other subjects that his companions are studying. What one has learned from books or living scholars, the rest will soon know.

But this scholarly and stimulating influence does not proceed solely from the community of studies of the Director and students of our school; it comes largely from sister organizations. Professor Petersen, in charge of the German Institute, was most outspoken last summer, when I met him in Berlin, in his expressions of interest in the work of the American school, and of his readiness to do his part in securing the most hearty coöperation of the scholars of both nations in their common studies. These are no mere fine phrases. It means much for the members of our school to meet on friendly terms with the German scholars who cluster around the German Institute, to attend the gatherings at the institute, and to use the German library. Dörpfeld, Petersen's associate in the direction of the institute, though still a young man, is the highest living authority on questions connected with Greek architecture. He did important work at Olympia, during the German excavations there, and has been Schliemann's adviser in the more scientific of Schliemann's explorations. He has done more than any one else to interpret the architectural material found in the recent excavations on the Acropolis; he has disentangled the mass of ruins connected with the stage-building of the theatre, and has formed a definite and rational theory for their explanation; he has used the data found by Mr. Penrose in his diggings on the site of the temple of Zeus Olympius, and has convinced Mr. Penrose himself that the theatre was an octostyle, not a decastyle. This Dr. Dörpfeld is not only one of the most genial of men, but is on the best of terms with the American school. He has expounded to its members his theory of the Pisistratean Acropolis, and of the theatre; he has accompanied members of the school to Eleusis, to explain the five successive structures there, as evidenced by the remains; while some of the school enjoyed his services as *Cicerone* for two days at Olympia, where every stone is familiar to him.

The Greeks are more cordial to no nation than to the Americans; they retain an almost sentimental affection for our land, because of the sympathy and aid extended to them in their time of need, during their war for independence, a little more than half a century ago.

The British school of Archæological and classical Studies at Athens is our nearest neighbor, and its director, Mr. Penrose, so well known for his work on the Principles of Athenian Architecture, has been very fraternal in spirit. The English were spurred to activity by our boldness in establishing a school at Athens; they had a permanent home before us, but our school building, now nearly completed, is a half larger than theirs, and much more convenient in its plan.

While preserving our own independence of work, in aim and method, we have the untold advantage of association with Germans, French, Greeks, and English,—all interested in the same studies, fellow citizens of the republic of letters.

This *Review* has already (July, 1886) called attention to the opportunities for archæological study at Athens in connection with the American school. Perhaps some of the readers of the *Review* will be interested in a sketch of the history of this institution. The French were the first to establish a national school at Athens; and they have done good work in connection with it. They have conducted important excavations at Delos and Delphi. At present, American scholars are perhaps unconsciously inclined to depreciate the work of the French school, because of our greater sympathy with German philology in general. The French school at Athens was established in 1846. It is supported by the government. The Director is a member of the French Institute, and one of the high functionaries of State; he is appointed for a term of six years, but the appointment is generally renewed. The number of students is limited to six, each appointed for three years; the first year is spent in Italy, in practical preparation for work in Greece. The students are under almost military discipline. Each must be a *docteur es lettres* or its equivalent; he must have passed a competitive examination on the Greek language (ancient and modern), epigraphy, palæography, archæology, history, and geography. This examination would be too severe for most American students on leaving college, even though the later years of the college course were given largely to philology and archæology. The student's salary is about $750. The students are in residence at Athens during eight months of the year; for four months they may travel in Greek

lands. They are not expected to return to Paris while they are connected with the school. Each renders a report of his work each year. Since 1877 the school has published a "Bulletin de correspondance hellénique." Perhaps the reader will find interest in extracts from the table of contents of the first volume: "Inscription from Kalamata; Supplement to the chronology of the Athenian archons after Ol. 122; Inscription from Melos; Fragment of an Athenian decree; Greek mirrors; Descriptive catalogue of the votive offerings to Aesculapius and Hygieia, found on the excavations on the south side of the Acropolis; Plan of the excavations near the Acropolis; Excavations at Dodona; The Roman colony at Olbasa in Pisidia; Excavations at Delos; Fragments of Panathenaïc vases found on the Acropolis," etc.

In the last century, the foundations of the scientific study of ancient art and archaeology were laid by Winckelmann, a Hyperborean at Rome. At the very beginning of this century Wilhelm von Humboldt was sent to Rome as Prussian embassador, and his house formed a gathering place for Thorwaldsen, Rauch, A. W. Schlegel, Mme. de Staël, Zoega, and Welcker, and Roman prelates,—for all who cared for art and antiquities. Niebuhr and Bunsen came to Rome a little later, in 1816. In Dec., 1828, at Bunsen's invitation and at his house, while he was Prussian embassador at Rome, a little company of five met and laid plans for the formation of the Society which has become the "German Institute for Archæological Correspondence." This was formally founded on April 21, 1829. The pope smiled graciously on the undertaking. Italian, French, and English scholars united with the Germans.

The "Istituto di corrispondenza Archeologica," was international in character, but was then under the patronage of the Prussian Crown Prince, afterward Frederick William IV. In 1874 this became an institution of the German government, with its head at Berlin; the Germans had been the controlling spirits from the first, and the Prussian government since 1860 was the chief material supporter of the undertaking. Its aim is to foster, invigorate, and regulate the intercourse between the researches of the learned in archæology and philology, and the lands which were the original homes of art and science;

and to publish speedily and satisfactorily the monuments of antiquity that are discovered.

The Institute has Secretaries at Rome and at Athens. These are government officials, appointed by the Emperor on the recommendation of the Governing Board, through the Prussian Academy of Sciences. The Secretary at Athens holds sessions once a fortnight during December and the early months of the year; at these sessions papers are read by German scholars resident in or visiting Athens, or sometimes by scholars of other nationalities. The Secretary arranges also for the *periegesis* of the ruins and museums, and for expeditions to points of interest in the country. He also conducts exercises in archæology and epigraphy for the German students. The German students in Greece do not hold the same relation to the Institute that the French students hold to their school. The Institute was not established primarily for the sake of the students, but the students' scholarships were created because of the opportunities offered by the Institute. In 1832, Welcker urged that arrangements should be made in connection with the Institute for the training of philological students. In 1834 Bunsen proposed a series of archæological lectures before select audiences (*adunanze private*), and made the beginning with a course on Roman topography. In the years immediately following, courses of lectures were given on the museums of Rome, the Etruscan language, Roman and Attic topography, painted vases, hieroglyphics, Egyptian art, the mythology of art. About 1840, Braun began a so-called seminary for the benefit of young German students; but not until 1860 were regular annual stipends given to two young Prussians that they might visit Greece and Italy. The list of these stipendiaries contains the names of many who have become famous scholars.

The German government now offers five traveling scholarships each year "to give life to archæological studies, and to quicken and instruct an intelligent view of ancient life, especially for those who are to teach in the universities and gymnasia." The recipient must be a Ph.D. of a German university (not more than three years out of the university), and have passed the examination *pro facultate docendi* with a certificate permitting to teach the ancient languages in the upper classes

of the gymnasia. Each student is free to work according to his own judgment, only obliged to attend the stated meetings of the Institute, if he is in Rome or Athens, and to help the Secretaries if he is called to do so. He is not assigned either to Greece or to Italy, but works where he pleases.

The Athens branch of the German Institute was established in 1874, at the time of the reorganization of the Institute, and when Ernst Curtius was negotiating the treaty for the excavations at Olympia. Both the French and the Germans have substantial buildings at Athens for their schools.

In 1878, Professor Jebb issued an appeal for the establishment of an English school of archæology at Athens and Rome but the appeal met with no hearty and immediate response. His article on "An English School of Archæology at Athens and Rome" in the *Contemporary Review* for Nov., 1878, may be recommended for reading.

In 1881, the Archæological Institute of America appointed a committee on the establishment of an American School of Classical Studies at Athens. At the head of this committee was Professor John Williams White, who has conducted the interests of the enterprise most efficiently. In view of the difficulty or impossibility of raising a sufficient sum to put the school on a permanent footing, until the enterprise was shown to be practicable and desirable, the committee secured the coöperation of twelve prominent colleges of the country. Friends of each college subscribed $250 *per annum* towards the expenses of the school, for a period of ten years. The number of colleges associated in this work is now eighteen. The Managing Committee has twenty-five members including a representative of each of the associated colleges. This Managing Committee has control of the school and of the use of the funds contributed for its current expenses. The Directors have been sent out on an annual appointment, without expense to the school; the colleges of which these scholars are professors have granted the year's leave of absence in the belief (first), that the year's residence at Athens under such conditions would be of great advantage to the professor and thus to the college itself; and (second), that this was a true service to the cause of education in our country. Professor Goodwin, of

Harvard, was the first Director, opening the school on the first of October, 1882. Seven students presented themselves, six of whom remained through the school year, to June, 1883. Professor Goodwin was succeeded by Professor Packard, of Yale, and he by Professor Van Benschoten, of Wesleyan University. Professor Allen of Harvard was the fourth Director. Professor D'Ooge, of Michigan University, has been in charge of the school during the past year. Professor Merriam, of Columbia, goes to Athens this fall as Director. The number of students connected with the school as regular members during the past year was seven. Two of these were Yale graduates pursuing studies for two years at Athens,—Mr. W. L. Cushing, late Rector of the Hopkins Grammar School, and Mr. J. M. Lewis, who died this Spring almost immediately after reaching home, and whose untimely death we mourn as a loss to philology of which he was a brilliant and promising student. Besides these seven regular students, the school has had three other American scholars connected with it for a time. This number is as large as could reasonably be expected.

The utmost freedom of work is allowed to the students of our school. Professor D'Ooge says in his last report: "Mr. Cushing has devoted some time to completing the excavations at Thoricus, and will present a final report upon these for publication. The studies of Mr. Lewis were purely philological. The studies of the other members of the school have been general rather than special, but have been particularly directed to gaining an appreciative acquaintance with the remains of ancient Greek life as a means of illustration in teaching. Of the seven members of the school, all but one look forward to the work of teaching the classics; and all have gained from their studies and sojourn here a vivid appreciation of the old Greek civilization that cannot fail to be a stimulus and controlling element in all their work as instructors." "The general work of the school has consisted of the following exercises: During October and November the members of the school visited and discussed the ruins in and about Athens, there being usually two such walks and talks each week. From October to January, inclusive, there was a weekly reading of parts of Pausanias, which led to many discussions and suggested

themes for further study. This exercise was followed by the reading of Hicks' Manual of Historical Inscriptions, for about two months. During three months, evening readings were held each week, each member of the school reading and interpreting a set portion of the *Acharnians* and of the *Oedipus at Colonus*." "During the entire season, until the beginning of March, the school held a weekly session for giving and hearing reports, under which term were embraced items of archæological news, reviews of new books, and the discussion of topics suggested by reading brief papers on set themes. Among the topics thus presented were: 'The Literature of the Curves of the Parthenon,' 'A Comparison of Fick's and Christ's Theories of the Iliad,' 'The Representation in Sculpture of the Personification of Cities,' 'The site of *Hippius Colonus*,' 'Some Modifications of the Doric possibly due to the Influence of the Ionic Order of Architecture,' 'An Inscription from the Asclepieum of Athens,' 'The Decorations of the Athena Parthenos of Phidias,' 'A Review of Wagnon on the Relation of Egyptian and Greek Sculpture,' 'An Account of the Excavations of the Necropolis at Myrina,' and 'Representations of Childhood and Immature Forms in Ancient Art.' Three public sessions have been held. At the first, Mr. McMurtry read a carefully prepared paper on the present state of the question of the site of the Pnyx, declaring himself in favor of the traditional site as the true one. At this session Mr. Joseph T. Clarke and Dr. A. Emerson gave a brief account of their excavations at Crotona. Mr. Cushing presented his report on the theatre at Thoricus at the second session, and the Director discussed the theatre at Sicyon, so far as it had been excavated. The third session was occupied with the reading of Mr. Wright's paper on the 'Appreciation of Nature exhibited in some of the Greek Poets.'"

In addition to the studies of the individual members of the school, under the general guidance of the Director, the school conducted excavations last year at the theatre of Thoricus, finding no treasure of art, inscriptions or metal, but bringing to light interesting points in the construction of a rural theatre of Attica. During this Spring, the school has conducted at Sicyon excavations which will be continued in the autumn.

In connection with this school, also, Dr. Sterrett has made extensive explorations in Asia Minor, the results of which are about to be published in two volumes.

In 1884 the Greek government offered to the school a site for a building on the slope of the Lycabettus. This piece of land is about an acre and a half in extent and is estimated to be worth thirteen thousand dollars. The consummation of this gift was delayed by political excitement and changes of ministry. But last Fall this lot of land was transferred to the American Minister, the Hon. Walker Fearn (Yale, 1851), as agent of the trustees. Friends of the school contributed $25,000 to erect a suitable building. Plans were prepared under the direction of Professor Ware of Columbia College, most energetic in his support of the school, and the building has gone up rapidly this Spring, and is now roofed in. The air of Athens is so marvellously clear and dry during the summer, that the building will be ready for use at the opening of the next school year. The building contains rooms for the Director and his family, a large library, and several chambers for members of the school. The situation, next to the British School, (founded last year, on essentially the same basis and principles as our own), with a fine view of the mountains, city, and sea, is attractive in many ways.

The present organization of the school, with an annual director, has been recognized from the first as a temporary expedient, with some advantages but with an overbalancing weight of obvious inconveniences. Most prominent among the objections to the present arrangement is the impossibility of continuity of work there; the annual Director needs much of the year in order to accustom himself to the position.

In the Fall of 1886, Dr. Charles Waldstein was invited to become the permanent Director of the school. He is recognized as eminently fit for the position. He was a former student of Columbia College, he graduated at Heidelberg, and is at present Reader on Archæology, and Keeper of the Fitz William Museum, in Cambridge, England. He desires to be connected with the scholarship of his native country, and has accepted the invitation of the Managing Committee, on condition that the endowment of $100,000 be secured before the

beginning of the school year of 1888. Of this permanent fund about $10,000 have been already secured. The friends of the school are confident that, if its work is better known, the fund will be raised, and certainly it is very desirable to raise it in time to secure Dr. Waldstein. But the Managing Committee does not intend to abandon at once the plan that has worked so well of sending out American professors on an annual appointment. The Committee desires that an associate to the permanent Director be sent to Athens in the same general way in which the Directors have gone hitherto, and thus combine the advantages of the temporary and permanent directorships.

The union of colleges in this work has been extremely pleasant. Philology has never known a more catholic, unselfish, and harmonious undertaking. Students of any of the allied colleges may enjoy the privileges of the school on the recommendation of their classical instructors, and the same privileges are granted to all others who are properly recommended. The school itself has no scholarships, but the incumbent of the Soldiers' Memorial Fellowship at Yale may be allowed to spend his time at Athens in connection with this school, and for the next year a special Athenian scholarship has been created by an unnamed friend of learning and of Yale college.

While the school has no support from the government, like the similar institutions of France and Germany, it may perhaps depend safely on the wise liberality of our men of wealth and culture. Greece seems, indeed, to be far away; but we want to bring ancient Greece to our doors, and this contact with the land and air of Greece, this personal study of the monuments and topography, seems to promise a better appreciation of ancient life and history, and thus a better appreciation of the literature of the ancient Greeks. No one can know Greece of to-day without bettering his knowledge of Homer, Pindar, Thucydides, and Theocritus.

THOMAS D. SEYMOUR.

Article II.—A DISCIPLE OF JOHN.

Wait here, my son; beneath this olive tree
We'll rest awhile. Dost see far down the vale
The streak of silver where the Jordan winds
Among the grassy fields of Ænon, fair
And clothed with living verdure, as of old
When John, my master, stood upon this plain?
And yonder, in the hazy distance, stands
Salim, the city of the purple hills.

It was in Ænon that the Baptist taught,
And cried to all the world Repent, repent!
Then from the towns and country round about,
From near and far, in multitudes men came
Until it seemed the whole world came to him.
And there was one, thou know'st, he called the Lamb,
Who also was baptized of him, not here,
But lower down the Jordan's silver stream.
Then came men to my master, even John,
With strange reports of all the Lamb did do:
That men were healed, the blind restored to sight,
The lepers cleansed; and yet he seemed, they said,
A simple man, who went from place to place
With few to follow, save some needy friends.
Then John called Ezra to him, wise and good,
His father's friend, the eldest of our band.
Good Ezra, said he, sore perplexed am I;
I said, in truth, he is the Lamb of God,
But now some months are passed, and he delays
To tell the people that he is from God.
Now go, I pray thee, rise to-morrow morn,
Take with thee Uzal here, the lad thou lov'st,
And go to Jesus. When thou comest say:
John Baptist sent us unto thee to ask
Art thou Messias that should come, or look
We for another? Mark his answer well,
Then swift return, and bring me word again.

So on the morrow forth we fared—'twas then
I saw this olive first—and toward the north
We pushed our way to lower Galilee.
That night we lay at Nain, and there we heard
The wondrous story of the dead man raised.
And all along the way, where'er we passed
We saw and heard of cures most marvellous.
About the sixth hour of the second day
We came to Jesus. Round him was a throng
Of halt, and lame, and blind, and close at hand
A little group of lepers, ghastly white,
Stood waiting to be healed. Long stood we there.
At last good Ezra, for the day waxed old,
Pushed through the throng and stood at Jesus' side,
And gave the message even as John said.
And he made answer : Go, said he, and tell
The Baptist all that ye have seen ; the blind
Receive their sight, the lame are healed and walk,
The lepers cleansed, and to the poor is preached
The Gospel ; blest is he who shall not be
In me offended. So we took our way
Again toward John.

But as we fared along
The voice of Jesus ever called me back.
Most wondrous voice ; its like was ne'er before
Nor yet shall be. Not like my master John's,
For when he cried Repent, repent, the sound
In solemn verberations shook men's souls,
And chased the faintest shadows in their minds
And terrified and brought them to his feet.
Not so the Lamb's voice. Hast thou heard the harp
Within the Temple, on the solemn feast ?
Like to the deepest string, where strings are ten ;
Sustained, and strong, and soft, at once, its sound.
So was his voice ; and as the archer wings
His arrows to their mark, so flew his words.
To each they flew, as if each stood alone,
And talked with him as friend, in confidence
And comprehension that was perfectness.
So as we left him, still my soul returned.

Good Ezra, said I, pray thee say not nay,
But let me run back quickly to the Lamb.
I fain would hear again his voice, and see,
Perchance, more deeds as wondrous as before.
The sun is not yet set, and I am young
And swift of foot; before night falls I will
O'ertake thy steps, I pray thee, let me go.
And he made answer: Go my son, thy youth
Is in thy blood; go thou and see, and hear.
For me, what I have seen to-day gives food
To meditate upon a thousand years.

So straightway I returned with joy. I heard
Him speaking still as I came near, and all
The throng was hushed in silence for to hear.
What went ye to the wilderness to see?
A reed? a reed that's shaken with the wind?
What went ye to the wilderness to see?
A man in goodly raiment? they, behold,
In palaces of kings are surely found.
What went ye for to see? A prophet? Yea,
A prophet and much more. Of women born,
Than John the Baptist is no greater one.
My glad heart filled with love to hear such praise,
To hear such witness fall from Jesus' lips!
Then full of joy, I turned again, and ran
And told good Ezra all I heard.

Full short
The journey back to our dear master, John;
For each lived over in those weary leagues
The wonders of the few brief hours, and heard
Again that voice, whose words shall move the world.
And on the evening of the second day
We passed by Salim yonder, and we came
Unto this tree; and here our master came
To meet us. Sore perplexed he seemed. His eyes
Set in the caverns of his brow looked wild.
Erect and gaunt was he, with raven hair,
And strong large-featured face, with wondrous eyes,
That saw as they saw not, or seeing, saw

Strange sights, undreamt of by mere human gaze.
So stood he waiting while the sunset light
Made red a golden glory round his head.
Then Ezra told the message every word,
And told of all the wondrous deeds we saw.
Our master listened, as one thirsty drinks;
The words sunk in his spirit; and, at last,
Good Ezra said—and to the poor, He said,
Is preached the Gospel—then John raised his head,
And all his soul was in his eyes: My joy
Now therefore is fulfilled. He must increase,
And I must decrease. This my joy is now
Fulfilled. With solemn extasy he spoke;
The setting sun shot up his golden beams
To heaven, while his mighty spirit rose
On soaring wings of praise to God's great throne:
This my joy now therefore is fulfilled.

Thou knowest all that afterwards befell—
How John was taken, and by wicked hands
Beheaded; how the Lamb became in truth
The very Lamb of God, a sacrifice
For us. Some thou knowest thought that he
Was John the Baptist, risen from the dead.
These eyes beheld him, yea these ears once more
Were blest in hearing him say, Peace. I thought
That with him John might rise and come again,
Since of all prophets none was more than he.
But John rose not; and now these many years
I go from place to place, and preach the Lamb.

And often, lonely on some hill-top bare,
When starry night speaks peace unto my soul,
I ponder on that word that Jesus spake—
A prophet, yea and more. Of women born
Than John the Baptist is no greater one.
So often times I mused upon that word.
Than Moses greater? who from Egypt led
The people through the wilderness, who spoke
With God, to whom the law was given, whose words
Shall last through time? or than Elijah? bold,

Denouncing kings? He also cried Repent,
And stirred the nation with his mighty words,
And wondrous deeds. No wondrous deeds did John.
Or David? king and prophet too, beloved
Of God, in whom the nations all are blessed,
Whose matchless songs the Lamb himself did sing.
E'en more than these? methought, in thought perplexed.
And then there came this word to answer me:
He must increase, I must decrease; my joy
Now therefore is fulfilled. Who else, before
Or since, could say that saying as said John?
For Moses in the wilderness in wrath
Called forth the water, not in God's great name,
But in his own. And great Elijah hid
In mountain fastnesses, in self despair,
And thought that he alone was faithful still.
And David did the deed he knew was wrong,
And censured in another. In all these
The thing that was themselves, the acting will,
Intruded twixt themselves and God, and turned
Aside the bright rays of His righteousness.
He meant to light their paths with perfect light.
Till in the crises of their lives they scarce
Discerned their way, in their own shadows walked,
And in a mist of darkness lost their sight.
But John, my Master, had to this attained,
That to himself, himself did not exist.
He had, in truth, become a living Voice,
A Voice that spoke the words he heard of God.
He was not humble; rather, I may say,
He was Humility itself; his life
Lost in the perfect Life of God, his joy
Fulfilled to know that Life on earth was come.

So oft I muse; then all discouragement,
All grief, that men are deaf and will not hear,
All weariness, fall from me; and I bless
My Master John who led me to the Lamb,
And try to say with him, in perfect faith:
This my joy, now therefore is fulfilled.

CAROLINE HAZARD.

Article III.—THE HISTORY OF THE FEDERAL CONVENTION OF 1787, AND OF ITS WORK.

One century has passed since the Federal convention met in Philadelphia and proposed the Federal constitution to the states for their several assent and ratification. To the American lawyer the most important subject of study is the supreme law of the land, the constitution of the United States.

I invite your attention to the history of this convention and of its work. In my labor to be brief, I trust I shall not be obscure. The theme is too large for full discussion, and must be compressed within condensed and comprehensive statements.

The history of free institutions before the Christian era is not hopeful for their permanence and stability. This arose from the fact that the nation was but an enlargement of the patriarchy, which generated and perpetuated the Patria Potestas of the family. The subordination to which the child was born made the paternal government to him the natural and divinely constituted system, to which obedience was filial duty and resistance akin to parricide. When we consider how much we are slaves to things long established, and bound by the law of prescription even in this age of free thought, it is not hard to understand that, in ancient times, when ignorance dominated the human mind, submission to despotism was esteemed a cardinal virtue, and treason to royal majesty the most detestable crime.

It required a new principle to remove this pall of servitude which hung over the human race. The germ of free institutions is in the personal consciousness of the individual man, that he is born into this world as a creature of God, with responsibility to Him for self use of his God-given powers, and that to work out his personal destiny upon this personal accountability to his Divine King, he needs to be free from the constraints with which despotism would bind his body,

[In compliance with a special request, we give place in the *New Englander and Yale Review* to the address of Hon. J. Randolph Tucker, of Lexington, Virginia, which was delivered at the Commencement of the Yale Law School June 28, 1887.—*Editor of the New Englander and Yale Review.*]

mind, heart, and conscience. When the man has this idea planted in his soul, it becomes a moral force, which dreads treason to the Almighty Sovereign more than all the threats of human authority, and makes resistance to tyrants obedience to God!

Christianity furnished, as no other form of philosophy or religion has ever done, this impulsive motive to human consciousness. It roused man from the torpor of insensibility as to his true relations with God and his fellow-men to a quickened conscience and a profound sense of his individual and infinite responsibility; and then to a brave self-assertion of his right to liberty, as essential to his duty to God in working out his awful and sublime destiny.

This new inspiration for the human soul has made modern civilization. All philosophic speculation, whether it bows with religious reverence before the founder of the Christian system, or rejects its divinity, must concede this; and I assume it without further discussion. The result of this new motive in man under the inspiration of Christianity, makes the contrast between the governments of ancient and modern times striking and instructive.

Even in their republics, as signally in their monarchies, the state (πολις) was everything, the man but a fraction of the mass. Their republics transferred power from the one or the few to the many, but the many were prone to overlook the rights of the man in achieving the advancement of the state. Glory for the nation was always preferred to the liberty of the man.

In modern times the man, in his deep consciousness of personal duty and infinite destiny, has asserted liberty as his right against all human authority. Ecclesiasticism was broken before the revolt of the Reformation, and kings, on the block or in exile, have yielded to the boldly asserted freedom of the man; and power has been claimed for the people in order to this liberty of the man.

From this view, which I have no time to discuss fully, I deduce this postulate, that the liberty of the man is not the result of social compact, is not the concession to man from society or from government, but is the gift of God to every man; liberty for self-use in order to the attainment of the ends of his creation in the discharge of his duty to his Divine King.

This germ of all human freedom was implanted in European Christendom and had more or less influence everywhere. But its influence was felt most powerfully and produced more favorable results in Great Britain than on the continent. This was due to many causes. Her insular position put her chief armaments not on the land but on the sea, where they could not be used against popular liberty, but only for national defence. The social elements in her population produced a bitter conflict between the home Saxon and the Norman alien, between the old institutions of the vanquished and the feudal tyranny of the conqueror. The conflict of religious belief between the people and their rulers, and in the forum between the refinements of the priestly civilian and the rude, but free principles of the common law, were also favorable to the abridgment of despotic rule, and to the growth of popular power. These conflicts, continued for centuries, finally have evolved a constitutional monarchy, where the people have controlling influence and the liberties of the man are better conserved than anywhere else in the world, except in our own country.

I must advert to the fundamental distinction between right and power, to be observed in this discussion.

The personal *right* of the man to his liberty is asserted from his deepest self-consciousness against the government which may abridge or destroy it. For unless the man can control the government, the selfishness of those who do control it will be sure to direct its action against his right.

The man therefore will need *political power* to protect this *personal right.* The hand that holds right and interest should be the hand which wields political power.

Wed political power to personal right, and liberty will be safe, and tyranny impossible. Divorce them, and liberty dies; despotism survives, and tyranny must result.

Power must husband right. Right needs power in its own hand for self-protection. Intelligent self-government, when thus secured, is the assurance of the liberty, order, and progress of the human race. There must be intelligence to act wisely in the use of this self-government; for ignorance, armed with this power against intelligence, will be impotent for self-

defence, and may be deluded into the use of its weapon for self-destruction.

In British history self-right in the man has always claimed political power. When disseized of his freehold of liberty, he has made "continual claim," and has thus barred the despot's plea of prescription and won victory in his "Writ of Right." Excuse me for pointing out two cardinal assertions of this Man-Right six centuries ago.

1st. In Magna Charta there is, as is known to every law student, an assertion of personal liberty in its 29th chapter in memorable words:

"No freeman shall be taken or imprisoned, or disseized of his freehold or his liberties or free customs, or be outlawed or exiled, or any otherwise destroyed, but by the lawful judgment of his peers or by the law of the land."*

It went further. It declared that no private property should be taken for public use but on just compensation, and that the land, the home of the freeman, should not be seized for debt, even a debt to the Crown, when goods sufficient could be found to discharge it. These rights of person, of property, and of home were made sacred by the great charter.

Lord Coke, in commenting on this chapter, says, in respect to the first clause, "taken or imprisoned," that "this hath the first place, because the liberty of a man's person is more precious to him than all the rest which follow."† And is not liberty more precious than all else! For what is life without liberty! Death is better than the degradation which follows the loss of freedom!

But this not all. These personal rights thus asserted, and guarded by jury trial and under judicial power, were further protected by the 38th chapter of this great charter. The language is explicit: "And we have granted unto them (that is the people of the realm) on the other part, that neither we nor our heirs shall procure or do anything whereby the liberties in this charter contained shall be infringed or broken: and if anything be procured by any person contrary to the premises, *it shall be had of no force or effect.*"‡

Magna Charta thus became, in the polity of England, the

* 2 Inst. 45. † 2 Inst. 45. ‡ 2 Inst. 75.

fundamental and supreme law, and all laws contrary thereto were by it declared to be of no force or effect. This is the germ of our American doctrine which makes all legislation and every act void which is contrary to the constitution of the United States. Thus in 1215, the fundamental personal rights of life, liberty and property were secured by unchangable law to all the people of England.

2nd. But these assertions of right were followed by the claim of political power to secure the right.

In the 34th year of Edward I. (A. D. 1306) for the first time the Commons assembled in a separate body, as an independent branch of Parliament. Theretofore they had assembled with the Nobility and Clergy, and been outvoted. Henceforth as an independent body they gave assent to or withheld it from legislation, and especially in the enactment of tax laws, which by the act "*de tallagio concedendo*" was declared by the Crown to be in the Parliament. By this great movement the people assumed power to veto all proposed legislation by their independent action.

From this date, the political power was wedded to personal right, and liberty was secured, and permanent despotism made impossible. And out of this has come the dominating influence of the House of Commons to-day in the British Government. Of course, no one will understand me as meaning, that English liberty has been secure ever since Magna Charta. But what I do mean to say is this, that as Magna Charta appealed to Saxon Laws for the authority of its chapters, so in all after history have British freemen appealed to Magna Charta for their constitutional rights, and relied on the House of Commons as their political power to uphold and defend them against the prerogatives of hereditary authority. And adherence to their constitution, as their hope of liberty, has given them a stable government and well assured freedom. And I hold up this great example to-day, to assure the young men of our country, that our liberty can only be safe by our clinging to our great charter of freedom founded by our fathers one century ago.

Mr. Hallam in his Constitutional history of England declares that at the beginning of the reign of Henry VII. (A. D. 1485) five checks on royal power were firmly established. No tax

but by consent of Commons: No law but by like consent: No imprisonment but by warrant of judicial magistrate: No trial but by jury; and the complete responsibility of ministers of the Crown to criminal and civil process, without exemption because of the order of the Crown.

The most momentous event during the era of this reign was the discovery of America. The 16th century which immediately succeeded it, covers the monarchy of England under the House of Tudor, and the rise and successful progress of the Reformation in that kingdom. Despite the arbitrary character of Henry VIII. and his royal daughters, the spirit of popular freedom ran high and its principles struck deep root into the hearts of the Commons of England, and were asserted with manly force in the House which represented them. This spirit of civil liberty was intensified by religious enthusiasm. The love of civil, and the fervid zeal for religious freedom, combined to make the Hampdens and Cromwells of the succeeding century.

The 17th century opened with the end of the Tudor dynasty, and the ascent to the throne of the fated House of Stuart. By heredity this family imbibed the despotic sentiments of their continental ancestry. It had no sympathy with, but inherited antipathy to, all the free institutions of England. Alien in race, as in sentiment, the Stuarts were by inevitable fate doomed to try the strength of the royal prerogative in its deadly conflict with the freedom of the Anglo-Saxon people. The comparative quiet in the reign of James I. was the calm before the coming storm. Charles I., young, sincere, and brave, was fitted to test the power of his prerogative, from which his more timid father shrank.

Before the death of James, two colonies of English people were planted in America; the one at Jamestown in Virginia, in May, 1607, the other at Plymouth Rock in Massachusetts, in December, 1620. They brought with them the spirit of British freedom, exalted in its courage by the bold temper which inspires and is enhanced by adventurous enterprise. A new continent, without fixed institutions, without king, nobility, or ecclesiastical authority, was open to the fresh impress of the sons of civilized life, who landed upon its shores. All the

bands of the old and established society of the mother country were loosened, and the colonial mind, free from the environment of ancient prejudices was prepared for an order of things more natural and therefore more true. The scion of the ancient tree of liberty could better grow unchoked by the weeds of privilege and prerogative, in the soil, and drinking in the balmy air, of this virgin continent. As Lord Bacon has it, "No tree is so good first set, as by transplanting."

Young and bold men—men tired of old habits, customs, and thoughts, yearning to throw off the restraints of an ancient and effete social order (as the religious reformation had shaken the foundations of the ancient church), and to find full scope for the enterprises of life, and to impress themselves upon a new and unformed empire; *these* were the colonists that braved the rock-bound coasts of New England, and plunged into the untrodden wilderness of tide water Virginia. They panted to be free, and could not be enslaved!

The history of each colony will show, that its people held with a clear comprehension and vigorous grasp, all the fundamental principles of Magna Charta. A few facts will prove this.

In 1623, before James I. died, Virginia asserted her exclusive power of taxation.* Massachusetts did the same in 1636 (the very year that John Hampden resisted ship money); and so with other colonies.†

My own State, Virginia, furnishes a striking illustration on this point. When the Parliament of the Commonwealth of England had absorbed all political power in the realm, a treaty was made between it and the Colony of Virginia, dated March, 1651—by which it was agreed, that the Virginia colonist was as free as the English subject;—that the Assembly of Virginia should transact all her affairs; that her people should have free trade with all nations as the people of England had; and that taxes should not be imposed, nor forts be erected, nor garrisons be maintained in Virginia, but by the consent of her Assembly.‡

It is not surprising that Samuel Adams in May, 1764 and

* 1 Henn., Stat. l., 120. † 1 Pitkin, 89-91.

‡ 1 Henn., Stat. l., 363 et seq.

Patrick Henry in May, 1765, denounced taxation by Parliament in any Colony, without its consent, as tyranny and against law. It was but a fresh assertion of a principle as old as Magna Charta, and the cornerstone of every Colonial Government.

Nothing is more striking than this *personality* which Anglo-American liberty attaches to the right of property.

Property is a part of the man-right. Attack upon property is an assault on the man—and for this reason—his brain, his physical and moral forces are all exerted in the transformation of natural objects into fitness for human use. The man has expended these capacities, which are his own by Divine gift, in the production of the thing which we call property. It is a part of himself—a thing into which he has put a part of himself—and to take it from him is to claim a right in that part of himself, which has become a part of it. Thus the taking of property from a man has the badge of servitude in it. To claim ownership in the fruit of his labor, is to claim title to the laborer himself; and his resistance to the seizure of his property is only an assertion of his personal liberty as a man.

It was a clear corollary from this principle that they who pay should lay the taxes. This weds power with right. Thus representation and taxation are correlatives. This is the cardinal Canon of English and American liberty. It is the essence of the right of property, that none shall tax or take it for public use, but the owner, or those who have common interest with him in the burden he bears and the public good to accrue from the act. Power and Right must be and are thus combined.

The struggles of the English people during the 17th century for Constitutional Monarchy resulted in its establishment in 1688–89. The Colonies were involved in this; and succeeded to all its benefits, as they sympathized in all its principles.

This brings me to the threshold of the American revolution. Political principles are evolved from political experience. As liberty finds its needs in its contest with power, it devises means, and invents weapons of self-defence against the abuses of Government. The experiences of pre-Revolutionary American and English history had established certain well-defined

Canons of political science which may be thus summarily stated.

First—The freedom of the man from all violation of his life, liberty, or property, except by his own consent or that of those who have like right with him—that is, his peers.

Second—Taxation only by consent of himself and others with like right through representation.

Third—The supremacy of certain fixed principles, to which all government is subordinate. These principles, the settlement of 1688–89 declared with memorable emphasis and in words which echo—ch. 38 of Magna Charta—that all the rights and liberties thereby asserted and claimed were "the true, ancient, and indubitable rights of the people of this kingdom."*

George III, the first native born British king of the House of Hanover, ascended the throne in 1760. By a number of acts of Parliament, stamp duties and other duties and taxes were imposed upon the several Colonies, with a claim for Parliament to legislate for the Colonies "in all cases whatsoever."†

This bold claim of power summoned thirteen Colonies, heretofore separate bodies-politic under various forms of government and each with its distinct relation to the parent kingdom, to vindicate their menaced liberties by concerted councils. Nine of them in 1765 met and declared against the taxation of the Colonies "but by their respective legislatures."‡ Several of the Colonies, if not all, did the same by separate action.

But in May, 1774, the members of the Virginia House of Burgesses,—dissolved for its bold and defiant tone, by Lord Dunmore, the Governor and Vicegerent of George III.,—met and recommended that deputies be appointed "from the several Colonies" to meet in "General Congress at such place annually," etc., "to deliberate on those general measures which the united interests of America may from time to time require." Massachusetts, June 17, 1774, agreed to this "meeting of committees from the several Colonies to determine upon wise meas-

*1 Wm. & M. St., 2, C. 2.

†4 Geo. III., ch. 15, 34; 5 Geo. III., ch. 25; 6 Geo. III., ch. 52; 7 Geo. III., ch. 41–46; 8 Geo. III., ch. 22; 12 Geo. III., ch. 24.

‡1 Pitkin, 442–6.

ures to be recommended to all the colonies."* Other Colonies agreed and on the 5th day of September, 1774, the first Continental Congress of the several Colonies assembled at the Carpenters' Hall in Philadelphia. John and Samuel Adams, Roger Sherman, John Jay, George Washington, and Patrick Henry, John and Edward Rutledge, with others, in all about fifty members, were there in that first Congress of the young commonwealths of America. Peyton Randolph, of Virginia, was unanimously elected President. This consulting and advising body† on the 14th of October, 1774, made a declaration of rights, which echoes the bold and defiant tone of the Bill and Declaration of Rights by the Parliament in 1688–89, many of the paragraphs of which are copied in the Declaration of Congress.

An epitome of this authoritative declaration is all I can present.

It declares the equal right of the Colonists with the native subjects of England, to life, liberty, and property, which they have ceded to no sovereign power the right to dispose of without their consent. They claim the common law as their heritage, and especially the right of jury trial, and the right of petition for redress of grievances. They deny the power to keep a standing army in any Colony without the consent of its legislature.

"All and each of which, the aforesaid deputies, in behalf of themselves and their constituents, do claim, demand, and insist on as their indubitable rights and liberties; which cannot be legally taken from them, altered or abridged by any power whatever, without their own consent by their representatives in their several provincial legislatures."

I have purposely omitted the fourth resolution of the series from this epitome because of its special importance.

It is in these words:

"*Resolved 4,* That the foundation of English liberty, and of all free government, is a right in the people to participate in their legislative council; and as the English colonists are not represented, and from their local and other circumstances, cannot properly be represented in the British Parliament, they are entitled to a free and exclusive power

* Amer. Arch., 4th series, vol. i, 850-1, 421-2.

† See their credentials, 1 Journal of Cong., 4-10.

of legislation in their *several provincial legislatures*, where their right of representation *can alone be preserved*, in all cases of *taxation and internal polity*, subject only to the negative of their sovereign, in such manner as has been heretofore used and accustomed. But, from the necessity of the case, and a regard to the mutual interest of both countries, we cheerfully consent to the operation of such acts of the British Parliament, as are *bona fide*, restrained to the regulation of our *external commence*, for the purpose of securing the commercial advantages of the whole empire to the mother country, and the commercial benefits of its respective members; excluding every idea of taxation internal or external, for raising a revenue on the subjects in America, without their consent."

Several points of great importance must here be noted in this first declaration of rights by the Congress of the American Colonies. All the rights asserted are claimed to be beyond any power whatever except that of the legislature of each Colony. Parliament, king, congress, any and every other power whatever was impotent to touch the rights of any Colony, which were under the exclusive guardianship of its own legislature.

But this is made more clear by the 4th resolution. "A free and exclusive power of legislation" is claimed for the "several provincial legislatures, where their right of representation can alone be preserved in all cases of taxation and internal polity." Internal polity! This is the first use of these memorable words in our history. They mean domestic and home concerns! But look further. This resolution concedes to Parliament, "the regulation of *external* commerce," for the advantage of the whole, and for the benefit of the different members of the empire.

This historic distinction between external and internal polity lies at the root of our Federal Constitution.

But the resolution presents another idea of great consequence. It asserts the need of political power for the people to participate in their legislative council, as the foundation of English liberty, and that the colonists are not represented in the British Parliament, and "from their *local* and *other circumstances*, cannot *properly* be represented" in it.

In this phraseology we meet for the first time with the modifications which a new experience demanded in the old principle of representation.

In matters of internal polity, they assert that their right of

representation can *alone* be preserved in their local legislatures, and that they cannot be properly represented in Parliament.

In 1306, as we have seen, the Commons withdrew from the nobility and clergy, with whom they had sat in one body, that in a separate body they might express an independent voice, not to be suppressed by the votes of the majority, alien in caste, and adverse in right. They could not be properly represented in the one body. In like manner, had the Colonists sent representatives to Parliament, they would have been present only to be outvoted by the British majority—strangers in interest and adverse in right. In form, they might have been represented. In substance, their rights would have been controlled by an alien and antagonistic majority. As to imperial affairs, it might be otherwise. As to internal polity, colonial representation would have been a delusive snare, by which the internal polity of the Colony would have been really governed by aliens in fact and enemies in interest.

This Colonial representation in Parliament, by tradition, was suggested in the beginning of the Revolution, by the British Ministry, but was scouted as inadmissible by the sagacious American statesmen.

Here then we meet this American idea, local legislatures for local and internal polity, and for the general affairs of a common empire, a possible representation of *all* its parts in a common Parliament.

One other distinction we find here made, which we will meet hereafter, between the power to regulate commerce, and the power of taxation. The one was conceded to the British Parliament as a power for an imperial purpose, the other was wholly denied, as a reserved power to the colony over its internal polity.

It is needless to trace the progress of the Revolution during the existence of the purely voluntary union between the States and of the impotent government, whose powers were held at the will of the States, and whose efforts must have failed but for the patriotism of the people and the aid of our great foreign ally.

The Articles of Confederation, proposed by the Continental Congress in November, 1777, did not go into operation until

March 1, 1781, when finally ratified by Maryland. From that day we date the constitutional union of the thirteen original States.

The jealousy in each colony of any other government than its own was begotten of the experience which had precipitated the Revolution. Each Colony had substantially conceded, that Parliament might properly legislate for the general welfare of the empire of which each was a part. The Colony did not even make a point of its representation in the Parliament, as to matters which concerned the whole empire. As to these, it was content that as the welfare of all was the interest of all, the power might safely be vested in the general council, acting for the general welfare of all and the common defence of each and every part.

But when the local interests of each Colony, when its internal polity, its home rights were to be regulated, its people felt that these interests and rights, and this internal polity could only be safe when under the exclusive control of the political power which represented the people of the colony, who held these interests and rights and were concerned in this polity. This was self-government. The admission of any other influence was to allow their rights to be controlled by aliens. This exclusive power was wedded to the personal right. If any alien to the right was to participate, *pro tanto*, it divorced political power from personal right, destroyed real self-government, and subjected personal and home right to the influence and government of real aliens.

In vain did British sophistry plead that the English voter was a fellow subject of the Colonist, and not an alien. The Colonist replied "*quoad hoc:* as to my home interest, my home right, my internal polity, you know nothing and care less, your interest is not mine, nay, may be antagonistic to mine, and to allow you an equal voice with me, or worse, a major voice to mine in your Parliament, would be to give up my personal liberty to the control of real aliens, and make my condition a servitude to your masterhood."

And hence, when some suggested colonial representation in Parliament, the fathers answered that it was a delusion and a snare to subject internal polity to a Parliament of 500 mem-

bers in which the Colonies would have 50 and England 450 votes! The hands which wield the power must be the hands that hold the interest; home rule is essential to home liberty, and the safety of home rights, and the integrity of home polity! The home rule they needed was a real, not a formal representation, an absolute authority and not a barren sceptre.

If the political science wrought out by Anglo-American experience means anything, it means this: That liberty is only safe in its own hands, and can only be preserved under self-government. Without this, liberty must die; under it, liberty will live, or can only perish by political suicide!

I have dwelt thus long upon this point, because a thorough comprehension of it is essential to the understanding of the history we are examining.

We shall see the ear-marks of this principle in the articles of confederation, in which it prevailed to such a degree as to emasculate the government then created, and to endanger the independence won by the patriotic valor of the people of the states. These articles may be briefly summarized:

They constituted "a Confederacy between" the thirteen States, styled "The United States of America," in which "each state retained its sovereignty, freedom, and independence, and every power, jurisdiction, and right, which is not by this confederation expressly delegated to the United States in Congress assembled." Each state in Congress had one vote, and was bound to maintain its own delegate.*

Congress had power of peace and war; to make treaties subject to the States' power to impose duties in certain cases; to build and equip navies; to establish postal service; to regulate trade with Indians; to coin money; to borrow money; to emit bills of credit; and to establish a judicial authority as to captures, piracy, and certain controversies between the states, and some other less important powers.

The chief of these powers, Congress could only exercise on a vote of nine states, a fraction over a two-thirds vote of a full House. Under this, if the four smallest states objected, it would require nine-tenths of the whole population to do anything, and if nine of the smallest states voted for a measure, it would pass by a minority of the whole population.

* Articles 1, 2, and 5.

This was a large delegation of political powers, but those not delegated were so essential to the efficient exercise of those granted as to make the government pitiably feeble and impotent. It could not raise an army but through a demand on the states for their quota of men, proportioned to its number of white inhabitants. It could not levy a tax or duty of any kind. It could ask the states for soldiers and for money to fill its treasury, but could not enlist a soldier or raise a dollar except by the voluntary act of the several states. It could not regulate commerce with foreign nations or among the states. As it had no original power, it could exercise only that which the states delegated to it, and could only exercise these at the will of the states, whose refusal it could not meet by coercion, or punish by war. In consequence, again and again, its will was the victim of political paralysis. On the other hand, each of the states had power to nullify the will of the Confederate government, to regulate its own commerce with foreign nations and with its sister states, to lay duties on imports and exports, to coin money, to emit paper currency, and to impair the obligations of contracts.

One feature of the system remains to be mentioned. It was ratified by the legislatures of the states, and was binding on none until all had ratified.

The constitutions of the states had been adopted by the people of each in convention, by the sovereignty of the body-politic. The articles of Confederation were ratified by the legislatures, which were the delegated agents of the sovereign people of each state. And the question had been mooted, whether the legislative act of ratification might not be annulled by a repealing act of the same body. No act of the legislature could avail against the constitution of the state, as the latter was the supreme act of the sovereign to which any legislative act was subordinate. The supremacy of these constitutions had been recognized in the state courts over all acts of all departments of the government; that is, the complete subordination of the delegated to the delegating authority; of the government in all its acts to the constitution of the sovereign people.*

* C. W. vs. Caton, 4 Call. R. 5 (1782), see also Kemper vs. Hawkins, Va. cases. 1 Martin, N. C. Rep., 48. 2 Dallas 308–410, 1, 2. 1 Bay, 252. Marbury vs. Madison, 1 Cranch 137.

This may be regarded as the most splendid of the contributions to political science by American statesmanship, and has met with high praise elsewhere by illustrious writers on government.*

Let us now see how the evils experienced from the Confederation ripened public opinion for the convention of 1787.

As early as August, 1780, before the final ratification of the articles of Confederation, New England declared for a more solid and permanent Union and for "a Congress competent for the government of all those common and national affairs which do not nor can come within the jurisdiction of the particular states." These states with New York met at Hartford in November, 1780, and proposed that Congress have power to lay taxes and duties, in order to an independent revenue, to pay the debt, etc. These proceedings were sent to Congress, and Congress proprosed to the states, Feb. 3, 1781, to vest Congress with power to lay a five per cent. duty on certain imports.

In 1782, New York invited Congress to recommend to each state to adopt a measure for a general convention, etc.

On the 18th of April, 1783, after peace was virtually declared, Congress upon full debate and consideration, proposed that the states should invest it with power to levy certain rates of duties, for the sole purpose of paying principal and interest of the public debt, and provide for a further revenue to be furnished by the states on a fixed quota for twenty-five years; no state to be bound by its consent to this proposal until all assented. The debt was estimated at $42,000,000.

Virginia (Dec. 3, 1783), in her legislature declared unanimously in favor of giving Congress power to counteract foreign restrictions on American commerce; which declaration was sent to Congress and the states. This action by Virginia was no doubt due to the British order in council (July 2, 1783), which restrained all commerce between American ports and the British West Indies to British bottoms. The same restrictions existed under acts of Parliament (the first of which as to foreign trade, was passed as early as the reign of Richard II.),

* 3 Brougham Philosophy, 335–8. 1 De Tocqueville, Democracy in America, C. 6.

as to trade between Great Britain and the United States. Congress (Apr. 30, 1784) thereupon proposed to the states to give it power for fifteen years upon a vote of nine states to counteract by prohibitory regulations these foreign restrictive measures against American shipping.

Mr. Jefferson, whose report in 1783 in Congress, looked rather to the freedom of navigation and commerce from all restraints, and to many reforms in respect to commerce in time of war (many of which he attributes to the suggestions of Dr. Franklin), puts this subject in a very terse form in a letter of Feb. 8, 1786, to Mr. Madison: "The politics of Europe," says he, "render it indispensably necessary, that with respect to every thing external, we be one nation only, firmly hooped together. Interior government is what each state should keep to itself."

And in a letter to the same, December 16, 1786, he says: "To make us one nation as to foreign concerns, and keep us distinct in domestic ones, gives the outline of the proper division of power between the general and particular Governments." And these views were consonant with the instructions drafted by him for our foreign ambassadors in 1784, in which he, as to treaties with foreign nations, described "the United States as one nation."

The letters of John Adams, Hamilton, Madison, and others of that period, are of like character—all showing the march of public opinion towards a remedy for the felt evils of a lack of Federal power to raise its own revenues—and towards countervailing by legislation the political war of foreign nations on our commerce and our navigation.

Perhaps the most influential, as it was a most powerful statement of the need of a new Constitution, is found in the letter of George Washington after peace was declared, but before his resignation of his sword to the people for whose independence it had been drawn, and which he sheathed only when their liberties were secured. It is dated in June, 1783. He published it as "his legacy" to his country.

Various proposals were made from time to time by the States for the increase of Federal powers, but they came to nothing except as means by which public opinion ripened into action.

Under the broad and comprehensive views of Washington, measures were projected between Maryland and Virginia for uniting the waters of the James River and of the Potomac with those of the Ohio, and also for establishing common regulations between those States for the commerce of the Potomac and Chesapeake Bay.

In order to do this a meeting of Commissioners of those States was arranged for March 28, 1785, at Mt. Vernon—the home of Washington. The Commissioners met at that date, and having perfected their scheme for mutual benefit as to the matters confided to them, the report of this joint commission was laid before their respective legislatures. By way of enlarging the policy adopted between these two States, Madison moved in the Virginia legislature for power to be given to Congress over the trade of the Union. It met with opposition and was laid over for a time. But Maryland, in announcing to Virginia its adhesion to the compact agreed upon by the joint commission, proposed that Commissioners from all the States should meet in convention to regulate American commerce.

Mr. Madison, taking advantage of this, proposed the resolution (January 21, 1786), which really initiated the effective movement for a Federal Convention.

It appointed Commissioners to meet others to be appointed by all the other States, to take into consideration the trade of the United States, and to report an act, which when unanimously ratified by all the States, will enable Congress to adopt uniform regulations for the same. Other States acceded to this proposal, and a convention met at Annapolis, September 11, 1786, of five States—New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, and Virginia.

New Jersey, in her response to the overture of Virginia for this Convention, had made an important addition to the purposes of the Convention to be held at Annapolis, which seems to have been suggested by another movement. Mr. Charles Pinkney of South Carolina, as one of a committee sent by Congress to the legislature of New Jersey, on the 13th of March, 1786, had urged upon that body the calling of a convention for "increasing the powers of the Federal Government and rendering it more adequate for the ends for which it was instituted."*

* Bancroft History C. U. S., 256–7.

New Jersey thereupon empowered her commissioners to the convention at Annapolis to confer not only as to a uniform system in commercial regulation but as to "*other important matters*," * * so as to "enable the United States in Congress assembled effectually to provide for the exigencies of the Union."

This was an important advance upon the Virginia proposition, but as only five States attended at Annapolis, the Convention (September 14, 1786) adjourned after issuing an address, drawn by Hamilton and signed by John Dickinson, its venerable president.

In that address, adverting to the suggestions of New Jersey, the convention proposed to their constituent States to obtain the concurrence of the other States to meet in Philadelphia on the second Monday in May, 1787, to take into consideration and devise further measures "to render the Constitution of the Federal Government adequate to the exigencies of the Union," etc.

Congress failed to act promptly upon this proposition, and the movement halted. But early in November, 1786, Virginia, on Madison's motion, unanimously passed the act for appointing commissioners to the Convention at Philadelphia, for the purposes named by the Annapolis convention, except that the measures proposed "should be confirmed by the several States," and not by their legislatures.

Other States followed in accord with this action, and Congress on the 21st of February, 1787, basing its action on the power of amendment of the Articles of Confederation provided for by them, declared it expedient in its opinion that the Convention should be held "for the sole and express purpose of revising" said Articles, &c.

A number of members met at the State house in Philadelphia on the 14th of May, 1787, but a majority of States not being represented, they adjourned from day to day until the 25th of May, when nine States were present. Connecticut appeared on the 29th, Maryland on the 2d of June, and New Hampshire not until July 23d. This made twelve States. Rhode Island never attended; New York never gave a vote in the Convention after July 10th, though Mr. Hamilton was

present and signed the Constitution, but did not cast the vote of the State, as the majority of the delegation, Yates and Lansing, had withdrawn. There were never more than eleven States present at any session—of whom six (counting Delaware), were Southern, and five were Northern States.

The master minds of the New World were there, Washington and Franklin, Hamilton and Madison, Mason and King, Ellsworth and Rutledge, the Pinkneys and the Morrises, Randolph and Gerry, Roger Sherman and Luther Martin, William Patterson and John Dickinson, Dr. Johnson and Davie, James Wilson and Butler, Langdon and Williamson, Breerly and Blair, Wythe and Gorhám, Livingston and Read, Baldwin and Bedford, and others.

They came together with a full sense of the political wants of the era, and of the various remedies proposed; impressed with the need for enlarged power, but of the equally great need of securing the liberty of the people of the States.

How shall a union of all be formed adequate to the defense of each, and the well-being of the general interests, which will yet conserve the internal policy, interests, and rights of the separate States and the liberty of their people? How can the diverse interests of the States, as units in this Federal empire, be so represented in the distribution of political authority, that power and liberty be not divorced? What power shall the States grant so as not to endanger the rights essential to be reserved in order to the security of the liberty of the people? Revolution had cut the cords which bound these young Republics to the thoughts and political philosophy of the old world. On the blank and unsoiled page of American polity these men were to write the words and outline the chart of Continental destiny, of which their posterity a century afterwards would read the history!

To destroy the old system, to upheave the ancient foundations had been a mighty but successful work. But to construct a new political edifice on a solid corner stone of constitutional wisdom, this was the herculean labor of our fathers a hundred years ago.

They were too wise to attempt a new order of things. They proposed to amend the old order and give it automatic efficiency;

to increase the functions of the old Union of States, but not to change radically its organism, to lay its foundations upon the will of sovereign peoples and not on the caprice of their ephemeral legislatures; to make the many one as to all matters where their interests and relations and rights were one, but to leave them separate and many, where polity, right, and interest were many and distinct. To grant power to all as to a right in which all had the same interest, was to wed power to right, which is the security of liberty; to reserve power to each as to a right which was peculiar to itself, and as to which all others were strangers, was to prevent the divorce of power from right, which is the peril of freedom.

The first fact to which I call your attention is that this is a convention of *states*. All votes are by states, and seven states make a quorum.

Two leading and rival schemes were presented to the convention; the one, the Virginia plan, really matured if not originated by Madison, but introduced and advocated with great ability, by Edmund Randolph, May 29th, 1787; and the other by Judge Patterson, of New Jersey, June 15th. Besides these, a plan in form and fullness of detail more like the instrument finally adopted than any other, was proposed by young Charles Pinkney, of South Carolina, on the same day that Mr. Randolph presented his proposition. Whether the draft found in the Journal of the Federal Convention and in Mr. Madison's debates, be precisely the same as that presented by Mr. Pinkney may well be doubted.* It must have been very much the same. Mr. Hamilton also suggested a plan June 18th which was so radically centralizing and contrary to the popular views which prevailed of government in its features, that it was neither referred nor voted on. But the votes of the convention were taken chiefly on the plans of Mr. Randolph and Mr. Patterson.

The debate on the Patterson plan lasted three days, during which Lansing and Patterson *for* and Wilson, Randolph, Hamilton, and Madison *against* the scheme were heard.

The Patterson scheme involved two main propositions distinct from the Randolph scheme, which had been reported

* See Appendix, No. 2, 3, Mad. Paper V.

June 13th, from the committee of the whole, to the convention. The Patterson plan proposed in substance:

1st. A single house of co-equal states, as under the confederation, with power of custom duties and taxes by requisitions.

2d. To make in some respects the efficient operation of federal acts dependent on state action, with a power of armed coercion by the federal authority against recusant states.

The first of these gave the absolute control of the whole government as to taxation and other matters, to a majority of states, which might be only one-fourth of the whole population. This will be more properly considered hereafter.

The last gave to Congress the power to will but not the power to execute its purposes, except through the states, and with power to coerce them by armed force. This proposal to use force was strongly condemned, as being in fact war between the states and thus destructive of the Union; and when proposed as part of the Virginia scheme, it had been postponed by the unanimous vote of the convention.*

The Patterson plan was substantially rejected, June 19th, by seven states to three (Massachusetts, Connecticut, Pennsylvania, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia against it and New York, New Jersey, and Delaware for it).

I will now consider the Virginia scheme.

Taking the census of 1790 as the measure of relative population, the four largest states, Massachusetts, Virginia, Pennsylvania, and North Carolina would have had a clear majority over the other nine, on a popular basis of representation. On the basis of states, seven small states with about 1,000,000 of population would have ruled the other six with nearly 3,000,000.

This state of things produced the first conflict in the convention, and was provoked by one of the resolutions in the Virginia scheme, which in the form they assumed under the action of the committee of the whole, consisted of nineteen resolutions.

The constitution of the legislative department was first considered.

On June 20th, Ellsworth, of Connecticut, a Yale man, moved to amend the first resolution, in which it was proposed,

* 2 Madison Papers, 761.

"That a national government be established," by striking out the word "national," so that it would read "the government of the United States;" which passed unanimously.*

The second resolution "That the national legislature consist of two branches," being amended by striking out the word "national," passed.† The word "national" was subsequently struck out of the whole plan, wherever it occurred.

As long as one house only was provided for, the conflict (you will observe) between the basis of representation on the states, or on population, was irreconcilable. This adoption of the bi-cameral plan was therefore one step in the direction of the final compromise.

The next step was to elect the first branch of the legislature by the people, which did not necessarily involve the non-equality of the states in that branch.‡ It only meant, that the people not the legislature of the state should be represented in that branch.

The next step was to elect the second branch by the state legislatures. This did not involve necessarily the question of equality of the states; but it involved the dependence of the government of the United States on the co-existence of the state legislatures. Both must exist; and the United States government, must die, if the state legislatures ceased to be. This passed.§

The 5th resolution, giving to each branch the power of originating acts, passed unamimously.‖

The 6th was postponed to take up the 7th and 8th.

These presented the battle-ground. The 7th resolution declared, that the right of suffrage in the first branch should not be according to the rule of the articles of confederation; that is, the equal votes of the states. The debate was opened on the 27th of June, by Luther Martin of Maryland, in favor of state equality.

On the 28th of June (whose centennial anniversary we

* Journal of Fed. Conv., 138–9.

† Journal of Fed. Conv., 14f. Ayes 7; Nays 3; N. Y., N. J. and Delaware. Maryland divided.

‡ Journal of Fed. Conv., 141. Ayes, 9; Nays, N. J. Maryland divided.

§ Journal of Fed. Conv., 147. Ayes 9; Nays 2; Penn. and Va.

‖ Journal of Fed. Conv., 153.

celebrate to-day) Mr. Martin continued his speech. Madison followed in opposition to state equality, in the first branch. He maintained that state equality as to taxation especially, would give to seven states, with one fourth of the whole population, power over three-fourths. He argued that under the articles of confederation, *nine* states controlled Congress, not *seven;* and that the large states protected themselves by their reserved power to refuse to submit to any unjust action of a majority of Congress; a power they would no longer have under the Virginia plan proposed by Governor Randolph.

Roger Sherman struck the key-note. "The question is, how the rights of the states may be most effectually guarded?" Things had come to a crisis. Both parties spoke of maintaining their respective positions without concession. Dr. Franklin said he believed that "God governs in the affairs of men!" He said if a sparrow does not fall without God's notice, how can a government rise without His aid. He believed, that "except the Lord build the house, they labor in vain who build it!" He moved to open the daily sessions of the convention with prayer for the Divine direction. Sherman seconded it. It was feared by many, that such action would alarm the public. The motion was not voted on.

On the next day (June 29th) the debate was opened by Dr. Johnson, of Connecticut. He referred to what George Mason had said on the 7th and 25th of June, and said, he "appears to have looked to the bottom of this matter." Mason had said that the state governments ought to have the power of self-defence, as essential to the system, and this could be done by allowing them to appoint the second branch, thus making them a constituent part of the system. Dr. Johnson said: "In one branch the people ought to be represented, in the other, the States." Ellsworth "did not despair. He still trusted that some good plan of government would be devised and adopted." After further debate, the rule of equality for the first branch was rejected. (Four states against six states and one divided.)

Ellsworth then proposed "that the rule of suffrage in the second branch be the same with that established by the articles of confederation"—that is the states to have equality of votes. He sustained it in a speech of great force. He said the first

branch being based on population would secure the large states against the small. His motion would secure the small against the large states. He hoped for compromise on this middle-ground. If not, except Massachusetts all the New England states would reject the scheme. In a later speech, he said, all that either party should desire was security against the power of the other. His compromise secured this to both.

Madison and Wilson strongly opposed it. Dr. Franklin quaintly said, "When a broad table is to be made and the edges of the planks do not fit, the joiner takes a little from both, and makes a good joint."

In a later speech, Ellsworth said, that "he wanted domestic happiness as well as general security. The national government could not descend to the local objects on which this depended. It could only embrace objects of a general nature. It cannot know my wants or relieve my distress. I turn my eyes therefore for the preservation of my rights to the state governments on which my happiness depends, as a new born infant depends on its mother for nourishment." The vote was taken and Ellsworth's motion for state equality in the second branch was lost by a tie vote.

A motion was made for a committee of one from each state on the question. After warm debate it was carried (July 2, 1787), and an adjournment was agreed to until after the celebration of the Fourth of July. The committee elected by ballot was very favorable to the equal vote of the states. Dr. Franklin in that committee moved for population as the basis of representation in the first branch, with the power to originate money bills, and for the equality of states in the second branch. This had been Roger Sherman's suggestion on the 11th of June, when it was rejected by a vote of five states to six states.

The vote was finally taken July 16th, and resulted in the adoption of the compromise—ayes, Connecticut, New Jersey, Delaware, Maryland, North Carolina, five states—nays, Pennsylvania, Virginia, South Carolina and Georgia, four states, Massachusetts divided.

Thus this great conflict was settled finally. It protected a majority of the whole population as to burdens and taxes from

the rule of a minority, and protected the states as such from the domination of a numerical majority. This conserved state power by state representation, but so as to secure men in their equal rights of property against an oligarchy through the exclusive power of the small states over the large ones. This is a splendid example of wedding power to right. Power in one branch is given to population in order to the security of the man in his personal liberty, and power to the states as such, in the other branch for the security of the states as free commonwealths. By requiring all law to have the assent of both branches, the legislative department was founded on the philosophic and practical principle of the "concurrent majorities" of two conflicting authorities, in order to protect the right represented by each, from the adverse action of the other.

This provision for the equal vote of the states, in the Senate was clinched by the motion Sept. 15th, "that no state without its consent shall be deprived of its equal suffrage in the Senate," which was unanimously adopted.*

In connection with this vital question of the distribution of political power, there arose another which it is necessary now to consider. As to the first branch (House of Representatives) it had been agreed, that its members should "be elected by the people of the several states," by a vote of nine states to one, another being divided. Mr. Randolph's original proposal had left this question open by proposing to base representation on the quotas of contribution, or on the number of free inhabitants, as should be deemed best in various cases.

This had been changed to the ratio proposed by Congress under the articles of confederation, April 18th, 1783, for contributions by the states to the federal treasury, that is on the basis of all free persons and three-fifths of slaves, by a vote of nine states to two. And it had been reported as a part of the compromise proposed on the 5th of July, already referred to, of which the equal vote of states in the Senate was a part.

To this there was added on the 9th of July, by a committee to which that part of the compromise was referred, a distribution of representatives between the states at the outset of the government, and a provision for changes proper to be thereafter made upon a periodical census.

* 3 Mad. papers 1592-3.

George Mason (on the 11th of July) stated, that according to the then population, the northern states would have a majority in the first branch. But, he said, as this condition might change, and the western states might be more populous than the Atlantic states, this changed condition of population should be provided for, by a census from time to time. Madison said population was tending from the northern states to the South and West.

The proposition for a periodical census for the reapportionment of representation, passed six states to four states. Whether slaves should be rated in representation, and whether representation should be based on wealth or free population, was then very fully discussed.

Mr. Gouverneur Morris, on the 12th of July, moved that direct taxation shall be in proportion to representation. This brought the convention to the point that taxing and representing slaves should be in the same proportion, if it were true that representation and taxation were correlatives, which seemed to be conceded. After many votes and much debate, the compromise was adopted, proportioning direct taxation to representation and basing both on white population and three-fifths of slaves, and requiring a census every ten years; by a vote of six states to two and two divided, Connecticut voting for it. This matter had been much debated in the Congress of the confederation, as well as in the convention, upon the point, that if the basis of representation was numbers, all slaves as men, should be counted, but if slaves were property and not men, they should not be. Such debate was a play upon words, and was put aside for a compromise on the basis of common sense and justice.

These several propositions having been voted on, the whole report including the organization of the two branches, and the origination of money bills in the first branch, came up for final action on the 14th of July.

The battle was re-opened. Madison said, the true antagonism in the union would not be between the large and small states, but between the northern and southern states. He said, "The institution of slavery, and its consequences, formed the line of discrimination." He said equality in the Senate gave

eight to the North and five to the South, and while in the House, the North would outnumber the South, yet not in the same degree, "and every day would tend to an equilibrium." Mr. Madison counted Delaware as a northern state. If counted with the South, the proportion in the Senate would be seven northern and six southern states.

In truth it seems to have been the opinion of many members North and South, that population would ultimately preponderate in the South, and that while the North would hold the Senate, the South would ultimately hold the House. It was a great mistake.

On the 16th of July, the whole report as amended was adopted. Connecticut, New Jersey, Delaware, Maryland, North Carolina, 5 ayes—Pennsylvania, Virginia, South Carolina and Georgia, 4 nays—Massachussetts divided.

It may be well now to follow the action of the convention on this delicate question to its end. The committee of detail to which was referred these Virginia resolutions as amended and finally adopted by the convention, and the plans of Mr. Charles Pinkney and Mr. Patterson, consisted of Messrs. Rutledge, Randolph, Gorham, Ellsworth, and Wilson.

On the 6th of August they reported as Art. 7, Sections 4, 5 and 6, a prohibition of tax on exports—a prohibition of all interference with the slave trade; the requirement that capitation taxes be in proportion to the census population; and the requirement of a two-thirds vote to pass a navigation act.

The prohibition of tax on exports was voted on August 21st —7 ayes, 4 nays. The question of slave trade was then debated. Rutledge said that North and South Carolina and Georgia would not give it up. Ellsworth said, "Let every State import what it pleases; the morality or wisdom of slavery are considerations belonging to the States themselves." "Let us not intermeddle." Gouverneur Morris wished the whole subject committed, with the question of export tax and navigation. "These things," said he, "may form a bargain between the northern and southern States." Sherman added, "It was better to let the southern States import slaves, if they made it a *sine qua non*, than to part with them." Mason denounced the slave trade with eloquent emphasis. The questions were

referred to a committee of eleven. On the 24th of August the report was made to the effect that the slave trade should not be prohibited prior to 1800, but might be subject to duty; the capitation clause to remain; and the clause requiring a two-thirds vote on navigation laws to be stricken out. The report was called up on the 25th of August. General C. C. Pinkney proposed to insert 1808 for 1800, as the year of limitation on the slave trade. Gorham (Massachusetts) seconded the motion. It was carried,—New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Maryland, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, 7 ayes; New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Virginia, 4 nays.

The capitation tax clause was agreed to *nem. con.* The navigation clause was postponed, but was called up on the 29th of August. Mr. Charles Pinkney renewed the proposition requiring a two-thirds vote for the regulation of commerce. General C. C. Pinkney opposed it, in view of the liberal conduct of New England on the slave trade question. Butler and Rutledge, of South Carolina, did the same. The motion was rejected,—ayes, 4; nays, 7. The report striking out the clause requiring a vote of two-thirds for a navigation act was then adopted *nem. con.* Butler then moved at once the fugitive slave clause, which was agreed to *nem. con.*

This is the history of the reconciliation of the differences between the large and small states, the free and slave states—the agricultural and commercial states.

It may be interesting in a word to state the relations of the states as to these questions at that time. Taking the census of 1790, the following facts are shown:

POPULATION.

New Hampshire	141,885	
Massachusetts (Maine included)	475,327	
Rhode Island	68,825	
Connecticut	237,946	
New York	340,120	
New Jersey	184,139	
Pennsylvania	434,373	
Northern States	———	1,882,615

Delaware	59,096	
Maryland	319,728	
Virginia (including Kentucky)	821,287	
North Carolina (including Tennessee)	429,442	
South Carolina	249,073	
Georgia	82,548	
Southern States		1,961,174
Total		3,843,789

Vermont is omitted (85,425) because not one of the original thirteen States. Counting it, the population of the northern would be 1,968,040, and of the southern States 1,961,174, very nearly equal. The south in numbers had a majority if Vermont be not counted.

Now see the effect of reducing the representation of slaves:

Total	3,843,789
Less two-fifths of 697,681 (slaves)	278,509
Leaving representative population	3,565,280

Of this total reduction of 278,509,

The south lost	262,930
The north lost	15,579
	278,509
Total population of southern states	1,961,174
Less loss of slave representation	262,930
Representative population	1,698,244
Total population of northern states	1,882,615
Less loss of slave representation	15,579
Representative population	1,867,036

In actual representation as fixed by the constitution itself, and until the first census, the north had 35, the south 30 representatives; the north having more than its due proportion.

One further remark is proper as to the question of slavery. When the constitution was adopted by thirteen States, twelve of them were and continued to be slave States until 1800; eleven of them until 1840, and seven until 1850. So that while the original northern states had but few slaves comparatively, the institution of slavery as such was allowed by law in

Rhode Island, New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania, and Connecticut until 1840, and in New Jersey until 1850. This appears by the census.*

I have thus far considered the adjustments of political power according to the diverse interests in the Union. As Mr. Madison sagaciously saw, the consequences of slave states in union with non-slave states begat diverse forms of occupations and industries, which gave rise to the other designation of them as commercial and agricultural states. The bargain to which Gouverneur Morris referred was the one in which the northern states secured to their majority in both houses the absolute control of the commercial power as against the south, who feared it; and it must be confessed, whether for good or ill, the monopoly of the interstate navigation, and advantages by discrimination in favor of our own shipping in foreign commerce, have been permanently secured to the American marine. The consideration obtained by the south for this concession of power to the north over commerce has vanished amid the fearful calamities of a strife, any reference to which may well be omitted in this address, if both north and south have, as I trust, from the storm of war made port in this centennial year with our ship, the old Constitution, sound and seaworthy for the centuries of voyage before us!

The frame of the legislative department having thus been considered, I will now take note of that of the two others.

More difficulty and less definite opinions were developed in the convention as to the executive department than on any other question. This arose from the obvious fact that in avoiding hereditary monarchy, the convention was driven to devise a new method for an elective executive of a republic.

Mr. Randolph's plan was to elect the executive for a term of years by the legislature, with the condition of ineligibility. This was attached to make the executive independent of those who had elected him, or of any future legislature, to whose will for re-election he might be tempted to be subservient. The plan did not determine whether the executive should be

* By a custom, which prevailed until California was admitted in 1850, the equilibrium between slave and free States was maintained in the Senate in the admission of new States, by admitting a slave and free state *pari passu*.

single or plural, but provided for a council of revision, composed of some of the judiciary.

After full debate and against proposals made to elect by the people, or by electors, it was unanimously decided to elect a single executive by the legislature; and this was the plan reported by the committee of detail, as late as August 6th. Joint ballot was adopted as the mode of election by the legislature. The small states divided on this question, and it was carried by 7 states to 4. Separate ballots of the two houses would have given great power to the smaller states, but Mr. Madison persuasively said that even by joint ballot the largest state would have an influence only as four to one of that of the smallest, when the population was ten to one; an obvious result also in the electoral system, subsequently adopted, as in the election by joint ballot of the two houses. The President by either method is not elected by a numerical majority. Nevada to-day casts more than one-twelfth of the electoral vote of New York and has little more than one one-hundredth of its population; or electorally is nine times as influential as it is numerically.

After much opposition to the plan, from time to time, it was referred to a committee of eleven, from which Mr. Brearly (N. J.), reported the electoral plan as late as September 4th, which had been first suggested by Mr. Wilson (Pa.) If there should be no election by a majority of all the electors for any candidate, then the Senate was to elect from the five highest candidates. Thus the electors, appointed as the state legislatures should direct, combined the numerical strength of the states with their co-equal strength as states, and in case of failure thus to elect, the election was to be made in the Senate by the co-equal states.

Great objection was made by Mason and others that the Senate by this plan would choose the President nineteen times in twenty, by so contriving to divide the electoral vote as to produce the contingency on which the Senate was to elect. He had not obviously anticipated the extra-constitutional, party method of national conventions.

Finally after much debate on a suggestion of Mr. Williamson (N. C.), Mr. Sherman moved to take the eventual choice of

President from the Senate and give it to the house, each state, however, having only one vote; the numerical force of the people of each state to express the equal voice of the state in the election. This was adopted September 6, ayes 10; nay, Delaware.

A motion for the electors to meet in one body at the seat of government was voted down. The electors were required to meet in their respective states. This settled finally the executive department as in one person, elected by a majority of electors, or in default of such majority, by the representatives of the people of the states voting as co-equal states.

A few words will suffice as to the frame of the judiciary. Mr. Randolph's plan proposed their appointment by the legislature, Mr. Patterson's by the executive, Mr. C. Pinkney's by the Senate. All provided for the tenure of good behavior, under which we have what is the anchor to our constitutional system, an independent judiciary—of whom the trite but noble Horatian lines may aptly be quoted:

> Non civium ardor prava jubentium,
> Non Vultus instantis Tyranni,
> Mente quatit Solida !

This has saved us from what Chief Justice Marshall so solemnly deprecated in the Virginia convention of 1829–30 for his mother commonwealth. That great jurist (he was a a member of that constitutional convention), said: "I have always thought from my earliest youth till now, that the greatest scourge an angry heaven can inflict upon an ungrateful and sinning people was an ignorant, a corrupt, or a dependent judiciary."*

After full consideration, the diverse propositions were reconciled by giving the nomination of the judges to the President, and the appointment to him, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate. By this the judiciary are nominated by the President as the representative of numbers and states combined, or eventually of numbers through states as equals; and are appointed by him with the advice and consent of a majority vote of coequal states in the Senate.

* Debates of Virginia Convention, p. 619.

This framework in its three departments of "the government of the United States" (as it is called in the constitution itself")* was adopted in convention by unanimous consent of the states on the 17th of September, 1787.

It was ordained for "the United States of America"—(the name which was given to the then confederacy, by the first of the articles of confederation) by the people of the several states in convention, and not by their legislatures, and was only binding on such states as so ratified it in such conventions.

It was an act of ratification by the people, in whom the sovereignty resides—the delegating authority—and not by the legislatures, which are the delegated authority of the people of the states through their state constitutions, and was therefore an authoritative declaration of the supremacy of the constitution of the United States, "anything in the constitution or laws of any state to the contrary notwithstanding."†

A question has been raised whether the government is national or federal, or partly both. The word "national" is nowhere found in the constitution, and was stricken out on Ellsworth's motion *nem. con.*, as we have seen. To hang a constitutional question on a word is not worthy of this discussion. But the appeal may be made to the constitution itself as to its real nature.

It is established by its clear language that the states in every department of the federal government are the constituents represented in it, and acting through it. This is clearly so as to the Senate.

As to the House of Representatives the constitution declares in clear language that its members shall be chosen "by the people of the several states," and the voters shall be fixed by the rules of suffrage for "the most numerous branch of the state legislature." The people of the state choose through voters authorized by themselves.

The members of the house must reside in the state where

* Art I, p. 8, Ch. 187.

† As to these points, I refer to the remarks of Mr. Mason. 2 Mad. Papers, 1177; of Mr. Madison, Id., 1471-2; and vote for conventions of several states; ayes 10, noes 1; Id. 1476-1541. See also the ratification of the conventions of the states in Journal of Fed. Convention; also Federalist, *passim*.

chosen. Representation is apportioned "among the several states." "Each state shall have at least one representative." Until the first census "the state of New Hampshire shall be entitled to choose three," etc. "When vacancies happen in the representation from any state," the executive thereof, etc. "Each state shall appoint in such manner as the legislature thereof may direct, a number of electors equal to the whole number of Senators and Representatives to which *the state* may be entitled in the Congress." And in the election of President by the house, "the representation from each state has one vote."

Each state is thus represented in each branch of Congress by members proportioned to numbers in the house, and irrespective of numbers and as co-equals in the Senate; but the states sit in each, by their representatives and senators.

The President is elected by electors appointed by each state. The language of the constitution is: "Each state shall appoint." The electors so appointed represent the states as to numbers and co-equality—and eventually states, as equals, may elect the President.

The judiciary and all officers are appointed by President and Senate. This makes the states the fountains of official power on the bench and every where.

These departments so framed constitute the government of the United States, a government of and for the union of republican commonwealths, by a combination of all for the good of all, and the protection of each; and leaving to each of them "that immense mass of legislation which (Chief Justice Marshall in Gibbons and Ogden said) embraces everything within the territory of a state, not surrendered to the general government, and which can be most advantageously exercised by the states themselves."

I think the philosophy of our wonderfully and profoundly wise Federative system is in what I have already said. Power and right are wedded, and never divorced. There are general interests in which all the states in union have rights. All must have power as to such, for the exclusion of anyone would be *pro tanto* to divorce its right from its power; to admit all is to wed the right of all to the power of all.

Then there are the local interests of each state which require to be under the exclusive power of each. That weds power and right. To admit any other state to control these, is to give an alien power over home right, and is *pro tanto* to divorce the right from power, and to give to a stranger power over another's right, where he has none.

General power of all over general interests, and local power of each over local interests. This is self-government. This secures liberty and peace and prosperity!

In the distribution of powers between the government of the United States and the states by this constitution, we will see and admire the application of the simple and philosophic principle of which I have spoken.

The union of the states began originally in 1774, in their sense of weakness in separation and of strength in combination. The power to defend each from a foreign foe was at once conceded, but the means to execute it was withheld. This imbecility of organization under which will was powerless because without means to effect its purpose, decided the convention to give the means to fulfill the duty imposed.

The first power given was to lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts and excises, with only a few limitations, to wit: No tax on exports: Direct tax in proportion to census population, and uniformity of duties, imposts and excises.

The war and peace power, to raise armies and navies and make treaties, etc., was essential to the common defense. This power, with the money power to support the armed forces, which under the confederation had been paralyzed by dependence on the states, was made independent by grant to the United States, with the duty imposed of the protection of each against invasion.*

These powers, including the treaty power, made the government of the United States a full representative of each of them, as to all foreign nations, and hence the like functions were denied to the states, except as to taxation, which was co-extensive, excluding any duties by the states for revenue on imports and exports. This secured peace between the Union and all the world, against the action of any one state, and

* C. U. S., Art. 4, § 4.

presented all the states to foreign nations as a united people. The nationality of each was confided to the federal head, which represents the combined nationality of all.

In the Virginia plan, a resolution amended and finally reported favorably as a basis for action by the committee of detail, proposed to give congress all the powers then vested in it by the confederation, and "to legislate in all cases for the general interest of the Union," and also wherein "the states are separately incompetent," and in which "the harmony of the United States might be interrupted by individual legislation." This embodies the philosophic principle already stated—power must co-exist with the rights to be subject to it.

It had been proposed in the Virginia plan to give to congress the power of negative on all state laws, contravening in its opinion the articles of union.

In debating this proposition on the 23d of August, John Rutledge (S. C.) said; "If nothing else, this alone would damn, and ought to damn, the constitution." Ellsworth and Sherman of Connecticut, seconded this emphatic denunciation, by vigorous statements which embodied a solemn "amen" to the Carolinian's protest. Its reference to a committee was defeated, and it was then forever abandoned.

A more perfect union was proposed than the confederation, in which an intercommunication of citizenship had been agreed upon, with free intercourse, subject however to duties and taxes, and the like. But free trade between the states and the title to all privileges and immunities of citizenship in each state for citizens of every state, were aimed at by this constitution. Each state had its own regulations of interstate commerce, and with foreign nations, and they were grossly unjust to their neighbors. Foreign nations were fighting our commerce and rights of navigation by restrictive measures, which such men as Adams, Franklin, Jefferson, Hamilton, and Madison wished to break down by retaliatory measures, so as to enforce free trade in the interests of our whole Union. This could not be done under the confederation; it was proposed to be done under the constitution.

Now, when we regard a system of free intercourse, commerce, inter-citizenship, as involving also a uniform currency,

the law of contracts, etc., we see how at once all these were naturally embraced in the general interests to be regulated by the government of the Union.

Hence, the regulation of foreign and interstate commerce, of bankruptcy, of currency, of coinage of money, etc., of a postal system, the patent and copyright laws, the government and disposal of the territory of the Union—all these were granted to the United States because they involved the rights of all, to be controlled by the power of all. It was equally proper to deny the power to any state to impair these rights of all by its separate action. And hence no state can coin money, emit bills of credit, make a legal tender but of coin, pass attainders or *ex post facto* laws, or impair the obligation of contracts. In all of this, the power and right are properly wedded, and never divorced—but the general right is under the power of the general government. On the other hand, the autonomy of the states is carefully secured. Their territory cannot be severed but by their consent. And even domestic disorders, such as Shay's rebellion, cannot be interfered with by the United States, unless the state applies for it, and then the United States must protect it.

It is true that the United States is required to guarantee to each state a republican form of government. That is a power conferred by the people of each state to secure to them this form of government, when force within its borders may lawlessly subvert it. It is a duty to the state and its people clothed with power, but not a power of intrusion on or against the will of the people of a state.

In truth this is a Union of Republics, and by inter-compact we have agreed it shall ever abide as the great Republic of Republics.

In comparing the articles of confederation with the constitution, there will be found to be no marked difference in the sum of legislative powers conferred except in two respects—the power of taxation and the regulation of commerce, foreign and interstate. The denial of powers to the states are in those respects, wherein their exercise would impair the integrity of the grants of like powers to Congress. The change was functional, not organic.

That nothing was intended to be done to impair the autonomy of the states or to impair their being as such, is manifest from many considerations to which I may briefly refer. The constitution is held binding between the ratifying states as a subsisting compact between them—the states are bound by special compacts for extradition of fugitives from justice and from labor—the denial to Congress of exercising powers over revenue or commerce so as to prefer one state to another—the need of state consent to congressional power over any place within its territory—the reserved state power over the appointment of officers of militia—the necessary action by each state in the organism of the executive and legislative departments of the Union, and in the amendments of the constitution—the recognition of treason as a crime against a state—and the amendments adopted in the first decade, to which reference will be made hereafter. Besides it may be added that the government of the United States imports, *ex vi termini*, the coexistence of the Union with the states composing it; and the supreme court has said (Collector vs. Day),* "without them the general government would disappear from the family of nations." Not so, however, as to the states without the Union; for Mr. Hamilton quotes (9th No. of *Federalist*) from Montesquieu this remark as applicable to the Union: "The confederacy may be dissolved, and the confederates preserve their sovereignty."

And Mr. Hamilton in the 28th number, and Madison in the 40th number of the *Federalist*, maintain that the states, through their separate governments, are fully clothed with powers to defend their liberties against the armed usurpations of the federal government.

Other marked distinctions between the confederation and the Union may be mentioned: the creation of two houses of Congress instead of one—of the executive and judicial departments, with powers coördinate to those of Congress—and the supremacy of the constitution and laws of United States made in pursuance thereof and of treaties, over all the constitutions and laws of the several states, to be enforced through judicial decision.

* 11 Wallace, 125.

These changes produced important results, but must be interpreted in connection with and with special reference to the emphatic declaration of the 10th amendment of the constitution, proposed in the first Congress of 1789, before the government was fully in operation, and soon after the constitution was ratified. That amendment is in these words:

"The powers *not delegated to the* United States by the constitution, nor prohibited to the states, are reserved to the states respectively or to the people."

I cannot forbear to quote the language of the Supreme Court, since the war, as to the relations of the government of the United States with the several states. In Texas vs. White,* Chief Justice Chase declares: "The constitution in all its provisions looks to an indissoluble Union composed of indestructible states" (page 725.)

But the chief justice declared in the same case, that "the separate and independent autonomy to the states," not only was not lost "through their Union under the constitution," but "that the preservation of the states and the maintenance of their governments are as much within the design and care of the constitution as the preservation of the Union and the maintenance of the national government." In Lane County vs. Oregon,† the same court by Chief Justice Chase maintained "the independent authority of the states;" and he added with clear emphasis, that "to them nearly the whole charge of interior regulation is committed or left; to them and to the people all powers not expressly delegated to the national government are reserved." In Collector vs. Day,‡ the same court decided that the power of Congress to lay and collect taxes could not be exercised by laying a tax on the salary of a state judge; that this government could not touch his salary, because it would abridge the absolute right of a state to use all means in its discretion for its own government without any interference with them by Congress. In the Slaughter-house case,§ Mr. Justice Miller, after speaking of the danger of disunion having given occasion for the late amendments of the constitution, says: "But however pervading this sentiment, and however it may have contributed to the adoption

* 7 Wallace, 701. † 7 Wall., 76. ‡ 11 Wall., 113. § 6 Wall., 36.

of the amendments we have been considering, we do not see in those amendments any purpose to destroy the main features of the general system. Under the pressure of all the excited feeling growing out of the war our statesmen have still believed that the existence of the states with powers for domestic and local government, including the regulation of civil rights, the rights of persons and property, was essential to the perfect working of our complex form of government, though they have thought proper to impose additional limitations on the states and to confer additional power on that of the nation.

"But whatever fluctuations may be seen in the history of public opinion on this subject . . . this court . . . has always held with a steady and even hand the balance between state and federal power," etc.

In United States vs. Cruikshanks,* decided in 1875, Chief Justice Waite, a distinguished son of Connecticut, and an alumnus of Yale, speaking for the whole court, said: "The government of the United States is one of delegated powers alone. Its authority is limited and defined by the constitution. All powers not granted to it by that instrument are reserved to the states or the people. No rights can be acquired under the constitution or laws of the United States except such as the government of the United States has the authority to grant or secure. All that cannot be so granted or secured are left under the protection of the states."

The force of the amendments proposed by the first Congress consists in their being declaratory. They fix the interpretation of this constitution—and were proposed, with a preamble which stated that "the conventions of a number of the states having at the time of their adopting the constitution declared a desire, in order to prevent misconstruction or abuse of its powers that further declaratory and restrictive clauses should be added," etc. These ten amendments and the eleventh may be regarded as part of the work of the federal convention, having been adopted so soon after its session, and as an authoritative interpretation by many of its members of the true character of the constitution it proposed. They were substantially a bill of

* 92 United States Reports, 542.

rights defining and construing the language of the constitution itself. Indeed the ninth and eleventh amendments in terms exclude a certain construction of the constitution. The eleventh specially says: "The judicial power of the United States shall not be construed" to extend to the suability "of one of the United States by citizens of another state, or by citizens or subjects of any foreign state." It had been so construed in Chisholm vs. Georgia.* The states by this amendment commanded that no such construction should be made and therefore the Supreme Court obeyed this constitutional order, and dismissed Hollingsworth vs. Virginia† The other amendments declare for the civil and religious liberty of the citizens as against all the departments of the government, and in conjunction with those in the original constitution denying to the Congress as well as to the states the power to pass *ex post facto* laws, or bills of attainder and to Congress the power to suspend the privilege of *habeas corpus*, makes this great instrument a shield for the humblest man in his life, liberty, and property against all the powers of all governments.

The executive department is vested in the President alone, except as to treaties and appointments to office. These the President always shares with the Senate as to treaties, generally as to offices.

Congress raises armies and provides navies. The President commands them in chief—but lest he should use the army against liberty, Congress cannot appropropriate money for the support of an army but for two years—herein copying the principle of the English mutiny bill, which has the limitation for one year only.

The veto power was much contested in the convention, but was at last conferred on the President, subject to the re-passage of the bill objected to by two-thirds of each house of Congress. This executive check on legislative power is valuable as a defense of the presidential office against invasion by Congress and of the constitution against violation, and of the rights of the people and states against abuses of power by Congress. By requiring, in case of a veto, two-thirds of the states, and of their whole population to concur in repassing the measure

* 2 Dallas, 419. † 3 Dallas, 378.

objected to, it protects a minority of the people and of states, against abuses of power by a bare majority of both—an evil so apt to exist even under free institutions.

The dignity of the government of the United States in its relations to foreign nations, and the execution of its laws, is confided to the President.

It will thus be seen how important are the functions confided to the states as such, through the Senate, in treaties with foreign powers, and in the matter of official patronage.

The judicial department consists constitutionally of a Supreme Court, but by law, also of such inferior courts as Congress may establish. Its jurisdiction is as to such matters as preferably, for the ends of justice, such courts can better administer than the local courts of the states. To insure the supremacy of the federal constitution under judicial power, all cases arising under it, or under laws or treaties made by its authority, are vested in the judiciary of the Union, and all cases between parties, as to any of whom state courts might have a bias or partiality, are likewise confided for decision to the courts of the United States. The only judicial functions which relate to the federal government not confided to the courts, is that of impeachment of public officers. In these cases of political offenses, the House of Representatives accuses, and the Senate tries. The people charge the crime, and the states try the offender.

We thus have seen that this great convention by the constitution proposed to and ratified by the states in their capacity of separate bodies-politic, created a government with delegated powers to legislate for the general interests of all, excluding the internal polity of each, and with automatic authority to execute its constitutional will, through the decision of an independent judiciary.

It is due to the unquestioned merit and ability of Gouverneur Morris, to say that after all the details had been decided upon, his mind and pen cast into the matchless form, in which it was finally ratified, the work of the convention. The original skeleton was due more to Mr. Charles Pinkney of South Carolina, and in a better shape from the committee of detail to the famous John Rutledge of the same state. It was a remarkable but merited tribute to this wise work of this great convention

which was paid to it by that grand old man * of England, who to-day struggles to adjust the domain of imperial authority in its relations to local power and personal liberty in Great Britain. He says: "As the British constitution is the most subtile organization which has proceeded from progressive history, so the American constitution is the most wonderful work ever struck off at a given time by the brain and purpose of man."

In looking at the history of the operation of this constitutional system, we cannot be insensible to the fact that it left to posterity problems which it failed to settle, and which have resulted in calamities, it was perhaps not given to human wisdom to prevent. A union of states differing radically in interests, from the existence in some of the institution of slavery, for which neither that nor succeeding generations were responsible, produced an angry conflict of sentiment, which eventuated in one of the most tremendous wars of modern times, in which military genius and martial heroism for four years in rival hosts contended for victory.

As a native and devoted son of Virginia, with convictions as sincere as they were adverse to your own, I shall not obtrude a vindication of her course in that unhappy strife before this audience. It would be a violation of good taste, and would be unnecessary to my theme.

The constitution gave to the South no adequate power to defend her right, and slavery perished under the power of the Union, and without the consent of the states where it existed. Amendments to the constitution have been ratified by the states, and have settled to-day, what was unsettled a century ago, three constitutional principles:

1. Slavery can never exist in any of the United States.†

2. The constitutional right of a state to secede is forever taken away by the 14th amendment.

3. The *power* through suffrage, of the negro to defend his *right* of personal freedom is secured by the 15th amendment.

To these results, as parts of our constitutional system, I bow without reservation, and yield to them the obedience due by a citizen of Virginia to the supreme law of the land.

* Gladstone. † C. U. S., 13th Amendment.

Joining hands, and uniting hearts, we henceforth in this federal Union, must labor to save the system in which we are equally interested, from the dangers which surround it. To some of these dangers you will allow me to allude, in closing this already too prolonged discussion:

First—Danger to Man-Right; to the right of the individual, by centralized power. This centralistic tendency in our day is two-fold; social and political. Corporate combinations of wealth and enterprise, valuable in themselves and important and in some respects essential, and to be protected in their vested rights, are filling all the avenues of social industry in exclusive or injurious competition with individual energy and personal right. These corporate bodies are the creatures of law—and the law must take care they shall not invade the sanctity of the rights of the free man.

Political centralization in the state and general government shows itself in a too great tendency to control, regulate, and direct the industry and enterprises of individual men.

It claims the name of "paternal government," the Patria Potestas of ancient despotism, and merging the man in the mass, and directing the destiny of all, too often does, nay—in the long run, must sacrifice the interests of the toiling, home-staying many, to the grasp and greed of the few fawning parasites, who crowd the lobby and swarm the corridors of legislative bodies. We must reform this altogether, or the lobby influence of pampered monopolies at the center will eat up the substance and crush out the liberties of the people in their homes.

Paternity in government begets class legislation, and instead of leaving each man to enjoy the fruits of his toil, pools the earnings of society and fattens its favorite children in palaces of splendor and starves its foundlings in hovels of squalor and misery.

The world is governed too much. "Give man the maximum of liberty, and government the minimum of power, consistent with social order," is a sound canon of political science.

Second—The geographical unity of the republic enhanced by steam and telegraph and telephone, begets a feeling of paternity for the federal government, and gives rise to schemes,

corporate and otherwise, to be fostered by congressional action, in the interest of seeming national benefit, but really and chiefly of advantage to a favored few. A full treasury, kept full for the purpose, is clamorously sought to be emptied into the pockets of these parasites of power, and the veins of the people are drained to fill those of the classes upon whom a good and fatherly government lavishes its bounteous benefactions.

Whether Congress has power to take the money of the mass, to squander on its favorites, has come to be a question for the ridicule of the scoffer; and a faithful adherence to the constitution is regarded as the pitiable drivel of the era in which the constitution was adopted and unworthy of the statesmanship of a century later.

All of this is increased by the inherent evils of indirect taxation, to which Congress exclusively resorts. The taxpayer, unconscious of the burdens it imposes, though suffering from the evils it entails, holds his representative to a slack responsibility for profuse expenditures, which seem only to add splendor to the government by a process which narcotizes into insensibility the people it impoverishes.

Taxation in this form puts extravagance beyond the reach of public complaint, because it is indulged without the popular consciousness that it tithes the wages of labor to fill the coffers of privilege.

Third—But indirect taxation has other fearful consequences, as it is used for a revenue or for a collateral object.

If used for revenue—when the states are confined to direct taxation—it makes all schemes that are effectuated through money more popular, if exerted by means of federal than of state taxation; because of the latter the taxpayer is painfully sensible, of the former he is entirely unconscious. The people are thus by a delusion ensnared into a transfer of the reserved powers of the states to the federal government, because men think it costs them more for the state, than for Congress, to do what it is the state's local duty to do. This is not a fanciful picture, but a practical reality.

But when indirect taxation is used not for revenue only, but to foster privileged interests; when commerce is regulated by

duties, not as it was designed by the fathers a century ago, to force foreign nations into free trade with us and unrestricted navigation laws, but to destory free commerce and to create monopolies, it becomes a tax on one class to bestow bounties on another, and realizes the consummation of all despotisms, which have in all time fostered and fattened the favorite few by exacting an exhausting tribute from the mass.

Fourth.—The war and its supposed necessities—the loose methods of interpretation and practice, which come into use in troublous times in every country; the attractions to the masses of a national government, with a splendor that rivals that of other nations of the world, to which easy travel has led too many of our people to aspire; the luxury begotten of our miraculous increase of wealth; and the ignorance among our young men of the true history of the constitution built by the fathers, with their ideas and habits of primitive and republican simplicity—all these conduce to an indifference to the necessity of preserving in all its integrity the equilibrium between the delegated and reserved authority—between the powers of centralism and the powers of the states.

Fifth.—One other danger arises fram the perversion of the frame of the executive department, and of its power of patronage.

It was designed that a select body of electors in each state should separately indicate their choice for President, and then in case of the states not being united in a majority of the electors on the same person, that the states through the house of representatives should elect. National conventions of partizans, however, now dictate the person to obedient electors, and the eventual power of election by states is thus defeated. This makes the choice of president by a numerical majority, not by the independent voice of the several states through their electors, nor eventually by the states, with co-equal weight of suffrage. This has practically changed the elective system for the presidency.

The cabal and intrigue, feared in the federal convention, from an election by congress, are exaggerated in the corrupt combinations of a national convention, composed largely of office-seekers, whose greed for the spoils too often is the sum of their zealous patriotism.

Then, the platform for the executive candidate centralizes public sentiment as to public measures, and practically controls all action in both houses of congress, and the President thus becomes the representative center of all opinion and the index to all political action.

This system thus tends to centralize the government in the executive, and to an elective monarchy.

And then, patronage is claimed of the President by the spoilsmen who elevated him. Office-seeking makes a trade of statesmanship, and the civil service becomes a corrupt system of rewards and punishments for the friends and enemies of the executive. These evils, connected with the executive office and the patronage attached to it, call for the earnest efforts of patriotism to rescue the government from the rottenness of corruption, more dangerous to liberty than the anarchy of disunion!

Sixth.—New states, in territorial condition the protegés of congress, do not for years overcome their sense of subordination or rise to self-consciousness as the original fountains of authority, out of which the old states delegated powers to the federal government. The theoretic relation of constitutional co-equality in this regard with the old states meets with practical doubt, if not denial in the self-consciousness of the new states; and this has done much to depress the reserved rights of Connecticut and Virginia, instead of elevating the sense of statehood in Nevada and Colorado.

Public sentiment must conform the practical to the constitutional relation; for as, had there been no states, it would have been profound political wisdom to have constituted them as the nuclei of local liberty, so having been instituted by the beneficence of Divine Providence as the creators of our federal system, it becomes the highest duty of patriotism to protect with pious devotion these state organisms in all their rights, as the guardians appointed by heaven's wisdom to save liberty from centralism. For let it never be forgotten, that when the local right and peculiar interests of a state are withdrawn from the exclusive control of the local state authority, they are subjected to the domination of states alien, perhaps adverse, in interest, which must beget misrule and abuse of power destruc-

tive of liberty. It divorces power from right, instead of wedding power to right. Despotism may live in splendor, but freedom will perish in misery.

Our ship of state must be steered with steady helm between the Scylla of anarchy and the Charybdis of centralism—dissolution and despotism. *In medio tutissimus ibis!* By the law of our political life, the decree of our fathers in 1787, and of all the American peoples in 1887, should be proclaimed as fixed, final, and unalterable.—The states cannot destroy the Union; the Union must not destroy the states; liberty and Union, under this *magna charta* of the United States, must be one and inseparable, now and forever!

Mr. Madison, at the close of his invaluable reports of the debates of this convention (which are at once evidence of his industry, care, ability and patriotism) states that as the last members were signing the constitution, Dr. Franklin, looking at a painting of the sun behind the chair of the President, remarked on the difficulty in art of distinguishing a rising from a setting sun. "My hopes and fears," said he "have so conflicted as to the issue of this convention, that I could not tell whether that was a rising or a setting sun; but now I am happy to know, "*It is a rising sun!*"

If, with this prediction a century ago, I may dare to speak to-day, for my native commonwealth, first in age, and second to none in the glory of duty well and nobly done, whose pen and sword, of well-matched might, declared and led the way to win American independence—for that dear Old Dominion, whose Washington, Madison, Mason, and Randolph, in council with your Sherman, Ellsworth, and Johnson, united to construct this federative republic by a solemn compact between thirteen commonwealths, who through a common peril had achieved a common safety—I would in the venerable name of Virginia adjure the old and the young men of Connecticut, these sons of Yale, some with matured fame, and others aspirants for life's honors, to join with the old and young men of my once rich and powerful mother state, now rent in twain and wasted and worn by the misfortunes of war, in one solemn vow, as solemn as when the delegates of the two states, on the 17th of September, 1787, signed the federal bond; that we will defend

and uphold this constitution in all the integrity of its granted powers, and in the full autonomy of the states composing the Union, with our minds, our hearts, our lives—as our only assurance of peace among the states and of peace with the world; as our guaranty of free thought, free conscience, free commerce, free men, and a free continent! And as the prophetic eye of the Father of American Science greeted it in its rising, on that memorable day, so, now in its zenith and power, let us vow to perpetuate it, as the Hope of mankind in every clime and to all generations,—as the true and everlasting monument of "Liberty enlightening the world!"

J. Randolph Tucker.

ARTICLE IV.—RECENT VIEWS OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

THERE are few things in modern literary history more astonishing than the chorus of detraction which assailed the eighteenth century at the opening of our own era. Yet it was not the sudden unlooked-for onset it has so often been described. The nuclei of antipathy to its prevailing modes of thought and feeling began to appear towards the middle of its career,—little separate, mostly unobserved centres of reaction dispersing widely in evergrowing rings. Shred by shred the old Queen Anne and Georgian life fell away or became transformed into fresher growths. All through its last decades, particularly, we stand not unlike spectators at the lens of a microscope watching the gradual evolution, so perfectly have the recent studies of the critics and men-of-letters reflected it for us.

In recognizing the gradualness of the change, however, it is important not to overlook its completeness. It was certainly a revolution, but it arose and expanded according to the laws of sequence, which are not apparently wholly uniform or traceable; and it had its period of culmination—that period when men turned upon its Alma Mater, the Goddess of Reason, and spurned her with the feet of newly roused scorn. We remember how Blake soared away from the arid regions of its art into a world of weird and delicate phantasy of his own unassisted creation; how Burns, walking afield, filled with the blithe air of a new earth, broke into song such as had never visited even the dreams of the Augustan poets. But these twain wrought one song by dint of the inherent spontaneity of their genius; they went the whole length of revolt, but not from conscious and systematic reflection. The movement of action, of organized arraignment of the last century, and a reasoned departure from its methods and aims,—the final moment of culmination—comes from the great romantic group in which the new criticism originated. We have to remember the unsparing judgment that Wordsworth brought against the

eighteenth century poetry; how judicially it was confirmed by Coleridge, coupled with a lofty rejection of its religion and metaphysics; the derisive raillery of Keats and the droll girding of Lamb. Their reaction, however, was chiefly literary. The full measure of invective, the final comprehensive word of unreason and abuse remained to be uttered—and how uttered? by the most untamed of the modern apostles of culture Among all Carlyle's exhibitions of whimsicality I know none more extraordinary, and, perhaps I should say, more painful, than his phrenzied diatribes against the eighteenth century. The attacks of romantic poets and critics were aimed against a single phase of its activity, and if severe and at times extravagant, they were at least developed generally with care, after patient analysis and with certain reservations. But the illustrious worshipper of heroes—nearly all of whom it is significant, were the children of that unspeakable epoch—embraces the entire life and achievement of the century in the thunderstorm of his wrath. "It is the age," growls old Teufelsdrockh, who is the type of the modern Truth-seeker, "it is the age of prose, of lying, of sham, the peculiar era of cant." "The embodiment," Carlyle declares in his own person, "of Frivolity, Formalism, and Commonplace, an effete world; wherein Wonder, Greatness, Godhood, could not dwell." One would have thought, after this, that the fountains of uttermost disparagement were exhausted, but reinforcements sprung up from an unexpected quarter. In religious sentiment Carlyle and Newman, and Mill and Newman in logic, stand at the antipodes of each other, yet it was by Newman and the Anglo-Catholics that the next blow was struck, when discarding the ultra-Protestantism of the last century, they expunged the epoch of Wesley and Whitfield from the church calendar; and by Mill that its force was carried on and employed to overturn the relicts of the old philosophy.

A more moderate and favorable estimate was in the meantime growing up and very slowly winning its way. Thackeray was perhaps the first English man-of-letters (Byron always clung to the art of Pope and Gifford) who recoiled from the critical position of the Lakists, the first to look back upon the near past genially, with a smile for its defects and a keen and

even sympathetic appreciation of its excellences, many of which at least, in its fiction, were cousin germane to his own. And then came George Eliot and Mr. Froude, the one with her richly colored pictures of the midland rural life of the Georges' time, and the other with his brilliant historic sketches and their plea for the superiority of the last century over the present one. This estimate was abundantly borne out and illustrated subsequently by the historian Lecky, Leslie Stephens, Mrs. Oliphant, Charles de Remusat, and others. Still more recently, however, a new school of criticism has appeared which, in defending the eighteenth century from the calumnies of the earlier writers, has left far behind the negative and objective attitude of Thackeray and George Eliot. They have undertaken to rehabilitate the preceding century, to set it in a new light, to set forth its supremacy in many matters. Conspicuous in this collective effort are the expository labors of the late Karl Hillebrand, Frederick Harrison, and Mr. Edmund Gosse. To the versatile German critic, whose exposition of the defects of the Popan classicality is the most penetrating and complete we possess, the eighteenth century is the "most truly human and fruitful of all the ages." In an admirable review of its character, he undertakes to show that "the political, religious, and literary" development of England was never "in a more active, and consequently in a more fruitful condition than during this age of supposed torpor."* This comprehensive panegyric was supported a few years later by the brilliant apostle of positivism. "In achievement," Mr. Harrison declares this much decried epoch to have been, "the equal of any century since the middle ages." "Of all eras," he says again, with his trumpet tone, "the richest, most various, most creative." Above all, if we seek for its trait of distinction among other times, it is emphatically "the humane age." These conclusions, it is only just to say, are based on the results of recent historic research, and particularly on the full and exact studies of the eighteenth century life and literature which Mr. Lecky and Leslie Stephens have given to the world. Taken collectively, they constitute what may very fairly be termed a revolution in the manner of regarding the last century. The mis-

* *The Contemporary*, January, 1880.

carriage of justice in the previous school of criticism is more than atoned for by this new birth and reconstruction of opinion. But if it metes out simple justice and not eulogy, if it is a timely and deeply-needed reparation, it cannot notwithstanding be extended to cover all departments of activity. The reparative tendency took one step too far, and that in a single direction to which I shall presently refer.

Every one who has followed the beaten path of historical criticism will be perfectly willing to admit the general justice of Karl Hillebrand and Mr. Harrison's views of the eighteenth century. In science and in industry the age reached admirable results, far surpassing the preceding century. But these have their roots in the structure of the understanding. The accessions it made to the growth of English prose, the admirable perfection its best style attained in simplicity, directness, and flexibility, have often been pointed out. It is impossible to deny the greatness of the fiction it gave to the world in such unrivalled profusion; the modern novel and romance have no doubt penetrated profounder depths and developed a far finer and subtler art, but in their variety and freedom, in their abundant humor, in their large and powerful picturing of English life and manners, these old novelists easily command a whole realm of their own creation. It was the period when English literature was enriched with a succulent store of wit and satire—the wit of Pope and Goldsmith, the satire of Swift and Addison and Gifford. It is impossible not to be struck with the invariable presence of taste, a taste for the morals, for the didactic poetry, and philosophical tales of the day, a taste for correctness, precision in expression, a taste for solid fact and for satire, a taste polished and academic within its restricted sphere. We know it finally, as an age alert and fruitful in criticism. Few literary eras have been more so. The spirit of inquiry and analysis was keen in both philosophy and scholarship, exploring certain provinces of thought with great acumen, organizing sciences, defining systems of belief.

When, however, we turn to this age so active in production and criticism, and ask what the best minds thought and felt about these things which are precious to us now, which form an integral part of our mental and emotional life, the pure

sources of delight and wisdom in poetry and art,—we at once come against a body of conceptions that seem like those of another world. I am speaking, of course, of only a single branch of the fine arts and in only the most general terms at that. What is necessary is to get at a clear notion of the nature and scope of its poetry and also criticism.

We open the essays of Addison on the Pleasures of the Imagination or read his exposition of Paradise Lost, which did so much to make Milton known to that generation, and cannot fail to see how lucid is his criticism, how grave and elegant, and this notwithstanding the artificial tests brought to bear from foreign literatures upon his own. Historically, his critical importance is great; and M. Bel-Jame notices in an interesting passage that he really inaugurated literary criticism for the English.* His fine and delicate mind penetrated as far as his perspective permitted, and discerned whatever beauty lay within his range; but how limited was that range, how bounded that perspective! When in a happy hour he rose so much above his time as to discern the genuine charm of the ballad of *Chevy Chace*, which no maxim of his favorite Boileau could approve, it was but to draw upon himself the scorn of all his fellows, and call forth a stern rebuke from the great Dr. Johnson, who saw in that beautiful old ballad nothing but a "chill and lifeless imbecility." Yet few had reflected more than Johnson upon the nature and function of poetry. In the analysis of the writings of most of his contemporaries, in the domain of manners and practical life, his judgments were singularly acute and weighty, but as soon as he ventured into the higher regions of the imagination, what blunders, what insensibility, what narrow prejudices! There is, perhaps, no more striking example of the inevitable perverseness, the unavoidable imperfection of literary canons formed on alien or inferior models; for the canons of the critics were, as we shall see, partly Latin and partly French. The same deficiencies reappear in all the critics, in Berkley, Bentley, Pope, Steele, the best minds of the age. They were rational clear and definite; their ideas have proportion and arrangement—the higher qualities of prose writers; but all these united were not sufficient

* *Le Public et les Hommes de Lettres*, p. 311.

to preserve them from what seem to us grotesque mistakes in comparative criticism. We recall Johnson's estimate of Milton's versification and of Shakespeare's sonnets, Addison's deliverances on Tuscan poetry, Bentley's censure of Milton, the common depreciation of Chaucer, how uniformly Cowley is preferred to Milton, Pope to Gray, Akenside to Collins, how invariably they mistook rhetoric and declamation for passion, correctness for elegance, smoothness for grace, eloquence for genius. These are isolated examples, but they indicate the quality and direction of the best taste of the age, and help to fix its memory for us.*

But this whole ground has been traversed so often, the charge against the critical standards of the eighteenth century has been made so complete and secure, that it is unnecessary to linger over it. Of the poetry of the age, however, it seems perhaps not irrevelent to venture a brief review, that the way may be fully cleared for a juster estimate of its character and historical place in English literature. Besides, the retrospection has a peculiar needfulness at a time when three of the greatest poets of a succeeding era, simply on the arbitrary consideration that they began their career within the limits of the century, are being claimed as examples of its highest reach of productiveness.

To sustain his thesis, Karl Hillebrand has to include Burns in the rationalistic group; Mr. Harrison adds Blake and Wordsworth. Not satisfied with this arbitrary grouping, he is compelled by the exigency of his argument to identify prose with poetry, a still very questionable canon of art. By any other consideration, by organic relation, by natural affinity, it is certain that Wordsworth, Coleridge, and Burns belong as little in the quality of their genius to the eighteenth century as they do to the seventeenth. Their temper, their aims, their work were born of a spirit most clearly opposite to that of the last century, of a spirit that attained its height and fruition only in our own time. This kind of classification indeed brings us face to face with what seems in one case a contradiction and in the other a pure misapprehension of historical develop-

* There is a very characteristic passage in Sir William Temple's essays on poetry, which indicates the range of academic taste among men of refinement. See his Works, vol. i., p. 147.

ment. No writer has remonstrated more forcibly than Mr. Harrison against the superficial habit of fixing conventional limits to organic phenomena, as if human life and literature could be parcelled out in little squares, like a chess-board, each a homogeneous unit, never overlapping with any other, or suffering transpositions. Setting aside these minor marks of partisanship, it is only fair to say that the estimate of the German and English critics is in general, the result of disinterested research, a calmer perspective and a more catholic temper; but again, I must add, their plea covers too wide a field; it announces principles that will not hold entirely good in the special question before us, namely, the contribution of the century to the highest order of poetry. The nicest discrimination is required in this debatable province, and it cannot be said to have been exercised by either of them. The real problem is inadequately stated; its difficulties are not analyzed, and hardly even presented with impartiality.

At this juncture happily we have the pleasure of encountering one of England's most skillful verse-men and accomplished man-of-letters who comes to fill in the outline already indicated, to supply all the necessary details, and to express with perspicuity and brilliant effect the new ideas which have lately taken form about the poetry of the eighteenth century, its value and precise rank and mission in English literature. Mr. Edmund Gosse's *Inquiry into the Causes and Phenomena of the Rise of Classical Poetry in England* must be still fresh in most readers' minds. It is a book full of scholarship and crammed with curious facts, the trove of antiquarian research; it suggests also some novel lines of thought, and opens still others even more novel; but as a treatise on the origins of classical poetry it has seemed to far better judges than the present writer lamentably unsatisfactory. Mr. Gosse starts the great question of causes, he states the difficulties lucidly; he eludes them in the end with clever ingenuity. His main contention is that English classicism was native-born and not the product of French influence; and here, in tracing the growth of the distich and square-toed rhyme, Mr. Gosse opens a new vein and makes a really valuable and original contribution to literary criticism.

But this novel contention is accompanied by another far more opposed to accepted canons and directly pertinent to the subject of this paper. The collective body of eighteenth century literature, according to Mr. Gosse's argument, shows not a relapse, but a decided step in advance. In poetry especially, Mr. Gosse says, "the classical movement was not, as has been the habit to suppose, a meaningless and stupid decline into dulness." "It was a reaction of common sense from barbarism, a return to rule after license, an act of self-preservation on the part of literature." It is not a period of mediocrity; on the contrary it is a period of advance, of reform, of perfection, "a necessary element in the progress of the human mind." Again: "I hold that it was an absolute necessity, if English poetry was to exist, that a period of consecutive severity and attention to form should succeed the hysterical riot of the Jacobeans. The classic movement supplied that basis of style, in prose and verse, upon which all more recent literature has been elevated, and if we have chosen to cover it up and forget it, and to return in our poetical architecture to selected models from earlier schools, it is none the less due to the labors of Waller, Dryden, and Pope, that we have solid ground work on which to support these brilliant fabrics of the imagination." The lines I have quoted are a little vague, but if Mr. Gosse by "all more recent literature" means literature from the time of Wordsworth and Burns, the statement is a remarkable one. Wordsworth, Coleridge, Shelley, Keats, Rosetti indebted for their form to Waller, Dryden, and Pope! The romantic school founded on the models of the artificial, the naturalistic on the urban school! Pursuing his line of thought, Mr. Gosse sketches, with the light swift strokes of assured intimacy with his subject, the decline of the Elizabethan drama. He paints the great lassitude which came upon literature after the ebullient passion of the Renaissance, the emotional weariness and craving for moderation which followed it. He shows, what I have already indicated, how the magnificent inequalities of the older dramatists sank imperceptibly into the grotesque of the Marinists, how with the expansion of genius, verse became the occupation of the smaller wits, a culture for the elect, full of conceits, riddles, and extravagances of language

and metaphor, all severed by a wide abyss from popular sympathy and respect. All these deficiencies of the romantic decline are familiar enough to students, and there is no doubt they imply, as Mr. Gosse holds, a condition of unhealth and license in poetry, a veritable barbarism. At this moment the classical reaction set in, and by the reforms it wrought, proved its own rightfulness and needfulness. For the riot of unrestrained fancy, it substituted common sense; out of confusion it raised up logic and intelligence, and where all before was dwarfed and pollarded fiction, it brought actuality. With this rationalism of spirit came also precision of language, regularity in metre, restraint in the use of imagery, correctness, and finally elegance and perfection. This, if I understand Mr. Gosse, was in sum the work of the classical school, and it is this revolution which entitles it to the large claim he makes for it of having found "the basis of style upon which all more recent literature has been elevated."

It is a claim that demands serious attention, for it strikes at the whole doctrine of former English criticism. Somewhere there lurks beneath its plausible terms some knot or idiosyncrasy of opinion which, unfortunately, we have but a moment to pick out and inspect. It is imperative to know, for instance, if the vaunted advance is in the matter of metrical forms and versification. If so, a large concession is to be made at the outset to Mr. Gosse in one particular field of which he is a recognized master, in the literature of the ode.

For no one has pointed out so clearly as he, how Gray and Collins rescued the ode from the shapeless chaos of the Pindaric form of Cowley and from the grotesque uncouthness into which it had sunk in the hand of Noris, of Bemerton, and the matchless Orinda, and constructed for it an elaborate melodic system rigid enough to be thoroughly in keeping with the formalism of the eighteenth century. Not only did Gray and Collins by their combined efforts give the deathblow to Cowley's broken and irregular verse, but the chaster ode, designed by Collins, has ever since, Mr. Gosse is at pains to assure us, ruled in poetic art.* Nevertheless, it has not been universally followed as a norm. Both Tennyson and Lowell have allowed

* *Seventeenth Century Studies*, p. 192.

themselves to depart form it, and among the modern lyrists who have employed its severe harmonies—Shelley, Keats, and Swinburne—the last returns for his models, not to the eighteenth century lyrists, but directly to the fountain-head, the intricate antiphonal system of the Greek poets. Besides this, two other facts are to be noted. Gray and Collins are not the only sources to which the modern ode is indebted. There was Milton, the full influence of whose style in his unrivalled odes, as Mr. Gosse confesses in another place, was not exercised until Shelley began to write. Again, still in the confessional, he constrains himself to acknowledge that with the romantic revival, the serious ode became a less elaborate and sedate instrument in the hands of a warmer generation of poets."* All attempt to restrain it within the precise bounds of its traditions was abandoned, and the odes of Wordsworth and Coleridge are as absolutely irregular as Cowley's own. In Shelley's *Odeo to Naples*, the very meaning of the terminology is forgotten, and Keats resolves his odes into a uniform series of stanzas of melodic movement. With these reservations, it is no doubt true enough that Gray and Collins are to be held the sponsors, the one for the Aeolian, and the other for the Dorian harmonies of this enthusiastic *genre*, which gained so much by the warmer and finer tones of later poets, but lost on the other hand, through the mysterious notions of taste, the popularity it had a hundred years ago.

But setting aside the three or four high and solemn odes, to which Mr. Gosse would confine attention, and turning to proof of some wider prevalence of the Old English and lyrical spirit, what has the eighteenth century to offer us? Where are its shorter songs, its bursts of melody, its ballads, all that goes to make up the more popular anthology of a musical and poetic people? Congreve's songs hardly overlap the century. Mr. Palgrave excludes them from his *Golden Treasury*, as well as Dryden's songs, some of which are fine and stirring, but are only now beginning to be revived and appreciated again. But both Congreve and Dryden had lived in the midst of the tuneful period of the cavaliers, and inherited the traditions of Herrick, Lovelace, and Suckling. There were none to follow

* *English Odes*, Introduction, p. 15.

them who had heard the dashing and graceful rounds and madrigals of that earlier time. Gay, Henry Carey, and Durfey left behind them a host of songs, but they have not survived, to be known and liked except perhaps a single one in the Beggar's Opera, and the *Ballad of Black-eyed Susan*, because, to be plain, they had no substance in them, neither good art nor any sweet or memorable sentiment. Prior practised the lighter measures with better success: his archness, his wit, his ease and gayety of heart, have preserved a select few of his erotic trifles from oblivion. There is no other lyrist in that epoch with his brightness and flow of melody. Ambrose Phillips has some prettily turned rhymes, like those on Charlotte Pultenay, and we remember Cowper's *Loss of the Royal George*, and those insipidly inane lines on the solitude of Alexander Selkirk, which as conveying any effect of solitude are not to be compared with the brief pregnant moment in Defoe's prose romance when Crusoe discovers the footprints in the sand. There is indeed no more significant illustration of the poverty of the contemporary lyricism than the involuntary concession Mr. Palgrave is constrained to make in incorporating such mediocre verse as Cowper's stanzas and Carey's common street-ditty—*Sally in our Alley.* Neither should we forget, in a different sphere from these last, Goldsmith's touching lines, with their suspicion of morbid sentiment: "When lovely woman stoops to folly," nor the musing softness of Roger's *Sleeping Beauty*, nor, best of all, Mrs. Barbauld's

"Life. I know not what thou art."

which, with its deep pathetic modern accent, refreshes the senses in this desert of the third decade like the breath of the evening breeze. And then, of still a different class, Carey's national anthem, *God Save the Queen*, inspired music and detestable rhyme, Thompson's *Rule Britannia*, floated down to us only by the fine martial setting of Dr. Arne; David Garrick's salt-sea

"Heart of oak are our ships
Hearts of oak are our men."

Charles Dibden's sea ballads and catches, *Tom Bowling*, *Lovely Nan*, etc., the solace of all sailors, with something of the wind

and savor of the ocean in them, and the most English of all the songs of the time, though they hardly merit a place in literature.

This is a scanty *florilegium* for English literature, but I dare say it includes nearly all the blossoms that would reward us for the plucking and weaving. There are hardly as many in the whole century as in the single song-books of earlier times, in Queen Elizabeth's *Virginal Book* or Purcell's choir-books for instance. Neither, with three or four exceptions, is of their quality first-rate. One is forced to the conviction that the conditions of lyricism were almost entirely lacking, and the poets themselves for some occult reason deprived of the power of feeling or making a true song, a short lyric, an idyll. Sings Prior to *Chloe Jealous:*

> "Od's life. Must one swear to the truth of a song?"

The idea is absurd, and presently he makes a poetic confession, which throws some light on his conception of this art, which we may suppose not entirely restricted to himself.

> "What I speak, my fair Chloe, and what I write, shows
> The difference there is betwixt Nature and Art:
> I court others in verse, but I love Thee in prose:
> And they have my whimsies; but thou hast my heart."

The utter absence of the gracefuller forms of lyric verse recalls the most characteristic of the metrical forms of the last century, the one instrument over all others in authority and popularity; and here again Mr. Gosse seems to have much reason on his side. In the era of Pope, all the distinctive and finely graded emotions, the lyrical at times, the elegiac, and commonly the satiric, were reduced to the rule and cramped within the compass of the heroic couplet. The simple Greek canon, based on an aesthetic instinct, which prescribes specific forms for specific modes of feeling was entirely disregarded. The natural effect was a lack of variety, of elasticity. The very rigidity of the rhymed distichs no doubt assisted in rendering feeling itself artificial, and yet it had to carry, as some one has said, "the utmost possible stretch of emotion of the strict classicist." Are we, then, to look to the perfection which it reached in this utmost possible stretch of emotion for

the substantial evidence of formal progress? The answer to this question is by no means simple. It has a double face.

To Mr. Gosse's implication that the heroic couplet contains in its very perfection a proof of advance in literary form, it is only fair to make a frank, though partial concession. Contrasted with the obscurity of diction and style, the corruption of verse-forms when Waller began to write, it shows an enormous improvement; and tracing the course of its growth forward from that time, we see that its adoption and long primacy was only an expression of its increasing sense and love of clearness, order, and proportion. Whether Mr. Gosse has not leaned a little too strongly on this point is for others to decide, but at least it deserves recognition and further elucidation. A grave doubt remains whether this gain, valuable as it may have been, was not counter-balanced by certain excesses and sacrifices; by excess, meaning the extension of clearness, order, and proportion into their extremes, prosaic statement, absolute correctness, monotony; and by sacrifice, the neglect of the spiritual particle of poetry which seems uniformly to accompany over attention to the form and finish of its body. This somewhat reluctant affirmative to the first branch of the query must be followed by a stout negation of the second. Except for its indirect bearing upon literary style, in such literary qualities as those just mentioned, how can the rhymed pentameter verse be said to have formed the basis of modern poetry? It was despised and rejected of the whole romantic school who open our century, Byron alone excepted. Its diction, its entire scope of effects, including antithesis, epigram, complete epigrammatic couplets, its whole tonic scale delighting in balance and see-saw, was almost as opposed to the free verse-forms of the Romantics as the Alexandrine metre was in France.

But when we leave the heroic couplet, and come to the case of blank verse, what is to be said for the theory of progress in poetic form? Blank verse, it is true, was considerably used in the eighteenth century;—it was used by Thompson, Young, Phillips,—by the Romantic Reactionaries, in other words, and occasionally by a few other poets. But, what is of the first importance, with Pope and the classical school, the dominant

school of the age, it had passed into complete disuse. This most flexible vehicle of imaginative expression, whose sonorous cadences in Milton had made the great hexameter sound to a Grecian like Landor thin and tinkling, had come to be regarded as barbarous and uncouth, "encumbering and encumbered" as Johnson pronounced it. Its employment by Thompson and Young was violently opposed as an innovation and derided as a revolt against good taste. If the moderns are under any obligations to the eighteenth century for their blank verse, it is to the group of nascent Romantics represented by the two last named poets, that is, to the very men who led the reaction against the classical school. As a matter of fact, however, there is little or nothing to prove any such an obligation. Wordsworth thought his verse was modelled upon Thompson's and Dyer's but at his best the structure and cadence of his poetry is rather Shakspearean and Miltonic, and for the art of the other brother-poets of the Romantic Revival, the origins and models are so unquestionably to be sought for in the Renaissance that it would be an impertinence to argue it. Neither was it necessary to dissent from Mr. Gosse's position that the wide free use of blank verse by the moderns, taking in all its breadth of harmony and intricacy of modulations, goes far to show the finer æsthetic sense of the poets who employed it with success. The rhymed ten-syllabled verse is to blank verse indeed something what the harpischord of the eighteenth century was to the piano-forte. Compared to the latter, the quaint keyed instrument was restricted in volume and range. The feeble base tones, the lack of pitch and sostenuto, I have sometimes fancied, not unfairly analogous to the deficiencies of contemporary verse. The modern piano-forte, on the other hand, has some striking correspondences with blank verse,—its wide scale and depth of vibration, its glow of tone-color, its resources of modulation and expressive interpretation. If some masters, Bach and Handel used the harpsichord, or its less imperfect congener the clavier, so some of the masters of verse, Chaucer, Dryden, Pope, have made a successful medium of the rhymed pentameter, but in most instances the greatest results have been achieved with instruments of a grander and subtler power of emotional expression.

Now, after such a bird's eye view of these forms of the eighteenth century verse (massing together for the nonce sonnet, song, and idyl), return to Mr. Gosse's dictum and apply it severally to the different orders of composition. Where, one is inclined to ask, is the boasted progress? where is the foundation of the style of the nineteenth century? To have three distinct modes of poetic expression virtually disappear, or shown only to be ill-considered and ill-practiced, will seem to some students to be a very dubious improvement. For considering minor lyricism and sonneteering apart, and with it tragedy and the idyl, in what respects, it may be asked, do any of them, as represented in that age, form "a basis for the style upon which all recent literature has been elevated?" The historical facts are plain and clear. The sonnets of Wordsworth, Hartley Coleridge, Keats, Rossetti, owe absolutely nothing to the eighteenth century, for it had no sonnet literature. The imaginative drama of Byron, Browning, and Tennyson, has its stylistic like its spiritual similitude, not in Rowe and Savage, but in the great Elizabethan models. As for the lyrical movement of the opening era, the exquisite outpouring of Burns and Shelley, and the song-craft of the Victorian era, it seems as far as possible removed, both in temper and versification, from the lifeless copies and meagre artificialities of Prior and Goldsmith. And lastly the idyls of Tennyson are in no whit nearer the jaded and satire-inspired pastorals of the extreme Popeans.

With all these qualifications and objections it is nevertheless possible to acquiesce in the main plea of this brilliant writer, that in many respects the eighteenth century was a necessary stage in the reconstruction of stylistic standards in English poetry. But Mr. Gosse's whole book is aimed at the change in *form* between Shakspeare and Pope, to the almost complete neglect of the corresponding changes of poetic temper and feeling. This concentration on a single point makes the strength of his position, but it constitutes also its weakness. It springs from the deplorable mistake of regarding poetry as exclusively a formal art, and treating it entirely from an artistic or technical, as opposed to a philosophical standpoint. It is a decided coigne of vantage for technical criticism, but it ignores

the historic method, and is by just so much narrow and circumscribed in its views. To separate from the matter changes of structure from changes of sentiment, is to disregard the national life of which the art of every period is only the incomplete reflection, and to lose hold of "the ethical and essential character" of its poetry.

Yet it is precisely this character that is of an importance equal, at the very least, to form. "We must consider the ethical and essential character of classical poetry," says an *Academy* reviewer, "if we are to comprehend aright the rise of the classical form." Any other procedure, certainly, would scarcely conduct us to an adequate comprehension. Are we to appraise poetry by its mechanism alone? Is execution, finish, bookcraft to be the final test in the rating of its excellences? Take the style of the mundane rhetorical poetry of the eighteenth century at its best, applaud the sonorousness of Dryden, the grace and symmetry of Pope, what did so perfect an instrument accomplish towards the creation of a great and free poetry? To what ideals was it attuned? What did this new and exquisite gift of form express in the way of emotion and thought?

I border perhaps on a worn topic, one beaten out to thinness by the critics of preceding generations, but utterances like these of Frederick Harrison and Mr. Gosse are stimulating. They send us back in search of our old impressions, which almost vanish away under the touch of their transforming rods, to test them by these latter day standards, to revive them, if necessary, at any rate to discover some *point de repère* from which to proceed again with safety.

L. J. Swinburne.

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NEW ENGLANDER

AND

YALE REVIEW.

No. CCX.

SEPTEMBER, 1887.

ARTICLE I.—SOME RECENT BOOKS ON FOLK LORE.

IN the old Greek Readers of fifty years or more ago—like the Græca Minora, Jacob's, Owen's, or Colton's—whose agreeable variety of fables, jests, dialogues, and spirited selections from writers of higher grade has with doubtful wisdom been made to give place to a regular amount of Anabasis, in those old reminders of the past, now chiefly to be found on the top shelves of ministers' libraries or in some literary junk shop, often some of the most interesting pages were filled with the *Asteia* or jests of Hierocles. Little or nothing could be learned by the curious reader about this Hierocles. It is probably a mere name, and very likely a name having no original connection with the jests. One who did not as a child read this or some other ancient jest book can hardly appreciate the mingled curiosity, surprise, and wonder of a thoughtful boy in puzzling out of Greek, that most serious and venerable tongue, the story he had heard told but yesterday of old Mr. So-and-So, of his playmate's mother, who forbade

him to go swimming till he had learnt how, or the Irish bull of the last comic paper—in fact, almost all the *Irish* bulls he had ever heard of. He had read old stories, he knew old men who had favorite anecdotes and jests which had done them faithful service for a lifetime, but to find such tales in ancient Greek, to see that they were centuries old, that at least forty generations of men had told them, laughed at them, and perhaps thought them fresh, was an idea so new, so strange, that he wavered between a sort of curious awe at this unexpected evidence of the sameness of man in different ages, and laughter at this, the greatest jest of all.

For the sake of a less favored generation, we will yield to the temptation to quote a few of these jests:

A pedant* wanting to learn to swim was almost drowned. He then vowed never to touch the water again unless he first learned to swim.

A pedant, wishing to train his horse not to eat, gave him no fodder, and when the horse died of hunger, he said, "I have suffered a great loss, for just when he learned not to eat, he up and died."

A pedant who was trying to sell his house took round a stone from it as a specimen.

A pedant desiring to see if he looked well when asleep looked in the glass with his eyes shut.

A pedant met another pedant and said, "I heard you were dead." The other replied, "But you see me still alive." The pedant answered, "But I had sooner believe the man who told me than you."

A pedant learning that the crow lives above two hundred years bought one to see.

One of a pair of twins had died. A pedant met the survivor and asked him, "Is it you that is dead or your brother?"

A pedant wishing to cross a river rode on to the ferry on horse-back. When some one asked him why, he said he was in a hurry.

A student in lack of money sold off his books and wrote home, "Congratulate me, father, for I am already getting my living by my books."

A pedant's son, when he was sent by his father off to the wars, promised to bring back the head of one of the enemy, but the pedant replied, "I hope to see you come back without a head, if only well and happy."

* The word pedant is a translation of the Greek word *Scholastikos*, the learned but unpractical man, corresponding to the German professor of the *Fliegende Blätter*. This type was, no doubt, common in Greece in the Alexandrian age and later when the Greeks became learned. In the earlier and unlearned age, these anecdotes, if current then, were doubtless related of the Bœotians, as they are now of the Irish, though the Irishman, to be sure, is anything but a Bœotian.

A pedant's friend wrote him to buy him some books while he was in Greece, but he forgot to do it. When he met the friend later, he said, "That letter you wrote about books, I never received."*

Surely the reader of these lines will be rare who has not seen one or more of these venerable jests in the "funny" column of his paper or heard them told of somebody at least once a week since he was old enough to read or hear such things.

It has been with a similar feeling of curiosity and wonder that in later years we have found that the nursery and fairy tales of our childhood have been current for ages, and are still related to the children of the most widely separated and diverse races of men. Prompted, no doubt, by this feeling, as well as by an interest in science, an increasing attention is now devoted to this branch of popular or "Folk Lore" as it is happily called.

The design of the present article is merely to call the attention of such as may find an interest in this fascinating study to some valuable helps which have recently appeared.

A beginning may properly be made with a production of one of our own countrymen, the *Italian Popular Tales* of Thomas Frederick Crane.† This handsome volume is the result of many years of labor in this field by a scholar whose capacity and judgment have been honored by a foreign society with the task of editing the *Sermones* of Jacques of Vitry, a prelate of the thirteenth century, whose discourses are full of these popular tales and incidents. Prof. Crane's work comprises a selection of Fairy Tales, Stories of Oriental Origin, Legends and Ghost Stories, Nursery Tales, Stories and Jests. In each case the source of the tale is carefully indicated, references are made to variants of which the most interesting are quoted, while the notes convey other illustrative information of value to the student. Two useful bibliographies, one of Italian collections, the other of general collections, as well as a serviceable index, have been added.

For those interested in French Folk Lore, it may be remarked that Cosquin's tales of Lorraine, referred to by Prof.

* Whoever desires to become further acquainted with these jests may find a translation of them, supposed to be from the hand of Dr. Johnson, in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1748, if my memory serves me.

† Houghton, Mifflin & Co. Boston. Price, $2.50.

Crane, as in *Romania*, have since been published in two volumes, with a most instructive introduction under the title of *Contes Populaires de Lorraine.* Prof. Crane has done the work of translation well, and the stories are readable, but we doubt if they ever secure popular favor like Grimm's Tales. They seem inferior to the German, or else they appeal to us the less on account of their further remove in the kinship of peoples.

Having mentioned Grimm's Tales, we desire to call attention to the new edition in Bohn's Standard Library, in two volumes with an introduction by Andrew Lang. This version, which is very well done, is accompanied by a rendering of the Grimms' notes and comments which are difficult to obtain in the original. Next to these two comprehensive works, and in some respects equal to them in interest and value to the amateur Folklorist, may be mentioned *Popular Tales and Fictions: their Migrations and Transformations*, by W. A. Clouston, Blackwood, London. In two substantial volumes, this Oriental scholar has collected the variations among different peoples of the more common folktales. He first mentions the version most familiar to English readers, then the more ordinary European versions, and concludes with the more ancient Oriental and generally Indian forms of the tale. An idea of the contents of the work may be obtained from a few specimen titles. *Invisible Caps and Cloaks; Shoes of Swiftness; Inexhaustible Purses, etc.; The Demon Enclosed in a Bottle; Contracts with the Evil One; Gold-producing Animals; Little Fairly.* "Little Fairly" is the Irish tale of cunning and good fortune as against brute strength and stupidity. The essential outlines of the story are very well known from Andersen's "Big Claus and Little Claus." Of this tale Mr. Clouston gives two Irish versions, two Norse, one English, one Danish, one Icelandic, refers to several German versions, two French and four Gallic, besides several from the East.

This extensive list might easily be increased. In Katherine MacQuoid's "Pictures and Legends from Normany and Brittany," a full and interesting Breton variant is given, which if we recollect, is independent enough to deserve chronicling; though some of its features, especially one of the pot which cooks without a fire, are very like those of the Sicilian *Uncle*

Capriano. In the Breton tale, the two characters are the peasant and his load, while in the others they are two brothers, neighbors, or a peasant and some thieves. Evidently the frame work of the story is fitted to an appropriate local body. One cannot help thinking that the Breton peasants found no little consolation for feudal oppressions in rehearsing how one of their number had harassed and outwitted his cruel lord till he was finally tricked to his death. So in a community troubled with robbers the same range of over-reaching tricks and the same happy victories of the weaker over the stronger would be told against the robbers. This adaptation of the main incidents of a story to its audience may be noted at any time in conversation by an observant person.

Mr. Clouston's volumes will prove very helpful to the student of the transmission of tales. He furnishes material in abundance, but is no strong advocate of any theory, though he seems to incline to the view that these stories originated in India and were transmitted to the west in the middle ages. As an Orientalist such would be his natural leaning, but he has frequent sarcasms for the Solar myth theory of their origin in India, which is commonly held by philological Folklorists. This view is now meeting strenuous opposition from a comparative new theory, that of the Anthropologists, which is at present most actively represented by Mr. Andrew Lang. In his *Custom and Myth** he expounds and illustrates the anthropological theory in a most entertaining way. Indeed Mr. Lang is so witty and vivacious, so Lucianic in his reasoning that we suspect he has had hard work to challenge recognition as a scientific investigator. This characteristic of his work makes him a more effective critic of the Solar theory than advocate of his own, although he presents that with much force. An elaborate work on "Myths, Custom and Religion" is soon to appear from his hand, but meanwhile his views can best be studied in "Custom and Myth," and his thorough introduction to the edition of Grimm above mentioned. Mr. Lang also writes frequently on the subject for the *Saturday Review*, where his articles may be easily recognized by one who knows his touch.

The three chief theories of the origin and spread of Folk

* Harper & Bros., New York.

tales are as follows: first, that they were invented in India in early times to be later carried to outside peoples by travelers and pilgrims for the most part during the middle ages, and then, to be spread over Europe by story books, sermons, etc.; second, that the early Aryans dramatized as it were by their lively imaginations the action of the forces and phenomena of Nature. As time went on, and language changed, these old names of the sun, moon, dawn, etc., became obsolete, and while the earlier generations knew they were personifying nature, the later ones interpreted the now forgotten names of the sun, etc., as names of primitive heroes. Thus these myths, now full grown became familiar to all Aryans, and spread with their spread. The modern popular tales are the common people's fragmentary remains of a former mythology of this kind. This theory is advocated in Sir George Cox's "Mythology of the Aryan Nations," and in his children's book, "Tales of Ancient Greece." Prof. Max Müller is perhaps the best known champion of this theory among philologists.

The anthropological theory is that many of these Folk tales with their stories of monsters, marriages with animals, animals with magic powers, charms, witchcraft, cannibalism, and other outlandish and even revolting features are an inheritance of an immense past, of an earlier period in man's existence, when the ancestors of modern Europeans were in a stage of barbarism equal to that of the lowest savages of the present day. These stories in their essential features reflect the range of thought, fears, and beliefs of savage people, they even embalm in a story form descriptions of their early customs. We have not space to outline or illustrate the arguments for this theory but they can be found briefly but compactly stated in Mr. Lang's introduction to Grimm and illustrated in his *Custom and Myth.* One point, however, may be mentioned. While the advocates of the two first theories limit their range of variants mostly to the Aryan peoples, the anthropologists base their argument for a vastly earlier origin of these stories upon their existence to-day among the most distant and wildest savages. If a Bushman, absolutely without knowledge of our stories or life, an ancient Greek and a German peasant all tell the same tale, they must either all three have invented it or have derived it from some common source. Now a story with

the so-called "monstrous" features it is hardly possible to imagine would be invented alike by three persons of such widely different types and civilization. The anthropological theory is that such a tale was invented either separately or in one place in a period of barbarism not unlike that of the Bushmen; it has staid with the Bushmen, with little modification; with the ancestors of the Greeks some of its crudities were pruned off as they advanced in culture and as the stories grew into their mythology, but some of them remained, e. g., the story of Cronus and Uranus. With the peasant class, the most stationary of the families of men in a non-reading age, the fortune of the stories was somewhat similar, though they became fairy tales and the like, a popular rather than a literary mythology. Such, in brief, is the basis of this later theory, which in the writer's opinion is likely to gain more and more assent.

Little space is left for the last book on our list, *The History of the Forty Vezirs, or the Story of the Forty Morns and Eves:* written in Turkish by Sheykh-Zada. Done into English by E. J. W. Gibb. This well-known series of tales, of some importance to the folklorist, has never been, as a whole, translated into English before; so that Mr. Gibb's elegant version is very welcome. Based upon an incident like that of Joseph and Potipher's wife, the collection consists of the stories told by the forty wise Vezirs every morning to deter the king from executing his unjustly accused son, and of the forty counteracting tales of his young wife, the son's stepmother, told in the evening to nerve him to the execution. The Vezirs relate the inconstancy and frailty of women, and the queen, the treachery of sons and court favorites. There is a great variety of amusing incident in the tales, though many will find the mediæval contempt for women too prominent and too much reiterated even if they are prepared for it and used to it. The dedication tells us that we owe this version to the suggestion of Mr. Clouston. Mr. Gibb, while not devoting particular pains to the matter, has called attention to striking parallels or variants of these stories in other countries. The volume is handsomely gotten up and is published by George Redway, London.

EDWARD G. BOURNE.

Article II.—PROFESSOR JOHNSTON'S "CONNECTICUT:" SOME THOUGHTS ON THE HISTORY OF A COMMONWEALTH-DEMOCRACY.*

Of the latest contribution to the "American Commonwealth" series, it may be said, in epitome, that the field chosen is an exceedingly fruitful one and that the labors of the author have secured a rich harvest. Professor Johnston writes of a small State, but one whose history is full of interest, alike to the scholar and the patriot. He is an accomplished historian and has made his study from the modern stand-point, which subordinates mere antiquarianism to the discovery of living principles. The task is one requiring superior qualifications, of trained skill in sifting masses of unrelated data, sound judgment in weighing the conflicting testimony of specialists, and a good flow of narrative. No one of these important elements is lacking to detract from the completeness and value of the present volume.

The story of the first settlement of Connecticut, dating from 1634–5, and the sufferings of the early colonists, is succinctly told. The causes which led to the emigration are fairly summarized. At the time of this exodus, the Massachusetts colony, it will be recalled, embraced only a narrow strip of country, near the sea-board, and included eight small towns, of which Dorchester, Watertown, and Newton (Cambridge) were the most recent additions. The "new-comers" showed considerable independence—to the annoyance of the majority—in managing their civil affairs; but, as it seems to us, the cardinal point of difference between them and their neighbors was the proper relations of church and State. "Democracy," said Cotton, who represented the majority, "I do not conceive that ever God did ordain as a fit government for church or

* Connecticut: A Study of a Commonwealth-Democracy; by Alexander Johnston, Professor of Jurisprudence and Political Economy in Princeton College. Houghton, Mifflin & Co. Boston and New York. 1887.

commonwealth." From this view Thomas Hooker and Samuel Stone, graduates of Cambridge, England, and who, as pastor and teacher of Newtown, commanded great influence among the minority, differed radically, even to withdrawal into a wilderness, though one which was reported to be fertile.

To the character of the Rev. Thomas Hooker, the "strength of the migration," a deserved tribute of high praise is paid. He was, indeed, splendidly endowed by nature for a pioneer, and as a controversialist he was equal to any of his contemporaries. Governor Winthrop, of Massachusetts had written him, in regard to judicature by the body of the people. "The best part is always the least and of that best part the wiser part is always the lesser." And Hooker had answered, "In matters of greater consequence, which concern the common good, a general council, chosen by all, I conceive, under favor, most suitable to rule and most safe for relief of whole."

"It would not be difficult to say," remarks the editor, "from these two letters, which of them held the seed from which sprang the modern American Commonwealth."

Hooker's sermon* preached at Hartford, May 31, 1639 (and deciphered, after the lapse of so many years, from short-hand characters, by that accomplished scholar Dr. J. H. Trumbull), Prof. Johnston claims "is the first practical assertion of the right of the people not only to choose, but to limit their rulers, an assertion which lies at the foundation of the American system. There is no reference to a 'dread sovereign,' no reservation of deference due to any class, not even to the class to which the speaker himself belonged. Each individual was to exercise his rights, 'according to the blessed will and law of God,' but he was to be responsible to God alone for his fulfillment of the obligation. The whole contains the germ of the idea of the commonwealth, and it was developed by his hearers

* In the abstract, or memorandum, he exhorts his hearers: "They who have power to appoint officers and magistrates, it is in their power, also to set the bounds and limitations of the power and peace unto which they call them"—giving as his reasons: 1. "Because the foundation of authority is laid, firstly, in the free consent of the people. 2. Because, by a free choice, the hearts of the people will be more inclined to the love of the persons chosen, and more ready to yield obedience. 3. Because that duty and engagement of the people."

into the Constitution of 1639. It was on the banks of the Connecticut, under the mighty preaching of Thomas Hooker and in the constitution to which he gave life, if not form, that we draw the first breath of that atmosphere which is now so familiar to us. *The birthplace of American Democracy is Hartford.*"

We come now to a subject which will be for many readers the most interesting in the book; which though ably, and we believe, correctly treated, will not be likely to escape criticism from some sources, viz: the rise and development of the Connecticut town system, especially as contrasted with the corresponding system in vogue in the Colony of Massachusetts.

The first Connecticut legislative body, or "corte," met, as is well known, at Newtown (Hartford), on the 26th of April, 1636, two magistrates from each of the original towns being present to constitute the same, and as was the case with the Massachusetts General Court at that time, assumed judicial as well as legislative functions. But the very next year there were present in the Connecticut "corte," besides the six magistrates, nine "committees," or deputies, chosen equally by the citizens of the three towns. The latter delegation in fact elected the six magistrates and gave them the oath of office. This departure from, or rather, improvement upon the Massachusetts idea, simple as it may seem, really was the beginning of a much more democratic system than existed at that time, or subsequently, for several years in the older colony. In Connecticut at first, as is well known, the affairs of town and church were practically identical, the same meetings of citizens, held in the church of course, sufficing to manage both. But the Connecticut churches rejected the example of their Massachusetts contemporaries in making church membership a requirement for voting or office-holding. "The better blood of the [latter] colony," Prof. Johnston says, "was determined to establish a privileged class of some sort; and the bulk of the freemen, instinctively inclined to democracy, found it difficult to resist the claims of blood, wealth, and influence, backed by the pronounced support of the church." These three original Connecticut towns had, on the contrary, left commonwealth control behind them once for all when they seceded from the

older colony. "They had gone into the wilderness each the only organized political power within its jurisdiction. Since their prototypes, the little *tuns* of the primeval German forest, there had been no such examples of the perfect capacity of the political cell, the 'town,' for self-government."

The town-system of Massachusetts, in the opinion of Prof. Johnston, was "subordinate to the colony, even after the real beginning of government." "In Connecticut," on the other hand, "it was the town that created the commonwealth; and the consequent federative idea has steadily influenced the colony and State alike. In Connecticut, the governing principle, due to the original constitution of things rather than to the policy of the commonwealth, has been that the town is the residuary legatee of political power; that it is the State which is called upon to make out a clear case for powers to which it lays claim; and that the towns have a *primâ facie* case in their favor wherever a doubt arises."

Holding these views, it is not to be wondered at that the author regards the first constitution of Connecticut (adopted Jan. 14, 1638–(9) as the first really democratic written constitution drawn and used on this continent; for that document provided a way by which the "deputies" of the various towns could, if the Governor and "magistrates" refused to call them together, meet and organize a supreme legislature by themselves; and, moreover, the right of suffrage was bestowed unequivocally on all inhabitants who had been admitted by the towns. Nor was any attempt made to define the powers of the towns themselves. They were to choose their own officers and manage their own affairs and have their annual representation in the legislature of the commonwealth. In short, it is difficult to imagine a completer system of local self-government, "of the people, by the people, and for the people," than was planned to prevail and did prevail in Connecticut, throughout the eventful years of its early history.*

* For many purposes," says the editor, of the New England town system, "it can be better studied in Connecticut than in Massachusetts; for the town in Connecticut was almost as free as independency itself, until near the charter, while in Massachusetts it was circumscribed in the beginning by commonwealth power.

Undoubtedly the popular impression is that democracy pure and simple was introduced to the new world in the compact made by the voyagers of the Mayflower. "That instrument," insists Professor Johnston, "was based on no political principle whatever, and began with a formal acknowledgment of the King as the source of all authority. The fact is that this celebrated document was no more than the 'covenant' so common at this time in church, state, and partnership enterprises, and had not a particle of political significance." "The intensely democratic feeling subsequently developed in Massachusetts," he adds in explanation, "has been reflected on her early history, and has given it a light which never belonged to it."

Beyond question, it seems to us, Massachusetts freemen in their early efforts to secure popular legislation, owed something directly to the example of their Connecticut brethren. How considerable that debt was the editor of this volume shows, without intrenching on the field of Massachusetts historians or belittling any of the achievements of the heroes of that state. In reply to strictures, which have been made by able writers, on the supposed indifference of Connecticut to the struggle of Massachusetts to preserve her liberties free from curtailment by the Stuart Crown, he states significantly: "Throughout this period there was probably no great difference between the underlying principles of the two colonies. . . . But the methods of Massachusetts were peculiarly her own. There were strong reasons, in the history, traditions, and consistent public teachings of the colony, why she should pose as the pronounced champion of colonial liberties. . . . The consistent policy of Connecticut, on the other hand, was to avoid notoriety and public attitudes; to secure her privileges without attracting needless notice; to act as intensely and vigorously as possible when action seemed necessary and promising; but to say as little as possible, yield as little as possible, and evade as much as possible, when open resistance was evident folly. . . . The period closed in 1691 with the loss of the original charter of Massachusetts, and the imposition of a new and restricted charter upon her, and the palpable and even conscious inability of her public men to make good by action the position assumed in the past. The mortification of their defeat was aggravated by the pronounced success of the Connecticut policy."

The New Haven (Quinnipiack) Colony, founded in 1638 by John Davenport and Theophilus Eaton, is treated at less length than Connecticut, because, for the student of constitutional history it furnishes less valuable material. These enterprising men and their worthy associates, in settling on virgin soil, promply abolished some of the aristocratic excrescencies of the English common law. Even more directly than their neighbors in Connecticut they professed their adherence to the scriptures as the basis of their civil proceedings. But their laudable efforts were destined never to be crowned with the highest success. Schism appeared among them early; some of their laws, while admirable theoretically, were too severe for ordinary humanity to live up to; the limitation of the suffrage to church members was an increasingly vexatious burden.

The attractive little Republic of New Haven won its peculiar victories and saw its halcyon days; but from the date when its ambitious friends on the banks of "the long tidal river" inwardly resolved to gobble it, its fate was sealed and its struggle for an individual existence, though brave to the end, was pitiably weak.

Passing by, then, the invaluable service of the diplomatic Winthrop in securing a charter from Charles II. (April 23d, 1662), as democratic as was ever granted by a king, and the slow negotiation which finally resulted in the union of the sister colonies (1665), we reach the record of the Commonwealth from the Charter to the Revolution. This period—uneventful, save for such exciting interruptions as King Phillip's War, the Charter Oak incident, and the everlasting boundary dispute with Massachusetts, Rhode Island,* and New York—is summarized in the statement: "Every man in the commonwealth had felt the maintenance of the commonwealth to be his personal concern and had been willing not only to die for it, but to live for it, work for it, and exercise the highest sort of self-control for it. Out of this mass there had ever evolved a class of representative men who were in the highest degree capable of seeing and doing just what was needed."

* Bowen, the authority, quotes Rufus Choate as saying: "The Commissioners might as well have decided that the line between the States was bounded on the north by a bramble bush, on the south by a blue jay, on the west by a hive of bees in swarming time, and on the east by five hundred foxes with fire-brands tied to their tails."

A short chapter is devoted to the ecclesiastical affairs of the commonwealth, though as the author feelingly remarks: "The long-continued efforts in Connecticut to reconcile church and state under a free town system gave rise to difficulties whose history might fill volumes and task the learning of an expert in church history." The Anti-Revolutionary financial problems of Connecticut are, as they deserve to be, stated in detail, reinforced by intelligent comment. It is worth noting how familiar our ancestors were with the "rag-money" question a century and a quarter before it was so hotly agitated in Congress. Yankee ingenuity proved important to prevent the several issues from sinking to the lowest depths of depreciation and it seems as if the moral ought to have carried some weight with posterity.

As is evident from a study of the tables of population which Bancroft gives for this period, and recalling the fact that all land in the colony had been divided into the several townships by 1762, an outlet was much needed for Connecticut men and enterprise. About 1768, her most notable attempt at colonization was undertaken, viz: the organization of the Wyoming district in Pennsylvania (claimed under the charter, which extended the western boundaries of Connecticut to the Pacific Ocean), as Westmoreland County of that State, and which was for several years governed by Connecticut laws and represented in the Connecticut legislature. On this interesting subject Prof. Johnston writes with clearness and force: "The sordid, grasping, long-leasing policy of the Penns, had never been able to stand a moment before the oncoming wave of Connecticut democracy, with its individual land-ownerships, its liberal local government, and the personal incentive offered to individuals by its town system. So far as the Penns were concerned, the Connecticut town system simply swept over them, and hardly thought of them while it went. But for the Revolution, the check occasioned by the massacre, and the appearance of popular government in place of that of the Penns, nothing could have prevented the establishment of Connecticut's authority over all the regions embraced in her western claims.*

*Under the Confederation of 1781, Pennsylvania demanded a Court of Arbitration for the disputed territory. The decision was against

Connecticut's share in the struggles and victories of the Revolutionary War is too well known to need enlarging upon: the protest of the Connecticut assembly at the passage of the Stamp Act by the English Parliament took the practical shape of sending an agent to London to insist on the exclusive right of the colonists to tax themselves; on the passage, some years later, of the Boston Port Bill, no colony contributed more cheerfully and generously than Connecticut did for the relief of Massachusetts. When the clash of arms came, the little commonwealth was always and well represented in the field.*

The towns, as was to be expected, took the measures of resistance into their hands at the start, and in their individual capacity ratified the patriotic declaration of the State Assembly and the Continental Congress. "There seems to have been little attempt to shift burdens to the shoulders of others; but each town accepted its share as a necessary fact, and strained every energy to meet it."

Professor Johnston's conclusion is that Connecticut was in the best position of all the states to exercise a favorable influence on the Constitutional Convention of 1787. "It is hardly too much to say"—we use his own words—"that the birth of the Constitution was merely the grafting of the Connecticut system on the stock of the old Confederation." "The attitude of Connecticut has been misrepresented," he goes on to say, "as that of a 'small state,' intent only on obtaining every possible reservation of state sovereignty. Such a representation is grossly unfair. . . . Connecticut desired a sound and practical national government and the path to it was marked out for her delegates by their own commonwealth's development and history for one

Connecticut; she was afterwards awarded the "Western Reserve" tract of Ohio as a compensation. The court, says the editor, had secretly agreed on two points beforehand: 1. To decide unanimously; 2. Not to give any reasons for their decision, whatever it might be. This compact was not known to the public when the case was settled.

* Next to Massachusetts, Connecticut contributed the largest number of troops in the War of the Revolution; to their quality Washington paid high tribute of praise, as also to the unswerving support of the legislature. The services of Trumbull and Putnam have not been forgotten, even among the many heroes who crowd that eventful epoch.

hundred and fifty years. . . . Her population gave her respect in the eyes of the large states. Her democracy gave the small states confidence in her."

The Connecticut delegation to that convention, composed of Wm. Johnson, Roger Sherman, and Oliver Ellsworth, were able men, full of enthusiasm for their great trust; with native sagacity they held themselves in reserve till at the critical moment they became recognized leaders of the debate. The successful result of the negotiation in which they bore such a prominent part belongs not merely to Connecticut, but to the whole Union. In the language of the times, the "Virginia Plan," and the "Jarsey Plan," gave way before the "cool, deliberate and persistently offered compromise" of the "Connecticut proposal."

With this climax of achievement we bring our review to a close. The glorious record of the state in the Civil War and its marvellous industrial prosperity—second to no community of its size in the world—are matters of the present rather than the past. The salient points which we have touched upon read almost like a eulogy, but they are the work of a critical, unprejudiced observer, who has made a distinguished name for himself in other fields of research. The glow of pardonable pride with which every son of Connecticut will read this book —and in what section of this broad land are they not now-a-days to be found?—will be due not to any ingenious exaggeration on the part of the writer, but to the grand fund of individuality and patriotism which is woven into the history of the old Commonwealth. Connecticut has not lacked able historians before this time—notably Trumbull and Hollister have excelled in their respective fields; but no one of them has handled the subject more scientifically, or produced what is more likely to be practically useful to the present generation. Professor Johnston modestly says, in closing his preface, that he will consider his labor has been expended with good effect if the public is thereby aroused to appreciation of Connecticut's first constitution, the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of which will occur during the same year as the Centennial of the Constitution of the Union. It is for us to add that such a strong demonstration as he has made of the right of Con-

necticut to fill a very honorable place in the group of historic "Commonwealths," so admirably treated in this series, is in itself no unworthy memorial of what is most noble in the past history of the state and no small source of inspiration for its future prosperity.

JOHN ADDISON PORTER.

ARTICLE III.—A CHRISTIAN DAILY PAPER.

DAILY, except Sundays! A *Christian* daily rather than a *religious* daily. We have excellent religious papers, denominational and undenominational. They have a distinct sphere and mission. They do not need to be dailies, for their work is best done by the weekly issues. What is needed is a *Christian daily*, and there is a fundamental difference between this and the religious paper. The latter aims to set forth religious truth. It gives information, to be sure; it deals in poetry and fiction; it discusses social problems; but its main aim is either the propagation of general religious truth, or the support of some denominational organization, or both. It is not at all necessary for the present purpose to seek to determine whether its sphere is broader or narrower than that of a really Christian daily. It is enough that it is different.

Now this Christian daily ought to give its picture of the daily doings of the world as those doings appear from the Christian point of view. I would not go to this ideal daily for Scripture selections to use in closet devotions. I can get these better in the Bible itself, or in the specially prepared books of devotion. I am supposed to have had my portion of "daily food" before I open the morning newspaper. There are other objects in view in perusing its columns. It was, I believe, the late Dr. Brainerd, of Philadelphia, a great reader of newspapers, who used to say as he opened his morning journal: "Now I will see how God is governing his world." If he could say this of the ordinary paper, much more will it be true of the Christian daily; for while the great body of facts to be recorded is essentially the same for all, the point of view, the perspective and proportion, the explanation will be different.

This ideal Christian daily will be really a *news*-paper. It will tell the story of the world's happenings during the twenty-four hours with fullness at least equal to that of its compeers. If it is to occupy the rank that is proposed for it, it must do

this. People want information. We are growing in this country strangely like the ancient Athenians who spent their time in nothing else "but either to hear or to tell some new thing." So this ideal paper will have its news gatherers abroad. It will be a reporter; at any rate the work of the reporter will be the basis of the work of the editor.

Of course the question at once arises, and it is a fundamental one, what is news? At least what sort of news is worth the telling? Events are continually occurring about the telling of which, and perhaps with detail, there is no question. Of these matters—different every day, but always important—every one ought to know, the larger number want to know. Concerning these important things, in our own country and abroad, this Christian daily ought to aim to set forth the exact truth, as nearly as painstaking search can obtain it.

But there are other matters which are in doubt, for it is obvious that no paper can undertake to publish everything. Limitations of space, if nothing else, compel some form of discrimination. Leaving details, however, to be determined in accordance with practical experience, it would seem to be a good general principle to aim at the inclusion of a large range of occurrences, not trivialities, but whatever seems of real importance. This would include reports of crimes; but it need not include the details; nor need it be that elaborate telling of the story that shall pander to a morbid curiosity or stir and feed a prurient imagination. Such records need not be conspicuous; on the contrary they should be where they will attract least attention. Nor need they occupy much space. But these things are facts—grim and unpleasant, to be sure—but still facts in the world's history, and therefore they should be recorded. Otherwise we would be in danger of underestimating the evil that is in the world, and as a consequence would be by so much unfitted to meet that evil.

When we pass, however, from this region of facts, even though the facts are often unpleasant, and come to the things that employ the attention of the sporting world; we are, so to speak, among artificial happenings. For these things, certainly beyond the barest statement of their occurrence, let the sporting world turn to its own records.

The same general principle should govern in regard to dramatic events. Let the dramatic world find the record of the things it wants to know in other places than in the columns of the Christian daily. Yet there might be cases where dramatic criticism or even description would be in order. This is a vastly different thing, however, from theatrical gossip or the scandal of the green-room.

In a word then, the ideal Christian daily would be abreast of the foremost of its compeers as a gatherer of news worth the telling. Indeed it would lead them in this particular, for its perspective would be better. It would find many things to record which the ordinary daily ignores, or to which it gives but the most meagre space. It would have the sources of information common to all the papers, and it would have its private agents in different parts of our own and of foreign lands. It would spare no wise expense to present its readers with a clear and accurate transcript of what is occurring in all the nations of the world. It would emphasize many things—matters of religious interest, church doings, philanthropic effort, etc.—which the ordinary papers ignore or put into an obscure and narrow corner.

It would be mainly in its editorial department that the Christian character of this ideal daily would be manifest. Even here it would not be blazoned, but simply so inwrought into the nature that it could not be ignored. The true Christian man finds occasions when it becomes him to make confession of his faith, but in general he does not need to be constantly proclaiming the fact that he is a Christian. His actions, the tone of his conversation, his whole life, ought to indicate that fact; but he ought not to sound a trumpet before him as the hypocrites do, when he prays, or when he gives alms, or in any other transactions of his life. So there ought to be no need for this ideal daily to keep asserting its Christian character and aims. That would be simply to disgust men, and to lead them to suspect the real character of the journal.

In this ideal paper, taking its key from the editorial department, the whole tone should be Christian. Everything should be looked at from a Christian point of view. The object of the ordinary paper is to make money. That is the paramount

consideration to which everything else must yield. So much of morality as can be afforded consistently with this will be welcome. The tone will be as high as pecuniary interest will permit, but money first, is the rule. In too many cases, as a distinguished journalist lately charged upon the London papers in connection with a notorious scandal, "the counting-house has become the editorial-room." Hence even when there is no conscious perversion of truth, there must of necessity be an unconscious coloring, a subtle force at work determining the way in which a matter shall be presented, and the way in which a thing is put often makes all the difference in the world. Money blinds the eyes. It does not take a large coin, if held close enough, to shut out the sight of the sun.

In even the best of our dailies, as things are now, there is too often the sneer, more or less open, at religion. Orthodoxy is at a discount. Every point possible is made against evangelicalism. When, as sometimes happens, these things are not possible, there is a patronizing tone adopted—the journal from its lofty height condescends to speak in supercilious praise of the little that merits its approbation.

As is natural, moreover, the ordinary daily does not recognize, as they ought to be recognized, the Christian forces that are at work in the world. Its discussions are of things that too often are really of secondary importance. Presbyterian General Assembly, Congregational Council, Methodist Conference, Episcopal Convention, will receive but scant attention, unless perchance there is some unorthodox movement on foot, or something occurs against which the world's laugh can be leveled.

A Christian daily, however, would give their due prominence to movements in the religious world, and so doing, would impress upon the community their importance. Men in general need to know that Christ's church is at work in a multitude of ways. They ought to have the columns of their daily paper give them information of this character and interpret its meaning, instead of leading them to think that life is little else than a series of crimes, made more lurid by accidents or relieved a little by sports and play-house performances. The Christian tone of the ideal daily would insure a better propor-

tioned presentation of facts, and the emphasis would be upon that which is good in itself and whose tendencies are uplifting.

Being Christian this ideal daily would be thoroughly independent though not neutral in the various matters that came within its purview. It would have no connection with any religious denomination as such. It would aim to do everything in its power to further the interests of the whole church of God. It would not meddle officiously with the affairs of any denomination or any church. It is conceivable, however, that it might afford a platform for the discussion of questions or the statement of facts which denominational organs and other interested parties are sometimes inclined to suppress. But it would be careful how it did even this. One of the evils of the daily press as we have it now is its recklessness. It seems to care but little oftentimes for the truth of its statements, especially as concerns public men, or men lifted even for only a little while into prominence. A lie will travel a league while truth is putting on its boots. The ideal Christian daily will not utter the lie; but if by any means it is betrayed into a mistaken statement, particularly concerning a man's character, it will make its correction at least as prominent as the original statement.

As this Christian daily will be independent as concerns ecclesiastical affairs, so will it be in political. It will doubtless give its influence in favor of a party, but it will not be bound by the bands of any. And yet it would be no more neutral in political than in religious matters. It would come to be a power because it would tell the truth and the whole truth; and the whole truth and nothing but the truth is the last thing one expects from a thoroughly partizan journal. A really independent political paper, telling the truth concerning things, would exert an immense power even in the political world.

This is a hasty outline of the principles that would underlie a Christian daily paper. A word may be said in regard to two or three supplementary details. In form the paper should be of manageable size, and it should not use too small type. The supplements and quadruple sheets are more of a nuisance than anything else. Minute type is out of place, unless for what

may be necessary in the report of crimes. Sensational head-lines should be avoided, and the paper should adhere to the "Queen's English" rather than adopt reporters' colloquialisms. Its advertisements should be those that pass a somewhat rigid censorship. Its literary reviews should be impartial, not influenced by the advertising patronage of the various publishing houses. It might aim to give from time to time articles of permanent value, useful to be preserved for reference. It could easily obviate the assumed necessity of Sunday labor in the preparation of the Monday paper, if in no other way, by observing the old New England custom of ceasing work on Saturday evening, say at 6 o'clock, and not resuming it till the same hour on Sunday evening. Such a paper should employ men with some ecclesiastical knowledge to report ecclesiastical proceedings, that the laughable mistakes of the present average reporter might be avoided. Finally, it would take no favors in the way of passes and free tickets, that it might be entirely free from even the suspicion of favoritism.

Is such a paper a mere ideal? The answer, of course, must be that it is only this at present. But there is no good reason apparent, after all has been said, why it should not be made a reality and a success. Only it ought not to be started as an experiment, nor ought it to attempt to stand on a meagre financial basis. No such paper can succeed if it makes its appeal to charity. It may be that good men ought to patronize a "temperance" eating house because it is such. But the average good man will go where he can get good food well served, rather than put up with the contrary in an establishment that trades on its principles. This Christian daily must be so good that the leading men of the community, as well as others, men of the world as well as Christian men cannot afford *not* to take it,

To make it such, money is needed—a good deal of money! It ought to be able to command a capital of not less than half a million dollars, and of a million dollars if necessary. In no long time it would be found, as some of us believe, a paying investment. Perhaps such a paper would not make money as fast as some of the journals that are not particularly scrupulous, or that cater to the passions of men. But it would make

money. Men of the world would be ready to buy a paper which they could depend upon to tell the truth without fear or favor. Not only Christian people but moral people would desire to have a journal that they could safely introduce into their homes. There would be a demand for such a paper, and it would not be long in making its way to a large circulation. It would tend to tone up the whole newspaper press, the best part of it at any rate, relegating the remainder to the reading of the already vicious and depraved.

But where shall the money come from to start and, for a time, sustain the *Daily Truth Teller?* There are Christian millionaires who could easily undertake such an enterprize. There is hardly any way in which the same amount of money might be put to uses that, in the long run at any rate, would produce better results. If one man could not be found to take the burden and risk of the enterprize, a small company of such men might undertake it. Where is this man? Where are these men?

O. A. Kingsbury.

ARTICLE IV.—EIGHTEENTH CENTURY POETRY.

PART II.

IN approaching the spirit of the eighteenth century—in trying to get at a just and precise estimate of its scope and essence, and to approach it from a side which has at least to a certain extent the merit of freshness—let us for the moment abandon generalities and betake ourselves to something more tangible and at the same time more interesting. It is the business of a truly great and pure poetry, how often it has been said, to embody the profound and delicate emotions of human life. Love, religion, the feeling for natural beauty, pity, sorrow, these are some of the themes we expect to find in the poets, and find disclosed and exalted in images of beauty and power. Let us, then, put this touchstone to the poets of the century; let us see in what mood, with what success, and for what purpose they handled the deep things of nature and mind.

Take religion. When Locke founded his scheme of Utilitarian morality, which was afterwards systematized by Bentham, and when he reduced belief to common sense maxims, leading the way to the scepticism of Hume and Gibbon, the character of religion was regulated for the entire epoch. This created one source of influence, and the other came from the Christian apologists like Beattie and Warburton. The two-fold and antagonistic interpretations of faith and dogma can easily be traced in the poets who handled those themes. "Heaven," exclaims the excellent Beattie, "is not the element of poets." The truth of the aphorism is fully demonstrated in his poem of the *Minstrel*, which is written all over with the dry didacticism of the same author's *Essay on Moral Truth.* "I will tell you in very few words," Pope wrote Atterbury, when the latter was urging him to become an Anglican, "what my politics and religion are. In politics I wish to preserve the repose of my conscience, with whatever church I be united." But toleration like this is dangerously near to indifference, and

Pope the poet is as negative, or else as cooly calculating as Pope the letter writer. True, he had jumped with the fashions of his time, and in his verse donned at will the garb of the deist or the free-thinker. If back of the warm-hearted Beattie you discern the shadow of the combative Warburton, back of Pope it is the figure and ideas of St. John. What is the first epistle of the *Essay on Man* but Bolingbroke epigrammatized? What is the *Universal Prayer* but the echo of the grand old medieval *Pater?* To catch the true accent of Christianity this supreme poet of the céntury must refurbish the dying words of the Emperor Adrian, or burrow in the love-letters of the famous pair of monkish chronicle. But run over the smooth rhetorical couplets into which Pope packed the conventional passion of Eloise and Abelard, and ask yourself if M. Taine is not right when he said that to these artificers of the eighteenth century, the nature of the child, the saint, the lover, were effectually hidden. It is so through all this poetry. Moral discursions, axioms, precepts meet you everywhere, little sermons admirably turned and versified, bombastic afflatus in the face of unrealized emotion and colorless ideas. If none of the Popean group reached the point of treating their maker like St. Louis in Voltaire's *Henriade*, with a threatening and cavalier air, what is almost as bad they take the deity under their protection, and either mechanize the divine conception or lead you confidentially into its deepest secrets.

What was lacking, if not imagination, capacity to apprehend the subtle admixture of feeling involved in the Christian faith? A mythology, no doubt, a culture which could animate and inspire. Even the richer sensuous forms of Christianity, which moved the lyrical poets of the seventeenth century to the glimpses of the divine order of beauty, were non-existent for them, and perhaps if they had existed, they would have been imperceptible. Something more important still, however, was gone from them. "Little was left," says Karl Hillebrand, "of either the mysticism or the superstition of Christianity." Here we penetrate the secret of their inadequacy, for this is tantamount to saying that the poetic element of the religion had perished. The poets were insensible to its spiritual content, its mingled æsthetic and historic value for the imagination.

Contrast their standpoint and treatment with those of the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries, and you will see how far removed they are from the moods of reverence, contemplation, and silence. I say nothing of the more positive manifestation of a Catholic spirit, the tender longings, the aspirations, the sense of awe and mystery, which clothes the older and modern poets in a garment of flame. From such uplifted and winged moods, they were divorced by temper and limitations of time and art. In place of imagination we have a cold formal predication, and instead of the visions and pictures, which a free art ought to give, there is, as Leslie Stephen puts it, only "a system of deductions and corollaries." Take it altogether, I doubt if there is in English literature a period so hopeless for the poetic spirit in which there enters any consciousness of divine things.

To the classical poet there was something in the sublime and more stupendous aspects of nature so barbarous, so forbidding, so fearful (monstrum horrendum!) that he could only shudder and avert his eyes. The writers and poets of the last century shared his disposition in a remarkable degree. Mountainous heights and vast solitudes filled them with almost as much aversion as they did their Augustan models. The "Horrid Alp" of which Evelyn speaks, was indeed hardly known to the race which has since ascended its highest peaks and explored its most inaccessible passes. "The pastime of climbing the mountains and reviewing the glaciers," Gibbon wrote from Lausanne in 1755, "had not yet been introduced by foreign travellers who seek the sublime beauties of nature." One of the earliest of English travellers in Switzerland, the delightful letter-writer Howels, had nothing to say for the mountains save that they seemed to him "excrescences" on the face of nature, and Addison declared they filled him with an "agreeable horror," forming as they did "one of the most irregular and misshapen scenes in the world." That they were irregular was an adequate ground of dislike to a taste that prized so highly the beauty of measure and proportion. At times, doubtless, this general depreciation of mountain scenery was the product of pure apprehension, begotten of the perils and discomforts of travel. The "fearful crags and tracts" of great

elevation "caused the heart of the most valiant man to melt within him," says Berkeley. The feeling, however, was nothing new; the sense of the dreadfulness of Alpine peak and precipice runs back to mediæval times. German and French chronicles during the crusades are full of it. The reflection only confirms what is so often averred of the comparatively recent birth of the finer moods of delight in impressive natural scenery. The transition of the profounder modern feeling made its way very slowly. In France, the school of description appeared about the middle of the century; but Delille and Saint Lambert only developed the vein which Rousseau, following Thompson, had opened there.* Before Rousseau even, though of so impalpable a sentiment it is hard to fix an initial date, Thompson and Gray must be counted among the first romantic lovers of nature for her own sake. Gray's letters from Switzerland (1739) contained perhaps the earliest indication of the modern enthusiasm among English writers.† But it is sufficient to indicate merely, this distaste of the eighteenth century poets for the larger aspects of wild nature, it has been so fully and so often analyzed. To account for the love of mountain scenery, however, has puzzled the most acute of landscape psychologists. "I have vainly tried in the fifth volume of the *Modern Painters*," said Mr. Ruskin in a recent lecture, "to explain the love of mountains, which distinguishes the school (Turner and the Pre-Raphelites). The more I analyzed, the less I understood the mysterious pleasure of land being up and down; and the less able was I, to deny the claims of those who preferred it level; and so my only course was to assure those recusant and ignoble persons they were perfectly wrong; that the mountain glory was a moral axiom; and the love of it, a heavenly gift."‡

* *Lacretee: le Dixhuitieme Siecle*, Tome iii., p. 328.

† The qualification is necessary. It would be hard to find any expressions of modern nature-worship more ardent than those of Petrarch, or more genial and appreciative than those of Montaigne in his recently published letters. The student of natural feeling in literature should go back to them as the precursors of the sentimental nature-lovers.

‡ The graphic arts of the eighteenth century showed an equal indifference to mountain scenery. But a good deal of public interest was excited by the appearance of the fourth volume of De Laussun's great

This aversion to great natural forces extended to the sea, that sea, which the old English mariners had wedded with a ring more truly than ever the Venetians had done. The hardihood of the ancient Anglo-Saxon stock, the glory of its seamen, and the boisterous element they loved, had found its robust similitudes in the earliest English poetry. It appears in the lay of Beowulf, the oldest English *epos*, and in the most vivid and characteristic manner; the conflict of men with the stormy seas, the mystery, the gloom, and terror of their aspects, are painted in bold and rough strokes. There is nothing in eighteenth century poetry like the feeling which permeates the glorious sea-piece of the seventeenth century, the Tempest, or like the images of the sea's might and splendor that are scattered through its dramatists.

In the poets of Queen Anne and the Georges' time, the echoes of any such sentiment are faint and infrequent. The spell of their Latin prototypes is upon them here also. The sea disquieted and baffled them, and they let it alone, for the most part, content to stand remote, with no overpowering impulsion, such as came later among the poets to interrogate the unknown and untraveled wastes of the deep, to explore all the secrets of its moods, from stormful triumphs to ultimate hushed repose.

By way of contrast, it may be said that the eighteenth century poets enjoyed and exquisitely described the kind of landscape congenial to their disposition. The critics who charge them with a total want of sensibility for natural beauty, must

work, *Voyage dans les Alpes*, which was published in 1796, with many large plate engravings executed by the best living talent. Alluding to these points, Mr. Hamerton says,—and I copy the entire passage as curiously significant,—"They really do express the most perfect mountain knowledge which had been attained up to the end of the seventeenth century. They really give evidence of much deeper mountain love than any which had been attained by the old masters; but compare them with the incipient work of Turner's, done in the first year of the succeeding century, and what are they? Nothing but old maps in which depictive outlines surround spaces piled with emptiness. Turner's drawings of the Alps, even the early ones, are as much beyond the engravings which the learned and admirable De Laussune approved and published, as Greek figure-sculpture was beyond Gothic."—Hamerton's *Life of Turner*, p. 193.

reason strangely of human nature. They are separated from us quite far enough without increasing it by the difference in the mode and quality of their enjoyment, and in the stereotyped form of its expressiou. Just as the Elizabethans loved especially the minute details of country life, brooks, flowers and the small creatures of the woods and fields; and modern poets, the larger, more perplexing and elemental natural forms, cloud and sea, sunlight and vapor, and mountains; so the last century had its peculiar preferences. The advance since then in power and subtlety of interpretation certainly is very marked; it is clearly towards a greater fineness of perception, an increase of interest in and observation of the ways of nature, and a wider scope of emotional pleasure. Yet the eighteenth century, lacking as it was in the highest imaginative susceptibility, had its special phrases of sensation at the sight of landscape which disclose a genuine if limited sympathy. It was the budding time of purely descriptive poetry. As in France, in proportion as the custom of exclusive town-living broke up, a livelier consciousness of nature in its cultivated and refined aspects began to awaken and reflect itself in literature. Pure savageness lost little of its repellancy, the gregariousness of manners made solitude unendurable. Solitude indeed was still, as with Parnell, "the nurse of woe." It was the tranquil and habitable scenes of country life, they found most pleasure in; the need of human association which Mr. Ruskin declares so imperative for a sincere appreciation of landscape was far more imperative then than it is apparently now; it favored the garden walk, the orchard, shorn meadows and shady nooks, lanes lined with hawthorn hedges and sweet briar roses, woods vocal with the mavis and the merle, the smiling valleys thick with homesteads, and divided by its winding brook, nature well combed and smoothed and trimmed by man's handcraft and for man's uses. Carried to excess, this taste was fatal to any great poetry. Then came the inevitable moment when all nature assumed an artificial dress, degenerated into a "counterfeit Arcadia." In the typical verse of the age, false nymphs and shepherd swains,—the thin disguise of fine ladies and gentlemen of the drawing-room,—as little real as Dresden china manikin, take possession of the scene and "caper in

flowering vales," amid "sighing zephyrs," to the pastoral pipings of a fictitious Pan. The unreality of it all, its suspiciously operatic tone, its substantial vapidity, excite now only a half-humorous, half-resentful amazement. In Goldsmith, in Gray, and Cowper there is of course a much freer and nobler mood in the presence of nature. The poet of *Auburn* and the *Traveller* is touched by the sadness of ruin and desolation. His is the note of gentle regret and melancholy; more brooding and picturesque, Cowper comes nearer to the Victorian poets in his play of light fancies and delicate transitions of mood. It is the distinct merit of this group to have brought to the spirit of their performances a greater truthfulness, simplicity, and seriousness than any others of their times. But even with these the most naturalistic poets of that age, the conception and treatment of nature is far removed from that which was born of a more matured romanticism and became the very breath of modern poetry. It was, as I have said, the budding time; it had too much of the merit, as Landor said, of a pocket handkerchief that smells of roses; the final and complete flower bloomed only in the songs of Shelley, the idyls of Tennyson, and the sonnets and ballads of Rossetti.

No subject has haunted and preoccupied our modern poets more than woman and womanhood. In the eighteenth century, the poets, as a rule, handled the delicate theme with an insensibility and grossness which gives us a shock of surprise and astonishment as we turn over the pages. It is difficult to exaggerate the lowness of tone which marks nearly everything the Queen Anne classicists say about women. They wrote of her with respect only by happy inspiration, and rarely ever with deep feeling and subtle perception. A single passage in Swift, an allusion in Pope, however genuine, a brief couplet or ballad now and then, can ill hide the extreme poverty of sentiment or brutality of spirit which marks the habitual tone of their writing! The spurious gallantry of contemporary manners exhibited themselves in external forms of devotion, carrying in themselves a sort of contempt which in the court-society of Queen Anne and the Georges, destroyed the finer sensations and made sincere feeling or elevated belief and homage ridiculous. From Pope's cynical and rakish air down to the *Spec-*

tator's amiable and complacent irony, there are but so many steps in degree. When their mood was neither cynical nor patronizing it was purely conventional, as with Prior who, having dipped overmuch in Gallic song, cultivated a light and wanton vein, which has a strangely foreign air in its sturdy English dress. Among the lesser verse-makers, this frivolity of accent was unfailing. It flowed gayly into little songs and amorets and fables, in the manner of Horace or Martial, always slight and playful, sometimes tender in sentiment and elegant in form, and again barbed with malice and satire. The temper of the Roman decadence was never better caught in English literature; Catullus and Petronius never had their graces and libertinism, their little flowers and knots of love-songs, more deliciously imitated, more ingeniously engrafted on a stubborn stock. It is the social poet at play, weaving pretty conceits for pretty and frail women: "*circum flosculos occupatur.*" In this light vein some of the eighteenth century lyrists yield still a certain kind of amusement. They know how to touch and pass with a graceful stroke or two, the delicate toying of light-of-loves, the coynesses, the coquetting, the half playful regrets, and sportive racy episodes of a town-living and not over-virtuous society.

"On my left hand, my Horace, a nymph on my right,"

sings Prior. The fop, the wit, the man of fashion avows in the strain his notion of felicity. In the same vein, Gay, Tickell, Matthew Green, and Armstrong, write of the tender passion; it is always the

"Coquette's April-weather face."

which starts their muse,

"While soft Tibullus pours his tender heart."

Along with the epigram, these jets of song are perhaps the most juicy productions within the whole range of the eighteenth century poetry; their frank and careless melody, their little spirit of real fun and harmless malice, their tone of half-jaded, half-affected simplicity, their very flippancy, give them whatever measure of truth and pithiness belongs to a polite and thoroughly corrupt society, the old society of the coffee-house

and theatre of Will's and Garrick's day. And yet let us not deceive ourselves. The unending invocations to Jove Stator and Apollo, to Time and Cytharian Tresses, and the mock ardors lavished on my lady's black eyebrow and ivory hair, on Phyllis and Damon, and the Celias and Belindas,—these things fall upon the ear with a cloying and monotonous sound. There is something spurious in it all, something vapid and ineffectual; it betrays such a frigid constitution, it opens such abysses of fatal superficiality. We wait in vain for the note of seriousness, the breath of true and sincere feeling, the contagious thrills of lyric passion. When it attempted a higher strain, indeed, even in erotic poetry, the eighteenth century falls pitiably below that of any other period of English literature. The poets seem to have discerned neither the heroic, the passionate, nor the tender nature and potencies of womanhood; they failed equally in the strong and redundant sensuousness of the best amorous poetry. The beat of their verse is too calculated, its stream too thin and shallow to stir the slowest pulse. How far are we from the warm, varying colored mood of imaginative brooding over these profound themes which came before and after in English poetry; before, in that half-chivalric half tender devotion, in which Elizabethan poetry is so rich and so conceitful,—for about the head of love, those elder poets have set a golden aureole, and touched his lips with a coal of fire; and after, in the rich spirit of modern romance, the sentiment that gave birth to *St. Agnes' Eve*, *Margaret*, *A Dream of Fair Women*, and the *House of Life*—the grand uplifted mood of that poetry which touches to transfigure with a sacred awe the beautiful mystery of love and womanhood. It would almost seem as if the eighteenth century poets had never been moved save in rare instances by the sweetness of the ideal conception; and left wholly unpenetrated the awfuller deeps of passion. The joyous heights, the devious and pathetic ways, the desolation of the secret regions of the soul remained unimaged and apart from them. Whensoever they happened on the portals of the inner temple they shuddered and fled away, and a voice of light and mocking laughter echoes behind them.

In this mode of treating profound and delicate emotion, we catch once more the echo of the Gallic spirit, a spirit whose

lightness and levity, I must add, was confirmed by certain Irish influences that effected English literature at the time. It is perhaps a momentary appearance of another Celtic vein of a less serious kind. The Irish element was never, in point of fact, so prominent in English literature. The brilliant group of poets and orators, which included Swift, Goldsmith, Sheridan, and Burke, left a certain influence of their social traits. It is stamped unmistakably in *She Stoops to Conquer* and the *School for Scandal.* There are signs of it in the wit of the great Dean, terrible as was its bitterest side, and even the stately and lofty interest of Burke had its Celtic turn—the splendid impetuosity and expansiveness so truly native to the Irish branch of the Celtic race. But it is not best to push these resemblances too far. The Celtic note seems to have entered letters more through French than Irish influence, as I hope to show later on. Equally remarkable is the absence from this body of poetry of that graver Germanic spirit, which lies at the base of the English genius—the passion for the infinite, the unattainable, the sense of the inner world, and the power of being greatly moved by great things. In the handling of the great passions it is eradicated, and with singular effectualness—for a prolonged period.

I hazard these remarks on the deficiencies in eighteenth century poetry with no intention of distributing censure, but simply to aid myself in forming a clear idea of its limitations, and affirm the main impressions they leave upon the mind. If these reflections have led to a series of negations, it was because the poetry of that age does really fall short, judged by any high standard of a great and free poetry, such as English poetry in the Renaissance. It falls far short in the essential requisites of a great and free poetry in poetic imagination, in spirituality of conception, in seriousness, in diversity and flexibility of form. Neither does such a view necessarily imply, what might be concluded from certain expressions used, that imagination had perished in the last century. To entertain this for a moment would be manifestly absurd. But the imagination of the age was certainly not of a strictly poetical quality or mould. It had run into other currents than the poetic; it expressed itself in other forms. Instinctively following the

drift of the age, it sought in prose its outward form, and its unrivalled strength and richness comes out in the realistic art of fiction, the novel of manners, and in eloquence and wit and satire. The old English robustness, the old English homeliness, and vitality are there in all their fullness. The imagination that informs the masterpieces of eighteenth century prose, is an imagination with peculiar power of its own. It is in Defoe, Fielding, and Sterne, producing the broad and vigorous pictures of life and manners in which they remain unsurpassed; it ferments in the great brain of the gloomy satirist who created *Gulliver's Travels*; it built up in homely and vivid allegory the visions of him who walked through the valley of the shadow of death; it was the stuff that still keeps alive the broken imagery of Chatham and the supurb invective of Burke. It is only when the eighteenth century type of imagination is studied in these masterpieces that we arrive at the proper estimate both of its limitations and its merits. If we realize, on the one hand, its deplorable shortcomings in the highest poetical quality, it is impossible not to recognize and relish its keenness and brightness, its ingenuity, its compactness, its versatility, and rhetorical splendor. In poetry they fail, in Bacon's felicitous phrase, "to accommodate the show of things to the desire of of the mind." They accommodated them to such desires as they had, which wanted freedom, elasticity, elevation, or, to apply Mr. Arnold's test, their criticism of life, is incomplete, because it is the criticism of the understanding alone, of common sense uninspired and untouched by that awe which transfigures the common and shapes it into beautiful forms. Their art is the picturing of apparent phenomena; and hence that inner world of the poet, and the artist which reveals itself in all eastern poetry, and in the truest English song and drama, is securely hidden away from the representative poets. They did not see their object, as Wordsworth says, "steadily and with clear eyes." They seldom ever ascended the heights and looked abroad in largeness of knowledge and with the poet's stirring of the soul upon the long reaches and devious windings of human life and emotion. Without the profound modern reverence of womanhood, without its earnestness, faith or its sad persistent sincerity in unbelief, without its depth of feeling for

nature, her secrets of repose and consolation, a great and free poetry was all but impossible by any law of growth or artistic creation. The finer poetic moods, passion, exaltation, the anguish born of unappeased desire or doubt, the compassion inherent in minds that have lived and suffered, even the heightened style of a great poetry, the qualities of magic and suggestiveness, true lyricism and strikingly enough, tragedy,—these impulses lying deep in the heart of the best romantic poetry, and blossoming forth into forms of beauty and power were all, in the last century, measurably unfelt and inactive. They did not, at any rate, find embodiment in its poetry. The spiritual content is that of the age, and in that content both the true, antique, and romantic temper have no part or visible influence. In all these deficiencies the poets were simply nourished and conditioned by their time and atmosphere; and the time was unfavorable, a hard, thin stratum of common sense, a low level of emotion and morals.

LOUIS JUDSON SWINBURNE.

ARTICLE V.—THE SURVIVAL OF THE FILTHIEST.

IN some alleged sciences, two absolutely dissentient theories of especial prominence are held by various disciples, believers, speculators, concerning the origin of man, that is of the *genus homo* as at present existing. These two rival doctrines may be briefly stated to be the theory of deterioration or fall, and the theory of development. The former is to the effect that men have descended in both senses from demi-gods, sons of God, the perfect man made in the image of God. The latter, to the effect that man has developed from and through a series of earlier and less complex or perfect forms of living, is probably held by most special scientists: at least the enthusiasm with which the "ungodliness and spiritual pride" of science is mentioned in some highly respected places would indicate a claim, or a concession, that the majority of alleged specialists hold the latter doctrine.

From the heat with which the discussions on this topic have been waged, as well as from the apparent irreconcilability of the two theories, is exhibited the hopelessness of an attempt to dull the edge of antipathy with which one of these doctrines is attacked by the partisans of the other.

For the purposes of this paper certainly it will be assumed that there is a "last ditch" in the fortifications of each of the belligerents, and as either theory is of equal utility to the conclusions herein attempted, the belligerents and their belligerency are mentioned in the main for the purpose of giving an *a fortiori* conclusion to any evidence taken from them. For if, after all the antagonism of the chosen polemic exponents of two so adverse schools, in which almost every scholar on either side has taken part, there remains any single truth acknowledged or generally conceded, that truth must be readily admitted to be a well established one; and a postulate of either faction which at this date remains postulated, must be honored with the recognition of an exceedingly respectable, fit, and surviving postulate.

But if out of the belligerency could be extracted an element of peace, one color of the rainbow (or spectrum) of reconciliation, what rose color should tinge that element!

By good fortune there is an element of agreement. Both sides believe in change (one for the better indeed, the other for the worse), and a change from belligerency is a change to peace. There had been changes before man. Neither Darwin nor the Pope dispute that proposition. Proceeding on safe ground, and using impartially, so far as practicable, the terminology of either side, let us say that, when man appeared, he appeared in a garden, in a fertile or alluvial spot, that it became known to him that tillage was desirable, that there was fruit for him to eat and water by him, of the river of life—or of living water. Let us say that prior to his time there had been notable changes, before which there had been no garden, perhaps no water, no desirable drinking or swimming water, not for men: that the waters had covered the face of the earth, that the earth was without form and void; or that there was a chaos, a nebula perhaps, and mephitic gases, and oolitic bedfellows, and jurassic horrors, and no fruit, and bad weather, such weather and company as a shark or a snake could not live in; nor an *Icthyosauros Acadianus*, which is Latin and Greek for a compromise between a snake and a shark. The name was originally a compromise of quite a spirited difference of opinion between Agassiz and Marsh. It will be conceded that there was a time when it was not fit for man to be out. To one inured to the balmy ways of a New England May the concession will be easy. It will even seem that the time was not quite so remote as some very wise men have claimed, and Moses' weather record might not seem incredible to Vennor.

It will be conceded that the garden or fertile spot could be improved or kept fertile only by tillage; that tillage was requisite to the maintenance and increase of the favorable conditions by which early and later man was surrounded. Perhaps it is not too much to assume that fertile or alluvial land is commonest not on bleak mountain tops or frigid slopes, but in river valleys and low lying plains, and that its condition must considerably depend on what washes down from more elevated places.

Given, then, for a starting point in anthropology, a man in a garden, and granted the desirability of tillage, cannot all the belligerents be expected to concede that much may depend on the manner of the tilling, that whether scientifically or piously, agriculture has been given a prime place in the economy of man's nature and mission, and that what he is to be, will depend very much on what sort of tillage he devotes himself to.

And as man is an "end unto himself" according to the philosopher, or "his chief end is to glorify God" according to the catechism (and which is very much the same thing according to St. Paul, who says "Ye are the temple of God"), it may not be presuming to assume that the development of the man is to be a more important result of the tillage, than the development of the garden; and in so much as the crop is to feed the gardener and clothe him (subject always to the enlarged sense in which the house builder and the artist exchange their commodities for his crop), it can be fairly taken for a surviving postulate that man is himself the main object, final cause, or *ratio essendi* of the tillage; and that this is so, not merely in the narrower sense of the exercise suiting him or the dignity of labor or the hunt being more attractive than the game, but in the directer and larger sense that man is himself the chief crop.

How long ought to stand the reply of the old farmer among the granite boulders of his unfruitful acres? "What can we raise here? We raise men." It has been the boast of more than one century in many a barren tract in the eastern and middle states, not to be forgotten while the memory of war lasts or the presage of triumph in peace or war is possible, not to be forgotten in however base an estimate of commonwealth or confusion of material prosperity, "We raise men."

The early conditions in which tillage was enjoined are not to be ignored if we are not to be unjust to the Mosaic school. Nothing had occurred at the date of the injunction which had suggested clothing. The trees of the garden furnished all the edibles required, also the costumes of the day as soon as any came in use. The object of the tillage, for all record evidence to the contrary, was wholly subjective,—wholly for the sake of the man and his development. In view of the Winter

Nelis pear and the Tyson, it will not do to say wholly for the sake of the original man, but for his sake and that of his successor, who was to eat the Winter Nelis and the Tyson, and for the sake of the later Eves who, having eaten the Fameuse, would wonder at a woman's having been tempted by a primæval apple. Whether then by reason of his being his own producer, middle man, and consumer, unplagued by strikes or questions whether honest socialistic principle could keep him favorable to a division of capital after a week's wages had gone to bank deposit, or by reason of the dignity of his employment, or otherwise, man was to be and is the chief crop; though as the great means to the end of surviving and developing manhood, and the home of the generations to come, the soil is itself sacred. Each owes certain duties to the land, to the Winter Nelis and the Fameuse of the future; or as one may say "The earth is the Lord's and the fullness thereof." Henry George does not deny that, he confirms. He thinks the garden so important that the general government ought to assume the care of it. Judging from the success with which Uncle Sam has managed his farm, especially the timber, there would be a difference of opinion about that.

It is the object of this paper to exhibit how directly proper or improper tillage affects the well being of man, not alone through the quality of the supplies he is to consume in one generation or another, but in its immediate effect in other ways upon the bodily and mental characteristics of the race.

A progressive woman has asserted that men are what their wives make them. Another has insisted that they are what their mothers make them. Emerson regarded them the result of ancestral traits. A great physician boasted of the enduring livers and stomachs of a family as the gift of his calomel. Draper had no doubt that men are what the weather makes them; and so far have we seen this to be true that it is certain even the existence of man is possible only within closely defined conditions of climate. Of course it is quite equally certain that man is greatly modified and limited in development by a narrower range of climatic conditions than that within which his existence is merely possible.

Daniel Wilson, commenting on the physical characteristics

of the native tribes of Canada,* after comparing the art in ivory carving of the Tarratins on Fraser river, and that of the Haidas and Eskimos, contrasts the finely developed skulls of the Cro-Magnon cave men with the Eskimo skull to the latter's serious disadvantage, and finds Malte Brunn, Robertson, Humboldt, Morton, Meigs, Gliddon, and Agassiz all concurring "in excepting from the assumed American race peculiar to this continent the Polar tribe or Eskimos," and throughout the discussion of the question by each of these authorities, runs the common assumption that climate and conditions of life affect the permanent ethnological and physical development even to the shape of the skull, and that this development may certainly be downward as well as upward.

Latham says of the Eskimo, "physically he is a Mongol or Asiatic, philologically he is an American, at least in respect to the principles on which his speech is constructed." But with the verdict not proven as to the origin of the Eskimo, Wilson adds (Ibid., p. 554), "to the geologist who fully realizes all that is implied in the slow retreat of the paleolithic race of the valley of the Véserè, over submerged continents since engulfed in the Atlantic, and through changing glacial and subglacial ages to their latest home on the verge of the pole, the time may suffice for any amount of change in the physical characteristics of the race." This is perhaps the extreme case in change of racial qualities by gradual acclimatization, the possibility not being contemplated of the survival of a race at once changing from one set of conditions to its opposite. In his last letter from Palestine, recommending the submergence of the entire valley of the Jordan to create an inland sea whereon the navies of England might check the advance of Russia to seaboard and commerce, Chinese Gordon, a few months before his death, illustrated his sublime devotion to the development of *white* Christianity, by the concession, "these are fertile lands, but white men cannot live on them."

Professor Virchow, the eminent pathologist of Strasburg, at a recent congress of German naturalists and physicians, recognizing changes of climate as essential to pathological inquiry,

*Proceedings of the American Association for the Advancement of Science. Montreal, August, 1882, p. 549.

said, "the southern nations have a greater power of adaptation than the northerners. Those white races which cannot become acclimatized without great loss may be called vulnerable, and the regions of the globe which are opened to them are very limited. *North America is one of these favorable regions.* Acclimatization, however, is not brought about without considerable change in the mental life and characteristics of the people. The further south we go, the lower does the reproductive power of *the colony* become, until in a few generations sterility is more and more prevalent. The special cause of this degeneration has been regarded by physicians as a lack of the formation of blood, a general anœmia. This explanation is however not final; and a further cause, such as the presence of micro-organisms in the water is to be looked for. The great prevalence of liver diseases is such cases offers a valuable clew.*"

Professor William H. Brewer, of Yale University, testified to a legislative committee concerning a river recently ponded in wide shoals, contaminated by sewage and decaying vegetation,—the circumstances attended by definite cases of intermittent fever in ninety per cent. of the population residing within a mile of the banks: "In time you can breed a race of men who can live in such a place, but you will not want them."

Dr. C. W. Chamberlain, the late invaluable Secretary of the Connecticut State Board of Health, testified to the same committee: "Where there is an accumulation of decaying matter, animal or vegetable, whether there be a spontaneous generation of disease germs or not, the seeds or contagion of zymotic diseases take firmer root and readier. From the debilitated and depleted vitality of the adjoining people, or the increased facilities for the propagation of the contagious virus and seed element of disease or from both, it remains the practical truth clearly established, that zymotic diseases prevail with more frequency, severity, fatality, and with more inconvenient *sequela.* It is also true that the diminished vitality of a population in such a neighborhood is met and counteracted by physicians with stimulants, and by the major part of the faculty with alcoholic stimulants. The prevailing opinion is that alcoholic

* *Science*, vol. vii. No. 159, p. 169.

stimulants are advisable under such circumstances, in connection with other stimulants. The majority is made up by including the professionial advice of doctors in the old countries who have studied such conditions for many generations. Whether their advice to use alcoholic stimulants is under such circumstances correct or not, it remains true than an average population so circumstanced, especially a laboring population, to whom each day's working energy is a serious item, will betake itself largely to alcoholic stimulant. That is the natural result."

One is forcibly reminded of Charles Kingsley's half prophetic verdict, now more than a quarter of a century old, "the chief cause of drunkenness is dirt," and one is led to inquire whether total abstinence should devote itself first to the exclusion and obliteration of an antidote or to the application of the logical adage, "to get rid of an effect remove the cause."

The legends of the Upas were founded in fact. An approximate realization is possible of the satiric imaginings of Swift, and a materialization of something like his Yahoos and Struldbrugs.

If under color of public benefit, a riparian proprietor is subject to have one city pour excretions down on him and another dam it back on him, what better off is he than was Gulliver under the trees the Yahoos climbed?

Recalling the boasted culture of our civilization, if the word culture still bears any suggestion of its root, let us inquire how it harmonizes with the conceded original idea of tillage in connection with man's existence and well being. Even for the benefit of the immediate vegetable crop, tillage is not confined to digging, ploughing, weeding, harrowing, in any way stirring the soil. It has become a science. As reported in the proceedings of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, Montreal, August, 1882, p. 515, J. T. Burrill, of Champagne, Illinois, found bacteria in the cells of apparently healthy plants and says, "It became manifest to me that bacteria cause diseases in plants, especially such as we call blight in the pear tree, apple tree, etc." He found "swarms of bacteria of the genus micrococci of Cohn, constituting a true *contagium vivum* in the serum from the poison of Rhus toxicodendron," so apparently suggesting a solution of the

problem why poison ivy sometimes poisons and sometimes does not.

Professor Manly Miles, of Amherst, the well known scientist, in a private letter, says: "I am now satisfied that microbes are not only the cause of many of the diseases of animals, but that they are also responsible for some at least of the diseases of plants, among which I will mention pear-blight, and yellows in peaches."

Tyndall's "Floating Matter in the Air," and Pasteur's "Studies of Fermentation," emphasize this evidence. For the immediate benefit of the vegetable crop from the vine to the goblet, something of the contagion of original sin is to be avoided, the gardener must look to his tilling in the destruction of the causes of disease and in the care with which he selects the stock he is to feed. For the benefit of the immediate vegetable crop also and to secure the permanent and increasing fertility of the soil, elements of fertility are to be added. To keep the earth a garden, to make it a better garden, than which in its higher sense there is no loftier ambition of man, to develop the prickly pear into the Josephine de Malines, animal refuse must be utilized to supply and improve upon the exhaustion of vegetable growth.

The utilitarian question "how to get rid of animal refuse" is met by the utilitarian answer "waste not." The most valuable new contribution to the material of healing, as reported from our hospitals, is a saving from the waste of woolen mills, which by compulsion of law was enforced on the mills at the old Scotch cathedral town of Jedburgh. Tillage challenging the right of the hillsides to injure the fertile alluvials, offers the means of disposal of the poisons. As truly as "a weed is a plant out of place" filth is fertilizer or material out of place.

It is no answer to this proposition that sewer farms have not paid.* Neither have sewers paid—in the same sense of immediate money returns—and it is the object of this paper, not to incite criticism of individual action, but to induce in some measure the enlistment of wealth, energy, brains to the finding a better way; for in the grander sense of tillage, that in which, by divine or scientific edict, we are all set in the earth to till

* Later reports show that they have paid in money.

it, in view of the limitations on the development of man, his powers of acclimatization, at home or abroad, his dependence on the climate which in great measure he makes, even if he does not carry it with him, as in some degree he certainly does, tilling comes to be a scientific preservation and improvement of climate, a maintaining and developing of that balance between wet and dry, hot and cold, vegetable growth and animal decay, animal growth and vegetable destruction, by which new life springing out of all death makes always a fresh, vigorous, new earth; in which life should become from age to age fresher, more vigorous, more unconfined; for bodies less subject to ills and pains, minds less trammeled by unsound bodies, soil more fertile and tillable, water sweeter, air purer, grass greener, forests grander.

No girl ever kept an aquarium for a week who ought not to know that in that microcosm the balance must be kept between animal and vegetable life; that otherwise comes decay and death, beauty gives place to loathsome ruin, that the one unpardonable sin is dirt; and that to destroy our forests, smother our grasses, foul our air, pollute our waters and rob our soil is to commit slovenly suicide and to destroy the garden of God. From divergent observers on all sides the evidence converges through one focus. Dirt tends to cause not merely disease and death, but the *deterioration of the race.* See "Hygiene and Public Health," edited by Albert H. Buck, M.D.; New York, William Wood & Co., 1879. I. Henricourt, *Comptes rendus*, 1885, p. 1027. *Science*, June 12, 1885, pp. 481–2.

Flint and Niemeyer, standard, working authorities, give among the *sequela* of intermittent fevers, "lardaceous liver." One who knows the returned East India uncle of the later English literature, can easily realize how a single generation could transform the restless energy of the New Englander, "the daring Yankee wit" of Brownell's sea fighters, into the over-corpulent, spiced and stimulated irascibility, indolence and selfish cowardice of Thackeray's Joe Selden; and imagining a a race of such, inbred by a survival of such as could endure,—not most work, mental or physical, but most alternate heat and cold, damp and miasm of decay, from generation to generation of increasing bloat and jaundice, sloth and decrepitude,—could

well say with Professor Brewer, "You can breed a race of men who can live in such a place, but you will not want them."

More pitiable already than decimated families is the reiterated complaint of just such farmers as he who used to boast "We raise men," "So long as this dumb ague is on me I don't seem to feel any ambition;" and if one who has felt the limitations put upon his energy by the shakes or a spell of Chickahominy fever, will imagine the geometrical ratio in which the causes may increase in the increasing slovenly ways of a race of Joe Seldens, that race constantly deteriorating and the worse race and the worse conditions constantly reacting each on the other for the production of decay in both, he may get to imagine a race in which no one is left to raise a protest, no court to admit proof of public hurt or destruction, no government to forbid it, and so it would come to behoove any, who believed the race of men can deteriorate by reason of untoward circumstances, and that the survivals would be of the fittest to endure zymotic pestilence and indecent surroundings, to prepare himself and his family for the Yahoo struggle, climb the mountain, preëmpt the seaboard, shut off his fellows, monopolize the highest tree of the Yahoo forest; or take the other side of the dilemma, train himself and his progeny to habits of uncleanliness, rival and envy the gutter-snipe, and go into training under the new unhygienic conditions for the fungoid crown and the survival of the filthiest. That is what none of us expects to see, of course.

Already the seaboard and the mountains are greatly preëmpted, and except for fresh air funds and similar charities, to the average laborer and his family their immediate native air is their sole reliance. They must drink of the waters of their own wells and aqueducts. But although our princes of manufacture and merchandise continue to crowd our cities and large towns under our present mistaken notions of material prosperity, without realizing that on the health and vitality of a surrounding population of perhaps financial dependents, the health and vitality of their own children and children's children depends, more than that, their physical, mental, moral, race proclivities and characteristics, the charity which begins at home will stimulate some day "the daring Yankee wit," which is not

yet lost, to such use of modern science in the microscopic battles of bacteria, in new overflows and filterings and economies, in new chemical resolvents, in new fashions of building and settlement, rendered possible by rapid transit and electric communication, as will divert fresh air funds to bringing fresh air and water into homes instead of sufferers out of them, will found fewer hospitals, almshouses, churches, missionary stations—because there will be need of fewer, since the largest need of them shall be anticipated by making the land pure and its people clean, and full of the appreciation that cleanliness is next to Godliness, especially this land and this people, with whom and in whose liberty, all lands and all peoples are being made free—and where least of all, politically, geographically (according to Virchow), or ethnologically, can the earth afford to witness a survival of the filthiest.

CHARLES H. OWEN.

ARTICLE VI.—THE PASTOR AND DOCTRINE.

HOW FAR should the preaching of the pastor be doctrinal?

What is doctrine? In the New Testament, doctrine is teaching. All teaching is doctrine, and all doctrine is teaching. There is but one word for the two English words. Therefore, where, as in Mark i. 27, the old version reads, "What new doctrine is this?" the Revision justly translates, "What is this? a new teaching?"

In the Bible sense, therefore, all teaching respecting the Kingdom of God, in the man or in the world, on earth or in heaven, is doctrine, whether respecting its King, its theatre, its principles, its laws, its facts, its characters, its workings, its dangers, its temptations, its duties, its promises, its progress, or its consummation. Our modern distinction into doctrinal and practical is wholly unbiblical.

Stated, therefore, agreeably to the New Testament, the question would be this: Ought the pastor mainly to teach, or to exhort?

The distinction between pastors and teachers is, as we know, clearly made, though not drawn out at length, in the New Testament. We cannot, therefore, exactly define it. But we are safe in saying that the ministrations of the teacher must have inclined rather to the theoretical foundation, and of the pastor to the practical appropriation, of Christian truth. The distinction then appears to be not into doctrinal and practical, in our modern sense, but into theoretical and practical, the difference lying not in the subjects treated, but the more abstract or more living way of treating them.

It may be objected that another distinction is possible between teacher and pastor, namely, between preaching and the cure of souls, in private intercourse. But this is not the only way in which the pastor was to feed or guide. The pastor was the shepherd. And as truth is the food of souls, and truth that which guides them, all communication of truth with a direct view to these two ends, whether given in public

or in private, would be pastoral. The distinction, then, between pastor and teacher would be that between the man who leads to the pasture and the man who provides the pasture. Still it may well be that this would largely coincide with the distinction between the less and the more specialized form of public and private ministration respectively.

One thing is certain: no knowledge which is not gathered and communicated with a fixed view that it shall ultimately issue in practice is worthily pursued or communicated. It has been truly said that knowledge is incipient life. When it has been thoroughly appropriated and has wrought its due effect upon the being, the soul then reaches forward for new nutriment. Knowledge which is not meant to guide hardly deserves the name of knowledge. There are, indeed, many men whose business it is to gather up and provisionally systematize large masses of facts, which are not as yet seen to be very distinctly practical. But such systems of expectant facts, material or mental, however extensive, hardly deserve the supreme name of knowledge until they are thoroughly melted into the main current of thought and become a guiding force of human life. And that this is so appears more and more from the instinct of Christian or Anti-christian intent, which meets you in inquiries the most remote, from the exploration of an ant's nest to inquiries into the origin of the stellar universe.

The Christian church, assuredly, is an institute thoroughly practical, whose aim it is to raise human life and human beings from the lowest earth to the highest heaven, and for which all things else are instrumental to this one great end. Her teachers, therefore, even though gathered into schools, and removed from the public congregation, have no right to divorce their instruction from practice. If even the positivist Comte deplored the evil effect of knowledge severed from love, how much more those whose fundamental belief it is that all objects of knowledge are the expression of Wisdom realizing the Supreme Love! The earthly emotion of curiosity must be held in solution in the supernatural emotion of adoration, or the teacher ceases to be Christian. And if even the professor of theology is bound to a practical and living

spirit of teaching, much more the minister of the congregation, even though he should be the teacher rather than the pastor. He may be regarded as intermediate between the professor and the pastor. But as he is distinctly mentioned among the ministers with which Christ has endowed his Church, it is plain that he is needed in the congregation.

But even in the early Church, where every larger congregation had a body of presbyters, of various gifts, who were all pastors, whether they were all teachers or not, it may be questioned whether the distinction is not rather into two sides of one office than into two offices. At all events, the bulk of our congregations are not likely to have two formally distinguished guides, one a pastor and one a teacher. The same man must be both, so far as they are to have either. Then for us the question practically reduces itself to this: How far should the pastor be a teacher, and how far an applier of teaching previously given? That is, as stated at the beginning, How far should he teach, and how far exhort?

But even as thus reduced, the question has still an undefined element: What is exhortation? We know what exhortation may be. Exhortation may be merely bellowing. We must not forget that under the mantle of nominal adherence to the Church, there still lurks in Christendom the various forms, not of heathenism merely, but of the lowest grades of heathenism. What we are so fond of applying to the Church of Rome is by no means utterly inapplicable to ourselves, namely, that, compared with the ideal set before us, the best of our Christianity is as yet but little better than a baptized paganism, though it is to be hoped that it is making rapid progress out of these marshy and poisonous lowlands. Southey told profound truth in saying that before the Wesleys, the English peasantry had been Catholics and were Protestants, but had never been Christians. And much as Methodism has done to lift them into heavenly places in Christ, it has not yet wholly overcome the old heathenism. Nay, the mighty spiritual impulse which converted so many to Christ stirred into activity many germs of low, boisterous, unhuman heathenism, which, without it, might have remained quiescent. And many well-meaning, but undiscriminating people came to as-

sociate this inevitable shadow of a great Christian work with the work itself, until they imagined that there could not be a true work of God without those animal cries and wild stirrings of the material nature, worthy only of the priests of Baal, with which the true followers of the Wesleys have so long had to contend, in much weariness of spirit, until at last they are slowly but steadily gaining the mastery over them. A consequence of this has been, that to many minds the word exhortation, so highly honored in the New Testament, where it ranges all the way from admonition to consolation, has come to mean only a shallow, noisy outpouring of vague impressions never digested into thought, having no reasonable sequence or order, proceeding from no well-apprehended truth, and leading to no worthy issue in life, a mere stirring of blind feelings into a blind tumult, ending where it had begun, and leaving the being more turbid after every agitation. Not in such a way did the mild and majestic Barnabas gain his name, which, in strictest meaning, signifies rather, Son of Exhortation.

No! True exhortation never leaves the bounds of thought, and of strict thought, and clearly apprehended truth. The moment it does, it sinks towards the inarticulate ignobleness of the brutes. It may, indeed, be encircled by a wide aureola of emotions reaching on towards the unsounded depths of infinity, of heavenly divinings, where distinct vision fails. But it is always poised on a regulating nucleus of distinctly apprehended truth, of which all its more nebulous utterances are but the rarefied expansion.

Therefore, as the distinction between teaching and exhortation is assuredly not the distinction between thought without feeling, and feeling without thought, what is it? We may define teaching as thought thoroughly propelled by feeling, and exhortation as feeling perfectly held in course by thought. And as objects nearest us usually stir feeling the most, and objects farthest from us stir it the least, that preaching which is animated by the mere familiar knowledge may be called practical, and that preaching which dwells on objects more remote, and therefore less immediately affecting the feelings, may be called doctrinal. In this way we have come around to our familiar modern distinction between doctrinal and practical, which

thus, though unbiblical, appears to be not anti-biblical. Therefore, there is no reason why we may not use it if we find it convenient.

How far, then, should the pastor preach on the more familiar and concrete aspects, and how far on the less familiar and more abstract aspects of spiritual truth? The question answers itself. Men and women in general will be sure to read the newspaper more than the treatise, and men and women in general will listen more attentively to preaching which is within easy reach of their minds. Therefore, the practical in preaching should largely predominate over the barely doctrinal.

But note a profoundly important limitation. All soil has once been rock. All rock which furnishes soil has come down from the distant mountains. And these mountains have risen from the depths of the globe. So all spiritual truth, even the most familiar, bearing most immediately on some homely duty, has its ultimate meaning, that which makes it Christian, in the underlying principles of the Divine Kingdom, in the bosom of God himself. Otherwise it is mere utilitarian Confucianism. Confucianism, or at least Franklinism, is, in its place, wholesome and beneficent; but its place is not in the Christian pulpit. Therefore, the pastor, at least, is bound to range largely, both in thought and experience, among the strength of the hills. His mind must be the channel, the mountain-river descending to the plain, which brings down the deep-lying and high-lying rock of abstract and lofty truth to be comminuted for fruitful, every-day use. As Archbishop Trench remarks, if the higher levels of theological thought are neglected, the inevitable issue at length is, that people get tired of hearing shallow commonplaces repeated over and over, and the whole state of the Church languishes.

Indeed, if we call that practical which affects the feelings, and through them the acts, and that doctrinal which lies behind the practical, offering material which practical preaching is to work up into use, it is plain that the line of division will not be a hard and fast one, but will run in all manner of ways, and not infrequently double on itself, according to the variety of mood or treatment on the part of the preacher, or the variety of character, culture, or circumstances of the con-

gregation. In an admirable article written for the *Independent* by Prof. George P. Fisher, he calls attention to the fact that one of the most glowingly practical chapters of the whole Bible, the 2d of Philippians, is a profoundly doctrinal setting-forth of the Incarnation, issuing in such an energy of appeal to the heart and life as no shallower theme would have sufficient momentum to set home.

It is plain, then, that the only absolutely fixed principle regulating the choice of themes for the pulpit is Horace's dictum: "Would you that I should weep, you must first grieve yourself." That which thoroughly takes hold of you can hardly fail to take hold of your hearers. For even if a man is profoundly moved by some purely domestic grief or joy, the infection spreads to others. And we know that the most powerful sermons on any theme are those which are most surcharged with the personal experience of the preacher, just so far generalized as to appeal to the identical susceptibilities in the people.

Therefore, whatever takes thoroughly hold of a man, and sets his soul on fire, is likely to have a like effect upon his hearers, whether it be the infinite perfections of the Godhead, the glories of the Kingdom of Christ, or the helpless tenderness of an orphan child at his own door. He might appeal for help to the last in so lifeless a way that it would be as tedious as some antiquated catechism; and again, he might lift his hearers, by the contagiousness of sympathy, into enraptured contemplation of the very ground and essence of the Divine being. If he fails in this latter, the cause will probably lie rather in his own incapacity to rise, than in the incapacity of human souls to be upborne. It is true, that the lesser souls cannot lift the greater, but the greater can lift the lesser. The wren cannot lift the eagle, but the eagle can lift the wren. And naturalists begin to say, what the people have long said, that the smaller birds sometimes make long voyages, far beyond their own strength, helped by the strong pinions of the larger.

We may, therefore, consider a congregation as representing so much spiritual *vis inertia*, gravitating downwards to the clods, which is to be lifted up towards heaven. That amount

of spiritual energy, counteracting spiritual gravitation, with which the preacher's soul is at any given time capable of being infused by the Divine Spirit, measures the height to which the congregation is at that time capable of being upborne. The result is a compound between his spiritual strength and their spiritual heaviness. If the margin of strength is small (and a sympathetic soul will be apt to measure it pretty accurately), the preacher must be content with a lowly flight, hovering just so far above sheer utilitarianism as to make his hearers feel that they are listening to a Christian messenger and a Christian message. If the margin is greater, the flight will be higher, and just so much higher as that is greater.

Let it not be thought strange that one human soul should be capable of bearing a whole multitude far up towards heaven. If the congregation were a dead weight, it would be inexplicable, but it is not. Let one of Charles Wesley's noblest hymns be sympathetically sung, and you may note the fact, however you may explain it. Besides, the human soul is capable of receiving the indwelling power of God, I will not say to an infinite measure, but to a measure beyond all wonted fact or conception. This capacity is the ground of the Incarnation, in which a truly human soul, in a truly human body, has been found capable of receiving the fullness of the Godhead, in such a measure into absolute union as enables the Divine Man thence resulting to bear the weight of a world's administration. If the Head can do this, what limit can we set to the lesser measures in which his members may receive of his fullness?

Therefore, as in the epistles of Paul, so in preaching generally, the most rapturous flights of contemplation, the most powerful appeals drawn from the very depths of experience, and from the heights of truth, are found to be the richest in practical results, to furnish the deepest alluvium for a growth of heavenly-mindedness, overcoming the world and condescending to all humbleness of daily duty. Dr. Chalmers, as is known, found that the most continuous and explicit moral teaching gave but a barren result, until he had yielded his soul to the great truth of redemption, and applied these mighty motives to the enforcement of duty. Then the fruits of practical righteousness began to spring up magnificently.

This kind of doctrinal preaching is not likely to be known as doctrinal, because its grandly practical issue is at once apparent. . Doctrinal is a name that is largely reserved for preaching which is purely doctrinal, that is, which is not properly preaching at all. This sort of preaching, or rather of public instruction, it is doubtless a pastor's duty to avoid as much as he can.

As much as he can. No ideal can be fully carried out. There are various facts, and principles, which are needed as a basis of practical results, but which do not always admit of being immediately wrought over into practice. These must be laid before a people at some time. They ought to be discussed in classes, and other ways apart from preaching. But scantness of time and of public interest sometimes, drives them into the pulpit.. Besides, it is not given to many minds to fuse thought and feeling so absolutely into one as it was given to Paul. Even Apollos, whom I take to have been the author of the epistle to the Hebrews, shows a certain predominance of thought over feeling. And the epistle of James, on the other hand, crowded and crammed with gems of practical admonition, lies somewhat lightly on the underlying basis of doctrine. We common men, therefore to whom is granted only some drops of the Spirit, almost choked in the rubbish of Rabbinical definitions and prepossessions, cannot be expected to have worked our instructions clear of all ore. We must therefore be content, if we would give our people knowledge, to give it sometimes rather heavily lumbered up with incongruous or at least unessential admixtures. Let our people seek relief from this in the Bible, and also in the *Pilgrim's Progress*, which Dr. Arnold rightly pronounces to contain the pure gold of scripture, unemcumbered with the rubbish of the theologians.

How far is the pastor bound to keep within the generally accredited limit of doctrine? This is too broad a subject to be treated at the end of a brief essay. But we will spend a few words on it.

First. The pastor has no right to vent mere floating notions of his own. He is not set apart to be the apostle of shallow fantasy, of self-will, and self-conceit, but the apostle of Christ.

Second. He is set apart to be the minister of Christ in the church. His individual consciousness, therefore, is supposed to be manfully, but modestly, subordinated to her general consciousness. He is not to diverge from her unless he has first consorted with her, and known the contents and grounds of her doctrines. Otherwise how can he know that he is not teaching in some raw schismatic form, inadequate and erroneous, that for which ample provision is already made in her well-grounded formularies?

This obligation rests upon the general obligation of every man not to dissent from a school of thought to which he professes to adhere, until he has mastered it. We have no right to dissent unless we thoroughly know from what we dissent. Otherwise we are not martyrs, but mushrooms, that spring up in a night and perish in a night, but are capable meanwhiles of poisoning a great many people.

Third. We are in like manner, though less stringently, bound by the consent of the particular body to which we belong. For the more local a body of doctrine is, the less weight it carries. And, as the laws of a state are *ipso facto* null and void when they contradict the laws of the Union, so local eddies of Christian thought, crystallized in little knots of churches, do not amount to much. Anybody who gives himself up slavishly to these, is miserably dwarfed. Factiousness, and fractiousness, and pertness, and insidiousness, and a love of having personal adherents are all detestable; and modesty, and brotherly deference, and love of peace, are most Christian. But no pastor has a right to allow himself to be driven by the appeal to the odiousness of the former vices, or to the loveliness of the latter virtues, into a mere corner of the church. We are bound as occasion serves to enlarge and correct provincialism by œcumenicity.

Fourth. As the church is greater than the sect, so Christ is greater than the church. With Christ included the church is certainly infallible; with Christ left out, the church is certainly fallible. An appeal therefore always lies from the church to the New Testament, and above all to the Gospels. This appears self-evident, and yet we have known a Presbytery to refuse such an appeal, imitating the Council of Constance in

trying John Huss. And we have known an Association, in declaring certain articles an obligatory basis in the trial of a minister, to refuse an amendment saving the same right of appeal to the Scripture.

The conclusion therefore is: The pastor if a true pastor, is not a retailer of his private views, though he is not to preach anything except after it has become a part of his personal conviction. He is not to diverge from the symbols of doctrine familiar to his people except where he can distinctly show that the general course of Christian thought is against them. He is not at liberty to diverge again from œcumenical consent, except where he can plainly prove that it has misapprehended apostolic testimony. But at each step he is never to acknowledge that the lower can control his teaching where the higher supports it. Christ's charter runs everywhere in Christ's Church, and extinguishes all lesser ones that vary from it.

CHARLES C. STARBUCK.

UNIVERSITY TOPICS.

IN MEMORIAM. HENRY C. KINGSLEY.

Treasurer of Yale College 1862–1886.

Henry Coit Kingsley was the second son of Professor James Luce Kingsley and Lydia Coit Kingsley. He was born in New Haven, December 11, 1815. His father was born in Scotland, Conn., August 28th, 1778, and died in New Haven, August 31st, 1852. His mother was born in Norwich, Conn., August 25th, 1789, and died December 2d, 1861. His father was a Tutor and Professor in Yale College from 1801 till his death in 1852. He was distinguished as a scholar, critic, and historian, was sensitive and modest to excess, yet conspuciously kindly, sagacious, and just. Few scholars in our country of his time were more eminent than he, and few better deserved the honor which they received. There are few men to whom Yale College owes as much as it does to him. Many of the traits of the father were conspicuous in the son. His mother was more than usually cultivated for her time. She was ardently interested in literature and in every form of benevolent and religious activity, and impressed herself strongly upon her children and the community.

Mr. Kingsley began his classical studies at the Hopkins Grammar School in New Haven under Robert McEwen (Yale, 1827), but finished his preparation for college at the Boston Latin School, then one of the most famous schools in the country, residing as a "child of the house" in the family of Hon. Jeremiah Evarts, a friend of his father's. As a boy, he was what he became as a man, more than usually quiet and retiring, yet always playful and kind. He entered Yale College in 1830, and graduated with honor in 1834. He was an excellent and well-drilled scholar. He was universally liked and confided in, though reticent and shy. He made fast friends for life among his classmates of such men as Dr. William I. Budington, Hon. Eleazar K. Foster, Rev. John R. Keep, Gov. William T. Minor, and Professor Na-

than P. Seymour. After graduating, he acted as private tutor for a few months, and then entered the Yale Law School, where he finished his studies under Judges Daggett and Hitchcock. After passing the winter of 1836 and 1837 in Columbus, Ohio, in the law office of Messrs. Wilcox (Yale, 1821) and Andrews (Yale, 1830), he was admitted to the bar of that State in December, 1837, and established hinself in Cleveland, in connection with his elder brother George (Yale, 1832), who had previously opened an office in that city. He remained associated with him till the sudden lamented death of his brother in 1842. He very early took a high position in his profession and secured the confidence of the public as a financial agent and manager, which he retained till he transferred his residence to New Haven.

In 1843, he became a member of the First Presbyterian Church, in Cleveland. As that church was full to overflowing, he soon proposed and urged the formation of another church, and somewhat unexpectedly found himself an active leader in the organization of the "Second Church" and the erection of its house of worship. This was in 1844, when he had been a resident of Cleveland less than seven years.

In 1854, he had been elected a director of the Cleveland and Pittsburg Railway. The company was then seriously embarrassed, and in 1857 became insolvent at a time of very general distress and disaster. He was urged to take charge of its finances, and consented to act as its receiver, which he continued to do from 1857 till 1866, and as the result of his care and skill it regained in 1862 the position of a sound dividend-paying company.

In 1862, after the death of Edward C. Herrick, he was elected treasurer of Yale College, and continued in this office till his death. At the time of his election he held in his hands the offer of two very lucrative positions, but he put both aside for the post which was made attractive and almost sacred by its association with his father and his early home. The writer will never forget an interview with Mr. Kingsley in respect to the decision of this question, when Professor Thacher was present, at which he expressed his feelings with respect to the responsibilities and attractions of the office. It need not be said that he discharged its manifold and trying duties in the spirit of exemplary faithfulness and of ardent personal devotion, and that he made the interests of the institution in all its departments emphatically his

own. Some of his friends have expressed surprise that he should be willing to accept and retain an office of which the emoluments were so small and the details so minute and sometimes vexatious, but they could not understand the light under which he regarded its duties and its interests. It deserves to be noticed that with the immense enlargement of the resources of the college and its expansion into a University during the twenty-five years of his administration, the duties and responsibilities of the office were enormously increased, and in the discharge of all these duties he exhibited a financial skill and an administrative ability to which the most emphatic testimony has been given. In 1885, a member of the Corporation, reviewing his report to that body for the year 1883–4, makes the following comment upon the sagacity and wisdom of his loans and purchases of stocks. He says that the fact that the income for the year was at a rate a little larger than 6–24 per cent. shows most conclusively the soundness of his investments. It has also been said that not one of his investments for the college which he personally controlled suffered loss under his management, and that during the various periods of financial stress, such securities were never permanently impaired in value.

Besides discharging the duties of his office, he also filled many public and private trusts with remarkable ability and conspicuous fidelity, being distinguished for the acuteness and rapidity of his judgment, the singular fairness and comprehensiveness with which he estimated the merits of all questions, and the promptness and force with which he passed from decision to action.

He was a man of few words; at times he seemed abrupt in his utterances, but he was a man of many thoughts, and the positiveness with which he expressed himself was the result of the habits of clear and rapid thinking, to which he had been schooled from his childhood. Naturally shy and reserved, he did not often obtrude his opinions till they were asked for, but when his opinion was required he showed that, while others had been discussing, he had not been idle in his thinking. Naturally ardent in temperament and positive in his convictions, he had disciplined himself to more than usual taciturnity as the outgrowth of the singular shyness or reserve, which was native to the man. Though warm in his affections and tender in his sympathies, the force of neither was suspected, even by many who seemed to know him well, till on some rare occasion his feelings broke forth

in a fervid flame. A chronic invalid for all his active life, he expended the surplus energies which are so lavishly wasted by many, in a constant strife with bodily discomfort and nervous unrest, but never complaining, rather seeming always on the alert with his powers ready for action, and yet equally ready to dismiss a subject when it was disposed of.

During all his life Mr. Kingsley used his pen with great readiness, and as a writer was distinguished by conciseness, directness, and force; especially, whenever he appeared in the rôle of a controversialist or a critic his ability was conspicuous. In 1841–1842, he published in Cleveland a series of papers in opposition to "free banking" which, as was thought at the time, had an influence in shaping the policy which was finally adopted by the Ohio Legislature. After his return to New Haven, he was a frequent contributor to the pages of the *New Englander*, writing on a great variety of subjects. The volume of that magazine published in the last year of his life contained six communications from his pen; one of which appeared in print only after he had been disabled by the accident which caused his death. Among his contributions to the *New Englander* may be mentioned two articles in 1858 and 1859 in criticism of the management of the American Tract Society. In 1869, he wrote an article on the "late Rebellion in Spain," of some of the exciting scenes of which he had been an eye-witness. In 1870, he wrote a critical examination of Professor Huxley's "Physical Basis of Life." But he was chiefly interested in the discussion of economical questions; and, in the year succeeding the civil war, he gave much attention to the discussion of the questions connected with the public debt.

We hardly need say that he was admirably fitted to assume the duties of the office which he filled in Yale College for twenty-four years, and that it will not be easy to find a man who will discharge its manifold and various duties so well. For fifteen years the writer of these lines has been intimately associated with him as a witness and to some extent as an associate in these duties. During all these years scarcely an hour has elapsed, during the office hours which were common to both, in which some words have not passed between them which were more or less characteristic of the man. Upon all these words simplicity and godly sincerity have been distinctly stamped, and every one has had the ring of honesty and truth. Those who have sought

to criticize his acts or his methods have invariably acknowledged his ability, thoroughness, and his honesty. Those who have found fault with his caution have not infrequently confessed that his foresight was directed by true financial wisdom. Those who have become acquainted with the enormous amount of petty details which are incident to such an office when satisfactorily administered, have confessed their astonishment that a man of such extraordinary capacity for great enterprises should concern himself with transactions so minute. All without exception who have had dealings with him have felt the force of his honest and outspoken manhood, and not a few have discerned the sweet reasonableness of his character and aims.

It scarcely need be said that Mr. Kingsley loved the college for which he labored so assiduously and sacrificed so much, and that to care and sacrifice for it had become the passion of his life. This passion was the product of high principle and loyal devotion to duty—of Christian principle animated by Christian faith. In the church of which he was a member there were few whose faith was more firm, whose patience was more exemplary, whose benevolence was more willing, more generous, and more modest, and whose zeal for the kingdom of Christ was more sustained. He was loyal to its communion, loyal to its pastor, loyal to its missionary enterprises and its domestic charities, and above all, loyal to Christ as the hope and rest of his own soul. But, perhaps, most conspicuous of all was his patience under manifold bodily infirmities, such as consume the life and waste the energies and mar the usefulness of ordinary men, but which in his case were a constant discipline "to the peace of God which passeth understanding" and a blessed foretaste and preparation for the rest which remaineth for the people of God.

NOAH PORTER.

CURRENT LITERATURE.

THE SCHAFF-HERZOG SUPPLEMENT.*—This is a work of great practical usefulness for theologians and ministers. It supplies exactly the information concerning living Divines and Professors which students so often want and cannot find. Dr. Schaff has had peculiar facilities in preparing the work from his extensive acquaintance with theologians in America and Europe. We have examined it very carefully and tested its accuracy at a good many points, and can confidently pronounce it remarkably complete, exact and trustworthy. It was almost inevitable that there should be mistakes in the book, but our surprise has been to find so few. These will doubtless be corrected in a second edition. We call attention to the following errors: Under the notice of J. G. W. Herrmann (p. 97) the date 1774 should be 1874. In the notice of Professor J. T. Hyde (p. 107), Beloit College is assigned to Michigan instead of Wisconsin. Under the name of John P. Newman we read: "D.D., Rochester Seminary, N. Y., 1864," which should be: "D.D., University of Rochester, N. Y., 1863." "These be trifles," but they mar the perfection of the book. There are also omissions of names and data for which we naturally look, but we remember that such a work must stop somewhere and the author attempts a task peculiarly difficult and delicate. We commend the book most cordially as attaining with eminent success the purpose announced in the circular of the publishers, to secure "the greatest possible accuracy and completeness, as well as strict impartiality, in the desire to make a useful and reliable book of reference for readers of all denominational and theological schools."

GEORGE B. STEVENS.

* *Encyclopedia of Living Divines and Christian Workers of all Denominations in Europe and America, being a Supplement to Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge*, edited by Rev. PHILIP SCHAFF, D.D., LL.D. and Rev. SAMUEL M. JACKSON, M.A. Funk & Wagnalls, New York, 1887. pp. 271. Prices: Cloth, $3.00; Sheep, $5.00; Morocco, $7.00.

THE STORY OF CARTHAGE*—Is told in an attractive volume, with a little over forty illustrations, among which are maps of northern and southern Italy and of the peninsula of Carthage. On the blank leaves and covers are two maps. That at the end of the book is a ground plan of the Carthaginian peninsula. That at the beginning is shaded to show the Empire of Carthage in its glory, when it included all Sardinia, together with southern Spain and western Sicily, besides a tract on the northern coast of Africa. This map would give the Empire an extent nearly or quite equal to three-fourths of modern Spain. If, however, all the dependencies of Carthage were reckoned, it would be much more extensive than this.

The work is divided into four parts, according the usual division of Carthaginian history into three periods. Part I. (pp. 1–18), "Legend and Early History" tells of the foundation of the city in 850 B. C. and its early growth, giving the story of Dido, as handed down by tradition, and as adapted and popularized by Virgil.

Part II. (pp. 19–91), "Carthage and Greece," takes up the story at about the usually assigned limit, the battle of Himera, 480 B. C. and brings it down to the beginning of the First Punic War, 264 B. C. After recounting the early operations of the Carthaginians in Sicily, it gives three chapters to their dealings with Dionysius, a short chapter to the career of Timoleon, whose story is well worth reading in the pages of Grote and Plutarch, and a longer one to that of Agathocles.

Part III. (pp. 93–125), is devoted to "The Internal History of Carthage," its Discoverers, its Constitution and Religion, and its Revenue and Trade. The story of Hanno's Atlantic voyage is told in full, with notes identifying the places mentioned. Here we find the earliest mention of the gorilla in connection with a place identified by our authors with Sherboro Island and Sound a little south of Sierra Leone. Carthage had chief magistrates called Kings, but of limited power and elected apparently for life out of certain leading families. It had also a Senate in two parts, one of a hundred members, which is compared "to the cabinet or ministry"

* *The Story of Carthage;* by ALFRED J. CHURCH, M.A., Professor of Latin in University College, London, author of "Stories from Homer," etc. With the collaboration of ARTHUR GILMAN, M.A., author of "The Story of Rome," "History of the American People," etc. New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons. The Knickerbocker Press, 1886, pp. xx, 309.

in America or England, the other to the "Congress or Parliament." The former "was a remarkably unchanging body. It followed one line of policy we may say for centuries, with extraordinary consistency. . . . There were no regular changes of government, no passing of power such as we see in the United States from Republicans to Democrats. . . ." There was a general assembly of which we know little.

Aristotle says that the offices of the State were unpaid (though they must have brought some opportunities for money-making), and that the highest offices were put up for sale, with the unfortunate result that several might be held by one man. The population of the city when taken by the Romans, was 700,000.

The supreme deity was Baal Hammon or Moloch, "horrid king," infamous for the human sacrifices which disfigure Carthaginian history. The second in rank, Melcart, was of more winsome character, not represented in human form nor worshipped so far as we know, with bloody sacrifices. "His splendid temple at Tyre was one of the most famous in the world."

The revenue of Carthage was in part derived from tribute. Thus Leptis, near the lesser Syrtes, paid a talent per diem, nearly $450,000 annually. The customs duties were so heavy that under Hannibal's management, after the second Punic War, "it was no longer necessary to tax individuals." Carthage possessed mines in Spain and Corsica. The richest of these near New Carthage, yielded the Romans in the time of Polybius (204–122 B. C.) about £2000 per day. There was also a lucrative trade with Africa and with Europe. It is interesting to find that even then negroes were preferred for slaves.

The "leather money" of Carthage is thus described in a quotation from an ancient author. "In a small piece of leather a substance is wrapped of the size of a piece of four drachmas (about 3s.); but what the substance is no one knows except the maker. After this it is sealed and issued for circulation." Our author adds, "This unknown substance was probably an alloy of metal, of which the ingredients were a state secret; and the seal was a state mark. We have, in fact, here a clumsy kind of bank note."

Part IV., "Carthage and Rome" (pp. 127–301) recounts the struggles of the queen cities down to the fall of Carthage in 146 B. C. The story is too familiar to call for any review in this place. The authors' style and their views of Hannibal and his operations may be shown at once by an example or two. Thus of

his failure to march upon Rome after the battle of Cannæ (p. 223): "But one is disposed to believe that so skillful a general, one, too, who was not wanting in boldness (for what could be bolder than his whole march into Italy?) knew what could and what could not be done better than anybody else. . . ." With this compare Bosworth Smith's decision of the same question (Carthage and the Carthaginians, p. 263): "But perhaps the best and the all-sufficing answer to those who say that Hannibal ought to have advanced on Rome is the simple fact that Hannibal himself, the foremost general of all time and statesman as well as general, did not attempt it. Or this, "His military skill is beyond doubt. In that, it is probable, he has never been surpassed," (p. 270), with this: "the foremost man of his race and his time, perhaps the mightiest military genius of any race and of any time—one with whom, in this particular, it were scant justice to compare either Alexander or Cæsar. . . ." (Smith, p. 191).

The work before us has on pp. xi., xii., a table of Carthaginian chronology. Each of the four parts, except the third, is prefaced by a statement of the original authorities from which its facts have been drawn. We find no list of modern works on the subject, except the reference in the preface to the works of Heeren, Grote, Arnold, Mommsen, Bosworth Smith, Perrot, and Chipiez, and Capes's Livy. The authors' treatment of the questions which grow out of the possible mixture of fiction with fact is unobtrusive and discreet. Altogether the work may be welcomed as a valuable addition to our historical literature.

WILLABE HASKELL.

CREED AND CHARACTER.*—It seems that there are still a good many people who are willing to read as well as hear sermons. The sermons that win the attention of the reading public of to-day are almost wholly of a practical character. Better say perhaps of an ethical character. The volume before us has met with much success and has won words of hearty commendation from those whose estimate of the demands of modern preaching is worthy of respect. They have a certain advantage in their unity. They group about a central thought, and there is an order in their development. They have, therefore, something of the effect of a methodical discussion of a single theme. They

* *Creed and Character.* Sermons by the Rev. H. S. HOLLAND, M. A., Canon of St. Paul's. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1887.

are fresh in thought, interesting in style, novel in treatment, and earnest in spirit. There is a tone of reality about them. It is good to be able to welcome such utterances from the Church of England. Like most modern sermons, however, the form is greatly subordinated to the substance. The style is too diffuse. One wearies of so much iteration and expansion. However we pardon everything to a man who has something large and noble to say and who says it with such earnestness of purpose.

GODET ON FIRST CORINTHIANS.*—All students of the New Testament who would use this work, are already familiar with Godet's works on Luke, John, and Romans. Any detailed notice is, therefore, rendered unnecessary. This commentary which covers eight chapters of the epistle, is marked by the same characteristics which distinguish the author's other works. The most noteworthy of these are, deep reverence for the truths handled, keen spiritual insight, and an earnest effort to set the contents of Scripture into close relation with the Christian life of to-day. We esteem Godet second to no other commentator when the whole purpose and general uses of the interpreter's work are considered. He does not equal Meyer in critical acumen ; nor Weiss in the nicer refinements of exegesis; nor Ellicott in subtlety of analysis, but he is superior to any of these in expounding the spiritual content of Scripture. Godet is an able scholar and critic, but does not throw textual and grammatical criticism into the foreground. We do not think him so reliable in this field as Meyer or Weiss; particularly is he open to criticism for his persistent adherence to many readings which rest upon the authority of the *Textus Receptus* instead of upon that of recent textual scholarship.

The purpose which Godet has set before himself in his commentaries we believe to be the true purpose of such works. This is, preëminently, interpretation. The resources of critical scholarship should be the means to this end. This is noticeably the case in the commentary on this practical Epistle of Paul which deals so largely with vexing questions of principle and conduct. The venerable author merits the thanks of all Biblical students that he is still pushing forward his exegetical labors and so honorably meriting the blessing of those who "still bring forth fruit in old age."

GEORGE B. STEVENS.

* *Commentary on First Corinthians;* by F. GODET, Professor at Neuchatel. Vol. 1. T. & T. Clark: Edinburgh. pp. 428. C. Scribner's Sons. New York.

HINTS ON WRITING AND SPEECH-MAKING.*—This is one of the Hand-book Series. Its contents, consisting of two short chapters, originally appeared as magazine articles. Col. Higginson always speaks with good jupgment and taste upon literary questions, and these hints are of value to the literary novice, as coming from a man who has had considerable experience in the matter of which he speaks.

SELECTED ESSAYS OF JOSEPH ADDISON.—These "readings" are selections from Addison's essays and are designed for the pupils of the Chautauqua School. The volume itself is one of the Chautauqua Library Series. The selections seem to be made with good judgment, being taken from those essays with which the reading public has become most familiar and which are supposed to illustrate most worthily the excellences of Addison's style. They illustrate the literary virtue of simplicity, and are a good antidote for literary pomposity.

* *Hints on Writing and Speech-Making.* By THOMAS WENTWORTH HIGGINSON. Boston: Lee & Shepard, Publishers. New York: Charles T. Dillingham, 1887.

† *Selected Essays of Joseph Addison*, with an Introduction by C. T. WINCHESTER, Professor of English Literature in Wesleyan University. Boston: Chautauqua Press, 117 Franklin Street, 1886.

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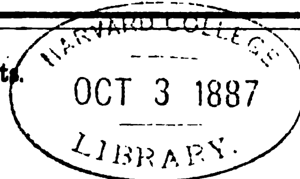

NEW ENGLANDER

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OCTOBER, 1887.

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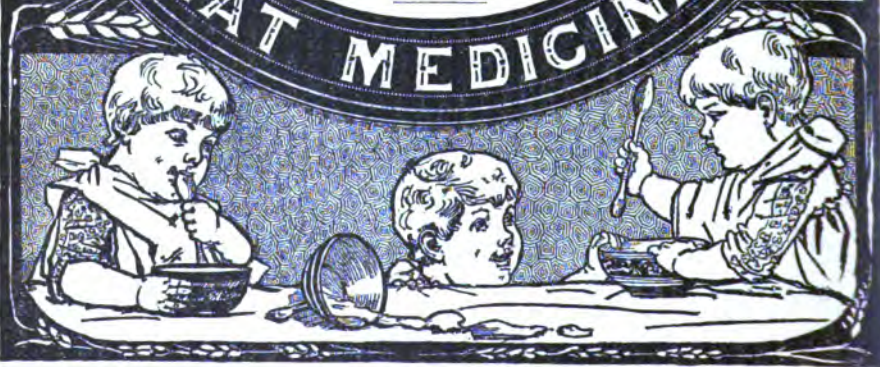

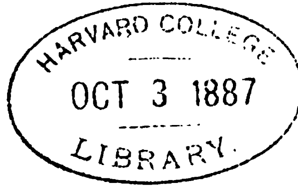

NEW ENGLANDER

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YALE REVIEW.

No. CCXI.

OCTOBER, 1887.

ARTICLE I.—THE PROGRESS OF NEW ENGLAND AGRICULTURE DURING THE LAST THIRTY YEARS.

Agriculture in Some of its Relations with Chemistry. By F. H. STORER, S.B., A.M., Professor of Agricultural Chemistry in Harvard University. 2 vols. 8vo. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1887.

THE farmers of the country will hail with great satisfaction Professor Storer's two volumes on "Agriculture in some of its Relations with Chemistry," which has been recently issued from the press of Charles Scribner's Sons. Until recently they have suffered, more even than they were aware, for the want of an accurate and scientific agricultural literature. Such as they have had has been largely the work of European authors. Many of the best modern treatises upon subjects relating to farming have been written in foreign tongues, and even when originally in English, or translated into it from the German or French, they have but partially met the wants

of American readers. To be of greatest advantage to these the author must know them and their surroundings better than a foreigner usually does or can.

The American farmer prefers to learn from an American teacher. Professor Storer addresses his own countrymen, and they more willingly listen because of this relationship. Such works as this and those of Professor Johnson are a Godsend, and will be valued more and more in successive years. If, indeed, a generation hence, the experiment stations recently provided for by Congress, shall, by careful experimentation, greatly broaden the present limits of agricultural science, none doubtless will rejoice more heartily than these gentlemen, or more willingly accept the supersedure of their works.

Professor Storer's two volumes embrace a wide range of subjects. He has viewed them from the standpoint of a chemist, but the reader will find that he is more than a chemist. The first contains eighteen chapters. The two first treat of the general relations of soil and air to plants, and of the atmosphere as a source of plant food. The next two take up the relations of water to the soil, and its circulation through it. In the fifth and sixth he discourses upon tillage. The remaining twelve, together with the first ten, perhaps with more propriety it may be said of the first fifteen, of the second volume, are devoted to the great subject of fertilization in its different branches. The remainder of this volume treats of the disposing of farms, the growth of crops, barley, oats, hay, and pastures.

These subjects are scientifically treated, and in language as little technical as accuracy of statement will allow. It is sufficiently popular to be easily understood by intelligent readers. The work is a most valuable contribution to the agricultural literature of the country.

Thirty years ago, a visitor to the agricultural towns of New England was likely, and in some sections quite sure, to find in progress a rapid diminution of population, accompanied by what was still more to be regretted, a deterioration of its quality. He was also quite certain to discover a lessened productiveness of the soil; barns once too small to house the crops which they were built to shelter, of capacities far beyond existing re-

quirements; herds and flocks of diminished numbers and not unfrequently absent altogether; much good land not farmed at all, and very little in such a manner as to secure maximum crops; the large streams shrunk in volume by the removal of heavy forests, and brooks formerly perennial absent for the greater part of the year; the timber supply fearfully lessened, and the forest area much increased; school districts needing consolidation partly because the natural increase of population had largely failed; the price of labor enhanced by its scarcity, and farming rendered unattractive by the decaying strength and rude ways of most who pursued it. In short, agriculture had not kept itself abreast the time. "The farming? the farming?" said Horace Greeley, in 1872, to a friend sitting beside him in a New Hampshire railroad car, and observing the fields through which they were passing, "What do I think of the farming? Where? I see no farming." The sting of the great journalist's report was in the truth of it.

About 1860, thoughtful farmers of New England saw the low condition of its agriculture, and in alarm and despondency exclaimed, "What shall we do to be saved?" And to these come a response, as clear as a clarion at early dawn, "Repent of your agricultural sins and bring forth fruits meet for repentance." It was the voice of God, and those who have since heeded it, have been saved from the ruin which indolence and stupidity always engender.

Not far from this time, New England took a new departure in farming. Then—some a little earlier and some a little later—new forces appeared, forces of great and lasting power which, for convenience may be designated intellectual and physical. To some of these attention is called, not only as the causes of new prosperity, but, taken in the order of their manifestations, as marks in the progress of a new agricultural development.

Among the first of these, perhaps the very first, in importance if not in time, was the advent of—

1. *The New Colleges of Agriculture and the Mechanic Arts.*—In 1862, without their asking for or even desiring them, the Congress of the United States gave to each loyal State and Territory the foundation of a College of Agriculture and the

Mechanic Arts. The country needed them but was not then ready to receive them. They were obliged, therefore, to struggle on into active being as best they could. There were no agricultural professors prepared to man them and direct their work. There were no text books for the use of their students. There was no well-defined conception on the part of any one of the precise products these were expected to yield. The two necessities first mentioned have been measurably met. The last, as yet but imperfectly determined, is assuming a shape more and more definite year by year.

These colleges are less than twenty-five years old. It is yet too early to forecast their future. All things considered, they may be said to have accomplished as much as their friends could have reasonably anticipated. They are furnishing a good general and agricultural education to such as resort to them at a very reasonable expense.

2. *The Boards of Agriculture.*—In most or all of the New England States, Boards of Agriculture have been organized. These have rendered important service to the cause which they were intended to aid, by diffusing among the farmers important agricultural information mainly by means of meetings for the discussion of farm topics, the results of which have been annually published as reports of the several boards. Many of these volumes are very valuable contributions to the agricultural literature of the country. Some are worthy of places beside the reports of the Royal Agricultural Society.

3. *The Patrons of Husbandry.*—A more recent organization than either of the foregoing has found a home in New England, and is proving efficient in the intellectual improvement of the farmer, the value of which is asserted upon less personal knowledge, but in full confidence. Allusion is to State Granges of the Patrons of Husbandry. These are the institutions of the farmers, by the farmers, for the farmers. They have been established in various sections of New England for a dozen or fifteen years. One of their important aims is the promotion of the social culture of their members. The farmers have never been a gregarious class. They have lived mostly in sparsely located families, mingling but little even with each other. Too many of them rarely go from home except it be

to meeting and to mill. They have lacked, consequently, the stimulus of association with others of a like calling. They have realized less than any other class the power of combination or the weakness of isolation. The Grange is teaching them these, and they are learning their united strength. Large numbers of the members of the state legislatures—in some a majority—are farmers. These, if so disposed, could dictate the legislation of their respective states. But, without organization, they have not a tithe of the power possessed by the less numerous bodies of representatives of other industries. That the life of this organization may be vigorous there is reason to anticipate. That it will prove a power for good there seems to be little reason to doubt.

4. *Agricultural Fairs.*—Still another power demands recognition, which may properly enough be called intellectual, inasmuch as it affords object lessons of great value to great numbers. Reference is to the agricultural fairs held all over New England each autumn. In their improved character these do not date beyond the limits of this paper. Thirty years ago even the managers of these had but vague ideas of the characteristics of the various breeds of cattle entered for exhibition, and a herd book was as illegible to them as a Hebrew Bible, and its lore as unfamiliar as the Pandects of Justinian. But woe now to the exhibitor who seeks to enter a grade animal as a thoroughbred. Shame and derision would cover any man who, at this day, should claim, as did a popular agricultural author at an early fair of the New England Agricultural Society, that the wrinkles on a merino sheep were the result of shearing. The day or two spent upon the fair ground are often to the observing farmer the most profitable of his whole year. He then and there imbibes, unconsciously perhaps, important facts and ideas which are afterwards effective in furthering his prosperity.

But, let us turn for a moment to some of the mechanical agencies which have appeared during the last thirty years to aid the uplift of New England farming. The earliest to which attention will be invited, and the most important, perhaps, is :

1. *The Mowing Machine.*—McCormick's reaper astonished the world at the London Exposition in 1851, and the mowing-

machine grew out of it soon after. The latter made its first appearance in New England about 1855. In other sections of the country it may have been present a little earlier, but not much. It has proved a great value to the farmer, as one good machine will cut as much grass as six or seven men. Indeed, machines have already been constructed, and are in use among us, which are capable, under favorable circumstances, of mowing twenty acres a day.

The mowing machine has not only aided in the solution of the labor question, but, by imperatively demanding the removal of stumps, fixed rocks and stone heaps, as well as the filling up of holes and wet places, has led to the material improvement of hundreds of farms.

2. *The Steel or Chilled Iron Plow.*—The advent of steel and chilled iron plows is more recent than that of the mowing machine. Thirty years ago many farmers were just relinquishing their wooden mouldboard plows and hitching to new ones of cast iron. The latter were a great improvement upon the former, the draft of which, in deep plowing, required half the teams of a neighborhood. The iron plow was of easier draft and did better work. It was satisfactory until better ones presented themselves made of steel or chilled iron. When a farmer saw with his own eyes, upon his own land, an Olliver chilled iron plow doing precisely the same work by a draft of eight hundred pounds, to do which a cast iron plow required eleven hundred hundred and fifty, he very wisely abandoned the latter and procured the former.

But soon after the Olliver came the sulky plow, suggesting by its appearance a pretty poor cross of a devil's darning needle upon a one-sided grasshopper, full of brag and very saucy. Its looks were not prepossessing, but a half dozen years experience has shown that, riding comfortably upon one of these drawn by three good horses harnessed abreast, a single man will invert two acres of tough sod land, to the depth of eight inches and a half, in a single day; and, if need be, two acres and a half. Indeed, the improvement in plows within the last fifteen years has reduced the cost of heavy plowing more than fifty per cent.

3. *The Improved Harrow.*—Kindred remarks may be made of the improved harrows which have been introduced during the period under consideration. The farmer who has walked beside or behind an old-fashioned spike-toothed harrow from breakfast to supper, day after day, will hail these as gifts from above. Pulverization of the soil is second in importance only to its fertilization. To a certain extent it is fertilization, as it secures admission to its bosom of air, heat, moisture, carbonic acid, etc., which render assimilable the plant food locked up therein. Improved harrows, like the "Acme," the "Disk," and others of like character, upon which the workman rides forth over his field like a warrior in his chariot, have justly remanded to disuse those of earlier periods as they do better work with greater comfort and at less expense.

4. *Wheel Horse Rakes.*—The modern horse rake has changed hay raking from hard work to pleasant recreation, enabling the proprietor of a hay field to superintend his work while, at the same time, contributing to it his own full share. With a spry stepping horse and such a rake he gathers into windrows in a part of the afternoon the morning's mowing of two machines or of a dozen men, enjoying the while a pleasant and refreshing ride.

5. *The Hay Tedder.*—Within the last twenty years the farmer has made profitable acquaintance with the hay tedder, which hastens the drying of the hay crop and thereby reduces the cost of its harvesting.

6. *The Manure Spreader.*—At a date quite recent, the manure spreader has come to render comparatively light one of the hardest and most disagreeable works of the farm. While it may not have yet realized its highest promise it has lessened by one-half and more the labor and cost of spreading manure upon land, performing at once the double work of pulverizing the materials applied and of scattering them rapidly over the surface with an evenness unattainable by the dung-fork or shovel.

Upon terminating here a list which might be greatly extended, it may be said that these six implements alone have reduced the cost of the farm operations to which they apply more than fifty per cent. What improved machinery is to the

manufacturer, what reduced grades and steel rails are to transportation, what better processes are to the miner; increased knowledge and better implements are to the farmer. To ignore these renders profitable farming impossible, and agricultural bankruptcy inevitable.

It may be said in reply to such as ask if these agencies have improved materially the general farming of New England, that it is too early yet to expect full results, as they are but a part of the foundation support of a new agricultural structure, and, like all foundations, they are mostly below the surface and make little show. Yet, some parts of the superstructure beginning to rise upon them are as clearly in sight as the head lands which mark the New England coast or the mountains which guard its western border.

For instances of this fact, compare the dairying of to-day with that of 1850, or even of 1875. Intelligent dairying is now an exact science, and managed under rules as precise as many which prevail in the laboratory. Indeed, a well conducted creamery is a laboratory. How largely, during the period under consideration, has been diffused a correct knowledge of the composition and offices of fertilizers and how generally is the farmer learning to supplement home supplies by the phosphates, nitrates and potash salts of commerce! Compare the splendid specimens of Short Horn, Devon, Hereford, Jersey, and Dutch cattle, to be seen at any of the large autumnal fairs, with the unimproved descendants of the importations of two hundred and fifty years ago, and now known as native stock. Since the war, has been introduced the old South European system of preserving green fodder for winter use by burying it in the ground, and the French terms "Silo" and "Ensilage" have been incorporated into our language without the change of a single letter. Very largely has brute power been substituted for human, and the great truth partially adopted which was taught twenty years ago by that devoted apostle of agriculture, the late ex-Alderman Mecchi, of Tip Tree Hall—"Never use a man when you can use a horse, for a horse's labor is cheaper and more reliable; never use a horse when you can use a steam engine, for the engine can be kept at half the expense and will last twice as long." During the last thirty

years many New England farmers have experimentally found that stagnant water will enter drain tiles when properly laid, and that by its removal worthless swamps may be converted to fertile fields, greatly to the increase of their scanty acreage and the annual income of their farms. An agricultural literature has made its appearance more extensive and better by far than any which has preceded it. To this the volumes of Dr. Storer are a valuable contribution. The intelligent farmer can now lay aside as obsolete his copies of La Livre de la Ferme, Morton's Cyclopedia, Stephen's Book of the Farm, and other works of high excellence in their day, since better ones covering the same ground are now within his reach. Able agricultural professors have taken the chairs awaiting them. The new colleges of agriculture and the mechanic arts bear upon their rolls the names of hundreds of students, a good proportion of whom have taken the agricultural courses of study of their respective institutions. During the last decade the depopulation of the agricultural towns has been arrested and the number showing lessening populations during that of 1860–70, has been reduced from eight hundred and eighty-nine to seven hundred and sixty-six.

To show the decline and rally of population the following tables have been compiled from the United States Census returns:

A TABLE SHOWING THE DEPOPULATION OF NEW ENGLAND TOWNS DURING THE THREE DECADES, 1850–60, 1860–70, AND 1870–80:

1850–60.

STATES.	Whole No. of Towns.	No. Losing Population.	Percentages of Losing Towns.
Maine	372	145	39
New Hampshire	201	95	47
Vermont	247	133	53
Massachusetts	331	111	33
Rhode Island	34	5	15
Connecticut	156	53	34
	1,341	542	37 av.

1860–70.

States.	Whole No. of Towns.	No. Losing Population.	Percentages of Losing Towns.
Maine	580	319	55
New Hampshire	231	168	73
Vermont	248	148	59
Massachusetts	335	163	48
Rhode Island	37	16	43
Connecticut	167	75	45
	1,598	889	54 av.

1870–80.

States.	Whole No. of Towns.	No. Losing Population.	Percentages of Losing Towns.
Maine	528	280	53
New Hampshire	236	125	53
Vermont	232	137	59
Massachusetts	340	136	40
Rhode Island	36	9	25
Connecticut	167	79	47
	1,539	766	46 av.

A TABLE SHOWING IN PARALLEL COLUMNS THE PERCENTAGES OF TOWNS LOSING IN POPULATION DURING THE LAST THREE DECADES:

States.	1850–60.	1860–70.	1870–80.
Maine	39	55	53
New Hampshire	47	73	53
Vermont	53	59	59
Massachusetts	33	48	40
Rhode Island	15	43	25
Connecticut	34	45	47

Facts like the above indicate an agricultural progress during the last thirty years as marked as it is cheering. It surpasses in amount all we shall find, if, taking the year 1850 as a starting point, we travel back to the days of the Pilgrim Fathers, or, farther still to those of the crusades.

The depopulation indicated by the above tables is indeed real, but very largely temporary. The back flow has already commenced, as these very clearly show.

This decline of population may be attributed to several causes. The late war with the South was one. Emigration was another. A third may be found in a preference by many for other pursuits. The first was inevitable, but no longer

exists. The others were results of poor husbandry, and might have been avoided had the farmers possessed the exquisite enterprise and the requisite knowledge. What might have been may be. Banish poor farming from New England and agricultural prosperity will take its place just as surely as atmospheric air will fill a vacuum when the opportunity occurs.

It is still claimed that the boys and girls upon the farms are forsaking the calling of their fathers. If this be so, as it doubtless is to some extent, it argues enterprise on their part. Its only preventive is to make agriculture as attractive as other pursuits. To do this it must be made as profitable. Avocations are attractive in proportion as they are remunerative. Men do business to make money. Success in farming comes from the good tillage of good-sized areas. A peanut stand may yield a man a frugal living, but it will not make him rich, although his margin of profit be large. The doggerel whine so often heard,

> "A little farm well tilled,
> A little wife well willed,"

is a mean half heresy which may satisfy a narrow mind, but an enterprising New England husbandman, worthy of his blood and of generous soul, wants a good-sized wife and a good-sized farm ; with fruitfulness within doors and fruitfulness without.

There has often been a desire in the hearts of enterprising persons to perpetuate their families. Men are not jealous of their ancestors, nor of their descendants. The ambition is a natural one, and commendable. But humiliating as the fact may be, a family will not stand upon nothing, and the only lasting foundation upon which it can be sustained is landed estate. Experience has indubitably demonstrated the truth of this remark. Personal property from its very nature is insecure and affords an unsafe basis. Land is the only one yet discovered which can be trusted.

The most signal example, perhaps, of the continuance of families through many centuries, is to be found in the noble houses of England. Take from these their landed support and one-half of them would disappear in less than a century; while eventually the other half would share their fate. We do not

applaud the English aristocracy. It began in robbery and has been continued upon unequal privileges. Yet, from the Norman invasion to the present day, it has been permanent.

We do, however, admire that better nobility of which our own land affords numerous examples.* Allusion is to families existing in all the older parts of the country founded in early colonial days by immigrant ancestors who came into honest possession of landed estates, which have continued in the ownership of their descendants, and been tilled by fairly requited labor ever since. The owner of such an estate can say with justifiable pride, as his eye sweeps over his paternal acres, "These low grounds, formerly worthless, but now the best upon my farm, were drained and made productive by my father. From these upland fields, as docile now to the plow as the meadows, my grandfather removed the rocks and piled them in their division walls, every stone of which is a monument to his industry. When my first Anglo-American ancestor built by yonder brook his log cabin, the surface of this estate was covered by primeval forests. His stalwart arm, then his sole dependence, bared to the sun the ground we now stand upon. The little clearing gave him bread. Since enlarged it has supported his descendants. We have never been rich, but have always had enough and something to spare to neighbors less fortunate than ourselves. Little have we besides these acres. We have paid honest wages to those who have labored with and for us. This farm, that little school house at the cross roads, and the white spired church on yonder hill have made us what we are. It is our ambition to serve well God and our generation, and transmit to our children a better inheritance than we received from our ancestors." Can one conceive of a higher nobility than one composed of such men. A nation made of such material would be invincible, "and the gates of hell could not prevail against it." Said the late head of an old Massachusetts family to a young man just starting in life, and asking his advice, "Buy land and keep it."

* The writer of this paper can easily count a dozen farmers in Concord, N. H., who are now living upon farms which have been in their families ever since they were cleared from the forest by their first Concord ancestors, more than one hundred and fifty years ago.

Whenever the mass of New England farmers, rising to the level of their opportunities and availing themselves of the advantages which modern science and mechanical ingenuity are offering to them—as many of their number are already doing—shall pursue their business with the devotion given to other pursuits, agriculture will become fairly remunerative and the familiar lines of the Latin poet,

> "O fortunatos nimiùm, sua si bona norint,
> Agricolas! quibus ipsa procul discordibus armis,
> Fundit humo facilem victum justissima tellus,"

will apply to them in a sense loftier far than any by him conceived.*

* Since this article was written, the Boston Daily Advertiser of the 9th of September inst., has published an able article headed "An Agricultural Reaction," a portion of which we quote: "A Vermont town clerk has just received a letter from an Iowa farmer, inquiring if farms may be bought in the official's town. The western man intends to sell out and settle in Vermont, believing that he can thereby have a larger and surer income. . . . . This authentic instance of a looking to New England for good agricultural results may fairly be taken as a token that the rush for the West is one day to be succeeded by a reaction. . . . . Recent observations in certain hill towns in western Massachusetts showed that the tide had turned. An appreciable degree of reoccupation where there had been deserted homesteads was noted. The worst, it was evident, had been faced. Land given over as scarcely worth cultivating was receiving more generous treatment."

JOSEPH B. WALKER.

ARTICLE II.—THE ENGLISH BIBLE AND THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE.

THE two greatest treasures in the possession of any Christian nation are the Bible in the vernacular and the vernacular itself. Though it is true, as Archbishop Trench has stated,* "that a language is more and mightier in every way than any one of the works composed in it," this advantage in favor of the language is reduced to a minimum if not indeed rendered doubtful, when we come to compare it with its expresssion in the Holy Scriptures. Of no nation of modern times is this assertion truer than of English-speaking peoples. Germany excepted, there is no civilized country where the Bible and the language alike have done more for the best interests of the population, and more in which the mutual relations of these two great educational and moral agencies have been closer and more marked. Among the English, as elsewhere, no sooner did Christianity enter and obtain a foothold than the necessity was felt of having the Word of God translated into the home-speech. It was so in the days of Ulfilas, Bishop of the Goths. As soon as his countrymen along the Black Sea became converts to Christianity, in the early part of the fourth century, it was their earnest desire to possess the Bible in their own tongue. To this work the learned and holy bishop was competent and inclined. About 360, A. D., he completed the translation of the New Testament from the original Greek and a portion of the Old Testament from the Septuagint version into the Moeso-Gothic. It was in a true sense about the first written example of a Germanic language.

It was thus with the old Syriac, Latin, Armenian, and Slavonic versions, all of them being prepared at the demand of the people, upon the introduction of Christianity. It was so in the case of the Old Saxon metrical version of the continental tribes—the Heliand of the ninth century, in which the unknown author, at the supposed request of Louis, the Pious,

* Trench's *Study of Words*, p. 29.

sought to paraphrase in verse the sacred work for the use of the people. This was prepared after that a rude form of Christian faith had been brought to them by the agency of Charlemagne and his followers.

Precisely thus the English Bible finds its historical origin on English soil just after Gregory of Rome sent forth Augustine, A. D. 597, to carry Christianity to Kent. Shortly before this, Ethelbert, King of Kent, by his marriage with Bertha, a Frankish Christian queen, had become favorably disposed to the new doctrine and worship, so that he received the Romish missionaries with kindness, in the province of Canterbury. Intellectual and literary activity was at once awakened. Schools were established and worship observed. Among the books and treasures sent to Canterbury by Gregory, the most valuable by far were two copies of the gospels in the Latin language, one of which is still in the library of Corpus Christi, Cambridge, and the other, in the Bodleian, Oxford. The people were now more than eager for the vernacular scriptures. The establishment of Christianity had made this need imperative, and it was on the basis of the Oxford copy of the Latin Gospels—the *Vetus Italica*—that the first copies of the Scriptures were prepared in the native language and circulated throughout the center and north of England. Hence, as early as the eighth century, A. D., Bede, of Durham, and Boniface, of Devonshire, were engaged, respectively, in the further translation of the Bible and in preaching the gospel to the kindred tribes beyond the sea. The contemporaneous history of the English Bible, and the English language may be said to have begun at this early period, and has so continued with but little deviation to the Westminster version of our day. It will be our pleasing purpose in the discussion before us to trace this progressive history as it moves along the successive centuries, and thus to evince the large indebtedness of our English speech to our English Bible.

I.—English Versions and Translations of the Bible.

As to the exact date of the earliest translations of the Bible into English, tradition and history are so mingled that it is quite impossible to be accurate. As Bosworth suggests, the translators

and translations are alike a matter of doubt. It is, however, safe to say that leaving out of view the discursive work that was done by unknown scholars and copyists in the seventh century, a more specific work of translation began about the eighth century in the persons of Aldhelm, Guthlac, Egbert, and Bede. This was continued in the ninth and tenth centuries by Alfred and Aelfric. We learn authoritatively from Cuthbert, a pupil of Bede's, that his venerable teacher, who died in 735, A. D., was closing his translation of St. John's Gospel into English, as his life was ending. This, in all probability, was but the last of a series of gospel versions, inasmuch as we know that in the line of commentary work Bede gave special study to the four evangelists. In fact, other translations of the gospels may have existed before this. It is well authenticated, indeed, that in the early part of the same century (706) a translation of the Gospels was made by Egbert, as also of the Psalms, by Aldhelm. In the two following centuries, Alfred, and Aelfrie, the Grammarian, carried on the same useful work. The illustrious king is supposed to have prepared a partial version of the Psalms and Gospels. Aelfrie, who died in 1006, completed the translation of the Heptateuch—the first seven books of the Bible, together with a portion of Job. He is thus mentioned by Morley "as the first man who translated into English prose any considerable portion of the Bible."* In addition to this prose rendering, it is not to be forgotten that as far back as the middle of the seventh century the paraphrase of Caedmon gives us a metrical version of a large portion of the Christian scriptures, the poem, as now extant, containing substantial parts of Genesis, Exodus, Daniel and of The Life of Christ.

Thus early was the Word of God vernacularized. As soon, in fact, as the English nation and church began their existence; as soon as education entered and the English people started on their great work of evangelization, their bible was accessible in their own tongue. It at once began to exercise its influence in the native language in all those beneficent forms in which it is still at work. It is most suggestive to note that the two great agencies started historically together at the call of Christianity.

* Morley's *English Writers*, vol. i., part I.

Fragmentary and tentative as many of their first versions are, so that there is now extant of that time but little save the Gospels, Pentateuch, and Psalms, what does remain is all the more valuable and is quite enough to establish that connection of close dependence of which we are speaking. Imperfect as these translations are, there is no subsequent period in which the secular and the inspired are so intimately blended. With Bede and Aelfric, English was eminently biblical. All the leading authors of the time were holy men. Homilies, Christian biographies, and church histories were the staple form of prose production. Where actual bible translation was not done, they did the very next thing to it, in furnishing complete paraphrases of the Bible for the schools and the common people. In these first English times (449–1066) the language was in a marked degree the medium of scripture and scriptural ideas. "In the latent spirit of this," writes Morley, "will be found the soul of all that is Saxon in our literature. The Bible was the main book in the language and controlled the character of all other books." *

In what may be called the second or intermediate period of our language and our versions (1066–1550), attention should be called, as before, to the translations in metre. The most prominent of these is, *The Ormulum* (1215), by Orm. It is a metrical paraphrase of those portions of the gospels arranged for the respective days of church service, and as the author states in various forms, is designed to secure practical religious ends. What is known as the Surtees Metrical Psalter, probably, belongs to the early part of the fourteenth century. About 1340, Richard Rolle de Hampole translated the Psalter and Job into Northumbrian English to give to those people the same privileges that the people of Kent had earlier received in prose versions. As to these prose versions, we notice a prose Psalter by William of Shoreham as early as 1327, prepared especially for the Englishmen of Kent. Of the English Bible of John of Trevisa, to which Caxton refers and which is placed at 1380, no reliable record is found. This tradition is perchance the origin of Sir Thomas More's belief that the Bible was rendered complete into English long before the time of Wycliffe.

* Morley's *English Writers*, vol. i., part I., p. 299.

The first translation of the entire Bible into English is that of Wiclif, assisted by Nicholas de Hereford. It was based on the Vulgate, and issued (N. T.) in 1380. As it was prepared nearly a century before the introduction of printing into England (1474) it was circulated in manuscript only, as the versions preceding it had been, and was not finally committed to print till several centuries later (N. T. 1731, O. T. 1850). For about a century and a half, however, up to the time of the next and greater version (1525), it was the Bible of England and the basis of English. Its revision by Purvey in 1388 was a revision only, and made a good translation a better one. Connected, as Wiclif was, with the university of Oxford for nearly half a century, and versed, as he was, in the divinities, no one was better qualified to do that great initial work that was then needed, to embody the Scriptures permanently in the English tongue, and through them to open the way for the English Reformation. English education as well as Protestant English Christianity owes him a debt that can never be repaid. His work was philological and literary as well as biblical and moral.* Although in a council at Oxford, in 1408, it was decreed "that no man hereafter read any such book now lately composed in the time of John Wiclif or since," this first great version could not be thus suppressed. The Lollards were persecuted and scattered but the Bible remained, and Foxe was able to write "that in 1520 great multitudes tasted and followed the sweetness of God's Holy Word."†

In 1525–32 appeared Tyndale's Version, containing the New Testament with the Pentateuch and historical books of the Old Testament. As the first *printed* English translation it stands conspicuously superior to all that had preceded it. From the additional fact, that it was not based on the Vulgate as was Wiclif's, but on the original text of the Hebrew and Greek, it was commended with increasing emphasis to the biblical student and reader. It is eminently natural, therefore, to hold with the great majority of Christian scholars that the history of our present English Bible practically begins with Tyndale's. It has been accepted as the basis of all later ver-

* See Dr. Storrs on Wiclif.

† Westcott's *History of the English Bible*, pp. 17, 18, 20.

sions, and gathers in its preparation new interest from the circumstance that Luther was at work at about the same period (1532–34) on that translation of the Scriptures into German which marks the settlement of standard German prose. The simplicity of Tyndale's Bible is a sufficient confirmation of his prophecy, that the plough-boys of England would know more of the Word of God than the Pope himself did. Its plain, concise, and telling English is just what might have been expected from a man of his learning, character, and spirit. Versed as he was in the original tongues of the Bible, and thoroughly devoted to the needs of the common people of England, he succeeded alike in his fidelity to the ancient text and in preparing a version for the use of all classes of the country. He was especially careful to reject the "ink-horn phrases" of the schoolmen and the schools. His method is natural, facile, terse, and vigorous, and affords the best example extant of the precise status of the English tongue at that particular stage of its historic development. It became substantially the basis of that later and still better version which for more than two centuries and a half has been accepted on all sides as the best prose specimen of standard English, while it is through this version that Tyndale's translation becomes vitally connected with the Westminster Version of the present era. Following Tyndale in this intervening period between First and Modern English, are three or four versions simply needing mention. Coverdale's translation (1535), from the Dutch (German), and Latin, completed what Tyndale had left incomplete at his death. It was, in a true sense, the first *entire* printed English Bible.

Matthew's or Roger's Version (1537), was based on the two preceding, and revised by Taverner's in 1539. It is supposed to have been the first version in English that was formally sanctioned by royal authority,—the first really *authorized* version.

Cranmer's or the Great Bible, (1539–40), was on to 1568 the accepted Bible of the English church, and especially notable as the version from which most of the Scriptures of the English Prayer-Book were taken. From this time, the preparation of English versions ceased for a while. Not only so, but new

animosity seemed to arise from royal and subordinate sources looking to the prohibition and permanent suspension of such endeavors. The accession of Edward VI. however, changed the condition of things; Bible work was resumed, so that at the close of the short reign of Bloody Mary, hostile as she was to the Protestant Scriptures, other versions were in preparation, and a new and wider era was opened both for the Bible and the language. In this Middle English Period, therefore, as in the First, the connection of these translations with the progressive development of English speech is everywhere visible. In fine, the main work was either in Scripture itself or along the lines of scriptural teaching. Whatever the literary expression of the language in prose and poetry may have been or whatever the separate study of the language on purely secular methods, the Word of God in English was *the* book by way of distinction and was engaging the best thought of the time.*

In the Modern English Period (1550–188–), three or four new versions appear.

The Genevan version (1557–60), was prepared by Protestant refugees in the city of Geneva. It was based on Tyndale's translation, was far less costly and bulky than the Great Folio Bible, and in connection with the version that followed it, was the Bible of England for more than half a century. It is of special biblical interest in that it was the first translation using verses and notes, and of special philological interest as being the first in which the old black letter type was abandoned for the common Roman type of modern time. In this particular, it clearly marks the introduction of the modern English Bible and modern Bible-English. It might be called the Bible of the Presbyterians, as most of the Genevan refugees from the Marian persecutions were of that order, and as the occasion of its preparation was partly found in a protest against the extreme Anglicanism of Cranmer's version preceding it. It was notable for its homely diction and so commended itself to the middle classes of the people as to hold its ground far into the reign of James.

* For specimens of the texts of these earlier versions, the reader may be referred to Mombert's *Hand-Book of English Versions.*

The Bishop's Bible of 1568 was made on the basis of Cranmer's and under the supervision of Archbishop Parker. Most of the scholars at work upon it were bishops of the English church. It is sometimes called "The Translation of the Church of England." Whatever its merits, it never superseded the Genevan version. It is supposed that its circulation was scarcely one-fourth that of its competitors, while it was largely due to the unseemly contest for supremacy between these two versions—the Presbyterian and the Anglican—that the preparation of the great version of 1611 was suggested and hastened.

King James' version (1607–11), may be said to have originated in a conference at Hampton Court between the King and certain others, Presbyterians and Episcopalians—with reference to promoting ecclesiastical unity in the kingdom. It was suggested by Dr. Rainolds of Oxford that such a version be prepared, based on the Bishop's Bible of 1568; it was thus connected, through Cranmer's, Matthew's, and Coverdale's versions, with that of Tyndale, so that it may be said to rest on that foundation.

"We never thought," said the translators, "that we should need to make a new translation, nor yet to make of a bad one a good one; but to make a good one better, or, out of many good ones, one principal good one, not to be excepted against."* Of this translation, little need be said. Though the Genevan version continued to be prized and used, this superior one soon succeeded in displacing it. Nearly all of those engaged in its preparation were university men, so that its scholarly character is of the first order, while its eminently English spirit has ever elicited the highest praise. As a version, it has had no superior in any language; of its literary and linguistic merits, Protestants and Romanists, Christian and unchristian alike speak.

The best example extant of Elizabethan English, it is more than remarkable that through the inevitable changes of such a composite language as the English, it has held its linguistic place as no secular work of that date has held it, and in so far as its English is concerned, has no approximate rival. Mr.

* Translator's Preface, King James' Version.

Froude is but one of millions as he speaks of "its peculiar genius and Saxon simplicity."*

"Who will say," writes Faber (*Dublin Review*, 1853), that the marvelous English of the Protestant Bible is not one of the strongholds of heresy [Protestantism] in this country!" Romanists at the Reformation and since have been keen-sighted enough to see that the "heresy" of the Protestants is immediately imbedded in the English of the Protestant Bible. It is on this account that Pope Leo XIII. would close if he could, the evangelical schools and churches at Rome. It was in fact by reason of the increasing circulation of these Protestant Scriptures that Romish scholars deemed it necessary to prepare what is known as, the Rheims-Douay Version of 1582, "for the more speedy abolishing of a number of false and impious translations put forth by sundry sects."† It was not the Bible but the Bible in English that they desired to abolish.

The latest revision of the Scriptures (N. T. 1881, O. T. 1885) is based, as we know, on this Authorized Version of 1611, as this in turn looks back to Tyndale and back to Wiclif, so that it may be suffered to mark the highest result of scholarship and practical adaptation to popular needs. As to whether the English of this version is equal or superior to that of the preceding, is a question that may judiciously rest until the full revision has been longer before us. It is in point here to add, that even in this modern period the metrical renderings of Cædmon and Orm are continued in the paraphrases of Longfellow and of Coles.

In our discussion of the relations of the English Bible to the English language we are now at a point, where, in the light of the brief survey already made of the various vernacular versions, we may state a fact of prime importance, that the historical development of the English Bible as a book has been from the beginning substantially parallel with that of the English language. "The history of our Bible," as Dr. Westcott remarks, "is a type of the history of our church, and both histories have suffered the same fate."‡ So as to our Bible

* Froude's *History of England*, III., 84.

† Preface to Rhemish Text.

‡ Preface to Westcott's *History of the English Bible.*

and our speech. They have been historically correspondent. They have "suffered the same fate," prosperous and adverse, and this to such a marked degree that the record of the one is essentially embodied in that of the other.

"It is a noteworthy circumstance,"* writes Mr. Marsh, "in the history of the literature of Protestant countries, that in every one of them the creation or revival of a national literature has coincided with a translation of the Scriptures into the vernacular, which has been remarkable, both as an accurate representative of the original text and as an exhibition of the best power of expression possessed by the language of that stage of its development." This closeness of progressive expansion is clearly seen in each of the three periods we have examined. Of the five or six most prominent authors of First English, nearly every one was more or less engaged in developing the language through its application to Scripture, while such a writer as Cynewulf, in his poem on Christ, verges as closely as possible on specific biblical paraphrase. The Saxon Bible was thus not only a church book for certain days and ceremonies, but was the book of the home, the school, and the shop, the people's hand-book of their vernacular.

So in the Middle English era on to the time of Elizabeth, Shoreham, Orm, and Hampole had done their initial work prior to Wiclif, who, with his manuscript Bible containing over ninety-five per cent. of native English, did more to maintain and diffuse the language in its purity than all other agencies combined. "It is a version," says Shepherd, "entitled to special consideration in a history that treats of the origin and formation of the English tongue."†

After the invention of printing and the work of Caxton, the golden age of English versions began with Tyndale and others, reaching the high-water mark just at the time when the English language on its secular side was freeing itself from the fetters of the old inflectional system, and preparing for its great mission among the nations. The English Bible was there most opportunely to guide and measure that ever enlarging growth which it was assuming, and which, had it not been there, might

* Marsh's *English Lang. and Lit.*, p. 344.

† Shepherd's *History of the Eng. Lan.*, p. 84.

have become an Anglo-Latin dialect of the Romish church, or a confused compound of earlier and later English. So as to the modern period from the Genevan version to King James, when the work of bible translation seemed to rest conjointly with the establishment of the language substantially in its present standard forms. Whatever may be the differences of phraseology, idiom, and structure between what is known as Elizabethan English, and the English of to-day, it is conceded by all scholars that modern English as such began at that date, and was most purely expressed in the version of 1611. Not only did this version mark the highest point reached in the use of theological and religious English, but practically so in the use of common English. It expressed the sum total of those different elements of good that existed in the language as the result of its successive centuries of development, and added to them all the new element of Christian liberty. In the revision of the Scriptures now nearly completed, there is seen but another confirmation of the fact—that the growth of the Bible as a book is coterminous with that of the language. Though during the intervening two hundred and seventy years (1611-1881) this historical parallelism has been at times interrupted, as in the days of the Stuarts, still the correspondence has not been altogether lost, but providentially or otherwise, there has been a harmony of procession here quite without precedent in any other sphere. In fine, the necessities of a spoken language in constant process of change, demand such occasional revisions in order to keep abreast of the secular growth of the vernacular and to guard it. Hence it is, that the Scriptures are a philological factor in a language as no merely literary production can possibly be. Hence it is, that the English Bible in every new revision of it may be viewed as marking the limit up to which the language has come at the date of such revision. There is here, on the one hand, a convenient test of the purely philological progress of our language, and also a test of the success of those scholars who engage in the difficult and delicate work of scriptural revision. The language and the Bible act and react upon each other as great educational agents. Linguistically, they are the two great coöperative factors in modern progress. They cannot exist and act separately.

The English language is what it is, and will be what it will be mainly by reason of its vital relation to the English Scriptures.

It is now in place to call attention to some of those special forms of indebtedness under which the English language rests to the English Bible.

1. As to Diction and Vocabulary. What may be called the *verbal purity* of English, is founded on the vernacular bible as on nothing else. This is seen to be true in all the historical eras mentioned. It was so in the earliest days of the partial Saxon versions, when, for the very purpose of preserving the language from the corrupting influence of foreign tongues, the Scriptures were translated into it. It was this very object that Aelfric had in view when in the preparation of manuals for the schools he was especially careful to translate a portion of the Bible for daily use. In what are known as the Wicklif versions of Scripture, we are told "that they exerted a decided influence in developing that particular dialect of English—the East-midland—which became the literary form of the language; that they tended to prepare the way for Chaucer, who was personally indebted to these translations for much of the wealth and beauty of his diction."* When we come to the sixteenth century and to the practical completion of Bible versions in the seventeenth, this debt of our diction to our Bible is all the more striking. Elizabethan English, as a period of the language by itself, is enough to confirm this. It was right at the height and under the central influence of these versions that this form of English was developed. It was saturated with Bible teaching and spirit. Special emphasis is to be given to the fact that a distinctive religious diction was then established, from which no material departure has since been made. Whatever the changes in the strictly secular speech have been, this devotional phraseology then formed has remained substantially the same.

When it is remembered that the version of King James, as that of Tyndale, has, as a mere fact of numerical estimate, over ninety-five per cent. of native words, and that, as the Bible, it has a circulation accorded to no work of merely human origin, some idea may be formed of the indebtedness of our vocabulary

* Shepherd's *History of Eng. Lang.*, p. 85.

to this printed Word of God. Quite apart from that specially biblical phraseology which it has inwrought into the very heart of our common speech, there are a thousand forms of general influence which flow from it to purify the native tongue. The surpernatural character of our Bible aside, the English element in it is the best specimen extant of plain, idiomatic and trenchant English. Merely as a book among books, it has gathered up and embodied in its verbal forms more of the pith and marrow of the vernacular than any other book has done. Hence it is, that there is no other channel through which a natural English diction is to be so fully and safely perpetuated. Eliminate the Bible merely as a manual of verbal usage from the books that guide and govern us, and we remove at once the main safeguard of the purity and popularity of the language. Irrespective of the specifically moral aspects of the question, there is here a strong philological argument for the preservation of our Bible in its present position of authority among us.

2. As to Structure. George P. Marsh, in his admirable dissertations on our language, seems never weary of calling the attention of the student to this point and insisting upon its great importance in any comprehensive study either of the Scriptures or of the speech. After dwelling at length upon the grammatical framework of English, he devotes a separate chapter to the English Bible simply in its linguistic relations to the vernacular. The argument, of course, is, that the relation is such as to make the language a constant debtor. Here again, the progress of the language is coterminous with that of the versions of Scripture. In earliest English times under the old inflectional system, the structure was synthetic and inflexible. It was so both inside and outside of the Bible. In the transitional period under Wiclif and Tyndale, the inflections were breaking away, so that to whatever use the language was applied, there was greater pliancy of form and syntactical arrangement. There was a good degree of that flexibility belonging to a tongue analytic in its structure. When, in the time of King James, the inflectional system had wholly disappeared, the English Bible most decidedly of all books embodied and expressed that increasing freedom of adjustment which was the result of so great a linguistic change. The English of the Bible was now supple and elastic in a sense

unknown and impossible before. There was the utter absence of that rigidity which attends grammatical prescriptions. Bible English became, as Mr. White would say, "Grammarless English," in the sense that it was liberated from the bondage of formalism and traditional statutes. There are two special elements of structure which our Bible have confirmed in our language. They are simplicity and strength. Each of these may be said to have existed in marked degree from the very beginning of Bible versions in the days of Egbert and Bede. If First English is notable for anything of excellence, it is for the presence of clearness and vigor. Nothing in the line of connected human speech could be more direct and true than the original Saxon in which our ancestors wrote and into which they rendered the Scriptures from the Latin. The element of simplicity of structure may be said to be secured by the monosyllabic character of the earliest English. The verbal and syllabic brevity is noteworthy while the quality of strength is a necessary consequence of that old Teutonic vigor of spirit lying back of all external expression. Prominent, however, as these two phases of structure are in strictly secular English, they are still more marked in religious English, and, most of all, in the Bible versions. Bunyan and Baxter were more notable for these qualities than were such secular authors as Temple and Clarendon, but not so conspicuous for them as was King James' version. No English philologist studying the language from the scientific side only can possibly account for its marvelous possession of these qualities at the present day. Had it not been for the conservative influence of these successive versions, English would have been far more complex than it is and, to that degree, less forcible. In answering the question, as to what has been the main safeguard of the language at these points, the impartial mind must turn to the Scriptures in English. There is nothing inherent in the English speech fully to explain it. There is nothing inherent in the English people fully to account for it. No study of merely historical and philosophical phenomena will satisfy. These are but partial solutions. The great bulwark against ever increasing complexity from foreign influence has been the Bible, so that, at this day, more than fourteen centuries since the Saxons

landed in Britain, the speech maintains its substantial character and bids fair to do so in the future. It has lost little or nothing of value. This principle holds, to some extent, in the Bibles of all nations relative to their respective tongues. Most especially is this true of the Danes and Germans, but in no case as marked as in the English. Macaulay asserts, that had not the English been victorious at Crecy and Agincourt, they would have become a dependency of France. Had it not been for the English Bible, the simplicity and strength of our speech would have been excessively corrupted by foreign agencies, if not indeed, obliged to yield entirely to such agencies.

3. As to Spirit. There is an inner life within every language characteristic and active in proportion to the excellence of the language. This in English is potent and pervasive and is mainly of biblical origin. Says a modern author in speaking of the English Bible: "This for four hundred years has given the language, words, phrases, sentiments, figures and eloquence to all classes. It has been the source of the motives, acts, literature, and studies. It has filled the memory, stirred the feelings, and roused the ideas which are ruling the world."* Mr. Brookes, in his "Theology of the English Poets," has called attention to that distinctively moral element in our language which every deserving mind must have somewhat noticed. Its main source has been the English Scriptures pervading in their spirit every phase of English intellectual life. Writers have called attention to the ethics of our language and have done rightly in referring it mainly to the same source. We speak of the genius of our speech as Teutonic and Saxon. More than this, it is ethical and sober. It is not surprising that even so partial a critic of English as Mr. Taine is obliged to digress at frequent intervals along the line of his narrative to note this significant fact as to the scriptural spirit of our language. "I have before me," he says, "one of those old square folios [Tyndale.] Hence have sprung much of the English language and half of the English manners. To this day, the country is biblical. It was these big books which transformed Shakespeare's England. Never has a people been so deeply imbued by a *foreign* book; has let it penetrate so far into its manners and writings, its

* *Education*, May-June, 1882.

imaginations and its language."* This is a testimony from the side of French materialism as to the relation of the English Bible to the inner spirit of our language and nothing more could be desired. This influence is ingrained. It has so become a part of our vernacular that no line of demarcation can be safely drawn between the secular and the scriptural. Enough has been said to show that the historical development of English speech has run parallel to that of our English Bible, that the language in its vocabulary, structure, and spirit is what it is in purity, simplicity, strength, and ethical character mainly because of its biblical basis and elements. Whatever our debt may be to our standard English writers or to the English Prayer-book of early Elizabethan days, our greatest indebtedness is to that long succession of English versions of God's Word which began with Bede and ends in Victorian days. We read in our studies as to the origin of language that some have traced it to the gods, regarding it as a divine gift or continuous miracle. The Brahmins so conceived it. Plato viewed it as inspired from above. At the other extreme, we are told that language is purely material and earthly; that it has no higher source than in the imitation of the cries of animals. Between these two extremes of superstition and infidelity, there lies the safeguard of language-origin in the divine-human element. It is the gift of God for man's development and use—a divine ability to be humanly applied. There is a spiritual element in all speech, rising in its expression, as man rises in the scale of moral being. It is one of the factors in Max Müller's large influence in modern philology that he has seen fit to assume this high ground. He goes so far as to say that the science of language is due to Christianity and that its most valuable materials in every age have been the translations of the Scriptures. It is at this point that the subject before us assumes new interest. Whatever the supernatural or spiritual element in any speech may be, it finds its best expression in the sacred books of that language. Whatever this element in English may be, its home is the English Bible, from which as a spiritual centre issue those influences which are to hold the language loyally to its high origin and to be a constant protest against undue secularization.

* Taine's *Eng. Literature*, p. 176.

The attitude of modern English philology to the Bible as an English-Language book must in all justice be a deferential one. The effort to reduce such a speech to a purely physiological basis so as to make its study merely that of the vocal organs, is as unscientific as it is immoral. In the face of the history of our Bible and our tongue, such a procedure must be condemned. Essential factors cannot thus be omitted. It has been the pleasant duty of such English scholars as Müller, Bosworth, Angus, and Marsh to emphasize this inter-dependence. It is a matter of no small moment that while in many of the schools of modern Europe, the current philosophy of materialism has succeeded in controlling the study of language, English philology is still studied by the great body of English scholars as biblical and ethical in its groundwork.

From this fruitful topic, as discussed, two or three suggestions of interest arise:

1. English and American literature, as they stand related to the English Bible, may justly be expected to be biblical in basis and spirit. The student who for the first time approaches these literatures, should approach them with such an expectation. Such an element is to be sought as naturally in English letters as its absence is to be anticipated in French and Spanish letters. English literature is written in a language saturated with Bible terms, Bible ideas and sentiments, and must partake of such characteristics. Nor are we to be disappointed. Despite the immoral excesses of the Restoration Period, and the skeptical teachings of later times, the underlying tone has been evangelic and healthful. No school of merely literary criticism, at the present day, can rationally ignore this element. Though we are told that literature "should teach nothing and believe in nothing,"* this book of books has been so impressed upon the national speech, and life, that when our writers have written they have voluntarily, or perforce, taught something and believed in something distinctively germane to morality. It is true that the language of our Bible is not meant to be, and is not the strictly literary language of English. It is a sacred dialect, covering an area of its own. Nevertheless, its literary influence is a potent one, so that no

* *Shakespeariana*, Feb., 1885.

writer, from Bacon to Carlyle, has failed to feel the force and restraint of it. The best of our authors have been the first to acknowledge and utilize it. It is only in the face of history, and with the same promise of failure, that some of our existing schools of letters are aiming to ignore it. He who now writes on "Literature and Dogma," must also write on—God and The Bible. They must be conjointly viewed by the English critic.

In a former article (*Pres. Rev.*, July, '81) we have shown the presence of this scriptural element in our earliest literature, from Bede to Bacon. "Shakespeare and the Bible," said Dr. Sharp, "have made me Archbishop of York."* Who can compute the influence of the English Bible of Elizabethan times upon England's greatest dramatist! A recent writer—in the nineteenth century—has written ably on the Bible and Elizabethan poets. In Shakespeare, most of all, is this influence visible. "He treats the Scriptures," says the writer, "as if they belonged to him. He is steeped in the language and spirit of the Bible."† All students of English are familiar with the results reached in this direction by Bishop Wordsworth, in his suggestive volume, *Shakespeare and The Bible*, where the contents of a separate treatise are required to contain the large variety of references which the illustrious poet makes to the English Bible. Dr. Wordsworth writes, of "more than five hundred and fifty biblical allusions, and not one of his thirty-seven plays is without a scriptural reference." It is, indeed, difficult to explain, in the light of such facts, how the poet's religious beliefs could have been any other than evangelical. A recent article (*Pres. Rev.*, July, '84) on the Religious Beliefs of Shakespeare fully substantiates this view. The dramatist's writings, containing as they do, eighty-five per cent. of English words, are a striking testimony to the influence of the Elizabethan versions. So, to a marked degree, this biblical bias of English authorship is noticeable all along the line of development, in prose and poetry; in fiction and journalism; in song and satire, there is this same pervading presence of the "big book" to which the cynical Frenchman refers. That vast body of distinctively religious literature

* *Education*, May, June, 1882.

† Quoted in *Shakespeariana*, Feb., 1885.

which is found in English in the form of sacred poetry and of moral and devotional treatises, is based directly on the English Bible, while in the broader domain of secular letters, from Spenser to Tennyson, English literary art has been purified and sweetened by the same holy influence.

2. The Common Speech of England and America may justly be expected to be of a comparatively high ethical and verbal order, to be pure and vigorous in proportion to the circulation of the Scriptures among the masses. There may be said to exist in these countries three distinct forms of the language, the biblical or religious, the literary and professional, and the popular. In the conjoint action of these forms, the literary will refine the popular just to the degree in which the standard authors become current and influential. In a still higher sense, it is the function and natural effect of the biblical to refine and strengthen popular English, and this it will do to the degree in which it has currency and acceptance. As Mr. Marsh has stated: "We have had from the very dawn of our literature a sacred and a profane dialect; the one native, idiomatic, and permanent; the other, composite, irregular, and conventional,"* to which, it may be added, that from the very beginning this sacred dialect has been more and more modifying the secular dialect, the folk speech, until among the middle classes of English-speaking countries its force is widely and deeply felt. No nation, Germany excepted, has felt such an uplifting influence more pervasively. It is a matter of no small moment and surprise that despite the large number of influences making directly toward the corruption of the common speech, popular English is as good as it is. Were it not for the counter agency of the lower forms of American and English journalism, it would be far better than it now is. Next to the influence of the English Bible on colloquial and industrial diction is that of the press. There is danger at times, lest the latter supersede the former. A more distinctive ethical element in modern journalism would be a blessing to the language, as well as to the morals of the people. The English of the Bible is not strictly the popular English of the shop and market and street, still its effect upon such uses of the language is so vital and

* *History of English Language.*

constant as to make it incumbent on every lover of the vernacular to bring the Bible to bear upon it in all its phases and functions. English philological societies could do no better work in behalf of the native tongue, in its general use, than to encourage the efforts of English Bible societies to scatter the Scriptures broadcast over the land. In America, especially, where by excessive immigration the Bibles of various languages are brought to counteract in a measure the influence of the English Bible, it is especially important that the Word of God in the vernacular should find a place in every household. If this be so, no serious alarm need be felt as to the purity and perpetuity of the common speech. The "profane dialect" would become scripturalized.

3. The Protestant pulpit of England and America may justly be expected to present an exceptionally high type of English speech and style. It is with this "big book," and with this "good book" that the clergy have specially to do in the secret meditations of the study and in the public administration of religion. By daily contact with it as a book, they would naturally become imbued with its teachings and spirit so as to avoid "big swelling words" in their preference for "great plainness of speech." In a sense applicable to no other class of men their professional and daily language should be conspicuously clean and clear, and cogent, because steeped in Bible influences. They may thus be presumed to be an accepted standard in the use of the vernacular to all other professions, and to the public to whom they minister. Certainly, no body of men are in a more favorable and responsible position relative to the use of their native tongue. Through the medium of their academic, collegiate, and theological training they have learned the distinctively literary use of English. By their official and personal relations to the public, they must perforce learn the language of every day life, while, in addition to all this, they enjoy the peculiar advantages arising from the ministry of that Word, whose sacred dialect becomes their common speech. The clerical profession, as any other technical profession—legal or medical—has a special vocabulary of its own, with this remarkable anomaly, however, that the Bible as the basis of that vocabulary has a larger element of idiomatic

language in it, and a more pronounced native character than the popular speech itself. Such a fact must be telling in its influence.

Nor is it aside from the truth to assert, that our Protestant English pulpit has, in the main, illustrated and is illustrating such an order of English. The list of English preachers from old Hugh Latimer on to Jeremy Taylor and Smith and Henry, and Robert Hall, and on to such American names as Mason, Nott, Summerfield, and Edwards would substantiate such an assertion. It is gratifying, both in a professional and philological point of view, to note that no better English is spoken or written at the present day than that in use by the educated clergy of England and America. In accounting for this result the English Bible may be assigned the first place. So potent, indeed, is this influence, that many an illiterate evangelist, with whom the only text-book is the Bible, has by the sheer education of the Bible itself as a book developed a plain, terse and copious vocabulary.

In every course of theological, literary, and linguistic study, as in every discussion of the popular speech, there should be included a thorough study of the Christian Scriptures in their manifold influence on the vernacular. The Bible is *the* book of all books.

The English Bible is *the* book of all English books. Whatever may be true of merely technical terms, the vernacular of the English peoples is the language whose best expression is found in the English Bible versions. The best elements of our literary and our daily diction are from this sacred source, and here, as nowhere else, lie the solid basis and the best guarantee of the permanence of historical English.

It is mainly by reason of the influence of this English Bible that the language which we love has become the accepted language, the world over, of modern progress, of Protestant Christianity, and of the rights of man.

T. W. HUNT.

Article III.—INDUSTRIAL EDUCATION.

The idea of industrial education comes strangely enough from a semi-barbarous nation. Russia started in a scientific manner to attend to the development of her internal resources by sending commissioners to study the systems of technological education of Western Europe. These men searched Europe for ideas. These ideas they carried to Russia, and in Russia one sees all European technological education epitomized. The whole plan of the new education in Russia may be seen in the two schools of technology at Moscow and St. Petersburg.

At Moscow, for the first three years of thirty-two weeks each, the boys are in school fifty-five hours a week. Of these fifty-five hours they spend during the first three years fourteen hours, and during the second three years ten and one-half hours in a workshop. They see good work done by skilled mechanics, and they are taught to do good work themselves. The same is true to a great extent at St. Petersburg. In Chemnitz, a Saxon town of ninety thousand inhabitants, technical education is conducted partly by the state and partly by corporations. The Royal Foremen school there proposes to give to future millers, dyers, tanners, and to young men who propose to become foremen or managers in weaving and spinning mills, or in machine building establishments, the opportunity of obtaining the theoretical knowledge for their future career.

At the Royal Building school in Dresden, which has a two years' course, those who can only learn the essentials of building receive a good training and become expert and intelligent carpenters. France takes the lead in attempting to provide some substitute for the almost extinct apprenticeship system. The first trade schools in France were established in 1872 and 1873. Since then they have had many imitators. In 1885, out of one hundred and seventy-four primary schools in the city of Paris, ninety-five were provided with workshops. In France, Belgium, Austria, Holland, Sweden, and Finland, the workshop is a part of the school building. The International

Congress on Commercial and Technological education, recently held at Bordeaux, unanimously agreed that it was desirable that manual work should be rendered obligatory in primary schools of all grades. The Royal Commission on Education of England has issued recently a circular to school managers asking: "Would you commend the introduction into your school of practical instruction in any of the industries of the district, or in the use of tools for working in wood or iron, or for girls in the domestic duties of home?"

The facts above mentioned have been cited to show roughly that the idea of industrial training has been very rapidly assuming shape in the minds of European educators. The economic situation in our own country is so different from that of Europe that of course the question here must be considered irrespective of what has been done elsewhere.

Industrial labor presents a problem which is at present insoluble, i. e., industrial education is yet in its infancy; it has had time to develop none but the most meagre results. Years must elapse before definite figures as regards actual results can be produced to an extent sufficiently large to possess statistical value. It is, however, possible to comprehend pretty clearly the present drift of things. For purposes of convenience industrial schools will be divided into four classes. First, the schools of applied science and technology; second, the so-called trade schools; third, manual training schools; fourth, public schools into the regular curriculum, of which manual training has been incorporated.

With the schools of applied science and technology it is not proposed to deal at length. Their object is to investigate the material resources of the country. They fit for professions, engineers, architects, geologists, chemists, metallurgists, and specialists of various other types.

To the so-called trade schools only so much mention will be given as will show that they have not been overlooked. A trade school, according to General Walker, is a school whose object it is to train actual workers in industry for what it is presumed will be their own individual work in life. Schools in France, Holland, and Switzerland, pursue this method. But, accepting the definition as above given, there is, so far as I

have been able to discover, in the United States no example of a trade school which is supported at state expense. The only schools of any kind, supported by private endowment or otherwise, which set out to teach trades, are certain evening schools in New York City. Of course this statement must be qualified by omitting under it law, medical, engineering, and normal schools. These are supported by the state in numerous cases. There must be omitted also West Point, Annapolis, and the Agricultural schools, many of which, like that at Manhattan, Kansas, have an extended course of manual training. The Worcester Free School has received more or less aid from the state. The question of supporting at public expense a trade school ought not to be a difficult one for American educationists to solve. Such a school would be perfectly contrary to the genius of American institutions. The state's duty is to teach only such branches of knowledge as will promote public welfare. It has never been demonstrated that the education of children for especial trades will beneficially affect the majority of tax-payers. Taxes are not yet low enough to justify the state in calling upon Peter to aid in educating Paul's children for a special trade.

A trade school supported by private endowment is more defensible; but it is questionable if the time has yet come for it in America. In the large cities of Europe the choice of the young must be curtailed. Space is limited. Population is dense. This situation, however lamentable, must be accepted. It is the part of wisdom to prepare the children of many foreign countries for the work which they will, by necessity, be called upon to perform. But the situation in this country is so different that any argument in support of trade schools, deduced from their apparent success in France, must be fallacious. A trade school, pure and simple, even supported by private endowment, is in the United States an experiment the wisdom of which is problematical for three reasons.

There is reason in the complaint of skilled laborers that their wages will be reduced by the increase, due to trade schools, of the number of workers in especial trades. It is claimed, and with some show of justice, that men who have had education in their trade given them should not be placed upon an equality

with men who by their own toil have obtained that education for themselves. In the one case the ability possessed by the trade worker represents effort and self-denial on the part of some one else. In the other case whatever power the man has, has been paid for by his own individual exertion.

Again, it is questionable whether men who are educated by private endowment are as good a class of workers as are the men who have paid for what they have obtained. The situation is very analogous to that suggested by the private endowment of theological and legal schools. There can be little doubt that certain law and divinity schools graduate men who are not fit for the work lawyers and clergymen should do. So with trade schools, the fact that education for a trade can be had for nothing tends to attract men who are not fitted for skilled laborers, and who would not attempt to enter the ranks of skilled labor if it cost them any thing to do so. They do it because it is the easiest thing to do, not because it is the best.

Finally, economists tell us that, at a given stage of the arts, natural laws tend to establish in a country's industrial situation an equilibrium as regards the pursuits of men. Just so many individuals can for instance make hats, so many can make shoes. If now trade schools augment each year the number of hat makers or of shoe makers, an artificial, arbitrary factor has been introduced into the industrial situation, a factor which is regulated by men's whims rather than by economic laws. The effect will be to disturb a natural equilibrium and to substitute a second equilibrium which is unnatural, and hence a source of pain to a portion of the world's population.

Of the manual training schools, the best example is furnished by the Workingman's School of New York City, established in 1879. It is conducted under the auspices of the United Relief Workers of the Society for Ethical Culture. This is a private charity. In its curriculum it covers the years covered by an ordinary grammar school. The course is eight years. Manual education begins in the first year with the children of seven years of age. They work first on clay and the exercises are very simple. Small pieces of clay are cut out into geometrical forms. Upon the surfaces of the pieces are carved other geometrical forms. Thus are

learned concretely many fundamental principles of geometry. For the first two years clay work occupies two hours a week. Then the child takes up pasteboard and constructs and analyzes and studies the properties of solids. After this he takes hold of wood. The chisel and saw are employed in the production of geometric forms, to ascertain the mathematical truths which those forms illustrate. The scholars learn the use of the lathe. Later they are taught the properties of iron, how to make various things of metal. These exercises represent only the mechanical side of manual education. The artistic is cultivated simultaneously by freehand drawing, and modeling in clay. All this goes on side by side with the regular studies of the common school system. Natural history is taught, beginning with objects with which children are most familiar and ending in a systematic course of laboratory instruction. The girls are taught to cut and sew, to cook, and to design. Elementary instruction is given to both sexes in regard to duties connected with physical, intellectual, and emotional life. This school receives quite extended and favorable mention in the report of the Royal Commissioners of England on Technical instruction, although the commissioners expressly state in closing: "The benefits of this bold and enlightened movement can not be measured yet. Out of it may come suggestions by which the public school systems may be vastly improved in the direction of training more efficiently the youth of the country for any and all industrial pursuits."

The Manual Training School at St. Louis differs from the one just mentioned in that it aims to provide a course of manual instruction which occupies to the New York school very much the same position that the New England High School curriculum does to that of the Grammar School. Its object is instruction in mathematics, drawing, and the English branches of a High School course, and instruction and practice in the use of tools. The tool instruction includes carpentry, wood-turning, pattern-making, iron-clipping and filing, forge-work, brazing and soldering, the use of machine shop tools, and such other instruction of a similar character as may be deemed advisable from time to time. The course is three years. The school is supported by private endowment.

The requirements for admission are a knowledge of arithmetic, common school geography, spelling, penmanship and English composition. There are five parallel courses. Three are wholly intellectual and two are both intellectual and manual. Of the last two one is a course in penmanship, free-hand and mechanical drawing, and the other a course of tool instruction, as previously mentioned. Each pupil has daily one hour of drawing and two hours of shop practice. All the shop work is disciplinary. Special trades are not taught nor are articles manufactured for sale. The only thing to be put upon the market seems to be the boy. The primary object of this school, then, is the acquirement of skill in the use of tools and materials. Without teaching any one trade it teaches the mechanical principles of all trades.

Having now described two typical manual training schools, various questions as regards the effectiveness of the system may be discussed.

Let us go back some distance and note a few of the changes which years have made in the industrial situation. It will perhaps become apparent that new conditions must be met by new methods. A century, or even a half century ago, a lad's physical and intellectual education were much more closely allied than they are to-day. A boy went to school for a portion of the year, and the rest of the time he worked with his hands about his father's house and on his father's farm. He did not form one set of habits to the exclusion of another set. His education was comparatively symmetrical. Population was scattered and the large cities few; the system of apprenticeship was in vogue. The lad's master taught him all parts of his trade. He was in a measure responsible for his pupil's education. It was a time when men made things with their hands. The watchmaker and the carpenter toiled over their work. They did it all themselves, and each man's work when it was done exemplified his own individuality. It was a part of him. With the years came facilitated transportation and the crowding together of many people upon small space. Greater demand led to greater supply. This necessitated the introduction of new machinery and division of labor. Handicraft and the apprenticeship system have become well nigh ex-

tinct. The lad who endeavors to learn a trade in a shop is taught to do one thing only; he is kept at that. The question has become, not how can the apprentice learn most from his master and do most for himself, but how can the employee earn most for his employer. The industrial situation has undergone almost a revolution and the present tendency is to make men machines. To combat this altered condition of things the manual training school was created.

Probably the most satisfactory method of action will be to select the New York school as a typical one, and examine some of the claims of its advocates. A good many advantages claimed for it must, I think, be fanciful, others sentimental and impractical. But the central idea, upon which institutions of its character rest, must stand unchallenged—that as economic conditions change so must educational preparations for industrial life be changed.

The salient feature in this school is what the director calls "*the creative method.*" By this he would have us understand not that education be made subservient to industrial success, but that the *acquisition of industrial skill* shall be a means of promoting the general welfare of the pupil. That is, by fostering industrial skill to fit the pupil for industrial pursuits in later life. There are three lines of argument by which this creative method is supported:

First, it is claimed that the intellect is trained in the following ways. By a study of geometry the pupil's conception of certain fundamental geometrical relations is made more distinct and clear. By fostering a more intimate relation between technical work and drawing, pupils will be given a clearer understanding of the elementary facts of mechanics. The technical work will be a gymnastic of the eye and hand, the preferred messengers for carrying out the intention of the mind.

Secondly, it is maintained that the taste is developed and refined. The production of beautiful things will tend to heighten an appreciation of what is beautiful. The work done is thus a means of cultivating a sense of beauty and harmony.

Thirdly, it is insisted that the formation of character is aided. By making an article absolutely accurate and perfect a true idea of accuracy and perfection is attained. The things made

have no value other than that which lies in the fact that they are perfectly executed.

It does not appear clear that the claim that the taste is refined by industrial training amounts to much. Do not our mechanics need an appreciation of the useful rather than of the beautiful? The questions which most of the pupils in our industrial schools will be called upon to meet are questions of hard facts, dollars and cents. A keen appreciation of harmony, and a sense of the beautiful are very good things if opportunities for cultivating them present themselves, but the point is that they are not of supreme importance to men who must live upon the product of their industry.

The third claim, that the creative method aids in forming the character, rests also upon questionable grounds. It has never been proved that education, mechanical or intellectual, necessarily affects the conscience. Manual training is no safeguard against vice. There is no necessary connection between the education of the brain and hand, and that of the conscience. It may, of course, happen in some cases that men's characters are strengthened by education purely mechanical, or intellectual, but there are many cases in which no such good result ensues. The view held by some enthusiasts, that industrial education affects the character beneficially, ought not to remain unchallenged.

Of course, the claim that advantage results from the intrinsic virtue in abstract accuracy and perfection must be regarded as a merit of the ordinary public school system quite as much as of that of the industrial school. A lesson in arithmetic perfectly learned, an English sentence, expressed, spelled, and punctuated with absolute accuracy, can be held up as standards of perfection quite us truly as can a design in wood or clay, drawn and executed with precision.

It must appear that the chief strength of the Manual Training School lies in its central idea: that it endeavors to impart such general industrial skill to a lad as will aid him in the life which he will be likely to lead. A great deal of education is wrong because it is misdirected. It seems often to be considered that lads should be taught in school things which they will not be likely to learn in later life. The very opposite statement is the

truer one. Is not, therefore, the idea of making the pupil a thorough master of fundamental, geometrical and mechanical principles, of teaching him, clearly and simply, drawing and mechanical work, of encouraging in him a respect for the dignity of labor, in short, of imparting to him power on which he may draw in the future, material with which he may build in the future—is not all this an idea of eminent wisdom?

One of the results of the present system of education is a feeling that the material world is gross, that soiled hands are a reproach, that labor is sordid. Boys are educated away from their work. The result is that there are bookkeepers, clerks, copyists in inordinate numbers, but always a demand for skilled labor. Any one who has ever visited one of our so-called New England school "exhibitions," where is shown the handiwork of the boys and girls, must have been struck with the number of useless things which appear. The main idea seems to be to do only such work as is of a delicate, gentle nature. Anything which requires a perspiring forehead, soiled hands or clothing, seems to be carefully eschewed. For the prevalence of such a false notion the public school system must be held in a measure responsible, because it has until very recently made its education unsymmetrical. It has developed one set of habits to the exclusion of others. It has aimed to develop only the intellectual side of the character. The value of the manual training school as a counteracting influence to this harmful tendency should be given careful consideration. There is some truth also in the claim that a youth's sphere of occupation will be widened by industrial training for the simple reason that his equipment is just so much greater. Hence his chance of material success is likely to be increased.

But however successful the experiment of manual training may prove in an institution supported by private endowment, the question of incorporating it into the public school is one of a very different nature. Very grave difficulties present themselves.

To enumerate all the experiments attempted would be impossible. It may be well for present purposes to examine the operations which have been conducted in Boston, New Haven, and Baltimore, as representative cities. There is a manual train-

ing school in New Haven. Boys selected from the public schools of the city are given two hours a week, each, of carpentering in classes of about twenty. A room, roughly speaking, seventy feet by thirty, has been fitted up with about thirty carpenters' benches. The sessions are from ten until twelve in the morning, and from two until four in the afternoon. The exercises are designed apparently to give the boys a knowledge of the elements of carpentering. With regard to the result of the experiment the director of the school could not give much tangible information. The superintendent of schools, however, stated that he was greatly encouraged by the effect on individual boys. The superintendent of schools of Boston, in his report dated March, 1885, says that two hundred boys, from different grammar schools, have been under instruction in carpentry two hours a week since September, 1884. He declares that the boys are enthusiastic in their work, and that he believes that the experiment has gone far enough to prove that work of this kind can be joined to the ordinary grammar school work with good effect. Moreover, he says that the manual training practicable in school rooms seems to be limited to the kind of work which can be done at a bench with hand tools, and, while he is more than gratified with the progress thus far made, he deems it important to remember that a fully equipped manual training school will find its proper place in the school system, not in the Grammar school, but above it and side by side with the High school.

In Baltimore we have the first, and as yet, so far as I have been informed, the only instance of a fully equipped manual training school supported by public taxation. The school went into operation January 15, 1884, with an appropriation of $7,000 for that year. The cost of the school, which had about one hundred and fifty pupils, exceeded the apropriation by about $4,000. In 1885 an appropriation of $15,000 was asked for, but it was expected that the number of pupils would be increased. The object of the school is as follows: Instruction and practice in the use of tools, and such instruction as may be deemed necessary in mathematics, drawings, and the English branches of a high school course.

First year.—Arithmetic, algebra, geometry, English language, history, physics, physiology, free hand and mechanical

drawing. Shopwork—Carpentry, wood carving, wood turning, pattern making, proper care and use of tools.

Second year.—Algebra, plane geometry, physics, mechanics, history, literature, geometrical and mechanical drawing. Shop-work—forging, welding, tempering, soldering, brazing.

Third year.—Geometry, plane trigonometry, book-keeping, literature, political economy, civil government, mechanics, chemistry, machine and architectural drawing. Machine Shop-work—Fittings, turning, drilling, planing, study of machinery, including the management and care of steam engines and boilers.

Throughout the course about one hour per day will be given to drawing and about two hours per day to shopwork, and the remainder of the time will be devoted to study and recitation. Before graduation each student will be required to construct a machine from drawings and patterns made by himself.

The report of the director shows that the total number of students in school during the scholastic year ending November 20, 1885, was 187, eleven of whom were the children of non-residents. A number of them, however, left during the year for the purpose of accepting desirable positions offered to them, and the enrollment was reduced to 120 at the end of the year.

Baltimore, it will be seen, presents a case where the system has been highly developed. The majority of experiments in other cities are very analogous to the ones which have been described. The wisdom and success of most of them may be seriously questioned. In discussing them I wish to go back to the central idea, which has been previously quoted, upon which alone the introduction of manual training seems to be justified, viz: as a part of the general education of the pupil with reference to the fuller and more symmetrical development of all his faculties. It goes without saying that whatever is worth doing at all is worth doing thoroughly. What is likely to be the effect of such fragmentary instruction as pupils are receiving in cities like Boston and New Haven? It does not appear clear that any thing beyond a general knowledge of the elementary principles of a single trade will be imparted. That general industrial skill and a comprehension of mechanical principles are obtained, that perceptions are sharpened, or conceptions

elevated, seems very problematical. The difficulty seems to be that, though the direction in which educationists have moved seems to be the right one, they have traveled such a short distance that they have accomplished very little. Moreover, the situation as presented at Boston and New Haven suggests a very interesting line of thought, viz.: Why should the boys be taught the work of the carpenter and not that of the machinist or the mason? We are told that the saw and hammer are fundamental tools. So are a wrench and a trowel. Why may not the tax-paying mason wonder that his boy is not taught the elements of his father's calling? Moreover, will not such a narrow line of instruction result in giving lads a bias in favor of an individual trade? Will not youngsters, who are taught the principles of the carpenter's trade, be likely to become carpenters? Reflection must convince us, I think, that, if the public school system is to have manual training at all, it must have a great deal of it, in a large number of directions, thoroughly taught.

Granting this, the question at once presents itself: what difficulties are to be overcome in the accomplishment of the desired result?

They are so many and so grave that it may be questioned seriously whether the time has yet come to attempt the experiment in the public schools.

In the first place, exactly what shall be the curriculum? This question can only be answered by observation and delay, by waiting until institutions which are supported by private funds have furnished figures and results. Probably any course which educationists could now determine upon would require change in important particulars. The best thought of teaching and supervisory force must be applied to the problem. Moreover, although it is not yet clear what the curriculum should be, it is from the circumstances of the case tolerably certain that it must be such as to necessitate considerable reorganization in the present school system. The question thus of how to find requisite time assumes importance. If considerable manual training be added to the public school some important features of present education must be eliminated from it. Delay and observation alone can answer what can best be

spared. The fact ought not however to be overlooked that manual training tends unquestionably to relieve monotony and tedium. The Superintendent of Boston schools thinks that a boy will do all his regular studies well, and a little shop work too, in the time usually given to the former. Mr. Swire Smith, a member of the late Commission of Technical instruction in England, states that the half time children of the town of Keighley numbering from 1500 to 2000, although they receive less than 14 hours per week and are required to attend the factory for 28 hours per week in addition, yet obtain at the examination a higher percentage of passes than the average of children throughout the country.

Again, of suitable instructors there is now, and for some time must be, an evident lack. Of course, careful search and adequate payment will call out the few who are qualified to train others. The Normal schools will provide such men and women as they can, but it still remains an obstacle of no mean importance that there is such a lack of efficient teachers and that the difficulty of supplying the deficiency is so great.

With regard to the question of expense estimates differ very widely. The late Dr. Charles O. Thompson, whose work upon technical education has received the highest praise, estimated that to run a shop of the kind desired for 200 boys would cost $8000 a year, and he adds $1000 more for wear and tear upon machinery. The original cost of the tools and machinery, including the engine, he places at not less than $5000. Adding the interest on this sum and the cost of the necessary building to the cost of equipments, and we are, he declares, obliged to set down the annual cost of shops alone at $1000 a year. This expense he thinks rightly is too large if results are purely problematical.

Moreover, most of the writers and speakers who have advocated manual training for boys in the public schools have signally omitted any equal provision for the girls. Before any system can command popular approval it must be shown that it will offer equal advantages to both sexes.

I should like to close with four general statements pertinent to the subject in hand.

First, it will appear clear after consideration that all that

can be said at present in the shape of an answer to the problem is to state simply, that a complete and thorough manual training school, combined with a high school course, and supported by private endowment, is the wisest thing *at present.* Observation, delay, and experience must, and doubtless will, work out a more complete and satisfactory solution to the question.

Secondly, a good many enthusiastic critics of the present public school system ascribe, do they not, defects to it for which it is in no wise responsible? We should never forget that the failure of the present system of education to provide good men and good women is often due, not to the imperfection of the system, but to the inevitable weakness of humanity. "There is little security against thriftlessness and vice which does not rest upon character." Is it just to lay the blame upon the shoulders of the public school which should rest upon humanity itself?

Thirdly, too much emphasis can hardly be laid upon the necessity of great personal power in a teacher. Is it not true that teacher as well as pupil merits some of the criticism which the public school system itself has received?

Finally, the supporters of manual training should always keep before them the fact that, unless great care is exerted, the tendency of the system may easily become socialistic. No power on earth can furnish children with the influence which the home life and the church life ought to exert upon them, and no system of education can teach the lesson which can only be learned before the fireside and at the altar.

EDWARD PHELPS.

ARTICLE IV.—ASSENT TO CREEDS.

MEN are properly sensitive to the obligations of trusts. An assumption of duties, raised by appointment, challenges the conscience and honor of the person who assumes them. When one undertakes to fill a position which involves the management of an estate or power for the benefit of another, it is with the understanding that the beneficiary is the absolute owner of the results, and the judgment seat of equity is always open to the prayers and complaints of a beneficiary whose rights have been abused. The judicial keepers of public conscience will even make search to find the true beneficiaries, when the object of bounty is vaguely described. One who assumes a trust duty, by his act of accepting it, consents to a surrender of his individual views as to the wisdom or unwisdom of the grant, charter, deed, or set of circumstances which have created the position. If the trust is a public office, he finds its terms in public law; and responsibility for the law is on its authors, and not on him. The sheriff may be called to act as hangman, although he thinks that capital punishment is a barbarism, and no stain of blood can be found on his hands after they have pulled away the block and sent a fellow creature into a premature eternity, even if that fellow creature be Oxey Cherry, the colored girl, aged eleven, whom a court in South Carolina recently sentenced to be hanged. If one accepts a position as testamentary trustee under the will of a friend, whose wish he could not refuse, he must deliver over the income, as required by the will, to the son whose use of the money is universally bad, and who makes every dollar a feeder to vice; and the responsibility is upon the testator and the beneficiary. A trustee may resign his trust; otherwise, he must fulfill it.

These general principles are elementary, and may not be controverted, and they apply as well to gifts, grants, and invest-

ments for ecclesiastical and theological purposes as to other things.

Assuming these principles, many persons are disposed at once to condemn all advances in thought within religious bodies with a history and traditions, and all instruction in theological seminaries, which differs from any part of the seminary creed to which the instructor has made subscription. Let him sing in tune with the organ which was originally set up, say they, and with all its pipes, no matter if they are wind-broken and wheezy. That is the musical standard here, and if he cannot sing to it let him step down from the gallery and cross the highway to some other. If the creed is objectionable, do not subscribe to it; but if a man does subscribe to it, let him stick to it, and teach in conformity with all its statements; no matter if he believes that what is true and just and merciful in it is antagonized and rendered powerless by other statements which bristle with unbelievable rigors.

Is this style of criticism, so freely made alike by men who hold many or all religious opinions in contempt, and by others who hold the religious notions of other centuries in superstitious awe, sound? We submit that this kind of inference is not sound, but is formed from superficial reasoning.

It must be conceded that the courts have, with substantial uniformity, reflected the moral sense of communities in carefully enforcing trusts for religious purposes according to indicated limitations, whether doctrinal or otherwise, and, in cases of doubt, have even resorted to the views of a donor to ascertain the meaning of his words. It must also be remembered that, regarding the matter historically, there have been ages when theology has been enveloped, not in the reverent regard to which it is entitled, but in clouds of mystery and superstition. A charter, raised by human thought and written by human hands in the vernacular, if it but related to religious doctrine, has been considered as more sacred than even a national constitution; the one utterly beyond handling, like a sacred ark; the other open to search, and study, and criticism; the one to be touched only with closed eyes, the key turned on all activities of reason, and in the dismal-swamp atmosphere of a mental condition called, in terrible insult to a noble word,

faith; the other open to reason, and conscience, and true faith, and reverence, and the absolute demands of truth; the one incapable of interpretation, excepting by prelates and councils, convened periodically and usually in the heat of some burning heresy, which is possibly to be "to-morrow's common sense"; the other always open to examination by a living judiciary, representatives of present views of truth and real wisdom which is always waiting for light.

This fact, growing out of human timidity, weakness, and wickedness, as well as out of the temporary limitation of man's spiritual being to the tenancy of a material body, and its ills, and aches, and dreams, is by no means yet dead in organized Christianity, although the Divine founder of Christianity was constantly shocking and rebuking it, not only by His omissions and silences, but by His life of word and deed.

There have always been two methods of construing things written or spoken, be they constitutions, charters, public statutes, wills, deeds, contracts, symbols, creeds, or statements. One method is broad, catholic, liberal. It reaches the underlying principles of the instrument. It notes relations. It does not destroy the dial because the shadows which were written on its west side in the morning are missing at noon, and have even gone over to the east in the afternoon. It notes fallibility in everything human, and sees that all human utterances are more or less imbued with inconsistency, want of harmony, and imperfection. But it still trusts human nature and human achievement and the Divine inspirations in man. It sees spots on the sun, but continues to plant, relying upon the source of heat, and to open its eyes for vision, relying upon the source of light. The other method is strict, narrow, literal, petty, sticks always in the bark, yellows in dust, and glories in punctuation and syntax. It sees things only by the light which struggles in through a single window. Universal light makes it blind. At night its torch must still be a tallow dip. Electricity would be impious. The former method contemplates systems, is comparative, analogical, feels outward facts and forces of which all things are more or less resultants. To it the moon is a satellite of a moving planet, that planet a single member of a solar system, and that system an integral part of a universe,

each with relations and changing relations to the rest. To the other the moon is ever only itself, a cold, blackened, worn out, uninhabitable lump of matter, answerable only to some laws of chemistry and philosophy, which are supposed to be unchangeable. But the moon itself is too far away for the latter method. While the former finds daily and nightly use for the telescope, the eye of the latter is always at the microscope.

The broad physician studies the whole physical system of man and searches the universe for analogies, and treats his patients constitutionally; the narrow one feeds his own hobby; sees in each patient a disordered liver, if that is his specialty, and indulges only in local treatment. The strict constructionist in our Lord's time swore by the temple and said his oath was nothing; but bowed in reverence before his oath if he had only sworn by the gold within it. Shylock was a strict constructionist, and Portia gave his philosophy homœopathic treatment by fighting the fire of his strict construction with the fire of her own. The difference was that Shylock believed in his strict method of construction, while Portia redeemed hers by the broad charity and decency which inspired it. The Pharisees were strict constructionists, they were scrupulously particular to tithe cheap herbs, and were immaculate in their vestments. And, whoever else, in the progress of the world's history have disappeared through an indefinite failure of issue, these strict constructionists have never lacked for lineal descendants in the governments, and churches, and theological schools of the world.

Here, then, it is submitted, is the proper solution of the Andover controversy, of the American Board question, and of the continually recurring dispute as to whether men, like Stanley, and Beecher, and Swing, are bound to come out of their several religious communions, which are loved by them, because they cannot accept all which has been included in the doctrines and traditions of these churches.

If a medical school, founded upon the philosophy of Galen and Abernethy has no room for the use of anæsthetics, or of such homœopathic, hydropathic, and mind-cure remedies as experience demonstrates to be good, because these methods are outside of and even intrinsically different from the original

scope of the philosophy of Galen and Abernethy, although the general system of medical science remains unchanged, or, if religious creeds in seminaries or churches are fetiches, from which even the dust cannot be removed, then the critics of Prof. Smyth, and Mr. Beecher, and Dr. Hopkins are right. And what a mess they would make of it! According to their rules of strict construction, no one can believe in the Scriptures unless he supposes with some of its authors that the world is flat and the firmament solid; that lunatics and epileptics are possessed with intelligent devils; that our Lord intended to come back to earth in the life-time of the apostles and set up a visible kingdom. Nobody can accept Luther, or Pascal, or Wesley, or Newman, or Maurice as teachers without allegiance to the many mistakes of each of these great and good men. The world would be tied, as to an anchor, to the "letter" which kills, and prevented from inbreathing the Spirit which gives life. Col. Ingersoll's audiences would be multiplied by an hundred, and his wit, which is largely aimed at windmills, would be greeted with increased applause.

Lord Eldon, whose religious fervor was warmer when he sat on the bench passing upon a question of ecclesiastical privilege than when he sat in a pew at an offertory, and of whom Miss Martineau said that "it is fortunate for the noted ones of history that there is a wide difference between admiration and contempt," in the leading case of Attorney General vs. Pearsall, 3 Merrivale, 353, was required to construe a trust deed, under which a house had been erected "for the service and worship of God." In his opinion he elaborately argued and concluded that, because any other view of the Godhead than the Trinitarian view was heresy by the law of England, and because any one giving expression to the Unitarian view was punishable for heresy in court at the time the deed was made, the trust was therefore necessarily for Trinitarian worship. His Lordship's reasoning was characteristic of his mind, which trembled at every reform, and saw in it a downfall of England.

The argument of this article claims:

1. That a liberal construction of instruments is wiser and better than a strict one.

2. That creeds and symbols afford no exception to this rule.

3. That reasonable liberty of construction should be allowed to the undertaker of a trust.

(And incidentally) 4. That the limitation of the use of property to the propagation of unalterable opinion is an offensive form of entail and against public policy.

I. That a liberal construction is better than a strict one.

This principle is favored by the wisdom of jurisprudence and statesmanship. If we look at public law, be it organic or statutory, the uniform drift of enlightened authority is to broad construction. The exceptions are chiefly found in criminal and penal enactments which are strictly construed. But the strictness in these latter cases is, like Portia's, born of love and tenderness, and was a necessary result of the inhumanity of ancient criminal law. Under that law the courts wisely and mercifully limited the rigors of punishment (often excessive and brutal, there being more than two hundred capital crimes in England at the close of the last century), and of penalty, and of forfeiture, to such offenders as clearly violated both letter and spirit of the enactment. As criminal law is now fast becoming Christianized, the strong tendency of the courts is to relax the rule of strictness in expounding it.

Let us look at the constitution of the United States. It is the men who have given it a broad and liberal construction, such as Washington, Hamilton, and Webster among statesmen, and Marshall and Story among jurists, who are deservedly held in highest honor. That greatest of American orators, but one-sided statesman, Wendell Phillips, gave the constitution a strict construction. Hence he refused to take the freeman's oath so long as slavery was recognized by it. What if all Americans who hated slavery had followed his example! By any human standard of judgment, we should to-day be no nation at all, nor have a country, but the land would be occupied by a collection of inharmonious and warring sovereignties. The Supreme Court of the United States, in a very recent case, Ex-parte Yarborough, 110 U. S., 651, has said, with no dissenting voice, that the implications of the constitution are as much a part of the instrument as its express words.

This case is in complete harmony with all the earlier decisions of that tribunal, which are in favor of a broad construction of the constitution.

In construing statutes, so far do the courts go in protecting the current welfare of the community that they convert, almost at judicial will, words which conflict with present public welfare and progress from apparent mandates into harmless and insignificant directions. The same liberal policy is uniformly exercised by enlightened courts in construing charters and by-laws formed under them. In civil jurisprudence the law of warranty perhaps retains as sharply as any the importance of strict construction; but the Supreme Court of the United States in several recent cases, as National Bank vs. Ins. Co., 95 U. S., 633, and Mowlor vs. Ins. Co., 111 U. S., 335, has treated the breach of single items of warranty as unimportant in the presence of a compliance with the general provisions of the contract. They say that to sustain the strictness of warranty contended for, "a contract to that effect must be so clear as to exclude any other conclusion." Mowlor case, p. 341.

Even greater liberality is extended to the construction of deeds, wills, and instruments creating trusts for charitable purposes. In wills, it is uniformly held that a general intent overrides all particular intents. In a Connecticut case, passed upon by the Supreme Court at Washington—Stanley vs. Colt, 5 Wall., 119—the testator had given lands to trustees for an ecclesiastical society. The will provided that the land might be leased, but should not be sold. Circumstances (of no unusual nature) made it for the interest of the society that the land should be sold. The legislature of Connecticut, which has, in addition to its legislative, certain judicial powers of an equitable nature, authorized a sale of the land. The Federal Court sustained the law and ruled that "when lapse of time and changes in conditions of the property have made such a proceeding prudent and beneficial to the charity," a Court of Chancery might order a sale despite the limitations of the will. It would be interesting to trace the history of the doctrine of *cy pres*, whereby dispositions of property are deflected from their exact original purpose to something akin to it. In Eng-

land, where royal prerogative found a representative in a chancellor it has been carried to a great and absurd extent, as by diverting funds given to establish a Jewish synagogue to the treasury of a foundling hospital. But under the general principles of equity, English and American courts have, over and over again, preserved the general purpose of charity, at the expense of reversioners, when particular intents have become impracticable. Thus the court retained a fund for "kindred purposes," and so thwarted the claims of reversioners, when the only expressed purpose of the gift was to promote the freedom of slaves in an English colony, from which slavery had been abolished at the time of the decision. Indeed, a strict constructionist finds no favor in the tribunals of to-day, be they of jurisprudence, philosophy, or history, or, I venture to add, of science.

In our definition of broad construction we desire emphatically to include all such changes as are required to carry out the principal purpose of an instrument, even if the changes involve the defeat of minor provisions, and also a fair adjustability to the necessities and best wisdom of the present time.

II. A creed, like other instruments, is to be liberally construed.

The idea that the institute of a theological seminary, or the creed of an association of men, is to somehow take on manners of strict construction, which are not to be applied to other instruments, is founded upon the fallacy, once current, but now exploded, and always at open war with our Lord's teaching, that man is made for creeds, and churches, and sabbaths, and chancels, and liturgies, and confessionals, and decrees of councils, and utterances of pontiffs; whereas all these things are made for man. It stands on no other basis. It consists in superstition, which dishonors things entitled to reverence, by its idolatry of them. Nothing is in true honor which is out of place, even if it is located above the stars. And as long as articles of belief are expressions of human thought they must be interpreted according to the laws of interpreting human thought. To that task conscience, and reverence, and prayer, and inspiration are sincerely invited, but these factors of power

are the patent right of no one man or body of men. They are gifts as free as light to all the children of men, and historically the interpretation, which after ages have accepted, has often come in as a shaft of light, to some pure, single-eyed soul, when the acclaims of council and convocation have been quite different.

And are we not constantly treating all written statements in just this way?

Take a supreme example. The utterances of our Lord are to His disciples the very truth. How many of these followers give a petty construction to his words? How many, when a thief takes away their coats, give consent to an abstraction of their cloaks also? Perhaps Count Tolstoi, in his unique diagnosis of our Lord's philosophy may be an exception, but the common sense of Christendom takes a truer, because more liberal, sense of the lesson of His words.

Take the nearest approach that we have to a universal creed, the so-called apostles' creed. How many of the millions who so often repeat it and chant it, express the precise meaning of its compilers? How many believe in the "earth" and "heaven," of which the Almighty Father is the "maker," in the exact sense in which the authors believed it? How many in the literal "sitting on the right hand of God," in the "descent into hell," in "the resurrection of the flesh" (the original form of that addition to the creed), as the authors believed? Language is elastic. Let us thank God for it. And ideas are elastic too. Let us be thankful for that. Take the "resurrection of the flesh" of the creed. Under that phrase (in its terms at war with scripture and reason), is contained a truth of supreme importance, perhaps the most distinctive truth of Christianity, the immortality of the individual. But a belief in the accident of man's occupancy of a body of resurrected flesh is of no more consequence to the great fact of personal immortality, than a belief in the presence or absence of Lord Mansfield's wig is important to a belief in Lord Mansfield, or in Mr. Gladstone's axe to a belief in Mr. Gladstone.

Let us pass now from a general creed to the particular creed of one or two great communions. Take the Roman Catholic church, a communion supposed to be even unduly subservient

to authority. Here we have the creed of Pius V., supposed to be the creed of all Roman Catholics. It is required that the confessor "confess and retain the same entire and inviolate." How many intelligent members of the Roman communion believe, according to that creed, that "out of it no one can be saved?" That personal salvation is for no one who fails to apprehend as that symbol does; "that the use of indulgences is wholesome"; and "that the relics of saints reigning together with Christ are to be had in veneration;" and that all the metaphysical statements in the decrees of the Council of Trent, many of which are as incomprehensible to millions of the faithful as the propositions of La Place, must be "believed" on pain of eternal loss? Does any sane person suppose that such is the belief of Dr. Newman, or of the present pure and scholarly Pope of Rome?

Take the Articles of Religion and the Prayer-book of the Church of England. Their source and authorship may be found in the Bible, the older uses, the Augsburgh and Westminster confessions, Archbishops Cranmer and Parker, Bishops Ridley and Jewell, Henry the Eighth, Elizabeth, John Knox, Beza, and sundry convocations of the English church. Their authority over the English clergy rests in the decree of the devout and learned parliament of 1571. Subscription to them was then required, and was honored by the convocation of 1603. The demands of a more intelligent century required the abolition of subscription, which was accomplished by the Clerical Subscription act of 1866. That wholesome statute substituted for subscription an "assent" (a word whose broad meaning was well understood by the law-makers) to the articles and the Prayer-book.

I beg to ask any intelligent reader of religious literature, how many of the clergy of that great and noble church of England have given exact and literal intellectual adherence to the thirty-nine articles in their original meaning?

The clergy of England, too, were required until 1866 to signify explicit allegiance to the Prayer-book, and since 1866 to "assent" to it. Until sometime in Queen Anne's reign there was a prescribed service to accompany the "King's touch," given to relieve sufferers from diseases. That heavenly-

minded man and holy vehicle of Divine interposition, Charles the Second, is said to have treated with his touch one hundred thousand sufferers. Does anybody suppose that through the centuries of the observance of that accompanying church service, there were no sincere doubters, who failed to yield that cordial assent to the ceremony, that a strict constructionist would require? If not, why did it disappear from the ritual in the days of good Queen Anne? And in the Prayer-book of to-day, does any one suppose that the living clergy of England, in their Ash-Wednesday use of the Prayer-book, heartily assent to the horrors of the commination service, or in their more frequent use of this book, to the damnations found in the Athanasian creed, in the original meaning of those terrible denunciations? And does every member of the English clergy believe in the baptismal "regeneration," as declared by the ancient offices, and as understood in the earliest years of the Prayer-book?

Recurring for a moment to the "Articles," do all the loyal clergymen of England accept them in a literal way, and as originally conceived? That "the Son, ... the very and eternal God, ... was crucified, dead and buried *to reconcile His Father to us?*" That "Christ did truly rise with flesh, bones, and all things appertaining to the perfection of man's nature, *wherewith He ascended into Heaven and there sitteth?*" That "the godly consideration of predestination and our election in Christ is full of sweet, pleasant and unspeakable comfort?" That the homilies are of the sacred character described in Art. XXXV.? And is an English clergyman who avoids the commination service, and who believes in the everlasting love of God, which, in His divine Son sought, at supreme cost, to reconcile His children to their Father, unfaithful to his trust because these things happen to remain to disfigure the beauty and mar the symmetry of the services and symbols of the church? It might well be asked here how many of the thousand faithful and covenant-keeping husbands who have entered into the vows of matrimony according to the ritual of the American Episcopal church, have in fact felt constrained by those obligations to treat their wives as "endowed with all their worldly goods."

I have endeavored, by illustration from our Lord's words, from the Apostles' creed, from the distinctive creed of the Roman Catholic church, and from the Articles of Religion and Prayer-book of the established church in England, to show that a broad and liberal construction is given to things which touch our purely religious side.

That such a principle of construction should be applied to the Andover creed and to the "election of missionaries by the "American Board" (by church councils, and not by a clerical officer of the corporation, whose only reason for being is that it represents its constituency the whole sisterhood of churches) this article contends.

It is not, however, its purpose to make application of these principles to the one or the other. Dr. Smyth's relations to the Andover creed have already been passed upon by a board, with or without lawful authority. And this board, with greater prudence than courage, "skipped" his associate professors in the result. The opinion was divided, and has failed to create profound conviction in the mind of the community. The case is on its way to a competent and impartial tribunal. If the visitors had lawful power to make a judgment large enough to be appealed from, the main question will be decided in a way to satisfy the people, whatever that decision may be.

The creed is certainly pretty savory of must and mildew, and it may be that the learned court will adjudge, after conceding liberality of construction to it, and disclaiming all strict constructions of individual clauses, and admitting the fallibility of phrase and even of thought in stating a great principle, that still Prof. Smyth has run directly athwart its genius and general inspirations. But that the court, in arriving at that conclusion, will do so by giving the symbol breadth of construction, there can be no doubt. It is not too much to assume that the Supreme Judicial Court of Massachusetts will try to get at the meaning of this institute and the significance of a subscription to it, as they would if the instrument were a deed or a charter of a bank.

The history of the origin of creeds, whether constructed by councils, parliaments, or individuals, shows the continued presence of human nature as it is, with all its characteristics,

its virtues, its partisanship, its prepossessions, and its fondness for personal power.

III. Our third proposition, which insists that an individual assuming a trust has a right, within terms of reason, of personal interpretation of the trust instrument, is almost too clear for controversy.

The religious communion, which supports Andover and the American Board, has never hesitated to defend even with the sword the right of individual construction of what it deemed to be, or at least to contain "the word of God." Will it place a scholastic creed above the sacred Scriptures? And here it is to be noticed that Prof. Smyth and his associates, men of the highest character and scholarship, without hesitation and reserve, profess their general assent to the Andover creed.

IV. Our subject leads up to an incidental one of importance, but which cannot here be discussed at length. All these associations hold property and are supported by its use. If an instrument which conveys property is based upon an unalterable philosophical statement, with no concession to the superiority of thought over language, of general intent over particular intent, with no room in it for fallibility or mistake, with no concession to changes of opinion or circumstances, with no elasticity or adjustability to thought, then it is submitted that such an instrument introduces into political economy and jurisprudence a system of entail and perpetuity which is absolutely unendurable and against public policy. A man may not limit the use of his estate according to the natural line of descent beyond a second generation. And yet it is asked that he may perpetuate title to his property if he only puts in motion the loins of his mind. An entail to natural issue still keeps property in the hands of living men, and yet that is offensive to good law. An entail to unchangeable thought opens probabilities of chaining it to death. Would the community endure the entailment of property to propagating the Ptolemaic theory of the universe, or the eighteenth century philosophy of witchcraft? Such limitations are offensive to human progress, and courts and legislatures would properly make an end

of such a trust, if they had to resort (as Spence says the judges in the time of Edward IV. did to enable a tenant to convert his fee tail into a fee simple), "to their pretorian authority."

How many of the readers of this magazine have read the Andover Creed? Before coming to any conclusion we would recommend them to do so. It may be that this symbol is so intrinsically and hopelessly iron-cast and iron-bound that new gleams of truth may never enter it; that it was made only for a past generation and for the supremacy of a philosophy in decadence; that there is room in Andover halls only for the belief, fixed and positive, that Sakya Muni, and Socrates, and Plato, who died before the advent, and Marcus Aurelius and Felix Mendelssohn and Moses Montefiore, who died in the Christian era, and who by reason of their environment and prepossessions failed to see in our Lord all that we see in Him, but who all on the earth commenced an eternal life of holy character, must, after death, be forever shut out from their own place and "plunged with devils into the lake that burneth with fire and brimstone forever and ever," in the language of that creed. It may be that the noble old oak at Andover must be girdled by the inflexible belt of its own charter. Such a result would be a national calamity, and it would turn Andover Hill into a Sinaitic peninsular, with little hope that some future Tischendorf will bring it into communion with life by discovering a treasure in its ancient parchments.

HENRY C. ROBINSON.

ARTICLE V.—STATE CONFISCATION OF UNEARNED INCREMENTS.

IF I remember rightly, Mr. Mill's famous phrase is always of the singular number. The only unearned increment known to him in the whole range of production, or at least the only one of which he takes account, is the unearned increment of land. The wages of labor and the profits of capital are the equivalent of work done, of abstinence endured or of risks taken; but the rent of land is the equivalent of nothing at all. It is the excess of production over the cost of cultivation on the least fertile or the least accessible lands actually contributing to the supply of a given market at a given time; and "emerges" entirely without an effort, a self-denial or a venture on the part of the fortunate owner.

It has always seemed to me an extremely curious thing that Ricardo's theory should have been fiercely disputed, and finally accepted, as if there were nothing else of the sort to be found among the phenomena known to political economy. With a single exception to be noted farther on, I am not aware that any writer has attempted to generalize what is perhaps the most celebrated formula of the science. I speak with the hesitation becoming a reader who makes no pretence to having read everything, but within the range of my reading the doctrine remains very nearly where Ricardo left it. The practical effect is, that, so far as pure theory influences public opinion and political action, a particular class is selected for invidious distinction, and held up to something very like odium, as the possessors, and the only possessors, of wealth which does not belong to them. There are men who toil not, neither do they spin, who beget nothing, create nothing, give nothing, yet are growing rich, and daily richer, because everybody else is working for them; the monstrous drones of the hive who fatten among the fierce competitions of industry, and in virtue of them. It is, of course, all right if the facts are so; the sooner the iniquity of rents is made clear the better for all concerned.

But considering the amount of inflammable and explosive material there is in every modern society, and how fast it is accumulating, there can at least be no harm in asking whether, after all, political economy is sure of its facts.

Mr. Mill, at any rate, has no doubt about the matter, and, with that tranquillity of abstract speculation, which was so characteristic of him, has no fear of the consequences. That rent is an unearned increment and practically the only one, is for him not so much demonstrable as axiomatic. Therefore, he concludes; let us turn to and tax the receiver of rents, if need be, up to the full amount of them. The Physiocrats, whom everybody refers to, apparently without having taken the trouble to understand them, had said precisely the same thing before; but for precisely the opposite reason. In their thinking the landowner, so far from being the drone of the hive, is the producer of all the honey. It is from the annual yield of his lands that the agricultural class is supported to begin with, and then from the surplus left (the "net-product") that the manufacturing and trading classes are supported. If now you tax the agricultural class you simply increase by so much the cost of production; and if you tax the "sterile" classes you simply diminish by so much the amount of consumption. In either case you attack the net-product which is the wealth of the land-owner. No tax can be laid anywhere between production and consumption which is not ultimately a tax on *him*. Simple justice and common sense prescribe, therefore, that the revenue of the State should be raised by the direct and exclusive taxation of the land-owner. But for Mr. Mill, and much more for the truculent little Mills of our day, the taxation of rents is a penal measure, the chastisement of an idler for idling, the confiscation to the State of ill-gotten wealth; as it is coming to be put of "stolen goods."

"Suppose," says Mr. Mill, that there is a kind of income which constantly tends to increase without any exertion or sacrifice on the part of the owner, these owners constituting a class in the community whom the natural course of things progressively enriches, consistently with complete passiveness on their part. In such a case there would be no violation of the principles on which private property is founded, if the State

should appropriate this increase of wealth, or any part of it, as it arises. This would not properly be taking anything from anybody; it would merely be applying an accession of wealth, created by circumstances, to the benefit of society, instead of allowing it to become an unearned appendage to the riches of a particular class.

"Now this is actually the case with the rent. The ordinary progress of a society which increases in wealth, is at all times tending to augment the income of landlords . . . independently of any trouble or outlay incurred by themselves. They grow richer, as it were, in their sleep, without working, risking, or economizing."

"Some people ask: But why single out land? Does not all property rise in value with the increase of prosperity? I answer, No. All other property fluctuates in value; now up, now down. I defy any one to show any kind of property, not partaking of the soil, and sufficiently important to be worth considering, which tends steadily upward, without anything being done by the owners to give it increased value. So far from it that the other of the two kinds of property that yield income, namely, capital, instead of increasing, actually diminishes in value as society advances. The poorer the country, or the further back we go in history, the higher we find the interest of money to be. Land alone—using land as a general term for the whole material of the earth—has the privilege of steadily rising in value from natural causes; and the reason is that land is strictly limited in quantity; the supply does not increase to meet the constant increase of demand . . . "

As I have intimated, it is not the purpose of this paper to discuss the justice of the proposed confiscation, but only to inquire whether all the facts have been taken into account. I may remark, however, in passing, that before we dispossess the actual owner of anything we are bound to show not only that he has not earned the possession, but also that somebody else has; it is not enough to take the stolen goods from the thief, we must hand them over to the man they were stolen from. We seize the rents of the landlord because he has done nothing to produce them. Who, then, has? Circumstances, says Mr. Mill, in his large, abstract way. But rents cannot well be

handed over to "circumstances"; they must be handed over to persons, and the persons indicated are the State, that is, the body-politic or the whole population acting collectively. Have all the individuals composing the State assisted in earning the stolen rents? Or only some of them? And if only some, which ones? "Public utility" and "the benefit of society" are exceeding fine phrases, and perfectly appropriate, when it is a question of ordinary taxation; but they are out of place when it comes to evicting a man found in possession of wealth he has not earned, for in this case we are bound to produce the man who earned them. This, and not the mere act of confiscation, which is one of the simplest of State functions, is the pleasant little problem furnished by Mr. Mill to future governments. We really ought not to make the State, *i. e.*, everybody, a receiver of stolen goods.

But the question here is, whether the doctrine of Ricardo, on which the proposal is based, does not cover a good deal more ground than was at first supposed; whether it is land only that yields an unearned increment, and the landlord alone for whose culpable riches a rightful owner must be found.

I. Let it be admitted that Mr. Mill's contrast between land and capital expresses the facts; that the rate of interest is steadily declining because the augmenting volume of capital tends to wider diffusion, while the rate of rents is steadily rising because the fixed quantity of land tends to closer concentration. Still, when we remember that capital is the joint product of land and labor, it is not unreasonable to suggest that what Mr. Mill says of one of the factors of the product, land, is possibly also true of the other, labor. It is, to be sure, implied in his statement that wages are falling along with rents, and for the same reason that labor is not a fixed quantity, like land, but, as population multiplies, is constantly augmenting, like capital; and, therefore, cannot be permanently monopolized in such a way as to produce unearned increments. Admitting the assimilation (between labor and capital) as we admitted the contrast (between capital and land), it is still possible to dispute the conclusion. To make the issue perfectly clear, I affirm that labor, however it may increase to the detriment of wages, is monopolized exactly after the fashion of land, that is, so as to produce unearned increments.

For, after all, out of what do these peculiar monopolies arise? Not in the least out of the fact that the quantity of land—"using land as a general term for the whole material of the earth"—is fixed beforehand and cannot be increased to meet the increasing need of it. Most obviously, and in the very terms of the definition itself, they arise out of differences in the quality of land, and would arise exactly as they do now, were the whole material of the earth a hundred or a thousand times, or indefinitely greater than it actually is. Would the Ricardian theory cease to be true were the earth as large as Jupiter or the sun? If not, then I submit that the theory applies to labor, whether fixed or changing in quantity, if only labor, like land, is of various quality as regards production. If one class of laborers is more productive than the others (as one kind of soil is more productive), and if the increasing demand of the market brings into activity the *less* productive classes, then the former will at once possess a monopoly and begin to receive unearned increments; that is, increments not due to their superiority (although measured by it), for that remains what it was before, but due to the change in the economic situation, or, as Mr. Mill says, to "circumstances." If anybody *owned* these laborers and hired them out to an employer, as land is owned and rented to the farmer, he would receive a rent for them, and, in "the ordinary progress of a society which increases in wealth," he would grow richer without "working, risking or economizing."

We need not go for an illustration a step beyond the hypothetical case always given in any statement of Ricardo's theory. I will borrow what is necessary to the argument from the only one I happen to have at hand, as it puts the matter in a very lucid and comprehensive way.

Let us imagine a village community, isolated from all others, and residing at the centre of a circular tract of land divided into four sectors equal in extent but so differing in fertility* that one piece will, with so many days of labor in the year, yield 24 bushels of wheat to the acre, while the second will

* As the village is at the centre we may neglect the differences in accessibility to the market, which must ordinarily be allowed for as differences in fertility are.

yield, with the same amount of labor, but 22 bushels; the third but 20, and the fourth but 18. Now suppose that at a given time the whole demand of the community for wheat is exactly met by the yield of the whole twenty-four bushel tract. In this case the product will no more (and no less) than suffice to replace the whole cost of production, and no rent will arise.

But now what will happen if the population increases to such an extent that the whole of the twenty-four bushel tract will no longer raise all the wheat required for its subsistence? Cultivation will be driven down to the twenty-two bushel tract. and rent will at once emerge, as compensation for the use of the twenty-four bushel tract. What will be the amount of it? The difference between the crops to be grown on the two soils, with the same application of labor, *i. e.*, two bushels. In like manner, if cultivation descends to the twenty bushel tract, the twenty-two bushel tract will bear a rent of two, the twenty-four bushel tract, of four bushels. And so, finally, when it reaches the tract of least fertility. In general, the rent of any piece of land is determined by the excess of its annual yield over that of the least productive land actually contributing to the supply of the same market, *under equal applications of labor and capital.**

The italics are mine, for at this point the argument comes in. Let us modify the supposition to the extent of supposing that when the whole of the twenty-four bushel tract, and no more, is required to meet the demand of the community, the whole available force of skilled agricultural labor is required to cultivate it. If, now, the demand increases, cultivation will be driven down, not only to the soil of inferior fertility, but to the labor of inferior skill. According to the hypothesis, the best soil remaining at the disposition of the community yields 22 bushels to the acre, to the 24 bushels of the other tract, under equal applications of labor and capital. Evidently if an inferior, *i. e.*, a less productive kind of labor is applied, it will yield, not 22 bushels, but perhaps only 21, or 20, or even less, and the excess over this yielded by the twenty-four bushel tract, will not be 2, but 3 or 4 bushels, or more, as the case may be. It is of course conceivable that the whole of this excess will go

* Political Economy, by Francis A. Walker. American Science Series.

to the landlord as rent, but, in the conditions supposed, it will not go to him long. The skilled laborers in his employ will be swift to learn that the unearned increment is as much occasioned by their superior skill as by the superior fertility of his land, and their share of it will be taken out as an unearned increment of wages.

Now in what way would it be pertinent to say in answer to this, that land—taking land as a general term for the whole material of the earth—is strictly limited in quantity? It is perfectly true; but the only conclusion to be drawn is that the population which can be supported upon the earth, and, consequently, the labor that can be supplied by the population, and the capital that can be accumulated by it, are also strictly limited, for the very reason that land is. As nobody can lengthen the diameter of the globe, there are limits which cannot be passed, to land, labor, and capital alike. Evidently what concerns us here is not the prospective bounds which must ultimately arrest the progress of the race, but the *rate* at which lands, as yet unoccupied, can be brought under cultivation to meet the rising demand for them. Now this rate is strictly limited too; but by what is it limited? By the lack of land? No, for it is part of the theory that when our village community, or the whole human race at its present stage of progress, outgrows the yield of its most fertile lands, other lands, less fertile, are waiting for cultivation. The rate at which unoccupied lands can be occupied is limited by the rate at which the actual population can provide labor to cultivate them.

Put the population of the village at 5,000, at the moment when the twenty-four bushel tract ceases to suffice for its subsistence. How fast can the other tracts be set to growing wheat? As fast as laborers can be found to grow it. In the conditions assumed in any application of the theory, what is strictly limited is the available supply of labor; not the land, which depends for cultivation, not the population, which depends for subsistence, upon the labor which can be supplied. I do not draw the conclusion, for which something might be said—a good deal more than could be said with confidence when Mr. Mill wrote—that monopolies and unearned increments are to be looked for in the compensation of labor rather

than in that of land; but that the distinctions relied on by Mr. Mill are either unreal or irrelevant; and that in the matter under discussion, land and labor are about in the same case.

The Theory, then, covers labor as well as land, if it be true that there are differences, natural or acquired, and not to be overcome, in the *quality* of labor, as there are in the quality of land. We know that there are; wherever men are gathered for production there will be found, in every variety of bodily and mental aptitudes, laborers whose capability, as related to production, is exactly what the fertility of certain soils is. In both cases the superior productiveness will be monopolized, for the extremely simple reason that it is incommunicable; and in the same circumstances, that is, "in the ordinary progress of a society which increases in wealth," it will yield, in one case as in the other, an unearned increment.

I will take in illustration an instance with which I happen to be familiar, the manufacturing industries of the city of Geneva in Switzerland, and in particular the manufacture of watches, with which nearly all the others are closely associated. In the course of the last century, and with increasing rapidity of late years, the division of labor has been carried almost to its extreme limit, with the consequence that very minute differences in the ability of different laborers are brought to light, exactly as differences in the fertility of soils are by the product turned out. Gradually with the stricter organization of the industry there has grown up a sort of hierarchy, a classification of artisans according to relative merit, from the *règleur*, who gives the last touches to the completed instrument, down to the workman who manipulates a component part in the rough. Now, suppose that the demand for the product increases in the market of Geneva, and that to meet it an inferior quality of labor is required; is it not clear that the capacity to produce a better kind or a larger amount of watches (like the ability to produce a better kind or a larger amount of wheat) will yield an increment, measured, as before, by the superiority of producing power, but due to change in the situation? Take, for example, the *règleur*, whose aptitudes, often inherited from generations of patient labor, are probably to be found nowhere out of western Switzerland, and are rare there; what is there

to prevent his monopoly of skill from acquiring all the value of the most fertile soil contributing to the market for wheat, and acquiring it in the same form, as an unearned increment?

As I remarked above, the presence of the law regulating rents, in the sphere of wages, has not entirely escaped notice. My reference was to what I suppose, although I have just come upon it, is now the well-known identification of the profits of the *entrepreneur* with the rent of the land-owners, in the Political Economy of President Walker.* President Walker happens to be an authority who is aware that economic science was not born with Adam Smith, and has not been confined to English and American writers. It is, of course, his business to be familiar with the continental literature of the subject, but, what is a good deal rarer, he has made use of it. The imported word is sufficient proof of the origin of his bold distinction between the *entrepreneur* and the capitalist, with its consequence, the distinction between profits and interest. In the actual conditions of society the distinction is largely ideal and abstract, but, granting the standard assumption of the science, it is not to be refuted. The *entrepreneur*, or employer of labor and capital, is a man with special and incommunicable aptitudes for the conduct of business enterprises; he *monopolizes* a productive power for which, in every progressive society, there is sure to be an increasing demand. It results that his profits bear the two distinctive notes of rent; they include an unearned increment, and they are not an element in the price of the product. It is not necessary to reproduce the demonstration here. I will only say that when the writer classes profits with rent to the exclusion of wages, as well as interest, I think we may venture to differ with him. In what particular, so far as this argument is concerned, does the *entrepreneur* differ from the *règleur* of my illustration? He is simply, so far as I can see, a more intellectual and daring kind of laborer, to whom wider opportunities are offered and larger capital entrusted than to the ordinary laborer; and what is true of his profits is, in its measure and so far as the organization of industry permits, true of the compensation of superior skill everywhere.

* Part IV, chap. 4.

If all this is so, I suppose that I am bound to suggest some explanation of the anomaly that while the Law has passed out of rational controversy in the matter of land, so little attention has been given to it in the matter of labor. I find an explanation in a well-known peculiarity of labor, which does not affect the amount of wages, but does most profoundly disturb their distribution. Land, although practically unlimited in quantity, so far as the actual or impending necessities of the race are concerned, is always a *fixture;* it cannot be broken up into parcels and transported hither and thither where the necessity is greatest. But labor—taking labor as a general term for the aggregate of laborers—although limited in quantity at the moment of any given demand for it, is divisible into a multitude of units, each fitted for locomotion in any direction and to any distance desired. It results that the units may be intermingled in the same branch of production, without regard to differences in their quality as agents of production. Wherever this occurs—and it occurs everywhere in agriculture, manufactures, or trade, to the extent that industrial organization is incomplete—superior ability is lost in the multitude and confusion; and the classification of laborers according to relative productiveness, unlike that of soils, which takes care of itself, becomes difficult or impossible. Ordinarily wages are paid, not by the piece, as they are, for example, at Geneva, but by the day of so many hours; and the rate is fixed for good and bad alike, not by competition, but by custom, or by combinations of the employers, or by the tyranny of trades-unions. It does not follow from this that no unearned increments arise; I hold that they arise everywhere, in wages as in rents, when the conditions assumed by the theory exist. What follows is, that the increments, after they arise, are divided between the employers and the employees, so that the action of the law disappears in the interminable complexity of final distribution.

But if the tendency of things is toward that perfect organization of industry and that perfect freedom of competition which are the ideal of the economist, then more and more will the disturbing effects of custom, violence, and fraud disappear, and every individual force engaged in production will tell for all it is worth. In that event it seems to me certain that unless

the State interferes to avert monopolies and unearned increments, they will no more be averted for labor than for land. On the whole I incline to the opinion that the State will do well to postpone its interference to the era of the realized ideal. If it confiscates anybody's unearned increments it must everybody's, and in the present condition of affairs the increments of wages will be an uncommonly hard thing to get at and dispose of.

Finally, then, is there, in the matter under consideration, no fundamental difference whatever between land and labor? Why, yes, there is—one, which most of us find to be fundamental enough. Land, and the laborer on it, or anywhere, are both instruments of production, and both, in the same circumstances, will become occasions of unearned increments. But while one of the instruments wears out in forty or fifty years, the other wears for ages. If the "State" thinks it can do anything to redress this deplorable inequality, by all means let it try; only, if it is thinking of doing this by punishing the land-owner, we may observe that nature has already attended to *that*, for he too, like the laborer under him, must leave his rents and go the way of all the earth. Rents are accumulated, as wages are, by the instrument of production, but not by the owner of them beyond the term of his life. If it be insisted further that the owner can *bequeath* his rents, and so provide for their continuous accumulation, I reply, No, he can't—not *future* rents; he can only bequeath the instrument which occasions them. What you are proposing is the confiscation of the land itself, a matter with which I have no concern here.

II. Nobody, says Prof. Fawcett, will ever be perfectly at home in political economy who has not fathomed the mystery of capital. The warning is issued rather ruefully, as if the Professor had not quite fathomed it himself. Who has? The truth is that, ever since Adam Smith imposed his definition upon the science, a sort of fog has drifted in after it, that sometimes seems a little too thick for the most expert navigator. Capital, in the definition, is as sharply distinguished from land and labor as either is from the other, and the term is constantly in use as if its full meaning were perfectly settled, and all its boundaries and bearings exactly determined. But when

we get down to its real functions we find it shading off into both land and labor by such insensible gradations that it is nearly impossible to tell where one ends and the other begins It has remained from its first appearance a sort of "undistributed middle," which vitiates the most careful calculations by letting in implications nobody suspects. Mr. Mill was, by common consent, the first logician and the first economist of his day, but in the passage already quoted he appears to have gone ashore in shoal water, as if he had never been at sea before in his life. I defy any one, he says, to show any kind of property, not partaking of the soil, which tends steadily upward, without anything being done by the owners to give it increased value. So far from it that the other of the two kinds which yield income, namely, capital, instead of increasing, actually diminishes in value as society advances. The poorer the country, or the further back we go in history, the higher we find the interest of money to be.

Now when we say that rents are rising, what is implied? Plainly that the land-owner is growing richer, and that in two ways, by the accumulation of his rents, and by the appreciation of his land. This is the *gravamen* of his offence, that being an idler he continually gets richer. But what is the implication when we say that interest is falling, or, as Mr. Mill puts it, that capital is diminishing in value? That the capitalist is growing poorer? So far from it that the very reason (and the very reason assigned by Mr. Mill) why interest is falling is, that capital is growing more abundant, *i. e.*, that the capitalist is getting richer. Interest is going down, cries Mr. Mill, in his wrath with the landlord and his commiseration for the capitalist. So it is; but what of it if the principal is going up? The Vanderbilt property began with, say $1,000 yielding 10 per cent.; to-day it is perhaps $150,000,000 yielding 3 per cent. Fancy the astonishment of a Minnesota farmer, if told that he is in possession of riches that do not belong to him because he has done nothing to earn them, while the Vanderbilts are the toiling victims of falling interest and shrinking values. He will feel that he is juggled; and he is.

Not, of course, in the intention of Mr. Mill, who was the most loyal of men. The fact seems to be that he was so pre-

occupied with the function of capital as one of the three factors of production, and with the striking contrast between its declining profits and the rise in rents, that he quite forgot to take into account its peculiar *origin.* Capital is not the gift of nature, like land, or even labor; it is itself, in its origin, the joint product of land and labor. More specifically, it is savings what is spared from previous production for future investment; as the Physiocrats would have said if they had ever heard about it, the net product after consumption has been provided for. In other words, it is made up of those very rents, profits, and wages, whose morality we have been inquiring into, *plus* the interest on capital already saved and invested. The fact itself, that interest is steadily declining, indicates that capital is steadily accumulating, and, therefore likely to abound in unearned increments. All are agreed that rent is one; President Walker says that profits are another; it would seem that wages are a third. I venture to add, finally, that interest, in spite of its steady decline, may be a fourth.

Let us suppose, as before, that to meet an increased demand of our village community, cultivation descends from the twenty-four to the twenty-two bushel tract; and that the labor applied to both is of uniform quality. Cultivation is not only the application of labor to land, but also of the tools of labor, *i. e.*, of capital. Buildings must be erected, appliances of various sorts gathered, ditches, fences, and roads must be constructed. It may easily be that the value of the capital required will equal or exceed the value of the land itself. It can be obtained only in one of two ways; either it must be withdrawn from previous investments, where it is earning the current rate of interest, or created outright by savings from current consumption. Either process, as we know, is a costly one, and the cost, which *previous* investments escape, must be a charge upon the new tract put under cultivation, and provided for by the product of this tract, which is 22 bushels per acre. Practically, will not this charge lower the yield to 21 or 20 bushels, or more, as the case may be; and raise the surplus of the twenty-four bushel tract to 3, or 4 bushels, or more? If yes, then a portion only of this surplus will be compensation for the use of the land, and the remainder will be compensation for the use of the

capital invested on it. And both alike are unearned increments.

I will again leave the reader to carry the application as far as he chooses. But it is necessary to point out that, as labor exceeds land in the matter of divisibility and mobility, so, to a far greater degree, does capital exceed labor. It is, as much as anything else, a strictly limited quantity, at the instant of any new demand upon it; but, since the universal adoption of a medium of exchange, it may be promptly transformed and transferred, in almost any amount, to the point of greatest demand. To this extent it is destitute of those insurmountable natural differences in *quality*, which characterize both land and labor, and which afford the basis of a permanent monopoly. If one form of investment is found to yield an interest above the average rate, capital will be drawn into it from other forms until the average is restored; and, conversely, if it yields an interest below the average. Thus, to use the familiar figure, capital, as compared with either of the other factors of production, has the homogeneity and mobility of a fluid, and ever tends to a level, or mean rate of earnings; a rate which is so far from being an abstraction of science that it has actual expression in what is known as the current rate of interest.

But its fluidity is not perfect, and will never be until the economic ideal of society is reached. Time is always occupied in its flow, and a hundred obstacles may get in its way. In spite of the tendency to equable diffusion and a uniformly declining rate of interest, it may be immobilized in highly profitable forms, and become a monopoly, like the superior qualities of land and labor.

To sum up: it appears, according to the remark of Whately as quoted by Walker, that rent is only one species of an extensive genus; that the law made famous by Ricardo is present over the whole field of production; but that its action is more or less obscured by perturbing influences everywhere. The conclusion is, that if the State is to confiscate unearned increments, it is "in," as the phrase goes, for a remarkably large undertaking.

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ARTICLE I.—WORDSWORTH AS A SPIRITUAL TEACHER.

THE visitor to the English Lakes, however he may be charmed with the crystal beauty of Windermere in its setting of emerald mountains, or with the picturesque pikes and tarns that repose in their lonely grandeur amidst this paradisaic region, will, if he be a lover of poetry as well as of nature, not linger long in these outer courts and beautiful gates of the temple, but penetrate at once to the inner shrine, the lovely vale and village of Grasmere, the home and final resting-place of Wordsworth. As he enters the rude, old church with its massive square tower, in which the poet was wont to worship, or stands beside his grave in the green churchyard in the shadow of the enclosing mountains, he feels that a mighty presence is somehow diffused around him; a spirit, other than the physical forms he beholds, is silently and serenely dwelling within or beside them, and shedding a conscious and benignant influence. Whether this be the spirit of the poet, or of that Nature which he loved and with which he communed so deeply,

and more than all other poets has revealed to mankind as a real presence, or a blending of both, as the spirit of the prophets was blended with the divine Spirit in their utterances, we need not stay to answer.

The outward symbols and memorials of this presence are in singular keeping with the character of the poet. A plain, unsculptured slab inscribed with the simple name of William Wordsworth, and scarcely distinguished from those of the humble dalesmen among whom he lived and died, marks the spot where he sleeps beside his sister, wife and children. What need of other monument for him who has written his name and impressed his genius on these everlasting hills, and all which they enclose of lake and stream and forest, almost on every rock and tree and humblest flower that blows. As the visitor to St. Paul's Cathedral, crowded with the monuments of England's noblest dead, sees above the entrance the name of the builder, Christopher Wren, with the words, "*Si monumentum quæris, circumspice,*" so the visitor to the grave of Wordsworth needs but to look around him to see his monument in this vast cathedral frame of nature—of which this lovely vale of Grasmere is a side-chapel or Poets' Corner—its mountain domes, its lofty forest aisles and columned arches through which organ music rolls, and thousand-voiced anthems rise in ceaseless harmony of praise and worship.

The poet is not indeed the builder, but he is the truest interpreter of nature. Like the devout astronomer, he "thinks God's thoughts after him," and next after the divine architect, his spirit and genius lives in all the beauty he has made more beautiful by shedding over it the consecrating radiance of imagination. Nowhere is this marvellous and new-creating power of genius, this power to invest natural scenes with a charm not borrowed from the eye, more felt than in presence of this humble grave, these guardian mountains and these lovely lakes. A spirit emanating from the poet's mind is present and is felt in all this region, as indeed the *genius loci;* a light more lustrous and unfading than that of setting suns illumines these hills,—

> "The light that never was on sea or land,
> The consecration and the poet's dream."

We do not propose in this essay to discuss the question whether Wordsworth was a great poet, or to estimate his rank and altitude on the poetic mountain. This, like similar disputes respecting Pope and some other poets, depends on one's idea and definition of poetry, and wherein its highest excellence consists. Moreover, this question is in our day fast disappearing from the region of theory and debate, and losing itself in the clearer one of established fact or settled consent. The verdict of the best modern critics coincides with the consensus of all true-seeing and deep-feeling minds, that in Wordsworth, as in few other poets to such a degree, is found that which answers to the deepest and subtlest, as well as the most universal feelings and intuitions of the human soul; that for poetic insight into the life and soul of things, imagination that not only sees serenely, but bodies forth clearly and harmoniously, the forms of things unknown and inconceivable to the understanding, and a fresh and vital sympathy with all that lives, he has vindicated his high claim and already taken his place in the "choir of ever-enduring men," among the world's great poets. That he has not the marvellous dramatic and Protean genius of Shakespeare, nor the sustained strength and sublimity of Milton, nor the fiery intensity of Dante, nor the etherial melody and ideality of Shelley, nor the lyric sweetness and passionateness of Burns, nor the artistic luxuriousness of Keats or Tennyson, is no disparagement to this claim, for one star differeth from another star in glory; nor even that he is sometimes prosaic and commonplace, for the inspiration of the Bible is not always alike and equal. But if we may apply to poets the test which Coleridge applies to the Scriptures—allowing for difference in the kind of inspiration—there is more in Wordsworth that *finds* us in the best and deepest part of our nature than in most other poets. What this is, and wherein consists the special divine gift and mission of Wordsworth, we shall endeavor briefly to show.

That it does not consist in what are commonly considered, at first sight, as poetic gifts, is evident from the slow and tardy recognition of his genius. His poetry, unlike the early productions of Shakespeare and Milton, or even of Burns and Byron, did not take the popular ear or the cultured mind with

delight. The ridicule it encountered in the Edinburgh and other reviews is a familiar story, suggesting the reception which the Jewish Apostle encountered among the Grecian critics and literati of his day, "What next will this babbler say?" May we not add that the final triumph which his poetry has achieved, not only in reversing, but in regenerating and remoulding the poetic maxims and opinions of his day, suggests also that greater triumph which Christianity itself has wrought over the most cultured thought and civilization of the heathen world. It is not implied by this that the canons of criticism, or the true principles and laws of poetry as poetry, and as exemplified in the great classic poets, have been reversed or modified, any more than the truths of philosophy and art elaborated by the Greeks are superseded by Christianity; but what was once the supreme test of excellence, viz: the *form*, has become subordinate to the *spirit* that underlies the form and is manifested through it. The Gospel narratives considered as literary productions, are of little worth. Even the discourses and letters of Paul, measured by the classic models of Demosthenes and Cicero, would almost merit the criticism of his opponents—"his letters are weak and his speech contemptible." And even his doctrine, in the estimation of the Grecian philosophers, was 'foolishness.' But the divine truth and sublime spiritual realities revealed through these simple forms have proved mightier than all the philosophy and art and rhetoric of the most cultured people on earth. So the poetry of Wordsworth, simple as is its form, and almost puerile in some of its minor strains, has yet in it, to the discerning mind, something superior to form, which subordinates and holds in subjection the delight of mere rhythm and sensuous imagery, in the greater revelation of spiritual truth and beauty.

This great revolution in the realm of poetry, the subordination and subsidence of mere form, and the emergence and exaltation of spirit, is due chiefly to Wordsworth, although it had its beginnings before him, notably in Cowper, in the reaction from the formalism and shallow artificiality of the school of Pope; and its latest result is seen in the poetry of Robert Browning. This regeneration of poetry and its enduement with a divine spirit and life, is one outcome of the

new Renaissance, not Pagan but Christian, which is working in this nineteenth century, which has penetrated all literature and art, is working a ferment in science and philosophy and theology, and even social life, and is destined to make all things new. It repudiates the false and shallow maxim, derived from heathenism, 'Art for art's sake,' and adopts the Christian maxim, Art for *truth's* sake and the blessing of mankind.

It is then as *a spiritual teacher*, a revealer of truths not obvious to the senses, or seductive to the imagination, but lying deepest in the soul of man, and in outward nature as the revelation of a divine soul or spirit, that we conceive Wordsworth's mission as poet to consist.

We anticipate an objection or remonstrance here, growing out of the common notion that poetry exists for delight, and not for truth or instruction; that its function is to serve as a play or recreation of the mind, which is inconsistent with serious study or profound meditation. Imagination, the poetic or creative faculty, has to do, it is said, with the unreal and the visionary, not with truth and reality. Poetry, according to Lord Bacon, is a "submitting of the shows of things to the desires of the mind," therefore, is the opposite of truth, which is a conformity of thought to things or realities. It is claimed, moreover, that didactic poetry is not true poetry; that when the Muse dons the philosophic gown she ceases to be the Muse of Poesy: albeit this objection ignores the meaning of the word *amusement*, whose etymology implies not the presence but the absence of the muses, and is in contradiction to the sentiment of Milton,—

> "How charming is divine philosophy!
> Not harsh and crabbed as dull fools suppose,
> But musical as is Apollo's lute:"—

showing the profound alliance between poetry and philosophy —of the divine sort.

We do not deem it necessary to show at length the partial truth and essential fallacy of this objection, but a few thoughts concerning the true office and function of poetry may be in place as preliminary to our subject. And here we assume the bold and confident position that the real province of poetry is truth and not fiction, in the sense of unreality. So far as it departs from truth in its spirit or essential meaning, it is not

poetry in the highest and truest sense. We might verify this by the well-known fact that the highest and profoundest utterances of the Bible are poetic utterances; that the best productions of the world's literature in all ages, those which contain the greatest thoughts and awaken the deepest and most permanent response in the human soul, have come to us in the form of poetry; that the greatest poets have been among the profoundest thinkers, and the greatest philosophers have been essentially poets; and finally, that the primitive and true conception of the poet or bard was that of an inspired seer, *vates* or prophet, a revealer of things beyond the ken of ordinary mortals. Again, the poetic faculty of imagination is essentially a truth-discerning and truth-depicting faculty. It is preëminently the eye of the poet, "the vision and the faculty divine," by which he discerns things hidden from sense and reason in its ordinary workings. It is the pioneer and torch of reason, which she sends on before to explore the way and guide her footsteps; or rather, it is reason itself kindled to its intensest glow, and lighting up the universe with its penetrating luster. This view is confirmed by the poets themselves. Coleridge defines imagination as the *esemplastic* power, which moulds or frames into one the formless and chaotic elements of thought and feeling, and so is in the truest sense a *creative* faculty. It is not less a *seeing* or discerning power, involving a rational discernment of the truth or idea to be embodied in form. It is thus distinguished from *fancy*, which is only a modification or combination of images already in the memory, according to a law of casual association or outward resemblance. Talfourd observes, "There are vast and eternal realities in our nature, which reason proves to exist, which sensibility feels after and finds, and which imagination beholds in clear and solemn vision, and pictures with a force and vividness which assures their existence even to ungifted mortals. Its objects are the true, the universal and the lasting. Like the telescope, it not only magnifies intellectual objects, it brings them nearer to us. Of all the intellectual powers it is the most unerring." And Wordsworth himself calls it, in the Prelude,

> "But another name for absolute power
> And clearest insight, amplitude of mind,
> And Reason in her most exalted mood."

In his preface to his Poems, he calls poetry the "breath and finer spirit of all knowledge; the impassioned expression which is in the countenance of all science." As the human countenance has expressions and spiritual meanings which are beyond physiology to explain, but which a vital soul in sympathy with the soul behind it can read and interpret,—so the poet, through the subtle all-discerning power of imagination, and a soul in sympathy with the soul and spirit of nature, penetrates her shows and symbols and interprets them for other men. He also uses them as language to express his own thought, submitting the shows of things to his own sovereign mind, as the master, as well as minister and interpreter of nature. Herein we see the difference between the truth of poetry and the truth of science. The latter respects the *nature* and constitution of things, and is addressed to the understanding; the former respects the *meaning* of things, and is addressed to the imagination, and through this to the soul, or feeling intellect. Science analyzes and dissects, that she may learn how a thing is made and put together; poetry studies with reverent eye the life and soul of things, that she may learn their innermost divine secret, and their relationship to the life and soul of man. The imagination aims to possess itself of the life of whatever thing it deals with, while the scientific faculty ignores and kills the life by its dissecting and analyzing processes, and deals only with the dead matter that is left. The truth of poetry is not the truth of science, but it may be only the more really and profoundly true. Its outward form, or the imagery in which it is clothed, contradicts the scientific fact, as this fact itself, or the truth of science, often contradicts the sensible appearance—as when we say the sun rises and sets: and poetry deals with things as they seem and not as they are. But the truth of poetry is within and behind its form, and is not measured by it. Poetry is the highest form of Art; and art seeks to convey truth not in logical propositions, or by physical analysis, but by *expression.* Hence the antithesis of poetry, as Coleridge has shown, is not prose but science. The scientific spirit, so far as it dominates thought, is destructive to poetry and to all true art, because it deals wholly with the outward fact, while the latter aims to express the ideal and the spiritual.

Furthermore, the end of poetry is not, as is often said, pleasure or delight merely. Hedonism in art is as false and pernicious as it is in ethics. But it is *truth in the form of beauty* and life, which always gives delight to a sound and healthful mind. As a righteous man does right not for the reward of pleasure or profit it will afford him, but for righteousness' sake, and from the love of moral excellence, which is inseparable from joy and is itself blessedness, so the true poet sings not to give himself or others pleasure, but to express his love of truth and beauty.

This, too, disposes of the current notion that didactic poetry is not true poetry; that the poet or artist must not be conscious of any moral aim or purpose in his work; that art exists and should be practiced for art's sake, irrespective of its subject or its moral tendency—a maxim adopted by the materialistic and "fleshly" schools, but condemned by every sound principle whether of art or morality. This principle carried out would deprive the world of the very best productions of art and poetry; the masterpieces of Raphael and Michael Angelo, the many-hued allegory of Spenser, the divine poems of Dante and Milton, and even the best dramas of Shakespeare; all of which are pervaded by a moral aim and purpose, not obtrusively put forth in didactic form, but hidden within them and distilled from them as their inmost spirit, as the dew is distilled from the atmosphere, or the aroma from the flowers. The lessons of truth and wisdom taught by the great poets are like the moral lessons of Nature within and behind its physical laws, which the scientist and artist of the modern degenerate school ignores, but which the greatest and best poets have always recognized, without which they would not be *true* either to nature, or art, or the human soul.

How Wordsworth himself regarded his poetic mission, and the spirit in which he entered upon and pursued it, is well known to all readers of his poetry, especially of his autobiographical poem, *The Prelude*. This was not as a recreation, to amuse his leisure hours, but as a life calling and ministry, to which he was set apart and *consecrated*. He viewed himself as called and endowed of God for this high mission, to declare to the world those high truths and inspired thoughts which had come to him in his solitary walks among the mountains;

and he devoted himself to this work with a rare perseverance, a high-souled enthusiasm and unswerving faith, which neither poverty nor obliquy nor sneering criticism could for a moment shake. Probably no other poet save Milton has ever entertained so high and sacred an idea of his calling as poet, or pursued it with a more serene and lofty and independent spirit. To a friend who wrote him a letter of sympathy on occasion of a severe criticism of his poems, he replied: "Trouble not yourself upon their present reception; of what moment is that compared with what I trust is their destiny?—to console the afflicted; to add sunshine to the daylight by making the happy happier; to teach the young and gracious of every age to see, to think, and feel, and therefore to become more actively and securely virtuous;—this is their office, which I trust they will faithfully perform long after we (that is, all that is mortal of us) are mouldering in our graves."

Such a sublime confidence is itself a prophecy and guaranty of that which it believes.

Let us now look at some of the truths or lessons by which Wordsworth fulfilled his high mission as a Spiritual Teacher.

And first, he proclaimed as no other poet has done *the sacredness and dignity of common things.* The immense value and far reaching scope of this truth cannot be over-estimated, especially in an age marked by the decay of reverence, and when the tendency of thought is strongly in the direction of mere secularism and atheistic materialism.

The doctrine of Plato, that everything is the product and embodiment of a *divine idea*, was the great conservative principle and breakwater against the flood of atheism in the high tide of Grecian thought and speculation. It afforded a rock on which philosophy could find a solid and religious basis, and opened an infinite realm for art and poetry by disclosing an ideal world behind and within the world of sense; and so it imparted a divine worth and meaning to the world. But the Christian doctrine of God as Spirit, as not only the Creator and Father, but the indwelling soul of all things—not in a pantheistic, but a personal sense—added a new value and significance to nature, which theology has but very partially appropriated, which modern science blindly and persistently

ignores, and which poetry has obscurely felt without perceiving, until Wordsworth gave it voice and clear expression. All readers of his poetry must acknowledge this, that underneath the plainest and homeliest exterior, whether in nature or human life, he has discovered and disclosed a soul of beauty, an ideal excellence and glory which not only makes it a fit subject of poetry, but enables us to look on all things and all men with new eyes. Whatever be the subject he treats, whether a mountain tarn or a mountain daisy, a Highland girl or a Cumberland beggar, he sees in it what no other eyes have seen before, but which once disclosed can never be forgotten. This he does not by *investing* them with an ideal glory projected from his own imagination, but by *uncovering* the glory and beauty that already lay unseen and disguised by a coarse and common exterior. Other poets have selected what is grand or beautiful to all eyes, or have seized on some striking character, or romantic incident, or tragic event, and made it the subject of poetry; but Wordsworth finds in the most common and unnoticed objects and the most familiar facts of every-day life a world of poetry which needs but to be set forth simply and truly, by the same faculty that discerns it, to stir the deepest fountains of feeling and delight. What affects us most deeply in the tragic drama or the romantic ballad is not the outward fact or circumstance, still less the rank or condition of the actor or sufferer, but that *common nature* whose moral grandeur or beauty in doing or suffering finds expression through these; and this same human nature, with its loves and joys and sorrows, is found everywhere, and therefore the elements of poetry are everywhere. The beauty of the daisy or the celandine is part of the same beauty that blushes in the evening sky, or sleeps in the mountain lake; a looking forth through these tender eyes of the same heart and soul of Nature. Wordsworth saw and felt this, and so to him everything is full of poetry because full of truth and beauty. This enlargement of the field of poetry to embrace all things endowed with life, is a service to literature like that which Newton rendered to science when he enlarged the domain of the physical law of gravitation to embrace the universe.

But this sense and revelation of the sacred worth and dignity

of common things has its root in something deeper than a mere poetic conception; it reaches down to the inmost ground and reality of all created things, viz: their relation to God, in whom they live and have their being, and of whose thought they are the expression. It is the *divine*—the Christian synonym for the *ideal*—that alone gives sacredness and dignity to things. This alone imparts beauty (which is essentially a *spiritual* attribute) to the flowers or the landscape, and sublimity to mountains, and awakens the emotions of reverence, awe, love, faith and joy, in the human heart. Strip the world and humanity of its divine element, as materialistic science is seeking to do, and nothing would be left for poetry or art, for love and reverence and "the joy of elevated thoughts," any more than for faith or religion.

What, let us now ask, has Wordsworth seen and disclosed in *Nature* which other poets have not? He has looked more deeply and thoughtfully into her countenance, and read there deeper and more spiritual meanings. He has leaned his ear more intently, and listened more reverently and with a calmer and wiser mind, to her many voices, and so has caught the finer strains and the deep, almost inaudible undertones of her many-chorded harmony. This reading by the poet of the spiritual meanings of nature implies the presence of a Mind or Spirit in nature, whose thought and feeling is expressed in the creation. To deny this is to deny the possibility of poetry and even of science; for science is the reading of God's thoughts in nature, those laws or truths of reason whose counterparts exist in our own mind. Hence Kepler, on the discovery of these laws exclaimed in pious enthusiasm, "O, God! I think thy thoughts after Thee."

But truths of science and laws of reason are not the only thoughts in nature, any more than they are in us. Beauty and love and joy are laws of mind as well as mathematical order, and these too are expressed in what is called the 'face' of nature. This face, no more than the human countenance, is no mere combination of forms and colors and utilities, but it has meanings and expressions too subtle to be apprehended or understood by the scientific faculty, which only a deep feeling soul can read, and which it is the province of the poet and

the artist to feel and interpret. It is more than a fancied resemblance, or even a true analogy, when we speak of the *smile* of a dewy landscape lighted up with sunrise, or the *frown* that darkens a mountain's brow when a cloud rests upon it, or of the *joy* and *love* expressed in a full-blown rose, which makes this flower the natural and chosen symbol of such affections. It is the recognition of a reality within what we call Nature which is the spirit of its forms, and is as true and spiritual as that we are conscious of in ourselves. When Wordsworth, in one of his finest sonnets, describes the deep peace of a summer evening:

> "It is a beauteous evening, calm and free;
> The holy air is quiet as a nun,
> Breathless with adoration; the broad sun
> Is sinking down in his tranquility:
> The gentleness of heaven is on the sea," etc.

Or when in the Excursion he describes the effect of sunrise beheld from a mountain's summit:

> "The clouds were touched,
> And in their silent faces did he read
> Unutterable love."

It is not the transfer of his own emotions to natural objects, but the recognition in nature of a spirit kindred to his own and awakening in him kindred divine emotions; just as the philosopher or scientist recognizes in the laws of nature a reason or *logos* kindred to that which interprets them. It is the 'peace of God' which passeth the understanding of the scientist, and the love of God which passeth all mere knowledge—a self conscious peace and love which is expressed in the breathless air, the reposing ocean, and the silent faces of the clouds, and which the poet feels and gives utterance to.

Wordsworth thus recognized a *soul* in Nature, with which the soul in man may commune, as well as a designing and constructing mind—a *pneuma* as well as a *logos*—and to interpret this spiritual revelation was his mission as poet, as the interpretation of the latter is the mission of the scientist, or natural philosopher.

Wordsworth is thus a *realistic* poet in distinction from a mere sentimental dreamer or creator of fictions woven by

fancy out of his own inner consciousness, with no corresponding reality in the world of things; in distinction also from those who deal only with outward facts, or the mere surface of life and nature. Realism, in its true and highest sense is the recognition of those realities which lie within and behind outward facts or phenomena, and which only a spiritual eye and a feeling soul can discern. The revelation of these inner and spiritual things, whether found in man or nature, is the true province of the poet and artist. Wordsworth early recognized and accepted this mission. As he declares in the Prelude:

> "Of these, said I, shall be my song, of these,
> If future years mature me for the task,
> Will I record the praises, making verse
> Deal boldly with *substantial things*, my theme,
> No other than the very heart of man."

With this mind and soul in Nature, this spirit within and behind its visible forms, the mind and spirit of Wordsworth has held earnest and deep communion. His sympathy with this spirit and his power to read and interpret its teachings, even the most subtle and mystic meanings is probably greater than that of any other poet. Other poets have been admitted to the outer court of nature, and worshiped within the temple; he, as high priest, has entered the inmost sanctuary. Others, like Burns and Byron, have found in nature a reflex of their own tender sentiment or turbulent passion; Wordsworth has found truth and beauty unveiled, before which his soul has stood entranced in breathless awe and holy contemplation. The result of this appears in many of his best poems of nature, in which we may trace a growing sense of this communion, or a progressive revelation of this spiritual presence in nature. Readers familiar with his poetry will recall the descriptive poems entitled "Nutting," and "Influence of Natural Objects in Awakening the Imagination in Boyhood and Early Youth." That noblest and profoundest of all "On Revisiting Tintern Abbey," marks the maturity of this intercourse, and is the utterance of a mind that has communed long and intimately with nature and learned the secret of her calm joy and patient, restful working. It may seem superfluous to quote from a poem which is, or should be, so familiar to persons of taste and

education; yet we are tempted to cite one or two passages for the sake of those who may not have read, or have forgotten them, and who need just such restoratives to heart and brain as the poet here describes, and which nature still offers to all that are weary and heavy-laden.

> "Though absent long,
> These forms of beauty have not been to me
> As is a landscape to a blind man's eye;
> But oft in lonely rooms, and 'mid the din
> Of towns and cities, I have owed to them
> In hours of weariness sensations sweet,
> Felt in the blood, and felt along the heart,
> And passing even into my purer mind
> With tranquil restoration. * * Nor less I trust,
> To them I may have owed another gift
> Of aspect more sublime: that blessed mood
> In which the burthen of the mystery
> Of all this unintelligible world
> Is lightened; that serene and blessed mood
> In which the affections gently lead us on,
> Until, the breath of this corporeal frame
> And even the motions of our human blood
> Almost suspended, we are laid asleep
> In body, and become a living soul;
> While with an eye made quiet by the power
> Of harmony and the deep power of joy
> We see into the life of things."

What this life is and whence derived, he tells us in words that are a key to Wordsworth's conception of Nature:

> "And I have felt
> A *Presence* that disturbs me with the joy
> Of elevated thoughts; a sense sublime
> Of something far more deeply interfused,
> Whose dwelling is the light of setting suns,
> And the round ocean, and the living air,
> And the blue sky, and *in the mind of man;*
> A motion and a spirit, that impels
> All thinking things, all objects of all thought,
> And rolls through all things."

The influence of Nature in moulding the mind and character through communion with its forms, is here explained. It is not the influence of mere material objects, of mute, insensate things, which could only materialize and harden, but of a spiritual presence and power kindred to that of man and

addressing it through these natural objects. The symbolism of nature, or that wonderful analogy and correspondence between the physical and the spiritual world, on which all language is based, but which baffles all science to understand, here also finds partial explanation. It is not, as Prof. Drummond asserts, the presence and working of "Natural Law in the Spiritual World," which is a confounding of the two, and a contradiction in terms as well as a falsity in fact, for spirit gives law to nature, not nature to spirit; but it is the manifestation and expression of spiritual realities in material forms, as thought is expressed or revealed in words, or as the soul is manifested in the body. The seen is the veil and symbol of the unseen, the material, of the spiritual. The beauty that is seen and felt in nature, but which is no part or attribute of matter, and which no natural law can explain, is the spiritual streaming through and glorifying the natural; it is the golden fringe on the edges of the cloud, betokening a world of light and glory beyond it. With such a view of nature as Wordsworth entertains, as no mere material and mechanical system, but a living organism penetrated throughout with soul and spirit, with which the spirit of man may commune as with a great, ever-present companion and teacher, it is hardly a personification when he says toward the close of the same poem:

> "This prayer I make.
> Knowing that Nature never did betray
> The heart that loved her. 'Tis her privilege
> Through all the years of this our life to lead
> From joy to joy; for she can so inform
> The mind that is within us, so impress
> With quietness and beauty, and so feed
> With lofty thoughts, that neither evil tongues,
> Rash judgments, nor the sneers of selfish men,
> Nor greetings where no kindness is, nor all
> The dreary intercourse of daily life
> Shall e'er prevail against us, or disturb
> Our cheerful faith, that all which we behold
> Is full of blessings."

But it is his poems of Humanity that reveal perhaps the highest truth and disclose his profoundest thought. Here his special mission as a spiritual teacher is specially fulfilled. Here the distinctive principle of his poetry, the central truth

he was commissioned to reveal, viz : the sacredness and dignity of common things, is chiefly illustrated. Whatever be his theme, whether the prattle of a child by its cottage door, the song of a Highland girl, the talk of two farmers by the wayside, the discourse of a wandering peddler, or those domestic joys and sorrows that come to all, he impresses you with the inherent worth and sacredness of humanity, and the divine beauty there is in those common natural affections and humble charities we are so apt to despise or disregard. As he so beautifully says:

> "The primal virtues shine aloft, like stars;
> The humble charities that soothe and bless,
> Lie scattered at the feet of man, like flowers."

Other poets have sung the former, and soared like Milton among the stars; it was his chosen mission to sing the latter, to be the poet of the humble wayside flowers of humanity, and disclose their divine and heavenly beauty. It was the praise of a celebrated ancient author that "he touched nothing which he did not adorn." It is the glory of Wordsworth that he touched nothing which he did not ennoble and sanctify. And what greater praise, what diviner work, can any man achieve than this? Next to that of the Redeemer of the world, and akin to it in its spirit and results, I know of none so grand and enduring. That he became such a poet, that he was able to see this divine beauty in humanity, was not the result merely of poetic insight, but of a profound philosophy. He had studied not only human nature, in his practical intercourse with men of humble life, but the *human soul* in the light of his own reflective consciousness and of Christian truth; and he saw in it, what our wise scientists cannot see or even conceive, a grandeur of origin, of being and of destiny which made him tremble; compared with which this material universe is but a shadow, the mere reflection of its glory.

His own conception of the nature and grandeur of his theme is given in the introduction to the Excursion, in words of wonderful power and suggestiveness:

> "Of Truth, of Grandeur, Beauty, Love and Hope,
> And melancholy Fear subdued by Faith;
> Of blessed consolation in distress;

Of moral strength, and intellectual power,
Of joy in widest commonalty spread;
Of the individual mind that keeps her own
Inviolate retirement, subject there
To conscience only and the law supreme
Of that intelligence which governs all;
I sing: 'fit audience let me find, though few.'
So prayed, more gaining than he asked, the Bard,
Holiest of men. Urania, I shall need
Thy guidance, or a greater Muse, if such
Descend to earth, or dwell in highest heaven,
For I must tread on shadowy ground, must sink
Deep—and aloft ascending breathe in worlds
To which the heaven of heavens is but a veil.
* * * * Not Chaos, not
The darkest pit of lowest Erebus,
Nor aught of blinder vacancy, scooped out
By help of dreams, can breed such fear and awe
As fall upon us often when we look
Into our minds—into the mind of man—
My haunt, and the main region of my song."

This may seem extravagant to those who have never descended by reflection into the depths of their own spiritual being; and such will find little delight or even meaning in some of his poetry. But his high calling as a spiritual teacher is none the less to be fulfilled:

—"and by words
Which speak of nothing more than what we are,
Would I arouse the sensual from their sleep
Of death, and win the vacant and the vain
To noble raptures, while my voice proclaims
How exquisitely the individual mind
* * * * to the external world
Is fitted, and how exquisitely too,
(Theme this but little heard of among men)
The external world is fitted to the mind;
And the *creation*—by no lower name
Can it be called—which they with blended might
Accomplish: such is our high argument."

He who could write thus, with such ideas of the human soul and its relation to the universe, has little to fear from the reproach sometimes cast upon his poetry, of being childish in its simplicity. No profounder philosophy or deeper wisdom was ever taught by sage or seer than that which underlies some

of his very simplest poems; pellucid as a well, but soundless as the sea, reminding us of some of those utterances of the Great Teacher, which a child can understand, but which an archangel cannot fathom. Sometimes this philosophy shoots up from some lowly subject into Alpine peaks of glittering and massive splendor; as in the celebrated Ode on the "Intimations of of Immortality from the Recollections of Early Childhood." This ode, says Emerson, "marks the highest limit which the tide of poetic inspiration has reached in England within this century, or, indeed, since the days of Milton."

Many, doubtless, regard this poem, as it was pronounced when first published, an unmeaning rhapsody; but those of profoundest thought and deepest and tenderest sensibility will thank God for it, as for a new revelation. The subject is one of the most mysterious in this our mysterious being, yet the most fascinating to a thoughtful mind—the early dawn of consciousness in childhood, and the source of those first ideas or obscure intimations of the infinite and eternal, which cannot come from things of sense, which precede them in order of being if not of time, and which, like the crimson glow of sunrise on the clouds, must come from a world beyond the world. These mysterious visitings and morning gleams—

> —"those obstinate questionings
> Of sense and outward things,
> Fallings from us, vanishings,
> Blank misgivings of a creature
> Moving about in worlds not realized,
> High instincts, before which our mortal nature
> Did tremble, like a guilty thing surprised,"—

—these foregleams of immortality which in most men are forgotten with their cradles and childhood dreams, linger in poetic and reflective souls and shed a supernal radiance on the world and all their after life, giving a "splendor to the grass and a glory to the flower," which gradually fades, like a gorgeous sunrise, into the light of common day.

The charge is sometimes made that Wordsworth in this Ode teaches the Platonic doctrine of preëxistence. This may be allowed in the sense that all things preëxist in their causes, and the human soul has its cause and origin in God, and not

in nature; but in the sense of a conscious preëxistence, the charge can only be made by those who ignore the distinction between poetry and philosophy strictly such, or between the substance of a truth or doctrine and the form or symbol in which it is conveyed. It may be questioned, indeed, whether Plato himself meant to teach this doctrine as ordinarily understood, or whether its form is not a parable founded on the analogy, rather than identity, between our innate knowledge of certain primary truths, and that which we call reminiscence. Be this as it may, the sublime truth here taught, of the soul's true origin and destiny, its divine and celestial outfit, as it "cometh from afar;" for

> "Not in entire forgetfulness,
> And not in utter nakedness,
> But trailing clouds of glory do we come
> From God who is our home;"—

this high and true doctrine, accordant both with Scripture and divine philosophy, is one which cannot be too deeply pondered in these days of shallow empiricism and atheistic materialism. Immortality, which from a mere scientific stand-point, on the basis of natural law, is a dream or a delusion, is here seen to be but a return, with larger experience and expanded powers, to the country from whence we set out.

> "Hence in a season of calm weather,
> Though inland far we be,
> Our souls have sight of that immortal sea
> Which brought us hither,
> Can in a moment travel thither,
> And see the children sport upon the shore,
> And hear the mighty waters rolling evermore."

The man who has bathed his soul in the ocean waves of this immortal Ode, has received a spiritual baptism that will effectually save him from materialism and atheism; and he will be little likely to turn to the muddy slime of Darwinism to find the origin of man's being.

With such faith in the immortality and sacred dignity of man, we may expect Wordsworth to be a teacher of *reverence*—that lesson most needed to be learned in our times; for reverence with us has become a lost and almost forgotten virtue.

Reverence for the Past, whose wisdom is not wholly superseded by the science of to-day; reverence for Nature, who is somewhat older than we, and has some secrets and laws we have not yet discovered; reverence for Beauty, as the seal set by God on the perfection of his works; above all, reverence for Humanity in its lowest and humblest forms, as possessing even in its degradation the image of God; reverence for those human affections that sweeten and sanctify our life;—this is the spirit that breathes from every page, and almost every line, of Wordsworth. Take a single example from the many that might be cited:

> "Know that pride
> Howe'er disguised in its own majesty,
> Is littleness; that he who feels contempt
> For any living thing hath faculties
> Which he hath never used, that thought with him
> Is in its infancy. * * * Be wiser, thou!
> Instructed that true knowledge leads to love.
> True dignity abides with him alone
> Who in the silent hour of inward thought
> Can still suspect, and still revere himself,
> In lowliness of heart."

The high *moral* tone of his poetry is felt like an invigorating breeze blowing from his own mountains, in contrast with the heated and often miasmatic air that breathes from some of our modern poets. There is one poem that combines and concentrates this moral tone with a force and beauty that is without a parallel in literature, viz: his immortal *Ode to Duty*, which Mr. Hutton has pronounced "one of the sublimest poems of our language." We scarcely know of a more healthful tonic for a young person to take, with which to brace his moral nature, as well as to enrich his memory. This is one of the last subjects which a mere sentimental poet would think of treating. We are apt to think of Duty as a stern taskmaster, whose countenance is anything but fair, and whose menacing rod is a thing of terror and not of beauty. In the conception of the poet, this "Stern Daughter of the Voice of God" is transformed into a benignant and celestial power, the friend and helper of man, who brings strength and victory and peace, and so true freedom, who

"From vain temptations doth set free,
And calms the weary strife of frail humanity."

The sublimest strain is reached when the poet transfers, in the transport of imagination, the law of moral to physical natures, and contemplates the same law and bond of Duty as holding the spheres in their orbits, and so "preserving the stars from wrong," as keeping the heavens themselves fresh and strong by its inspiring might.

"Stern Lawgiver! Yet thou dost wear
The Godhead's most benignant grace,
Nor know we anything so fair
As is the smile upon thy face.
Flowers laugh before thee on their beds,
And fragrance in thy footing treads.
Thou dost preserve the stars from wrong,
And the most ancient heavens through thee are fresh and strong."

It has sometimes been objected to Wordsworth's poetry, that while it is full of natural religion it is lacking in the Christian and evangelical spirit, at least in the distinctive truths of the Christian faith. He has also been accused of pantheism in his views of God and Nature. But the student of his writings will find that the God whom he recognized as breathing through the natural universe, and whose presence he felt as "something far more deeply interfused," was to him no mere diffused essence without personality or love, but the Father of all, never for a moment lost in his own works, but an indwelling Spirit, kindred to his own, and with whom he held spiritual communion. His pantheism is that of the inspired writers who conceived of God as the immanent life and moving power of all things, "in whom we live and move and have our being." If he makes Nature the medium of his communion with God, rather than those theological conceptions and phrases in which religious thought and feeling is more wont to be expressed, it is because it is a more *real* language, one, too, sanctioned by such poets and holy men as Moses and David in their sublime odes and psalms, which are full of the glory and presence of God in nature. That Wordsworth did find in nature a medium of real and immediate communion with God, we have proof in many passages of his poetry. Lovers of Wordsworth will recall that fine passage in the "Excursion," already alluded to,

descriptive of sunrise as seen from a mountain summit, where the sublime spectacle awakens emotions that rise into the highest rapture of religious ecstasy.

> "In such access of mind, in such high hour
> Of visitation from the living God,
> Thought was not; in enjoyment it expired.
> No thanks he breathed, he proffer'd no request;
> Rapt into still communion that transcends
> The imperfect offices of prayer and praise,
> His mind was a thanksgiving to the Power
> That made him; it was blessedness and love."

At the same time, we do not find in his poetry the distinctive teachings and truths of Christianity, for Nature does not teach these truths. The religion of Nature is no equivalent of Christianity, and can be no true substitute for it. Although the God revealed in Nature and in Christ is the same being, Nature is no Gospel; it does not reveal the *love* of God in a way to lead to repentance and reconciliation. This Christianity alone does through the incarnation and the cross. Yet to one already reconciled and brought into union with God through Christ, Nature presents a revelation, and a medium of communion and of worship which is even needful for the health and growth of the soul, and the perfection of its religious as well as intellectual culture. The defect of this is seen in the too exclusively scholastic type of religion and theology which prevails; in the rationalism that pervades even our most orthodox interpretations of Christian doctrine; and in the almost total divorce which exists between the teachings of the pulpit and those of Nature, while in the discourses of the Great Teacher the natural and the spiritual were constantly blended. We need less of logic and more of poetry, or poetic insight, in our religious conceptions. A little more of this religion of Nature, such as may be learned from Wordsworth, combined with that of the church and the prayer-meeting, would enlarge and enrich not only our theology but our whole religious life, and especially our *charity*, our reverence and our sympathy with all that lives. As Coleridge has beautifully said:

> "He prayeth best who loveth best
> All things both great and small;
> For the dear God who loveth us
> He made and loveth all."

We feel, in concluding this brief tribute, that we have very imperfectly rendered account of the many lessons of spiritual truth and wisdom learned years ago by the study of this great poet. What these have been to us in the formative period of thought and character, the help, delight, inspiration and solace they have afforded in after years, cannot be communicated. Most of these lessons are too deep and subtle to be conveyed in words, but must be learned at the feet of this great Teacher by long and intimate communion with his spirit, even as he himself learned them by communion with the heart and spirit of Nature; by reverently listening to those voices with which she speaks not to the ear, but to the soul and spirit of man.

We would earnestly entreat the young, whose intellectual and moral tastes are in the process of formation, not only to read, but to study, and become familiar with this great intellectual and moral poet, who has been fitly styled, 'Friend of the wise and Teacher of the good.' "The careful and reverential study of Wordsworth," it has been truly said, "is in itself a moral and intellectual education of a very high order." We know of no better antidote to counteract the shallow and corrupting sensationalism and materialism of the day, by awakening reflection, reverence and faith; by opening those nether springs within the soul whence issues all that is noble and pure and worthy in human life and human character. A mind filled with such treasures of thought and sentiment as Wordsworth brings, an imagination chastened and purified by such imagery as he presents, and a communion with Nature such as he alone of all poets holds and teaches, will be the surest safeguard against moral corruption and intellectual prostitution, and will tend in these days of unbelief to keep alive and to strengthen our faith in God and humanity.

As a spiritual teacher, then, we think we have shown that Wordsworth has not transcended, but fulfilled the true end of poetry, which is identical with that of the prophet—to be first of all the *seer*, and then the *revealer* in language befitting their dignity, of moral and spiritual truth, ideal and divine realities, of things unseen and eternal. As one of the latest and best of English critics has said: "In the world of Nature, to be a revealer of things hidden, the sanctifier of things common, the

interpreter of new and unsuspected relations, the opener of another sense in men; in the moral world to be the teacher of truths hitherto neglected or unobserved, the awakener of men's hearts to the solemnities that encompass them, deepening our reverence for the essential soul, apart from accident and circumstance, making us feel more truly, more tenderly, more profoundly, lifting the thoughts upward through the shows of time to that which is permanent and eternal, and bringing down on the transitory things of eye and ear some shadow of the eternal, till we

> "Feel through all this fleshly dress
> Bright shoots of everlastingness"—

this is the office which he will not cease to fulfil, as long as the English language lasts."

HENRY M. GOODWIN.

ARTICLE II.—PROFIT-SHARING AS A METHOD OF REMUNERATING LABOR.

SOME LIMITATIONS TO BE CONSIDERED.

COÖPERATION and profit-sharing are the two expedients by which it is now most often proposed to avoid undesirable antagonism between the employer and the employed, or, as it is commonly phrased, between Capital and Labor.

Coöperation, although by no means the panacea which its more ardent advocates would have us believe, has this much in its favor, that when it is properly organized it is a legitimate and logical method of conducting business enterprizes. It is then simply the contribution of the small savings of persons of moderate means to a fund which forms the capital for a business undertaking, in the prosecution of which the contributors may or may not be themselves employed. If the business is one of production, as manufacturing, the contributors to the capital are expected to be the employees of their own establishment. If the business is one of distribution, as in the case of coöperative stores, they are not employees, but are expected to be purchasers. In the one case, in addition to such ordinary wages as their skill entitles them to receive, they also receive a share of such profits as may result, proportioned to the amount of their contribution to capital. In the other case they expect to reap their advantage partly in the form of profits on their investment, and partly in the way of purchases of what they need, at prices somewhat lower than the prevailing market rates. The only question then of importance to be considered in regard to coöperation is, can the contributors afford to take the risks of the business? And the success of the undertaking depends on the ability of the management, and on the chances which attach to all business enterprises, and is subject in all respects to ordinary business laws.

I know of no better example of a legal provision for true coöperation than the Joint Stock law of Connecticut

which was framed with special reference to men of moderate means, the shares being allowed (and by the law as originally framed, required) to be but $25 each. Under this law coöperative enterprises have been conducted in Connecticut for fifty years and with as much success as they can expect to attain under any circumstances. In England, where the idea a few years since was a novel one, some experiments having met with rather marked success, the people were led to believe that they had at length discovered the philosopher's stone, and a glamour was thrown over the whole subject which has been reflected on this side of the Atlantic, and has bewildered the vision of many good but inexperienced people who did not appreciate that they had long had at their own doors, and in active operation, a legalized system combining all the advantages of this new-found English scheme.

Profit-sharing proposes to pay the laborer by giving him: first, a stipulated fixed sum as wages, and second, a proportion of the profits of the business in which his employer is engaged in addition to his fixed wages.

The advantages of this system are supposed to be: 1. That the laborer will be better paid. 2. That being interested in, and partly dependent on, the pecuniary success of the business about which he is employed, he will therefore be a better and more faithful workman. 3. That on this account his employer can afford to pay him more. 4. That, as anything which he gets beyond his fixed wages is paid out of profits and in proportion to profits, therefore his employer can well afford this extra compensation. 5. That it cultivates friendly relations between the employer and the employed. 6. That it increases industry and stimulates self-respect in the workingmen.

The first thing we note is that the scheme is based on the assumption that the workingman is now underpaid. We will not therefore discuss this question, but, admitting the assumption, the inquiry is whether this is the best way, or, at any rate, a fairly good way, to raise the standard of wages.

The second point is, that, being interested in the pecuniary success of the business, the employee will be a better and more faithful workman. This is one of the strong points with the advocates of the system, and, *a priori*, seems sensible and

reasonable. It is a matter not susceptible of demonstration, and in regard to which we cannot resort to statistics. I can only say that from my experience and from my knowledge of the experience of others, I have not much confidence in the theory that because the workman has this small pecuniary interest in the result he will therefore be a better workman. The connection in his mind seems to be too indirect, if not too slight, to produce any such result. A workman of any energy and ambition is far more likely to be influenced by a desire for success and a sense of success in the immediate result of his work; a good tool; a well-finished product; a successful manipulation of any kind, which shows at once for itself; and a word of praise, a feeling of loyalty, or the *esprit du corps* of his class will go much farther in stimulating and in compensating effort than any feeling that his daily work will at the year's end slightly enhance his wages. Even small stockholders in a corporation have not been found to be, on that account, any more desirable as workmen, or to have the success of the business any more at heart. A right to grumble and find fault or an endeavor to use their position in some indirect way, for their advantage is far more likely to be the result. Workmen as a rule when well treated, and especially American workmen, I have found to be a faithful and loyal set of people. And with them I have no fault to find. But I wish to put the thing precisely as it is, neither exaggerate nor set down aught in malice, and the result of my observation is that I would not give one penny more for a man as a workman simply because he had a slight pecuniary interest in the profit accruing to me, as the result of his labors.

There is an enthusiasm and an interest which may be aroused among any organized body of men, by a leader or a manager who has a genius for it, that is of the greatest possible value in any enterprise the success of which depends upon the combined effort of numbers, whether it be storming a fortress or running a factory. The basis of this is very largely that power of sympathy which we call magnetism, combined with a certain will power, which makes a man a leader. And the man of enthusiastic temperament and ready sympathy who would try profit sharing as an experiment would also be likely to be

a man who would have this sort of power, and would be led to attribute results to his profit-sharing scheme which were really wholly due to other causes. To my mind this accounts largely for those rose-colored reports which we occasionally get of the success of experiments of this kind.

As to the pecuniary advantage to be derived by the workman himself. The reasoning in favor of the value of the plan in this respect seems usually to proceed on the assumption that all business undertakings are profitable. We know, when brought face to face with this statement, that it is not so. But the extent to which it is not so, and the importance of it to this subject, is I fancy very much lost sight of, or greatly disregarded as an element to be considered in judging the value of this method of remuneration.

A few statistics bearing on the subject may not be amiss. There are in the State of Connecticut twenty-three or twenty-four railroads. Now if we except a few that for reasons of policy have been leased by stronger roads, there are not more than four or five that are paying dividends to holders of the original stock. Now profit-sharing on the other nineteen, or say four-fifths of the whole, as a method of getting workman's wages would have been a very poor investment for the workman. Again, when in 1880, the joint stock law of Connecticut was revised, twelve hundred corporations were wiped out of existence at one time, because they had utterly failed to answer the hopes of their projectors, and had ceased to do business. How many non-corporate experiments showing failures of a similar sort this may represent we have no means to determine; but the corporate ones must be only a small portion of the whole.

If I remember rightly the commercial reports give us an average of about two hundred failures for each week in the year; and these are bankruptcies where the business has come to an end, and are probably only a tithe of those that struggle on in a precarious existence without profit, waiting for something to turn up to save them from bankruptcy. Can the laborer wisely afford to take these risks? If any one says we do not mean that the laborer shall get any less regular wages, but shall receive an addition thereto by sharing in the profits, that reasoning seems to me fallacious. For while I do not put full

faith in *laissez-faire*, and think it worth while to make an effort that every man should get his just due, yet, the fact remains that, on the whole, supply and demand and competition will regulate the price of all things, labor included, no matter how you may try to measure it. And again, I regard the moral influence of a system whose tendency is to make the remuneration irregular and uncertain, as it must be under this system, as very bad. If the workman succeeds in getting for a time extra pay he will be very sure to gauge his expenses by his hopes and will form habits of expenditure that can only be shaken off by pain and self-denial, and will be much more likely not to be shaken off at all. It seems to me that what the workman needs above all things for his moral and financial good is a definite price and a certainty of getting it.

Suppose you are hiring a workman. He says, what wages do you offer? You say, $50 a month, and such a proportion of net profits. He very naturally asks, what will that be? Well, last year it was 3 per cent. on wages; year before 10 per cent. Year before that, nothing. Can't tell till the year is through. You take your chance with the rest of us. Now, if he is a sensible man, and has had a little experience, he will say, "Add 5 per cent. to the wages and say nothing about the profits." This makes the wages a fixed sum and we come back to the old method.

In these days of excitement, when walking delegates infest the earth and men's heads are turned on the labor question, employers will fall in with popular whims to avoid strikes and other troubles, and by adopting profit-sharing or other popular devices, may succeed in doing so to their advantage; but these are temporary expedients and are not founded in business laws.

It may be said that experiments of this sort have been successful. Doubtless this is so; but before measuring their value, as determining principles, we must endeavor to eliminate the personal equation. I once knew a school teacher, a man of remarkable success in his profession. His influence over his scholars and under-teachers was almost unbounded. "There is but one rule here," he used to say to them, "and that one is not a rule but an exception. It is this: In this school there

are no rules." Another favorite remark was: "We use text books here because they help to measure our work and keep us together, and they save some trouble, and besides, it is the fashion. But I hope no one puts much confidence in them. They are full of mistakes, and you have to be all the while on the watch."

Now that man's personal influence was so great and the atmosphere of neatness and order which he induced so pervading that the pupils and under-teachers would pick up chance scraps of paper from the school room floor and put them in their pockets lest he should see them, or because they had themselves become unable to endure any infraction of the general order which prevailed. But who would recommend this system, or lack of system, for general adoption, or how many teachers if they tried could make it work successfully? It might be an inspiration or a suggestion of value, but not a method.

The case of that very worthy Frenchman, Edmond Leclaire, which has been so often quoted to show the benefit of profit sharing, is a perfect illustration of mistaking the power of personal influence for the effect of a system. This was the case of a man prosecuting a business very simple in its nature, giving up his life with enthusiasm to a mingling of sentiment, business, philanthropy, and charity, able to impress his own will and methods on all about him, a sort of benevolent business despot who amused his people by letting them play at self-government while he really held the reins. A man so actuated, and so acting, could work out results highly praiseworthy in many respects, but of no value what ever as permanent and universal methods of business administration.

It is a most excellent thing to induce workmen to practice economy, to learn temperance and to cultivate thrift; to have libraries and burial clubs and night schools and savings banks, and debating societies and private theatricals and church suppers; but that whole subject belongs to the domain of philanthropy or Christianity, or sociology, and has only a loose and indefinite relation to questions of work and wages.

If the plan of profit-sharing has the merit which some have supposed, it is destined to become general, or it should be; and

we must try to look at it as it would be if it were universal and legal and compulsory, at least to this extent, that when the workman was to receive a share of profit as a part of his wages he should have the power to enforce the demand. This must be a necessary part of the scheme, otherwise the profit-sharing becomes mere almsgiving. A Christmas turkey presented to a workmen at the end of a profitable year is a very excellent thing but it is not profit-sharing; and yet I think many people regard the two as being precisely the same in principle. Now, suppose the plan of profit-sharing to be universal, and it simply comes to this, that it is an attempt to raise the wages of the country by a method which introduces an element having an interest strongly antagonistic to that of the business itself. The prime interest of the one being strength, permanency and growth, while the interest of the other is to abstract each year the largest possible portion of earnings. It may be said that this is always virtually the relative position of employer and employed; but here, when as I am supposing, the system has been legalized, we have an interest coupled with a power; an element of annoyance, disturbance and positive danger; a lever for the demagogue, an opportunity for the business rival, a harvest ripe for the sickle of the pettifogger. And, so far as the workman is concerned, it offers him a remuneration not according to his industry or his ability or his deserts, but according to the success in business of the person or corporation which employs him; a condition of things as it seems to me likely to be fatal to all our old fashioned notions of loyalty and to place both workman and wages on a speculative basis.

When, too, this method of remuneration becomes general it becomes by universal law subject to the same conflicts, competitions, fluctuations and diminutions that attach to the present system of wages, and in obedience to these laws the amount paid as wages, as a whole, will settle down upon the same scale of proportion to production as would obtain under the ordinary method.

There is considerable difficulty in treating this question satisfactorily in the form of an essay. This grows out of the fact that the objections to the scheme are largely, in fact, mainly, of a practical character, and have to do with matters of

detail in business management. Sentiment and rhetoric are pleasing to our ears, while arithmetic, bookkeeping, legal problems and the investigations of the minute details of business generally are dry and wearisome, and in short, make us tired. Yet in order to understand the probable effect of the application of any untried system we must imagine so far as is possible all the situations which will grow out of it and endeavor to anticipate their arithmetical, financial, and legal results.

In a small way, where very few parties are concerned and the nature of the business is simple, profit-sharing may be adopted with success. As for instance in the common case of raising crops on shares. Here there can be no deterioration of plant, and in fact the capitalist really agrees to receive part of the product as a rent.

It is not very infrequent to employ a salesman or other agent where an interest in profits constitutes a part of his compensation, and these cases are cited as a proof of the practicability of profit-sharing. It is, however, usual in such cases to fix by contract some arbitrary method of estimating profits which relieves the subject of some of its embarrassments, and even then it is not free from difficulty and is usually only adopted to avoid a strike or something akin to it, or to reward special skill.

Humanly speaking, it is impossible to lay down a rule for the estimation of profits in a complicated manufacturing business which would be likely to be accepted by those who were endeavoring to carry on and build up the business and also by those who, without having any other interest, looked to a participation in the profits as a method of payment for their labor. So long as the parties interested in the business all have the same kind of interest, that is as stockholders or partners, each in proportion to his investment, differences may be waived and difficulties bridged over and a certain amount of patience and hopefulness exercised, in the feeling that all are sharing alike, but so soon as you introduce this foreign element by which the workman regards the profit as a fund in part belonging to him, you lay the foundation for infinite trouble. It is not altogether easy to explain exhaustively in general terms why this should be so, especially to persons who have had no experience in the

conduct of complicated business, but I think I would feel pretty sure of assent to my proposition from any one who had.

Let us take the case of a woolen mill working on goods designed for spring garments. It has a capital of $200,000, $100,000 is invested in plant. It can produce $400,000 worth of goods in a year, and must do so to work profitably. These goods must all be sold within a few weeks time in the fall. During all the rest of the year the mill is running and accumulating the goods. The commission merchant or selling agent in the city has stored the goods in a warehouse and the labor and material have been paid for by drawing drafts against the goods which are accepted by the agent and discounted by banks. The fiscal year of the mill ends in July. Eight or nine months' production are on hand. Now, no one can tell at what price these goods will sell or even whether they may not have to be carried over to another season, with a heavy interest account running against them. The mill manager will make up its accounts, putting in these goods at such a price as he thinks prudent, perhaps at cost, perhaps at the price he thinks they will bring. This is merely for the purpose of accounting. The risk is not over yet, and any assumed profit is speculative, but so long as no dividends are paid from these earnings and only stockholders are interested, no one is wronged. But now by the terms of the bargain the workmen are absolutely entitled in law to their proportion of these profits. They have finished their year's labor and they want their reward. Here is material for difference of opinion, for litigation, for ruin.

This is only one sample from an endless variety. Take another. A mill takes out an old engine—only worth its weight for old iron when once out—say $300, and puts in a new one costing $10,000. This was a necessity, because the old one was wearing out and in danger of giving out. Yet it has run the mill. The new one can do no more. The earning power is no greater. Common business sense says, charge this new engine to repairs. This is what would ordinarily be done; but that will take $10,000, or at least $9,700, out of profit account for that year. The workman says, is it right that I should pay with my wages of this year for a new engine which

will last for eight or ten years? And, viewed from his standpoint, he has reason in his question. Yet it is doubtful whether from the manager's point of view a single penny of that cost should appear in profit. He cannot afford to pay his stockholder nor his workmen for the privilege of putting in a new engine, for he knows that system of bookkeeping would end in grief.

Every manufacturer understands that when he builds his plant and when he buys or makes a new tool or machine, he to a large extent sinks the cost of what he thus invests. Except for the one purpose for which it is designed it is almost, and in many instances entirely, worthless. Any failure of success therefore involves substantially the loss of all that he has invested. He makes allowance for this, and his earliest profits under sound management will be used to make good that risk by charging off a liberal portion of his investment to profit and loss.

This is the usual course in a new business and the course dictated by prudence. But this would be in direct opposition to the interest of the profit-sharing workman.

Suppose again that on the last day of the year an establishment is destroyed by fire. It is insured for three quarters of its value, but the one quarter loss more than wipes out all the profit of the year. What are the rights of the workman? Then there is the question of allowance for bad debts and contingent losses, and many others of a similar nature. But I think I have said enough to indicate where the trouble lies. The special instances every one of experience can furnish for himself.

That there is something fascinating in the idea that the laborer shall share in the profits of his work is not to be denied. That there are cases where it can be safely done is also true; but that as a general method of regulating wages, or a safe, successful, or satisfactory plan of general application to the conduct of business, it has any considerable merit, seems to me chimerical.

We all know how much there is in the "art of putting things." We sometimes get an altogether new and unexpected light by a slight variation in the form of statement. The Sul-

tan in the story beheaded the unfortunate vizier who interpreted his dream to mean that he should die before his sons, while he rewarded with gifts him who interpreted it that his sons should flourish in splendor after he had gone to his rest.

Let us try a little change of statement in the profit-sharing problem. Suppose instead of saying that the workman shall have his wages and a portion of the profit, we say, he shall have his wages unless there is a loss, in which case he shall suffer a proportionate deduction. How many subscribers would you find to that theory. You see the hardship of it at once. And yet, if there is any such thing as a wage fund or a point towards which the price of labor gravitates, what else is this scheme of profit sharing, put it how you will, than that the workman's wages, maximum and minimum, depend on the success of the business. The *raison d'etre* of profit-sharing is that in some way the workman should get higher wages because they are rightfully his; because he earns them. The added portion is as much his by right as the fixed portion; otherwise it is charity. And the operation of natural laws in case of the general adoption of any such plan would so regulate prices that in the cost of living the increment would be reckoned with the original sum as a part of the wages due; and yet profit-sharing proposes that he shall lose a part of this, his lawful due, unless his employer so manages his business as to make enough to pay him in full out of a portion of the profits. No body of workingmen could safely take the risks of such a system, nor would they when they once saw clearly where it led.

The practical difficulty in the application of profit-sharing to anything more than a very limited number of business operations consists in the fact that it introduces two sets of people, both interested in the profits, but whose interests are of a very diverse nature. Only one party is interested in the preservation of the capital. Only one party is interested in such a way that it can afford to submit to any present deprivation for the sake of future advantage, or at any rate will be likely to see the advantage of such submission. Yet this is frequently a matter of vital importance. And because their interests are diverse, one party will naturally be jealous and suspicious of

the other, and discord will ensue. So long as the workman is earning more than his neighbors he will be pleased and happy. If he receives less, which in any general application of the theory must frequently happen, he will be discontented. And it must never be lost sight of in all considerations of this sort that only a moderate proportion of business undertakings are successful.

I began with admitting the assumption, for the purpose of the present paper, that our workingmen were underpaid. Whether this is *true* or not is an interesting and important question, but wholly aside from the one herein discussed, which is simply whether profit-sharing is a practicable and desirable method of increasing wages. When, however, one reads the elaborate statistics of Mr. Edward Atkinson, showing that a day's work will buy more to-day than almost ever before in the history of the world, in which I believe his conclusions to be correct, although his methods have been criticized; when one notes the lavish extravagance in dress of our shop-girls and domestic servants; when we remember that patches, those homely evidences of domestic thrift, are now a matter of history, and that our laboring people have bought their clothing ready made and thrown it aside when it needed mending until the use of the needle is almost a lost art among them; when we see every species of amusement supported by funds drawn from the working people, and when we further reflect that a large majority of the great capitalists of to-day were twenty and twenty-five years ago working for less wages per diem than the common day laborer is earning to-day; and, furthermore, when we find that complaints of wages do not come from the industrious and prudent class but from the lazy and shiftless, have we not reason to suspect that there are other factors besides the amount of wages in the problem of success. Our working people see and desire and envy the result, but they wish to get it without the exertion and self-denial by which it has been achieved. They want the chestnuts of success, but they have no notion of burning their fingers at the fire of exertion.

The problem with the workman or workwoman of to-day seems very largely to be how to render the least possible service and get the greatest possible pay.

I saw not long ago three men take hold of a bench of some weight to move it. It did not stir. They looked at each other. It was too much. They laughed. "Did ye lift?" says one. "Not a hap'orth," says the other. "Nayther did I," says the third. "Now, let's lift," says one. So they lifted and the bench was moved. This is modern labor. On the other hand I look back to the early days of manufacturing in New England, and I am old enough to remember before the times had changed, when our workmen and workwomen were our native born population. When the manufacturer, if his credit was good enough, frequently borrowed his capital from the man whom he hired as a workman, who preferred his fixed day's wages to the risks of business, but was very glad that some one else was willing to take that risk and to give him employment and interest for his money. When strikes and strikers would have been scouted with contempt, when the workman was a man, or a woman, as the case might be, who had his own plans for the present and the future, who lived in his own house and knew what to do with his money. He had read in Poor Richard's Almanac, "Spend one penny less each day than thy clear gains," and he saw the point of it. Where are these men now? They and their sons are the capitalists and financiers and bankers and merchants and clergymen and professors and lawyers and doctors of to-day, and the women are their wives and mothers. And what had they that the present generation of laborers lack? Only three things, and they are these: Industry, Honesty, Thrift.

FREDERICK J. KINGSBURY.

ARTICLE III.—PATRICK HENRY.

Patrick Henry. By MOSES COIT TYLER. American Statesmen Series. 12mo., pp. 397. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co.

WHILE the name Patrick Henry is one of the best known of the names of those who were conspicuous in the epoch of the birth of the nation, the man Patrick Henry is one of the least known. No boy who gets a fair common school education fails to become acquainted with the speech which carries this bright glory from generation to generation, and every one keeps through life the conviction that his place is in the front rank of our patriots and orators. How many learn anything more of him, even so much as the salient facts that he was the author of the Virginia resolutions of 1765 which first embodied in authoritative expression the under-current of popular sentiment in the colonies regarding the motive of the Stamp Act; that he was six times chosen Governor of Virginia; that he was a lawyer of such standing that he was offered by Washington the place of Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States; that the same discriminating judge of men earnestly besought him to accept the position of Secretary of State in his cabinet; that President John Adams appointed him one of the three Envoys Extraordinary and Ministers Plenipotentiary to the French Republic "with full powers to discuss and settle, by a treaty, all controversies between the United States and France," at a critical juncture when wisdom and discretion of the highest order were requisite? Besides those who for some reason have made a special study of the events of the time in which he lived, very few, we venture to think, of the vast number of admirers of Patrick Henry's great speech can tell so much of his career. And the number is still fewer of those who can give any full account of the course and incidents of his life, the quality of his genius and the traits of his character.

The information of most Americans on this subject is summed up in the knowledge, scant in its scope, but ineffaceably impressed, that he was an eloquent patriot of Virginia who made one tremendous incendiary speech in behalf of armed resistance to Great Britain's aggressions on the rights of the colonies. The man who exclaimed: "I know not what course others may take, but as for me, give me liberty or give me death!" has a place in the admiration of all youth quite as high as that of him who wrote "We hold these truths to be self-evident that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty, and the pursuit of Happiness."

It is not difficult to account for the prevalent lack of information concerning Patrick Henry. In the first place the theatre of his action was the State of Virginia. He was a member of the first Continental Congress in 1774, and of the second in 1775; but almost immediately after the adjournment of the latter he was appointed by the Virginia Convention Commander-in-Chief of the military forces of the State, and on the 29th of June, 1776, six days before the signing of the Declaration of Independence, he was chosen the first Governor of Virginia, in which office he served three years. At the end of that period he was again elected to the Congress, but declined the duty, and afterwards could never be induced to engage in the public service away from Virginia. Thus it happened that he had but brief part in the great affairs which made the continental congress illustrious, nor ever had an office in the national service, although he might have had the highest in either the legislative or judicial department, and a place near the highest in the executive department. His fame therefore obtains no conspicuousness or extension on account of a pedestal of high office. That it extended during his life beyond the confines of the commonwealth in which he was born is due solely to the power and brilliancy of a genius that attracted attention from afar. In many respects his position and circumstances were analogous to those of the men who were Governors of States during the war of the rebellion, several of whom performed their part in a manner demonstrating their possession of the highest qualities of statesmanship, and an ardor of

devotion to the common cause not inferior to that shown on any broader field of national affairs. The "war governors" have been almost a distinct order among our public men ever since. Most of them have had under the national government careers of honorable service; but John A. Andrew, in respect of the limitations of his public service, and its quality also, resembles the eloquent Virginian of the earlier crisis of American patriotism.

Furthermore, it has been the misfortune of Patrick Henry that he has not, until now, been presented to the apprehension of the generations succeeding his own in a clear light. He was himself singularly indifferent regarding his fame, so far as it depended upon the painstaking care public men often take to preserve and transmit to those who come after them the material for a just understanding of their acts. He seems to have been one of those who are content to do their work from day to day without taking thought of the duty of perpetuating by their own care a true record of their part in affairs. His ambition does not appear to have been affected with distrust or jealousy. He shows no talent for insidious plotting in his own behalf, no habit of detraction. He died when Jefferson was in the mid course of his honors, and if he had any suspicion of that great man's industry in backbiting, of which there is now a sorry accumulation of evidence, doubtless he regarded it with defiant contempt, trusting in the friends who appreciated and loved him to save his memory from harm. Conscious—he must have been conscious—of his extraordinary power and success in oratory, there is no evidence of an effort on his part to preserve any more enduring record of his triumphs than is furnished by the meagre journals of assemblies of which he was a member, and the reports of entranced listeners. And so it happens that of the speeches of the most Demosthenic of American orators there is extant scarcely a fragment, perhaps not a line, which he wrote down either before or after their delivery.

One result of his indifference has been that all biographical attempts, until Professor Tyler undertook the task, have been pervaded by an uncertain and shadowy quality which left the reader much in doubt whether they were more akin to history or to myth. Mr. Wirts' Life of Henry had the advantages

and the disadvantages of being written, while many who were his active contemporaries in public life were still alive to give whatever information their recollection or their interest might prompt. There can be no question of Mr. Wirt's diligence or of his serious purpose to do justice,—no more question of these, than of the obvious fine writing with which in the paucity of definite and trustworthy information, parts of the work are padded out. How grossly he was misled in some cases, misled to the prejudice of his hero as well as of the truth, misled by those who ought to have known better and upon whose report he was justified in relying, Professor Tyler shows by indubitable proofs; but not in any wanton disparagement of Mr. Wirt's work, of which he says: "Anyone who will take the trouble to ascertain the enormous disadvantages under which Mr. Wirt wrote, and which, as we now know, gave him great discouragement, will be inclined to applaud him for making so good a book, rather than to blame him for not making a better one." Yet this was the first and the last authority in literature entitled to serious consideration as an account of Patrick Henry's character and career which his countrymen have had hitherto; and it was written seventy years ago. Recollecting what has been done in the interval for the fame of Henry's great contemporaries, for Washington, Jefferson, and Madison, for John Adams and Samuel Adams, not to mention others, it is not strange that the popular notions regarding him who was their worthy compeer, have become somewhat vague and dim.

If there has been long waiting for a just record, it is a compensating satisfaction to know that at last the work has been done in a fit and adequate manner. Professor Tyler has explored with patient industry, the accessible sources of knowledge. Not only has he searched the mass of published matter relating to the epoch of the revolution, but he has been generously assisted by the possessors of yet unprinted material concerning those times, and especially by the descendants of Patrick Henry. The information he has thus gathered is more than merely additional to what was known before. It reveals new conditions and features, confirms some opinions that were only conjectures and overturns judgments that were believed to

be founded on ample evidence. One closes the book with assurance that now he knows what sort of a man Patrick Henry was, and what is better, with assurance that whatever mystery or errors regarding him may have existed hitherto, he appears not inferior or weaker, but worthier and more heroic in the clearer light. The fuller truth brings no mortification for his admirers.

One just method of measuring great men is by what they actually achieve, not for themselves in the way of place or honors, but for their country and mankind, by wisdom and weight of influence. Let this test be applied to Patrick Henry's statesmanship.

In May, 1765, he was chosen a member of the House of Burgesses,—as the colonial legislative body of Virginia was called, —for the county of Louisa, to fill a vacancy. When he took his seat is not known. The first mention of his presence in the journal of the body is on the 20th of May. He had been in Williamsburg, then the capital, but twice previously, once five years before when he went to be examined for admission to the bar, and once earlier in the same session to argue an election case. He was a country lawyer with only a local practice, and could have known personally but few of his associates. It was in this same month that a copy of the Stamp Act was received in Virginia, and on the 29th of May, which was the 29th anniversary of his birthday, the House of Burgesses went into committee of the whole to consider what must be done. Whether the accustomed leaders of the body, many of them veterans and used to undisputed sway, had any definite purpose or plan does not appear. But as soon as the house was in committee this rustic novice in statecraft, without having consulted them, rose and offered a series of resolutions which he had written on the blank leaf of a law book, resolutions so defiant and uncompromising that their character, even more than the audacity of their author in presuming to offer them, shocked the sense of propriety of the group who expected to formulate and direct the action to be taken. Upon these resolutions there was a terrific debate protracted through two days, characterized, in the language of Jefferson, who listened in the lobby, by "torrents of sublime eloquence from Mr. Henry,"

and in which nearly every one of the veteran leaders of public opinion in Virginia opposed the new member with all their power and all their art. The result was the passage of five of the resolutions. On the afternoon of that day Mr. Henry mounted his horse and started for home. On the next day the old leaders reasserted their influence sufficiently to rescind one of the resolutions regarded as most dangerous; but the report of their passage was already on its way to the other colonies. These were the famous Virginia Resolutions, which greatly influenced the course of all the other colonies with reference to the Stamp Act.

From that date to the day of his death Patrick Henry, whenever he chose to do it, exercised a stronger influence in Virginia than any other citizen, and the occasions were rare when he did not bear down all opposition, no matter by what combination it was supported; nor was he other than first in his own party in any contest. There was scarcely an important conference had, or action taken, by the patriots of Virginia, from the time when he burst upon their astonished apprehension as a natural leader of men, in which he did not have a leading part. His counsel in deliberation about what ought to be done was not less highly esteemed than his advocacy of what had been agreed upon. In 1774 George Mason, who was a participant in the anxious conferences of the patriots at the time when the House of Burgesses was dissolved by the royal governor, wrote in a letter to Martin Cockburn: "He is by far the most powerful speaker I ever heard. . . . But his eloquence is the smallest part of his merit. He is, in my opinion, the first man upon this continent, as well in abilities as in public virtues."

The notion has obtained that in the continental congresses of which he was a member he did not figure as a man of capacity except in debate. This is due to misrepresentations of his conduct and standing by Mr. Wirt in his book, and Mr. Wirt's information was obtained directly from Jefferson. But Jefferson's opinion was not that of John Adams, who in a letter to Jefferson, written long after the occasion, said that "in the congress of 1774 there was not one member except Patrick Henry who appeared . . . sensible of the precipice, or rather the pin-

nacle, on which we stood, and had candor and courage enough to acknowledge it." The testimony of others and the journals of the body make it plain that Jefferson did less than justice to Henry in this particular. The list of important committees on which he served in either congress supplies convincing evidence that his associates regarded him as an eminently wise and practical man of affairs upon whom the severest drudgery of legislative business could safely be imposed. It always has been the the case, and probably it always will be the case, that men who have not the gift of eloquence are apt to comfort themselves with a notion that in other respects they are superior to the orator. Undoubtedly there are men whose only conspicuous usefulness is that of rhetorical declamation, as there are men whose usefulness is most conspicuous in closet councils, or in writing novels, or in making money, or in posing in drawing rooms; but some are intrusted with more than one talent, and know how to use all they have with advantage and honor. That Henry was merely an inspired rhetorician is a notion that may be consigned to the limbo where repose the notions that Cromwell was merely an ambitious hypocrite, and Washington a mediocre general and statesman who accomplished slowly and weakly things that were more honorable than difficult.

It was in the interval between the first and second congresses that Henry made his famous speech in support of his own resolutions for arming the Virginia militia. The second revolutionary convention of Virginia met on the 20th of March, 1775, and on the 23d Patrick Henry introduced the resolutions. They encountered a determined opposition, for what reason it has never been certainly discovered. The pretence that they were considered premature, when other colonies had already taken a similar course, and the congress had almost explicitly recommended it, does not seem adequate. In view of all the circumstances, Professor Tyler's inference, from an analysis of the situation, that the motive of the opposition was a combination of hostility on the part of older politicians to Henry's assumed leadership, and alarm at his manifest purpose to place Virginia in the attitude of abjuring all hope of a peaceful solution of existing difficulties, is not unreasonable. What he may have said when he brought forward the

resolutions is not known. The memorable speech was made in reply to those who opposed them, a formidable number, and decided their fate. Patrick Henry was chairman of the committee appointed in accordance with the resolutions to prepare a plan for organizing the militia, and among his associates were George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, and Richard Henry Lee. They reported on the following day, the 24th, and their report was adopted on the 25th. On the 27th the Convention adjourned. The next we hear of the orator he is Captain Henry, marching at the head of a large body of the Virginia militia to demand from Governor Dunmore the restitution of a quantity of powder that had been taken away from a colonial storehouse by him. The powder was not returned, but the Governor made haste to pay Captain Henry a satisfactory price for it. This affair happened not long after the Lexington affair in Massachusetts, and, although bloodless, it served the same purpose of precluding hope of a peaceable settlement with the mother country.

Thus it is clear that from the beginning Patrick Henry was a man of deeds, an originator of policies, an organizer of designs, a leader in action, a practical statesman, not merely an advocate and debater. What Jefferson said to Webster fifty years afterward: "After all, it must be allowed that he was our leader in the measures of the revolution in Virginia, and in that respect more is due to him than to any other person. He left us all behind," is much juster than the information he furnished to Mr. Wirt. It was natural that such a leader should be chosen the first Governor of Virginia under the constitution he had an important part in framing. This office he held by successive elections for three years, the first three years of the war, and as long as the constitution permitted it to be held by one person without an interval. There is abundant testimony to his efficiency as an executive and administrative officer, not the least important being the constant confidence and reliance of Washington; but a specific consideration of this period must be omitted here.

One action of his, coming within the scope of the test now being applied, should be brought into view if many others are passed by. This is his opposition to the adoption of the con-

stitution of the United States, as framed by the convention of 1787. It is unnecessary to discuss his motives. There can be no question that they were patriotic and honorable. Professor Tyler's consideration of this matter is candid and satisfying. He feared, as many others then feared, that the scope of powers lodged by that instrument in the national authority involved peril to liberty and to the rights of the people because, in the first place, there was no definite and express enunciation and reservation of rights, and, in the second place, recent notorious incidents indicated a disposition on the part of the Northern and more powerful section to yield to a foreign power control of the navigation of the Mississippi River, which was considered an oppressive and unjustifiable sacrifice of vital interests of the Southern people. Upon Patrick Henry devolved the leadership of the opposition in the convention. The debate lasted twenty-three days, and on each of eighteen days Henry made at least one speech, and on some days two and three. At the organization of the convention the friends of the constitution counted on a majority of 50 votes in a total of 170. At the end of the debate the constitution was adopted by a majority of but 10 votes, and this result was obtained only in connection with an express assertion of the understanding of Virginia that the State retained every power not expressly granted, and the passage of a resolution promising to recommend amendments to Congress. As soon as this action was accomplished Henry organized a campaign to elect members of Congress committed to favor a revision of the instrument. It must suffice to say that to the agitation which he prosecuted in Virginia and stimulated throughout the union is probably due the incorporation in the constitution of the ten amendments sometimes called "the constitution of 1789." The experience of a century has vindicated the wisdom of these express affirmations of State and individual rights, and likewise the sagacious statesmanship of those who insisted that such guarantees were essential for the public safety.

Another proper test of the greatness of a public man and the substantial quality of his influence is a consideration of the opposition he encounters. He who succeeds by the default or incapacity of opposition establishes no firm title to the possession

of transcendent power. Patrick Henry's triumphs were the rewards of conquering in hard battle opponents capable of contending on equal terms with the ablest in the land. There was no dearth of great men in Virginia when he maintained among them a confessed supremacy. In the House of Burgesses upon which he precipitated the resolutions on the Stamp Act, were Landon Carter, Richard Henry Lee, George Wythe, Edmund Pendleton, Benjamin Harrison, Richard Bland, and Peyton Randolph, the latter the King's attorney-general in the colony. Three of these names appear among the signatures to the Declaration of Independence, and all were at the earlier date distinguished and experienced in public life. Not one of them was privy to Henry's intention, and so far as is known none of them supported, while most, if not all, were actively hostile to, the resolutions when presented. George Johnson, member for Fairfax, alone is mentioned by Jefferson as Henry's supporter in the debate.

When, in the second Virginia convention, he introduced his resolutions looking to an immediate arming of the militia, and was met with determined opposition by able leaders of opinion, he was not the obscure country lawyer with whom they contended ten years previous. He was as well known, and had as secure a place in public esteem as any among them, but nevertheless they challenged his leadership and were overthrown in a battle which in parliamentary annals was as brilliant and decisive as Austerlitz in the annals of war.

And when he essayed to prevent the ratification by Virginia of the constitution of '87, he encountered tremendous odds. James Madison, whose solid judgment and luminous reasoning made him formidable in any assembly, with the fresh distinction of his ascendant influence in the congress of sages by whom the constitution was framed, was pitted against him, and Madison was powerfully aided by the brilliant John Marshall, afterwards the great Chief Justice. Almost every eminently able man in Virginia, Washington and Jefferson excepted, was in the convention, and most of them ranged on Madison's side. Jefferson, who sympathized in large degree with Henry's convictions, but, notwithstanding, favored adoption as a present policy, was in France. Washington, although

not a member of the convention, exerted his great influence zealously and diligently in behalf of ratification. Against this array of forces Henry, barely more than a third of the convention siding with him at the beginning, made his fight. How nearly alone he made it, is shown by the fact that in the official report of the debate his speeches occupy nearly a quarter of all the space. He did not succeed in preventing adoption, but he effected that the victory—the fortunate victory—of the constitution was by a narrow margin, and so conditioned as to secure subsequently the essential modifications he desired to secure in advance. So far as the struggle affords a criterion of the relative power of the contestants, the palm must be awarded to Patrick Henry. George Ticknor Curtis, in his "History of the Origin, Formation and Adoption of the Constitution of the United States," says: "There has been, I am aware, a modern scepticism concerning Patrick Henry's abilities, but I cannot share it. . . . The manner in which he carried on the opposition to the constitution in the convention of Virginia, for nearly a whole month, shows that he possessed other powers besides those of great natural eloquence."

Henry's hostility to the Constitution was in no factious temper, nor did it arise from essential hostility to the idea of Union. He believed in a Union and desired it; but it was not in his nature to welcome a form of Union which seemed to leave undefined and unsecured the rights, in vindication of which so much had been ventured and endured. Probably no debate over the Constitution which has since been had, exceeded in intensity of feeling and differences of profound conviction that of the Virginia Convention over its adoption. The culmination of the great controversy concerning slavery in the election of Abraham Lincoln hardly could have seemed more disastrous to the defeated party than did the adoption of the Constitution to Henry and his party. But with what a different spirit from that of the Southern leaders in 1860 he fronted the grievous fact! Just before the vote was taken when the party of victory were trembling lest, through the desperation of this mighty tribune, their triumph might bring the woe of a civil war as its consequence, he spoke magnanimous and majestic words: "I beg pardon of this house for

having taken up more time than came to my share, and I thank them for the patient and polite attention with which I have been heard. If I shall be in the minority, I shall have those painful sensations which arise from a conviction of being overpowered in a good cause. Yet I will be a peaceable citizen. My head, my hand, and my heart shall be at liberty to retrieve the loss of liberty, and remove the defects of that system in a constitutional way. I wish not to go to violence, but will wait with hopes that the spirit which predominated in the revolution is not yet gone, nor the cause of those who are attached to the revolution yet lost. I shall therefore patiently wait in expectation of seeing that government changed so as to be compatible with the safety, liberty, and happiness of the people."

Nor should it be forgotten that after the adoption of the amendments of '89, he ceased utterly from any designs of hostility and from disparagements. From his retreat in Virginia he watched with dignified and hopeful interest, and with constantly growing confidence, the operation and development of the new government under Washington's guiding hand. When Jefferson was covertly preparing and openly encouraging embarrassments that imperiled success, and when, afterwards, he was secretly intriguing in behalf of that destructive interpretation of the Constitution embodied in the Virginia and Kentucky resolutions of 1798, sowing the seeds of frightful strife, dragon's teeth which ultimately sprang up armed men, Patrick Henry was giving loyal support to the administration and the Union in unwavering fidelity to his expressed intention. To him Washington earnestly appealed, representing the necessity, in the condition of public affairs, that he should re-enter public life in order to withstand and thwart the machination of the Jeffersonian party. "Your weight of character and influence in the house of representatives," wrote Washington, referring to the Virginia legislature, "would be a bulwark against such dangerous sentiments as are delivered there at present." It was in the same letter, and referring to the same conduct, that Washington wrote that expression of profound prescience, the full significance of which we have since profoundly learned: "When measures are systematically and pertinaciously pursued, which must eventually dissolve the Union or produce coercion."

In this fecundation and laying of the baneful egg of secession, Henry had no share. On the contrary, in the last speech of his life, made in response to Washington's impressive appeal, and offering himself, an old man worn and suffering, as one willing to yield his remnant of life to his country's service, he maintained "that the State had quitted the sphere in which she had been placed by the Constitution, and, in daring to pronounce upon the validity of federal laws had gone out of her jurisdiction in a manner not warranted by any authority, and in the highest degree alarming to every considerate man; that such opposition on the part of Virginia to the acts of the general government must beget their enforcement by military power, and this would probably produce civil war."

In considering whether Patrick Henry possessed the qualities which place him in the rank of statesmen or was only an eloquent orator on the themes of statesmanship, it deserves to be remarked that he made little use of his extraordinary power of speech, except in the argument of cases at law or the grander argument of the cause of liberty, independence and public rights. He possessed and exercised his gift in strict subservience to his duties, something that the mere orator is hardly capable of doing. There is not in the entire record of his life, as known to us, an incident which suggests that he ever made a speech for display of his power, or on any topic not an immediate urgent question of serious consequence, in which there were other matters at stake than his own glory or advantage. He had no need to cultivate what is called stump-speaking, for he seems never to have desired any position as much as it was desired that he would accept it, unless his temporary military ambition may be considered an exception. Whoever was against him, the great body of the people of Virginia always were his admirers and never weary of showing their devotion. When he was not engaged in public duty or in the practice of his profession, he lived at a distance from the centers of public opinion and activity, remaining in remote seclusion for years together, cultivating his farm and enjoying the quiet pleasures of domestic life with serene contentment, and without sign of longing for the arenas of conflict, where he never appeared but to be

recognized as a leader and to augment his glory. Merely to court fame and feed the passion of ambition, he showed no more desire for opportunities to exercise his power over assemblies than Washington showed to exercise his talent for war. When the exigent call of duty had been satisfied, and the victory won, Freedom's sword of deliverance and Freedom's voice of thunder rested and rejoiced.

Of many phases of Patrick Henry's life and work, nothing is here said. No attempt is made to give a comprehensive view of the man, but simply to suggest, while calling attention to this fresh and valuable biography, some of his substantial and entirely valid, but almost forgotten, claims to be regarded and honored as a sound, sagacious, and accomplished statesman, endowed with extraordinary constructive and executive talents, which were exercised in a way that has made his permanent mark upon the organic fabric of our institutions, as well as an orator of marvelous power over the passions and sentiments of men. It should not be presumed from the one-sidedness of this presentation of a many-sided man that Professor Tyler's work has a similar quality. His method is large and just; his narrative is strong, full, engaging, and felicitous. It was a wanted service to the truth of history which he undertook, and he has produced an adequate, admirable picture, in which all the features of his subject are revealed with that combination of sincerity, appreciation and skill which makes a portrait to be itself the satisfying evidence of its fidelity.

WALTER ALLEN.

UNIVERSITY TOPICS.

THE ENGLISH BIBLE AND THE COLLEGE CURRICULUM.

It is the aim of the College to give a liberal education. A liberal education implies a disciplined mind—a mind energetic in its varied activity, freed from all prepossessions having no basis in reason, hospitable towards all truth, and largely intelligent concerning the life of mankind and the order of nature. To secure such education the college provides courses of study in several literatures, in mathematics, philosophy, history, politics, economics and in the different branches of natural science. That these studies are adapted to the end sought is evident from their nature and from experience.

The English Bible is the supreme book of the English speaking world, the most potent formative factor of modern civilization having literary form, and the inspiration of that intellectual life which creates and patronizes colleges. It is held in high esteem in all institutions of learning and in great degree moulds the philosophy taught in them, yet strange to say, is in very few of them taken up and studied—really *studied*—as are Plato, Cicero, and Horace. Doubtless the revelation it contains has gained for it its preëminence, and reverence for that has obscured the fact that this book, taken all in all, is the greatest intellectual production of all ages, and as such, is fitted to render high service in the liberal training of the human mind. Sir William Jones, the master of twenty-four languages and familiar with all the great literatures, was not an enthusiast, when he wrote, "Theological inquiries form no part of my present subject; but I cannot refrain from adding, that the collection of tracts which we call from their excellence the Scriptures, contain—independently of their divine origin—more true sublimity, more exquisite beauty, purer morality, more important history, and finer strains, both of poetry and

eloquence, than could be collected within the same compass, from all other books that have ever been composed in any age or any idiom." If this be half true, the Bible has adaptations unto intellectual training, the same in kind as the major part of the prescribed course of college study, mathematics and natural sciences aside, and has them in an extraordinary degree. It is accordingly the purpose of this article to indicate some of these adaptations and to show that the English Bible should be, by reason of them accorded a place in the curriculum of every institution of liberal learning.

In deference to a general sentiment, it may be well to premise, that the chief use of the Bible is to develop and foster, through the revelation which it contains, the religious life of men. But this is not a good reason why its secondary and very important uses should be set aside. It is a mistaken reverence which fears that the glory of the revelation will be obscured by a larger knowledge of the vehicle conveying it. Thorough, scholarly, exhaustive study of the Bible can only tend to confirm its truth and exalt its authority. There is no greater error than that "ignorance is the mother of devotion."

I. If a liberal education implies, as above suggested, a large intelligence, the college should give its students an intelligent conception of what the Bible is, or a conception worthy of an educated man. This involves intimate acquaintance with its contents, a knowledge of the origin and aim of the different books, and a rational theory of the scope and significance of the whole. In fact, the average graduate is without accurate and detailed knowledge of the contents of the Bible and has only a boy's notion of the nature of it. He has studied it little since he left the Sunday school at fifteen. He has advanced intellectually in all directions more than in this. College students are a picked company, coming from the best families and Sunday schools in the land, yet though always familiar with the Bible, it is the one thing on which they have expended no intellectual energy, and of which their knowledge is only an impenetrable haze. A professor of English Literature in one of our largest colleges tells of flooring ten members of the junior class in succession, upon a line of Dryden in which allusion was made to the touching words of Isaac, blind, perplexed, troubled and appealing for honest dealing, "the voice is Jacob's voice, but the hands are the hands of Esau." Not one of them knew of the incident. This ignorance is constantly dis-

played in classes of English Literature all over the land. The humiliating facts concerning students entering theological seminaries—and they are the more intelligent presumably—are too familiar to be repeated here.

As to the structure and nature of the Bible, there is even less known. A lawyer of good standing, a graduate, a leading member of a Christian church, said nothing annoyed him more than to have his children come home with passages of old testament narrative and history for their Sunday school lessons. Such a remark is possible only from dense ignorance of the relations of the Old Testament to the New. Another lawyer tells how his confidence in the Bible was well nigh destroyed, when told, years after graduation, that the authors of the different books had their special aims, and that the books retain their human characteristics. To him, as to many, inspiration has made mere automata of the writers, and the book was a fetich. For want of an intellectual view of the Bible, he came near losing his Bible altogether. These cases are typical of a large number. The fitness of things demands that there be an end of such ignorance. The community has rights worthy of respect. The Bible is held in too high esteem and society has in it too important a stake, to tolerate its disparagement by the ignorant and childish notions of men, who because they are supposed to be educated, have influence. Decency demands that intellectual men have an intellectual view of the Bible, and that college graduates have knowledge worthy of a college. Many come to feel this keenly. A prominent banker says, that when twenty-five years after graduation, he discovered what the Bible really is, he felt like denouncing his alma mater for neglect, and recommending the establishment of a chair of the English Bible, even if the Latin professorship should have to be abolished. This is only saying that it is more important that the college give young men a just view of the Bible than of the orations of Cicero.

II. The Bible is adapted to the work of college training because it contains *history* of unsurpassed value. The study of history, the study of events in their causal order, especially those events that have most largely contributed to human progress, is admitted to be essential to a liberal education. By this standard the Bible justly claims a leading place. Comparison of ancient literature shows that this book contains the traditions and records of the rise and expansion of the human race in their purest and

most rational form. After these we find the story of the most unique, and in some respects, the most remarkable nation of all ages. The Greek stands for philosophy, the Roman for law, and the Jew for religion. Is not the last entitled to equal consideration with the others? The value of the supremacy of moral ideas in the national life is the lesson of Jewish history. Can anything be more vital to men who are to have a part in shaping the social order of our time than intimate acquaintance with such a history? The rise and growth, the decline and dispersion of the nation, the more influential causes, the striking experiences, the great crises, the distinguished men and their services, these offer a rich mine for inquiry and are a store of wisdom for all times. The puerile notion that this history because primitive, is infantile, should be dissipated.

Bible history is especially important because it relates to the *introduction of Christianity.* The claims of Christianity upon men are not here under discussion, but it is here as an historic force, and how it got into the world and gained such ascendency is a question of deep intellectual interest. It can be answered only by learning how a nation was developed apparently for the purpose of introducing the new religion, and with a strange consciousness of that purpose. From this point of view, the people becomes one of intense and romantic interest, and of universal importance. Of equal interest is the process of establishing the institutions in which the great religion incorporated itself.

All this is of commanding importance because the movement inaugurating Christianity was *world-wide.* The invasion of the Roman empire by the northern barbarians, the founding of colonies on the shores of this continent, were only national in their immediate scope. What shall be said of a movement which starts and goes forward with the astounding purpose, openly avowed, to extend over and change the face of the whole world? Is any history more important for the educated man?

Further, it has claims because it is the key to all modern history. The historical student looks into the causes of things. No one can account for the world as it is without a study of this one great book. It has created Christendom out of barbarians. The nations that subjugated Rome were conquered by this book. It was a formative force of modern national life. It was the victor in the Lutheran reformation. It made its way through the

English revolution to supremacy in the Anglo-Saxon world. It is still reaching out to shape the rest of the nations. How can an educated man afford to be ignorant of it?

It is not too much to ask that an educated man shall have a just view of the nature of Christianity. Religion is a great fact in human life and history. There are many religions in the world and some adequate knowledge of them, and of their comparative value, belongs to an intelligent man. Christianity, as the foremost of them, demands the chief attention. It can be understood only when studied in its historical development and relations. In this lies another reason for the investigation of this history. Many seem to think Christianity to be a system of dogmas, others that it is a body of precepts. In truth a Person is waited for and appears, unfolding in word and deed his character and aims, until his helpful relations to men are fully set forth in living and wonderful facts. This done a new life is in the world and men are uplifted with new hopes and aims. So Christianity is an historic power to bring men into alliance with God. Only in its concrete relations and working will men see clearly its nature—see that while other religions are a law, this is a redemption. It is a weighty reason for the study of the history of the Bible, that by it alone can educated men get a clear insight into the nature of Christianity or an adequate view of its power. As a matter of training, what history, and in what direction can any history, be pursued more intellectually broadening and enriching than this?

III. The Bible has important relations to the prescribed studies of the college course in philosophy, ethics, and political science. Though it does not deal abstractly with principles, it has a philosophy of surpassing dignity, which no student can wisely ignore. At bottom, the fundamental questions of philosophy and theology are the same. The subject matter of both is God, man and the universe in their relations. According to Scripture, God is personal, spiritual, benevolent; in relation to the world, creator, righteous and supreme ruler; man is also spiritual and immortal, related to God in unavoidable intimacy, accountable to him and redeemable from sin unto a blessed divine fellowship; the universe is a realm for the beneficent activities and blessed experiences of spiritual beings. These simple and majestic answers to philosophical inquiries are brought forth in the Bible in the historical relations of living persons, in such a way as to make for

them a cogent argument. A sound philosophy finds in a studied Bible a powerful ally.

The *ethics* of the Scriptures are such that the instructor in moral science can not pass them by. Where can be found such lofty moral ideals? There are no subtle discussions but the profound inquiry into the nature of virtue seems to be satisfied in the comprehensive law, "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart and thy neighbor as thyself." In the various applications of this principle appears the whole round of human duty. For a clear statement of duties can anything compare with the ten commandments, the book of Proverbs, and the Sermon on the Mount? Yet the distinguishing feature of Biblical ethics is the luminous interpretation put upon doctrine and precept in the life and death of Jesus Christ. The law of love is not left to private construction but to the example of the cross, "That ye love one another as I have loved you." In degree of disinterestedness, this goes far beyond the common understanding of the golden rule. The scope too of the love required is so widened as to include enemies as well as friends. The teachings of Jesus enforced by his life are unique, in that he puts the emphasis so weightily upon duty to God, sets up a new standard of greatness, even childlikeness of character, and exalts the virtues concerned in enduring evil, rather than those of a more forceful nature which, like bravery, easily ally themselves with personal pride. It would seem that the study of ethics required for a liberal training would be incomplete without a clear knowledge of these teachings. They are recognized more or less in most systems of college instruction, but it may be doubted whether they can be mastered adequately except by their study in concrete form in the Bible itself.

The science of government is one of the subjects of college instruction. In its pursuit no one can well ignore the institutions of Moses. No man ever did for his people so varied, comprehensive and lasting a work as did he. He was their great deliverer and leader, their prophet and law-giver. The commonwealth which he founded endured nearly a thousand years. Comparatively limited in territory and population, it held its own against the mighty empires in the East and South with amazing spirit and success. No nation ever evinced a more passionate patriotism or made more heroic sacrifices for their country. Moses adopted political principles of universal application, but made such adaptations to the peculiar conditions of his own people as secured

unity of spirit and fostered an intelligent interest in the public welfare. Though the form of government changed, generally the popular voice found ready expression and regard, and individual rights were thoroughly protected. Statesmen have found these institutions a most valuable study, whatever form of government they have had to establish or administer. They are best understood from their actual working in Bible history.

IV. The Bible should have a place in the college curriculum because of its extraordinary quality and influence as a literary classic. Thus far we have treated the Bible as a source of knowledge. Literature proper embodies not merely knowledge but the results of it. It expresses, in forms more or less artistic, the thoughts and sentiments of the human soul in view of its knowledge and experience. It is fitted to awaken sympathy, stimulate thought, and shape conduct according to its own tenor. The study of literature is therefore one of the chief means of liberal training. Here is a reason for the study of Latin and Greek as well as for the establishment of chairs of English Literature in our colleges. The study of English Literature puts a young man into possession of the best thoughts, and into sympathy with the best tendencies of his time and so brings him into accord with his generation that he can influence it for good.

There are several reasons why the Bible is of exceptional value here. Its compositions are written from the highest point of view. They are an outlook upon the world from the Divine center. The Divine is always seen mingling in and controlling affairs. Again, the minds that write are in an exalted state of feeling and thought. "Holy men spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost." And again the book is the joint product of the Semitic and English mind.

That it is of Semitic origin gives it a peculiar claim. The few may study the Assyrian and Arabic, but the only access of most men to Semitic literature is in the Bible. And this is not unimportant. The ignoring of the Eastern nations and their literatures, which has obtained for centuries, is amazing. Yet it can be accounted for. After those races failed to gain supremacy in Europe, they passed away. They were hated and disparaged by their victorious enemies. To flatter the pride of his own people, Herodotus gave the Assyrian group of peoples very small standing place in his history. Greek and Roman alike fostered their own ignorance of the Semitic. Since the revival of learning in

the Middle Ages, universities have been dominated by Greek and Roman influence, and have transmitted Greek and Roman prejudices. Those two peoples among the ancients have monopolized the word classic. But we are discovering their injustice. Monuments and libraries have been unearthed in the Euphrates valley, and a literature is coming to light, having especially important relations to the Bible and of permanent value. Scholars are turning their eyes eastward with unanimous eagerness and expectancy.

Now the study of the Bible as a Semitic book has the same liberalizing influence as does so-called classical study. An American boy inherits certain elementary notions of life, of man, of society, and government. These peculiar ideas difference him from the rest of mankind and make him an American. But as such he is not an ideal man. He needs to be broadened and to take in more of human nature. When he studies the Greek literature, he imbibes the Greek conceptions and Greek spirit and is so far forth a Greek. His mind is carried beyond the limits of his American horizon, and he is liberalized. When from the Latin literature the Roman life and spirit are absorbed he is widened again. He is grown into a larger than the American type. Why now should not the Semitic literature be resorted to for a similar extension of the American boy's intellectual territory? The assumption that the Semitic is inferior must in all candor be denied. In all that makes literature great no collection of books in the Greek tongue can be made comparable to the Bible. We have Sir William Jones as authority for that. The Bible is the choice literature of a whole group of nations. The Semitic mind is here in all its distinctive peculiarities and power. The student finds here modes of conception and thought, of feeling and expression, more unlike his own than in the Latin and Greek, and for that reason more broadly liberalizing. He is led forth into a wholly new world. The Bible should be studied because it is a Semitic classic.

But turning from this, it should be studied because it is an English classic. Paradoxical as it may seem in view of what is above said, the Bible is the most thoroughly English book that we have. It embodies the characteristics of English life and thought more completely than any other. This for the reason that it has moulded English life and thought more than any other.

In the increasing attention given to the English literature, where can better models of any important variety of human composition be found than in the Bible. The stories which so charm the mind of childhood are worthy of study to ascertain the secret of their power. Who can tell anything better than the oldest book in the world tells the story of Joseph? The chapter recounting the incidents of Isaac's courtship has a fine delicacy, a graphic dignity, which the author of Miles Standish's courtship never attained. Its power is worth searching after. There is Judah's plea for Benjamin; how eloquent with filial and fraternal tenderness. How freely and impressively is narrated the history of Abraham's journeyings, and especially the story of his tender and reverent burial of Sarah. It was Goethe who pronounced the book of Ruth unequalled among idyllic compositions. For the forensic mind where are such arguments as in the pleadings of many of the prophets and in the epistles and discourses of Paul? There too, are the parables of our Lord, in their perfection of structure and simplicity, in their vividness and profundity altogether unapproached, illustrating the most effective methods of appealing to, and enlightening, the human mind. These may not be imitated, yet the union of profound insight with simplicity is a mighty protest against metaphysical obscurity and excessive elaboration in discourse. Contrast the conversations of Jesus with those of Socrates, the dialogue of the Phædo with interview of our Lord with the woman of Samaria. It is not contrast but similarity one finds between Ahab and Jezebel on the one hand, and Macbeth and his Lady on the other. The mourning of Andromache over Hector is a choice passage in the Iliad; how much more eloquent with grief the lament of David over Jonathan. The appeal of Macduff over his murdered family is not so overwhelming in pathos as the inconsolableness of David over the fall of his worst enemy, his rebellious son Absalom. Byron has immortal lines upon the desolation of ancient Rome, "the Niobe of nations," but for sorrowing utterance turn to the Lamentations of Jeremiah:

> "How doth the city sit solitary, that was full of people:
> How is she become a widow!
> She that was great among the nations, and princess among the provinces,
> How is she become tributary!
> She weepth sore in the night and her tears are on her cheeks:"

The loftiest poetry in the world is the poetry of the Bible. Its general theme is God, His character, His dealings with men in broad and universal aspects, His distribution of good and evil, and the various experience of men beneath His redemptive care. A sense of the Divine and Eternal is in all of it. Hence the deeper and grander sentiments of human nature are nowhere else so powerfully portrayed. The triumphant songs of Miriam and Deborah have a thrilling power not attained by the Marseillaise. Of Job, a sublime philosophical poem, Carlyle says, "there is nothing written I think, in the Bible or out of it, of equal literary merit." The best hymns of Watts and Wesley are tame compared with the psalms of David and his successors. The passion of the prophets is too intense and high for anything but the most majestic poetry. Such are the third chapter of Habbakuk, the last half of Isaiah, many brief passages in the minor prophets and the visions of the Apocalypse of John. It is waste of time to argue that these are as worthy of study and as profitable for literary purposes as the poems of Homer and Virgil.

This literature should be studied for its excellent English. The admirable article by Mr. T. W. Hunt, in the last issue of this periodical, suggests many important points, and may well be read again upon this branch of the subject. The process by which our English Bible has been brought, through successive versions to its present perfection, has gone on parallel with English history since the eighth century. Our version therefore is not the product of a single generation, but a growth that has gathered to itself the riches in forms of speech of many minds, and many generations of men. In Shakespeare the student finds the language of the dramatist's time, and that of the Bible, is often commended as being of the same important era. But it is more, it has the English of all English time. It is conceded that to know English one should study it in the different periods of its development; but he who studies the language of the Bible is face to face with the riches of all the periods. In times of the greatest intellectual activity, scholars have wrought upon the book and sought to make it intelligible to the common people. The facile nature of the original tongues, the elevation of the subject matter, the quality of the men, their practical purpose, have conspired to give us an English altogether superb. The subject of thought has compelled gravity and dignity; the stress of the times has promoted vigor and intensity; the scholarship of the translators

has insured purity, while their aim to reach the people has obliged clearness and simplicity. Hence, if a man would know his own tongue in its best estate, if he would learn to command it in the best manner, let him give his days and nights to the English Bible.

Not only for practical advantages must the book be studied, but for a scientific understanding of the nature and growth of the language as a whole. It holds a causal relation to the speech as it is. It has been the most influential factor in bringing the language to its present state of development. Successive translations have been the most widely read productions of their time. They have accustomed the people to good English and led them to use it. They have done much to secure fixity for the better elements of the language and to resist downward tendencies. This indebtedness of the language to the English Bible is the main point of the article already alluded to. It is suggested here to show that there can be no thorough study of the English language in college or anywhere, unless due account is made of the Bible as a causative force upon that language.

What is here said of the speech may also be said of the style of the biblical writings. Different writers have differences of style, but the same causes have operated to ennoble and perfect the style of each. Professor Phelps teaches that style should have the seven qualities of purity, precision, individuality, energy, perspicuity, elegance and naturalness. In the narratives and discourses, in the arguments and poetry of the scriptures, there are few passages in which these qualities may not be found in good and generally in high degree, and incident to the theme and the ardor of the writer there is prevalent a fullness and breadth of style, a loftiness and freedom impossible in other literature. For the formation of his literary style the student can consult no book so advantageously as his Bible.

To appreciate English literature in general, to understand its development, the student needs a familiar acquaintance with the Bible. Modes of English thought, its tone and feeling, prevailing conceptions of life and duty, of joy and sorrow, of good and evil, are inspired by the Bible. Biblical fact and expression are the common possession of writers and readers, of speakers and their hearers, and so easily become the ground and medium of a mutual understanding. Bible facts and stories are thus the basis of metaphors and allusions innumerable. Mr. Hunt quotes Bishop

Wordsworth as finding in Shakespeare "five hundred and fifty biblical allusions, and not one of his thirty-seven plays is without scriptural reference." Like the painters and musical composers of immortal fame, the great poets as Milton, Dante, Tasso, Klopstock, find their themes in Scripture, while a large part of the poetry of second yet important rank, finds its inspiration in biblical truths. Tennyson, Longfellow, Bryant and Whittier can be understood in their best moods only by the student of the Bible.

In truth, so broad and fundamental is the relation of the Bible to human life and literature, so potent is it over the minds of men that the study of it is needed to give basis and unity to all our study. That which is so widely educational upon the popular mind must be understood in its various bearings by the educated man, and that which is so helpful to the general mind will be found more so to the mind under special training.

The effects to be expected from such study of the Scriptures in college may be inferred in some measure from single familiar instances. The wonderful speeches which Louis Kossuth delivered through this country in 1849, in behalf of Hungary, were remarkable in nothing more than in their English. The secret of the fact was that when sent to an Austrian prison, he asked for and obtained for his companionship an English Bible and a copy of Shakespeare. The most majestic prose to be found among the productions of American statesmen is in the speeches of Daniel Webster. It is full of biblical allusion and pervaded by a biblical tone. In early boyhood he committed large portions of the Bible to heart. He acquired considerable local fame for reciting them. While he was a mere lad, farmers would stop their teams on the road to listen to him by the half hour. In later life, he illustrated the justness of another lawyer's view, who accounted for a Bible being found among his law books, saying, "I read Paul's epistle to the Romans that I may know how to convince the understanding of men, and the Psalms of David that I may be able to move their hearts."

This article has not to do with the religious use of the Bible, but one incidental result of this study will be to allay youthful skepticism. To a young man who has enjoyed ten years of intellectual training and growth, notions of his childhood seem of little worth. If he have no other than a boy's conception of the Bible, the book has slight hold upon his respect. Unless he be held by a vital religious life, he easily infers that such a book as he thinks the Bible to be, is unworthy of the confidence of a

rational mind. Ignorance of the Bible is one occasion of doubt. Large intelligent study of it is an effective remedy for doubt. Many things, by themselves perplexing, are made clear and forceful when seen in their historic connection. One who sees the book in its parts and in its unity, who gets a proper idea of the growth and relations of it, is compelled to accord to it profound respect and confidence.

But for this end, the study of the Bible must be thorough, scholarly and exhaustive. The opinion of President Jordan, of Indiana State University, has a good basis in fact: "I do not think that the results have been valuable from such work as conducted in most of the Western colleges which have tried it; but the causes of failure are obvious." Ordinary methods of teaching the Bible must be superseded by such as shall make all ordinary knowledge of it seem elementary, and shall impose hard work upon the student. Familiar as he may be with the surface, he should be made to find every day, as much that is novel as well as important, in the Bible lesson, as in his Plato. Such work will both command his respect and enlist his interest.

The value of the views presented in this article are likely to be tested by experience. Indeed, in some measure they have been not only tested but confirmed. From the foundation of Wellesley college, there have been required two lessons a week in the Bible throughout the entire course. The conception of the work has not been that of the ordinary Bible class, but the scholarly treatment of the book as literature and history. And it is safe to say that the graduates of no institution in the land are so well versed in the Bible as the graduates of Wellesley. The work has been done with increasing thoroughness and with growing satisfaction with the results. Yale and Amherst have this year introduced the Bible as an elective. The Inductive Bible Studies published in the *Old Testament Student*, are made the basis of instruction, and students are finding the work exacting and richly remunerative.

The public mind is doubtless favorable to the movement to put the Bible into all colleges. The approving public will do well to remember that to establish a new course of instruction requires money and men.

S. H. LEE.

CURRENT LITERATURE.

A Day in Capernaum.*—In this little book of one hundred and sixty-six pages, Dr. Franz Delitzsch, one of the most eminent Old Testament scholars of Germany, has sought to sketch, in a realistic manner, a day of our Lord's ministry in Capernaum. He takes as his groundwork several events, which, without doing violence to the narratives given in the Synoptic Gospels, may be represented as having occurred in so short a period of time. To reproduce these events with something of the vividness of life, he uses the methods known to the historical novelist. He endeavors to make us familiar with the Sea of Galilee, with the hills along its shores, and with Capernaum, as they appeared to the group of disciples who dwelt with Jesus in the house of Simon's wife's mother. In the streets of the city mingle Jews and Galileans. We may listen to their remarks about the wonder-working prophet who is a sojourner amongst them, or we may observe their manner of dress and their quaint customs. Nor is this all. The writer assumes the difficult task of rehearsing to us the conversations of those who live in Simon's house, and of describing the feelings which the various events of the day awaken in their minds. It is therefore easy to see that the different parts of the book may be of unequal value. Those portions which represent the results of Prof. Delitzsch's studies into the history and archæology of the New Testament times undoubtedly render much clearer the surroundings of Christ's Galilean ministry. But when we leave the domain of fact and enter that of fiction, the case is different. One might venture to assert, without running the risk of being esteemed narrow-minded, that the life of Jesus is not within the province of the novelist. No imaginary words

**A Day in Capernaum.* By Dr. Franz Delitzsch, Professor in the University of Leipzig. Translated from the third German edition by Rev. G. H. Schodde, Ph.D., Professor in Capital University, Columbus, Ohio. New York: Funk & Wagnalls, 1887.

or fancied experiences of his can furnish valuable criteria for solving the problem of his being; nor can they form the groundwork upon which faith can be built. Even when they are, as in this book, the creation of a devout and gifted mind, they seem weak and artificial, if compared with the narratives contained in the Gospels.

The comment which Jesus is said to make upon Andrew's allusion to a sunset viewed from the hill on which Nazareth was built is in point here. It is as follows: "You are right, Andrew, . . . I, too, can never forget that hill; it has become for me what Sinai was for Moses." This remark betrays the man of introspection, who is watching the changing moods of his own feelings, and who is a sentimentalist in religion. (A sentimental Lord would be a poor Saviour for this self-conscious generation.) Even the interview between Jesus and his mother cannot be regarded as entirely free from this same weakness. The artificiality of some of the remarks ascribed to Jesus appears in the question he addresses to Mary: "Does the city upon the hill continue to be white without and dark within?" Notwithstanding these defects, however, the book will leave a distinct and helpful impression upon the mind of the careful reader, and will throw light upon many pages of New Testament history. The translation is well made, although in one or two words, like "reverence-inspiring," there seems to be a tendency to construct compounds after the analogy of the German.

HENRY E. BOURNE.

PROF. BAIRD'S HUGUENOTS.*—Nearly forty years ago, Macaulay told Sir James Stephen as he was entering upon the duties of the professorship of modern history at Cambridge, that of all the periods of French history, that of the "Wars of Religion" was the richest and least exhausted. That this rich field has been occupied by an American scholar—and occupied at once with such learning and candor as to discourage rivalry—cannot fail to be a source of pride to all of Prof. Baird's fellow-countrymen. When his "Rise of the Huguenots" appeared, it was immediately granted a place near, if not beside, those remarkable contributions of the last generation of American writers to the illustration of European history.

* *The Huguenots and Henry of Navarre.* By HENRY M. BAIRD, Professor in the University of the City of New York. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

If Prof. Baird's work sometimes lacks the fire and brilliance of the "Rise of the Dutch Republic," it is superior to it in impartiality. But Prof. Baird's impartiality is not that of indifference. He so thoroughly believes in the righteousness of the cause, whose historian he is, that he feels he can be perfectly fair and just to the other side. And he is so. He not only gives prominence to any excuses that may be urged for the Catholic party, but, what is a greater test of fairness, he does not omit the excesses of the reforming party.

His work is based upon careful study of both the original authorities and the most valuable special works of modern scholars. In fact, his preface and notes may serve as a most useful guide to the best sources of information upon the whole time of the Reformation in France. This period of French history is so involved that it is almost hopeless to try to get any clear idea of it from brief accounts. Prof. Baird, while not going excessively into detail, has arranged his facts with clearness, and discussed them most instructively.

These volumes open with a brief explanatory introduction, and then take up the main narrative with the accession of Henry III. in 1574. The first volume covers the ground to 1588, and the second continues the story to the death of Henry IV., the leading figure in the work. Prof. Baird has a sober and qualified admiration for the great Henry—an admiration which grows warm over his finer qualities, but which neither palliates nor conceals his moral defects. The characters of the other leaders in this struggle are also portrayed with vigor and insight. In awarding these volumes the high praise they deserve by reason of their learning, impartiality, and interest as well as of the importance of the struggle which they illustrate, we must express the hope that Prof. Baird may be enabled to continue his work, with the History of Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, which he proposes.

Recent Books on Psychology and Philosophy.

Proceedings of the American Society for Psychical Research.*—The American Society for Psychical Research is nearly three years younger than the British, and the difference in the amount of work the two societies have done and published is

*Vol. 1, No. 1, July 1885, and vol. 1, No. 2, July, 1886. Damrell & Upham, Boston.

greater than the difference in their ages. Perhaps the wider spread of interest in, and leisure for, such studies in the older country, the greater willingness to incur the criticism of adverse or sceptical opinion, and the support, which the British society secures but the American for the most part lacks, of men of large influence in political and ecclesiastical circles, may account in part for this difference. It has been even suggested that the number of "sensitives," that is, of those who have a special susceptibility to what is known as thought-transference, and other extraordinary and mysterious influences, may be greater in England than here. Our experience, however, has scarcely as yet gone far enough to warrant such a conclusion. We note in this connection that while the tone of the American report of proceedings in 1885 is almost wholly negative and sceptical as to the existence of such phenomena as the British society describes with great detail, the tone of the report for 1886 is more positive. The earlier report, for example, ends with the conclusion that thought-transference is not at all ordinary, or that "thoughts, such as have been made the subject of our experiments, are not likely to be transferred between two individuals taken at random." But the later report contains several quite remarkable cases of success in the "card-test," and in drawing copies of diagrams by thought-transference. Of some of these cases the verdict is that they "seem to confirm the accuracy of the results arrived at by the English Society of Psychical Research."

Perhaps the most valuable paper, on the whole, in these proceedings is the mathematical paper in which the doctrine of probabilities is applied to the card-test, and other similar tests, and the existence of a so-called "number-habit," or preferred order of guessing at numbers or of writing down numbers, is brought out.

The brief paper of Professor James on hypnotism shows those qualities of candor and acuteness, and that thorough training in physiological and psychological studies, which characterize all the work of this investigator. We sincerely hope that he may be able to prosecute these studies further. It is worthy of note also that he concludes with reference to one medium who "showed a most startling intimacy" with the affairs of a certain family, that she was "honest," and her trance genuine.

The American Society for Psychical Research certainly deserves a wider support, especially in the form of contributions needed for securing continuous and thorough investigation.

Psychic Studies.*—This little volume must certainly be regarded as somewhat premature, for it undertakes to show how the researches of the British Society for Psychical Research may be reconciled with the biblical view of miracles, prophecy, angelic appearances, demons, etc. But these researches, although very promising and of intense interest to students of psychology, can scarcely as yet be said to have yielded any assured results calling for such reconciliation. Most of the views proposed by the volume, however, are moderate and eminently sensible; and if further inquiry should elicit definite information respecting these mysterious phenomena with which "psychic studies" attempt to deal, we may perhaps look to its author for assistance in pointing out the relation of such phenomena to those recorded in the Bible.

Geometrical Psychology.†—This book is a serious and elaborate attempt to represent the most abstruse psychological and philosophical truths by curves, spirals, and other forms of geometrical symbolism. The author has spent years of study in perfecting a system of such symbolical representation. That it is an ingenious, laborious, and interesting piece of work we do not question; nor are we disposed to deny the possibility of its stirring and defining certain thoughts in those minds that are peculiarly inclined and trained to run in the lines of the sublime science of geometry. Nevertheless, that is true of this attempt, which must always be true of all similar attempts; in order to be intelligible and communicable to the majority of thinkers the symbolism must itself be interpreted into words. Instead, then, of diminishing the chances of being misunderstood or of being unintelligible, this so-called "geometrical psychology" increases them. A double interpretation becomes necessary; first of the geometrical symbols into words, and then of the words into conceptions. In all psychological and philosophical studies space-forms are of little independent value as modes of expression; mathematical demonstration can never take the place of verbal exposition and argument.

* *The New Psychic Studies in their relation to Christian Thought.* By Franklin Johnson, D.D. Funk & Wagnalls, New York, 1887.

† *Geometrical Psychology or The Science of Representation.* An Abstract of the Theories and Diagrams of B. W. Betts. By Louisa S. Cook. London, George Redway, 1887.

THE CONCEPTION OF THE INFINITE.*—In this small volume the author attempts an analysis of these two problems, or rather parts of one problem: Can we in any way mentally represent the Infinite? and, What is the nature of this mental representation? The answer to the first question is in the affirmative, and is given in part as the result of a critical exposition of the fallacies which have entered into the negative answers of Kant, Hamilton, and Mill. These thinkers have all erred, according to Professor Fullerton, in regarding the infinite as a "quantitative conception," or rather a successive synthesis of mental images of quantity that are necessarily incapable of ever bringing the infinite before the mind as a whole. But the view advocated by this volume is that the infinite is a "strictly qualitative" conception or general notion, the marks of which are "unlimited possibility of quantity."

The analysis of the book is acute and interesting; and the distinction between the ability to image the infinite as a quantitative whole by a successive synthesis and the ability to form some sort of a *conception* to which the word corresponds, is undoubtedly valid. But after all, the analysis which Professor Fullerton accomplishes, if its correctness be accepted, brings us around again to the difficulties from which it took its start. For in this conception of the "unlimited possibility of quantity" we know what the mark of "quantity" is, what the mark of "possibility" is, and so what is a "possibility of quantity." But what is an *unlimited* possibility of quantity? To answer this question is, indeed, the rub; for the infinity of the concept—that is, its characteristic quality—as Professor Fullerton has defined it, lies in this word, "unlimited." Now if we try to image the "*unlimited* possibility," etc., we have the vain attempt at an unending synthesis. But if we regard this unlimitedness as itself a concept, it is equivalent to the very concept from which we set out, namely, to the concept of the Infinite. For are not *un*limited and *in*finite one and the same term?

THE PHILOSOPHY OF EDUCATION.†—This book is one of great interest, and well deserving of the careful study of every teacher

* *The Conception of the Infinite*, and the Solution of the Mathematical Antinomies: A Study in Psychological Analysis, by GEORGE S. FULLERTON, A.M., Adjunct Professor of Philosophy in the University of Pennsylvania. J. B. Lippincott Company, 1887.

† *The Philosophy of Education.* By JOHANN KARL FRIEDERICK ROSENKRANZ, translated from the German by Anna C. Brackett. New York. D. Appleton & Co. 1887.

who desires to understand the foundations and meaning of his art. It has the distinction of being the only work on the *philosophy* of education by a really philosophical mind, as distinguished from works on the theory and practice of teaching. Although less than three hundred pages in extent it furnishes a wonderfully complete treatment of its subject; of this any one who will take pains even to read the epitome contained in the preface of the editor, Dr. Wm. T. Harris, or to glance over the table of contents, will be amply convinced. The key-note is struck firmly in the first sentence of the first chapter (p. 19): "The nature of education is determined by the nature of mind—that it can develop what it is in itself only by its own activity." . . . Again: "Education is the influencing of man by man, and it has for its end to lead him to actualize himself through his own efforts."

This book, although treating of the *philosophy* of education, is far from dull; it abounds in suggestions of great helpfulness to the practice of teaching. For example, on the preparation and use of text-books, Rosenkranz has very stimulating and suggestive remarks. "If we are indebted," says he, "to life for our perceptions, we must chiefly thank books for our understanding of our perceptions" (p. 121). "The recorded wisdom of the human race is preserved in books, and hence the chief province of the school is to endow the pupil with power to use books profitably through life so that he may perpetually draw from that reservoir of wisdom and interpret his own life."

Miscellaneous.

Sophocles' Greek Lexicon.*—There are few more interesting literary phenomena than the persistence of the Greek language. Through revolutions, invasions, and long periods of oppression, this noble language has still survived. Greece fell before the Roman arms, but her language lived on, and has now outlived the Roman's tongue by many centuries. One might compare the language of classic Greece to those famous works of Greek genius, which time and war had thrown down, marred, broken and buried in the soil. They are brought forth at length and are examined. The features are disfigured, parts of the form are lost, but the outline yet remains. They

* *Greek Lexicon of the Roman and Byzantine Periods*, (from B.C. 146 to A.D. 1100). By E. A. Sophocles. Memorial Edition. Chas. Scribner's Sons, New York. $10 net.

still bear the evidences of the skill which shaped them. They are still beautiful and precious. So it is with the language of Greece. The finished syntax is broken down, the classic forms have been modified, and the vocabulary corrupted from many sources; but it is the Greek language still. Classic Greek does not survive in the modern merely in the sense in which Anglo-Saxon survives in English, or Latin in French and Italian.

To trace the transitions of the Greek language from the classical period until now is an interesting and difficult task. It was in this field that the late Professor Sophocles, himself a native Greek, pursued his special studies so long and so successfully. He has placed before us in this Lexicon the results of a wide and intimate knowledge of the Post-classical and Mediæval Greek. It is a work which only specialists in Greek philology will be likely to use; but a work covering so completely and so exclusively a field of its own, as to entitle it to strong commendation. It has been before the public for more than fifteen years, but is now re-issued in a superb memorial edition, under the supervision of Professor Dr. Thayer, of Harvard University.

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THE ART AMATEUR announces for 1888 many attractions which will make it more than ever indispensable to all students and lovers of art, and a very welcome guest in every cultivated home. The number for November has a color study of "Grapes," by A. J. H. Way, a bold and effective figure of a "Sportsman" for tapestry painting, a pen and ink study of "Nasturtiums," and a profusely illustrated article on "Cats," the first of a series on animal painting and painters. The numerous designs include two full-page figures—a Breton peasant by Jules Breton, and a Flemish maid after Toudouze; china painting decorations for a cream jug, panel and plaque (snowberry, sweetbrier and begonia); embroidery designs for a cushion and a sermon case, and a page of monograms in P. There are also practical articles on fruit painting in oils (with special reference to the grape study), "wet" water color, photograph painting, flower painting on Holland, and tapestry painting; "Hints about Art Galleries;" and an account of "A Modern French House." Price 35 cents a number. Montague Marks, publisher, 23 Union Square, New York.

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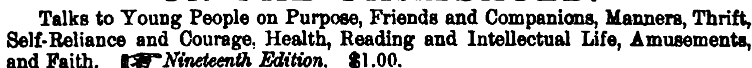

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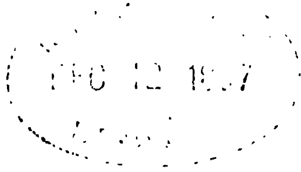


NEW ENGLANDER

AND

YALE REVIEW.

No. CCXIII.

DECEMBER, 1887.

ARTICLE I.—THE AMERICAN BOARD AT SPRINGFIELD.

WHEN Pyrrhus had won a battle over the Romans, near Heraclea, and was congratulated upon it, the historians tell us, that he replied: "One more such victory and I am undone!" And he followed it up by sending an ambassador to Rome, and proposing peace. It has occurred to many, that history repeated itself in this respect at Springfield, Mass., at the annual meeting of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, held October 4th to 8th ult., when the "conservatives" outvoted the "liberals." The numerical victory, in our opinion, did not represent the moral victory. And so it struck the more sober minded of the conservatives themselves. Thus Rev. Dr. Edward N. Packard, Assistant Secretary of the meeting, in a subsequent communication to the *N. Y. Independent*, remarks, that "one could not properly use the word *victory* in regard to the results reached at the Springfield meeting, even if he were the most stalwart conservative;" that "the utterances at Springfield will add force to the new movement, and

make work harder in our churches;" that the speech of Dr. Walker "was an immense concession for a master in Israel to make, and will have great influence in strengthening the New Departure;" and that "aside from all votes taken, on the liberal side there was a manifest advance since last year, whatever be the local issue in the Board." And he candidly adds: "If I were a New Departure man, I should take courage from the Springfield meeting."

The facts which justify such a view are easy to state. After the decision at Des Moines had been under discussion an entire year, in the periodicals, the newspapers, the ministers' meetings, and the Associations, the minority vote of the staid, sober-minded, experienced men, who compose the corporate membership of the Board, given at a place equally favorable to both parties, instead of being decreased, rose from 13 at Des Moines to 56 at Springfield! And this result was secured in the face of the greatest disadvantages. In every Society the administration, that is, the managing Committee and Secretaries, usually and deservedly carry an immense preponderance of influence; so that seldom is it possible to overrule their action, or even to array a strong minority vote against them. Never before in the history of the American Board have the Prudential Committee and the Secretaries found such a formidable opposition among the corporate members, after a year of deliberate discussion. And this too, when they received the unbroken support of the Congregational religious papers, re-inforced by the *Independent*, which circulates throughout our denomination; so that it was difficult for the minority to gain more than an occasional hearing. Add to this the heavy loss sustained by the minority in the death of Dr. Mark Hopkins, President of the Board for the last thirty years, and of Alpheus Hardy, Esq., for twenty-nine years Chairman of the Prudential Committee; both of whom, if spared to be present, would have powerfully antagonized the conservative policy, and would no doubt have still further increased the minority vote. We know, from an hour's private conversation with Dr. Hopkins, a few weeks only before his lamented death, how strongly he felt upon this subject, and how anxiously he desired that wiser counsels might prevail, when the Board should

assemble at Springfield. It will be remembered, that his last public act was to publish a remonstrance against the position of the Prudential Committee.

But, besides this significant increase of the minority vote, there came out the noticeable weight of character of the men who cast it—a fact which opened the eyes of not a few in that vast assembly, and made a deep impression upon the majority itself. The ambassador of Pyrrhus reported, on his return, that every Roman citizen seemed a king! And here it was found, that the opposition to the policy of intolerance came not from hot-headed youngsters, and not from men of small intelligence and obscure position, but from some of the ablest, most renowned and most venerable members of the Board. When a minority of corporate members, nearly sixty strong, takes its stand in the meetings of the Board, and embraces such ministers and laymen as Porter, Harris, Fisher, Carter, Smyth, Walker, Parker, Buckham, Seelye. Buckingham, Gordon, Merriman, McKenzie, Vose, Jenkins, Whittlesey, Shipman, Eddy, Angell, Fairchild, Fairbanks, Emerson, Hazard, and others who might be named, it is more than a tempest in a tea-pot that is threatened. These men know what the issue is, act from deliberate thought, and have the courage and the persistence of their convictions. And the influence of this fact is augmented, when it appears that in them, in the Senior Secretary, Dr. Clark, and in numerous Honorary Members of the Board who agree with them, is represented the position of three of the four theological seminaries of New England, of all of our colleges (male and female) except Dartmouth (possibly Middlebury may also be an exception), and of the leading pastors of such cities as Boston, Hartford, and New Haven. Add to this, again, that the strength of antagonism was sufficient to lead fifty-six corporate members to so extreme a measure as to withhold their votes for President from so eminent a man as Rev. Richard S. Storrs, D.D., because of his identification with the conservative policy, and forty-four to do the same with reference to the re-election of Dr. Alden, as the Home Secretary, and the case will seem to be serious indeed. It is no matter of wonder, that Dr. Storrs, remembering that the President has always heretofore been unanimously chosen, wanted "a few weeks" to consider whether

to accept the result of such an election; and that he intimated, Pyrrhus-like, the desirableness of peace; that it would be well to seek for some basis upon which to restore coöperation and harmony, a result of which, he said, that he did not wholly despair. His letter of acceptance, since published, makes a suggestion to that effect

If now we add the influence of the debate, especially as participated in by Drs. Fisher and Walker, whose reputation for ability and orthodoxy cannot be assailed, and who squarely advocated the sending forth of missionaries who favored the "Andover hypothesis," as well as of those who rejected it, the moral effect of the meeting will be seen to have varied considerably from the numerical result of the corporate votes. The meeting was highly educatory of popular sentiment. The impression left upon the public mind was far more favorable to the minority-position, than was the case a year since. A stage of progress was made, and the future, inevitable, liberal result was brought a twelve-month nearer.

The difficulty is not a new one. Conservative men have previously made the vain attempt to "prevent a future" in our Congregational policy. Their temporary successes always deceived and disappointed them, when they fought against a policy of liberal comprehension. Fifty years ago, they sought to rule out the hypotheses of Drs. Taylor and Fitch, which they called the "New Haven heresies;" and they needlessly created division and established an opposition theological seminary. The controversy soon died out, and some years later they were negotiating for union, to see if the scandal of two seminaries in the little State of Connecticut could not be removed! They ruled out the Oberlin brethren, as long as possible, from missionary service and from the denominational fellowship, and tried in vain, at the ordination of the present writer, to extort a pledge, that he would not admit Mr. Finney (who was preaching in the neighborhood) to his pulpit; this on the accusation of Perfectionism. But one day they attended a national convention of the Congregational churches held at Oberlin, which by a unanimous rising vote, invited the once obnoxious and still unrepentant Mr Finney to address the body on the subject of the baptism of the Holy Spirit. And they heard the

Moderator, Dr. Budington, pronounce it "the grave of buried prejudices." They made similar ecclesiastical and religious newspaper war upon Dr. Bushnell, and succeeded in getting such abundant utterances in his condemnation that they thought they had carried the denomination. But they have lived to see our Councils everywhere accept, as a matter of liberty, the men who favor the Bushnell theology, and to find Dr. Bushnell regarded as one of the illustrious names in our theological history. They similarly assailed Professor Park, who in those days was an advocate of an improved theology; charging him with false doctrine and with varying from the Andover creed. But these accusations have long since ceased to be heard, and Professor Park has come to be regarded as the expounder of orthodoxy. They denounced, as a departure from the time-honored Congregational doctrinal basis, the effort to make our denominational fellowship simply evangelical, and in our ministry as well as our lay-membership to ignore the distinction between Calvinism and Arminianism. They even denied, at first, that the constitution of our Triennial Convention took that position. But the discussions of a few months sufficed to decide the case against them, and no one has even mooted the question for the last fifteen years! They are now repeating a similar process, and congratulating themselves on their success! It will be seen once more where they come out, and how quietly, one of these days, they will accept the situation! It is a great pity, that many thoroughly good men have so little of the quality of the "seer." They do not read aright "the signs of the times," as manifest in the trend of grand truths drawn from the word of God, in the movings of the Divine Spirit through the universal church, and in the instructive events of Providence. They do not perceive that "the stars in their courses fight against" them, but resist progress, till the INEVITABLE has come!

If anything further were needed to show the superficial character of the conservative victory at Springfield, it may be found in the continuous efforts made ever since in the *Independent* and other conservative quarters, to explain and defend the action taken. They have set some of their ablest workmen to threshing vigorously the old straw. They have labored hard to reassure themselves of the result, by mutual congratulation and

public exultation, based on the corporate vote. But much of it has seemed like talking to keep up courage, and to conceal the real seriousness of the situation, and Dr. Pentecost himself announced in the *Independent*, "that the churches and the Christian public generally have not reached the end of this discussion," and that "we all foresee and anticipate an extensive future debate on this question."

Let us now consider the questions on which there was a division of opinion in the American Board. There were two such questions; one of method, and one of principle; and these need to be carefully distinguished.

The question of method came up first, and was connected with a special report of the Prudential Committee, in response to a resolution adopted the year previous at Des Moines, directing the committee "to consider, in difficult cases, turning upon doctrinal views of candidates for missionary service, the expediency of calling a Council of the churches." It will hardly be believed, but so it is, that to the discussion of this exact point, the committee devoted less than nine lines out of the three hundred and sixty-eight lines of their report! After admitting that, in the resolution referred to them, "only one class of candidates is named; difficult cases turning upon doctrinal views," and spending eight lines upon it, in order to make the insignificant objection of "invidious publicity" (which surely has eminently characterized the natural result of their own course, in its world-wide notoriety) they ingeniously shift the discussion to the question, whether it would be expedient to have a council called to pass upon the doctrinal soundness of *all* missionary candidates, and to make the actual appointment to service under the Board. It was easy to show that this would be cumbersome and unnecessary, as well as inapplicable to occasional Presbyterian candidates, and inconsistent with the responsibility of the committee and the Board. Hence there was little opposition to that judgment, which was affirmed by a vote of 110 to 19; two-thirds of the liberals voting with the conservatives, as the writer himself did. It was thus no test vote between the parties, though ignorantly rejoiced over by many, as if it were. But while the practical conclusion as to the inexpediency of the council method, as a

substitute for the responsible action of the Prudential Committee, in the appointment of missionaries, met with slight dissent, decided and just objection was taken to the numerous depreciatory utterances respecting councils themselves scattered through the report. These were precisely such as Presbyterians, especially at the West, have been accustomed for years to offer against councils, as the characteristic feature of Congregationalism; charging that they are small, local, temporary, brief, irresponsible, not representative of the whole body of the churches, and often, or at least occasionally, reaching undesirable conclusions. Against the tenor of such accusations, the writer and others felt bound to protest strongly, on the spot, as unbecoming on the part of the Prudential Committee of a Board originated and now sustained by the Congregational churches (no Presbyterian *churches*, as such, at present contributing to it, and but few individuals); accusations, too, made in the face of the fact that, under this seemingly weak ecclesiasticism, we have attained to such noble results in ministers, churches, and benevolent action. Not a few, after listening to the report, quoted the proverb: "It is an evil bird that fouls its own nest!"

But the most singular thing in this connection remains yet to be mentioned. Amid the multiplied, ingenious and plausible reasons given for not employing councils to judge of the doctrinal qualifications of missionary candidates, the Prudential Committee did not even mention, what there is ground for believing to be their principal objection! Shall we say that they did not dare to mention it, though it could be read everywhere between the lines? It was this: they could not trust councils to decide as they wished to have them decide! They had reason to believe, that a truly representative council would not have hesitated in the case of the return of Rev. Mr. Hume, and would not have refused to pass favorably upon the young men whom they rejected. And yet they profess to represent the actual faith and wishes of our Congregational churches; and are charging the minority with proposing action contrary thereto! This does not strike many of us as being consistent; to bring forward ancient creeds and to ignore modern ones, disregarding also the *consensus* of opinion found in

the continual action of Congregational associations and councils, all over the country, as they license and ordain candidates who hold the very views treated with intolerance by the Board!

The other question before the Board was one of principle, in two respects which run into each other, doctrinal and ecclesiastical; and these again must be carefully distinguished, in order to do justice to all concerned.

The doctrinal issue may best be introduced by a historical anecdote. Early in the eighth century, when Northern Europe was missionary ground, Wulfram went to convert the heathen of Friesland, and had a famous interview with Radbod, king of the country, whom he sought to convince, and through whom he hoped to reach the entire nation. The king listened attentively to the arguments in behalf of Christianity as the only true religion, and of Christ as the only Saviour, and then said to Wulfram: "If all this be so, if my gods are no gods, and my religion is a lie, and man can only be saved through Jesus Christ, then what has become of my forefathers, who died knowing nothing of this new religion?" Wulfram, being an orthodox theologian of that day, promptly answered, that they had all gone to hell, as such sinners deserved to do. "Very well," said the grim old king, "I will not separate from my forefathers; I will share their fate, whatever it may be." Opinions will differ as to the wisdom and as to the truthfulness of Wulfram's assertion; but it cost Christianity, for many years, the conversion of that nation. Every missionary is liable to meet this same most natural and most reasonable inquiry; and he must be prepared with a satisfactory answer, or he will repel, at the very outset, those whom he wishes to win. It will thus be seen, that the question as to the salvability of the heathen, who have lived and died without any knowledge of the gospel, is not a mere matter of speculative theology, to be discussed with other abstractions in theological lecture rooms, but is of a very practical nature to the missionary and to those whom he addresses. His opposers and his converts will press it upon him almost daily. What now shall he say? What shall those who send him out instruct, or permit him to say? We do not propose to discuss, at this time, what he *ought* to say, but only the liberty of choice in his answer, which the Board grants or refuses.

Five different hypotheses of probation for the heathen have been brought forward by the various theologians; four of which the American Board allows to be propounded by its missionaries, but interdicts the fifth. The curious fact in the case is, that no one of these five is directly affirmed in Scripture, which does not contain the *word* "probation," or any synonymous word, in Greek or English. They are suppositions, which are thought, by those who favor them respectively, not indeed to be dogmatically asserted, but to be warranted by the implications of Bible language, where that is not only quoted, but is explained, and is set in its relations by a careful exegetical argument. Our friend, Mr. Henry L. Bowen, who is the enterprising and successful publisher of the *Independent*, a most skillful organizer of a Fourth of July celebration, and, as we know from happy experience, a most royal entertainer of guests, thought that any theory on this subject ought to be capable of demonstration by a naked quotation of Scriptural texts; and he insisted on this idea in a famous correspondence printed in his paper. It was enough to make every living theological professor leap from his chair, and the dead ones turn in their graves. For, such a claim would set aside half the theology of Christendom; which depends not on naked texts, but on a "Biblical argument." Imagine a Baptist calling on Mr. Bowen simply to name the texts in the New Testament, without argument, which clearly and specifically teach infant baptism! What would Mr. Bowen do? Or suppose him required to prove by naked texts the salvation of all who die in infancy, and to show consequently, either that they, half the human race, never have a probation, or that they have it successfully in the next life! And because he could not produce a single text, which directly and unequivocally teaches either of these doctrines, think how his antagonists, using his own principles, would twit him with this inability, and with his proposal, in place of texts, to offer "a Biblical argument!" Theologians well know, that there never was a greater farce than in the publication of that correspondence. The five hypotheses referred to we give as follows, for description simply, and not for argument in behalf of any one of them.

1. The probation of the heathen was *prior to birth*, and was

had in the person of Adam, their constituted representative. They utterly failed in it, and are carrying out that failure in their earthly lives. The salvation of Christ was only provided for the elect; and if any of the heathen do not learn of Christ's death, it shows that they are among the reprobate, for whom He did not die. Not a few missionaries have gone to the heathen with this theory in their minds and on their lips. They were reputed to be orthodox, and no man protested against their being sent; while those who sent them held to this theory of Augustine and Calvin, and thought it was the gospel!

2. The probation of the heathen is a *legal probation of works, in this life.* Either Christ did not die at all for those who remain unevangelized at death, or if He did, they can not have the benefit of His death, from not having had Him offered to them; and so they are left to be judged by the law of works, as if He had not died for them, and as sinners are condemned by it to eternal death. This leaves absolutely no hope for them, and was the theory largely adopted by those who in former days founded the American Board and other missionary societies, and was relied on as furnishing the chief and necessary motive for missionary effort. No one can be saved, said they, without the preached gospel; therefore send it to the perishing millions of heathen. This is the appeal found in the reports, the sermons, the addresses and the publications, and was supposed to be justified by the language of Paul in the first three chapters of Romans; and this view is distinctly affirmed in the Westminster Confession and Saybrook Platform.

3. The probation of the heathen is an *evangelical probation, in this life.* Though they are sinners, they may, in consequence of the atonement, be forgiven, for Christ's sake, even if they die without having heard of Him; provided, they penitently avail themselves of such light as they have from nature. Having this initial right spirit, it is to be presumed that they would accept Christ if He were offered; and this is taken as an implied faith in Him. This view (advocated by this writer thirty years ago in the *Bibliotheca Sacra*, and then regarded by most of his brethren as so liberal as to be almost heretical)

was set forth in the sermon preached before the Board by Rev. Dr. Withrow last year at Des Moines. On this ground it has become common to admit of late, that a few unevangelized heathen might be saved; but the preacher there claimed—not thinking how it might "cut the missionary nerve"—that great multitudes would thus be saved. On this theory, once considered new and dangerous, the conservative majority of the Board probably stand (as do most of the liberal minority), although it is a wide departure from the old Presbyterian and Congregational standards, and from the faith on which the Board was established and its funds were given. Mark that fact! But such plain departure, being participated in by the Prudential Committee itself, has not occasioned the rejection of any candidate!

4. *The probation after breath* theory, as it has humorously been termed; or the idea attributed to Mr. Joseph Cooke, the ever vigilant guardian of orthodoxy, that perhaps, at the very instant of death, just as the soul is leaving the body, when it is unconscious of terrestrial affairs, Christ may be made known to the unevangelized heathen, giving them the opportunity of accepting Him. This reminds one of the epitaph on the ungodly man who died instantly, by a fall from his horse; which runs thus:

> "Between the saddle and the ground,
> He mercy sought and mercy found."

It comes perilously close to the idea of probation in the next life, being parted from it but a few seconds, if at all! It has not yet been decided to be unsafe to send out missionaries who teach, *without any texts to sustain it*, this extreme view, or this theory of salvation *in extremis*; contrary as it is to the views of those who established the Board, and of the mass of its supporters.

5. Lastly comes the hypothesis that the probation of the unevangelized heathen *may continue after death* long enough for Christ to be offered to them, and accepted or rejected. This is popularly called "the Andover hypothesis," although held by large numbers of evangelical Christians in Great Britain

and on the Continent, who are actively engaged in missionary operations.*

Now none of these five theories is free from objection, on the ground of reason or of Scripture. Pastors at home and missionaries abroad must choose, as best they can, between them. The minority at Springfield did not advocate the fifth or Andover theory, and in fact but few of them believe it; though Dr. Pentecost grossly insulted them, and without any subsequent apology, by stating that, notwithstanding their disclaimers, he thought that they did believe it "thoroughly and utterly." This was the worst utterance of the whole excited meeting, in which Christian courtesy and charity wonderfully prevailed; and it was not surprising that Dr. Fisher exclaimed, as he heard the words: "Why, he must mean that we all are liars"! The minority did not propose that the Board should in any way endorse the Andover view. They made no theological argument in its behalf, though the majority made a long one against it. When a missionary is sent out, not because of some peculiar view, but

* A standard work of an eminent scholar is Kurtz's Sacred History, to which Dr. J. Addison Alexander used constantly to refer his students as authority. In 1854 it was translated into English, and published by Smith, English & Co., Philadelphia. In Section 195, Observation, will be found these words:

"When the circumstance is considered, that the gospel must be *preached* to all men, before the end can come, a question arises concerning the condition in this respect of the many millions of pagans who have died without obtaining any knowledge of Christ. Before a Scriptural answer to this question can be given, it is necessary that two preliminary points should be admitted as firmly established: first, that God will have all men to be saved (1 Tim. ii. 14, 2 Peter, iii. 19); and secondly, that out of Christ there is no salvation, either in heaven or on earth (Acts iv. 2), 'for *he* is the propitiation for our sins; and not for ours only, but also for the sins of the whole world' (1 John, ii. 3). Now, if it is equally clear and certain, that man can appropriate this salvation to himself by faith alone, and that faith comes by the preaching of the word (Rom. x, 13, etc.), it seems to follow necessarily that the gospel will yet be preached in Hades (§ 156, Obs. 1) to those who, without any fault of their own, obtained no knowledge of Christ in this life, in order that they too may adopt or reject that gospel. But the truth cannot be overlooked, that the mind of God is not controlled by the inferences which the human mind may draw, and that he can easily cause these pagans to ripen according to their own decision, either for the judgment of life or the judgment of condemnation. Still, if we are informed (1 Pet. iii. 19, 20) that, after Christ descended into hell, he preached to the unbelieving spirits in prison, and if the same Apostle immediately adds (1 Pet. iv. 6) that the gospel was preached also to them that are dead, that both the dead and the living might be judged, the inference above seems to be justified in express terms. And it does not in the least degree diminish the great importance and necessity of Missions, nor impair the obligation of Christendom to sustain them."

in spite of it, and because he is so good and able a man, that is no endorsement of his peculiarity of belief. The Board tolerates in its officers and missionaries many exegetical and theological views, which it does not adopt or endorse, and which seem to many of us erroneous and pernicious. It has sent out missionaries irrespective of their belief as to limited atonement or general atonement, and as to the sinner's ability or inability to repent; irrespective of their pre-millennial or post-millennial theories of the Second Advent; irrespective of their Arminian or Calvinistic creeds. The minority only contended for liberty in behalf of the missionary; that when he met the heathen objection which confronted Wulfram, he might not be shut up to any one of the theories named, but be free to offer that which best commended itself to his judgment, or to reject them all and confess total ignorance, without being called on positively to deny the fifth or any other theory, if he preferred so to do. So argued the minority report presented by Prof. Fisher, and such were his resolutions. President Seelye's substitute for the majority report also took this ground, "declining to give specific instructions in respect of doctrinal questions," but instructing the Committee "to guard the soundness of faith and efficiency of service of its missionaries and to keep the unity of the churches whose servants we are." But this was rejected by a vote of 88 to 51, which was the nearest to a test vote of the parties, on this point, of any taken. Then was passed the intolerant action of the majority, reaffirming, as if the Board were a Church Court, the doctrinal deliverance made at Des Moines, and directing its application by the Prudential Committee to the cases of missionary candidates, so as to exclude those who held to the fifth view mentioned above.

This leads us to the remaining question of principle, that purely ecclesiastical; which pertains to the willingness or unwillingness of the Board to ascertain what the present faith of our churches is, as to positive affirmation and as to Christian tolerance, "by their actual usages," as Prof. Fisher's minority report put it. The Prudential Committee refuse so to do, and this seems the secret of their antagonism to councils, which express the present views of the ministers and churches. This is the reason that they decline candidates who fully assent

to the various ecumenical creeds of Christendom; to the creed of the Evangelical Alliance; to the summary of belief set forth by the National Congregational Council at Boston, in 1865; and to the latest Confession of our faith, presented to the churches by the recent Creed Commission selected from all parts of the land and all our schools of theologic thought, by a Committee of our Triennial Council. Secretary Alden was a member of that Commission (as was this writer), and in that able body he found himself in a final minority of 3 to 21. He tried in vain to introduce into the creed a clause which should contradict and exclude the Andover hypothesis. We were meeting in Dr. Taylor's church, New York city, and on calling for a copy of his church-creed, behold there was not a line in it contradictory of that hypothesis; and the same was found to be true of the creeds of vast numbers of our churches, which are wholly silent on that subject. Dr. Alden thus learned that the Andover hypothesis, though not contained in it, was yet not contradictory of the faith of our churches, as expressed in many of their creeds and as re-affirmed by their Creed Commission, and was therefore entitled to tolerance (not endorsement) by our Board of Missions. Yet Dr. Alden sent to candidates his own creed rejected by the Commission, and he quoted to them other creeds of local churches, and insisted that the Committee were only obeying the will of the churches, and protecting their faith, by requiring certain positive statements denying that Christ might be offered to the heathen after death. And the Committee rely not on the Triennial Convention, nor any body in which the churches as such are represented, but on the majority vote of a Board which is a close, self-perpetuating corporation, not representative of churches, or even of the donors to its own treasury. What the minority claim is, that the Board, so long as it is our missionary agency, shall be just as liberal and tolerant as are the Congregational churches; and that the actual policy of these is to be learned through the recent general confessions and the *consensus* furnished by the action of Councils and Associations throughout the land, in licensing candidates, and in ordaining and installing ministers. As a matter of fact, these have licensed, ordained and installed men favoring the Andover hypothesis, and even some of the very candidates re-

jected by the Prudential Committee of the Board. Hence Dr. Fisher offered the following resolution: "The missionaries of this Board shall have the same right of private judgment in the interpretation of God's Word, and the same freedom of thought and of speech, as are enjoyed by their ministerial brethren in this country. In the exercise of their rights they should have constant and careful regard to the work of their associates, and to the harmony and effectiveness of the missions in which they labor." It might have been supposed that this would be unanimously adopted; but it was voted down by fifty-two majority! How, after such a vote, a Secretary of the Board can have the face to appear before a self-respecting body of students in a theological seminary, and urge them to become the Board's missionaries, on condition of such intellectual and spiritual bondage, and on terms of such inequality with pastors at home, we do not see. It is positively known, that scores of young men and women, of high character and rare qualifications, have already refused, on this very account, to offer themselves as missionaries. The minority claim that the whole spirit and practice of Congregationalism is in favor of a large evangelical liberty on disputed and doubtful points; a liberty which rises above attachment or opposition to any school or party. And for justification of this policy they refer to the Master's own example; for in the gospel of Mark we read: "And John answered (or addressed) him, saying: Master, we saw one casting out devils in thy name, and he followeth not us; and we forbade him, because he followeth not us. But Jesus said, Forbid him not; for there is no man who shall do a miracle in my name, that can lightly speak evil of me; for he that is not against us is on our part." This is a case in which we prefer to be with Jesus in the minority, rather than with the apostles in the majority! Yet their majority was twelve to one! Can it be credited, that *this* Master, who uttered such a reproof, and who made a heretical Samaritan, instead of an orthodox Jew, the hero of his famous parable, would have us, in our day, forbid a devoted missionary to cast out the devils of heathenism, because, while he accepts every truth of the gospel for which we contend, and which we have stated in our latest creeds, he adds the supposition or hope, that the souls whom

Christ is finally to judge will previously have had Christ offered to him, before or after death? He may be entirely in error, in entertaining such a hypothesis; but shall that debar him from preaching Christ to the benighted pagans? Why should it, when to the living, whom he addresses, he can make every appeal which would be made by any of us? And in speaking of a missionary appeal, it is a significant fact, that the excellent discourse before the Board at Springfield, by that firm conservative, Dr. Noble of Chicago, contained not a sentence which could not have been uttered by one of the minority, or even by an Andover Professor! In the whole array of motives for carrying on the missionary enterprise with holy zeal, he did not include one inconsistent with the Andover hypothesis. And yet we must not send out a missionary, who could accept that missionary sermon in its entirety, unless he would add, what the preacher did not, a denial of Andover peculiarities! Think of debarring a man, on so slender a ground of difference, from carrying the gospel to the living pagans in Africa or India, in China or Japan! And we do debar him, so far as we are concerned, as a denomination, if the only agency we have for foreign missionary work refuses to send him. It is not as when, on the home field, a local church declines to call a man to be its pastor, or a local council declines to settle him over that church, leaving 4000 other Congregational churches to call him, if anyone of them should please. There are indeed various missions of the Board, which would call these rejected candidates, if they might. But not a single mission or mission church on the foreign field can act in the matter. The Prudential Committee, at Boston, stands between the whole heathen world and these young men, so far forth as the Congregational churches are concerned; assuming by its own close corporation to represent them, although declining to accept their action made according to their established usages. This adoption of a standard different from any which the churches have authorized, raises a grave ecclesiastical question for the Congregational churches to consider; for it plainly and practically touches the question of their fellowship. The Board indeed disclaims being one of our Congregational benevolent societies. But how can it do that, when no other churches support it, and when, for sixteen years,

it has sent one of its Secretaries to sit in our Triennial Council, under § 4, of Article II. of the Constitution, to wit: "Such Congregational general societies for Christian work and the faculties of such theological seminaries as may be recognized by this Council, may be represented by one delegate each, such representatives having the right of discussion only." It is too late to back down from its virtual denominational position, to serve a purpose. To do so is to bring on a controversy as to the way in which we shall succeed in having a Congregational foreign missionary society; whether by remodeling the American Board, or by organizing a new Society. But it would be the action of the conservative majority, which would bring on the controversy. Already many of them are favoring some modification of the Board, to avoid this serious objection.

And now what shall be done by those dissatisfied with the action of the Board at Springfield? Some of the majority are urging us to leave it, and to organize a new Society on our own principles; and here and there a man of the minority may be inclined to act upon that advice. But the writer, judging from a membership of twenty years and an observation of the Board for over forty years, sees no sufficient reason, at present, for taking such a step. It would involve great and unwise expenditures of money and labor, to create and operate a new agency, and it would carry bitter controversy into everyone of our 4000 churches. Nor is such a step probably necessary to the ultimate triumph of the liberal policy. The meeting at Springfield did but increase its strength, and every day will add to the number of its defenders. We must not be in too great haste. Good men, confronted with new questions, must have time to adjust their thoughts, to rectify their mistakes, and to modify their methods. The American Board has changed its policy on other disputed questions; notably on that of slavery. It will do so again; either by giving new directions to its Committee, or more probably in the practical way which such bodies have, of allowing the present new and unfortunate policy to fall into "innocuous desuetude." The Board will be brought back to its old methods for which we contend. Never before has it assumed to decide theological controversies among its own constituents, and it will not long continue in so perilous a path.

Our churches will not divide, and the Board will not be wrecked, although for a time there will be earnest discussion. Time, argument, prayer and providential events will bring everything right; for they are true Christian men, equally devoted to the missionary cause, who are having this honest difference of judgment; and the Spirit of God will lead them eventually into "the truth as it is in Jesus," whatever that may prove to be. Surely, when we think of the savagery and cruelty of heathenism, of its moral abominations, of its utter impotency for good in life and its despair in death, of the dishonor which it heaps on God, and its ignorance of his love for this lost world as revealed in Jesus Christ, and remember our Redeemer's last command, to "go into all the world and preach the gospel to every creature," we have motives enough for missionary effort, without touching the disputed point over which this controversy has been waged. And so let us close up the ranks, and move unitedly to the battle-field against "the powers of darkness," led by Him, who "hath on his vesture and on his thigh a name written, KING OF KINGS AND LORD OF LORDS." And then will the vision of John in Patmos prove itself true: "After this I beheld, and lo, a great multitude, which no man could number, of all nations, and kindreds and people and tongues, stood before the throne and before the Lamb, clothed with white robes and palms in their hand, and cried with a loud voice, saying, Salvation to our God, who sitteth upon the throne and unto the Lamb!" Amen.

WM. W. PATTON.

Article II.—THE PHYSICIAN OF TO-DAY AND OF THE FUTURE.

Probably the point of time when the graduate in medicine has the greatest confidence in the efficiency of drugs in the cure of disease and in his own ability to use them successfully, is when he receives his diploma and before he has met his first patient. Probably, also, the time when he has the least faith in the healing power of medicine is when at the end of a long and a so-called successful practice he looks backward and considers the question;—not how many patients have recovered under his treatment,—but how many lives have been saved by the administration of medicine, which, without it—would have been lost. Experience has taught the old physician that the number is small in comparison with that which he had been led to anticipate when younger. The recent graduate commences practice with the confidence and expectation appropriate to youth; he often retires from it with the cynicism and disappointment of old age. The popular belief in the efficacy of drugs in which at first he shares, the instruction of medical teachers and authors, the great variety of drugs at his disposal, at the beginning of his career inspire him with the hope of positive and possibly magnificent results. He meets his first patient, and with judicious care selects the drug which his text books assign as the remedy for the disease. He administers the dose and in direct violation of theoretical rules his patient dies. He meets his second with confidence diminished, and now to his surprise the patient recovers. He continues his career and gradually experience forces upon him the unwelcome conviction that, in spite of remedies a certain number of his patients will inevitably recover, and a certain number will as inevitably die, and that the result in either case seems to be but little dependent upon the medicine administered. Years of practice lead him at last to the unsatisfactory conclusion that the drug administered does not play the important part in the cure of disease which his patients imagine—as he once did

also—and he finally becomes convinced that the restorative power of nature, or some other inherent agency, effects the cure which is ascribed to his own skill, and that a lack of such recuperative energy causes the unfortunate results for which he is sometimes unjustly held responsible.

It becomes a question of interest whether the physician is correct in the conclusion to which experience seems to have driven him, whether his patients are wrong in their unquestioning faith in the efficacy of drugs, to what abuses the popular error has led, and what should be the aim of the physician of the future.

Without professing that a mathematical or even a logical demonstration of the fact can be absolutely made, the assertion is ventured nevertheless that the effect of drugs simply in the cure of disease long has been and still is greatly overestimated.

Those who have the best opportunity for observation should be called upon for their evidence.

It is likely that the intelligent, observing, and honest physician, if questioned, will admit that in the majority of diseases the medicine used, if it does any good at all, is a non-essential adjuvant simply in the recovery of the patient, and that it is doubtful whether the list of mortality would be materially increased if the physician should abandon all so-called curative drugs, while continuing to use the same means to support and strengthen his patient, and to secure due attention to the rules of hygeine. He discovers early in his practice that he is aided by a most important principle, the "vis medicatrix naturæ," whose tendency is to sustain the patient and expel the invading disease. He notices that in every ailment this agent essays to effect a cure and generally succeeds even when the medicine which is supposed to be the important instrumentality, by some chance happens to be withheld long enough to permit the experiment. The more experienced he becomes, the more ready is he to assist rather than to interfere with nature's indications, and the more convinced is he that many, if not most diseases are "self limiting." The physician, and the layman also, cannot fail to notice that the savage contrives to maintain his health or to recover from ailments which come, and to reach

a longevity almost equal to that of his civilized neighbor. If the doctor is not ready to admit that the few herbs at the red-skin's disposal are equal in potency to the multitudinous drugs to which he himself has access, he will be obliged to confess that some other agency than the drug cures the Indian of the forest and the citizen of the metropolis alike. He knows also that if to skill in the administration of drugs and not to nature is to be given the credit of curing disease, then where drugs are the most constantly and scientifically prescribed there should be the least sickness, the most speedy recovery, the most stalwart frames, and the longest lives. In cities should be found men of muscle and endurance; in the forest, puny, pale-faced, intellectual-looking, cadaveric men and women, victims of the various forms of nervous debility. The doctor of to-day knows that such is not the fact, and with prudent sagacity he advises his patients to discard, for a time at least, pills and pilules, and to seek in boat and ball and bicycle clubs, or in mountain climbing, that health which they cannot obtain by saturation with the drugs of a city pharmacy.

The doctor is led to distrust the popular estimate of the value of medication when he observes the success of quackery in general, and how little is the difference in the apparent success of the skillful physician and the charlatan. If drugs are so important, then the greatest disparity should be seen in the results of their use when prescribed by the scientist and by the quack. As great a difference should be noticable in the success in practice of the highly and moderately educated physician, as would be observed in the professions of divinity or law under similar conditions. Such, however, is probably not the case. The scientific physician can hardly fail to be recognized as such, but the fact will not be brought to light by his success in the administration of drugs. The most impudent and presuming charlatan will often obtain pecuniary success at least which the scientist in medicine cannot hope for. Surely, argues the thoughtful physician, if success in practice depends upon a skillful administration of drugs, and it should be so if drugs are the important element in the cure of disease, then superior skill should secure the largest patronage. But the most ignorant pill-maker will obtain testimonials from senators

and divines vouching for the efficacy of his pill in ailments of the greatest variety and diversity. This would hardly occur if there were a very perceptible difference in the results of the pill-treatment and some more scientific method. The inference which will be drawn from the success of the charlatan is not so much the value of his particular drug as the worthlessness of all.

The physician is perhaps better qualified than the layman to judge of the abilities of his brethren in the profession. He notices with discomfort that the most thoroughly educated are not always those who are the most successful in obtaining a a large and lucrative practice. He notices that the popularity of a practitioner depends on almost any other circumstance than his mere skill in prescribing, which should be the only important element if drugs are so essential as they have been supposed. But in the medical, of all other professions, minor circumstances have their weight in determining success. The personal appearance, the pleasing address, the portly and imposing form, the skill in adopting the amount of "palaver" to the receptive faculties of the patient, often have as much to do with the physician's popularity as his profound knowledge of of therapeutics.

The observing and perhaps skeptical doctor notices the great variety of remedies recommended in his text-books for almost every disease. He finds in his "National Dispensatory" the catalogue of more than eighteen thousand preparations of drugs placed at his disposal, with the uses and nature of all of which his patients kindly presume him to be familiar. He finds that when any disease is intractable the list of remedies will be great, when incurable possibly the greatest. At first he may be delighted with the number of weapons placed in his hands, but as he grows older he learns to look with suspicion on the lengthy list and becomes doubtful whenever he finds great latitude given to select and experiment for himself. He is led to infer from the great variety of drugs before him, not the efficacy of any, but rather the inefficiency of all. He is disconcerted also with the many changes taking place in his pharmacopœia. He finds the list of drugs swelling with great rapidity, and to keep pace with the advance in medical science

he must study the bulletins of new remedies, somewhat as he consults the daily newspaper for the variation in stocks. So rapid is the presumed progress in medicine that he feels inclined to question in the morning as he awakes, whether during the night he may not have been left behind the age. Means and methods of practice also which he formerly learned to rely upon, and which were in fact the only legitimate ones a decade of years ago, he now uses with a secret misgiving lest some tyro in medical authorship may already have pronounced them antiquated.

The physician is especially bewildered and led to question the value of medication when he observes the great variety of systems of practice each pronouncing the others absolutely useless or positively harmful, yet all apparently successful in the treatment of disease, and all having enthusiastic and intelligent advocates. The war which is being waged at the present day, of doses, either infinitely too large or infinitesimally too small, erects two most puzzling horns of a dilemma. Either both large and small are alike useful and effective in the cure of disease, or both are alike in a great measure useless and ineffective. The latter alternative is the one very frequently accepted by the skeptical medical scientist of the present age.

But it is not necessary that we should rely entirely upon the testimony of the experienced physician for our evidence. Reasons which are plain to the layman as well, show the probability that drugs obtain more credit than they deserve. The wish may be the father of the thought, in this case, as in many others. We all expect to indulge in an occasional violation of the known laws of health. We wish to believe that an antidote is at hand to avert the deserved penalty, and therefore we do so believe. We would be glad to be confident that for every ailment to which human flesh is heir nature has somewhere stored away the appropriate remedy, and therefore we so believe upon uncertain evidence and slight foundation of fact. Faith will be strong when faith and desire coincide, and the number of those who worship at the shrines of the faith curers, the movement-curers and charlatans of every description, attest, not the willingness only but even the desire of the public to be deceived.

The very mystery which surrounds disease and which is attached to the action of drugs increases the probability that their curative effect may be over-estimated. We naturally exaggerate that which we cannot fairly comprehend. The weird and marvelous effects of certain poisons upon the human organism lead to the hope that they may have equal powers as curative agents, to those which they often have, as destructive;—that because they can kill they can also cure. In our present state of knowledge disease is mysterious, its cause often unknown; the action of drugs is also mysterious, and the popular tendency is to associate the two with the hope that by some agency equally mysterious and incomprehensible, the drug may produce an effect eradicating the disease. This hope is strengthened a hundred fold by the comparatively few cases where the drug does positively and unmistakably produce the desired result. When such accidents are about as frequent as the drawing of a prize in a lottery, the effect of a lottery upon the mind will be produced; prizes will be expected in opposition to all the laws of chance.

It is a popular belief even countenanced by some so called medical works that diseases are not subject to laws which may yet be known, but that they are the result of mere chance or a blind fate, imposed, as if by some evil demon by way of punishment upon a suffering race. It is a popular fancy also that every disease has its specific antidote, if only it could be discovered and applied. As the chemist when some poisonous irrespirable gas has escaped in his laboratory can set free another which will absorb or neutralize the villainous vapor, so it is thought by many that the victim of diphtheria or tuberculosis has only to select the remedy specially made for the particular disease, and for which the disease itself was specially designed, and then a chemical combination and transformation will occur in the intestinal laboratory of the patient, cancelling the disease like an account in a ledger, or expelling and expurgating it from the human economy as an evil spirit of old was driven from one possessed of a devil.

There is a class of weeping philosophers, medical as well as otherwise, who believe that man was made to mourn over a long list of unavoidable diseases. His woes commence with

the protrusion of the first infant tooth, then in childhood must follow in proper order, mumps, measles, whooping-cough, scarlet-fever, and unless Jenner had lived, the disfiguring small-pox. If he survives these ills and their treatment, manhood opens before him fresh fields in which to conquer or be conquered, and if he arrives at his second childhood it is expected that some disease that can be dignified with a name shall assist old age in ushering him into a new existence. It never seems to have occurred to the philosophers aforesaid that by a circumspect walk and conversation man may avoid disease even as he does the county jail and whipping post, and that under certain circumstances disease may even be a crime. The idea has not yet presented itself to them that the normal condition of the human race is perfect health. They forget that the human animal as well as his brother of the jungle, like the "wonderful one-hoss shay," was designed to run his allotted time without repairs or the need thereof, and then by the natural process and progress of decay and disintegration, without the aid of doctors or drugs, to pass out of his present existence into the next without commotion and almost without consciousness of the event. They can hardly believe that nature, presuming that her laws would be conscientiously obeyed, has provided no curative poisons to avert the punishment for their violation. Had she done so, they ought to infer that she would not have maliciously hidden them away so that the search of thousands of years has failed to bring them all to the light, while she has so benevolently placed every other good gift within easy reach.

If there is reason to believe that too much importance has been attached to the administration of drugs, by both patient and physician, in the past, and if failure in the future seems likely to follow the search for a specific antidote for each particular disease, the serious question will next arise in the mind of the medical practitioner whether he can be as useful in the future as he was supposed to be in the past; and if so, in what direction he shall now turn his energies.

It is likely that the doctor will ever be, as he always has been, an important and indispensable factor in society. If he cannot accomplish the semi-miraculous cures which his patients

hope for, he can and has already accomplished much in other directions, in which he may justly expect to accomplish more in the future. If he has not discovered the long expected universal panacea, the specific for every disease, as he certainly has for some, he nevertheless has accomplished important results in his attempts to diminish the amount of human suffering. In this direction he may still bend his energies. Life is hardly desirable to the victim of pain which cannot be alleviated. Anodynes have blessed the human race from the earliest dawn of medicine. Although to relieve pain may not cure the disease, possibly may not even shorten it, yet the effect is the same upon the mind of the patient. This very circumstance may have tended to produce the over-estimation of drugs as curative agents. The anodynes, pernicious as may have been their effects when improperly used, may even have added to the average longevity of the race by saving from desperation and by taking away the temptation to self-destruction which acute suffering might produce without them. The comfort and happiness and prolongation of life which has resulted from the discovery of anæsthesia should not be surrendered even to secure all that which can be claimed for drugs in the way of cure. The mental as well as physical agony which has been removed from the race by the assurance that the surgeon's knife can hereafter be painless, cannot be well appreciated.

The doctor of the past has made great advances in the diagnosis and in the investigation of the causes of disease. To determine accurately the nature, the cause, and the location of the malady which affects the patient is the first and most important step toward its removal in the present, and its prevention in the future. To accomplish this, tests the knowledge and skill of the physician far more than does the prescribing the supposed remedy. The certainty with which the precise nature, cause, and probable result of any particular form of disease can now be determined by the various methods of investigation, by chemical analysis, by auscultation, percussion, and other manipulations, ought to give this branch of medicine at least a place as one of the exact sciences. The profession of medicine would be no unimportant one, even if the doctor could do nothing more than inform his patients of the nature

and the cause, of the harmlessness or the danger, and of the probable duration and result of their various ailments. Even to accomplish so much, the services of the physician would be in great demand.

In the domain of medicine, in this country at least, is included the surgical field. There, rather than in the administration of drugs, results are tangible, positive, and unmistakable. Much that the surgeon accomplishes is open to view, and can be estimated by the public as well as by the patient at its true value. By his interference and aid many lives are made endurable which otherwise would have been a burden. What implicit confidence both patient and the public have learned to place in the surgeon's knowledge and skill is shown by the daily performance of operations when risk of life is great, but where even when a fatal result may occur few coroners or juries would brave public opinion by calling in question the propriety of the operation, although both surgeon and coroner well understand that a strict interpretation of the letter of the law might expose the unsuccessful operator to the risk of severe punishment. In the field of surgery, rather than of medicine proper, and especially of American surgery, have great advances been made within the last quarter of a century. Aided by instruments newly devised, by stethoscope, laryngoscope, ophthalmoscope and speculum, emboldened by anæsthetics, guarded by antiseptics, the tyro even in surgery boldly, and his fathers would have said, recklessly enters with impunity cavities of the body long considered sacred from intrusion so great were the supposed risks of interference. Organs are removed, the ablation of which, not many years ago, would have been deemed unjustifiable even to prevent the certain approach of death. In surgery then especially may the doctor be proud of recent advances and hope for greater in the future.

The physician of the past, even though in some respects his efforts may have been misdirected, does not lack for much on which to congratulate himself. In striving for even better results in the future it might be well for him to aim to be a "doctor" rather than a "physician," one able and willing to teach rather than a dispenser of physic. Let him educate his

patients so that they will understand the laws of health, and so that they will not venture to violate them with the understanding that the physician can be held responsible if the punishment for such violation shall not be averted. If he really believes that in many cases where he has been accustomed to prescribe medicine, the patient would recover under similar hygienic conditions, as well without as with it, let him earn the gratitude of the invalid by convincing him of the fact. He will thus elevate himself above the level of the nurse and the quack who can and do prescribe as successfully as himself where medicine is unnecessary, and in the comparatively few cases where the issue of the disease must depend upon the careful selection of the remedy, his superior skill and knowledge will become more strikingly manifest. If he believes that the search of the last three thousand years for a universal panacea, or at least for some particular antidote for each particular human ill, has been unsuccessful, he ought by this time to become convinced that his efforts have been misdirected, and turn them at last in some new direction.

In determining what this direction shall be he will be aided by noticing in what direction he has been most successful and progressive in the past. He will find that it has not been so much in the discovery of antidotes for disease after it has made its attack, as in the discovery of methods and means of preventing its invasion. The discovery of vaccination by Jenner removed a scourge, to explain the magnitude of which those who have lived and died in the slums of London must rise from their graves. The good results which the happy thought of one bright intellect has thus accomplished might well stimulate the doctor of the future to see what he can accomplish in a similar direction. Even now such attempts are being made.

Perhaps the doctor of the future may look for his greatest success in the attempt to discover and thoroughly investigate the laws and rules for the promotion of health and the prevention of disease. To accomplish the latter, he must search out and destroy the hidden cause, the morbific agent whatever it may be, before it has gained a foothold in the human system, or he must so elevate and renovate that system that the

noxious germ cannot find a lodgment there. Heretofore he has played the part of the fireman who stands ready to extinguish the flames after they have invaded the combustible tenement; hereafter he may endeavor to have the structure made and kept fire-proof. The doctor who in the past has striven with unreliable agents to destroy the disease after it became entrenched is certainly worthy of gratitude; the doctor of the future, however, who shall prevent its entrance, will be the greater benefactor. It is a hopeful sign that the antiquated medical aphorism, " An ounce of prevention is worth a pound of cure," so long preached, is now beginning to be practiced. The disposition is not so strong now as formerly to look upon disease as inevitable and to wait for its approach fully developed, but to meet it in its infancy, or better still, to destroy the ovum or germ before its incubation. Instead of regarding the cause of disease as a spiritual intangible essence, it is now believed that on the field of the microscope this cause can often be watched in the progress of its development in the shape of parasitic germs, and that it can even there be met with its antidote or germicide before it has reached its destination in the life current of the human victim. If Koch, as he supposes, has actually discovered the germ, the ovum, the microbe, the bacillus, or the what-not, which when hatched out and propagated will produce that scourge of the human race tubercular consumption, and if in addition he can, as he thinks he has done, discover the germicide which will destroy the infant in its cradle or the embryo undeveloped, he has done more to prolong human life than can the livers of all the codfish near the banks of Newfoundland. If he or others succeed, as they hope to do, in isolating and destroying the parasitic germ which, when it enters the human system causes the Asiatic cholera, they will do more to save life than can all of the opiates and astringents of the pharmacopœia. If Lister, by antiseptic gauze and vapor, can succeed in excluding or destroying the floating germs in the atmosphere which he supposes to be hovering over every open wound ready to inoculate and poison the blood, he will have increased the average duration of life more by preventing disease than have the new drugs of this century by curing it.

In these and similar new directions will very likely be made the progress in future, not in medicine as popularly understood, but in the methods of prolonging life and averting its destruction. Perhaps it would even be an advantage in the future, if all attempts to find specifics for the cure of disease after its invasion, should be abandoned in the effort to find its causes and prevention. If the search has been continued since the time of Solomon, who believed that "a medicine doeth good," with but meagre results, it should stimulate the desire to find new methods to accomplish a still more desirable end.

In that millennial day which all hope is approaching, when knowledge shall be so universal that sewer gas shall be unknown, when physicians shall no longer exist as prescribers for ills which may be averted, but rather as teachers or professors of the science of health preservation, in the absence of facts to guide us, we may be permitted to exercise the imagination and suppose that a central bureau connected with others at the various points of the compass has been established. Anxious communities may be forewarned and perhaps forearmed against the approach, not of the hot and cold waves of summer and winter, but of zymotic or malarial laden breezes from some unhealthy region or clime. By timely notice and judicious quarantining contagious and infectious diseases may be eradicated, and scarlet fever, diphtheria and their congeners like the ibis or the dodo may become extinct from a lack of an ovum for incubation. Far away in some distant wilderness, or in the basin of some great salt lake the wise congress, now so honored—because no longer dispensing the ineffectual dose—that their advice becomes the law of the land, may establish a grand lazar house where can be assembled the voluntary victims of every species of a depraved appetite, when by a careful inspection segregation and exclusion the leprosy of modern civilization may be forced to die from starvation and inanition. On the other hand, in some sunny clime perhaps upon some healthful island of the southern sea, in pleasant invalid resorts and homes amid congenial surroundings, may be congregated those upon whom the hectic flush has placed the stamp of death and possibly tubercular disease might be deprived of food furnished by heredity. By judicious advice the youth of this golden era

might be so guided in their matrimonial aspirations that the age of athletics would be revived by their numerous progeny, and the law of good if not of natural selection would leave its imprint upon the human, as it is now made to do upon the lower animal. The truth may then be taught that the stooping shoulder, the angular and attenuated frame are not the necessary physical type of the scholar, that brain and brawn are not incompatible, and muscular may be so combined with mental training that the nervous diseases which follow the attempts to cultivate the intellectual at the expense of the physical shall be brought to an end.

To those who call these the vagaries of an insane imagination the answer may be given that precisely the same charge would have been made before the discovery of anæsthesia had such a possibility been suggested. It may be said, finally, in view of the nature of progress already made, that progress will likely continue in the same or similar directions in the future. In view of the failure to find universally curative agents in the past, we may expect similar failure in the future, and desirable as may be the cure of the disease we may with propriety direct our efforts to its prevention which is still more desirable, and instead of the unsatisfactory task of teaching how to administer medicine we may well assume the rôle of teaching how not to administer it.

E. P. Buffett.

ARTICLE III.—DR. FURNESS'S "OTHELLO."

A New Variorum Edition of Shakespeare, edited by HORACE HOWARD FURNESS. Vol. VI. Othello. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co.

"HUMPH! There is not much money in that for the publisher, but a deal of glory for the editor, let me tell you," was Mr. Joshua Lippincott's comment on the proposition to edit a New Variorum, made by Mr. Furness, years ago. He spoke a great deal of truth. The work is now a chief glory of American Shaksperian scholarship. But only a publisher who occasionally saw something better than money-making in his business would unite with a man, like Agassiz, "too busy to make money," to produce a work involving such a vast amount of financially unprofitable labor. For instance, in preparing *Othello* the texts of forty-six chief editions have been compared, word for word, *twice over*, and every difference of consequence carefully recorded, with the name of its suggestor. So we have all the important editions in one. Perhaps the incalculable value of such work is not appreciated generally; but all readers of the dramatist must feel sincerest gratitude for the winnowing of such a library of notes and commentaries as one of Shakspere's plays calls forth. In the Appendix, quotations are made from nearly two hundred works, to say nothing of the numbers read without such reward. The book, then, is better than a Shakesperian library, for its particular purpose.

It is the habit of some to oppose such editions, on the ground that notes and comments so copious merely appeal to the passive powers of the mind, and lead us away from the main consideration. Particularly editions with so-called "sign-post criticisms" have been held up to ridicule by those who would think it impious or puerile to speak of anything but the geology of Alexander's Athos. But is it not a general experience that studying such editions is like ploughing deep and sowing good seed? There is the opportunity of raising a

huge crop of weeds, but in such a field, common sense is trained to tell the difference between wheat and tares. And often what seems a weed to one may prove moly to another if it is rightly cultivated. There is no disguising the fact, that even in the exposition of Shakspere, the ancients have stolen some of our best thoughts. Why not profit by what has been done, and so begin where the ancients have left off? Rowe's note of nigh two hundred years ago or Rolfe's note of yesterday ought to stimulate as good and original thought as you could obtain without them.

It is with Shakspere and one important class of his commentators as it is with painters and their subject. The original landscape is best, but the more familiar and dear it is to you, the more you covet the painter's interpretation. One artist may shed a sunset glory upon it; another may reveal it as through a moonlight atmosphere; still another may lend it a light which probably never was on sea or land. Or Ruskin may excel all with a mere word painting. One or all may seem true or false to you: the landscape is still the same, yet not the same. The old tree was there, but you had not noticed it particularly before; and now you think of it, why did not the artist see the possibilities in that bit of meadow at the side? It's well to look through another's eyes occasionally, when we get too near-sighted or too far sighted.

> "For, don't you mark? we're made so that we love
> First when we see them painted, things we have passed
> Perhaps a hundred times nor cared to see;
> And so they are better, painted—better to us,
> Which is the same thing. Art was given for that;
> God uses us to help each other so,
> Lending our minds out."

It is interesting to notice what progress has been made in Shaksperian work since the last great Variorum in 1821. The *Othello* then contained little more than the ordinary school editions of to-day. And it seems as though about everything valuable in Shaksperiana dated from the time of its publication. There is pleasure, too, in contrasting the work of Dr. Furness with somewhat similar tasks undertaken in the lively old days when a pen was not only mightier than a sword, but

a good deal sharper in a fencing-bout, and when the chief aim of Shaksperian scholars often seemed to be the discomfiture of rivals, and their inspiration was hatred of one another, rather than love for Shakspere. Dr. Furness is the most modest of editors, and one continually wishes for more of his individual opinions. But we are told that when Mr. Lippincott made the remark quoted at the beginning of this paper, the young editor "registered a vow before high heaven, to beware of presumption, and in his work especially, to take heed how he pushed forward his own opinions."

The latest volume of the New Varioum is in some respects the most interesting. Wordsworth classed *Othello* with "Plato's records of the last scenes in the career of Socrates, and Izaak Walton's *Life of George Herbert*," as "the most pathetic of human compositions;" and Macaulay ranked it as "perhaps the greatest work in the world." Besides the interest inspired by the play itself, the work of the editor, though it seemed about perfect before, is much better than in previous volumes. Instead of a new-made text, the reading of the First Folio is taken for the standard throughout; even obvious misprints are carefully reproduced. More attention is paid to "stage-business" than in former editions; and so far as they may aid appreciation, the gestures, emphasis, positions, and by-plays of the different actors are given as fully as possible. At III: iii, 375, where Iago has just obtained possession of the coveted handkerchief, we have seen an actor illustrate the lines,—

> "Trifles light as air
> Are to the jealous confirmations strong
> As proofs of holy writ,"

in a manner worthy the recognition of the Variorum. There was a quick glimpse of malevolent scheming in the way he tossed and quickly clutched the filmy trifle.

The latest volume of the New Variorum is the more readable because many more notes are given at the bottom of the page to which they relate, instead of in the back part, as in former volumes. One might still wish that there were more references under the text to the longer illustrative comments in the Appendix; and we wish that the Appendix itself were

occasionally annotated; but it is difficult to suggest any needed improvements in work so nearly perfect.

On p. 86 a note quoted from Ellacombe leaves the impression that the word "carat" is derived from the word "Carob." Skeat, in his Etymological Dictionary, shows that the words are cognate only. On p. 102 is a misprint: the reference to the *Faerie Queene* should be I: xi, 271. On p. 130, in the first line of the notes, "84" should be "83." On p. 235 the reference to Abbott's Shakesperian Grammar should be 515a. On p. 108, we think an explanation of the peculiar meaning of "Freeze," line 150, would be more valuable than, for instance the seemingly unnecessary note on "fond," just below. On p. 116, l. 259, the general reader can hardly be expected to understand accurately the note, "*diuell.* Another characteristic fling at Othello's color." There is probably an allusion to the customary representation of the Prince of Darkness in the miracle plays, and a note on this point would have been in place earlier in the play, at I: i, 99. Amid such wealth of comment one may be disappointed at finding a few passages which must give us pause, left without a suggestion. But if now and then one misses a favorite note, generally a little reflection will show that "in these cases we still have judgment here," and judgment rare among editors.

Crucial passages are exhaustively treated. The editor has very satisfactorily umpired a struggle between the critics and "the green-eyed monster," which is prolonged through nearly five pages of fine print. An equal amount of space is given to discussing the identity of "a fellow almost damned in a fair wife." In conclusion the editor mocks the meat he has fed on with: "I merely re-echo Dr. Johnson's words: 'This is one of the passages which must, for the present, be resigned to corruption and obscurity. I have nothing that I can, with any approach to confidence, propose.'" To one who has read the discussion, wherein forty odd critics give forty odder explanations, there is a fine Shaksperian irony in the use of the words "corruption and obscurity." It is a little strange that none of the commentators quoted have made any attempt to identify the "fellow" with Othello. It seems to be taken for granted that if Iago is not meant, then it must be Cassio.

Here is the passage as in the Folio. Iago is speaking of Othello: —

> "Three Great-ones of the Cittie,
> (In personall suite to make me his Lieutenant)
> Off-capt to him: and by the faith of man
> I know my price, I am worth no worsse a place.
> But he (as loving his own owne pride, and purposes)
> Evades them, with a bumbast circumstance,
> Horribly stufft with Epithites of warre,
> Non-suites my Mediators. For certes, saies he,
> I have already chose my Officer. And what was he?
> For-sooth, a great Arithmatician,
> One *Michaell Cassio*, a *Florentine*.
> (A Fellow almost damn'd in a faire wife)
> That never set a Squadron in the Field,
> Nor the deuision of a Battaile knowes
> More than a Spinster. Vnlesse the Bookish Theoricke:
> Wherein the Tongued Consuls can propose
> As Masterly as he. Meere pratle (without practise)
> Is all his Souldiership. But he (Sir) had th' election;
> And I (of whom his eies had seene the proofe
> At Rhodes, at Ciprus, and on others grounds
> Christen'd and Heathen) must be be-leed, and calm'd
> By Debitor and Creditor. This Counter-caster,
> He (in good time) must his Lieutenant be."

The certain facts are that the shrewd, scheming, intellectual, experienced Iago deserved the position far more than Cassio, and his friendship with the Moor must have led him to expect it. But Michael Cassio was an old friend of Desdemona's the one who deserved most from both Othello and his wife, and as messenger "went between them very oft" and "came a-wooing" with Othello. If Cassio hinted to Desdemona that he would like to be a Lieutenant what would be the result? The third scene of the third act shows us. After Cassio's unworthiness has been proved and he is in disgrace, and at a time when a good lieutenant should not be selected hap-hazard, Desdemona's entreaty that he be restored to his position is answered with "I will deny thee nothing." But when Cassio was first appointed, since Othello had been living a life of peace "for some nine moons," and anticipated a continuation of such life, as his marriage shows, it would not seem such a great risk if "in good time" Cassio should be given the easy position. Now from Iago's point of view when speaking above,

Othello's "occupation" was everything to him. So he should have the best officers obtainable. If at Desdemona's request he is persuaded to risk everything with *such* a lieutenant, surely he is a fellow almost damned by his fair wife's influence over him. The line then may well be a parenthetical comment on Othello. As we are treating nothing but the impression Iago seeks to give, we have nothing to do with actual reasons for Cassio's appointment. The best editors cannot understand the line as referring to Iago or Cassio. As no explanation like the above has ever been offered we humbly submit it for the consideration of the next Variorum editor.

In Othello's account of his courtship before the senators I iii. 181, the Folio reads:

> "My Storie being done,
> She gave me for my paines a world of kisses."

In Elizabethan script the words "sighs" and "kisses" with the long double s (*ſſ*) resembled one another. The notes on the passage are:

> POPE: *Sighs* is evidently the true reading. The lady had been forward indeed, to give him a world of *kisses* upon the bare recital of his story, nor does it agree with the following lines. [And yet we must remember that kissing in Elizabeth's time was not as significant as it is now. See the openness with which in II. i. Cassio kisses Emilia.—ED.]

Apparently the editor would offer some defence for retention of the Folio reading here, but for once his defence does not seem a good one, as a reference to the passage in II. i. shows.

There Cassio meets Desdemona and Emilia who have just landed after a long voyage. Pretty certainly Cassio was more intimately acquainted with Desdemona than with Emilia, and Desdemona is most friendly to him on all occasions. Then, in defence of the Folio, he should greet her as he does Emilia, with a kiss. But there is most marked difference in his manner toward the one and the other. Coleridge asks us to "note the exquisite circumstance of Cassio's kissing Iago's wife, as if it ought to be impossible that the dullest auditor should not feel Cassio's religious love of Desdemona's purity." And Cassio's kissing Emilia once is very different from Desdemona's giving "a world of kisses" to a new acquaintance in payment for some interesting stories.

In a note on II: i, 182, the editor asks:

"Ought not Roderigo to be disguised? Did not Iago tell him to defeat his favor with a usurped beard? It seems almost impossible to suppose that Cassio had never met in Venice, Desdemona's assiduous wooer Roderigo, and yet see line 297 of this scene, where Iago tells Roderigo that Cassio does not know him. Can this refer to anything else than to his 'defeated favour'?"

Apparently it does, for Cassio himself declares in V: i, 129, in answer to the question what malice was between him and Roderigo.' "None in the world, nor do I know the man." And the dialogue immediately preceding this speech is of such a nature that, had he known Roderigo in Venice, there could be no misunderstanding now The fact that Roderigo was Desdemona's assiduous wooer does not seem important here, for the manner of his wooing, by proxy, indicates an absence of intimacy at her father's house, where he might meet Cassio. And, too, Brabantio's behavior shows that his welcome there was worn out before the beginning of Cassio's intimacy. Furthermore Roderigo was not the kind of man Desdemona would meet oftener than was absolutely necessary.

There is difficulty in determining the place of the second scene of the fourth act. It seems to be an apartment in Othello's castle; there is only one objection to this. In Malone's words:

"Roderigo enters and discourses with Iago, which decisively ascertains the scene not to be in Othello's house; for Roderigo, who had given the first intelligence to Brabantio of his daughter's flight, and had shortly afterward drawn his sword on Othello and his partisans, certainly would not take the liberty of walking into his house at pleasure."

But this is just what Roderigo came to Cyprus for, we might say; and his presence in Othello's house is pretty well explained by lines 228, 229, of the same scene. Plainly he has come with a firm determination to "to make himself known to Desdemona," and it is with difficulty that Iago changes this purpose. Roderigo was not like other men. Moreover if there was something desperate in his actions at this point it would not be strange.

From the notes on IV: 1, 259, one first gets the impression that we are to believe that Othello is called home because of

insufficiency. A little farther on, in line 295, Lodovico, the bearer of the recall, speaks of him as "the noble Moor whom our full senate call all in all sufficient." It seems as though the chief value of these words was in their contradiction of the idea of insufficiency. May not Othello's own misgiving fall shrewdly to the purpose? In IV: 2, 53 Desdemona says:

> "If haply you my father do suspect
> An instrument in this your calling back,
> Lay not your blame on me."

In the critical extracts in the appendix the villainy of Iago of course receives much attention. There is one feature of it however, which is not noted and which has been missed or slighted by every commentator. The singular influence which Roderigo unconsciously exerts upon Iago, has never been shown. Having once began to dupe Roderigo, he can not get rid of him when he would, and so must continue to "expend time with such a snipe," even after "sport and profit" are no longer his rewards. So Roderigo unwittingly now leads and now pushes him into deeper villainy and more desperate and bloody action. There is material for an interesting essay in a study of this.

In fact one cannot read long in a volume of the New Variorium without seeing opportunities for many an essay of pleasing power and originality, so frequent are the undeveloped suggestions. And if any amateur Shakesperian club wishes to start well, in spite of Richard Grant White's advice to ignore all notes at first, we advise it to begin with Dr. Furness's "Othello." Then any unwarranted attack of the *cacoethes scribendi* will pass away agreeably and harmlessly in the discussions at the club meetings.

ERNEST WHITNEY.

ARTICLE IV.—PERKINS'S FRANCE UNDER MAZARIN.

France under Mazarin; with a Review of the Administration of Richelieu. By JAMES BRECK PERKINS. New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1886. 12 vols. 8vo.

To review a grave and solid work of historical literature at a time when it is passing into its third edition is to invite the reproach of the "Edinburgh" critic, of having disqualified one's self from impartial judgment by first reading the book. To this charge, if it be alleged against us, we must simply plead guilty. We have read every word of these handsome volumes, even with something like the studious diligence which they deserve. The public verdict already rendered by the somewhat unusual sale which the work has so soon commanded, we do not presume either to confirm or to overrule. We shall attempt, however, to give to those readers of *The New-Englander*, who have not yet acquainted themselves with the book, some reasons why it should be commended to their immediate attention as a contribution to French history in the English language of permanent and substantial value.

Perhaps, however, we may be permitted in doing this to reverse a course of comment which we have heretofore observed as so ordinary in book reviews as to have become normal if not obligatory. It is usual, and perhaps logical, to begin at the inside and move thence outwardly; to give some account first of the matter of the book, then to describe the manner of it, and at last commend or condemn the external material form with which the printer and binder have clothed it. What we have to say in disparagement of these volumes concerns so little the substantial character of the work that, if we are to show ourselves ill-natured at all, we prefer to have done with it at the outset, and pass speedily to considering the merits, both solid and brilliant, which some conspicuous external defects disfigure or obscure.

In the interest then, of pure æsthetics, as well as of the eye-

sight of readers, we protest against a mannerism of the printing office which has first shown itself within a score of years; which is as much justified by reason or taste as would be a revived whim for hoop-skirts or periwigs; and which at best should attain to no higher dignity of use than in an occasional pamphlet or a monthly magazine. These very handsome volumes, with their grave yet attractive exterior of smooth blue muslin and gilded upper edges, are printed, nevertheless, although upon thick "laid" paper, with the type which the printer calls "antique," and which is in fact the revival of a form of letters which advancing civilization had evolved out of existence a century ago. The round-bodied, full-faced characters with which the best American and English type-founders of a generation since, wedding utility to beauty, had perfected the work of presenting the spoken language to the eye, have been displaced by a set of spindle-legged, narrow-featured, misshapen figures, studiously unsymmetrical, whose single claim to respect is that they are different from something else. It is too bad that a work of the solid and enduring value of the one before us should carry to another generation the impression that typographical art in 1886 had made dismal retrogression since 1850. It is no less deplorable that the reader of 1887 should turn from these volumes to the pages of Parkman's or Palfrey's histories, or of any other from the University Press or that of John Wilson and Son, with some such sensation as if a piece of smoked glass or of muslin through which he had been trying to read had been taken away. Eye-sight goes soon enough in most men's lives. The wise men are agreed that the mediæval characters in which the Germans choose to do their reading are the cause of half the spectacles between the Rhine and the Vistula. We stand, therefore, upon solid ground in denouncing as public enemies those ungainly letters which put unnecessary strain upon the organs of sight, while offending against the canons of good taste, which cannot be at variance with those of good sense.

Nor can we feel sure, passing the objection to the choice of type, that both the author and the printer have done their full duty to the public in getting his writing into print. It is true that in the text there are some stumbling blocks in the form of foreign names, and that in the notes there are more in the form

of titles and quotations, Italian as well as French. The errors, however, obviously of the press alone, which bristle through the volumes, and which, however frequent in the foreign passages and names, are by no means confined to them, disfigure inexcusably and sometimes very seriously a work entitled to far better treatment. We have not attempted to note them all; and to specify all that we have noted would not be profitable. The French accents, it may be safely said by way of generalization, are sadly apt to be omitted or misplaced; and this is an error the less pardonable because it is one for which the proof-reader was bound to be especially on the watch. We cannot but be grateful, however, to author or printer who suffers us to read of the States-General of 1614 that "the cashiers asked that the regulations of commerce should be remodeled," (i. 56) considering the natural interest of financial officers in such a subject; but it was undoubtedly the *cahiers* which set forth such a demand.

So when we read that the war "now waged from the Baltic to the Straits" (i. 449), and on the same page read of a war "actually waging for some years before," we may safely attribute the eccentricity to the carelessness of the corrector rather than to a slip of the writer's pen. The same page, however, presents some such curious topographical complications as cannot with justice be laid to the charge of the proof-reader alone. "The villages of the Eglantine" may indeed have been those of the Engadine when written. But we can by no exercise of fancy relieve the author of responsibility for describing "the slopes of the Pyrenees descending through . . . Catalonia to the plains of Languedoc."

If the book were not so good as it is, we might not demand of the author the fine exactness which is so constantly wanting to make it better than it is. For some reason, however, which we are at a loss to discover, whether a haste of composition which has left no time to be correct, or an impatience of restraint by prevalent laws of speech, or an indifference to the finer elegances which come of care and polish, it results that small errors of the most obvious and avoidable kind sometimes mislead, but far oftener offend. To quote all that we have marked in the margins of our copy would be to make this arti-

cle look like a spelling-book or a page of *errata.* Some of them, however, we are bound to mention, of which many may already have been set right since the first edition, and others may meet a like fate in the issues which are yet to follow.

"Sully's name," we are told, "as is well known, was the Baron of Rosni" (i, 27, *note*). Now Sully's "name" was not that, any more than it was "the Duke of Sully"—any more than it could be said that "Castlereagh's name was the Marquis of Londonderry." The Viscount Castlereagh was undoubtedly also Marquis of Londonderry; but his "name" was simply Robert Stewart. And although the Duke of Sully was also Baron of Rosni, the only name he ever had was Maximilien de Béthune.

There is, indeed, an eccentricity in Mr. Perkins's dealings with the proper names which come in his way that cannot be explained upon the hypothesis of any imaginable method. A non-Catholic historian of the Froude may be pardoned for not having his Old Testament so well at command as the Cardinal against whom the Froude arose, and so for translating Mazarin's complaint of the ladies "who cause us every day more confusion than ever there was in *Babel*," as if he had written "Babylon" (ii. 69), which would have been far from a significant comparison. But there is a readiness to accept without inquiry whatever form of name offers itself in the document for the moment before the author's eye, which falls little short of what the law-writers call "gross" or "culpable negligence." Mr. Perkins concedes this, at least, to our American usage, that he tells us always of Vienna, never of "Wien," and of Cologne rather than "Köln." If, therefore, he writes of Brunswick as "Braunschweig" (i. 153, 450), or of Nuremberg as "Nürnberg" (i. 166), it is not from a rigid purism insisting that the people of a country are the best authority for its names, but simply because the book he was reading from was German, and he did not trouble himself to consider the English form of the names. There are many of his readers who will think twice before they will recognize Goldsmith's "lazy Scheldt" in "the Escaut" (i. 339), although they may be aided by finding Antwerp and not "Anvers" in the following line. To transfer from the French narrative which he was using, the name of "Pausil-

lippe," is a slip which would be more tolerable if the line above had spoken of "St. Janvier," and not, as it does, of "St. Gennaro" (i. 373). Nor can we quite approve of restoring even her own French name to one who became an English queen and mother of two English kings, and who is as little known to English speaking folk by any un-English name as would be the first Norman king by his name of Guillaume. Yet the wife of Charles I. is never mentioned except as "Henriette Marie" (ii. 289, *etc.*). But the most curious instance, perhaps, of the loose inexactitude of which we complain is in mentioning a certain body of Spanish troops, "commanded by Saint Croix," (i. 238). The gender of the adjective would itself attract notice, but inquiry might stop there but for the nationality mentioned. It is evident that the French writer before Mr. Perkins, after the prevalent French manner, had translated into his own language the name of the Marshal "de Santa Cruz," and that our author neither turned it back into its original, retained it fully in French, nor put it, as he might, completely into English as "Holy Cross."

Coming to the superficial faults of mere English expression, which we have found to be both more frequent and more offensive than can easily be excused in one who shows himself constantly so capable of both vigorous and elegant use of his native tongue, we should deem them hardly worth criticizing were the work generally less admirable than it is. It is, indeed, so good that there was no excuse for not making it better. The author of the passages which we shall quote has no right, as one less brilliant or less skillful with words might have, to fall into such common-place errors as to write: "there has been such excesses" (i. 45); "the Majesty Letter, by which was given * * rights nearly equal" (i. 147); "the two men whom it was believed would enjoy" (i. 255, *etc.*). It might be a mere inadvertence which should bring him to speak of Richelieu's "star" as "in the ascendancy" (i. 220), but that will not account for his finding such a preterit as "pled" for the verb "to plead" (i. 243), or adopting in repeated use such an abomination as "illy" (i. 404, *et passim*). The clumsy and unnecessary double pluperfect—"the part of prudence * * would have been to have waited" (i. 219)—is unhappily to be found sometimes in

more exact writers than Mr. Perkins; but it is only in grotesque dialogue that one expects usually to meet with "aggravate" in the sense of "irritate" or "exasperate" (ii. 293, 406). It is a curious perversion of a word from its natural use to speak of the "assault" of a town which continued for ten days (ii. 78); and it may perhaps be called mere hyperbole to say that "there was no money on hand" for ordinary expenses, "and still less to meet the demands of the army" (ii. 250).

There are, besides, whole classes of faults which may be brought together as newspaper neologisms, American colloquialisms, or the individual usages of the writer, without attributing them expressly to any one of those categories. A writer of French history in almost any age is compelled, for example, to make frequent mention of a close relation of the sexes unsanctified by the conjugal tie. Nor is the English language utterly bare of phrases by which to characterize the gentler of the parties to such a relation. No extreme diligence or profundity of research, indeed, would be needed to disclose an opulence of resource such as would have provided a distinct equivalent at least for every chapter of this work, if not quite for every page, without yet exhausting the wealth of ancient and modern English nomenclature. To Mr. Perkins, however, his language not only yields for this purpose nothing better than the weak and thin phrase "lady-love," but it seems to yield him nothing else; and so we have "lady-love" here, and "lady-love" there, from the beginning to the end of the book, until it really serves as a moral deterrent from reading the passages, alas! all too frequent and too entertaining, which touch upon the cogent force of the sexual instinct in French politics. Neither can we pardon the excessive overwork which is imposed upon the good English verb "to claim," by exercising it in its degraded American application. To pretend, to allege, to maintain, to accuse—all these good words, if not more, are replaced by this substitute which never was made for their work. "It was claimed that pirates" had committed great robberies (i. 109); "it was claimed" that the king was neglected (i. 77); and thus throughout. The wording of a treaty is called its "verbiage" (ii. 134, *note*). When "courtesans" are spoken of (i. 418), it is by no means as a synonym for "lady-

loves," for evidently courtiers are meant. And when we have mentioned that the plumes of the Gallic emblem are called "rooster's feathers" (ii. 17); that the Duke of Guise is said to have "interviewed" the authorities of Naples (i. 364); that in the Paris which already knew the Hotel Rambouillet the *cabarets* are called "saloons" (i. 58), we have given instances enough—so many, in fact, as to convey too unfavorable an impression—of the faults we criticize.

The errors, however, which we have now at so great length specified and complained of, are errors of external form and expression alone. From substantial errors of statement or of judgment the whole work is singularly free. But for these frequent but superficial faults even ungenerous criticism would be ready to accept the work as the mature product of a professional student of French history. It is indeed true that the leisure of many years has been devoted by Mr. Perkins almost exclusively to the diligent study of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in France; that an occasional episode has been described by him in the periodical press with admirable vigor and lucidity; and that the special preparation for these volumes involved many months of residence in Paris, with incessant labor and research in the National Library, among not only the innumerable publications of the period in question, but its treasures of unpublished manuscripts as well. It could hardly be guessed, however, by a stranger who knew of him only by his book, that he is a lawyer in extensive and successful practice, and that while still a young man he has been able to steal from so exacting a profession the time required for so large, so solid, and so brilliant a work as this. It would not have been strange if there had crept into it graver and more numerous mistakes, besides such as we have pointed out, than close scrutiny can in fact detect. A moment's reflection would have saved him from selecting the "accounts" of an American Secretary of the Treasury as an illustration of anything (ii. 337). And it is perhaps a striking evidence of the small part which feudal principles now play in the New York law of real estate, that a lawyer of high standing in that Commonwealth is absolutely unaware of the meaning of the phrase "heir-apparent;" for again and again he misuses those words, in such connection

as itself makes the error conspicuous. Upon the unexpected birth of a son to Anne of Austria, the Duke of Orleans, it is said, "ceased to be the heir-apparent" (i. 201, 209; and so ii. 318, 219). Now what constitutes an heir-apparent is that he can by no circumstance cease to be such except by his own death, or by coming into his inheritance. If his inheritance is less certain than this, he is nothing more than heir-presumptive; and this is what Gaston of Orleans was until the "God-given" came between him and the crown.

We should have been glad if the author had spared now and again a moment from the swift movement of his narrative for a fuller explanation of matters which may be clear and familiar to him, but which no one who reads French history for instruction can reasonably be supposed to know. With the gradual extinction of the constitutional rights of the Parliaments, and especially of the Parliament of Paris, which was going on under the two great Cardinals, the use of the "bed of justice" was perhaps more frequent than ever before, when kings were too weak to dare it, or ever after, when kings were too strong to need it. Something more, therefore, might well have been said in elucidation of this curious phrase, which contains in itself no suggestion of its origin or meaning, than that "the throne on which the king sat" had its back and sides "made of bolsters and it was called a bed" (i. 388, *note*). The primitive meaning of *lit* (*lectus*) was quite as much "couch" for sitting or reclining—a seat covered with a canopy—as "bed." When therefore this padded sofa, like the English "woolsack" except that it was to be occupied by the king's person instead of the king's chancellor, was set up in the Parliament, the maxim that in the king's presence all inferior functions, which depended upon him, were suspended (*adveniente principe cessat magistratus*) took effect; his simple command made the law (*quod principi placuit legis habet vigorem*), and his servants, the judges, had but to register and declare it.

Thus too, the threat of the Cardinal de Retz that he would, in a certain case, "don the Isabel scarf" (ii. 155) conveys certainly but little meaning to the fairly intelligent reader. There is nothing to tell him, what he could hardly guess without being told, that "Isabel" is a color; that the scarf of that color was

the distinctive badge of the partisans of "Monsieur le Prince;" and that the color was a tawny yellow. Far less could he conceive of the delicately romantic tale which joined the name to the color: how half a century before the Froude, the Arch-Duchess Isabel, daughter of Philip II. of Spain, and governor of the Low Countries, resolved early in the three years' siege of Ostende, never, until her husband should be victorious, to change her most intimate raiment; and that when success at last had crowned his efforts, her heroic constancy was commemorated by giving her name to the rich tint by that time pervading her apparel.

We have probably shown that it is easier than it ought to be to find faults in this brilliant yet substantial work. If it is not, however, far easier to present its merits in a review, it is because the limits of a review forbid the largeness of quotation necessary to do so fairly. That the faculty of clear, forcible, compact yet graceful speech belongs to Mr. Perkins in no common measure we shall have no trouble in showing by such examples as may be conveniently selected. Sustained narrative, however; philosophic insight, and broad and comprehensive understanding of a period, an institution, or a character; all these we cannot prove by excerpts to be disclosed by the history we have in hand. The reader who doubts our judgment must read for himself; so shall he be convinced, and rejoice that he has doubted.

Of the general plan and the actual execution of the work, except in such details as we have so profusely criticized, little but what is good can be said. No complete or fairly intelligible account of the eighteen years of Mazarin's administration could ever be given that should exclude its relation with the government of France by his greater predecessor. The disciple could be but half understood without some knowledge of the master. A rapid and vigorous sketch, therefore, outlines the condition of the kingdom at the moment when the dagger of Jacques Clément brought an end to the house of Valois, and when returning peace and prosperity, under the apostacy of Henry and the administrative genius of Sully, were bringing internal wealth and happiness, and establishing the foreign influence of the monarchy. This compact yet lucid story pre-

pares the reader for a somewhat fuller account of the wretched minority of Louis XIII. and the profligate regency of Mary de' Medici, and a description of the summoning and the session of the States-General in 1614, of their gradual rise and development, and of their inherent defects and weaknesses, which seem to us to be among the best summaries to be found of this interesting institution.

Passing rapidly, but with effective graphic force, through the whole administration of Richelieu, the accession of Mazarin to power, at the very height of the Thirty Years' War, introduces a much greater fullness of narrative, with no diminution, however, of energy and vivacity. We do not know where, indeed, in English history a more complete and intelligent account is to be found of the rise and the constitution of the French judicial system, of the various provincial Parliaments, and especially of the Parliament of Paris, which struggled so long, and often so nobly, to establish itself into a check and a regulator of absolute despotism, than in the chapters recounting the prolonged conflict which, at the moment when the Treaty of Westphalia was restoring peace to Europe, was opening in France the petty war of the Fronde. It may serve to give some idea of the method and the manner of the author if we present a few passages from this admirable account.

"In France, as in other countries, the tendency was to increase the number and influence of those who sat in such courts as the king's officers. Alike from their own disinclination and from the greater activity of the royal officials, those holding their places simply from their feudal position constantly took less interest and less part in the decisions of the court. A similar change affected the courts of the feudal lords. The transfer of power from untutored nobles to learned clerks became a necessity by the development of the law. However well fitted to pass upon some question of the chase, to adjudge the delinquency of a villein failing to pay his feudal dues, to adjust the quarrels of the chief equerry with the chief huntsman, the nobles found themselves alike perplexed and bored when complicated questions came before them, to be decided by still more complicated rules of law. Once the judgment of God, the test of hot ploughshares and boiling water, had been appealed to for the decision of embarrassing questions of fact, and the duties of a jury had been imposed upon the Almighty. But such modes of determining the right and exposing the wrong fell into disuse, and with the increasing study and influence of the civil law came the necessity of having clerks learned in it, to act as advisers to the court. The advisers and assistants

in time became judges. They exchanged the bombazine for the ermine. To hear prolix discussions of Latin texts which they could not understand, containing rules of law which they could not comprehend, was repugnant to gentlemen who did not wish to exchange their swords for inkstands. It was not pleasant for a gentleman longing for the chase or the tournament to listen to a tedious and confusing trial, only to become in his decision the mouth-piece of some black-gowned student of Bologna, who did not know the first rules of venery, and who was ignorant alike of the art of the troubadour and the weight of a coat of mail. A tendency to substitute clerks as judges in the place of nobles was encouraged by kings who, like Philip Augustus, St. Louis, and Philip the Fair, sought the extension of a centralized royal authority. Alike from their studies and their desire for promotion, the legists were eager to lay down rules which increased the authority of the king; and the principles of Roman law, established under the empire, were the grounds for claining powers for the kings like those of the emperors" (i. 380–1).

"The judiciary thus established with a permanent power soon became, to a large extent, an hereditary body. Such a result, unusual in judicial history and unwholesome in its effects, was due to the fact, so sharply distinguishing the French from the English courts, that the judicial offices became objects of open barter and sale: sold by the government in its financial needs, and bought by whoever was willing to pay the highest price. Under Louis XII. the sale of judicial offices began to be a recognized source of income. Such sales, made at first with some concealment and much remonstrance, were extended during the reign of Francis I. That monarch, surrounded in his own day and in history by a false glamour of an expiring chivalry and a dawning renaissance, worked evil in almost every branch of the French government. As the sale was open, so the purchaser was not deemed infamous. The prices paid, which are said not to have exceeded 30,000 *livres*, show that the places had not yet become of great value. It was easy to establish offices for which there was a ready demand, and the constant creation of new judgeships, which necessarily lessened the profits of those already existing, was a perpetual grievance to the Parliament, and was one of the causes of the troubles of the Fronde" (i. 383–4).

"Though the first, the Parliament of Paris was not the only one of these great bodies. Parliaments were from time to time established at Toulouse, Grenoble, Bordeaux, Dijon, Rouen, Aix, Pau, Rennes, and Metz. Each of these was the supreme court in the territory for which it was created. The Parliament of Paris was the oldest and of the greatest dignity, but it had no appellate jurisdiction over the other Parliaments.

"Not only was there no single court of ultimate review, but there was no uniform law which prevailed over all France, as did the common law over England. Different systems of jurisprudence prevailed in different provinces. There were the countries of the 'droit écrit,' in which the civil law was recognized, and the countries 'des coûtumes,'

where local usages and customs had grown into a local system of law, which was administered by the courts. What was legal in Normandy might be criminal in Provence. The litigant entitled to recover at Rennes might be non-suited at Aix. Breakfasting at Nîmes, a guiltless man, when he reached Arles for dinner he might find himself subject to the penalties of the law. Not until the French Revolution was there a uniform law for Frenchmen of every rank and residence" (i. 385–6).

We cannot help regretting, as we read these vivid descriptions of institutions and picturesque narratives of events, that the entire history is so exclusively what it professes to be, a history of France during the government of the two cardinals, that it makes little effort to give a simultaneous view of the operation in other nations of the forces and tendencies which showed themselves in the brief and contemptible uprising of the Fronde, in the mercenary rebellions of the great nobles, in the steady consolidation of the royal despotism, the steady suppression of local and provincial liberties, the ultimate extinction of the great Protestant communion. There are, indeed, by no means wanting allusions to contemporaneous events in England and the Low Countries. The story of the rise of the Parliament, from which we have quoted, suggests instructive comparisons with the English institution the same in name, yet so different in character and in fortune. We shall give other examples of the illustration of French occurrences by the side-light of English events, so felicitous and so effective as to add surprise to our regret that they are so few. For there is after all little in all the book to remind the reader that within the years covered by the two cardinals' administration the contest of the English Parliament against the Crown began, passed through its long stage of legal disputation, its fierce and bloody war, and culminated in the deposition and execution of the monarch; that still within that period an English Republic was established, completed a glorious if brief existence, and gave way to a monarchy of powers so limited that a Bourbon king would have thought himself in like case to be rather serving than reigning; and that precisely in these forty years England was laying in the wilderness the immovable foundations of a power which was shortly to surpass both France and England in the elements of national greatness. Neither entertainment nor instruction might be wanting in a comparison of Condé with

Cromwell, of Laud with Richelieu, of Retz with Baxter, of the Ironsides with the wearers of the Isabel scarf, of Pym and Hampden with—whom? Yet if many such opportunities for rhetorical effect or of collateral illustration are neglected, it is not for want of capacity in the author to make profitable use of them. There is admirable effectiveness, for example, in this comparison of the French and English ways of raising constitutional questions. A decree of the Council had established a new impost on all provisions entering Paris, and this decree had been registered by the Court of Aids.

"It was now claimed that for it to grant registration to such an edict as this was to usurp the powers of the Parliament. Had France resembled England, such a question would have been settled by a proceeding trivial in appearance, but really of great importance. Some farmer would have refused to pay the tax of a few sous on a bushel of turnips which he had brought to Paris for sale. The collector would have seized them for the duty, and a suit against him for a small amount would have raised the question whether the verification of the Court of Aids was of any avail, and could justify the collection of the impost. It would have been argued at length by learned counsel, and the decision of the highest court would have set the matter at rest. But in France great constitutional suits have been rare. Apart from differences in procedure and temperament, the supremacy of the courts of law, even within their own jurisdiction, was not sure to be respected. The king's council might assume to annul the decision of the Parliament on a matter which was of political importance, or at an early stage of the case it might be taken from the process of the ordinary courts to be passed upon by some tribunal believed to be more tractable. While the courts protested against such encroachments, the authority of the king was so vague, its excesses were so little restrained by defined boundaries, that such acts did not receive the universal condemnation that would make them dangerous and of no avail" (i. 313).

It is interesting, too, to find indications here and there that the fierce light and heat in which the English Republic was founded were at least seen and felt in France. Just six weeks after Charles's head fell at Whitehall, on the 13th of March, 1649, it was observed that in a raging Paris mob in front of the palace of the Parliament cries of "A Republic" were set up (ii. 29). And it was while the English Protectorate was at the summit of its power and glory that a complete scheme for a republican government for south-western France was taken into consideration by Condé, with almost universal suffrage, with

freedom of conscience and of trade, trial by jury, and an almost American Bill of Rights (ii. 241–2).

Nor can we deny ourselves the pleasure, at the risk of omitting other passages which we desire to quote, of reproducing part of the paragraphs in which Mr. Perkins compares the failure of the Huguenots with the triumph of the English Puritans.

"The Huguenots had much in common with the Puritans. Their creed was largely the same; they professed the same Calvinistic tenets; they favored the same strict and formal morality; they eschewed the love of pleasure and worldly amusements; they suffered oppression from a dominant church, whose members they regarded as the servants of mammon and far removed from the pure truths of God. They sought to be relieved from the Scarlet Woman, to be preserved from episcopacy, prelacy, and papacy. They took up arms against a government which they believed was disregarding earthly laws and persecuting God's saints.

"Yet the Huguenot party ended in failure and the Puritan party attained unto victory. Not only in the brief rule of Cromwell, but in the subsequent history of England, Puritan principles won the day. The established church, indeed, still holds to its stately ceremonial and its ancient service. Its bishops still proclaim their apostolic succession. A peer in lawn sleeves sits in the bishop's chair at St. Paul's; a dean with surplice and stole preaches at Westminster Abbey; but England has become Puritan. The principles of Milton have triumphed over those of Laud. The Englishman of to-day wears a Puritan dress; his Sunday is the Puritan Sunday; his morals are Puritan; his political rights are those for which the Puritans fought. The clergy of the established church, in all but manners and external address, are a Puritan clergy. The man who berates the Roundheads and believes he would have died for the Royal Martyr has become, in all but name, one of those who brought Charles to the block" (i. 90–91).

The review of the twelve years' negotiations which ended a war of thirty years in the treaty of Westphalia is one of the most compact and effective chapters in the book; the summary with which it closes is as follows:

"As beginning an era of toleration and of religious tranquility; as the end of a century of relentless warfare over religion, the Peace of Westphalia seemed to usher in an epoch of comparative peace and good-will. But its effects upon the political life of Germany was far less beneficial. The establishment of the power and separate rights of a multitude of petty sovereigns meant that Germany's opportunity to become a nation was gone. Tyrannical and selfish as were the ambitions

and purposes of Ferdinand II., his political views were wiser than those of his opponents. Had Ferdinand gained supreme power he might, perhaps, have succeeded in extirpating Protestantism in Germany, and that would have been the greatest evil the land could have suffered; but apart from that danger, if Germany must suffer from despotism it was far better for her development that she should have one despot than that she should have three hundred. For Richelieu to check the power of Austria and neutralize the strength of the Empire was wise according to his light. For Germany itself this result was long fatal to its progress. In a country already depopulated by thirty years of war, a horde of little princes ruling over petty principalities restrained, and checked, and choked all national growth. For a hundred years Germany could hardly claim to have a history, either political or intellectual. Nor did any universal well-being atone for the lack of more stirring achievement. There was no fowl in the pot; there was no fresh thought in the brain; there was only a princelet aping Louis XIV., and a peasant starving on half a black loaf. Austria was perhaps a less dangerous factor in European politics than she might have become, but this advantage was dearly bought by retarding the growth of the nation" (i. 482–3).

We shall make no attempt either to outline the author's narrative of the whole course of the Fronde, or to offer a taste of its quality by extracts from it; for neither outlines nor extracts could give a just impression of the merit of his work. The two full chapters, however, in which he presents, at the close of the continuous narrative, a picture of the social condition of the people and the methods of administration during the period which it covers, while every line of them would repay perusal apart from the rest of the work, invite quotation. We do not at this moment recall any similar conspectus which may be so fitly, or with so small disparagement, compared with the famous third chapter of Macaulay. One minute account, indeed, of almost photographic exactness, conveys a more distinct impression of what was wrought by war throughout French territory during these years than any general statement could do; and only the exigencies of space prevent our reproducing the whole of it. A notary of the little town of Marle, near Laon in north-eastern France, kept a dry statistical record of what happened there from 1636 to 1665. For at least twenty consecutive years of this time there was not one but brought with it the burning of houses, the murder of citizens, the violation of women, the pillaging of goods, the trampling and wasting of crops. Nor were other towns in the diocese better off.

"At Montcornet, where there were three hundred families, seven hundred persons had died. Neither laborers could be found, nor horses nor oxen, for working the fields. Seventy houses had been burned at Marjot out of one hundred and ten. Men and women who had been mutilated were numerous in the diocese. For almost a year many had eaten only roots and spoiled fruit. Some had occasionally obtained bread so bad that hardly a dog would eat it. Some were found in caves in which they had taken refuge. In the faubourgs of Saint Quentin the houses had been burned. Twenty-five mud huts had been put up, and in each of them the missionaries found two or three sick, and in one of them ten. Two women and eight children were lying on the ground in one hut entirely without clothes. Of the curés of the diocese, eighty had died and one hundred had been forced to leave. During the winter it was said that every day as many as two hundred persons died of hunger in the provinces of Picardy and Champagne" (ii. 400).

"The year 1652 brought no change. * * There was no longer much in the diocese to plunder. Of three hundred parishes it was said that one hundred and fifty had been abandoned. * * Those who had been worth 60,000 *livres* were now without bread. Nothing but straw to sleep on was left for most of the inhabitants of the country. There were six hundred orphans under twelve in the small city of Laon. * * In 1660, it was said that not only here, but in all Picardy, Champagne, and Lorraine, it was rare to find a house where there was sufficient bread, that a bed covering was seldom seen, that the well and the sick slept on straw, and had only their rags to cover them" (ii. 401-3).

We pass over still more abhorrent details of the wretchedness into which half a century of uncontrolled and profligate misgovernment had brought a people which was, at the death of Henry IV., probably the happiest in Europe, to quote the closing paragraph of the chapter in which they are contained:

"The French peasant and laborer of to-day, if we compare him with his ancestor two centuries ago, eats a larger loaf of better bread; his house is lighter, larger, and drier; he has more salt and sugar with his food; he does not fear that he will be imprisoned for taxes, or that the landlord will whip his son or the collector insult his daughter; he occasionally has meat for his dinner; he has his voice in the choice of the representative who shall fix the amount he must pay the government; he drinks more wine, of a better quality; and he smokes his pipe with contentment, as he surveys the piece of land that is his own. The sufferings of the past were so sharp that years have not softened their remembrance, and he indulges in no repinings for the "good old times," and as he considers the difference in his lot he is equally thankful for the industrial improvement of this century, and for the social revolution of seventeen hundred and eighty-nine" (ii. 409-410).

We have already so nearly approached, if we have not exceeded, the limits allowed to this article that we must omit many

passages noted for quotation, which might more fully illustrate the author's closeness of observation and energy and felicity of of expression. Those which follow must be limited to but a few lines each.

In 1655 was concluded the treaty of Westminster between France and the English Commonwealth, after long negotiations which

"well illustrate Mazarin's character. He showed much humility and some lack of dignity in his endeavors to obtain Cromwell's alliance. He was resolved he would take no offence at what England did; he abandoned the Stuarts; when he was smitten on one cheek he turned the other to be smitten, but at last he obtained what he desired, and that which he desired was what France needed. If Mazarin had been punctilious and eager to take offence, his historical pose would at times seem more heroic, but he might have driven England into a Spanish alliance, and the great war which forever established France's superiority might have been ended with disaster and disgrace, with Calais ceded to England, Alsace to Spain, and Guienne to the Prince of Condé as an independent sovereign" (ii. 297).

In the electoral contest which followed the death of the emperor Ferdinand III.:

"Saxony was wholly in the interests of Austria. The present elector resembled his father in his great consumption of liquor. He combined with this much zeal for the Lutheran faith: to call a man a Calvinist was his bitterest term of reproach, and his piety was such that on the days when he received the communion he never got drunk in the morning. But the French succeeded in obtaining the favor of the electors of Mayence and Cologne. The Archbishop of Mayence was the leading spirit in the college and a man of large ability. He lived well, but without excess. His dinners began at noon, but were always ended by six. He never exceeded his six pints of wine at a meal, and he had strength given him to take that amount without affecting the gravity and decorum befitting an archbishop" (ii. 314).

In 1622 the Marshal Duke of Lesdiguières, apostatizing at eighty to the Catholic church, "turned from the benediction of the archbishop to receive the sword of the constable.

"No other dignity in the world has been held by such a succession of great soldiers as the office of Constable of France. The constable was originally a mere officer of the stables, but his power had increased by the suppression of the office of Grand Seneschal, and by the time of Philip Augustus he exercised control over all the military forces of the crown. He was the general-in-chief of the army and the highest military authority in the kingdom. The constables had for four centuries been leaders in the wars of France, and they had experienced strange and

varied fortunes. The office had been bestowed on the son of Simon de Montfort, and he for this honor had granted to the king of France his rights over those vast domains which had been given his father for his pious conquests. It had been bestowed on Raoul de Nesle, who fell at Courtrai, where the French nobility suffered their first defeat from Flemish boors; on Bertrand de [du] Guesclin, the last of the great warriors, whose deeds were sung with those of the paladins of Charlemagne; on Clisson, the victor of Roosebeck; on Armagnac, whose name has a bloody preëminence among the leaders of the fierce soldiery who ravaged France during the English wars; on Buchan, whose Scotch valor and fidelity gained him this great trust among a foreign people; on Richemont, the companion of Joan Darc; on Saint Pol, the ally of Charles the Bold, the betrayed and the victim of Louis XI.; on the Duke of Bourbon, who won the battle of Pavia against his sovereign, and led his soldiers to that sack of Rome which made the ravages of Genseric and Alaric seem mild; on Anne of Montmorenci, a prominent actor in every great event in France from the battle of Pavia against Charles V. to that of St. Denis against Coligni; on his son, the companion of Henry IV. in his youth, and the trusted adviser of his age. Its holders had won victories in Spain, Portugal, Italy, Germany, and Flanders; they had defeated the English; they had led armies against the Saracens in Palestine, the Albigenses in Languedoc, and the Huguenots in France; they had fallen by the hand of the Paynim, of the Flemish, the Italians, and the French; on the field of battle, and at the block of the executioner.

"The sword borne by such men had been bestowed on Luines, the hero of an assassination, who could not drill a company of infantry; it was now given to the hero of many battles, and the great office was to expire in the hands of a great soldier. The power of the office was inconsistent with the monarchical tendencies of Richelieu, and it was abolished by an edict of Louis XIII." (i. 94–5).

The epigrammatic pungency which appears in some of the passages already quoted is still more conspicuous in others. The pompous ceremonial with which Louis XIII. publicly put himself and his kingdom under the special protection of the Virgin Mary is thus referred to: "This curious manifestation of piety, more to be expected in the twelfth than in the seventeenth century, attracted but little attention. The religious feeling of the mass of the French was not sufficiently strong to be affected by it, and had not become sufficiently sceptical to jest about it. They had drifted away from St. Louis and had not reached Voltaire" (i. 202). At the close of the Fronde, Madame de Longueville was "allowed to retire. She was wearied of the disappointments of love and politics, and she desired a life of religious penance. From Bordeaux she rejoined her aunt, the widow of Montmorenci, in the convent of

the Visitation. The next year, wishing still more to do penance for her past sins, she returned to her husband in Normandy, and lived with him until his death" (ii. 244). When Cardinal de Retz was at odds with the government, his Port Royal friends "bade him follow the examples of the holy bishops who remained concealed in deserts and caverns in times of persecution. He so far imitated them that his whereabouts were often unknown for considerable periods. Unfortunately the imitation was not complete. His follower says that he grew fond of wandering obscurely from tavern to tavern, and that while he compared his lot to that of the holy anchorites, he found consolation in the society of rope-dancers and ballet-girls. An archbishop posing as Athanasius and caressing Phyllis in a hostelry was the sight presented to the faithful" (ii. 277). The first president, Belliévre, led the Parliament in a struggle against Mazarin which resulted in an amicable adjustment. The next summer, Mazarin sent him 300,000 *livres*, "to reward him for his discreet conduct in quieting the opposition of his associates. The president was singularly fortunate in this matter. He preserved the good will of the Parliament for his apparent zeal in its behalf; he obtained the favor of the government and a great sum of money; and he has gone into history as the liberty-loving judge, who dared to plead for the interests of the state to the very face of a booted and enraged monarch" (ii. 282).

If we were to stop here, without another word of comment upon this book, we should pay it at least the compliment of imitation. The chapter upon Port Royal with which the volumes close, admirable and interesting as it certainly is, has nevertheless no organic relation to the structure of the work. It is a wholly independent essay, upon a subject belonging to the period indeed, but seeming to be appended to an already completed work. But of this, and of the work to which it is annexed, and which, like the appended chapter, with an admirable artlessness simply stops when it has done, we may say that it supplies a conspicuous deficiency in French history as it is written in our language, and supplies it so well that many a reader will receive from it his first impression of the fascinations which surround the history of that brilliant and passionate people, from its dawn until now.

THEODORE BACON.

UNIVERSITY TOPICS.

CLASSICAL AND PHILOLOGICAL SOCIETY OF YALE COLLEGE.

Oct. 31, 1887, Mr. W. L. Cushing presented a communication on

The Greek Theatre at Thoricus.

This Theatre is situated at the base of a hill about two miles north of Laurium, near a village named Therikó.

The allusions of classical writers to the deme of Thoricus are scanty. Herodotus and Thucydides, each refer to it once, but only as a geographical point. In the speeches of Demosthenes the name Thoricus occurs as the home of certain witnesses, and by others it is several times referred to without description. The only definite historical allusions are by Xenophon who speaks of the building of a military wall at Thoricus during the Peloponnesian war and by the geographer Mela, who writes: "Thoricus et Brauronia, olim urbes, jam tantum nomina."

In legends it is named as one of the twelve Attic cities in the time of Cecrops, as the home of Cephalus, and as the place where Dionysus first landed in Attica.

In the present century many travelers have visited and described the theatre, but their accounts are conflicting. Eighteen months ago excavations were undertaken under the direction of members of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, with funds voted by the Managing Committee of that School.

The purposes of the excavations were to examine the unique form of the surrounding wall which describes a curve resembling that of a sickle, to examine also an abutment which contains a so-called Tiryns arch; and to discover if possible something which would throw light on the relations between orchestra and stage in Greek theatres.

The excavations were begun in the spring of 1886, interrupted during the summer, and finished in the fall of the same year. The peculiar form of the outside wall was found to be caused by an inferior inner wall, the existence of which was not before

known or suspected; this inner wall marks the original limits of the theatre, which was at a later time enlarged by means of the outer wall. The effort to make the new wall parallel with the old one resulted in this irregular curve. The want of symmetry in the first made wall was due to the poverty of the people who built it, for they made use of a natural hollow in the hillside, and made no effort to shape it according to the geometrical rules which governed the construction of all other Greek theatres now known to us. Poverty of means and perhaps of taste, must explain also the use of unhewn slabs for seats, and the irregularity of the two flights of steps by which access was gained to the auditorium from below.

The two abutments at the rear served as means of approach to the highest tiers of seats. The Tiryns arch was designed as a passage way for those spectators who approached from Thoricus on the southwest and were obliged to ascend the second abutment. These were prevented from passing around the first abutment by the steep ledges of the hill here and by the situation of the Necropolis in the rear of the theatre.

No signs of foundations for a stage or scene structure were discovered, from which it may be inferred that this theatre was designed only for the production of simple choral dances and for the other sports of the rustic worship of Dionysus.

The orchestra floor was of earth. At the west end of the orchestra the ruined foundations of a small temple were brought to light. Sufficient remains were found to show that this was an Ionic temple *in antis.* Its situation, facing the east and the orchestra, is significant.

The art remains are few and unimportant.

A peculiar cutting in the rock at the east end of the orchestra, forming a perpendicular wall 50 feet long, seems to have had no connection with the purpose of the theatre. It is probably much older than the theatre.

The time of construction of the main wall, as determined by comparing it with other walls of the same workmanship, the builders of which are known, was probably the 4th century, B. C.

Nov. 14, Dr. T. D. Goodell, of Hartford, presented a communication on

Ancient Stone-Sawing at Tiryns and Mycenae.

The paper referred to the controversy between Mr. W. J. Still-

man and Messrs. Dörpfeld & Schliemann, which turned largely on the date of the invention of stone-sawing, and on the question as to whether the marks of such sawing at Mycenae and Tiryns were prehistoric or not. By description of these marks and the situations in which they are found it was shown that they were prehistoric. A fragment of breccia from Mycenae on which such marks may be seen was exhibited to the Society. The literary tradition was briefly recapitulated and shown to go back to about 600 B. C., while the monuments are several centuries older. The method of work in those early ages was essentially the same as that in use to-day. So far as we yet have evidence on the subject, the art of stone-sawing was learned by the Greeks from the Egyptians, where alone traces have been found of such work of an equally early period.

The Secretary read extracts from a recent letter from Athens, giving an account of a visit to the ancient site of Icaria, and of the ruins there.

THE MATHEMATICAL CLUB.

Tuesday, Oct. 18, Mr. E. H. Moore, Jr., presented a communication

On Triangles in a Plane having Multiply Perspective Relations.

Two triangles, ABC, DEF, are *in perspective* when for a certain correspondence of the vertices the lines joining corresponding vertices (say AD, BE, CF) meet in a point, the *center of perspective*. There are six correspondences of the vertices of the two triangles, depending on the six ways the letters D, E, F may be paired with A, B, C respectively. These may be divided into two cyclic sets, AD, BE, CF; AE, BF, CD; AF, BD, CE, and AD, BF, CE; AF, BE, CD; AE, BD, CF, such that by any cyclic interchange of the letters DEF the members of each set are permuted in and do not leave that set. Two correspondences of the vertices are called cyclic or non-cyclic with each other according as they belong to the same or different sets.

Two triangles may be singly perspective. They may be doubly perspective, but if the two correspondences of the vertices are cyclic with each other, then they are in perspective also according to the

third correspondence of that set. In this last case the three centers of perspective, say G, H, I, are vertices of a triangle triply perspective with each of the original triangles, the three centers being in each case the three vertices of the other original triangle, the three triangles thus playing equivalent rôles. The two (and so the three) triangles may be in perspective in still a fourth way, necessarily non-cyclic with the others. If the triangles could be in perspective in still a fifth way, the fourth and fifth correspondences would be necessarily cyclic with each other and so the triangles would be in perspective also according to the third correspondence of that second set. Then (calling the three new centers of perspective, KLM) of the four triangles, ABC, DEF, GHI, KLM, any two would be sextuply perspective, the centers, being the six vertices of the other two triangles, the four triangles thus playing equivalent rôles. This case however cannot occur with real triangles, but has its only interpretation with so-called *imaginary* triangles.

THE POLITICAL SCIENCE CLUB.

October 28th Mr. Frederick W. Moore read a paper on

The Charter of New London, Conn.

New London was one of the five Connecticut cities incorporated in 1784, and its early charter history was typical of that of the others. The first charters were not provided for by the constitution but were given by the legislature and consequently did not completely supplant the town governments, as was the case in Massachusetts: they were rather supplementary. Charter developement in the state has been chiefly in the line of encroachments on the functions of the town. By the revised charter of New London, adopted in 1874, all town duties and rights, not guaranteed by the constitution, are made the duties and rights of the city. There is now one treasury, one assessment, one election of local officers. The standard of criticism by which the charters of Brooklyn and Philadelphia are judged, it was contended, was not applicable to a small city which was reasonably well governed. Great population and wealth and proportionately greater taxes and political activity

have broken down in the former city a charter system which is still sufficient for New London.

At the meeting of the club on Nov. 18, a paper was read by Mr. A. Coit, on The English Villein and his successor the Agricultural Laborer. The general unfavorableness of English legislation to the agricultural class was shown by reference to such acts as that of 1563 by which the enforcement of a seven-years apprenticeship for artisans still farther overcrowded the supply of farm laborers. The issue of debased currency begun by Henry VIII. in 1543, was noticed as an illustration of the tendency of such measures to affect the wages class quicker than other classes.

During the discussion which followed the reading of the paper, Thorold Rogers's statement, that the laborer in the early part of this century was inferior in condition to the laborer of the sixteenth century, was interpreted to mean that the absolute condition of the latter was not better but merely that his position relative to the possibilities of life at the time was better than the former's.

CURRENT LITERATURE.

PROF. FISHER'S HISTORY OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH.*—The historical writings of Prof. Fisher are the ripe fruits of life-long studies, and as successive volumes appear, they call increasingly for the grateful recognition of a wide circle of students and readers. The volume just published, entitled "History of the Christian Church," is a worthy succession of the "Outlines of Universal History," which appeared two years since; and the two together form the most complete summary of historical facts, in so small a compass, with which we are acquainted.

This last work especially supplies a real and growing want. There is a large and rapidly increasing number, not merely of special students, but of educated persons generally, who are desirous of access to a historical work which shall give a reliable and thorough knowledge of the history of Christianity in its relations to political history, and also to the history of religious doctrine and life, from Christ's days to the present. There are elaborate histories which deal with the earlier stages of church development; and the recent researches which have made our age an epoch in historical discovery, have brought out many monographs. But a single volume gathering up the results of these researches and discoveries, and presenting a comprehensive survey of the whole history of Christianity in all its aspects so as to meet the needs of the various classes of intelligent readers, has hitherto been wanting.

For such a task Prof. Fisher has a special fitness. He combines with a wide and accurate scholarship and a sure historical judgment, a singularly clear and felicitous style. The "History of the Christian Church" exhibits these qualities at their best. Prof. Fisher's previous writings, involving the widest historical researches, have all contributed their stores to make this new work a complete treasure house of historical learning. His keen

* *History of the Christian Church.* By GEORGE PARK FISHER, Titus Street, Professor of Ecclesiastical History in Yale University. With Maps. New York: Chas. Scribner's Sons, 1887.

and discriminating insight easily detects the clue to all the mazes of theological controversy and doctrine, and makes him a safe and clear guide, and knowledge and judgment are supplemented by a literary art which invests the whole narrative with color and life. There is not a dull page in the book; and there are not a few passages which give pictures of persons and events, of rare literary beauty.

The book as a whole is a marvel of condensation. No fact of importance is neglected. No mooted question, if of vital consequence, is avoided. The latest results of research are included. It has been impossible of course in a single volume to enter into details concerning many points, but there is scarcely a subject in the whole vast field of Christian annals as to which the inquirer will not find the cardinal facts stated, or a problem in dispute on which the author has not given his judgment, if a judgment is possible with present light.

The Catholicity and candor which have marked Prof. Fisher's previous writings are equally eminent in this volume. In his judgments of theologians, and in his analyses and summaries of their theological views, there is no trace of personal bias. We are inclined to regard this as perhaps the most remarkable feature of the book. How difficult of attainment such a dispassionate and unbiased temper is in historical writing, especially in tracing the great controversies whose echoes are heard even down to present times, all students of Church History know only too well. That Prof. Fisher has succeeded perfectly we will not assert. But we have searched in vain for any indication of the author's own theological opinions. So careful has he been in this regard, that he has even abstained, as a rule, from any criticism upon the views, whether orthodox or heretical, which he is expounding. The aim of the work is not controversial or even critical, but historical, and the author rarely forgets it. The only striking exception that now occurs to us, is connected with the account of English Deism and of Hume's argument against miracles. The inconsistency in the Deistic position and the false assumptions of Hume are stated with critical clearness and power that give a foretaste of what a critical history of doctrine from Prof. Fisher's hand would be.

In his historical principles and general method, Prof. Fisher reminds us of Neander, the influence of whose large and free and yet profoundly evangelical spirit has been so deeply felt in the

new school of church histories. No student of Neander can resist the charm of his catholic and spiritual conception of the nature of Christianity, and of the tolerant and calm temper with which he surveys all the changing fortunes of the church. But even Neander at times reveals his own leanings and prepossessions with a childlike frankness. For his great history was written with a double purpose—not only to present the facts of Christian history in their true relations, and so to rescue them from partizan assumptions and conclusions, but also to bring out in broad relief, in opposition to the false Christian philosophy of his day, the real character of Christ's kingdom on earth. Hence, in spite of the grand spirit of tolerance and comprehension which characterizes the work, a decided dogmatic tendency pervades it. There is a subtle vein of Christian philosophy that gives flavor to every page. And it was this positive element quite as much as its remarkable learning that won for it so extraordinary an influence.

Prof. Fisher shows himself an apt pupil in Neander's school. The same catholic and irenic temper which makes the personality of the elder historian so lovable has fallen as a mantle upon the disciple. But we look in vain in Prof. Fisher's book for any philosophy of Christianity. Himself a philosopher by nature, he has laid aside for the time his philosopher's cloak. How resolutely he schooled himself to his task, hiding his own philosophical and theological tendencies, those who knew him best can best realize.

Prof. Fisher divides Church History into three principal eras—ancient, mediæval, and modern—the ancient extending over the first eight centuries, the mediæval beginning with Charlemagne and closing with the outbreak of the Protestant Reformation, which introduces the modern era. It is worthy of note that more than half of the book is devoted to the modern era. This period, embracing the Rise and Progress of Protestantism, its history in the various Protestant countries, its conflicts with the Papacy and with different form of infidelity, and the more recent missionary and philanthropic movements, is fully treated. The religious history of our own country receives special attention—a chapter being devoted to a "historical sketch of religious denominations in the United States." Two of the best chapters in the volume are the last two—one being a *resumé* of recent developments in doctrine, the other an account of Christian piety

and philanthrophy. How thoroughly the history is brought down to date is seen in the fact that the chapter on doctrine closes with an allusion to the volume entitled "Progressive Orthodoxy," published last year, and the chapter on religious life with a reference to the hymn by Dr. Ray Palmer, "My faith looks up to Thee."

It is impossible in the limits of a brief notice to give any adequate description of the contents of a book so full of weighty matter. Instead of attempting it, we are inclined to let the book speak for itself through a few extracts, selected quite at random, assuring our readers that similar extracts might be taken from almost every page. On the Rise of the New Testament Canon:

Jesus wrote nothing. The disciples whom he trained were not selected with reference to qualifications for literary composition. To this sort of work they would not be naturally inclined. The writings of the apostles, Paul included, were supplementary to their oral teaching. They were called out by emergencies, like the troubles in the Church at Corinth or Paul's inability at the time to visit Rome. They were generally sent by messengers, who were to add to them oral communications. There was no thought of compiling these letters or the gospels into a volume. At the outset, the sacred "Scriptures," the writings cited as such, were the books of the Old Testament. With them the words of the Lord were quoted as of divine authority. As early as A.D. 150, as we learn from Justin Martyr, the gospels included in the canon were read in the Christian assemblies on Sunday. But the apostles were always regarded as specially chosen for their work and as specially inspired. When heretical sects arose, and especially when they began to circulate forged apostolic writings, there was a new interest awakened in the collection and preservation of the genuine writings of the apostles. By them the orthodox traditional creed could be fortified against the perversion and misrepresentation by which they were assailed. The heretics were always in the field with canons of their own framing. Marcion made a collection with a view to support his eccentric opinions. The churches proceeded to join with the four Gospels, whose authority as records of the life and teaching of Christ had before become established, the other writings of apostolic authorship. These collections were not, at the beginning, uniform in their contents. Certain books were known in one place that were not known in another. Certain books might be deemed genuine by some, but be doubted by others. A landmark in the progress of the formation of the canon is furnished by the oldest versions. The Syrian translation, or the Peshito, and the Old Latin translation, which was in use in North Africa, date from the closing part of the second century. The Peshito omits the Second and Third Epistles of John, the Second Epistle of Peter, Jude, and the Apocalypse. The Old Latin omits the Epistle of James and the Second Epistle of Peter, and at first the Epistle to the Hebrews. Such variations

continued to exist until the end of this period. A little later, Eusebius, writing about 325, enumerates seven writings now in the New Testament which were not universally received. He calls them Antilegomena. These disputed books were the Epistles of James and Jude, the Second Epistle of Peter, the Second and Third of John, the Epistle to the Hebrews, and the Apocalypse. Several books not embraced in our canon were held in special reverence, and were often read in the churches. These were the Epistles of Clement of Rome and Barnabus, and the Shepherd of Hermas. At length the line was distinctly drawn which excluded these, as being of lower rank, from the list of canonical writings.

Comparison of Erasmus and Luther:

But Erasmus belonged to the age of preparation. The splendid work that he did then must not be disparaged on account of his shortcomings in later life. How diverse the two men were in their natural qualities is indicated by their portraits. The fine, sharply cut features of Erasmus, as depicted by Holbein, show us the critic, whose weapon in conflict is the keen-edged rapier. The rugged face of Luther, as seen on the canvas of Cranach, befits one who has been called "the modern Hercules," who cleansed the Augean stables, and who carried into battle the club of his fabled prototype.

Luther's last days and relations to Melanchthon:

While the time for the momentous struggle was rapidly drawing near, Luther died (February 18, 1546). His last days were full of weariness and suffering. He took dark views of the frivolity and wickedness of the times, but his sublime faith in God and his assurance of the final victory of the truth never left him. His dogmatism became more boisterous in the battles which he waged, and in the days of ill-health and advancing age. During the latter years of his life his relations with Melanchthon were partially clouded with theological differences. Melanchthon modified his doctrine of predestination, and gradually came to believe that the will has a co-ordinate agency in conversion. On the subject of the Sacrament, likewise, he was inclined to hold the view midway between Luther and Zwingli, which Calvin advocated—that Christ is really received in the Lord's Supper, but spiritually, and by the believer alone. Although Melanchthon lived in daily fear that these changes of opinion would provoke an outburst of the reformer's passionate nature, he never lost his respect and regard for Luther as a devout and heroic man, endowed with noble qualities of heart and mind. Nor did Luther ever cease to love his younger associate. No one will question that Luther, notwithstanding his faults and defects, has been a great power in the history of the world. No one doubts that he was a born leader of men. The originality of thought and virility of expression; the insight into the deep things of the spirit; the vein of humor that mingles itself, unbidden, with the most profound and serious reflection, the play of imagination—these qualities, which characterize the utterances of Luther, constitute an unfailing charm.

The bitterness of Protestant divisions:

The bitter spirit in which theological debates were carried forward in Germany in this period may be inferred from the circumstance that on a sheet of paper which Melanchthon left on his table, a few days before his death, were written several reasons why he was less reluctant to die, and that one of them was the prospect of escaping from the fury of theologians—"*rabie theologorum.*" A half-century after he died, the leading theologian at Wittenberg was so enraged at hearing him referred to by a student as an authority for some doctrinal statement that, before the eyes of all, he tore his portrait from the wall and trampled on it.

The preaching of Whitefield:

Whitefield's preaching impressed all minds. It moved Benjamin Franklin, a pattern of coolness and prudence, to empty his pockets of the coin which they contained, for the benefit of the orphan house in Georgia, although he had not approved of the object for which the collection was taken. It was admired by a cold-blooded philosopher like Hume, and equally by men of the world, such as Bolingbroke and Chesterfield. Jonathan Edwards, as he listened to him, wept through the entire sermon. Thirteen times Whitefield crossed the Atlantic. He finally ended his days at Newburyport. On the evening before his death, from the stairs which led to the bed-chamber, to a throng which had come to the door of the house, out of a desire to hear him, he preached until the wick of the candle which he held in his hand burned out.

On recent new tendencies in Eschatology:

Within evangelical bodies, modifications of belief on the subject of the future state of the wicked have won more or less acceptance. In England, the doctrine of the eternity of future punishment was rejected by the eminent Baptist author, John Foster, and, on similar grounds, by an honored Congregational minister, Thomas Binney (1798–1874). It was called in question by F. D. Maurice and some other divines of the Anglican Church. In Germany, in Great Britain, and in the United States, the doctrine of the ultimate extinction of the very being of such as persevere in impenitence, as the natural effect of sin on the spiritual nature, has had its adherents. In Germany, one of its advocates was the celebrated theologian, Richard Rothe. The explicit hope of a final restoration to holiness of all who depart from this life in a state of impenitence has been cherished by some. Neander and some other leading German theologians of the liberal evangelical school have expressed themselves as doubtful on this point. Julius Müller held that the arguments for such a belief—which was adopted by Schleiermacher—are insufficient. He points out the frequent connection in which restorationism is made to stand with a pantheistic theory of the necessary evolution of good out of evil. Dorner denies that such a consummation can be an object of confident expectation. Especially among German

theologians of this school, the opinion has come to prevail that in an intermediate state the gospel will be taught to the heathen who have not heard it within the bounds of this life, and have, therefore, never rejected its offers of mercy. This was the belief of Müller, Tholuck a distinguished teacher of theology and commentator, and of other German teachers and writers. By Müller it is set forth in conjunction with a doctrine respecting the nature and development of character in general, and of sinful character in particular. Character is built up by the exercise of free-will, and tends to permanence. As character, under the influence of the motives that address the soul, moves onward to the final stage, it meets with turning-points where a radical change may take place; but a reversal of its bent becomes less and less practicable. At last obduracy cuts off hope. This hopeless bondage to evil follows upon the willful rejection of God's redeeming love. The one unpardonable sin is that of resistance to the Holy Spirit. No other or higher agency exists for the recovery of the will from its slavery. Dorner, in his "System of Theology," has expounded this conception. He holds distinctly that the final test, where the alternative of right choice is obduracy, is possible only when the gospel is explicitly revealed, and God is manifested in the light of a merciful Saviour. That there will be a "probation" in the next world for the heathen who die without a knowledge of the gospel, has been suggested as a plausible hypothesis, or as a probable truth, by a number of theological writers in England and America.

A work with so comprehensive a scope, compressed into a single volume even of nearly seven hundred pages, must necessarily have its limitations. These are most conspicuous in the chapters on doctrine. Here Prof. Fisher has exerted his powers of condensed statement to the utmost. For example, the account given of the great theological controversies of the fourth and fifth centuries,—including the Arian, the Christological, and the Pelagian,—the most fruitful theological period in the history of Christianity,—is confined to twenty pages. A single page is all that is allowed for a summary of the theology of Augustine, the most influential theologian, after St. Paul, of Christendom. The meagreness of this sketch is the more tantalizing from the fact that Prof. Fisher's gifts as a historian are nowhere more conspicuously displayed than in his summaries of Christian doctrine; as the two more extended chapters on modern theology bear witness. How would all students of theology have rejoiced to get from such a masterhand a full survey of the theological positions and doctrines of the great Fathers and Hereziarchs of the Nicene and Post-Nicene age, Athanasius, Eusebius of Cæsarea, Arius, Theodore of Mofsuestia, Nestorius, Cyril, Theodoret, Augustine, Pelagius!

We feel impelled, in the interest of theological science, to urge Prof. Fisher once more to take up his pen, and to write a complete critical history of the development of Christian doctrine,—a work that would fitly crown his historical labors.

Another suggestion has occurred to us. Prof. Fisher has seen fit to dispense with all references to historical authorities. Considering the object of the book, this omission is perhaps wise. Most readers would not have the means at hand of examining and verifying such references, and they are ready to accept Prof. Fisher's own statements as authoritative. But there is a class, and quite a large one, for whom a full list of references would be of great value. There is still needed for our theological schools a text-book adapted to the present conditions of historical study. This new volume goes far toward supplying such a want. But the brevity of its theological chapters and the absence of references to authorities are serious drawbacks. A small volume, as an appendix, which shall contain ample references concerning all important facts and theological statements given in the History would be a boon to all technical students. And if such a volume on doctrine as has been suggested above could be added, the apparatus for historical instruction would be well nigh complete.

But beggars must not be chosers. We are grateful for the book already published, and we know not how we can better testify to its stimulating and appetising quality than by expressing our desire for another.

L. L. PAINE.

Bangor Theological Seminary.

DR. PORTER'S NEW VOLUME OF SERMONS.*—The students, patrons, and friends of Yale University will welcome with pride this notable volume of discourses by Ex-President Porter. The Christian public at large too may well be grateful for it as presenting in a most weighty and wealthy manner the claims of Christianity upon the rational and moral allegiance of men. Nothing of equal significance and value, in the form of apologetic preaching, has for many years been issued from the American press. There is a certain unity of thought and feeling that binds all these manly discourses together. If, at the outset, Dr. Porter had planned to present, in as comprehensive and varied a manner as possible, the one grand theme of the claims of Christianity,

* *Fifteen Years in the Chapel of Yale College.* By NOAH PORTER, 1871–1886. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1888.

upon the allegiance of young men, selecting each year his particular topic with reference to its place in the whole series of discourses, he would scarcely have accomplished the object more effectually than it has been accomplished without the slightest indication of any such purpose. The discourses in their unity, and yet their individual independence, indicate the hold which the themes discussed have taken of the mind and heart of the author. The work here accomplished is one for which he has peculiar fitness and it is done with the devotion and the strength of an earnest moral purpose. The pervasive thought of the discourses is the value of religion in developing the character and directing the life of educated men, and there is in the discussion a certain suggestion of lofty confidence, a certain air of manly assurance, as of one who has measured his strength with the difficulties presented by modern criticism, which is reassuring. There is a tone of valiancy and of Christian chivalry about it all which is bracing. It is good to get into such an atmosphere. It is a tonic to our faith. We are made to feel afresh the sufficiency of Christianity to satisfy all the highest needs of educated men and the insufficiency of all culture independently of it. Pres. Porter has entered deeply into the spirit of the time in which we live and in which he has borne so honorable a part. He understands it both on its good and bad sides, and it is no one-sided or perverted report we get of it. He has a noble scorn for all its sentimentalism and pretentiousness and arrogance. But he knows what the critical spirit of the age has wrought, and he is as unsparing of the pretentiousness of a false and arrogant orthodoxy as he is of a heartless and godless culture. A critical and somewhat polemical tone pervades the discourses but it is only incidental and it only serves to make the positive advocacy of the large and noble claims of Christianity the more effective. His grasp is wide and his penetration is subtle. The remarkable versatility of Pres. Porter appears here at great advantage. Not only his familiar acquaintance with philosophy, ethics, and theology, and a measurable acquaintance with the physical and social sciences, but his familiarity with general literature is manifest here in the large and easy and suggestive manner in which the results of years of careful investigation and a singularly versatile capacity, are brought to bear upon his discussions. Nor should the literary quality of the discourses be lost sight of. There is a steady, strong, massy movement in his sentences, that bespeaks the pres-

ence of a mind robust in its native mould, and always kept girded for action. The freedom and swing of the sentences, their stately stride as of a procession are suggestive not only of facility of utterance, but an easy and thorough mastery of the subject discussed. There are also notable passages of genuine eloquence worthy of lasting remembrance, and touches of grace upon a ground-work of solid strength which bear witness to the existence of a delicate sensibility, and the refinement of æsthetic culture.

LEWIS O. BRASTOW.

STAPFER'S PALESTINE.*—This is not a work, as the title might lead one to suppose, upon the land of Palestine, but upon the people, customs, literature, ideas and institutions of Palestine in the time of Christ. The material of the work is arranged under two headings: I. Social Life; II. The Religious Life. An idea of its scope can be gained from a few titles of chapters: The Home Life; The Dwellings; Clothing; Literature and the Arts; The Schools; The Synagogue; The Temple; The Essenes. The book belongs to that department of literature which the Germans call *Neutestamentliche Zeitgeschichte.* It is a valuable contribution to this department, more vivacious than Hausrath and more popular and interesting than Schürer, if not so orignal and erudite. The author writes, as the French are so much accustomed to do, in a clear and lively style. He is reverent and deeply sympathetic with his subject. A good sample alike of his style, spirit and opinions, may be gained from the following sentences from the Introduction (pp. 26, 27) "How striking the contrast between the Gospel and the Talmuds! To think that these two books were both produced in Palestine at about the same period, is utterly bewildering to the imagination. We are told sometimes that Christianity is the natural outcome of the Judaism of the day; that most of the Gospel maxims had been spoken before the Christian era and that the 'noble and gentle Hillel was the elder brother of Jesus.' There is absolutely no confirmation in history of such statements. * * * The Gospel was a shining light breaking out suddenly in the midst of the darkness. It was directly opposed to the thoughts and opinions of the age. So far from being prepared by its environment, it was

* *Palestine in the Time of Christ.* By EDMOND STAPFER, D.D., Prof. in the Protestant Theological Faculty of Paris. Trans. by Annie Harwood Holmden. A. C. Armstrong & Son. New York. pp. 527.

itself a startling and complete reaction against it. The contrast is absolute between the teaching of Jesus and that of the Scribes, Jesus was the gift of God to men. He came from God and God 'delivered him up' for men. This is the impartial, scientific, unbiassed result of studies to which we have devoted long and careful attention, and we bless God for having put it into our hearts to undertake a work which has so built up our own faith."

It is easy to find points in such a work upon which to differ with the author. We think him incorrect in supposing that John, 18: 31—"It is not lawful for us to put any one to death"—was merely "a flattery of the Governor" (p. 102), and that the Roman power had not really taken away the power of inflicting capital penalties from the Sanhedrin. On other disputed points again, we find peculiar satisfaction. In speaking of the Synagogue service as the type of Christian public worship he shows that it had neither the over-wrought formality of Romanism, nor was it "the bald service of Calvinism and Protestant puritanism. The liturgy is simple, but efficient. The people take part in the service. The reading of the Holy Scripture occupies the place due to it. The sermon is regarded as important, but is not too lengthy and is not made too prominent, etc."

The work will well repay frequent consultation and study. It is sufficiently scientific to be of value to the scholar and sufficiently popular to be of use as a hand-book of reference for Biblical students generally.

George B. Stevens.

Correspondencies of Faith.*—The design of this volume is to present faith in Christ as not only the condition of justification but also the vital principle of all Christian character. The First Part is entitled Correspondencies of Faith. The discussion of this topic is illustrated by several "unmeant correspondencies between experimental writers upon religion." Part Second is "a Survey of the experience and writings of Madame Guyon." It is founded on her Biography by Professor Thomas C. Upham. Mr. Cheever divides her life into five periods and gives a brief history and criticism of each, interpreting its significance with reference to his theme. The Third Part is entitled "The Mental Disci-

* *Correspondencies of Faith and Views of Madame Guyon:* being a devout study of the Unifying Power and Place of Faith in the Theology and Church of the Future. By Rev. Henry T. Cheever. London: Elliott Stock, 1887. pp. xviii and 273.

pline of Holiness by Faith;" it includes, in connection with a presentation of the author's own views, an examination of Professor Upham's "Life of Faith." The style of writing is pleasing; the book is rich in illustration and exemplification, and it will be read with interest. It insists on the fact and privilege of the Christian's immediate communion with the living God as distinguished from dealing with abstract doctrine concerning him; on the power of Christian life as distinguished from speculative thought. It emphasizes the better elements of that type of piety known as mysticism, and calls attention to them as needing development in this busy and practical age. It is fitted to the present time to lead Christians to consider the possibility of a purer, stronger, more harmonious and complete Christian character, a closer union and a larger catholicity, a greater spiritual energy and efficiency in advancing Christ's kingdom, through a stronger faith, a more intimate communion with God and a larger reception of "all the fulness of God." But it must be borne in mind that mysticism by itself in all its forms leads to a one-sided development of Christian character. It tends to magnify "the inner light" above the Bible, to quietism rather than to active energy in advancing Christ's kingdom, to "other-worldliness" rather than to earnest interest in the actual lives of men. The author distinguishes interest in theological doctrine from love to God and immediate communion with him. But Professor Upham says of a certain type of piety: "Men love visions more than they love holiness." And one of the subtle tendencies of mysticism is to substitute the love of the person's own holiness for the love of the living God and of living men. It tends to concentrate his attention and energies on his own "frames and exercises;" on seeking for himself the peace which passeth all understanding, the rapture into heavenly places with Christ, instead of self-forgetfulness in serving and saving men in the spirit of our Lord, who left heaven itself that, in the thickest conflict with the powers of darkness, he might seek and save the lost.

The author calls attention to the fact that in his Life of Madame Guyon, Professor Upham, in translating her writings, wrote what she meant rather than what she said. A biographer who writes on this principle can hardly avoid interpreting his own thought into the words translated instead of translating them according to their actual meaning. This should always be borne in mind when reading the Professor's Life of Madame Guyon.

SAMUEL HARRIS.

PROFESSOR ANDREWS'S INSTITUTES OF HISTORY.*—The author of this able work describes it as a summary view of "the rationale of History," as "a precipitate rather than an outline." After an introductory chapter on "The Study of History," (which includes a discussion of the nature of historical studies and the philosophy of History,) the great eras, the main topics—such as "The Old East," "The Classical Period," "The Demolition of Rome," "The Mediæval Roman Empire of the West," etc.—are taken up consecutively. A kind of "spinal cord" is run though the whole framework of universal history, by presenting condensed observations, with selected facts of capital importance. It is like a series of electric lamps placed at intervals on a long street, the right points being chosen for illumination, so that the traveler need not err or stumble. Excellent bibliographical pages are interspersed. The book is designed as a guide and assistant for both teachers and students. The remarks of the Author are a fresh and vigorous commentary on the progress of events. His learning is ample; and, altogether, the work is one of remarkable merit.

GEORGE P. FISHER.

THE ART AMATEUR for December contains a colored plate of "Pansies," studies of "Holly and Mistletoe," and "China Asters," and a page of timely and useful suggestions for Christmas decoration. The other designs include an extra size classic figure (Hero)—the third of a series of six panels for painting or outline embroidery; an arrangement of "Orange Lillies" for a vase or embroidery, a fish-plate decoration—one of a set of six; a large and bold design of blackberry (vines and fruit) for wood carving; three musical cupids for tapestry painting, a fine pomegranate altar-frontal design and superfrontal design with full directions for treatment, and some pleasing diaper motives for curtain embroidery. Specially notable features are an excellent drawing of Knaus's "Holy Family" in the Catharine Wolfe collection, four studies of children by Lobrichon, and two pages of studies of furniture and interior decoration for the ordinary home. There are valuable practical articles on still-life painting (dead game) and flower painting in oils, tapestry painting and artistic picture framing. The collector receives particular attention in a new department called "The Cabinet," which includes a fully illus-

* *Brief Institutes of General History.* By E. BENJAMIN ANDREWS, D.D., LL.D., Professor of History in Brown University.

trated article on Japanese "Snuff Bottles," a curious account of "Collecting in China," and numerous interesting notes. The Metropolitan Museum Exhibition, art in Boston, Mrs. Wheeler's show of embroideries, and other current topics receive notice. A special illustrated series of articles on the furnishing and decoration of the average country house is announced to begin with the January number. Price 35 cents. Montague Marks, publisher, 23 Union Square, New York.

NATURAL LAW IN THE BUSINESS WORLD.*—To those who are getting tired of the noisy rant of the labor reformers a word of sense from a practical and benevolent business man upon some of the questions in discussion can not fail to be welcome. Such a word comes to us in this little volume and such a man we may judge is the author. In a life of practical observation and experience he has been profoundly impressed by the prevalence of law in the business world. It is not a mere theory with him. It is matter of observation. He undertakes no careful statement of the nature or the limitations of this law. He calls it natural, but by this he would probably be understood as suggesting nothing more than that it is practically invariable, and that it is impossible in the long run to evade its working by any artificial contrivances. It is not a law, however, which excludes the ethical freedom of men in their social and industrial relations. He recognizes the fact that there is abundant opportunity in the working of economic laws for application of the law of love. But he very wisely objects to the substitution of sentiment for business sense. It is this sort of talk that misguided workmen need to hear. It is no unfriendly utterance. It is that of an honest friend who would show them that they will never win prosperity in defiance of economic laws. He shows the workman that he must rely more upon himself. One of the great evils of the labor combinations is that they result in forming in a workman a habit of dependence on others. He brings to the workman's remembrance that very old but perpetually forgotten fact that it is the training of the man that is needed, not change of financial condition merely. He forcibly reminds us that what is called in the cant parlance of modern agitators "labor" is something more than muscular effort. The man who works with his brain is worthy of

* *Natural Law in the Business World.* By HENRY WOOD. Boston: Lee & Shepard, Publishers. New York: Chas. T. Dillingham. 1887.

just as much sympathy as the man who uses his muscle. He dignifies and honors labor, while the agitators in fact dishonor and despise it. There are sensible words on the natural and necessary inequalities of life, on the unequal distribution of wealth, on economic legislation, and other practical questions. There are also words of counsel to men of wealth and employers of labor. If the contents of these sixteen too short chapters could be expanded and presented illustratively and simply to all the workingmen's associations of this country, and they would have the good sense to heed their wisdom, a new and brighter day would open before them. We are re-impressed with the necessity that some practical measure be set on foot to secure to workingmen this sort of instruction.

LEWIS O. BRASTOW.

PARISH PROBLEMS.*—The conception of this work was a happy hit, and the execution of it is eminently successful. We have here a collection of essays upon some of the most important and practical problems of church life. They are short and are written in simple and popular style. They cover a great variety of topics, many of which are not discussed in the most comprehensive treatises on practical or pastoral theology. Dr. Washington Gladden is the editor and he himself furnishes a larger number of the essays than any one of the twenty-four contributors whose coöperation he has secured. These essays of his are upon topics with which he is very familiar and in connection with which he has had large experience and he discusses them with his usual breadth of view, discriminating judgment and clearness and felicity of statement. The work is an enlargement upon and modification of a work planned by Mrs. Professor Lawrence some years ago, and some of the most interesting papers are from her hand. All who have furnished contributions to the volume are persons well known in our churches and all of them are in a sort recognized authorities in the subjects on which they speak, and many of them are specialists and experts. The papers upon Parish Business, Parish Buildings, the People at Work, the Sunday School and Worship, may be mentioned as of special value for the reason that all or most of them are from the hands of those who are generally recognized as thoroughly familiar with the subjects of

* *Parish Problems.* Hints and Helps for the People of the Church. Edited by WASHINGTON GLADDEN. New York: The Century Company.

which they treat. In fact they may be called specialists. It is rare that so much valuable material of this sort and in so attractive form is found within such limits. The good sense, the large-mindedness and large-heartedness manifested here are worthy of all praise. Topics are here discussed which especially demand the attention of the churches. If copies of this work could be sent in large numbers into all our parishes they would prove a blessing. If men of wealth would devote a small surplus to the sending of it to missionary churches they would be doing good missionary service. Every parish library, every Sunday school library, every young pastor's library especially, and every theological student's library might well find a place for it. Dr. Gladden has made the church, the parish, and the pastor his debtors, and merits the reward of successful enterprise.

LEWIS O. BRASTOW.

BOOKS ON PSYCHOLOGY AND PHILOSOPHY.

LIFE OF COLERIDGE.*—This short biography makes no attempt to trace the development of Coleridge's philosophical opinions, or to state the influences under which they were formed. Much less does it aim to vindicate his place in the ranks of the poets and philosophers of his generation. It is more of the nature of a memoir, giving the domestic life of the man, his relations with his friends, his struggles to earn a livelihood, his personal successes and defeats. It is compiled from "table-talk, letters, diaries, memoirs, reminiscences, magazine articles, newspaper reports, and a few documents which have not hitherto been employed by any biographer of Coleridge." Its aim is to vindicate him against the gravest charges to which his character has been subjected, such as the charges of gross self-indulgence, ingratitude, inexcusable neglect of his family and friends, complete waste of time and opportunity, etc. In this aim it succeeds, *measurably.* More and more, as we thoroughly know this man, we incline to pity and excuse him; and in this we agree with the author of this memoir. But to a certain extent we disagree; because we pity the family and friends of Coleridge for what they had to endure through him, and excuse them for their

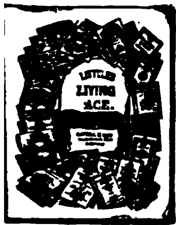
* *Life of Samuel Taylor Coleridge.* By HALL CAINE, London. Walter Scott, 1887.

frequent misunderstanding of his feelings and conduct. The book is certainly a very readable one, and affords a distinct though not large contribution to the literature of the subject.

KANTS' PHILOSOPHY OF LAW, translated from the German by W. Hastie, B.D., has been published by T. & T. Clark, of Edinburgh, 1887. The *Rechtslehre* of the immortal philosopher was his last great work in the field of pure philosophy. It is translated for the first time—strange as this may seem—into English; and so far as appears from an hasty examination, the translation is well done. It is offered to readers of English as a response to the saying of Sir Henry Sumner Maine: "But next to a new History of Law, what we most require is a new Philosophy of Law." It is to be hoped that the translation will help toward some such recognition of the importance and value of this work of Kant in this country and in England, as it long since obtained in Germany and France.

FLEMING'S VOCABULARY OF PHILOSOPHY has just been issued in a fourth edition "revised and largely reconstructed," by Professor CALDERWOOD. It will be found much improved as compared with the earlier editions, and a valuable help to beginners in the study of philosophy. New York: Scribner & Welford, 1887.

LITTELL'S LIVING AGE.



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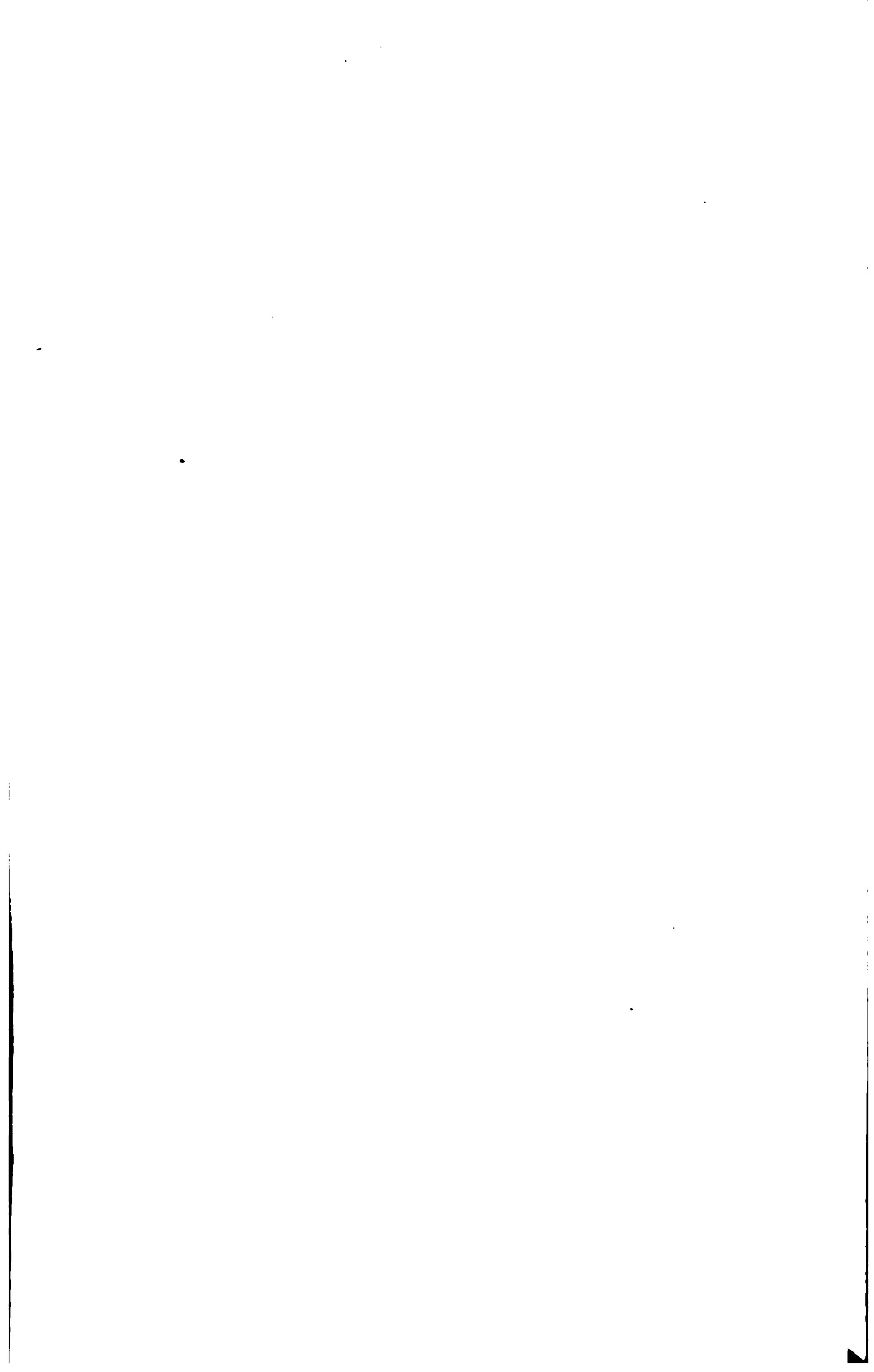

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