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LETTERS OF GEORGE LONG

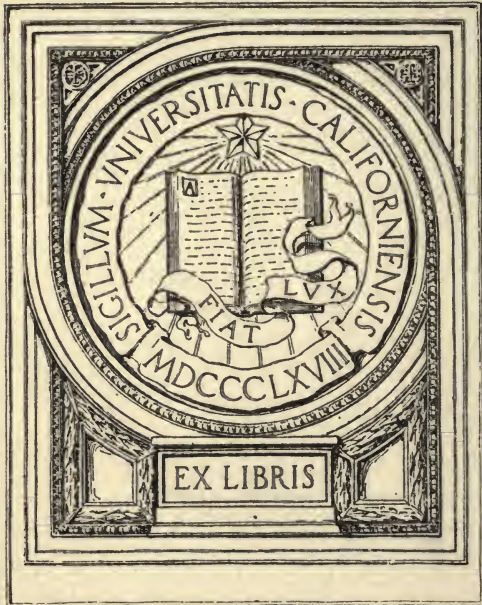
EDITED BY

THOMAS FITZHUGH

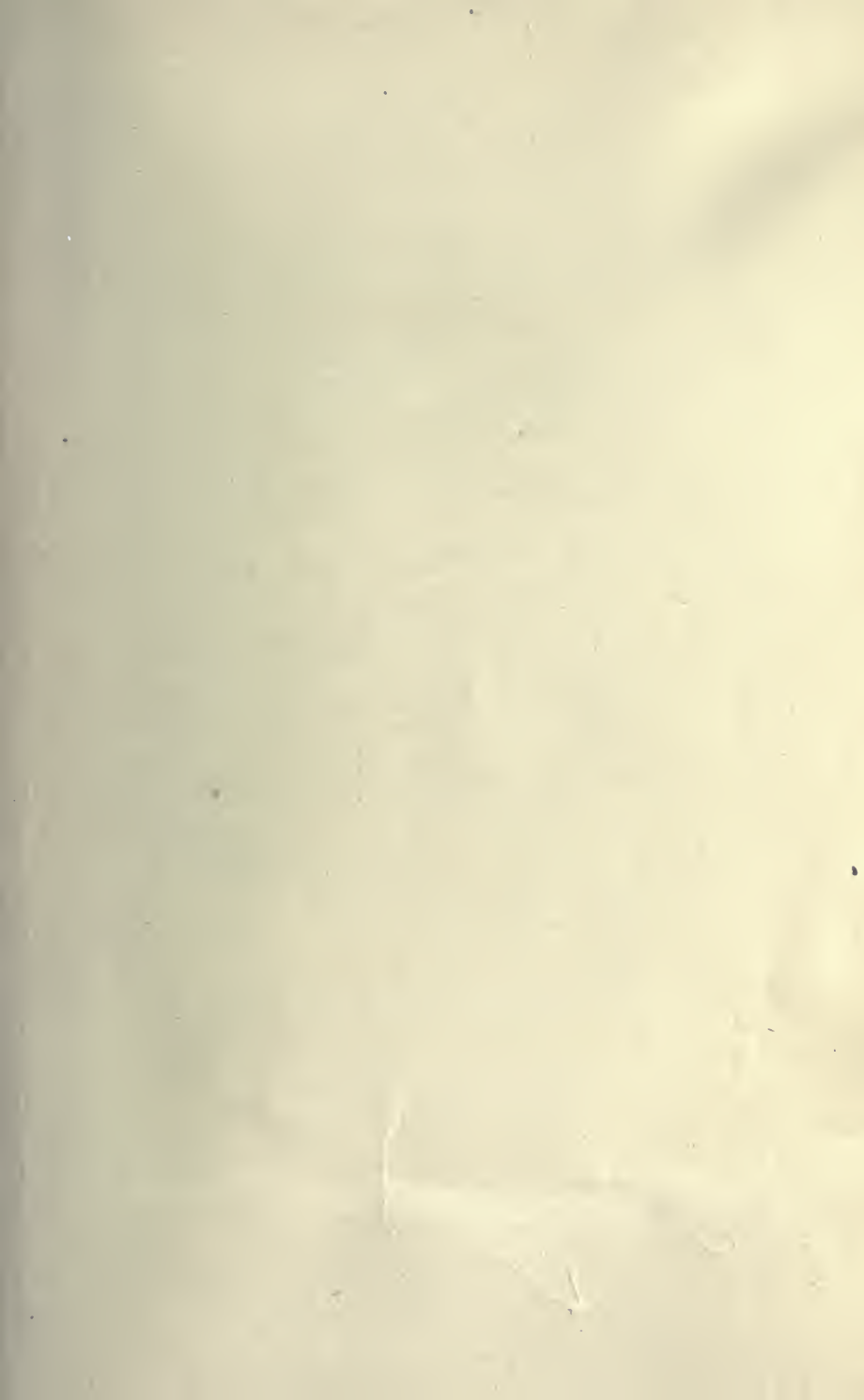
Professor of Latin in the University of Virginia



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THE LAWN IN LONG'S TIME—THE CROSS SHOWS PAVILION NO. 5

LETTERS OF GEORGE LONG

EDITED BY

THOMAS FITZHUGH

Professor of Latin in the University of Virginia

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TO VINU
AMBROGLIO

Georgii Longi
Linguarum Antiquarum
in
Universitate Litterarum Virginiensi
Primi Professoris
in
Memoriam

The Editor of these letters, which are here reproduced at the request of the Library Committee from the *Alumni Bulletin* for October, 1916, and January and April, 1917, as a memorial to our first Professor of Ancient Languages, desires to express his indebtedness to Mr. Herbert Putnam, Librarian of Congress, and to Mr. John S. Patton, Librarian of the University of Virginia, for valuable and even contributory assistance in the performance of his task.

University of Virginia, May 1, 1917.

Letters of George Long

I. THE SOJOURN IN AMERICA.

In March of 1925 one hundred years will have passed since the doors of the University of Virginia were thrown open for the reception of students. The men of the University, wherever they live, are everywhere awaking to the rapid approach of the momentous anniversary, and historical interest is now alert to discover and preserve every last hidden and unpublished record surviving from the generation of our grandfathers. With the passing of our generation the last thread of direct historical tradition from the times of Jefferson will have been severed forever, and historians of the University will strive with the aid of the sources transmitted to them to attain a scientific knowledge of those determining events which explain the origin and early history of the institution, and to portray the story of its life in its outer course and inner connection. Ours is the sacred duty to cherish the bond that is to bind our age with that of our children and of our children's children, recording before it is too late the precious relics of a passing tradition, and remembering too that the interest which attaches to great events and far-reaching historical and spiritual influences communicates itself even to matters and incidents of otherwise trivial importance, and justifies us in rescuing from oblivion and recording each newly discovered episode in the life of the far-away time to be read and learned with lively curiosity by those who shall succeed to the heritage of their fathers.

There are two sources of knowledge from which the historian may draw when seeking to reconstruct the life of a past era: the one, the objective monuments and written records of the time; the other, the ever sparser growing personal recollections of those who were contemporaries and actors in the spiritual drama. The historical recollections of the individual are mainly confined to those events with which he was personally acquainted. In the best case he may learn from his grandparents and transmit to

his children the memory of things and events separated at most by two or three generations from the present. Such is precisely the position which our generation occupies with reference to the beginnings of University life and influence in Virginia and the South. The historian of today has the noble architectural originals still standing on the broad ridge where Jefferson placed them. He has the first catalogues of the University and such published works of its professors as have survived the wear and tear of time. And, finally, he has at his command the contemporary records of the Jeffersonian era, whether in public documents or private correspondence. But besides these known and published sources of a truly scientific history of the institution, there still survives hidden away in unopened and unknown family archives some later or even contemporary correspondence of those who played an important part in this classic drama of American education.

One such precious find within our memory was that of the Gilmer Manuscripts,* reported on by Dr. Herbert B. Adams in his famous, and now classic, monograph on *Jefferson and the University of Virginia* (U. S. Bureau of Education, Circular of Information No. 1, 1888, p. 206) as follows:

Inquiring of Col. Charles S. Venable, chairman of the faculty of the University of Virginia, for original manuscript materials relating to that institution, the writer first learned of the existence of original and unpublished letters written by Thomas Jefferson to Francis W. Gilmer. Upon application to the present owner of the letters in question, John Gilmer, Esq., of Chatham, Pittsylvania County, Va., the writer was courteously intrusted with the entire bound collection, which includes not only letters from Jefferson, but also some from Madison and from the gentlemen in England to whom Gilmer had letters of introduction. There are letters of advice or suggestion from Major John Cartwright, Dugald Stewart, Benjamin Rush, Lord Brougham, Lord Teignmouth, Lord Forbes, Dr. Samuel Parr, Henry Drury of Harrow, Prof. John Leslie of Edinburgh, Peter Barlow of the Royal Military Academy, and many others. It is very interesting to trace in this correspondence the lines of personal influence, inquiry,

*This bound volume of 283 autograph letters and copies of letters, inscribed *Letters to F. W. Gilmer*, has been acquired by Librarian Patton for the University, and lies on exhibition in a show-case in the Library. Reference to these originals will enable the student to control the accuracy of such sporadic extracts as have from time to time come into print.

and recommendation which led gradually to the selection and engagement of a faculty for the University of Virginia. Here are the letters written by Thomas Hewett Key, George Long, Dr. Dunlison, George Blaettermann, and various other gentlemen with whom negotiations were opened. Much interesting light is thrown by the Gilmer manuscripts upon the beginnings of the University of Virginia. The collection, which is well preserved in a large volume, quarto, came into the writer's hands too late to make any use of its contents in preparing the body of the present monograph, but he has appended in foot-notes to the chapter on the first professors certain selections from the Gilmer correspondence. By the consent of the owner of the manuscripts, the editor has committed the entire collection to one of his students from Virginia, William P. Trent, A. M., for further use. There are some very interesting letters from George Ticknor, written in Boston and at Goettingen; also several communications from the Abbé José Correa de Serra, Dupont de Nemours, and a great mass of unpublished letters from William Wirt. The discovery of the Gilmer collection, which has fortunately survived the ravages of war, is only another illustration of the importance and practical value of American students utilizing academic connections and the historical environment for the prosecution of their original studies. Probably the Gilmer collection is but one of many family collections of important papers which might be made useful to historical science in the hands of students. The field of American educational history is comparatively unbroken, and it is not unlikely that many other interesting materials [exist] and discoveries may yet be made. It is the ploughing of new lands that unearths interesting relics of a forgotten race, and it will prove no ungrateful task to follow in the track of educational pioneers like Thomas Jefferson and Francis Gilmer.

The results of Professor Trent's interest in the matter were, first, his own valuable monograph *English Culture in Virginia: A Study of the Gilmer Letters and an Account of the English Professors obtained by Jefferson for the University of Virginia* (Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, Seventh Series V-VI, 1889), and secondly, the discovery of a second* volume of Gilmer letters, which he found to be even more precious than the first. Professor Trent reports the new find in his Introduction (p. 7):

Being much pressed by his professional and other duties, Dr. Adams handed me this voluminous correspondence with the request

*It is devoutly to be wished that this volume too may soon lie side by side with its fellow among the treasures of our Library.

that I would examine it and express an opinion as to its value with regard to that period of the University's history on which he was specially engaged. I did examine it with great care, and found that, although it did not bear directly on the field of investigation Dr. Adams had chosen, it nevertheless opened up a new field of hardly inferior interest. Upon this report Dr. Adams and Mr. Gilmer were kind enough to intrust the letters to me that I might complete a study, the outlines of which were already developing themselves in my own mind. In a letter to my mother I alluded to the fact that this task had been confided to me. She at once wrote me that she was certain another volume of a similar character was in existence, and that she would endeavor to obtain it for me.

Her statement proved true and the companion volume is now in my hands through the kindness of Mrs. Emma Breckinridge, of "Grove Hill," Botetourt County, Virginia. Mrs. Breckinridge is a sister of Mr. John Gilmer and a daughter of Peachy Gilmer, the eldest brother of the subject of this sketch. This second volume is even more invaluable than the first as it contains all of Gilmer's own letters to Mr. Jefferson, etc., and also throws many valuable side lights upon the internal history of Virginia for the period from 1815 to 1825.

To seek to gather together as far as possible and publish in our archives all such private or unpublished material bearing upon the history of the School of Latin in the University of Virginia was suggested to my mind by the perusal of an autograph letter of Jefferson framed under glass and suspended on the walls of the Administration Building on East Lawn:

FROM JEFFERSON TO JUDGE BLAND.

Monticello, June 26, '21.

Dear Sir:

Your favor of the 18th was received yesterday. The state of our University is such that we cannot say when it will be opened. The buildings for the professors and students will all be finished the ensuing winter. But their erection will have left us very largely indebted, and if to be paid out of the annuity settled on it, it will be many years before it will be free. It is believed however that the legislature will remit the debt. If they do, the institution will be opened one year after the remission, as that time will be necessary to collect our professors from both sides of the Atlantic, as we shall receive none but of the first order of science in their several lines. Every branch of science, at present thought useful, will be taught; for which purpose 10 professors will be allowed. Every person who can read, write and cipher will be free to learn what he chuses and

what he can, without tramelling him with any prescribed course. *But we shall not teach elementary classics. In that line we shall give only the last critical finishing to those who have been of the highest class of the ordinary academies.** Board in the neighboring village of Charlottesville is at present about 125 D. Tuition fees will be about 40 or 50 D. Should the next session of the legislature remit our debt, the institution will open immediately after the Christmas of the next year 1822, which I am in hopes would be in time for your son, whom we should be very happy to receive, and I shall with pleasure render him any service I can. I salute you with great esteem and respect.

Judge Bland.

TH. JEFFERSON.

Three years later in 1824 we find Mr. Gilmer in Europe negotiating with prospective professors for the new University which was to open its doors early in 1825. "One of the finest representatives of English scholarship," says Dr. Adams whose data I have taken the liberty of slightly correcting and supplementing, (*Jefferson and the University of Va.*, p. 114), "secured by Mr. Gilmer was Mr. George Long (1800-1879), a graduate of the University of Oxford [Cambridge]. He was an excellent type of Oxford [Cambridge] classical culture and became the founder of the school of ancient languages, for the cultivation of which the University of Virginia has remained distinguished, from the three years' [four sessions'] service of Long (1825-1828) and the longer term of Gessner Harrison down to the régimes of Gilderleeve (1856-1876), Price, and Wheeler in Greek, and [Coleman and] Peters (since 1865) in Latin."

Fortunately for our present purpose, Dr. Adams has reprinted the very letter in which Gilmer under commission from Jefferson invites Long to come to Virginia and inaugurate in her new University the school of Ancient Languages:†

FRANCIS W. GILMER TO GEORGE LONG (LONDON, AUGUST 21, 1824.)

I am sure the nature of this letter will be a sufficient excuse to Mr. L. for his receiving such an one from a perfect stranger.

The State of Virginia has for six years been engaged in establishing a university on a splendid scheme. The homes are now finished,

*The italics are editorial, not original, in this single connection.

†*Jeff. and the Univ.*, p. 114; where Dr. Adams' reading seems wrong I have followed the original copy.

a revenue for the support of the professors, etc., is appropriated, and I have come to England to engage professors in some of the branches in which Europe is still before us. I have heard your qualifications as professor of Latin and Greek highly commended, and wish to know whether such an appointment would be agreeable to you. My powers are absolute, and whatever engagement you make with me is binding on the University without further ratification.

You will have (1) a commodious house, garden, etc., for a family residence, entirely to yourself, free of rent; (2) a salary of \$1500 per annum paid by the University, and tuition fees from \$50 to \$25 from each pupil, according to the number of professors he attends; (3) your tenure of office is such that you can be removed only by the concurrence of five out of seven, and all the first men in our country, with Mr. Jefferson at the head.

Mr. Key suggested that your being obliged to be in Cambridge next July might be an obstacle. That may be removed by a stipulation that in that year 1825, you shall have liberty to come to England, for which reasonable time shall be allowed, so as to make your visit to Cambridge certain.

You will be required not to teach a mere grammar school, but to instruct young men somewhat advanced in reading the Latin and Greek classics. Hebrew is also included, but there will be no occasion for it, I think, and you could easily learn enough for what may be required. You should explain the history and geography of the two famous ancient nations as illustrative of their literature, etc.

The whole is now only waiting for my return to go into full and active operation. You will see, therefore, the necessity of making an early decision. I should like the professors to sail October or November, and shall thank you for an intimation of your wishes on the subject as soon as convenient.

Yours very respectfully, etc.,

FRANCIS W. GILMER.

Professor Trent has printed in full what he characterizes as Long's manly letter in reply to Gilmer's offer (*English Culture in Virginia*, p. 90). The letter is No. 67 of the autograph collection:

GEORGE LONG TO FRANCIS W. GILMER (LIVERPOOL, AUGUST 24, 1824).

The subject of your letter renders an apology for writing to me quite unnecessary; I am pleased with the plain and open manner in which you express yourself and encouraged by this I shall freely state to you all my thoughts on the subject, and make such enquiries as the case seems to me to admit. The nature of the powers with which you are vested gives me full confidence in your proposals, and

from Mr. Key's letter I am led to expect that all information you give me will bear the same marks as the communication I have already received. The peculiar circumstances of my situation induce me to throw off all reserve, and to trouble you with more words than otherwise would be necessary. About two years since, I lost my remaining parent, a mother whose care and attention amply compensated for the loss of a father and no inconsiderable property in the West India Islands. By this unfortunate occurrence I have the guardianship of a younger brother, and two younger sisters thrown upon me—with numerous difficulties, which it is useless to mention because nobody but myself can properly judge of them,—and with an income for their support which is rapidly diminishing in value. I have for some time past been directing my attention to the study of the law with the hope of improving my fortune, and the ambition, which I hope is a laudable one, of rising in my profession. In truth the latter is almost my only motive for entering into the profession, as I am well acquainted with the insupportable tedium and vexation of the practical part. But the obstacles in my way, tho I should consider them trifling if I were solely concerned for myself, become formidable when I reflect on the situation of my family. I wish then to know if that part of America would afford an asylum for a family that has been accustomed to live in a respectable manner, and an opportunity for laying out a little property to advantage.

From your account of that part of Virginia, and from what I have learned from books and other sources of information, I conclude that new comers are not liable to be carried off by any dangerous epidemic disorder.

The salary attached to the professorship seems an adequate sum to be secured, but I wish to know what proportion it bears to the expense of living—many of the common articles of food I can imagine to be cheap as in England—but other articles such as wearing apparel, furniture, etc., I should conceive to be dearer than they are here. Your information on this subject will supply the defect in mine.

Is the University placed on such a footing as to ensure a permanent and durable existence, or is the scheme so far an experiment that there is a possibility of its failing?

Is there any probability of the Greek Professor being enabled to double the \$1,500 dollars, when the University is fairly set a working, by his tuition fees? You will perhaps be surprised at this question; I am not at all mercenary or addicted to the love of money—I have reasons for asking which I could better explain in a personal interview.

Is there in the county of Albemarle, or town of Charlottesville, tolerably agreeable society, such as would in some degree compensate for almost the only comfort an Englishman would leave behind him?

What vacations would the Professor have—and at what seasons of the year—of what nature, with respect to time, would his usual engagements be—and would sufficient time be left for literary pursuits, and the studies connected with his profession, by which as much might be effected as by the employment more immediately attached to the situation?

With respect to my coming to England in 1825, that would be absolutely necessary. Unless I take the degree of Master of Arts next July, I forfeit my fellowship which is at present the only means of subsistence I have, except the occupation in which I am at present engaged of taking private pupils. Should the expectation that I am induced to form be realized, my Fellowship of course would be a small consideration: but as I just observed the settlement of my affairs here would render my presence necessary in 1825.

The Professors, you tell me, can only be removed by the concurring voice of 5 out of the 7 directors; I presume that inability to perform the duties of the office, or misconduct would be the only ground on which such a removal would be attempted.

I have no attachment to England as a country; it is a delightful place for a man of rank and property to live in, but I was not born in that enviable station, to which most men here are led to aspire and often in vain. If comfortably settled therefore in America I should never wish to leave it.

I wish to know what may be the expenses of the voyage and if they are to be defrayed by the persons engaged—also what kind of an outfit would be necessary, I mean merely for a person's own convenience.

Mr. Key knows nothing of me but from college acquaintance: he therefore could not know that he was directing you to a person who would raise so many difficulties, and make so many enquiries some of which you may judge impertinent. For the last 6 years I have struggled with pecuniary difficulties, and I am not yet quite free from them: I have thus learned at an early age to calculate expenses, and consider probabilities: When I know the whole of a case, I can come to a determination and abide by it.

If you will favor me with an answer as soon as you find it convenient, I shall consider it a great favor—I must again apologize for the freedom with which I have expressed myself: when I have received your letter, I will inform you of my determination.

I will thank you to inform Mr. Key that he will receive a letter from me by the next post after that which brings yours.

I remain with the greatest respect

Yours,

G. LONG.

Please to direct "George Long, No. 1, King St., Soho, Liverpool.

To Long's inquiries Mr. Gilmer sent the following reply, preserved in copy as No. 69 of the *Letters to F. W. Gilmer*:

FRANCIS W. GILMER TO GEORGE LONG (OF LIVERPOOL).

London, 27 Aug., 1824.

Dear Sir:

I received your letter of the 24th yesterday but too late to be answered by the post. Far from thinking you importunate in your questions, I am glad to find you enter on the matter with all the deliberation which its importance demands, and I shall have great pleasure in answering every inquiry you can wish to make. With the utmost candor and fullest examination on both sides we are not likely to misunderstand each other. Tho I regret with you that we cannot have a personal conference, when I could explain to you more fully the whole of our expensive and splendid scheme.

But to answer your inquiries seriatim:

"Asylum for family and opportunity of laying out property to advantage." From a long and intimate knowledge of Albemarle county I assure you I know no place in America where there is a more liberal, intelligent, hospital, and agreeable society: none, where respectable strangers could receive a kinder welcome, and going over as a professor as you will, they will not regard you as a stranger from the first.

Your property you may on any day vest advantageously in the funds on fair terms, yielding you about 6 p. c. p. ann. or in lands contiguous to the University which cannot fail to rise in value. Tho for revenue, I should prefer the fund.

"Proportion of salary to expense of living." Your salary itself is more than enough for the comfortable support of yourself and the family you mention; you have a house without rent, you will know nothing of the taxes which grind one in England. Wearing apparel except very fine woolen clothes you will find very nearly or quite as cheap as in England and from the specimens I have seen here the furniture tho not as highly finished or as rich as the London, you may buy by waiting the occasion, as cheap, and at any time on moderate terms.

"Permanency of the University." It is the bantling of Mr. Jefferson and of the State: too much money has been expended in it to permit it to fail. With such endowments, with you and Key and others of enterprise and talent it cannot fail. It will grow rapidly into celebrity. Mr. Jefferson told me he had already applications from every part of the U. S. to know when it would be open, to engage places, etc.

"Emoluments from students." From what Mr. Jefferson told me and from my own knowledge, I am sure you must receive in fees

from students even the first year, at least \$1,500 dollars, and more every year for some years after.

"Society," this I have already answered. There are a great number of persons well educated, of good manners, etc., in Albemarle.

"Vacations." These were not definitely settled when I left Virginia nor can they well be, till you all meet. The vacation I think will be all at one period, and not so long as at the English universities. But after you are fully established your lessons, lectures, etc., will be given only on alternate days and the duty will be light after you have prepared your course. In the long vacation you can recreate yourself, or write, and at all times have leisure for improvement and study.

"Tenure of office." Of course misconduct or incapacity can be the only grounds for removal of the professors. There must be some tribunal to which they are responsible, and there is no civil office with us, where the tenure is so independent of others.

"Expenses of voyage." The passage from Liverpool to New York is 30 guineas. From New York to the University will be not more than 5 or 6. I do not know whether I could at once defray the expense of passage of all you may wish to go with you, but I could advance 50 guineas, or a trifle more, and would with pleasure if you found it necessary.

"Outfit." If you have furniture take it with you, for I believe we can get it in without duty. If you have not, you can for a few hundred dollars get all that will be necessary in Virginia: and add luxuries at your leisure. The whole you will find will require not many hundred dollars, but too much depends on one's ideas of an establishment to allow a very definite answer.

I perceive the necessity of your being at Cambridge next year, and cannot deny the reasonableness of your demand. The visitors contemplate opening the University on the 1st Feb'y, '25. Your salary will begin from the day of your embarkation in G. B. which I hoped would be early in October. This with the 3 months necessary (allowing for all accidents) for your visit to Cambridge will consume 7 months of the year. I have no idea of driving a hard bargain with you, but shall make the most liberal one my duties will allow. It may however seem to the other professors an extraordinary indulgence to allow this without any drawback. Perhaps you may suggest some middle point that would satisfy every one and be reasonable in itself. That however shall be no obstacle with us, for I treat with you not as I would with a merchant but as a scholar. With this temper on both sides I am sure you will be pleased with your situation and my country: where I shall be happy to contribute to make your residence prosperous and agreeable.

Yours very respectfully, etc.,

P. S.—You will observe that the Hebrew is included with Latin

and Greek, also Rhetoric, belles lettres, ancient history and geography.

The visitors have thought it best in the beginning to crowd the sciences, rather than multiply professors. The Hebrew I think of no importance as we have no clergy and you need not mind whether you know anything of it. The Rhetoric and belles lettres will be easily attained.

On the 2nd of September, 1824, Long accepted the tendered Professorship of Ancient Languages in the University of Virginia (*Letters to F. W. Gilmer*, No. 65) :

GEORGE LONG TO FRANCIS W. GILMER.

Liverpool, Thursday.
(2nd Sep., '24)

Dear Sir:

I am afraid you will think me rather negligent in not returning a speedier answer to your kind letter. It is only fair to tell you I have been making all the enquiries which the importance of the case requires, and which my opportunities in Liverpool supply. I yesterday was introduced to Adam Hodgson, a Liverpool merchant whom you probably may know as the author of some letters on America. He has visited Charlottesville and the neighborhood. His report has confirmed my previous determination. I accept your proposal with gratitude, and I beg you will not think worse of me for the almost jealous and suspicious scrutiny which I have made. To leave a native country, to relinquish a plan of life formed with much deliberation, and to leave behind some valuable friends, all in part contributed to make me feel undecided for several days. I have carefully reviewed the whole matter, and having made my choice I look forward to my situation as affording me the reasonable means of happiness and the power of being useful. There is only one point which I forgot to mention in my former letters. From the tenor of your words, and from the liberal spirit of your polity, I infer no influence will be exercised over the religious opinions of the professors. I will express as plainly as I can my meaning. I infer they will not be expected to subscribe to any particular religious opinion, or to aid in the propagation of any doctrinal and speculative tenets about which sects differ. On such theoretical difficulties men at my age have not had time to form any very decided opinion. On most subjects of practical utility I think I have made up my mind. It will be the greatest pleasure and happiness of my life to assist as far as I am able in diffusing useful knowledge, in promoting peace and good will among men, and the interests of the community to which I belong.

I have just received a letter from Key, for which when you see him you may give him my thanks. The tone of it serves only to

make me more satisfied with the determination I have formed. Your kind offer of 50 guineas I feel grateful for: I shall not want any money, as I intend to take my family over next year. With respect to my absence from America in 1825, it will be a fortunate circumstance if the vacation should form a part of the time during which I shall be in England. If it does not, I can only promise to make the time as short as possible, for which purpose I shall make all the arrangements I can before I leave England. I shall be ready to sail in the middle of October: I am informed that packets leave Liverpool for New York 4 times a month. Of course I do not interfere in the least with the plans which you and Mr. Key have made, but I shall be glad to know if you sail from Liverpool, and at what time. You may depend on me being in readiness at the time I have mentioned.

I shall be much obliged to you if you will answer this as soon as it is convenient to you.

I remain yours most respectfully,

GEORGE LONG.

No. 1 King St., Soho.

Professor Long, [writes Dr. Adams (*Jefferson and the University of Virginia*, p. 116)] was the first of those engaged to arrive upon the University premises, and he seems to have made a favorable impression upon Jefferson. The latter wrote to Cabell, December 22, 1824: "Mr. Long, professor of ancient languages, is located in his apartments at the University. He drew, by lot, Pavilion No. 5. He appears to be a most amiable man, of fine understanding, well qualified for his department, and acquiring esteem as fast as he becomes known. Indeed, I have great hopes that the whole selection will fulfill our wishes."

Professor Long more than met the expectations of the friends of the University during the few years that he tarried in Virginia, although the English don must have surprised the authorities by marrying a Virginia widow. Jefferson had imagined that his professors would remain single and live upstairs in the pavilions, leaving the ground floor for recitation-rooms; but professors' wives soon changed all that, and the classes were driven out-doors.

Mr. Long gave a character and a standard to the classical department which it has never lost. He represented history in connection with the classics; and certainly ancient history never had a more scholarly representative upon American shores. Unfortunately for this country, but to the great gain of historical science in his own land, Mr. Long was called home in 1828, to a professorship of Greek in the new University of London. Madison, in a letter to Monroe, dated January 23, 1828, says, "I have received a letter from Mr. Brougham urging our release of Professor Long." The univer-

sity authorities in Virginia parted most reluctantly with Mr. Long, but recognized the superior attractiveness and advantages of his call to the English capital. They urged, however, most strongly that the professor should find a suitable successor. On the 10th of March, 1829, Madison wrote to Joseph C. Cabell: "I have just received from our minister in London and from Professor Long letters on the subject of a successor to the latter. Mr. B. is doing all he can for us, but without any encouraging prospects. Mr. Long is pretty decided that we ought not to rely on any successor from England, and is equally so that Dr. Harrison will answer our purpose better than any one attainable abroad. He appears to be quite sanguine upon this point." Dr. Harrison was one of Mr. Long's own pupils, and one of the first graduates of the University of Virginia. No more fitting nomination or appointment, nor one better deserved, could possibly have been made.

It would be interesting to follow in detail the brilliant record of Professor Long after his return to England, if space permitted. He and his former colleague at the University, Mr. Key, who was made professor of Latin in the London University, introduced into England the comparative method in classical study. Long edited a great variety of classical texts, some of which remain standard to this day. The *Encyclopædia Britannica*, in a striking article upon this remarkable scholar, says: "Long has exercised by his writings, and indirectly through some of his London University pupils, a wide influence on the teaching of the Greek and Latin languages in England." He was prominent in founding the Royal Geographical Society, and became a leading authority in both ancient and modern geography. Long's *Classical Atlas* is known to school boys in both England and America. One can not help suspecting that Long's knowledge of this country had something to do with the inception of his *Geography of America and the West Indies*. He became a thorough democrat in education, resigning his professorship to edit the *Quarterly Journal of Education*, published by the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge of which he was for years a most active member. Thirteen years of his life he devoted to the *Penny Cyclopædia*, of which he edited twenty-nine volumes. This was his greatest work for the education of the English people. He returned to academic life, and wrote his great work on Roman history. He was the chief English authority upon Roman law and was one of the academic pioneers in this study, although he was anticipated by Dr. Thomas Cooper, who, in Pennsylvania, edited parts of the Code of Justinian long before his call to represent law in the University of Virginia. That institution may well be proud of the scholarly Englishman first chosen by Jefferson to represent sound learning within its walls. . . .

George Long filled the chair of ancient languages from 1825 to 1828. He was a master of arts and fellow of Trinity College, Cam-

bridge, and on the establishment of the University of London was called home to fill the Chair of Greek in that institution. Mr. Long's influence upon his fellow teachers and his students was great, notwithstanding his short stay; for he fixed the standard of requirement in his classes at a higher point than was then known in this country, and he was the instructor and life-long friend of his successor, Gessner Harrison, whose immense influence upon the University we shall soon consider at some length. To characterize the scholarship of a man so well known would be a work of supererogation on my part, if not of impertinence; but I can not forbear quoting in this connection the opinion of the man who was perhaps the best fitted of all English critics to judge such matters—Mr. Matthew Arnold. In his essay on Marcus Aurelius, speaking of Mr. Long's translation of the *Meditations*, Mr. Arnold said: "Mr. Long's reputation as a scholar is a sufficient guarantee of the general fidelity and accuracy of his translation: On these matters, besides, I am hardly entitled to speak, and my praise is of no value. But that for which I and the rest of the unlearned may venture to praise Mr. Long is this: that he treats Marcus Aurelius's writings, as he treats all the other remains of Greek and Roman antiquity which he touches, not as a dead and dry matter of learning, but as documents with a side of modern applicability and living interest, and valuable mainly so far as this side in them can be made clear; that as in his notes on Plutarch's *Roman Lives* he deals with the modern epoch of Cæsar and Cicero, not as food for school-boys, but as food for men, and men engaged in the current of contemporary life and action, so in his remarks and essays on Marcus Aurelius, he treats this truly modern striver and thinker, not as a classical dictionary hero, but as a present source from which to draw 'example of life, and instruction of manners.' Why may not a son of Dr. Arnold say, what might naturally here be said by any other critic, that in this lively and fruitful way of considering the men and affairs of ancient Greece and Rome, Mr. Long resembles Dr. Arnold?"

My attention was called by our librarian, Mr. John S. Patton, to the fact that Professor Thomas Chalmers McCorvey, of the University of Alabama, was in possession of letters from George Long, our first professor of Ancient Languages, to his distinguished pupil, Henry Tutwiler, of Alabama. Henry Tutwiler and Gessner Harrison roomed together during the opening years of the University of Virginia, and were the first to have the Master's degree conferred upon them when it was subsequently introduced into our academic life. Through the great kindness and courtesy of Professor McCorvey, I have been enabled to see and make copies of the precious records in his keeping, which include

autograph letters from Long to Tutwiler, and official recommendations of Tutwiler to the authorities of the University of Alabama from the various members of our earliest Faculty. The letters of George Long are included in this book; the Tutwiler records will appear in the *Alumni Bulletin* for July, 1917. These are all interesting memorials of the life and work of our first professor of Ancient Languages and of one of his two most distinguished pupils—Gessner Harrison and Henry Tutwiler. Professor McCorvey has himself published extracts from one of the letters in *The Nation* (N. Y.) of October 26, 1893, under the title of "Long's Portraits of the Virginia Presidents," but above all he has prepared for the Alabama Historical Society (*Transactions*, 1904, Vol. V) a most valuable paper on "Henry Tutwiler and the Influence of the University of Virginia on Education in Alabama," which I have secured his permission to republish in the ALUMNI BULLETIN in connection with the testimonials to Henry Tutwiler from Gessner Harrison, Robley Dunglison, R. M. Patterson, John P. Emmet, and George Tucker, of the University of Virginia Faculty of 1830.

I begin the publication of the Tutwiler letters with one of those of more recent date, because it gives Professor Long's earliest recollections of the University of Virginia and its founders:

FROM GEORGE LONG TO HENRY TUTWILER.

Portfield, Chichester,
May, 30/75. Very cold.

My dear friend:

I send you a few words at your request, which you may use as you please.

Early in December 1824 I travelled from Washington to Fredericksburg, where I stayed all night. I do not know how I was known, but a gentleman called on me, and asked me to his house, and I spent a pleasant evening. I saw some young Virginian ladies there and I thought they were very charming. I was amused with the curiosity which my new friends showed to hear some news about England. A gentleman came up to me, and asked how I left Mr. Campbell, the poet. Luckily I had lately called on him in London on some business about a relative of his who thought of emigrating to America, and I could therefore give a satisfactory answer. At Fredericksburg I first tasted corn bread, and I used it all the time that I lived in Virginia. I wish that I could have it now.

From Fredericksburg I had a two days' rather unpleasant journey to Charlottesville in the stage coach. The roads were bad, the accommodation not good, and the company very indifferent. The young men of the present day can hardly conceive what this road was then, for I suppose that there is now a railroad the whole distance.

At Charlottesville, I mean of course the University near it, I lived at least two months in the house which was assigned to me, in great solitude and during bad weather. It would have been still worse, if I had not experienced the kindness of the Proctor, Mr. Brockenbrough, whose wife's sister I afterwards married. The other professors had embarked in an English vessel for Norfolk, and they had a very long passage. The ship was described to me as something like an old hay stack: it could just float and go before the wind. I had more wisely embarked in one of the New York American packets from Liverpool. Since that time the English have learned to build good ships for the American trade.* When my brother professors ar-

*Here once more Dr. Adams (*Jefferson and the University of Virginia*, p. 115) strikes happily into our record with the following letter from the Gilmer Manuscripts (*Letters to F. W. Gilmer*, No. 51):

GEORGE LONG TO FRANCIS W. GILMER, WRITTEN AFTER LONG'S ARRIVAL IN VIRGINIA.

University of Virginia, Monday,
January 25, 1825.

Dear Sir:

I am sorry to learn that you still continue so weak from the effects of your illness. I anticipated the pleasure of seeing you in this neighborhood during Xmas: your presence would have contributed to enliven the University wh. being almost without inhabitants looks like a deserted city.

I have been settled for some weeks in one of the pavilions. I bought only a few articles in Charlottesville, as I found the prices of most things extravagantly high. Mr. Peyton has forwarded me some chairs from Richmond and these with what I have will be sufficient at present. You may probably recollect that I told you I had sent my books from Lpool consigned to Mr. Peyton; they will be sent either to Baltm., Norfolk, or Richmond. I shall be obliged to you if you will remind that gentleman of them and beg him to forward them to me as soon as he receives them.

I dined with Mr. Jefferson last Monday. He was in good health, but like all of us very uneasy about the delay of our friends. I do not yet, being acquainted more fully with all the circumstances of the case, entertain any apprehensions about their safety, but I regret both for the University and my own personal comfort that they were so foolish as to embark in an old log.

The people in Charlottesville having nothing better to do amuse themselves with inventing stories on this unfortunate subject. Almost every day from an undoubted authority I am informed the

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rived at the University, they found me eating corn bread and already a Virginian in tastes and habits. Things were rather rough, but I have always had and still have the faculty of making myself happy under any circumstances.

A few days after my arrival at Charlottesville I walked up to Monticello to see Mr. Jefferson. I made myself known to his servant, and was introduced into his great room. In a few minutes a tall dignified old man entered, and after looking at me a moment said, Are you the new professor of antient languages? I replied that I was. He observed, You are very young: to which I answered, I shall grow older. He smiled, and said, That was true. He was evidently somewhat startled at my youthful and boyish appearance; and I could plainly see that he was disappointed. We fell to talking and I stayed to dine with him. He was grave and rather cold in his manner, but he was very polite; and I was pleased with his simple Virginian dress, and his conversation free from all affectation. I remember this interview as well as if it took place yesterday.

During my solitary residence before the University opened I visited Monticello several times and occasionally passed the night there. I thought that he became better satisfied with the boy professor; and we talked on all subjects. He saw that I took great interest in the geography of America and in the story of the revolution; and he told me much about it, but in a very modest way as to himself. He showed me the original draft of the Declaration of Independence; and he could clearly see that I was in habits, as I have always been and still am, a man who preferred plain republican institutions to the outward show and splendour of European kingdoms—when I say 'republican institutions,' I mean genuine republican, for a republic may have the name, and very little besides that I value.

I often saw Mr. Jefferson between this time and his death. When

professors have arrived. A few hours after I had received your letter a man very gravely assured me that the professors were at that moment in Richmond.

The books have arrived in safety. We have not been able to find a catalogue of them, and I believe we shall not take them out of the boxes before Mr. Jefferson receives one from you. I brought a sufficient number to employ myself on during this most anxious expectation of our friends' arrival. Beside the loss of their society at present I am truly concerned for the interests of the University: I hear daily of many who are most eagerly looking forward to the opening of the institution; it is possible this short delay at first may cause the Univ. some temporary loss.

We have just had a heavy fall of snow: I am confined to my house and see no living being but my black friend Jacob and Mr. Grey's family where I eat.

I remain with the best wishes for your speedy recovery

Yours most respectfully,
G. LONG.

he came on his horse to the University, he generally called on me. His thoughts were always about this new place of education of which he was really the founder; and though the first few years of the University were not quite satisfactory, he confidently looked forward to the future and to the advantages which the state would derive from the young men who were educated in the University of Virginia.

I remember well a long conversation which I once had with Mr. Jefferson on George Washington. He spoke of him freely and generously, as of a man of great and noble character. Mr. Tucker in his life of Jefferson has given the character of George Washington as Jefferson wrote it; and it is perhaps certain that the character was written at the time when Mr. Jefferson spoke of Washington to me, though he told me something more than the written character contains, but nothing that is contradictory to it. The character is exceedingly well written, and it proves that as a mere writer Jefferson might have excelled most men of his day.

I discovered that Mr. Jefferson was well acquainted with Polybius, who is not a good writer, but a man of excellent sense and the soundest judgment. The last time that I saw Mr. Jefferson when he was suffering from a complaint which caused his death, he was reading Pliny's letters, and we had some talk about a passage. A few weeks after when I was at the Sweet Springs during the summer vacation, I heard of his death. There was much foolish display on the occasion in Virginia, and some extravagant bombastic orations, one of them by a man whom I knew. Those who had more sense showed their feeling in another way. The man who had done so much for Virginia and the United States was honoured for his services, for his talents, and his grand and simple character. He ought to be revered by all who enjoy the advantage of being educated in his University, and ever remembered as one of the great men whom Virginia has produced. His great deeds are recorded in the epitaph which he wrote for his own tomb.

Soon after my arrival in Virginia, and it was either in December 1824 or in January 1825, I received a letter from Mr. Madison, whom I had not then seen. He asked me if I could write something in the newspapers which would give the people some notion of what I proposed to do as a teacher in the new University. I wrote something which appeared in the Richmond Enquirer, but I have no copy of it. I think that I cannot be mistaken about the paper in which my statement appeared, though I know well that the memory of an old man sometimes deceives him. I must have written either in December 1824 or in January 1825. Mr. Madison on reading what I had written wrote to me a very kind letter. It is enough to say that he was much pleased with what I had done and with the plain simple way in which I had expressed my meaning. I often saw Mr. Madison afterwards, and I think that he was one of the most sensible men

that I ever spoke to. I do not know what I should think of my youthful work if I saw it now, but Mr. Madison's approbation makes me suppose that it contained good sense, and was of a practical nature, and adapted for the use of the young men whom I was going to teach.

The University opened, I think in February, 1825. Of course the exact time is known. I remember one fact well. It is before my eyes now. Dr. Harrison brought his two sons, Gessner and another. I examined them before admission, and I was much surprised to find that Gessner knew so much and knew it so well. He became my pupil and my friend; and when I left the University and was consulted about my successor, I confidently recommended Gessner Harrison. It is a pleasant recollection to me that my judgment was proved to be right; a painful thought also that this excellent man has left the world at a comparatively early age. I believe from what I have heard and read that he discharged his duties most honorably and with great ability, and that his name will be always remembered in the University where he was both a student and a professor.

I once saw Mr. Monroe, who was a visitor of the University, and I dined in his company with the two other former presidents Jefferson and Madison. I could form no opinion of him, for I believe that he said nothing, and only made an unfortunate attempt to say something to me, for I sat by him. After some time he turned to me and said, How is your father? I was so surprised at this question from a man, who could have known nothing of my father who was then dead and had only been in the West India Islands, that I made an answer as silly as the question. My answer was, I have no father: and he said no more to me. He was a man very unlike Jefferson, and Madison; but I know now that he had some good qualities, and some merits. But I think that he must have been rather a dull companion.

I have seen letters by Mr. Monroe, and I can testify that he neither wrote well nor observed well the orthography of common practice. Jefferson and Madison wrote in all respects as gentlemen should write. I can now understand how Monroe failed in his orthography. His education, I think, was imperfect; and I admit that I who was great at spelling in my youth am now by no means a very good master of orthography, one of the most disorderly parts of our language.

This neglect of good spelling gave me much trouble. Some of the students spelled well, but some very badly. I always corrected the errors and was pleased to find that many of them improved. Good spelling is certainly a small accomplishment, but very bad spelling is a great defect, and often shows great ignorance. I have been informed that Americans are taking some pains about this small matter. I remember one word that the more stupid among the students often produced: it was 'republic.' I explained the origin of the

word, and made an unlucky joke about the 'bub' part of the word, but I soon discovered that jokes were very foolish.

A few words about the early years of the University may be not out of place here. The discipline of the young men was a difficult matter; and perhaps it may be said that foreigners would fail here. I am not of opinion that they did fail and I believe that they did as well as native professors would have done, and even better. There must be some rules for all places of education, and I have always maintained that you must enforce rules as long as they exist. I know that the professors were most desirous to keep order and discipline without severity. Those who know me may remember what a quiet harmless young fellow I seemed to be; but no man was more resolute in punishing by expulsion violations of the great rules of the University and persistent neglect of Academic duties. If any man is living who suffered from this strictness, I believe that he will admit that the professors were just and impartial. I remember one noble young man and even his name, who continually broke all the rules about attendance at lectures, though I often warned him of the consequences. He was at last sent away, and upon my report of his neglect. Before he went away he admitted to me that he was justly punished. Such a youth may have made an excellent man, and I hope that it was so. Whatever the people thought of our discipline, and I believe that even those excellent men, the Visitors, thought that we were sometimes too severe, I have not the least reason to regret anything that I did. I did what I thought best for all; and I would do the same again. I have always had the temper of a soldier, and it was only the accident of my father's loss at sea that caused me to be sent to the University of Cambridge to seek my fortune instead of wearing a red coat.

On the occasion of one great disturbance, the Visitors met, and I well remember Chapman Johnson speaking to me and another professor, whom I do not name. We were greatly dissatisfied with the state of things. I shall never forget that bright intelligent face, that slow, deliberate, and persuasive manner of this eminent lawyer. I conclude by saying that before I left the University there was a great improvement. There was more work done, better order kept, and I can say that during the last year of my residence, I was quite happy. The difficulties of the professors at the beginning were such as any man who knew Virginia at that time might have expected. A little training was all that was wanted. I believed and I still believe that I never had more youth of good abilities under me, nor youths more capable of being made good and useful men.

During Gessner Harrison's life I occasionally heard from him, and also from the dear friend to whom I send these lines, and whom I still hear from. I have information that the University of Virginia

W. Long.

Sir.

I write you this way of informing of my intention of
quitting your Latin class but ~~will~~ for the following reasons. There
are other tickets besides yours and if I were to pay the attention to —
yours that I ought I should not have ~~the~~ time to pay sufficient
attention to the others. Yours with respect

J. S. Mathew

P.S. I will attend your Lectures on Metre and —
— Bellin-Letter when you commence to lecture on them

J. S. Mathew

University of Virginia April 30th 1826

In this letter no reply was sent
& no notice taken of it any way
to the writer - the whole matter was
detached to the writer's guardian in one
of the monthly circulars, & the learned
writer soon after returned to
his duty.

By the
writer
Virginia
Long
Mississippi

THE REVERSE SIDE WITH ADDRESS AND NOTE (IN GEORGE LONG'S HANDWRITING).

is now a successful place of education, a seat of learning and science, of which Virginia may justly be proud, and I trust and hope that it will always be improving. One of my most pleasant remembrances of this country is a letter which I received from General Lee written a very short time before his death. It is a letter in which he thanks me for a copy of my second edition of the translation of Marcus Antoninus, which I sent to him. The cause of my sending it is sufficiently explained in a note at the beginning of the book.* My admiration of this noble Virginian is unbounded. He was a good man, and a soldier such as the world has rarely seen. The youth of Virginia can never find a better example for them to imitate than General Lee, who is one of the last of those illustrious men, whom Englishmen ought to venerate as much as their own countrymen.

GEORGE LONG.

In order to secure a copy of the pedagogical manifesto, which at Madison's request Professor Long made to the people of Virginia and which was supposedly printed in a Virginia newspaper late in 1824 or early in 1825, I enlisted the aid of the Library of Congress, and following is the report made by the Periodical Division:

*The note referred to is the dedication itself to General Lee; it reads as follows: "I have been informed that an American publisher has printed the first edition of this translation of M. Antoninus. I do not grudge him his profit, if he has made any. There may be many men and women in the United States who will be glad to read the thoughts of the Roman emperor. If the American politicians, as they are called, would read them also, I should be much pleased, but I do not think the emperor's morality would suit their taste.

"I have also been informed that the American publisher has dedicated this translation to an American. I have no objection to the book being dedicated to an American; but in doing this without my consent the publisher has transgressed the bounds of decency. I have never dedicated a book to any man, and if I dedicated this, I should choose the man whose name seemed to me most worthy to be joined to that of the Roman soldier and philosopher. I might dedicate the book to the successful general who is now the President of the United States, with the hope that his integrity and justice will restore peace and happiness, so far as he can, to those unhappy States which have suffered so much from war and the unrelenting hostility of wicked men.

"But, as the Roman poet said,

'Victrix causa Deis placuit, sed victa Catoni;'

and if I dedicated this little book to any man, I would dedicate it to him who led the Confederate armies against the powerful invader, and retired from an unequal contest defeated, but not dishonoured; to the noble Virginian soldier, whose talents and virtues place him by the side of the best and wisest man who sat on the throne of the Imperial Cæsars."

GEORGE LONG.

We have searched such files of Virginia newspapers as the Library of Congress possesses for the period December 1824-March 1825. Our file of the tri-weekly *Virginia Herald* (Fredericksburg) is complete for this period, while our file of the semi-weekly *Richmond Enquirer* lacks only three numbers within these dates. Our files for the same period of the *Alexandria Herald*, *Phoenix Gazette* (Alexandria), *Intelligencer and Commercial Advertiser* (Petersburg), *American Beacon* and *Norfolk and Portsmouth Daily Advertiser* (Norfolk), *Winchester Republican*, *Constitutional Whig* (Richmond), *Commercial Compiler* (Richmond), *Norfolk and Portsmouth Herald* (Norfolk), *Virginian* (Lynchburg), *Winchester Gazette*, and the *Central Gazette* (Charlottesville), are broken, and in some cases only scattering numbers are included. We have gone through all these files, both those complete and those incomplete, but do not find Long's statement or any allusion to it.

The arrival of Long in Charlottesville is noted in the *Central Gazette* of December 25, 1824, and a communication "addressed to the Proctor of the University," signed "An European" and dealing with the requirements in the classics for entrance to the University of Virginia, is printed in the *Richmond Enquirer* of March 4, 1825. This communication alludes to an advertisement which is said to have appeared in the *Daily National Intelligencer* (Washington) of February 22, 1825. We have found this advertisement in the issue of February 21, 1825. It is signed Arthur S. Brockenbrough, Proctor of the University, and deals only in part with the requirements for entrance to the School of Ancient Languages.

These references may be interesting to Professor FitzHugh.

Subsequently the Library of Congress reported that the *Central Gazette* (Charlottesville, Va.) in its issue of December 25, 1824, contained the following notice of Long's arrival in Charlottesville: "Three of the Professors of the University of Virginia have arrived in Charlottesville, viz., Dr. Dunlison, Mr. Long, and Mr. Blatterman (*sic*)." In the same issue of the *Central Gazette* there was found a contribution about a column long entitled "Imported Professors, and Virginia Stump Orators and Presidents." It was also noticed that the advertisement referred to in the *Daily National Intelligencer*, of February 21, 1825, seems to be the same as the statement printed in the *Central Gazette*, of Charlottesville, of February 19, 1825.

While the Library of Congress did not succeed in discovering George Long's published statement of his academic program to the people of the Commonwealth, there was found other interesting

matter* which enters appropriately at this point in the historical whole:

FROM "THE CENTRAL GAZETTE."

Charlottesville, Va., Saturday, December 25, 1824.

[page 2, column 4]

For the *Central Gazette*.

Imported Professors, and Virginia Stump Orators and Presidents.

We have seen some extracts from our northern prints expressing much indignation at what they term, "importation of professors" for the University of Virginia. The Boston Courier quotes, with approbation, the remarks of the Connecticut Journal upon the announcement of the fact, that Mr. Gilmer had engaged several professors from England who were expected shortly to arrive. "What American, exclaims the Journal, can read the above notice without indignation? Mr. Jefferson might as well have sent to England for brick to build his taverns and dormitories. Mr. Gilmer could have fully discharged his mission, with half the trouble and expense, by a short trip to New England;" and the Philadelphia Gazette adds; "or by a still shorter trip to Pennsylvania. But because Pennsylvania does not produce *stump Orators and Presidents*, the Virginians conclude that it produces nothing else of value, forgetful that the first physicians, philosophers, historians, astronomers and painters known in American annals, have been citizens of our state." This importation of professors, say these journalists, "is the greatest insult the American people have ever received."

We fear, that the respectful anticipation of this objection, by our Rector and Visitors, in their late report to our legislature, could not, and will not, save us from the wrathful indignation of these sovereigns in literature, the learned and patriotic editors of the Courier, the Journal and the Gazette. But the report says, "The visitors† were sensible that there might be found, in the different seminaries of the United States, persons qualified to conduct these several schools with entire competence; but it was neither probable that they would leave the situations in which they were, nor honorable, nor moral, to endeavor to seduce them from their stations; and to have filled the professional chairs with unemployed and secondary characters, would not have fulfilled the object, or satisfied the expectations of our country, in this institution. It was moreover believed that to advance in science we ought to avail ourselves of the lights of countries already advanced before us," etc.

*The following extracts are quoted verbatim without stylistic changes.

†Mr. Jefferson, Mr. Madison, etc., are visitors.

On this occasion also, it seems, that we have been so unfortunate as to *insult* the American people by importing professors for our University as we have heretofore insulted them by producing so many *stump Orators and Presidents*. But surely it has not been long since the patriotic editors of New England were seized with this abhorrence of importations from Old England. During the embargo, and when the Hartford Convention was sitting, they seemed to be possessed with such a "longing after the flesh pots of Egypt," that they would not only have freely imported professors, but also English legislators, governors and rulers. But now, it seems, they are desirous that all foreign knowledge of Languages, History, and Mathematics should be included in the TARIFF.

As to our respectable and scientific sister, Pennsylvania, we certainly feel no inclination to disparage her claim to the production of native genius and science; but really we did not know that she abounded so much as to have them to spare to her sister states. At this time, one of the most eminent professors in her Medical University is a Virginian, and another of them, we believe, was lately a professor in a University in Virginia; and if, in recalling him, she only took back what was her own, it seems at least inconsistent with her present boasted superabundance. For how many of her physicians, philosophers, etc., she may have been indebted to other states and countries we know not; but we freely admit, that it is creditable to her to receive and encourage them, no matter where produced.

But if Virginia by producing so many *stump orators and presidents*, has acted unwisely towards herself, in contributing too much of her native talents to the common service of the Union to which she belongs, and is ardently attached, she certainly never expected thereby to injure the interest or feelings of Pennsylvania. When the walls which contained the first Congress in Philadelphia trembled, and the anxious hearts of the hearers thrilled at the voices of our *stump Orators, Henry and Lee*, we little supposed that we were obtruding upon Pennsylvania. And when the people of the same city saw our ever dear and beloved WASHINGTON ascend the chair of chief magistrate, as the first *stump President* of this great Union, surely it never entered into their heads to imagine that Virginia was obtruding her *stump sprouts* upon Pennsylvania; and from the conduct of Pennsylvania herself, it cannot be supposed that she considered us as acting injuriously, or offensively to her when we produced our *stump Presidents, Jefferson, Madison and Monroe*. But Virginia men, and principals, and conduct, are getting out of fashion, and, to use a phrase of her planters and farmers well suited to the use of these learned editors, the poor Old Dominion is "getting behind the stump," and in the vicissitude of events, she may be treated like the faithful old dog who had worn his teeth to the *stumps* in his master's service. But Virginia will stand as *stiff as a stump* to her good

old principles and to the men who faithfully support them; and as long as she has the *stump* of a tooth, she will show it in their defence. It is true, that she has lately been *stumped*, root and branch by the eccentric course of the scientific state of Pennsylvania, and her departure from the good old course in which she and Virginia were so long united; and perhaps her learned editors with their superabundance of philosophers, astronomers and painters, with the assistance of New England theologians and witch-killers, with President Jackson at their head, may *suspend the habeas corpus* of our imported professors, lay a *tariff* upon future importations, and an *excise* upon Virginia stump Orators and Presidents, suppress insurrections in Pennsylvania, and Hartford Conventions and witchcraft in New England, and triumphantly victorious in arts and sciences

STUMP THE D——L.

N. B. Let not the good people of Pennsylvania or New England, learned or unlearned, suppose, that we are wanting in due respect for them; but in hurling back the *stumps* that have been aimed at our heads by their witty editors, we ought not to be blamed if some of them should fall awry.

S——.

FROM THE "DAILY NATIONAL INTELLIGENCER."

Washington, Monday, February 21, 1825.

[page 2, column 4]

University of Virginia.

It had been expected that this Institution would have been opened on the 1st day of February (present month), and for the term of ten months and a half, ending on the 15th of December, \$100 would have been required by the different keepers of the hotels, for dieting the students; 23 dollars by the University for the occupation of the dormitories and participation in the public buildings, and tuition fees to the Professors; to wit, 50 dollars if a single one is attended; 30 dollars to each, if two; and 25 dollars to each, if three; every Student being free to attend such, and such only, as are consonant with his views. Circumstances, however, have produced a delay of 5 weeks, to wit, till the 1st Monday of the ensuing month of March, on which it will be opened without fail; and, in consequence of the shortened session, from March 7th to 15th of December, one-eighth will be deducted from the preceding charges for the present session. The Dormitories provided will accommodate 218 students, two in each, and will now be engaged by those who propose to enter as Students, in the order in which applications shall be received. The Schools are, 1st, of Ancient Languages; 2nd, of Modern Languages; 3rd, Mathematics; 4th, Natural Philosophy; 5th, Natural History; 6th, Moral Philosophy; 7th, Anatomy and Medicine; and 8th,

Law. To be received into the School of Ancient Languages, the applicant must be qualified to commence reading the higher Latin Classics, and, in the same degree, Greek, if he proposes to enter that class. For admission into the Schools of Mathematics, or Natural philosophy he must be an adept in the several branches of Numerical Arithmetic, that is to say, in the first elementary operations, in the Rule of Three, in its different forms; in Vulgar and Decimal Fractions, and extraction of the Square Root; and to enter any School, he must be 16 years of age, rigorously proved. The Hotels provided, in the range of the other buildings, are let to house-keepers of the most respectable characters, who will diet the Students, each with the person he chooses, to the end of the term, at the price before mentioned. They are to find their own bedding, fuel, candles, and washing; for all of which, however, they may probably be able to make arrangements with the keepers of the hotel of their choice, or otherwise, as they please. Tuition fees must be paid, in advance, to the Proctor, on whose receipt alone the Student will be admitted to enter a School. It is strongly recommended that all should attend punctually on the day of the commencement, that they may enter together on the beginning of their course of Lectures. All letters and applications respecting the premises, are to be addressed to the subscriber, at the University, near Charlottesville.

ARTHUR S. BROCKENBROUGH,
Proctor of the University.

February 16, 1825.

N. B. The hotel-keepers will require one-half in advance, for Board.

FROM THE "RICHMOND ENQUIRER."

Friday, March 4, 1825.

[page 3, column 5]

Communicated.

To the Proctor of the University of Virginia:

Sir: In your advertisement of the 16th instant, which appeared in the National Intelligencer of the 22d, it is stated, that "to be received in the School of Ancient languages, the applicant must be qualified to commence reading the higher Latin Classics, and in the same degree, Greek, if he proposes to enter that class." Pardon me, Sir, if I say that this mode of expression is rather vague and indefinite, and for the public benefit it ought to be explicitly set forth what books, and what quantity of each should be read by a student, who is preparing to enter the University as a classical pupil. A boy who has read Ovid and Cæsar's Commentaries is qualified to "*commence*" reading the higher Latin classics inasmuch as Virgil may be considered to rank among the higher order of the Ancient Roman Poets.

FACULTY AND OFFICERS.

GEORGE TUCKER,
CHAIRMAN OF THE FACULTY.

Virginia

GEORGE LONG,
PROFESSOR OF ANCIENT LANGUAGES.

Cambridge

GEO. BLAETTERMANN,
PROFESSOR OF MODERN LANGUAGES.

London

TH: HEWITT KEY,
PROFESSOR OF MATHEMATICS.

Cambridge

CHARLES BONNYCASTLE,
PROFESSOR OF NATURAL PHILOSOPHY.

Eng. U.

JOHN P. EMMET,
PROFESSOR OF CHEMISTRY.

Sc

GEORGE TUCKER,
PROFESSOR OF MORAL PHILOSOPHY.

ROBLEY DUNGLISON,
PROFESSOR OF AN. AND MEDICINE,
SECRETARY OF THE FACULTY.

London

JOHN V. KEAN,
LIBRARIAN.

ARTHUR S. BROCKENBROUGH,
PROCTOR.

ALEXANDER GARRETT,
BURSER.

Va

*James Walker Gilmer
Law*

Va

By the same mode of argument a youth who can translate and parse St. John's Gospel in Greek, is sufficiently prepared to "*commence*" reading Xenophon's *Cyropede*. The learned professors of your Institution have been wisely selected from Europe, and probably will condescend to tell us what previous course of preparation is necessary to obtain admission into the School of Ancient languages. A native of the United States educated in his own country would probably term Horace and Cicero the higher Latin Classics, but a graduate of an European College would consider Tacitus, Livy and Juvenal better entitled to that appellation. In this country we seldom get beyond Homer in Greek, but a Transatlantic Professor of dead languages would look upon a man, as a mere Tyro, who had not read Plato, Aristotle, Xenophon's *Memorables*, and Thucydides in Greek. Excuse, Sir, if you please, these impertinent enquiries from

AN EUROPEAN.

February 25, 1825.

Such public inquiry explains to us fully the considerations which prompted Mr. Madison's suggestion to Long to prepare a statement of his pedagogical program for the newspapers of Virginia. It seems clear that the above correspondent had thus far seen nothing in the *Enquirer* in the way of a statement from George Long, and that his only knowledge of the proposed classical program was that derived from the general announcement of Proctor Brockenbrough as shown above. Let us hope that we may yet succeed in finding among the files of the Virginia newspapers of the time Professor Long's statement to the people of Virginia of his plans and purposes for the School of Ancient Languages in the University.

On the other hand, we are not without reliable evidence of his actual work both within and without the classroom during the four sessions (1825-1828) of his sojourn in the United States. Among his papers were found after his death summaries of lectures on Greek and Roman history, ancient geography, and rhetoric, all marked as having been delivered to his classes at the University of Virginia. Moreover, the date 1827, if correctly given by Sandys, of what seems to have been his earliest publication, "*Two Dissertations on Roman Law*," would show that this work was done while he was at the University. Two other publications, in which he collaborated with other writers, belong to the same period, and are preserved

among the treasures of our Library. The first of these is "Tables of Comparative Etymology and Analogous Formations in the Greek, Latin, Spanish, Italian, French, English, and German Languages, by John Lewis, of Llangollen, Spottsylvania County, Va. The Greek (and Latin) Tables by G. Long. The German by Dr. G. Blaettermann, Professors of Ancient and Modern Languages in the University of Virginia. Philadelphia, Carey, Lea, & Carey. 1828." The Preface shows that this work was completed in January, 1828, that is in the winter before Long's return to England. The other work is "An Introduction to the Study of Grecian and Roman Geography, by George Long, Esq., late of the University of Virginia, now of the University of London. And Robley Dunglison, M. D., of the University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Virginia. Published by F. Carr & Co. 1829." The Preface by Professor Long indicates that his part of the work was completed at the University of Virginia on July 9, 1828. A footnote by Dr. Dunglison states that his own share in the task (the chapter on Aethiopia, and Part III on Roman Geography) was "undertaken by desire of Mr. Long, from his inability to accomplish them before his departure from this country." The "Introduction to the Study of Grecian and Roman Geography" represents therefore the closing labors of Long at the University of Virginia. Twenty-five years later, as we learn from his letter to Henry Tutwiler of Apr. 11, 1853, from Brighton, Sussex, we find him again at work in this field. "I am at work," he says, "on a small classical Atlas for schools. I hope I shall make a pretty good job of it. But it is very tiresome work, and is the last job of the kind that I will undertake." This Atlas was reproduced in America in 1856 by Blanchard & Lea of Philadelphia under title "An Atlas of Classical Geography, Constructed by William Hughes, and Edited by George Long, Formerly Professor of Ancient Languages in the University of Virginia."

II. THE RETURN TO ENGLAND: PERIOD BEFORE THE CIVIL WAR.

Strong and wholesome as the salt breeze that blows off the white cliffs of Dover was the spirit of this classical pioneer and cultural immigrant to Virginia, George Long, Fellow of Trinity, as he cheerily embarked from the shores of old England in mid-October of 1824. The year before in 1823 he had won his Cambridge fellowship over the head of young Thomas Babington Macaulay, and now the task he had undertaken with such courage and alacrity was no less in effect than to inaugurate in the New World the modern science of philology, as it had just been reinterpreted and reconstituted in Europe* by its great German

*George Ticknor to Francis Walker Gilmer: Göttingen, 1816. I too have changed my plans. I have renounced the law altogether, and determined to prolong my stay in Europe, that I may do something towards making myself a scholar, and perhaps you will smile, when I add that my determining motive to this decision, of which I have long thought, was the admirable means and facilities and inducements to study offered by a German University. But however you may smile on the other side of the Atlantic, you would if you were on this do just as I have done. My inclination is entirely and exclusively to literature—the only question with me, therefore, was, where I could best fit myself to pursue *haud passibus aequis* its future progress and improvement. In England I found that the vigorous spirit of youth was already fled though to be sure in its place I found a green and honorable old age—in France, where literature, its progress and success was always much more intimately connected with the court than it ever was in any other age or country if Rome under Augustus be excepted, in France it has long been the sport of political revolutions and seems at last to be buried amidst the ruins of national independence,—and in the south of Europe, in Portugal, Spain, and Italy centuries have passed over its grave. In Germany, however, where the spirit of letters first began to be felt a little more than half a century ago, all is still new and young, and the working of this untried spirit starting forth in fresh strength, and with all the advantages which the labour and experience of other nations can give it are truly astonishing. In America, indeed, we have but little of these things, for our knowledge of all Europe is either derived from the French, whose totally different manners and language and character prevent them from even conceiving those of Germany, or from England, whose ancient prejudices against everything continental as yet prevent them from receiving as it deserves a kindred literature. Still, however, the English scholars have found out that the Germans are far before them in the knowledge of antiquity, so that if you look into an English treatise on Bibliography you will find nine-tenths of the best editions of the classics to be

founder, Friedrich August Wolf (1739-1824). Under the lead of Germany the science of antiquity had entered the hierarchy of the independent sciences as the full-orbed science of the products of the classic spirit, whose task was to reconstruct for humanity the total spiritual history of the Greek and Roman world. What Jefferson and the Board of Visitors of the University of Virginia expected of George Long, as of the other European professors, and what he and they recognized as their high mission, was to provide America with something it had never had before, a true University of untrammelled science and instruction. Long's particular task was to lay the foundation in Virginia for the scientific study of the language, literature, and life of the classic world, and the reason why he had been summoned from Europe to accomplish this "fair beginning of a time" was of course because America afforded its own citizens no such equipment for the task.* Upon first sight, as we have seen, Mr.

German;—and Mad. de Stael has told the world, tho' to be sure very imperfectly and unworthily, what a genial and original literature has sprung up in Germany within the last 50 years like a volcano from the wastes and depths of the ocean. But it is not what they have already done, or what they are at this moment doing, astonishing as both are, which makes me hope so much from these Germans. It is the free and philosophical spirit with which they do it—the contempt of all ancient forms considered as such, and the exemption from all prejudice—above all, the unwearied activity with which they push forward, and the high objects they propose to themselves—it is this, that makes me feel sure Germany is soon to leave all the rest of the world *very* far behind in the course of improvement—and it was this that determined me to remain here rather than to pursue my studies in countries where this high spirit has faded away.—For the whole letter, see Trent's Appendix to *English Culture in Virginia*, pp. 131ff.

*Jefferson to General Breckenridge: Monticello, 1822.

Our aim (in establishing the University of Virginia) is the securing to our country a full and perpetual institution for all the useful sciences.

Jefferson to Mr. Roscoe: Monticello, 1820.

This institution (the University of Virginia) will be based on the illimitable freedom of the human mind. For here we are not afraid to follow truth wherever it may lead, nor to tolerate any error so long as reason is left free to combat it.

Jefferson to Dr. Thomas Cooper: Monticello, 1820.

I contemplate the University of Virginia as the future bulwark of the human mind in this hemisphere.

Jefferson to John Adams: Monticello, 1819.

Our wish is to procure natives (for professors) where they can be found of the first order of requirement in their respective lines;

Jefferson was evidently somewhat dismayed at George Long's youthful appearance, but within the first month of their intercourse he recognized him to be "a most amiable man, of fine understanding, well qualified for his department, and acquiring esteem as fast as he becomes known."

We have already become sufficiently familiar with Long's charmingly discursive letters to Henry Tutwiler to realize their interest and value for the historian of the men and times to which they relate. Because of their intimate, personal nature they often illumine things and aspects of things that would otherwise defy the search of 'he inquirer. We even get an impression of what manner of physical man this George Long must have been: of typical English mould, erect and well-knit, "neither fat nor lean," as he later says of himself, quiet and unobtrusive in manner, but withal dignified and even soldierly in bearing, kindly and genial in intercourse, and strikingly forceful and interesting in conversation.*

but, preferring foreigners of the first order to natives of the second, we shall certainly have to go for several of our professors to countries more advanced in science than we are.

Jefferson to John Adams: Monticello, 1825.

In some departments of science we believe Europe to be in advance before us, and that it would advance ourselves were we to draw from thence instructors in these branches, and thus to improve our science, as we have done our manufactures, by borrowed skill. I have been much squibbed for this, perhaps by disappointed applicants for professorships to which they were deemed incompetent.

*Burwell Stark, *Alumnus of 1825: ALUMNI BULLETIN*, May, 1894.

Professor Long, who was an Englishman, made a very popular, enthusiastic, and efficient teacher. He was quite a handsome man, and a very agreeable and sociable companion. He took his meals at the hotel where some other pupils and myself boarded, and we were very much attached to him. Always taking part in our conversation, he made us feel at ease in his presence.

By some he would have been considered sufficiently below the medium physical size to be called small; and he frequently waited on Miss Grey, daughter of the proprietor of our hotel. I remember distinctly how the students would plague her by perverting and quoting for her benefit the following couplet:

"Man wants but little here below,
Nor wants that little long."

They would substitute "but" for "nor" in the second line, and, if they wrote it, would begin the word "long" with a capital.

In 1828 during the fourth year of George Long's tenure of office as Professor of Ancient Languages in the University of Virginia, and just as the initial difficulties that attended his pioneer efforts in the cause of university education in the Old Dominion and the South were beginning to clear up, and to leave him, as he expressed it in retrospect fifty years later, "quite happy during the last year of his residence in Virginia," came the invitation to return to England as professor of Greek in the newly-founded University of London. The year before in 1827 his old friend of Cambridge days and colleague in the Chair of Mathematics at the University of Virginia, Thomas Hewett Key, had resigned his Virginia professorship and gone back home, himself to be chosen the following year as professor of Latin in the new foundation in London. For Long also the call of the blood was too strong, and despite his republican leanings, his Virginia widow, and his predilection for Virginia corn bread, he followed Key's example, resigned his position, vacated Pavilion No. 5, and turned his back on our beautiful mountains never to return again, but not, we may be sure, without casting at least "one longing, lingering look behind."

For his letters to Henry Tutwiler, which we are now about to read in full and in chronological order, reveal a strangely abiding and even warmer-growing interest in America in general and in Virginia and the South in particular to the very close of their author's life on earth. Rarely a letter escapes his pen without the ever-recurring note of longing to return to America and end his days in the land of his early adoption,—“with some land and some pupils, a bit of farming and teaching,” as he expresses it with Cato-like simplicity. Strangely interesting and suggestive too now-a-days is the attitude of George Long, the English scholar and historian of the third quarter of the nineteenth century, not alone towards America, but also towards the England, France, and Germany of his time. But the supreme revelation of these worn and tattered letters is the mirror-clear outline they reflect of the strong, free, staunch Northman, of the sagacious, unwearied scholar, of the faithful teacher and friend.

GEORGE LONG TO HENRY TUTWILER.

March 26, 1850.
5 York Place,
Brighton, Sussex.

My dear Sir:

I was very glad to see a letter from you once more. I have often reproached myself with not answering one which I received some years back. It came near the time of a removal, and it was lost. I looked in vain for it, and I had not taken the precaution to enter your address in a book.

I am now living at Brighton, on the south coast, and I hold the place of classical lecturer here, for which they give me a salary of £500, somewhat less than \$2,500. This is more than a layman can generally get in England, but it is not enough for my expenses, and I make out the rest by literary labor. Your account of your position is very tempting. I have no doubt that you have done right in leaving the college and setting up for yourself. They are troublesome places everywhere, and the pay is indifferent. They are just founding a new college at Manchester in the North of England, for which a Manchester merchant has left £100,000. The trustees offer low salaries and an immense quantity of work. There is to be a principal, who is to hold one of the three principal professorships, which are very comprehensive, to discharge all the duties of superintendence and government, and perhaps to teach religion, as they say, for all which he is to receive about the same that I receive here; besides fees however, but they are put very low.

Classical studies are the fashion here, but they are in my opinion in a low state. I am not fond of exercise books and rules. It seems to me that the time is spent rather about the language than actually upon it and the best authors. I shall publish in a few months an edition of Cicero's Cato Major, Laelius, and some letters of Cicero, with notes and a preface, in which I have explained my views. I hope also to have ready by the end of this year or the beginning of next an edition, with Notes and Excursuses, of the Verrine orations of Cicero. Both books are to be published by G. Bell, 186 Fleet St., London. Anthon's books are well known here, and even edited over again by tenth rate scholars, who put money in their pockets. We banish them and all like rubbish from our college here. You are probably aware that the clergy are the great body of teachers here. Many of them are very ignorant, though they do not think so; and those who have some scholarship, have it in a peculiar sort, not to my taste; it is neither manly nor invigorating, as they display it. Our church of England clergy are very busy at present with the doctrine of baptismal regeneration, and also with looking after their money; the latter no doubt in good earnest.

I was engaged to superintend a new edition of the P. C., but the

publisher broke off his engagement. He has begun a kind of new edition in separate Cyclopaedias, but I have nothing to do with it in any way. I have no hopes that it will ever be completed, and I advise you to see it, before you buy it. It is on the cheap plan. I mean the literary labor is to be paid for at a low rate, and it will be done accordingly.

If I could do just as I like, I would come to the U. S., but I have four sons* to look after. One has a pretty good place in the Commissariat. The other three cost me a great deal. I do not like England, and never did. I do not like everything in the U. S., but you have many great advantages, which we have not. I am now 49 years of age, and I have very good health, and can do more work than ever I did. If I came to America I should like some land and some pupils, a bit of farming and teaching. There are many advantages in settling in the southern states; but slavery, though it is not an unmitigated evil, is still one. I certainly should not like to end my days here and if I feel my health and strength last so that I may probably reach a good age, you may see me yet.

I do not know any good text book on ancient geog., though there are many. If the boys always use maps, and the teacher were to give them a short lecture now and then, followed by an examination, I think no book would be found necessary. Can you not get the U. K. maps by ordering them of a bookseller? They are cheap, 12 cents a piece, and better than Butler's. As you ask about my doings of late, I must tell you I have published translations of thirteen of Plutarch's Roman Lives with notes in Knight's Weekly Volumes. They are 1s (25c.) a volume. There has also appeared a new improved edition of Smith's dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities. I have renewed all my articles on Roman Law. I do not know if Anthon has laid his Harpy hands on the new edition yet, as he did on the first. In due time he will I suppose. If you have not got Key's Latin Grammar, I would recommend you to get it. You will find it a most useful book. Key is working at a Latin Dictionary, which I have no doubt will be the best thing of the kind. It will not be a large book. We have numerous school books published in England, but I know little of them. I only use the Greek and Roman texts, and give the boys my own explanations. I want to teach them the languages well, to give them a competent knowledge of the matter, and a vigorous and healthy love of ancient literature, for which

*While at the University of Virginia Long married, as we have already learned from his letter of reminiscences to Henry Tutwiler, Mrs. Harriet Selden, sister-in-law of Proctor Arthur S. Brockenbrough of the University, and widow of Lieutenant-Colonel Joseph Selden of the United States Army. The fruit of this union was four sons, the eldest of whom was born at the University of Virginia, and one daughter, who died in infancy. He was married twice subsequently.

purpose a teacher is required and good texts, and very little more. The old fashion in England was to study the originals; now in their stead boys study exercise books and rules, and heartily are they tired of it.

I think the people in the U. S. have the opportunity of becoming really good scholars in a useful way, quite as much as we have—but they must have good teachers. We are certainly improving within the last few years, owing mainly as I believe to the example of University College, London; but we have a great deal to do yet, before we have a real good body of teachers. And I do not think that we shall have them till education is more in the hands of laymen. The parsons have one eye on their pupils — another on church preferment. Besides, a parson generally does not teach because he likes it or has an aptitude for it. He first becomes a parson, because he is fit for nothing else; and then he takes pupils to support himself in his ecclesiastical vocation till he can get something better.

I should like a country where there is a good climate, land cheap, and taxes light. I do not care much about society, for I have none here; but still it would be pleasant to have a sensible man to talk to now and then. A small farm of my own in a pleasant healthy situation, where the sun shines often, and employment in teaching some boys who are willing to learn would suit me better than anything else. Is land still reasonable in Alabama, and titles good? I have just found your place on the U. S. map. I suppose that you are in the hilly country, at least not in the flat, and a few hundred feet above the level of the sea, with moderate heat and little winter. I have always thought that North Alabama and Tennessee were about the best part of the U. S. for climate. I am very fond of agriculture and gardening, a taste I can't indulge here. Land is too dear to purchase, and rents are high, though the repeal of the corn laws is bringing them down. We have had a cold and dreary winter since the beginning of November, and we have winter fires still burning. A few years might decide me to take [make?] some move. My chief reason for staying here is my youngest boy, who promises to be a good scholar, and he might do well at the Universities. But I suppose he would do quite as well in America. I have another boy at home, who is fit for nothing. Perhaps I may send him off to sea. I have one in London studying the law, the lad who was born at the Univ. of Virginia. In a year or two he will be a very good lawyer, and I suppose he could get his living in the U. S. Write me a long letter soon and tell me all about N. Alabama. If I do not come to see you, I shall be glad to know something more of the country. Is there any wine making going on yet? Perhaps it will take some time before this branch of industry is established among you.

I have written you a long letter to make amends for my neglect. I should be very glad to see you here and I dare say you would be

pleased with the visit. It is a great gratification to find that one of my old pupils has not forgotten me, and I assure you that I have not forgotten you. I am much obliged for your sending your scheme of education, which is very comprehensive.

Yours very truly,

GEORGE LONG.

12 Hanover Crescent, Brighton, Sussex,
April 11, 1853.

My dear Sir,

I do not recollect if I owe you a letter, or if you are my debtor. It is however a very long time since I heard from you or wrote to you. Months and even years pass so quick, and life slips away unobserved.

I should like to know that you are well. Communication is now easy and quick, but all people seem to have a difficulty about writing letters, if the business is not urgent. I have just written to Harrison, from whom I have not heard for a long time.

My family is fast dispersing over the earth. One son is in China, and another in New Zealand; another in London, and the youngest still at home. I think that I shall leave England if I live till June twelvemonth. The only countries that I can go to are yours or New Zealand. These two islands of Zealand, though little settled yet, are the best acquisition that Great Britain has made. The area is perhaps as much as Virginia, Maryland, and Pennsylvania. The climate is excellent, the soil generally good, and the country well adapted both for agriculture and sheep feeding. The voyage is long at present, between 3 and 4 months, and that is a great objection.

My youngest son, who is just fifteen, is a clever youth, a very good scholar, with a turn for chemistry, mechanics, and the like. He is not inclined to go to our Universities, and would prefer an active life, such as that of a sheep farmer in Zealand. I don't see what he could do in the United States. I think he would not do for a doctor, or a lawyer, or a politician. Your farming is chiefly arable, and if labor is to be hired, as it must be in a free state, it may be that farming is not a profitable employment.

If I were to settle in America, I should prefer Pennsylvania, and that part which extends from Gettysburg along the hills, or the part further west from Hagerstown and Maryland northwards, where I suppose there is more grass and more room for cattle feeding. I should not dislike to be among or near the German population for they are good kind of people, and I could get on with them, as I can speak their language. I fear however that purchases of land in Pennsylvania in a pleasant and good position would be difficult and that the land would be dear. It is not cheap in Zealand, but it may be had for about \$8 the acre; and the pasture land is on a small rent, not

unlike the Roman "scriptura." Your cold winters and hot summers are an objection. I was surprised at what you told me of the length of the time in Alabama during which you must have fires. I think you once said that I might make something in the U. S. by books. You probably meant schoolbooks, but I have little inclination for that, unless it should be an edition of a classical author or two. I have lately published an edition of Cæsar's Gallic War which has been well received here. I would rather write on historical, political, and moral subjects, and perhaps I should get nothing that way. I have not the slightest notion in what state the book trade is in America. No doubt that there is a vast number of books in schools and colleges; but I suppose it is with you as with us, the greatest number of books belongs to what is very properly called light literature.

I am not inclined to school keeping or to a professor's place, even if I could get one. I could pass my time in looking after a bit of land and writing. Hog feeding is a great business in some parts of the Union, but I suppose that a man must go to Ohio for that.

I saw Mr. Key the other day. He is very well, but very fat. I am neither fat nor lean. I have very good health. I shall be glad to hear that all is well with you.

I read a good deal about America in the papers, but I cannot well understand the state of affairs. Things are probably much altered since I was among you, whether for better or worse, I cannot tell. You are fortunately situated, if you have the prudence to keep quiet, which I doubt. We in Europe live in expectation of revolutions, which in continental Europe seem inevitable. Our insular position makes us tolerably safe, if we have ordinary foresight. There is a great ferment of opinion on all questions among us, and I see that you are not free from it. The social evils are many, and we all think how they may be diminished. Thought is now active all over the world, and when expression of it is free, we may expect to hear many strange things. The Frenchman is silent now, he who is the great expounder of impracticable theories. A man has put a bit in his mouth, or rather a gag. It is ludicrous to see a French newspaper. The smallest town in the United States, which has a paper, has a better one than any Paris Journal. So it is in Germany. The papers contain nothing.

I am at work on a small classical Atlas for schools. I hope I shall make a pretty good job of it. But it is very tiresome work, and is the last job of the kind that I will undertake.

I remain

Your sincere friend,

GEORGE LONG.

The quarter of a century following George Long's return to England and immediately preceding our Civil War in America

represents in his career a period of wide and varied scientific, literary, and educational activity. The record of this remarkable productivity may be studied in detail in Sidney Lee's *Dictionary of National Biography*, in which the article on Long has had the benefit of revision at the hands of his special biographer, Mr. H. J. Mathews. Other bibliographies of his work may be found in the *English Cyclopaedia*, the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, and Sandys' *History of Classical Scholarship*. Sandys, however, seems to have erred in attributing "Two Dissertations on Roman Law" to Long's Virginia period, namely 1827. Let us forthwith record succinctly for our own archives the stately story, beginning with the return to England in 1828 and ending with our Civil War.

The University of London opened its doors on the first of October of that year, when Long published his "Introductory Lecture Delivered in the University of London," London, 1828, 8vo., on the subject of the Greek language. The next year appeared "A Summary of Herodotus," 1829, 12 mo., followed in 1830 by two publications, "Observations on the Study of the Latin and Greek Languages," London, 1830, 8vo., and a text edition of Herodotus, 1830-3, 8vo. The latter work, like many other publications of Long intended for classroom use, was frequently republished in new editions. In the same year of 1830 Long, who was exceptionally versed in both modern and ancient geography, coöperated in founding the Royal Geographical Society, making subsequently special contributions to Volumes III. and XII. of the Society's *Journal*, as well as to Smith's *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography*. In 1831 appeared his "Xenophon's Anabasis," which ran through three successive editions. In that year Long resigned his professorship in the University of London, then called University College, and began to edit for the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge its *Quarterly Journal of Education*, becoming a most zealous and laborious member of the Committee, and publishing for the Society the following year his "Egyptian Antiquities" on the subject of the corresponding treasures of the British Museum. In 1833 Long undertook the formidable task of editing for the S. D. U. K. the *Penny Cyclopaedia*, which he brought to completion

in 1846 in twenty-nine volumes. In 1838-9 appeared the papers published for the Central Society of Education in London. His treatise on "Grammar Schools" prepared for Knight's *Store of Knowledge* appeared in 1841. In the same year he prepared for the S. D. U. K. his "Geography of America and the West Indies," showing that breadth of geographic interest and knowledge which was so peculiar to him. The following year in 1842 Long contributed to Smith's *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities* the articles on Roman Law, in which field he was probably the leading authority in Great Britain, and became editor and contributor to the *Biographical Dictionary* of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge. It was in this year that Long succeeded Key as professor of Latin in University College. In 1843 he began his contributions to Smith's *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography*. In 1844-8 appeared his "Civil Wars of Rome" in connection with translations of thirteen of Plutarch's Lives with notes, and during the same period he made his contributions to the *Classical Museum*. In 1845-6 Long published his "Political Dictionary" embodying articles from the *Penny Cyclopaedia* with additions and corrections. For the year 1847 Sidney Lee's *Dictionary of National Biography* credits Long with a publication entitled "Two Discourses on Roman Law," recalling a similar title "Two Dissertations on Roman Law" cited by Sandys, *History of Classical Scholarship*, III. 430, and referred to the year 1827, which would accordingly fall within the period of Long's sojourn in America. In view, however, of the general course of Long's scientific evolution Sandys' data seems inaccurate, and the two titles represent doubtless one and the same publication, referable to the year 1847 and not to the Virginia period. In 1849 Long became Classical Lecturer in Brighton College, and from that time until 1854 he contributed to Bell's *English Journal of Education*. It was probably about the year 1850 that he prepared in collaboration with G. R. Porter for the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge his "Geography of Great Britain." To the same period belong also his "France and Its Revolutions," 1850, 8vo., and his edition of Cicero's "Cato Maior, Laelius, and Epistolae Selectae," 1850, 8vo., the latter text appearing in a second edition in 1853. From 1851

to 1858 he was engaged in editing his famous "Cicero's Orations" for the *Bibliotheca Classica* Series, founded and edited by Long in collaboration with H. J. Maclean. In 1853 Long published his school edition of Caesar's Gallic War, which was republished in a second edition in 1859. In 1854 he brought out his "Atlas of Classical Geography," which was republished in 1874, and during the present writer's student days at the University of Virginia (1879-83) was a highly valued reference book. At about the same time at which he prepared the larger Atlas we find him busied, as he writes to Henry Tutwiler, with the preparation of a smaller "Grammar School Atlas of Classical Geography." Long's last work during the period with which we are now concerned immediately preceding our Civil War, and the last school text ever prepared by his hand, was his "Sallust's Catiline and Jugurtha," 1860, 8vo., of which a second edition was called for in 1884.

III. THE RETURN TO ENGLAND: PERIOD AFTER THE CIVIL WAR.

The period of the Civil War in America, to which we have now come in our perusal of the lifelong correspondence between George Long and Henry Tutwiler, marks a lengthy interruption in the intercourse between our great English scholar and his distinguished American pupil. We have been able in these fascinating letters to follow Long in the fresh morning of his youthful prime during that heroic time of contact with Gilmer and Jefferson, Madison and Monroe, founders and first professors, first students and first patrons, of the University of Virginia. We have seen him back home again in England in the full noontide of his career reaping the fruits of fame and honor which his eager and tireless heart had earned. We are now to converse with him through the closing evening of his life during the decade and a half following our Civil War in America and ending with that last tragic moment, tragic but sublime, when the adamant strength and loyalty of his spirit triumphed even in death and nerved his dying hand to write a last farewell to the friend of his lifetime.

Profoundly interesting historically as are the letters of the ante-bellum period, these later and more abundant documents, to which we now come and which conclude the story of our great scholar's life in its relation to things American, grip our southern and confederate hearts with a deeper appeal. They reveal George Long as passionately loyal to the South and the Confederacy, and as remaining to his last breath an "unreconstructed rebel." In August of 1869 he writes to Tutwiler from Brighton, Sussex, and explains his dedication of his translation of Marcus Aurelius to General Lee: "I wish the people of the South to see that there is at least one Englishman who, like Cato of old, prefers the side of the vanquished to that of the insolent conqueror." He was persistent in his conviction that "England made a great mistake in not aiding the French in supporting the South," and was so little resigned to the result of the struggle as to allow even the faint hope to glimmer between

the lines that "the Secession may yet be accomplished, if the southern people wish it, but it will not be in my time." We are not surprised, therefore, to find George Long following the course of "reconstruction" in the South with a passionate interest and sympathy, which his very distance from the scene itself all but intensified—

Ut adsidens implumibus pullis avis
Serpentium adlapsus timet
Magis relictis, non ut adsit auxili
Latura plus praesentibus.

Ever and anon the forked lightning of his scorn discharges its withering fire against the little faction responsible for the policies and practices of reconstruction: "I do not doubt," he writes, in August of 1868, "that there are still many good men in the North, but the party in power is the most cruel, wicked set of men that I have ever read of. I have no words sufficient to express my abhorrence of their foul, cowardly, and malignant tyranny."

This ardent allegiance to the cause of the Confederacy found its reflection and fruition in an exalted reverence for General Lee, whom he ranked with Caesar in genius and with Marcus Aurelius in virtue—the two heroes of his scientific study. "If I were not detained here by circumstances," he writes from England in his three-score and tenth year, "I would cross the Atlantic to see the first and noblest man of our days." The terrible struggle, too, had the effect of localizing upon the southern states his otherwise more general interest in America. Before the war, in 1853, he had made up his mind that he wanted to return to the United States and settle in one or another choice region of Pennsylvania. But now all that is changed. We hear no more of "Pennsylvania, and that part which extends from Gettysburg along the hills, or the part further west from Hagerstown and Maryland northwards," but now only of the South. "Bad as your state of affairs is," he writes from Brighton in 1870, "I would gladly change England for the Southern States, if it could be done by a wish." Eight years later, in March of 1878 and the year before his death, he writes to Tutwiler: "It

is strange how fresh the Southern States are in my memory. I shall die thinking of them." And the last of these precious letters shows the great old heart fulfilling its own prophecy—

Et dulcis moriens reminiscitur Argos.

GEORGE LONG TO HENRY TUTWILER.

22 Buckingham Road, Sussex.

27 Aug., 1868.

My dear Sir:

Yesterday I received your letter of Aug. 4, today a newspaper, and a few days ago a newspaper. The newspapers cost me nothing, and I shall be glad to receive one occasionally. I can also occasionally send you the London Times. All the postage that I can pay here on the Times is one penny or two cents, and it is very likely that you will have nothing to pay: but you can let me know. I received a letter from you dated June 5, 1867, which I have always intended to answer, and only answer now. I have no excuse, except that I have had a good deal of pain for more than a year, which has made me slow in doing anything that was not absolutely necessary. Some say it is gout, but there are no external symptoms. I am somewhat better now, and I hope to get rid of this pain by constant rubbing.

Key is working at his Latin Dictionary with the assistance of a German. I do not know when it will be published. The French Dict. by Gasc has been published and sells for four s. It is an excellent book. An American firm has made arrangements with the author for a set of the stereotype plates. I am printing the third vol. of my history, but it will not be ready before December or January next. It is a very laborious work. I am also busy with revising and conducting through the press Maclean's Horace, which is part of the Bibliotheca Classica that I superintend. Maclean has been dead some time, and I did not like to trust the revision of my friend's work to the hands of a stranger. Though I have been guilty of most unusual delay in answering your letter, you must not conclude that I never think of you. I think of you continually whenever I read any American news, and I lament most sincerely the unhappy condition to which a wicked faction has reduced your country. It would have been difficult enough to restore prosperity to the South after the War and the sudden transition from slavery to freedom, if the men who had conquered by means of the slave, had wisely coöperated with his former master and done their best to heal the grievous wounds of your country. But those men have worked only to do mischief. I do not doubt that there are still many good men in the North, but the party in power is the most cruel, wicked set of men that I have ever read of. I have no words sufficient to express my abhorrence of their foul, cowardly and ma-

lignant tyranny. There are many persons in England who think as I do, but you must remember that people are not well informed on American affairs, and that those who were in favor of the South during the war are generally the men of higher rank, who are quiet and say little. Most of our newspapers are on what is called the liberal side, and our most active men are on that side too. They are ready to make great changes here, and I doubt if all these changes will be beneficial. I am not averse to any change that is a clear improvement; but hasty changes in our kind of society are dangerous. Hughes is a lawyer of small sense who is trying to talk himself into importance. Bright is well known to you. Goldwin Smith proposes a complete change in our institutions. Now I dislike many things here as much as he does, but I think I see that you cannot make these changes without doing great mischief. In theory I prefer a republic to a state with a king at the head, and I care not for rank and title. But if ever England is freed from these things, I am not sure that she will be the better for it. Mill is very unpractical. He has a good retiring pension as an old servant of the old East India company, and he can afford to give his time to public matters. The source of his pension is the taxes drawn from India; and though we are better governors than the native princes were, we tax hard; we tax land, we tax the poor Hindoo's salt. I would rather earn my living than draw it from the labour of a man who works in a cotton shirt. You cannot tell what Englishmen think of America from what an American publisher may collect from English reviews and papers; though you may learn what a good many think, if the thoughts of men about America are worth knowing, when the men themselves know very little of your affairs.

It is a common fashion now to bepraise the Yankee on all occasions, to flatter him and fawn on him, as if we were afraid of him. Contemptible as the Yankee politician is in my eyes, he is not so contemptible as those who crouch before him. I am by no means pleased with my own country, and if I were younger, I would still leave it. But I am too old, and my means are much reduced, owing to the folly of a son who was in Chicago and is now in Milwaukee. It was my intention to leave England eight or nine years ago, and if he had followed my orders when I sent him to America, I should have been there now. My youngest son, my great hope, died eight years ago. I have one a lawyer in London who is forty years old, the child who was born in the University of Virginia. My second son at present living in Dublin is in the Commissariat service. He has lately returned from China and Japan. Your address to the freedmen was just what I should have expected from you. I shall keep it carefully. But how many of them could read it? Some certainly would hardly understand it. I think the future condition of the black man will be unhappy. A few among them have energy

and sense; but they are few. I am inclined to think that they will hardly keep up their numbers. If the hard working peasants of France should ever emigrate to the south, they would work the negro out of the country soon. In the south of France they work under a sun as hot as yours from early dawn till evening, and only earn a bare subsistence, for they are impoverished by an expensive government. In your southern states they would be rich with half the labour. But the French peasant is poor and has little enterprise. Why does not the German come down into the South in greater numbers? Perhaps he will find his way some day, and eat up the black man. If the black shall lose his best friends by emigration, his lot will be bad indeed. I am not at all surprised to hear that you are looking for a new home, and as you have the best means of information and a family to take with you, there is every reasonable chance that you will do well for them, and I hope for yourself too. Still it is a hardship to be driven away from a country which has many natural advantages, for I consider a large part of the Atlantic Southern states as one of the best parts of our globe.

I am not sure that I know of anything just at present that would be useful to you in education. There is nothing that I know of like the *Quarterly Journal of Education*. An immense number of books is published, but I doubt if there is much good in them. I see very few. If you like, I can send you a copy of the *Horace* that I am working at. I have used some of the latest German books, and I hope I have done something.

Your ever faithful friend,

GEORGE LONG.

22 Buckingham Road, Brighton, Sussex.

August 17, 1867.

My dear Friend:

I have received four newspapers from you and I have sent several. One will be sent at the same time with this letter. How fast time goes. I see that your letter is dated May 15. I have been very busy this spring, and I have now released myself from some heavy work. The 3rd volume of my history is printed, but not published. I suppose that it is kept back till the season of October.

I collect that there is some chance of things mending in Virginia, since Walker is elected. The University seems to be flourishing. I see that General Lee is still living and has the influence which he so well deserves. I suppose Grant to be as honest as he can be under the circumstances, and willing to do all the good that he can.

You told me some time ago of the American publisher dedicating my translation of Antoninus to Emerson. I have now an opportunity of returning the favour. Bell has reprinted the translation

in Bohn's series, but it is not published. I suppose that he is waiting for the Autumn season. The book is made much cheaper, perhaps too cheap to be reprinted in America, though a friend well acquainted with American affairs tells me that printer's wages have been lowered. I have added a small page which contains an admonition to the Am. publisher that neither he nor his countrymen will soon forget. An American bookseller in London, when he saw the admonition, declared that he would not take any copies, if it remained. I would not consent to strike it out, and Bell has settled the matter by printing it on a separate page, which the indignant Yankee may tear out, if he likes, to please his customers. Others can keep it. The substance is that it is not decent to have done what the Yankee publisher did, and that if I dedicated this little book to any man, I should dedicate it to General Lee. Could I send a copy to Dr. Bledsoe? Is he at Baltimore, or where? I wish you or he would say a word in the So. Quarterly Review about my translation, and introduction, and publish to all the southern states my counterblast against the Yankee pirate. I wish the people of the South to see that there is at least one Englishman, who like Cato of old, prefers the side of the vanquished to that of the insolent conqueror.

Is there not some hope for the South in the immigration of men with capital? The South is naturally so rich that it may in time be too strong to be trampled on. I still think that the Secession may be accomplished, if the southern people wish it, but it will not be in my time. There is no doubt that England made a great mistake in not aiding the French in supporting the South. I thought so at the time and I think so still. Mr. Sumner's big bill will never be paid. The Yankees may take Canada if they choose, but they won't get their demand paid. We are still too strong to be bullied, and no government could stand, which will make disgraceful terms with any country.

The book called "France and its Revolutions" is by me. It was published by C. Knight, and as he said, did not sell; but he mismanaged it, as he did many other things. The work seems almost unknown in England. It was abused a little, but not enough to bring it into notice. If Macaulay had written it, I will venture to say it would have sold largely. I have no doubt that the book has great faults. I know no testimony in its favor except that of the best lawyer of his day, who told me that it was the best account that he had read of the French revolutions. It was begun on a large scale, and when I had written about one half, the publisher compelled me to write the remainder on about half the scale, under the pretence, true or false I know not, that he was losing money by it. There is a Supplement to the P. C.; and a new edition of the whole work 'conducted by Charles Knight.' He turned me off as editor and did, or rather

pretended to do, the work himself. The leading articles in the Journal of Education were never published. At least I never heard of the publication. If you wish to have a copy of "France and its Revolutions," you might ask some American publisher, whether his agent in London could not find a second hand copy. I never see one. I cannot conjecture what Knight did with the book. I can only guess that he sold it for waste paper.

It is not easy for a book to be established here, unless under some great name. Good books struggle and die. Authors work hard to get a review in the Times, and some people think that if money is not paid to the Times, which is not probable, money is paid to those who write in the Times. My R. history has ceased to sell, which I do not much wonder at, as there are only two vols. of an unfinished work. We shall soon see if the third vol. will revive the sale. I do not expect much myself. Our people are exceedingly deficient in independent judgement, and anything from Germany is preferred to home work. Mommsen's R. History, which I dislike exceedingly, has been extolled in the most absurd way, and mine has been disparaged. But I see some symptoms that a few are beginning to find that Mommsen is talk without facts, and that his political knowledge is more pretentious than real.

It is the fashion here to require boys to put accents on their Greek exercises: but neither the boys nor the teachers know what they mean. The modern Greeks pronounce according to the accents: thus they pronounce ἀνθρώπος, ánthrōpos, which we know to be wrong. They also confound several diphthongs and vowels, about half a dozen, and pronounce them all alike, which is certainly wrong also. It is the fashion in our College and has been mine for many years to pronounce the long and short vowels in Latin as exactly as we can: thus we pronounce 'dicere' di|c ě|rě, and 'dicare,' dīc ārě. So far I think we ought to go. If at the Univ. of Va. they lay great stress on pronunciation, I cannot value what they are attempting, if they go further than I have mentioned. If they lay great stress on Greek accentuation, which I will venture to say they don't understand, I hope they do not neglect the language itself.

I received your photograph which is among my treasures. It is still a good likeness of the youthful face which I remember.

I am very glad to hear that your son in law is pleased with California. If I were twenty years younger, I would not stay here. Our college is not doing well. The fault, I think, is chiefly in the clerical head. He has good abilities, but he wants sense and judgement. I don't expect to stay very long, and I do not know where I shall seek a refuge. I am too old to leave my country again. I hope your affairs are prosperous.

Yours ever most truly,

GEORGE LONG.

22 Buckingham Road,
Brighton, Sussex.
Sept. 17, 1869.

My dear Friend:

After fine weather during harvest we have the storms and rains which often come at this season, and the weather is now very gloomy.

I wrote to you some weeks ago, and sent a Times. My second edition of M. Antoninus has appeared. I asked Mr. Bell the publisher to send a copy to you, one to the editor of the S. Quarterly Review, Baltimore, one to General Lee, Lexington College, Virginia, and one to President Grant. He informs me that he has sent all the copies by post. I hope you will let me know if you receive yours. Is there any way of discovering whether General Lee receives his copy?

I hope you may say something of this book in an American paper. Opposite to the title page is printed my Edictum against the man who dedicated the translation without my consent. It contains something which I hope the Southern people will not be sorry to see from an Englishman and a former teacher in Virginia. I should be much pleased if Dr. Bledsoe would make the Edictum known as far as his Journal goes.

Mr. Bell informs me that he has also sent you a Horace by post. I told him that you would pay for it through Appletons. The other book is a gift.

My third vol. of the Roman hist. is ready, but it has been kept back during the dull season. I suppose it will be published next month. I am busy with the fourth and last. I have now good hopes that I shall finish the work, if I can go on steadily to the end of next year, when I shall be past seventy. It may seem strange that at this age I should be uncertain how I may spend the few years which according to human probability remain. Our college, perhaps I told you, has declined, partly owing perhaps to the general derangement caused by the depreciation of the value of railways, unfortunate joint stock undertakings and the great frauds practiced by directors of all kinds. Our character for honesty is nearly gone, and it will be hard to retrieve it. Whatever may be the cause, the prospects of our college are uncertain, and I have lost two thirds of my salary. Owing to one of my sons, who is now somewhere about Chicago, I have lost what would have been an ample provision for my old age; and my means are now very small.

If I were ten years younger, I might be tempted to cross the Atlantic and seek a home somewhere in America, but it is too late. England after all is perhaps the cheapest country in the world, if a man will retire from the towns. The climate for a large part of the year is not pleasant, but great cold is not common. This town of Brighton is a very dry place. It stands on a rock of chalk into which all the rain that is not carried off by drains sinks immediately and

descends to a great depth. By making a couple of deep wells in the valleys near the town we get a supply of excellent water, enough for a town twice as large, and Brighton I suppose has near one hundred thousand inhabitants. The water for my house, a very abundant supply, costs me exactly one half penny a day; and yet shares in the Water Company produce a dividend of seven per cent free of income tax. For want of other news I thought you might be pleased to learn a little of our town economy. We have also a gas company which furnishes good gas cheap, and yet pays seven per cent to the proprietors. With these advantages however living is dear, and the town is perhaps the most expensive place in Great Britain.

I send a newspaper which I intended to send sooner, but it has been buried under a heap of papers.

The above letter lacked the usual concluding greeting and signature—no doubt because of the crowded condition of the page.

22 Buckingham Road, Brighton.
Aug. 2, 1870.

My dear friend:

I was just going to write to you when your letter came about ten days ago when I was in Yorkshire. Your long silence had led me to conclude that you were not well. I hope you are now quite restored, but remember that we cannot work as much as we did some years back. I had a dreadful cold this spring. It only laid me up two days, but it left me with a cough, of which I shall always feel the effects.

I received General Lee's letter and also from Dr. Bledsoe two numbers of the Southern Review, January and April. I have read some articles with pleasure and I have lent the numbers to several friends who take an interest in the Southern states, particularly the Fitzhughs, who are related to the Fitzhughs of Va. I shall keep General Lee's letter and leave it to somebody, who will cherish the remembrance of a great soldier and a good man. If I were not detained here by circumstances I would cross the Atlantic to see the first and noblest man of our days. I lately saw here Mr. Rives, whom you no doubt know, the son of Mr. Rives of Va. He is a good specimen of a Virginia gentleman. The old dominion has good stuff in it still, and I hope the young men will show themselves genuine descendants of the worthies who have left great names behind them. I did not answer General Lee's letter, because I thought that he is probably troubled with many letters. If ever you should have occasion to write to him, I beg you will present to him my most respectful regards, and a hope that he will leave some *Commentarii* behind him to be placed on the same shelf with Cæsar. I am afraid he is too modest to do this.

I have informed Mr. Bell of what you say about the Antoninus and

I have given him your address. I think that he might push the sale of other books that he has, if he is inclined to make a venture. I suppose some honest bookseller might be found, who would pay him. I have a small interest in my book, but I am not moved by that consideration. The emperor's thoughts would tend to form the character of your young men. If there is any hope for your country, it is in those who are now growing into manhood.

My third volume of the history has been published nearly a year, and it has been better received than the first two volumes, but the sale is still small. I am now busy with Cæsar's campaigns. I have seen most of the places where he fought, and I am using the second vol. of Napoleon's history of Cæsar, which is a useful book, and is accompanied by an excellent Atlas of about 32 maps, which you can buy separately for the small sum of five shillings. If you get them, order the French edition of the Atlas, not the English.

The copyright of the Journal of Education belongs, I think, to Mr. Knight. He is now in Brighton, an old man, near eighty, nearly blind, and unable to walk. I shall see him soon. No collection of articles from the Journal has been made, nor do I think that it would sell here. The work is forgotten, and the editor too. We are forming something like a plan of national education, and men who have done nothing are provided with good places. Some time ago I asked Lord Russell to give me a place for which my friends thought me better qualified than most people, but the man did not even answer my letter. This is the worst country in the world for a literary man, who will not eat dirt, and bad as your state of affairs is, I would gladly change England for the southern states, if it could be done by a wish. I have now served Brighton College 21 years, and as our numbers and income have decreased, the governors have deprived me of two fifths of my salary without taking any thing from the rest, except a little from the principal, who has a house full of profitable boarders. I only stay because it is convenient, but I shall leave next summer, if I can, and retire to live on a very small income. There is not a man in the place, except myself, who has any University distinction, or has done anything at all. But they are clergymen, a race who with us look more after gain than any other class of men. Public opinion is by no means on their side, and if I cannot resist the priests, I have at least the respect of the community, and that is more than they can command.

I was writing a note a few weeks ago against some remarks of the Emperor Napoleon on one of Cæsar's battles, in which note I said that such remarks would not have been expected from a man who was supposed to know something of the art of war. At that very time he declared war against Prussia, and you now know, what has befallen him. He who gave notice that he was going to enter Germany is driven back on Paris discomfited and disgraced. The fact is that he was not ready for a campaign and the Germans were. I am a little

afraid about the German advance on Paris. If they should be beaten which is not probable, I don't see how they will retreat. I always predicted that the French would not cross the Rhine. If they had done so, it is certain that they would never have returned. A few years ago the Prussians brought down the Austrians on their knees and France is now reduced to extremities. The slaughter is dreadful. I trust that the emperor Napoleon is now near his end and that peace may come.

Your faithful friend,

GEORGE LONG.

GEORGE BELL TO HENRY TUTWILER.

London, York Str. Covent Garden.

Sept. 7, 1870.

Dear Sir:

Mr. Long says that you have difficulty in getting copies of his Antoninus with the "note." The American houses will not circulate it and tear it out.

We have no dealings with any booksellers in the Southern States, but should be glad to open accounts with any substantial people with whom we could safely do business.

If you can recommend any and suggest to them to write to us for any books they want we shall be glad to open an account with them.

Or if you think 25 or 50 copies of Antoninus could be disposed of with your help we should be willing to send you copies at the actual (*) price 2/6 each (selling at 3/6).

If you could suggest any mode of getting a circulation for our books in the South, or put us in communication with the bookselling houses, or refer us to any source where we can find out the names we should be obliged, and we could send them copies of our Catalogues and keep them informed about new books.

I shall send with this a copy of our Catalogue by post.

I am, dear Sir,

Yours very truly,

GEORGE BELL.

GEORGE LONG TO HENRY TUTWILER.

Portfield, Chichester.

March 17, 1874.

My dear Friend:

On the third of this month I received your welcome letter, which I could not answer immediately, for I was constantly employed about the last sheets of the fifth and last volume of my history which ends

*An illegible word is here omitted.

with Cæsar's death. All is finished and printed except the index to the five vols. The Index I hope will be printed and the book published before the end of next June.

You may conceive what a relief it is to have reached the end of twelve years labour, which for the last year was almost too great for me; for I have had other things also on hand. I was 73 years old on the 4th of last November, and though I am still able to work as usual, I feel that I ought to be at rest when I have no inclination to work hard.

The last vol. contains the history of the Civil War and the events to Cæsar's death. I have taken the greatest pains with this vol. and I am sufficiently satisfied with the result.

Last July Mr. Gladstone gave me a pension of £100 a year on the Civil list. It is no great sum, but this addition to my small income enables me to live more comfortably. It came to me without asking for it, which I should not have done, and contrary to my expectation. Such grants have been made to persons who do not deserve them, but there was a general expression of satisfaction at the grant made to me, and a wish by many persons that it had been more.

I suppose and I think it is certain that Napoleon had neither the time nor the knowledge necessary for writing the life of Cæsar. The first vol. is very bad, and the English translation was made by a man who knows nothing of Roman history and still less of the French language. The second vol., which contains Cæsar's Gallic campaigns, is a good book, and I give to Napoleon the credit of the design and ordering the necessary inquiries about the battle fields and sieges. I sent him a copy of my 4th vol. after he came to England, and he wrote to me a polite acknowledgement. I am not a partisan of the Napoleons, but it was just to express that the book had been very useful to me.

I am sorry to hear that the Southern States are in such a condition as you describe. I never expected any thing else after the emancipation of the negroes, and I see no possibility of the mischief which has followed this wicked and foolish act being cured. It is not possible that a body of men so ignorant can ever become useful citizens. I fear that the fine countries of the South will never recover from this fatal measure.

France has always shown great powers of recovery. They have no negroes, and the French farmer is the most industrious and saving man in the world. But the burden of the loss from the war is almost more than France can bear, and she is still disturbed by political quarrels. I believe that her power is gone, and that the weight of taxation will keep her in a depressed state. At present she is hard pressed, though she is working as she has always worked. The French are sending us many horses for which they receive a good price. They are constantly passing my windows. They are not, I

am told, so good as our horses, but England wants more horses than she can produce.

The news from California is good. There is nothing there to check prosperity except the occasional floods and drought which I have read of. If irrigation can be successfully practised, one great obstacle to agriculture will be removed, and your venture will be profitable. I do not know whether we shall ever be able to do all over India what they are doing in California. If we cannot, India will have periodic famines, as she has had in all ages. Bengal at present is in a bad state, and notwithstanding all the efforts of the Indian government, many of the natives will die. The number who perished in Orissa a few years past was enormous and the reckoning is almost incredible.

I don't understand the Harvard professor's doctrine of accent. I believe that the pronunciation of all languages is continually changing, and that the modern Greek pronunciation is no evidence of the antient pronunciation. In antient times Greek was so widely diffused that we cannot suppose that the pronunciation was everywhere the same, though there may have been a considerable uniformity in the pronunciation of educated persons. I can very well understand that $\kappa\omicron\mu\eta$, and $\kappa\omega\mu\eta$ were easily distinguished in the common language of Athens, whatever marks, called accent, we choose to place on these words. The whole question seems to me to be an idle matter. When we read the Iambic lines of a Greek tragedian, how can we doubt about the necessity of observing what we call quantity? I say nothing of the pronunciation of the several letters: that is a different thing.

Dr. Harrison sent me last year, I think, a copy of his father's book on Greek prepositions, which I had not seen before. I thanked him for the book, which must have cost our friend much labour. I am very glad to hear that Mrs. Harrison is so well provided for.

I wish that I had seen your daughter when she was in England: it would have given me great pleasure. Her acquirements will be very useful both to you and herself. If you wish to learn a modern language well, you must live in the country where it is spoken. No industry or ability can do what is easily accomplished by hearing daily the language spoken by those whose tongue it is.

There is a great activity among English women about education, and we have some good classical scholars among them. I have a friend whose daughter is at a female college in Cambridge. She is a good mathematician, and though she cannot be a competitor for University scholarships, she lately was examined in the same papers as some young men who were candidates for a university scholarship, and the examiner reported that she beat them all. I think that the women have been badly treated in the matter of education, but they have now better opportunities.

Your children will be glad to hear that George the parrot, who is now twelve years old, is in excellent health, and in beautiful feather. He speaks so well that if you did not see him, you would take it for a human voice. He varies it in every way, and when he says 'Poor papa,' he is evidently sympathizing with me when I seem tired. Parrots are most perverse: they will not speak before strangers, nor much before those of the house. When I am in another room, then he talks. Cæsar the dog has wonderful ability: he understands almost all that is said. He barks terribly sometimes from pure joy. Nothing delights him more than a fight with a dog about his own size; but he is very good tempered. I have only seen him once in a fury. A dog bigger than himself fell upon him and I thought that my hero Cæsar was going to receive a severe threshing; but Cæsar finally bit the dog so hard that he ran off into a house followed by General Cæsar, whom the old woman of the house could hardly keep out.

Yours ever most truly,

GEORGE LONG.

Portfield, Chichester.

April 29, 1875.

My dear Friend:

Yesterday was lucky for me, for it brought your welcome letter of the 10th of April. Do not be afraid to write to me. I now have plenty of time.

I received, and I thank you for sending it, the biographical sketch of our friend Gessner Harrison. I do not remember if I told you that Harrison's son sent me some time past his father's book on the Greek prepositions. It is a very difficult subject on which the Dr. has bestowed great pains. I have made some use of it, and I shall now be able to use it more.

I have received an invitation to attend the celebration at the University of Virginia; but I hardly need to tell you that I have written to say that I cannot come. If I were as near as you are, I should certainly go. I should be delighted to see the old country again.

I am here reminded that I may be the cause of your having a letter from a man, whose name at present I cannot remember, who is editing or has edited Edgar Poe's works. He tells me that Poe was at the University of Virginia in 1826, and asks me if I remember Poe, and can say anything about him. I have a faint recollection of the name, but no real remembrance of what he was or what he did at the University. I told him that I thought that you may have known Poe, and I gave him your address. Though I cannot at present think of the man's name, I know that he is a person of good repute.

Perhaps I might write a few words about the beginning of the University of Virginia and Mr. Jefferson and Madison. I came to the University about two months before the other Professors from England. I doubt if Key could contribute anything, or would do so at present. I never go to London and very seldom hear from him. I am told that at present he is in great trouble. His youngest son, a fine man, has returned from India completely and hopelessly ruined in health and understanding; and another man, who married one of Key's daughters, is confined in a lunatic asylum, but it is said that there is hope that he may recover. I am very sorry, that Key in his old age, for he is now about 76, is so unfortunate. He has hitherto been prosperous, and he has a very good income.

I am very much pleased to hear of your daughter's success in Germany. She will have an excellent opportunity of perfecting herself in German and French, and she will without doubt be able to turn her acquirements to profit in her own country. I cannot however commend her inviting you to Germany. I think that you would find the German way of living as intolerable as I should. I would much rather live as you are living in Alabama than hide myself in any town in Germany; and as to living in the country in Germany, it is impossible. It is very easy to live in the country after the fashion of America; and in England it is very pleasant to live in the country if you have means sufficient. I read the article in Fraser's Magazine on Home Life in Germany; and I believe that it represents fairly what that life is.

I am afraid that your unfortunate country will suffer a long time yet. I have read articles which speak of improvement in some parts and of the success of certain branches of industry; but I know how difficult it is to state facts with accuracy and to tell the plain truth. The facts which you mention are proof enough that people are poor, for nothing except poverty would prevent your people from giving their children a good education. Your loss on the cotton is an evidence that honesty is not a virtue which prevails at Mobile. The behaviour of the house seems to me a specimen of impudent knavery. We can match such transactions here, and I am sorry to say that English integrity is not what it was. Still you may do pretty well with small savings, as I do, if you keep clear of Companies called Limited. The amount of fraud in such matters is incredible.

The last volume of my history was published, I think, last June. I don't see the price marked on it, but it cannot be more than 16 shillings.

Some copies have been sold in America. I was very much exhausted when the work was done and if the labour had lasted much longer, I doubt if I could have finished it. If I could go over it again, I could improve it, but I have done the best I could, and I have spared no pains. I must however have something to do, and I am

now translating Epictetus with many notes. I am so far advanced that I have reasonable hopes of being able to finish this difficult work.

There has been a great stir here about the pronunciation of Latin; and it seems that the disturbance has spread to America. I believe that we in England do not pronounce Latin as the Romans did, and I do not believe that any nation does. I think that it is useful to teach boys to pronounce all the syllables according to the quantity; but I agree with you that the attempt to restore the Roman Sounds of the vowels and consonants is useless.

You write the same neat hand still, from which I infer that you see well. My sight is as good as it ever was, and I never use glasses. I perceive however that I often leave out words when I write. My thoughts move quicker than my pen. I observe that most people of my age are rather deaf of one ear or both. My hearing is very sharp and I hope it will not fail. It is very unpleasant to speak to deaf men.

Yours always truly,

GEORGE LONG.

The above letter, in which the writer indicates, evidently at Tutwiler's request, that he might endeavor to prepare some statement of his recollections of the early days of the University of Virginia, was promptly followed by the charming and precious document with which, because of its content, we began the story of this correspondence.

Portfield, Chichester.

March 3, 1878.

My dear friend:

It is long since you heard from me. I have received all that you sent.

Last year I had a curious kind of illness, which my doctor thought might possibly be my last, but I did not think so. But the consequences have been that I have lost much of my strength, and I don't expect to recover it.

The worst effect is that I write as slowly as it is possible, and generally with very great pain. My right hand is nearly useless, perhaps from rheumatism. I leave out words and letters. I can hardly spell. I walk well, but not much; and it is from habit only, I think, that when I do write, I resolve to write legibly.

I am now in the 4th month of my 78th year. I may live yet some time, but I shall live without pleasure and in pain; which is not an agreeable prospect to a man who feels pain acutely.

Mrs. Lawrence can't help me. She is too blind to write legibly.

I am very sorry to hear the bad consequences of the strikes, and that you have suffered from them. You have had much cause of sorrow, and I am very sorry for it.

I am pleased to hear that you have had any pleasure from the "Old Man's Thoughts." It has not sold well here, I mean in the second Edition. Nothing I do sells here, except the translation of M. Antoninus and Epictetus. I am indebted to the Americans very much for the sale of Epictetus. You judge right that the author of the "Old Man's Thoughts" is my own work [myself?].

It is strange how fresh the Southern States are in my memory. I shall die thinking of them. There is nothing to think of here. We have a prospect of a horrid war, for which we are not prepared; but England has courage at least, mixed with many faults.

If my power of writing should be restored, which I do not expect, you may hear from me again.

Give our best remembrances to Julia and Mr. Wright, and to all your family.

I have been nearly three hours in writing and I am nearly exhausted.

Yours ever sincerely,

GEORGE LONG.

Portfield, Chichester.

Dec. 2, '78.

My dearest friend:

I received your letter this morning, and with the greatest pleasure. You are not a friend who will be forgotten, even if a man seems to forget you. I must explain why I write to you now.

Since the 3rd of March I have had a very troublesome time. Occupied as far as I could be with necessary affairs, and only with the necessary, and not knowing whether I should get through the year, I was in a state so weak, that I did not think I could resist the hot weather that we had sometimes. When the cool weather came in October, I found the benefit of it, and I can say that in the last four weeks I am better. I can walk a little and listen to reading, which I take as a test of returning power, for a man who can follow a narrative and make remarks on it is not entirely without sense.

I cannot tell whether my recovery will go on. I have some hopes of it in spite of my able doctor who admits, however, that I have great powers of recovery. He has seen me in a state when he thought me dying, and I cannot wonder that he looks on me as a man condemned to death. You will hear again if I continue well. With all this I do not look ill, nor am I thin; it is a curious state.

I am glad to hear of the 71. He who reaches that age in a good state may live a long time, and I hope that you will. This spring a cousin of mine, who holds the keys of every ship in Liverpool, called on me. He was perfectly straight, active, with good eyes and ears, in fact he was a young man, as I was when I was 71. I asked him his age and he said that he was 81. I never saw such a man before.

I ought to tell you that my eyesight is nearly perfect. I have never used glasses; nor is my hearing the least bit impaired.

I am sorry that Julia has not been quite well. These disorders are the consequence of overwork. Present to her my best wishes and Mrs. Lawrence's. We retain a very pleasant remembrance of her visit. Thanks for the newspaper. I can write no more. This is a great effort for me. I am now in my 79th year and your ever faithful and sincere friend,

GEORGE LONG.

Wed. 19th of March, 1879.

My dear friend:

I am dying slowly and painfully, my last letter is this, in which I assure you of my remembrance as long as the poor body shall endure. My best wishes to all your family.

Your faithful friend,

GEORGE LONG.

It was indeed the last letter from his hand, and was soon followed by the black-bordered card announcing the end:

Professor George Long
Late Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge.
Born Nov. 4, 1800.
Died at Portfield, Chichester
August 10, 1879.

During the last decade and a half of his life following the outbreak of the Civil War in America, George Long began to reef the wide-flung sails of his vigorous and discursive genius, and to concentrate his powers on single tasks at a time, and those, too, confined more narrowly to his own special scientific field of classical philology. In this last lap of his ever-active

career the fundamental genius and temperament of the man asserted their full sway to the exclusion of everything else. The essential character of George Long's genius was concrete and practical: hence his abiding leaning towards the historical and ethical aspects of human life. Roman history and Roman philosophy were the natural scientific interests of his typical English temperament, just as we have seen that Caesar, Marcus Aurelius, and Lee were the characteristic foci of his spiritual gaze.

This closing period of our great scholar's life opens with the publication of "An Old Man's Thoughts about Many Things," 1862, 8vo., the style of which seemed to his old pupils to recall his "vigorous, discursive and pungent, but always profitable conversation," and which reappeared in 1872 in a second edition. The same year, 1862, saw the first edition of his "Meditations of Marcus Aurelius," which was republished in 1869, and again just before his death in 1879. It was to the second edition that he prefaced the memorable "Note" in honor of General Lee, which for noble simplicity and calm dignity is unsurpassed in English literature and uniquely worthy of its lofty theme. In 1864 Long began the publication of his "Decline of the Roman Republic," a work on which he was continuously occupied for twelve years, and which he completed in 1874. We have already followed Matthew Arnold's handsome critique of Long's style and method of historical treatment, as quoted by Dr. Adams in his *Jefferson and the University of Virginia*. It was in 1871 that Long retired to Portfield, Chichester, and in 1873 that Mr. Gladstone conferred a public pension of 100£. a year upon him for the rest of his life. The last product of his indefatigable pen was his "Discourses of Epictetus, with the Encheiridion and fragments," 1877, 8vo., his death occurring two years later in 1879.

Iustum et tenacem propositi virum
Non civium ardor prava iubentium
Non voltus instantis tyranni
Mente quatit solida neque Auster

Dux inquieti turbidus Hadriae
Nec fulminantis magna manus Iovis:
Si fractus inlabatur orbis
Impavidum ferient ruinae.



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