



FRANKLIN PLATO ELLER

JOHN CARLTON ELLER

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**O** *STRONG SOUL*, by what shore  
Tariest thou now? For that force,  
Surely, has not been left vain!  
Somewhere, surely, afar,  
In the sounding labor-house vast  
Of being, is practiced that strength,  
Zealous, beneficent, firm!

Yes, in some far-shining sphere,  
Conscious or not of the past,  
Still thou performest the word  
Of the Spirit in whom thou dost live,  
Prompt, unwearied, as here.  
Still thou upraisest with zeal  
The humble good from the ground,  
Sternly represses the bad;  
Still, like a trumpet, dost rouse  
Those who with half-open eyes  
Tread the border-land dim  
'Twixt vice and virtue; reviv'st,  
Succorest. This was thy work,  
This was thy life upon earth.—

“Rugby Chapel,”—Matthew Arnold.



1900  
1901  
1902



THE HOME, BERLIN

LIVES OF  
**Franklin Plato Eller**  
and  
**John Carlton Eller**

BY

**J. B. HUBBELL**



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## Foreword to the Reader

The purpose of this volume is not to glorify, but to commemorate, not to encourage unseemly family pride, but to preserve the memory of those who were noble and true. It has been more than seventeen years since the death of Plato Eller and more than thirteen since that of his brother John; but they have not been forgotten; time has not dimmed the recollection of their lives in the minds of those who knew them. We remember their unselfishness, their manliness, the glorious promise of their youth, their heroic struggle for the highest and noblest in life; and we wish all who bear the family name and yet never knew them as their loved ones knew them, to learn their story, so strangely sweet and sad, to know the best that they wrote and thought, and, like them, to live lives that shall reflect only honor upon the name which they bore. And this is why, after more than a decade of seeming forgetfulness, we would lay this tribute dedicated to their memory as a tardily woven wreath of flowers upon the graves of those that we love.

It was long the purpose of their older brother, Mr. A. H. Eller, to prepare such a volume; but the cares of a busy life and the too poignant recollection of the last sad hours spent with them upon earth were too great to permit his undertaking the task. And perhaps it is best that the work should be brought to completion by one who, although a near relative of the deceased, is a native of another State, and hence never knew them. He has undertaken the study of their lives in much the same manner in which he would undertake a study of any man whom he had never known. His connection with the University with which they were so intimately connected as students

has been that of a teacher. This has given a significance to many incidents in their lives that would be almost meaningless to others; and he hopes that it has enabled him to avoid, by a constant comparison with the achievements of other students, an exaggerated estimate of their ability and attainments. It has been his purpose to construct from their manuscripts, the various college publications, the letters of friends and relatives, and the recollections of those who knew them a sympathetic and yet impartial account of their lives. In no case has he drawn upon his imagination to adorn or complete the story; and in no instance has he, to the best of his knowledge, made a single statement or implication which cannot be conclusively shown to be true. Yet the preparation of this volume has been truly a "labor of love" and sympathy; for it is only three years since he lost, struck down by the cold hand of Death, a brother who, like those of whom he has written here, was strong in character and full of the promise of a glorious manhood, and who bore the name of these his uncles, Eller Henry Hubbell.

On behalf of the entire family, I wish to thank all—and they are many—who have assisted in the completion of this work. Their assistance is all the more appreciated because many things have been forgotten since the preparation of this volume was first contemplated and because this preparation was necessarily completed in a very limited period of time. They may rest assured that the remembrance of what they have done will live so long as the memory of the lamented young men, the story of whose lives is here told, is cherished in the hearts of all who loved them.

JAY BROADUS HUBBELL.

Red House, Virginia, September 18, 1909.

## Introductory Sketch

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FRANKLIN PLATO ELLER.

On October 24, 1849, James Eller, of German and Scotch descent, was married to Mary Ann Carlton, of English descent. They lived at New Hope, Wilkes County, North Carolina, until October, 1865, when he sold his farm and moved with his family across the Blue Ridge Mountains into the adjoining county of Ashe. The War had just closed, leaving the county in an appalling condition of poverty and disorganization. Although himself unable on account of ill health to bear arms, Mr. Eller had risked his life repeatedly in the discharge of duties placed upon him by the State, which had entrusted to him the distribution of supplies to the families of soldiers in active service. As the War drew to a close, many of the mountaineers, having no personal interests at stake and caring nothing for the principles involved, deserted their commands and, returning to their homes, organized bands of "bushwhackers" for the purpose of robbing and terrorizing honest and loyal citizens. Since he was in honor bound to withhold supplies from the families of deserters, Mr. Eller became a marked man. His house and farm were plundered again and again, even while he was dangerously ill with typhoid fever; and the lives of his wife and children were endangered not once, but many times. More than once the "bushwhackers" came to his home with the avowed intention of killing him, and but for the unflinching devotion of a slave who, with a dozen muskets firing at a target

held in his hand, refused to betray his master's hiding place, they would, doubtless, have succeeded in their aim. After the close of the War Mr. Eller declared that he could no longer endure to live among men whose actions had shown such an utter disregard for the principles that were dearer than life to him.

His new home was situated at Berlin, near the junction of Horse Creek with the North Fork of New River in the extreme northwestern corner of the State. For natural beauty and variety of scenery and wonderful fertility of soil this section of the State is without a superior in the South. The following description taken from "A Mountain Sketch," written by John Eller at the beginning of his Sophomore year at the State University, does not in any particular exaggerate the truth:

"The streams of Western North Carolina are the most defiant of truants; laughingly they leap down their mountain sides and break away from their native state through rugged rock and lofty mountain top to pay tribute to the 'Father of Waters.' And of these one of the most elusive and petulant is New River, rising in Watauga and saucily winding its way through Ashe and Alleghany into Virginia and emptying into the Great Kanawha. . . .

"Before us is spread out one vast panorama of mountain, hill, and valley alternating with river, creek, and rill. The scene is constantly varying as the shadows chase each other over field and forest and the clouds mantle the crests of the distant mountains in an extraordinary maze of lovely light. One ever-changing, variegated mosaic of animated color is presented to the eye. The dark green of the primeval forest gently softens into the lighter colors of grass

and grain; grey bluffs, crowned with pine and laurel, overlook transparent waters whose glassy surface is Nature's true mirror, save when it leaps and swirls into a thousand fantastic colors and forms, everchanging and yet the same. . . .

"The people of this region seem to partake of that independence displayed by their mountain streams. It is a sturdy yeomanry, rugged and strong in its simplicity, but terrible when aroused to a sense of injustice and wrong. King's Mountain was won by this class of people; and many incidents are yet preserved in their traditions worthy a place with those recorded of the noble Greek or the heroic Swiss."

At Berlin were born the two subjects of this sketch, Franklin Plato and John Carlton Eller. They were the youngest of Mr. Eller's seven children who reached maturity, six boys and one girl. The greatest desire of Mr. Eller and his wife, in striking contrast with the parental ambitions of most of their neighbors, was to see their children all well educated. In the "hard times" which followed the War this was an undertaking of the greatest difficulty. We who live at a time when any young man of intelligence and determination can educate himself do not realize how difficult it actually was. A long and bitter War, leaving devastation and ruin in its wake, had just closed only to be followed by the black era of the Reconstruction, which blighted the hopes of the brave people for a speedy recovery from the effects of the War and almost impoverished the State. The State system of public schools was one of the poorest in the Union. Schools of every description, from the public school to the University, were few, inefficient, and expensive. It was almost impossible for the average young man to

obtain either the money or the preparation necessary to enter a school of high standing. This was especially true of the mountain section in which Mr. Eller lived. His own health was very poor. His home was forty-five miles from the nearest railroad; and it was only with the greatest difficulty that farm products could be hauled over the rough mountain roads to a market.

Others would have given up; it was not so with him and his devoted wife. By his own efforts, aided by the assistance of an intelligent father, he had in a measure made amends for the lack of a systematic education in himself; and this enabled him to direct his children in their studies at home. Being an intelligent and discriminating reader himself, he encouraged them to read not many books, but good books and to read carefully and thoughtfully.

His only daughter, Ruth (since married to D. S. Hubbell, a Baptist minister of Virginia), was sent for a year to a boarding school and then to a woman's college in Bristol; and she, in turn, stimulated and directed the intellectual aspirations of her younger brothers. All of the boys were sent off to school, most of them to Moravian Falls Academy, near Wilkesboro; but since it was impossible that all of them should go to college, three, Augustus, Sidney, and Cicero, voluntarily relinquished their desires for a University education and turned their attention to business and practical affairs that others might have the opportunities which could not be given to all.

In 1881 Adolphus Hill Eller, after a course at the Moravian Falls Academy, entered the University of North Carolina. He graduated in 1885, making, in spite of adverse circumstances, a creditable record, not only as a student, but as a speaker and writer as well.



After his graduation he studied law and began a successful career in the practice of his profession in Winston-Salem.

"Plato" and "Johnnie," as they were known at home, from their earliest years were bent on following in their brother's footsteps in the pursuit of an education. Even as children they did not place the usual exaggerated estimate upon the possession of toys and money, but spent their pocket change for books and gave their spare moments to reading and speaking. Gradually they accumulated a very neat and select little library, still preserved with tender care by their parents, consisting chiefly of historical writings, orations, poetry, and fiction. The numerous notes and scrapbooks which they left show the remarkable industry and intelligence with which they worked. John was an omnivorous reader, devouring eagerly every book that he could find. Plato, on the other hand, from the first, cared nothing for mere learning or for the lighter kinds of literature, and confined his reading chiefly to writing that stimulated thought. Nearly all of his books are therefore works on history, political economy, oratory, and philosophy. We find a copy of Guizot's "History of Civilization," with his name inside, dated 1886. Few young men care for such heavy reading at seventeen. Most of this reading was carried on under disadvantages, on days when little could be done on the farm or at night after a hard day's work in the field or store.

In 1887 Plato entered the Moravian Falls Academy. He at once joined the Philomathic Literary Society and participated eagerly in all its transactions. As a boy he had tramped for miles over hills covered with snow and across rivers filled with ice for a chance to

speak at a debate. And his success as a speaker had been equal to his determination to succeed. More than once, we are told, he and a friend had challenged the entire club to speak against them, and they had never failed to hold their own. At Moravian Falls he was recognized as an able debater; and the logic and fire of his debates there would do credit to many a more experienced speaker. At the end of the session he delivered an oration on "The Necessity of Concentration of Thought and Labor." The title is significant, for it shows that thus early he was directing all his energies to the attainment of a definite ideal, which until his death he pursued with unswerving singleness of purpose. His one ambition was to be able, by force of intellect, power of personality, and nobility of character, to master men for the advancement of truth and righteousness. The devotion to this ideal which his life henceforth was to show is seen in the following extract from the oration mentioned above: "While in school, make it an aim of your life to enter with your whole soul into your study; and then when these scenes here are exchanged for those of your future calling, have an eye single for the leadership of some occupation. 'In the vocabulary of youth which fate reserves for a noble manhood there should be no such word as fail.'"

In August, 1889, Plato entered the Freshman Class of the University of North Carolina. Here, as at the Academy, he never allowed outside interests or the demands of class work to swerve him from the one purpose of his life. At first he gave most of his time to his text-books, and for the first year his grades were, in spite of a comparatively hurried preparation, very creditable indeed. But he never cared a straw for

high grades or for mere learning as such. On his monthly report for May, 1891, we find the following, written by some member of the University Faculty: "Works so hard on preparing speeches that he impairs text-book work. Very successful speaker." In the class work which he found directly useful for his purpose he did well; his grades on English and History are uniformly excellent. In some others he was content with merely passing; he was concentrating his thought and attention on things that were, to him, of much greater importance.

In accordance with the long established custom that students from the western part of the State should join the Dialectic Society and those from the eastern half the Philanthropic, Plato had joined the former and become a faithful and enthusiastic member.

He was still an incessant reader of the same kind of books that had interested him as a boy. As a thinker he was, so one of his college acquaintances, now a prominent lawyer in one of the first cities of the State, says of him, "the peer of any man in the University," and he was so regarded by both faculty and students. Whenever he rose to speak upon any topic, he had the undivided attention of all, for they knew that so far as thought and investigation could go he had exhausted it; and it was this assurance of the right combined with the deepest earnestness that gave his words a power rarely felt in the speeches of undergraduates.

The confidence which students and faculty placed in him was remarkable. One of his bosom friends, a leader in the class above him, says: "We led the student body with us. Our views were always the same, and because he espoused and championed them I always believed we were right. Although he never strug-

gled for college honors, he obtained unsought almost every honor in the power of his class and society to give. He was twice representative of the Dialectic Society in an inter-society debate; he was the president of the Society; he was elected first editor of the University Magazine from his Society for 1892-3; he was elected first representative of his society for the inter-society oratorical contest at the Commencement of 1892; and he was for three years president of his class, '93, an honor which he still held at his death. Besides these, he was the winner of the Best Debater's Medal in the Di Society in his Sophomore year, an honor which few but Juniors and Seniors contested for. That his head was not turned by these honors and that he never lost his simplicity of manner and sympathetic interest in those less fortunate, we have the unanimous testimony of his college friends to show.

During his first vacation Plato worked on his father's farm, still continuing to read late at night in spite of the fatigue that necessarily followed nine months of sedentary life. In the next summer, the last he ever spent at home, he was principal of the Liberty Hill Academy at Nathan's Creek, in Ashe County. In this summer also he delivered the commencement address at Belle View Academy, in Alleghany County. Local tradition still preserves the memory of this speech; and competent judges, men who had heard the greatest of North Carolina orators, have, long since then, not hesitated to affirm that they never heard a more eloquent address or saw a speaker more completely master his audience.

During this summer he was necessarily away from home a great part of the time, a fact which his parents

have ever since regretted because this was his last summer at home. He too, although he did not mention it, seems to have felt that this might be the last. And the following poem of Tennyson, in a copy of that Poet's works belonging to the family, is marked by him in a way that indicates a depth of emotion on his part akin to a premonition that he would never again see his relatives and his home by the side of the beautiful river that he loved :

"Flow down, cold rivulet, to the sea,  
Thy tribute wave deliver:  
No more by thee my steps shall be,  
Forever and forever.

"Flow, softly flow, by lawn and lea,  
A rivulet then a river:  
Nowhere by thee my steps shall be,  
Forever and forever.

"But here will sigh thine alder-tree,  
And here thine aspen shiver;  
And here by thee will hum the bee,  
Forever and forever.

"A thousand suns will stream on thee,  
A thousand moons will quiver;  
But not by thee my step shall be,  
Forever and forever."

The subject of the oration which Plato prepared for the oratorical contest at the close of his Junior year was "Institutions the Result of Growth." His choice of the subject was the result of an investigation undertaken for Professor H. H. Williams. The investigation was to lead to a thesis on "The Law of Growth." The thesis was never finished, and the oration, though completed and later printed in pamphlet form, was des-

tined never to be delivered. The work which Plato gave to the preparation of this speech was probably in no small degree the cause of the illness which resulted in his death. Late in May he was seized with what was supposed to be only an obstinate case of malaria. His brother, A. H. Eller, was summoned from Winston when it was found that he did not improve; and it was soon found that he was suffering from an attack of typhoid fever.

His brother procured the best medical attention obtainable and remained constantly at his bedside. While Plato was lying ill, the Commencement began and the oratorical contest in which he was to participate came off. It had been generally conceded that he would win the Medal; and, indeed, President Winston, in explaining the absence of the first speaker on the program, said that Plato Eller was "the best speaker in the University." But no word of murmuring or complaint escaped his lips. An intimate friend, also a contestant for the Medal, says: "I remember how he wished to hear my oration, saying nothing of the inability to deliver his own." The Medal was won by Mr. F. C. Harding, a member of the Philanthropic Society and a close friend of Plato. The victor in the contest took the beautiful trophy to the bedside of his friend and in words that show at once his high opinion of Plato as a speaker and the unselfishness of his own character, said: "Here, Eller, this is yours; you would have won it if you could have spoken that speech."

There is no need to prolong the sad story further. In spite of the careful attention of physician and nurses, in spite of the unceasing prayers of relatives and friends, which at one time seemed so nearly answered, the disease, so fatal to the robust people of the

mountains, resulted in death. The course of the fever once seemed broken, but blood poisoning and other complications set in, and the ravages of the disease could not be checked. Plato Eller died in his room in the Old South Building, on Wednesday, June 15, 1892, in the twenty-third year of his age. Mr. A. H. Eller, accompanied by a classmate of the deceased, Mr. Howard E. Rondthaler, now President of Salem Academy and College, removed the body to his father's home in Ashe County. Mr. Rondthaler officiated at the burial services, and nobly endeavored to comfort the heart-broken father and mother of his friend.

The keenness of the grief of the parents, brothers, and sister, can be understood only by those who, like them, have "loved and lost." It is always sad to see death, no matter what be the guise in which he comes or what poor mortal the victim of his dart; but never so sad, in the language of Edgar Allan Poe, as when his coming blights the life of the young and beautiful. "It seems such a waste," a friend wrote twelve years ago; and the pity of it has only grown greater since then, for, had he lived, he would now be in the full flower of usefulness and strength. His parents had struggled as few parents have struggled to give their son the means of an education. Their own unrealized ambitions had become entwined with his, and now they beheld him, so young and so talented, so strong and so true, at one fell stroke laid low in the dust. Had it been permitted, they would have chosen rather that the death-angel should have taken them in his stead. But the one who found it hardest to realize that Plato Eller was dead with all his brilliant promise unfulfilled, was his brother John, so soon to show the same bril-



liant promise and share the same sad fate. He felt as Tennyson felt when he wrote after the death of one whom the aged Gladstone declared to have been the most promising of all young men he had ever known:

“So many worlds, so much to do,  
So little done, such things to be,  
How know I what had need of thee,  
For thou wert strong as thou wert true?”

All who attended the burial recall the picture of his strong young form standing alone at the grave as all the rest sadly and slowly descended the hill to the grief-stricken home.

Upon the devoted brother who had tended him in his last illness the blow, too, was heavy. He had helped him through college with encouragement, advice, and money, and was looking forward to the day when he should be associated with him in the practice of his profession. He had believed that with his endowments of character and talent he would one day be a leader in the nation. He has since then repeatedly said that Plato was the most gifted member of the family. “Johnnie,” said he, “had the culture, the brilliancy, and the versatility of the family, but Plato had the intellect; he would have made a great man.”

This opinion was shared by all who knew him. An upper classman who knew him well said seven years after his death: “He was the soul of honor and a man of much power and ability; he would certainly have been a useful citizen had God spared him. I always thought that he would make a great mark in the State; the faculty and entire student body thought so, too; and everybody respected him.” Another college



friend, now one of the ablest lawyers in the State, said recently to the writer that Plato Eller had the finest mind for grasping, applying, and vitalizing abstract truths that he had ever seen. He would have made, he thinks with many others, a great statesman or constitutional lawyer. This opinion was shared by the President of the University, as the following letter written by him to A. H. Eller will show :

CHAPEL HILL, N. C., June 24, 1892.

MY DEAR MR. ELLER:—I cannot tell you how I was grieved and shocked when I heard of the death of your brother. . . .

Your brother had won my esteem and affection. I had watched him very closely, and I regarded him as the most promising man in the University. He was not the best scholar nor the best student; but in all the strong and admirable qualities of manhood which are essential to true greatness and to lasting success, he was as highly gifted as any young man I ever knew.

His death is a deep blow to me. The University will greatly miss him, even as a student. I had always believed that he would one day be a great state, and even a national, leader.

This wound has cut your heart, I know full well. And your dear Father and Mother—may God in his infinite mercy give them strength to bear it. My heart is bleeding with you. I cannot understand it. I only know that wherever he is, he is still a pure, manly, lofty spirit, aspiring to the noblest heights and making better and happier those around him.

I am, sir, with sincere and profound sorrow,

Your friend,

GEO. T. WINSTON.

If such was the sorrow of a friend, what must have been that of those still dearer to him?

The above letter is quoted in this connection not merely because of the estimate of Plato's character

and talents which it contains, but rather because it represents admirably the true Christian attitude toward death. Although Plato was never a member of any church, no fears were entertained for his hereafter. His was a pure, earnest, unselfish life, the purpose of which was not self-advancement, but the uplifting of humanity and the dissemination of knowledge and truth; and if, in the words of John Charles McNeill, heaven refuses such as he, then

"Life is  
A tragedy indeed."

As an instance of the unselfishness of his character, we quote the following sentence from a letter of sympathy and encouragement written to his brother Cicero only a few months before his own death: "I wish I could divide some of my health and vigor with you."

A college friend writes: "His heart was pure and his life blameless; I have no fears for his future."

After reading what has been said by those who knew him, no one will, we trust, think the following inscription upon the monument erected over the grave of him whose memory we still love and cherish other than just and true:

"At the close of his third year at the University, while enjoying the highest honors in the gift of his Class and Society and the admiration and affection of Faculty and Student-body his pure, strong, noble soul passed away.

"Blessed are the pure in heart for they shall see God."





THE BROTHERS (In Youth)

## Introductory Sketch

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JOHN CARLTON ELLER.

Like his older brother, John Carlton Eller (named Carlton for his mother, Mary Ann Carlton) received his preparatory training at the Moravian Falls Academy. In a local paper describing the Commencement he is mentioned as one of the six speakers who debated the question of Foreign Immigration. The correspondent adds: "The boys did very well, Mr. Eller deserving special mention for his concise and well expressed argument."

In August, 1892, John entered the Freshman Class of the University of North Carolina. This class was an unusually large and brilliant one; it numbered at this time one hundred and fifteen members, and it furnished more men to the Alpha Theta Phi Society than any other class up to '98, if not later. On January 19, 1893, John was elected president of his class, an honor which, like his brother Plato, he was to hold each succeeding year of his stay at the University.

Although John must have thought many times of the brother who had longed for his companionship at school, and who would have been his guide and counselor in everything, he never allowed his personal sorrows to cast a gloom over his relations with his fellows. Once in a letter to his parents in which he mentions very briefly and modestly his election to the class presidency, he writes thus: "I long to get home again and see the last tributes that have been paid to Plato. I know they are appropriate and give you all a great

deal of satisfaction. Yet it is such a grief to know that we must be without his presence on earth. Let us be content. The feeble eye of mortals cannot pierce the veil of eternity. One day that veil will be withdrawn, and we shall see the splendor of Heaven with the dear boy in its midst."

Unlike Plato, John was ambitious to distinguish himself as a student; and from the first he won recognition as one of the best students in his class. On his report sent home at the end of the second term President Winston writes: "Mr. Eller has made steady and very honorable progress. His record is exemplary in all respects." In the latter part of the book will be found a complete record of all his grades, copied from the records of the University. The improvement is marked, and it continues throughout his entire college course. But John never became a mere "grind." He studied hard and made a good record in his classes, as he wished to do; but he was just as deeply interested in many other things. The following transcript of his college career, taken from the Hellenian (class annual) for 1896, gives some conception of his versatility and popularity:

"Eller, John Carlton, Berlin, N. C.—22 years; 165 pounds; 5 feet, 10 inches; course Ph. B.; law; president of class 4 years; representative Di Society Commencement 1894; representative Di Society inter-society debate 1895; Debater's Medal Di Society 1895; Essayist's Medal Di Society 1895; Editor of "White and Blue" in 1894-95; Editor of "Tar Heel" in 1895-96; sub ball manager Commencement 1895; undergraduate member of advisory board of athletics 1896; undergraduate honors in Freshman, Sophomore, Junior and Senior years; president of Alpha Theta

Phi; Philosophical Club; Shakespeare Club; Historical Society; Di."

John's was almost an ideal record, as Plato's had been in a different way. Indeed they might be taken as typical of the two classes of successful college men. The one pursues a single ideal persistently and untiringly, caring nothing for what does not contribute to its attainment; the other, in the joy he feels in the full development of all his faculties, would almost seem like Lord Bacon, to take "all knowledge" for his province, aiming rather at breadth than depth, at versatility rather than power. But the contrast must not lead us to suppose that the one lacked broad culture or the other earnestness of purpose. Plato's ideal was a broad one, and he came to see that almost every field of knowledge could be made to contribute something to its attainment; and John, in the midst of his many interests, came to feel a single purpose gradually dawning upon him, embracing and relating to each other the many fields of endeavor that had attracted him.

In temperament as in personal appearance, John resembled his father. He was jolly, affable and affectionate. Everybody loved him. He had an abundance of friends everywhere he went; and at the University he probably had as many as any young man who ever entered its doors. There were many whose opinions on many subjects differed widely from his, who, nevertheless, in the words of one of them, now a professor in the University, thought him "a corking fine fellow;" and some of the tenderest and most sympathetic tributes in this volume are from their hands. But the affection of his more intimate friends amounted to devotion; and there are many who, in the words of an editor-in-chief of the "White and

Blue" to the writer, "thought the world of John Eller."

My personal recollections of "Uncle Johnnie," as he was known to us of the younger generation, are very few, but those few are indelible. Two pictures in my mind stand out with vivid intensity. One is a picture of his stalwart figure at work in the wheat field, of the dinner at an old cabin by the river, and of his laugh as he spoke of his blistered hands. The other is a picture of the same stalwart figure, the face wearing an expression of tenderest sadness as he left home for the last time. He turned backward at the river, told me to give his love to my father when he came, cast a last look at "home," and was gone.

As in the lives of most college men, there is not very much to record of John's Freshman year. About all that can be said of him here is that he was one of four or five to carry off undergraduate honors in the Freshman class—a pretty sure indication that he had passed safely through this critical period. When he becomes a Sophomore, however, John comes into prominence, for in this year the memorable anti-fraternity fight reached its highest point.

In discussing this rather delicate question of fraternities, the writer has no desire to revive old issues or to take sides with either party. His purpose is simply to discover the part which this series of events played in the life and development of John Carlton Eller. To those who are unfamiliar with college politics, it will all, perhaps, seem "a tempest in a tea-pot;" but it is in such miniature contests as these that North Carolina's greatest statesmen have been trained—as the Duke of Wellington said while witnessing a football game at



Eton, "There is where the Battle of Waterloo was won."

When he entered the University John had no prejudice against college fraternities or secret orders of any description. His father and several of his older brothers were Masons and Odd Fellows, and one of his brothers, A. H. Eller, had been a member of one of the strongest fraternities in the University. John might, then, naturally have been expected to become a fraternityman. The reason why he was none was not that he was in any way different from his brothers, but that he believed that there had been a change in the nature of the fraternities themselves. His paper on "The College Fraternity," contained in this volume, states the issue clearly and forcibly as he and his non-fraternity friends saw it. They believed that they were not receiving their rights, and knowing that they numbered in their ranks many, if not most, of the ablest men in the University, they determined to fight till they won them.

As a means of pressing the fight to a crisis, the non-fraternitymen, in the spring of 1894, began the publication of a weekly paper. It was called "The White and Blue," white and blue being the University colors. The new paper was to be thoroughly representative of the true University spirit as its founders conceived it; and it was to foster every worthy department of the University's life. This purpose is stated in an editorial for September 14, 1894:

"We shall use our best endeavors to help the literary societies, the Glee Club, the Y. M. C. A.—everything pertaining to the University; and in this the true University spirit we ask those who have the University's interests at heart to lend us their undivided support."

From this it will be seen that the purpose of the paper was somewhat broader and its spirit perhaps more democratic than that of the "Tar Heel," another college weekly, the organ of the Athletic Association, which, so the non-fraternitymen alleged, was controlled by the fraternities.

The editorial board of "The White and Blue" numbered among its members not only some of the best students and writers in the University, but men who have since achieved State, and even National, fame. The editorial staff as announced in the first issue of the paper, March 8, 1894, appears elsewhere in this volume.

Among them we find an editor and author, the translator of Vondel's "Lucifer," three lawyers of great ability, an associate professor in the University, a professor in the Normal and Industrial College at Greensboro, a very successful business man, and the present brilliant Washington correspondent of the "Charlotte Observer."

These men were not only intellectually among the ablest in the University; they were aggressive and were sure that they were right. They would have fought the issue to a finish but for a request from the trustees that all agitation of the question in the college papers should be abandoned. As it was, considerable interest had been aroused throughout the State, and a number of the alumni, teachers, and trustees of the University had declared that they sided with the non-fraternitymen. It was the aim of the leaders to bring the matter before the trustees and induce them to abolish the fraternities. The trustees held a meeting in June, 1894, to consider the matter. The result of this meeting was not very satisfactory to either party.

The trustees, fearing that the agitation would injure the University in some way and perhaps lead to the withdrawal of the State appropriation, requested the editors of the two papers to cease all discussion of the question. They then appointed a committee of five trustees to investigate the matter and report to them at their next meeting.

This meeting was held in the Governor's office at Raleigh in February, 1895; the Governor as *ex officio* president of the trustees presided over the meeting. John was the spokesman of a committee elected by the non-fraternitymen to represent them on this occasion. Mr. Fabius H. Busbee, until his death a year ago a trustee of the University and one of the most talented lawyers in the State, writes thus of John's speech in a letter to A. H. Eller: "Permit me to add that I heard your brother represent before the trustees a committee of the students, and was greatly struck by the precision of his language and the force of his delivery;" and he adds, "His lamentable death was a source of very deep regret to me."

The trustees deemed it unwise to take so radical a step as the abolition of fraternities. They, however, decreed that no member of the Freshman Class should be admitted to membership in a fraternity. Although the issue had not been fought to a finish and although they had not obtained all that they had contended for, the non-fraternitymen felt that they had won a decided victory. They now, in February, 1895, accepted the proposal (once rejected) of the Athletic Association that the two papers should be consolidated to form a new one. The new paper was to be called the "Tar Heel;" and of its staff of eight editors four were chosen from the editorial board of the "White and

Blue," John being one of the four chosen. Ever since this combination of the two factions the spirit of the student body, in spite of its growth in numbers, has been more democratic. College sentiment has been broader and college spirit truer since that day. The opposition to fraternities has not yet ceased; it will, perhaps, never wholly cease; but a division of power and influence has been established that renders it unlikely that so bitter a fight will ever occur again.

It is worthy of notice that in this fight John made no personal enemies. As a friend says of him, "He fought his battles open-handed and above board, and consequently his bitterest enemies were his strongest friends." His differences with them were differences of opinion, and he never allowed them to influence him in his relation with his fellow-students. His paper on "The College Fraternity" shows that he saw more deeply into the nature of the issue than most of his friends. He saw that the fight against fraternities was only a part of the "eternal struggle of the individual against the organization." He believed that his brother Plato, who had also in his own conservative way fought for the literary societies as opposed to the fraternities, touched the heart of the principle involved when he said: "No institution can be mathematically constructed, fitly jointed and bolted together, so as to bid defiance to decay and change; they must be historically evolved from the people's life and periodically adjusted to the wants and necessities of the time, so that, growing with the transmitted vitalities of the past, they shall be elastic with the living blood of the present." John saw also, as some of his friends failed to see, that the fraternityman and the non-fraternityman represent two distinct and abiding classes of men.

"The fraternityman represents largely the idea of absolutism, of loyalty to party, of submergence of the individual, and of the supremacy of the organization. The non-fraternityman stands for individuality."

As editor of the "White and Blue," so the editor-in-chief testifies, John did his part faithfully and well. He wrote chiefly editorials and book reviews, examples of which are contained in this volume. But, as much as he was interested in the success of his paper and his party, he never lost sight of other interests equally important; and he still maintained his high standing in his classes and literary society.

While still a Sophomore, John was elected one of three representatives of the Dialectic Society for the inter-society oratorical contest at the Commencement of 1894. For this occasion he wrote his oration, "A Plea for American Commerce." The Medal was awarded to Mr. H. H. Horne, of the Philanthropic Society, now Professor of the History of Education and Philosophy in New York University and one of the University's most distinguished alumni.

In his Junior year John was again a representative of the Di Society, this time in an inter-society debate with the "Phis" held on March 4, 1895. The representatives of the Phi Society were Messrs. V. A. Batchelor and J. O. Carr; John's colleague was Mr. J. E. Little. The "Tar Heel" speaks of the debate in the following terms: "The order of the entire discussion was of so high a degree of excellence that special mention is hardly in place. It is sufficient to add that so long as the work of the Literary Societies is typified by such productions as these, their relation as a permanent factor of the University will remain as fundamental and vital as of yore." The debate was

won by the "Phis." John's debate is printed in another part of this volume.

In 1895 John won the Essayist's Medal in the Di Society. In April of this year also he won the Best Debater's Medal in the same Society, being the third member of the family to win this unusual honor. A portion of the debate spoken in this contest is also contained in this volume.

John, as always, spent his last summer at home reading and working upon his father's farm. He was the jolliest and merriest of companions and the most dutiful and affectionate of sons; and little did his loved ones at home think, as they beheld him so full of life and promise, that they should see him in health no more. And little cause there seemed to think of such things as he returned to the University, buoyant with life and hope, to reap yet richer honors than any he had yet won.

In October, 1895, John became President of the Alpha Theta Phi Society. This Society had been founded by Dr. H. C. Tolman, Professor of Greek at the University and a member of the Phi Beta Kappa Society. The object of the new organization, as stated in its constitution, was to "stimulate an increased desire for sound scholarship" in the University. The Society had a very useful and honorable place in the life and work of the University and was finally merged into the National B. K. Society in 1904. The Greek letters, Alpha Theta Phi, stood for the Greek motto, "*Aletheia thumou phos*," or, in Latin, *Veritas animi lux*, both of which mean "Truth the light of the mind." The badge of the Society (see cut, p. 74) was a triangular shield in the shape of the Greek letter Delta. This letter stood for *duo*, the Greek word *two*; and "two" (90 to

95 per cent.) was the grade required for admission to membership. Since the exact percentage of the grades was never reported, the grade required, when all the marks were averaged, was not 90, but  $92\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. The president and secretary of the Society were those members of the Senior Class whose grades throughout their college course had been highest. As already stated, the class of '96 was an unusually brilliant class. It furnished eight members to the Society, while the class of '94 had only one representative, the class of '95 only two, and the class of '97 only six. John was justly proud of being the first honor man in his class; and his record after election shows not, as has sometimes been the case, a decline in scholarship, but a steady improvement to the very end.

Soon after Christmas, 1895, a joint debate with the University of Virginia was proposed; and tentative arrangements were made that the debate should be held in Charlottesville in April or May; but owing to inability to agree upon terms the contest never came off. John was elected by the Di Society as its strongest representative for the debate; and he gave up his position on the "Tar Heel" to prepare his speech. He would have enjoyed the debate and would have acquitted himself well, for he loved a contest, and the two Universities had long been rivals for athletic and literary honors. When the joint debate was first proposed, the "Tar Heel" had said: "With such able representatives as Herman Harrell Horne and John C. Eller, we should be sure of a victory whether this 'literary contest' be waged in Virginia or Carolina."

During the spring of 1896, as his college career was rapidly drawing to a close, John thought much of what he should do after graduation; for he had never



definitely decided what vocation in life he should pursue. He had already some time before this, refused a chance to enter West Point offered him by Colonel W. H. H. Cowles, representative in Congress from north-western North Carolina. Once he seems to have thought of attempting journalism, having, like his co-editor, Mr. H. E. C. Bryant, learned its fascination on the staff of the "White and Blue;" and there is still extant a letter from Mr. Josephus Daniels, in which he states that, much to his regret, there is no position on the staff of the "Raleigh News and Observer" which he could offer him. For a time John thought of returning to Chapel Hill to study law, as he long intended to do, even if he should never practice it; but his college expenses had burdened his parents so heavily that he decided to teach. The great ambition of his heart was to study political economy and other subjects related to law in one of the great Northern Universities. The authorities at Harvard wrote him that they would admit him to the Senior Class to graduate if he did "well in five approved courses," and with his brother's promise of assistance this was what he finally decided to do. Just what vocation in life John would have followed had he lived is not known. His father has always thought that eventually he would probably have become a writer; some of his college mates predicted for him a brilliant career as a leader of men in law, or politics, or journalism.

It was during this spring that John wrote his thesis on "What Is Morality?" The subject had interested him for some time. Like most eager, intelligent students, John passed through a period of religious unrest. His poem, "The Doubter," probably written at this time, shows that he assumed the noblest attitude



toward the questions that beset him. He did not become disheartened and throw his opinions to the winds, replacing them by new ones borrowed from others; but he calmly, hopefully, and untiringly sought the solution of his difficulties; and this carefully prepared work proves that, for himself at least, he had found it.

In view of his interest in the study of moral and religious questions, we are not surprised to find John attempting to use the material he had collected as the basis of a commencement oration. As first written, this oration was entitled "Morality and Life." He spoke this in the preliminary contest held to select the six best speakers of the Senior Class to take part in the annual commencement contest for the Willie P. Mangum Medal for Oratory. The "Tar Heel" says of this preliminary contest: "As to the speeches, they were of a higher average than we have ever known in preceding contests; and we are sure that our Senior Orators will not fail to win the admiration of a Commencement audience as well as the respect of Vice-President Stevenson himself" (who had been invited to deliver the annual commencement address).

John decided just before the preliminary contest that his oration still too closely resembled a thesis to succeed as a popular oration. He therefore rewrote it entire and at his brother's suggestion gave it a new title, "Man's Inhumanity to Man." In the writings of his which we have included in the present volume, we have given this oration the place of honor, because we believe that, in spite of the very limited time in which it was written, it represents his highest achievement, both in expression and in thought.

As John had foreseen, the real contest for the Medal lay between himself and a brilliant young orator of

the Philanthropic Society, Mr. Richard Gold Allsbrook. John believed that in thought at least he had the better speech; but he realized that his oration would not appeal to the Commencement audience as would his rival's speech on "The Christian State." He felt handicapped also by the weakness of his voice (he had been somewhat troubled with tonsilitis) when matched against the magnificently full and powerful voice of his competitor. But when the Medal was awarded to Mr. Allsbrook, although one of the three judges had held out for him to the last, he concealed his disappointment and joined in the congratulations showered upon the victor. He felt that with the honors he had already won, the presidency of his class and of the Alpha Theta Phi Society and the *magna cum laude* with which he had received the degree of Bachelor of Philosophy, he might well be content.

When he had spoken the last words of the Class Farewell and, after bidding his friends good-bye, had started for home with his brother, who had come from Winston to see him graduate, there was none perhaps to whom the thought occurred that the brilliant future which seemed so certain for him was destined never to have its realization on earth. The good-byes of his friends may have recalled to John's mind a poem which his friend and co-editor of the "White and Blue," Mr. Henry A. Grady, had written on bidding farewell to the University some time before:

"TO MY FRIENDS ELLER AND SHARPE."

Farewell, farewell forever, boys;  
The hours roll on towards day;  
When night shall come again, boys,  
I'll be far, far away.

“’Tis hard to leave you now, boys,  
For Friendship cannot die;  
And yet the tear we smother here  
Bespeaks a deeper tie.

“’Tis love that binds us here, boys,  
’Tis love I bear away;  
And though I leave you now, boys,  
I’ll come another day.

“Perhaps that day is distant, boys,  
Perhaps the heavenly light  
Will meet our view when we renew  
The bond we break to-night.”

The last stanza seems like a presentiment of coming death. John said later that it was during the last days of Commencement that he felt the first touch of the fever that was to prove fatal to him, as to his brother before him. The labor spent in the preparation of his oration probably overtaxed his constitution and made him an easier prey to disease. Accompanied by his brother, he arrived at his father’s home in Ashe about the seventh of June. He continued to grow worse, and the second day he was compelled to take to the bed from which he was never to rise again. The attention of physician, of parents, of brothers, and of the only sister, who had come home to assist in the nursing, were all in vain. An award of a two hundred dollar scholarship from Harvard University that came while he was lying ill seemed to cheer him for only a moment, and so, too, letters from devoted college friends, and the following sympathetic letter from President Winston to his brother, showing a tie binding teacher and pupil seldom paralleled:

PRESIDENT G. T. WINSTON TO A. H. ELLER.

CHAPEL HILL, N. C., June 27, 1896.

MY DEAR ELLER:—I have been grieved beyond words to hear of your brother's illness with fever. He was looking tired and run down at Commencement, and I felt some solicitude for him; but I never entertained the awful thought that he would have fever. Please give him my love. Tell him to keep up hope. Tell him that he and I shall need to stand side by side again and fight some larger battles together for manhood and freedom, even as we have fought together before.

No student that I ever taught has interested me more than John. Pardon me for saying that I have regarded him as the flower of your family, and I watched him with such friendly interest and solicitude. He is needed in North Carolina. He will get well, I feel it. Give my love and sympathy to your dear Father and Mother, whom I have never seen, but whom I feel as if I knew well. I shall be with you by that precious bedside every day. I shall see their boy and my boy lying there struggling for life, and I shall long day by day for news that he is past the crisis. May God bless and heal him. Give him my love.

G. T. W.

The rest of the story is soon told; it is but a repetition of the first heartrending tragedy. John Carlton Eller died on the fourth of July, 1896, in the twenty-third year of his age, as widely and as sincerely mourned as any young man who ever went out from the dear old University that he loved. He was laid to rest beside his brother in the little family burying ground (see frontispiece) that crowns the hill at the foot of old Phoenix Mountain, overlooking their childhood home and the beautiful river beside it. On the east (front) side of the monument placed over his grave are his name, the names of his parents, and the dates of his birth and death. On the north side is the following extract from his Senior oration, expressing

the guiding principle of his life: "The Golden Rule shall yet reign supreme as the basal law of human life, the rich revelation that crowns the freedom of man." On the south are the closing words of the Class Farewell, words of hope and cheer that for the class seem almost prophetic, but for him who spoke them full of tragic irony:

"May each one of us carve enduring figures of righteous achievement on the tablet of his time, and live a beacon-life of manliness and power."

On the west is written: "President of the Class of 1896, U. N. C., where he graduated first in ability, first in honor, and first in the hearts of all."

The grief of father and mother was almost unbearable, for this second stroke of the Destroyer recalled in all of its bitterness the grief of four years before. One does not wonder if for a time life seemed no longer worth living. Truly it seemed that, in the language of the great English poet,

"the good die first,  
And they whose hearts are dry as summer dust  
Burn to the socket."

With the burial of those that they had loved and lived for, home seemed home no longer—but their faith in the essential nobleness of life and in the all-wise providence of Him who ordained it has remained unshaken; and they find peace in the assurance that the unfulfilled promise of those whom they love has its own blessed realization in a happier world, and that the sacrifices made that they might be trained for usefulness here render their life beyond the grave larger and sweeter and truer.

In silent majesty the mountain stands  
 Serene and kinglike in his robes of blue;  
 The river, like a queen, falls round his feet,  
 Embracing each loved feature with her hands;  
 In fields with summer's choicest blossoms strewn  
 The song-birds chant their hymns of joy and peace;  
 The sky is pure, without a stain save one,  
 As, winding down yon silver stream, a cloud  
 Lets fall its own dark shadow on two stones  
 That stand like Death beside the gates of Heaven,  
 The one dark blot upon a perfect scene.  
 What mean those pale and stern death-tokens here?  
 Two noble sons, sprung from the mountain soil,  
 Radiant with hope and promise, lie at rest  
 Beneath their native sod.

The love of truth,  
 Of liberty, and right, the mountain's strength,  
 The river's yielding softness, and the grand  
 All-mastering eloquence of Nature's voice  
 Grew in them as they grew. The eldest first,  
 With single eye and steadfast heart and hand,  
 Went forth to join those dauntless few who seek,  
 Like knights of old, the Grail of holiest truth.  
 Honors that came unsought, pleasure, nor pain  
 Could turn him from that sacred quest till Death  
 Came, like a thief by night; then lifeless fell  
 The outstretched hand that all but touched the goal.  
 The youngest, bright and merry as a girl,  
 But strong and true as David, went alone  
 To fight his battles where his brother fell;  
 And won them but to lay his laurels down  
 Before his mother's feet,—and fall, like him,  
 Death's victim—dead beside the open gate  
 Of life and hope.

Why thus the good alone  
 'Die young,' the bad who cannot live, survive,  
 Hopeless we ask of thee, stern Fate, and hear

A still voice answering from each hill and stream;  
'Tis Nature's voice, or God's perchance, that speaks:  
"Peace, peace. all ye that mourn! It is not death;  
In fields where gleams the light eternal, there  
Their happy lot is cast. They still uplift  
The fallen, cheer the faint, assist the strong  
In every battle waged for truth and right.  
Their memory yet shall cheer the hearts of men  
To loftier heights of nobleness and power."  
The cloud has faded into nothingness;  
Serene and kinglike, still the mountain stands  
Beside his post of old; the birds still chant  
Their hymns of peace and joy; the river's voice  
Laughingly murmurs, like a sleeping child,  
Of rest and peace within the boundless sea.

J. B. H.

### Introduction to Letters and Tributes

The following letters and tributes are included in this volume because we wish them preserved in permanent form that friends and relatives may read them. It is our earnest wish that they may stimulate those who never knew our loved ones as their college associates knew them, to emulate them in lofty purpose and noble achievement.

As this book is printed for distribution only among relatives and friends, it has not been thought necessary to ask the permission of all the authors in printing them. Indeed, this could not have been done, for the addresses of some of them were unknown or unobtainable in the short time in which this volume was prepared.

Nothing but voluntary tributes are found in this book. A few intimate college friends were allowed the privilege of writing short tributes; but in no case was there a request for a contribution.

On account of the necessary requirements of space and suitability for inclusion in this volume, many letters have been omitted or represented only by extracts.



## Tributes and Letters Pertaining to the Life and Character of F. Plato Eller

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### RESOLUTIONS OF RESPECT.

CHAPEL HILL, N. C., October 18, 1892.

We, the fellow-classmates of our late deceased friend, Franklin Plato Eller, of Berlin, Ashe County, North Carolina, desiring to put forth to the public and his family some manifestation of the great loss and sorrow we suffered in his death on June 15 at this University, do adopt the following resolutions:

*First*, That in his death our Class suffered the severe loss of one of its brightest members and one whose friendship and kindly presence will be achingly missed;

*Second*, That his purity of life, his gentlemanly conduct, and manly character while among us elicited only our highest esteem;

*Third*, That we, his friends and classmates, will long bear in mind the high example of his life and remember his absence from among us with that regret which sorrow occasions;

*Fourth*, That we extend our deepest sympathy to those upon whom the cruel blow of his death fell most heavily, begging them to draw consolation from the fact that his life was a worthy one;

*Fifth*, That a copy of these resolutions be sent to the family of our late friend and that they be printed in the *Raleigh News and Observer*, the *Winston Daily Sentinel*, and the *Charlotte Observer*.

HOWARD E. RONDTHALER,  
F. C. HARDING,  
VICTOR HUGH BOYDEN,  
Committee of the Class of '93.

With this tribute of respect the parents received the following letter from Victor Hugh Boyden, who was elected president of the Class of '93 to succeed Plato Eller:

I enclose you by this mail Resolutions of Respect, to the memory of your late son, passed by his class. As president of the class let me assure you that they express but poorly the deep sympathy which we feel for yourself and wife, and the loss we endured in his death. I am, with the highest esteem,

Very respectfully yours,  
VICTOR HUGH BOYDEN.

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KEMP P. BATTLE, PROFESSOR OF HISTORY AND EX-  
PRESIDENT OF THE UNIVERSITY, TO  
A. H. ELLER.

June, 1892.

MY DEAR MR. ELLER:—I do not recall a better or more promising student than your brother. I was very proud of him and looked forward to the time when he would be an honor to the University among the leading men of the country. God wills it otherwise. He needs him around his throne. We shall understand it all some day. You and his parents have my profoundest sympathy. May God grant balm to your wounded spirits!

I went up almost every day to enquire about your brother, but feared that company would be an evil to him. I much regretted that I could do nothing for him.

I would like to know your parents better. The good training shown by their two children whom I have seen, convinces me that they are very superior people.

Please assure them of my warmest condolence in their bereavement. Tell them that Franklin was a "talent" lent them by the Almighty, the good King. They have restored this talent to the King doubled and trebled by their faithful care. They have earned the glorious plaudit, "Well done, good and faithful servant!"

Sincerely yours,

KEMP P. BATTLE.

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PROFESSOR H. H. WILLIAMS TO A. H. ELLER.

CHAPEL HILL, N. C., October 1, '97.

MY DEAR SIR:—I am glad you have in mind to write of your two brothers. It is a fitting thing to be done; in fact, I have not adjusted myself to the facts; it seems such a waste. F. P. Eller was engaged upon a thesis for me when he was taken ill. The speech was an application of the ideas worked out for the thesis. The thesis was never finished. And this was the only writing he did for me. I should be glad to see the speech printed entire. It has been done some time since I have read it, but I recall that it impressed me as being uncommonly strong and clear. It is the sort of speech that sets one thinking. With best wishes, I am,

Sincerely yours,

H. H. WILLIAMS.

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EXTRACT FROM A LETTER FROM PRESIDENT G. T. WINSTON TO JAMES ELLER.

September 30, 1894.

Since my connection with the University nothing has given me more pleasure than my very agreeable relations with your sons; and nothing has grieved me more

than the untimely death of your gifted boy, who so often charmed us all by his powerful gifts as a debater. I doubt not God is using him to nobler purposes and is making radiant his splendid talents.

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EXTRACT FROM A LETTER OF DR. R. H. WHITEHEAD, ATTENDING PHYSICIAN TO A. H. ELLER.

The death of your brother was a very sad thing to me personally, and a loss to the University. He had the unqualified admiration of both students and faculty. The death of such young men as he was is always a public calamity. I would be glad if you would express to his parents my sincere sympathy with them.

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T. J. COOPER TO A. H. ELLER.

MURPHY, N. C., June 21, '92.

DEAR MR. ELLER:—Imagine my grief and surprise when I learned the sad news. I had just written you a long congratulatory letter on his rapid improvement inviting you both to visit me while he recuperated. I leave you to conjecture how deeply I feel and how much I sympathize with you and those others he held dearer than myself.

He was my room mate and my friend—perhaps the truest I had in the University—certainly the most esteemed. We affiliated more or less while we were freshmen; then I dropped out a year; and last year we both returned and became associated in all our little college matters, adhering to the same principles and sharing the same fortunes. And in all things he proved worthy the highest confidence and the greatest reward. I had the utmost respect for his opinions, and was often guided by his sober judgment when my

own impulsive nature would have precipitated me into difficulties. I wish I could say something to console you; but all that I could say would but magnify your loss and aggravate your sorrow—I have nothing but praises for him.

Your sincere friend,

T. J. COOPER.

F. C. HARDING TO MR. AND MRS. JAMES ELLER.

GREENVILLE, N. C., June 19, 1892.

MY DEAR SIR AND MADAM:—I have just received letters from the University announcing the death of your son. I am deeply grieved by his death. He was my dearest friend and classmate at the University; and our college and social relations while there made me feel more closely bound to him than to any other member of our class. He was almost like a brother to me. I knew him in the class room, I knew him outside of the college walls as he mingled among the people of the village, and, best of all, I knew him as he was in his own private room; it was there that I learned his true nature, and it was there that I learned to regard him with that unchanging friendship which so strongly bound us together.

We were intimately associated together during our whole career at the University, and especially so during the last year. We were society representatives at the same time, and only a few weeks ago we were both elected as first editors of the University Magazine, he from the Di Society and myself from the Phi; and in many other instances we were intimately associated together. I honestly believe I knew him better than any one else knew him, and I told my mother before I heard of his death, that F. P. Eller was my ideal gen-

tleman, for there was no one who possessed more splendid qualities of character than he. He was a true, noble man and was always actuated by the very highest sense of honor.

I truly sympathize with you in your sorrow. I feel that I have lost my dearest friend from my class. With tenderest sympathy, I am,

Very truly yours,

F. C. HARDING.

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PLATO COLLINS TO A. H. ELLER.

KINSTON, N. C., June 30, 1892.

MY DEAR SIR:—I have been intending to write you a letter since the fifteenth of June, but have thought it best to wait a few days. In the loss of your brother, F. P. Eller, I sincerely sympathize with you and share your sorrow in no small degree. I knew him intimately as a friend, but I felt that I was an adopted brother of his. F. C. Harding, F. P. Eller, and I were a trio of friends, almost brothers. I am proud that I was the friend of so noble a young man. I say without hesitation that he and Harding are the noblest, truest young men I have ever known. I loved him because he would have died fighting for his convictions. I loved him for the heart and noble manhood that was in him. He was as stalwart in character as he was in stature. I loved him also for the glorious promise of his young life. His future seemed so bright. He was a worker. He labored with diligence, with system for the accomplishment of his life's noble purpose—the perfection of the highest character and the best intellect.

It seems so strange, so mysterious, that he should be

cut down when we could have spared so many lesser souls, when we could have spared so many smaller minds. But Harding wrote me that perhaps it was to make the heavenly shore brighter and more alluring to us. Perhaps so; I know it is to me. Oh, I would give anything if I could call mine to be with "Eller" an hour, to sit and talk with his soul, as I used to talk to his soul in his room and in mine, and when walking in Battle's Park. Believe me when I say that the death of no one outside of my father and mother could have crushed me as has the death of my truest and best friend. I cannot fully realize that he is gone. I am glad my college days are ended.

When I left him on the second day of June, he would not let go my hand, and when I turned and saw his eyes filling, I could not restrain myself any longer, but burst into tears as a child. We wept together and I left him; the last words I ever heard him utter were, "Oh, Collins, I hate to see you leave me." If I had known that I was leaving him forever, I would have remained with him.

Only the week before he was stricken down, he did me a service that no one else could have done and which I would have trusted to no other. Some day I shall visit his grave if my life is spared. I do not know your father's and mother's names, but please convey to them that the heart of his friend mourns with them the loss of the true and noble boy. I have never met you, but I feel that I know you because you are his brother. I heard you at the Alumni banquet several years ago. Pardon me for presuming to address you, being a stranger. I am,

Yours in sorrow,

PLATO COLLINS.



BY H. E. C. BRYANT, EDITOR OF THE CHARLOTTE  
DEMOCRAT, ISSUE JULY 16, 1896.

June, four years ago, Mr. Franklin Plato Eller, of Ashe County, was to represent the Dialectic Society in an oratorical contest at the University commencement. He was a rising Junior. All his examinations had been passed and his speech had been prepared. But the day before the contest Mr. Eller took sick and was not able to deliver his oration. The commencement exercises were over and most of the boys went home. No one dreamed of Eller's dying—but it was only a few days till death claimed him. Mr. Eller was considered the best orator that had been in the University for years. He was a talented boy. He was popular both with his fellow pupils and the faculty. He was the brainy man of college. It was he who you would first hear of on entering the University. But alas, just in the prime of his course he was called to go. The same year in which he died his youngest brother, John Carlton Eller, entered the University.

For four years he led his class and won the laurels in oratorical and debating contests and a few weeks ago gained his diploma. No boy in college ranked higher than he intellectually. He was a favorite. To-day he lies low in the grave, last Saturday he was taken from his dear mother. He was her baby, and one to be proud of.

There is no story sadder than this of the two Eller boys. They were idols at home and abroad. There was a sadness in the hearts of hundreds of Chapel Hill boys when the sad news of John Carlton Eller's death swept through the State. So it was four years ago when Franklin Plato Eller died. Both having come from the farm and taken such high stand in college.



But it all goes to show how certain death is and how uncertain life is. Today we live and tomorrow we may die. The choicest of the flock may fall. Today we see a brilliant future for some young, hearty, robust boy, and tomorrow we follow him to the grave. Today we are his classmates and tomorrow we are his pallbearers. What need we worry with the things of this life? Why not be satisfied with a comfortable existence and spend our extra efforts trying to make some fellow man exist comfortably? Why fret about riches when they are soon gained, quicker lost? Why do not we seek for honor and a good name and cease trying for gold and silver? Will it ever come? No. As long as man is human he will seek that material gain, letting other far greater and nobler aims perish. The above story of two of the brightest boys that the State has ever had is sad indeed, and is one of many such. Those were good boys. Boys that were likened to their devoted mother, who now survives them in Ashe County.

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LETTER FROM MISS EMMA V. BAKER TO MRS.  
JAMES ELLER.

DRESDEN, N. C., Friday P. M., June 17, 1892.

DEAR MRS. ELLER:—I have thought of you so many times today and wanted so badly to be with you that I must do the next best thing—which is to write. My heart went out in sympathy to you all this morning when I heard of your deep affliction. I was never so sorry to hear of a young friend's death. It is always sad to see one cut off in the bloom of youth. But doubly sad to see one whose past is unexcelled and whose future was so promising—one whom our State

was beginning to feel proud of—one whose praises were being sounded by all who knew him. It is hard to give up such a friend, and none but a mother can know what it is to give up such a son. I sympathize with you with all my heart. I know you feel now that you can hardly live without him. But there is one consoling thought—his young life had been well spent. He strove for that which was noble and honorable and praiseworthy and God appreciated his efforts. I feel that he is only gone to a better home.

We will come to see you all as soon as we can. All the family join me in sympathy.

Your sincere friend,

EMMA V. BAKER.

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#### A LAST TRIBUTE.

(The Twin-City Daily Sentinel, October 25, 1892).

No life can be pure in its purpose and strong in its strife,  
And all life not be purer and stronger thereby.

Franklin Plato Eller was born on the fourth of April, 1869, at Berlin, Ashe County, N. C. His early years were spent in his mountain home, amidst the lofty peaks of the Blue Ridge. And they seemed to have stamped their impress upon his character. Surrounded by their bold, rugged cliffs, listening to their dashing streams, watching the change of seasons as pictured on their slopes from the soft, green verdure of the summer, to the barren, cold whiteness of their snow-covered sides in winter, the boy seemed to have absorbed into himself some of their firmness, resolution and rugged independence.

His preparatory education was received at the Moravian Falls Academy, and already while there he

showed marked gifts in oratory and debate. In September, 1889, he entered the University of North Carolina, taking the philosophical course. It was not long before Mr. Eller's abilities as a leader were recognized, and he received his first honor by being elected class president. On account of the remoteness of his home Mr. Eller always spent the Christmas holidays here; which time he devoted to his favorite pursuit—reading. In the gymnasium and athletic field he was often to be seen and his powerful frame and his fine physique placed him among the leaders in athletic sports.

As a member of the Dialectic Society the deceased ranked among the first men. Thrice he was elected Inter-Society debater; the first time to his great disappointment losing the debate, but the Society's esteem for his ability was in no measure diminished, as was shown by the fact that he was re-elected as soon as he expressed his willingness to serve, and the second time he was victorious.

Mr. Eller won the debater's medal in 1891 and last year was elected one of the representatives. By many it was thought that his death was due to overwork occasioned by this speech. Certain it is that he entered into competition with the keenest vigor and labored unceasingly toward the completion of his oration, the subject of which was "Institutions the Result of Growth."

A few days before commencement Mr. Eller became unwell and was confined to his bed, still he hoped to be able to deliver the speech on which he had worked so hard, but when the opening of commencement week came and found him still in bed, he quietly laid aside the hope and let it worry him no longer. Through the gayeties of commencement he lay patiently, saying but

little, and never complaining. After the boys left he continued to grow worse, but under the devoted nursing of his brother finally the fever seemed broken and he entertained high hopes of a speedy recovery, but, unfortunately blood poisoning and other complications set in and very suddenly his life ended on the morning of Wednesday, June 15.

The long journey to his mountain home was hurriedly made. His body was interred in the presence of the family, neighbors, and one of his classmates. Few more beautiful resting places are to be found. His grave lies on the summit of a spur of Phoenix Mountain, overlooking a wide prospect of hill and valley growing blue in the dim distance, while below, the New River winds with a caressing arm around the base of the mountain now grown dear to many hearts as the last abode of the pure, noble, manly youth.

HOWARD E. RONDTHALER, "'93."

Chapel Hill, N. C., October 25.

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FROM "LOCALS AND PERSONALS." NORTH CAROLINA  
UNIVERSITY MAGAZINE. 1892, NO. 6.

It will be with deep sorrow that the students of the University will receive the news of the death of F. P. Eller, '93, which occurred on Wednesday, June 15, at 1 A. M. But few young men have so identified themselves with our University during a three years' stay. The president of his class, winner of the Debater's Medal, successful contestant in the fourth Inter-Society debate, Mr. Eller left an enviable record behind him, and he will be sorely missed by his classmates and friends.

His body was conveyed for interment to his home in

Ashe County. A. H. Eller, his brother, who had so faithfully watched by his bedside, together with Howard E. Rondthaler, accompanied the remains.

Inasmuch as his death was very sudden, the news proved a sore shock to his parents, and the happy vacation which they had looked forward to, bringing with it the return of their son, has proved, through an inscrutable dispensation of Divine Providence, a season of sadness and sorrow.

## Tributes and Letters Concerning the Life and Character of John C. Eller

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### RESOLUTIONS OF RESPECT.

DIALECTIC HALL, September 15, 1896.

WHEREAS, God, in the ever-wise ordering of Divine Providence, has removed from this life our friend and fellow-member, John Carlton Eller; and,

WHEREAS, The members of the Dialectic Society desire to manifest the love and esteem and admiration in which we held him; be it therefore

*Resolved*, That in his death, at Berlin, Ashe County, on July 4, 1896, this Society lost a devoted, efficient and honored member, and this University, among its younger alumni, one whose extraordinary scholarship, mental attainments, and admirable traits of character gave promise of a useful and brilliant future;

*Resolved*, That his uniform kindness, gentleness, yet manliness, will ever be fresh in our memories, and that his life is worthy of our emulation;

*Resolved*. That a copy of these resolutions be inserted upon a page of the minutes dedicated to his memory, and that a copy be sent to his bereaved family, and for publication to the *Tar Heel, News and Observer*, and *Charlotte Observer*.

PAUL TINSLEY CHEEK,  
D. B. SMITH,  
BURTON CRAIGE,  
Committee.

In the same issue of the *Tar Heel* (September 19, 1896) in which the above resolutions were printed, is found the following editorial:

"In another column will be found the resolutions adopted by the Dialectic Society in memory of our late fellow student, Mr. John C. Eller.

"Strange indeed that one who only three months ago was in our midst, full of life and in the exercise of all his splendid faculties, should now be numbered with the dead.

"A man of unusual ability, easily the leader of his class, he was admired by all and dearly beloved by his intimate friends. We feel like exclaiming with Li Hung Chang, the great Eastern statesman, as he stood at the tomb of General Grant, 'He was our friend, and we loved him.'

"This sudden death of one whose future seemed so bright should cause every thinking man to look upon life more seriously and prepare for the end that comes sooner or later to every man."

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OBITUARY NOTICE, FROM THE BIBLICAL RECORDER,  
AUGUST 12, 1896.

ELLER.—John C. Eller, of Berlin, Ashe County, North Carolina, was born on October 30, 1873, and died on July 4, 1896. It was a heavy blow indeed on the hearts of honored Christian parents at the secluded mountain home, where their noble boy fell in the prime of his manhood, even as he returned unto them wearing the well earned honors of the University of his State. The blow struck in a sore place. Just four years before, another son, F. P. Eller, full of talents and promise, endowed with marked power as speaker



and debater, had also suddenly sickened and died, at the close of his third year at the University. Their hearts rejoiced in a son who had already risen to fame as a lawyer and brilliant orator in Winston, and a just ambition led them to hope that John would come easily into the succession. Of exceptional native capacity, he made fine progress, and took advanced rank as a thoughtful and scholarly student at the University. In his literary society, and in college life generally, he was recognized as a leader of men. His manly physique, his literary gifts, his faculty of eloquent speech, his blending of kindness of heart with dignity of bearing, all contributed to his success. He was president of the Senior Class. We all remember his masterly and beautiful graduating oration at the last Commencement, "Man's Inhumanity to Man," which well contested the Mangum Medal with the fine young prizeman. As he was on his way to the good parents, full of honors and, it seemed to us, of noble vigor, he was seized with fever, and the faithful brother had the hopeless task of nursing him and the sad privilege of sustaining the parents' hearts as death came. We do not know all his personal experience with his God and Saviour. But his early life under the old roof-tree, say those who shared it with him, was the sweetest and purest, and we trust that in his hours of pain and weakness he came into closer fellowship with his unseen Friend and renewed his hold on the promises he had accepted in his youth. At fifteen, he had joined the Forest Home Baptist Church. Teachers, students, admiring friends bow with bleeding hearts under this sudden stroke, and weep with those who weep at home. We commend them tenderly to the God of all grace and comfort.

THOMAS HUME.



FROM THE ALLEGHANY STAR, JULY 23, 1896.

. . . Burial services were conducted by the writer and Rev. Mr. Rominger in the presence of a large concourse of people. Brother "Johnnie," as he was usually called, professed faith in Christ on December 15, 1889, was baptized into the fellowship of the Forest Home Baptist Church on the nineteenth of the same month by Rev. T. M. Duncan and lived a consistent member of the same until his death. Though young and just in the bloom of life, yet in the beauty of his character and mental development he was far in advance of his years. He had just completed his education at the University of N. C. and returned home a graduate with great honors on the seventh day of June, accompanied by his brother, A. H. Eller, of Winston. He was taken ill the next day, and was confined the remainder of his life. Dr. J. O. Wilcox attended him daily and did all that he could, aided by the family and friends as nurses; yet all they could do was of no avail. Brother Johnnie was loved and esteemed by all who knew him; none could be with him without soon discovering that love to Christ was the ruling principle of his life. Just a few hours before the end, on being asked about his spiritual condition and readiness for death, he calmly said that all was well, that he was ready and willing to die if it was the Lord's will, that he had trusted Jesus several years ago, and if he died he would go to rest and live with Jesus. though up until then he seemed to think he would get well again; but God knows all things best, and He has taken him away, and we should submit with Christian fortitude.

*Resolved, first,* That we bow in humble submission to His will, with the assurance that while the death of

our dear brother is a great loss to us, it is to him great and eternal gain;

*Resolved, second,* That the Church has lost a worthy and efficient member; the family a noble, dutiful son and brother; our country and community a good and intelligent citizen;

*Resolved, third,* That we as a Church tender to the bereaved family our heartfelt sympathy and sincere condolence, and commend them to the care of Him who doeth all things well;

*Resolved, fourth,* That these resolutions be spread on the Church Book, a copy be given the bereaved family, and a copy be sent to the *Alleghany Star* and the *Jefferson Times*.

R. L. SHOAF, Com.

Approved by the Church July 11, 1896.

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### LETTERS FROM MEMBERS OF THE UNIVERSITY FACULTY

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PRESIDENT G. T. WINSTON TO A. H. ELLER.

July 30, 1896.

MY DEAR SIR:—The death of your noble brother grieves and distresses me beyond words. I can scarcely realize it. There was no one of my pupils for whom I felt more affectionate admiration, or whose future seemed so full of promise. There must be need of him in the other world, for surely so strong and noble and beautiful a life would not have been so quickly terminated here.

May heaven bind up the wounded hearts of his father and mother. Oh, how awful it is!

Your friend and the friend of him,

GEO. T. WINSTON.

EX-PRESIDENT KEMP P. BATTLE TO JAMES ELLER.

July 16, 1896.

MY DEAR SIR:—I do not remember being more grieved at the death of any one, except one of my own near relatives, than I was at the death of your son, John. It is to me an awful and mysterious stroke, because there has not been a case of typhoid fever among the citizens of Chapel Hill. Your son was so strong and so full of vigor, so able bodily and mentally, so full of promise in every way that I counted certainly on a long and prosperous life for him, and trusted that he would be an honor to the University and the State. His death smote my heart with a bitter stroke. There is no other consolation to you or to us of the University, except God's promise that all things work for good to those that love God. To that promise I point you and pray that the balm of the Great Consoler will heal your wound.

Cordially and sympathizingly yours,

KEMP P. BATTLE.

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DR. THOMAS HUME, PROFESSOR OF ENGLISH, TO  
MR. JAMES ELLER.

July 27, 1896.

MY DEAR SIR:—I feel very keenly the Christian sympathy I cannot adequately express. My heart goes out to you and your wife in this almost sudden affliction of yours. He who has sent it upon His children knows best how to heal its hurt. May He draw very nigh in love, and comfort and whisper in your secret souls: "Be still and know that I am God." "My grace is sufficient for you;" "I will not leave you comfortless; I will come to you." These are His own

gracious words, and I could never do so well in trying to lay balm on your bruised hearts as in reminding you of His assurances and promises. I am sure you know the blessed way to Him, the way of prayer and trust and personal communion. God bless and give you His own consolation as you wait on Him. I should have sent this letter before, but I have been away from home and did not know that your son was sick.

I have written a sketch for the obituary column of the *Biblical Recorder* which imperfectly indicates my affectionate regard for your dear son. It is an inadequate suggestion of the deep and tender sympathy his friends, teachers and students, all of them—feel for you. He was a boy to be proud of, with a power and promise that may have a realization unknown to us somewhere in God's own way. I am, with great respect,

Your brother,

THOMAS HUME.

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JAMES LEE LOVE (INSTRUCTOR IN MATHEMATICS  
IN HARVARD UNIVERSITY) TO A. H. ELLER.

July 24, 1896.

MY DEAR ELLER:—I have lately heard of your second sad loss of a brother, who had just graduated with high distinction at Chapel Hill; and I must break the silence, if you will allow me, to express the sincere and deep sympathy which I feel with you and your mother. Mrs. Love and Mrs. Spencer, and I want you to know that we grieve with you in the presence of so terrible a calamity; and we hope that you may find some comfort in the thought of their relief and rest from the burdens of life for which they were so manfully preparing.

Whatever may happen to us who are left, they are safe. This comforts me when I think of those I have lost.

With cordial regard, I am,  
 Very sincerely your friend,  
 JAMES LEE LOVE.

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E. P. CARR TO A. H. ELLER.

UNIVERSITY OF N. C.,  
 CHAPEL HILL, July 8, 1896.

DEAR SIR:—The death of our esteemed classmate and president causes the Class of Ninety-Six the deepest sorrow, and in their behalf I desire to extend to you and his bereaved family our most heartfelt sympathy.

His untimely death will be mourned by them all, and his memory ever cherished by his fellow collegians and admiring friends.

The splendid and excellent record which he made during his University course will be an inspiration to his classmates and his brother students.

Very sincerely yours,  
 E. P. CARR.

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JOHN H. COBLE TO A. H. ELLER.

LAURINBURG, N. C., July 21, 1896.

*Mr. A. H. Eller:*

MY DEAR SIR:—Your letter received today. The plan you mention of preparing a memorial volume of your brothers I most heartily commend. It will be a treasure in the hands of their many friends, and will be greatly valued by each and every one of them.

. . . Every friend of Jno. C. Eller will own it and prize it, and his friends are numbered by hundreds.

I have talked with many of my friends who never knew your brother: they were all deeply interested in the story of his tragic career. The story of the two Eller boys has been told in many a home. The fellow students of your brothers will be greatly indebted to you if you put into execution your proposed project.

The sensation that I experienced on hearing of your brother's death is simply indescribable—awful. My whole mental activity has been upset by the sad news, for every thought I have connected with my alma mater, is linked with my thoughts of him. Now he is no more, my thoughts seem empty and vague.

He was a leader—a leader in his class—in politics—in everything. He was the most perfect specimen of young manhood that I have ever known—physical, mental, and spiritual. He was a moral boy, a perfect gentleman.

His brother I did not know. But one who knew him—his fellow student, Maxey L. John—remarked to me when I was telling him of your youngest brother, "He could have been in no way superior to his brother, Franklin Plato Eller."

John C. Eller was a Christian, filled with the true Christian spirit. "Do unto others as you would be done by" was the rule that governed his life.

I talked with him a great deal, and this spring especially his thoughts were more serious than usual. On the last night in April I went with him into Battle Park to hear him recite his speech. On our return we stopped on the seat between the trees south of the New East Building and east of the Library—if you remember the place—and there we talked for a long time. He

seemed more serious and earnest than ever, and told me that he had been led to see things in a new light by the work spent in the preparation of his speech. It was, you know, a moral subject. He was determined, he said, to lead in the future a better life.

I extend my heartfelt sympathy to yourself and your family.

With best wishes, I am,

Sincerely yours,

JOHN H. COBLE.

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A. F. WILLIAMS, JR., TO A. H. ELLER.

KENANSVILLE, N. C., July 11, 1896.

DEAR MR. ELLER:—Words can't express the genuine pain that yesterday's mail caused me. I received a letter from one of our friends, J. O. Carr, last evening, which conveyed to me the sad news of J. C. Eller's death. It was quite a shock to me, indeed, to us all. The young people of the town, among whom he had made many friends, contemplated a social gathering for the evening, but when I made known the sad news of my sincere friend and congenial roommate's death, no one wished amusement, indeed, all were full of sorrow and sympathy.

For the past three years I have been intimately associated with John, one of which I had the pleasure of rooming with him, and I can assure you that I have never had a more congenial roommate or a more sincere friend. John always and at all times and places manifested the true principles of a man, and the noble characteristics of a pure, high-minded gentleman. Having no brother, I naturally sought a true friend in whom I could confide and look up to as a brother. In John I



found all the requisites for the desired friend. He has done favors for me that showed friendship that could be relied on; and you know that friends of this kind are rarely found. I anticipated having him with me on the beach this summer, but my fond hopes were crushed. I have often thought how pleasant it would be for us to meet out in life, but alas! "man proposes and God disposes." I sympathize with you all so much in this your great bereavement; and if it is not asking too much I would be glad for you to write me all about his sickness.

I received your card on Monday last, after a delay of seven days. I answered at once, but he was dead ere it reached him. I would have written him long ago had I known he was sick, and had I not been sick myself. My mother wrote Mrs. Eller today in behalf of the family. Hoping to hear from you soon, allow me to remain a true friend to the family. I am,

Yours sincerely,

A. F. WILLIAMS, JR.

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PAUL TINSLEY CHEEK TO MR. AND MRS. ELLER.

MEBANE, N. C., July 14, 1896.

DEAR MR. AND MRS. ELLER:—Ever since hearing the distressing tidings of the death of your son I have felt that I wanted to write you some expression of the regard I had for him and of the sympathy I feel for you in this great affliction, cognizant of the fact that it is not the first of the kind which you have been made to bear in recent years.

The facts that on the very date of your son's death, last year, I lost a brother, and during the same month was myself stricken with typhoid fever, have impressed



me keenly in the thought of John Eller's death; and yet the fact that I knew him intimately in college and saw him but little more than a month ago in apparently robust health, in possession of his usual buoyant spirits, more than anything else makes his death hard of realization.

I entered college with your son in the fall of 1892, and though I did not remain during the four years of his course, I came to know him well and intimately during that year, and in my absence heard of his each successive honor with pleasure, and came to regard him, as did all those who knew him, as a young man whose fine parts and mental attainments raised him almost to the point of genius. Well do I remember that last January when, after an absence of two and a half years, I returned to Chapel Hill, his handshake and welcome were perhaps the kindest and heartiest I received; and though removed by class from me, he a senior and I a sophomore, it was my pleasure by reason of our former acquaintance and friendship, quite frequently to meet and converse on the subjects that mutually interested us, and he was ever the kind, cordial, cheerful fellow whom I had known as fellow classmate.

He was held in high esteem at Chapel Hill. Almost universally popular, he enjoyed very nearly every distinction that could be bestowed upon a student; and one day, in view of these facts, that he had led his class, won renown as both an orator and a writer—possessed with unusual cleverness—I was constrained to say to him that any one but he would have turned fool. But he was singularly modest. If he had conceit, I could never see it. His manners were always cordial; his spirits always, when I saw him, buoyant. I never saw a

cloud on his face, and his hearty laugh I well remember. He and I during the closing weeks of the session had quite a number of conversations, and one evening he called with two friends to see me, and I am sure that his merry laugh, happy jests, his general appearance of robust health betokened nothing of the Shadow of Death. I esteemed it an honor when he courteously asked me to read his great speech, "Man's Inhumanity to Man;" and when but a few days before Commencement, in busy preparation for that occasion, he asked me to hear him speak it in Memorial Hall, I felt indeed flattered.

It is hard, I must say, to realize that he is dead. With so much hope, with such lofty ambition, yet with such discreet reserve, so popular with those with whom he came in contact; so manly, so gentle, and unassuming—it is hard indeed to think that John Eller is cut down in his mountain home.

If those who have known him only as college man mourn his loss, how must you, his parents, who have seen his fertile mind develop, and his native talents expand from youth up to manhood, giving promise of such a glorious life of usefulness and honor—how must you feel? I would that I could offer some word of consolation in your great affliction. Only those whose afflictions have been of a similar nature can conceive of your sorrow.

With my heartfelt sympathy,

Very sincerely yours,

PAUL TINSLEY CHEEK.

H. E. C. BRYANT TO A. H. ELLER.

CHARLOTTE, N. C., July 31, 1896.

DEAR SIR:—Most assuredly I was devoted to both of your brothers; I am as much grieved as a brother could possibly be. I knew both of them well. I was about the last man on the campus with Plato before he took sick.

I am truly glad to know that you will prepare such a volume on their lives. Every Chapel Hill boy would be glad to have one—I am sure that I would.

I have two pictures in groups that I highly prize because of the fact that John is among the group.

Any way that I can serve you in preparing the book, I will gladly do. I know their private lives well and their college lives.

Truly, a friend,

H. E. C. BRYANT.

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L. B. EVANS TO A. H. ELLER.

CLARKTON, N. C., December 2, 1896.

MY DEAR SIR:—Your deceased brother, John C. Eller, who was a classmate and friend of mine, promised me last June, a copy of his Commencement speech. When I heard of his death I thought I would not make further efforts to get a copy of it, but I have recently heard that you were going to have some printed, and if this is the case I would be much pleased to have one copy.

I was a great admirer of your brother—he was the most promising of all my collegemates.

I was especially interested in his commencement oration, and really think that I was more disappointed in his not getting the "Willie P." Medal than he himself was.

If I could get a copy of this speech, I would appreciate it very much.

Most respectfully yours,  
L. B. EVANS.

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JOE E. ALEXANDER TO A. H. ELLER.

WINSTON, N. C., July 8, 1896.

MY DEAR MR. ELLER:—Will Hendren has just told me the sad and startling news of John's death.

I never dreamed when I bade you both good-bye at the depot a few days ago it would be a last one to your brother and my friend.

His premature death is a personal bereavement to me. Somehow I never possessed the happy faculty of making many close friends; but he was among my closest and most intimate through college. I feel as if I had lost my best friend, outside of the family relation; and I believe I have.

I cannot sufficiently express my regret; but I hope you will convey my deepest sympathy to his father and mother, who are unknown to me except through him.

I have written thus feelingly because I feel deeply.

Sincerely,  
JOE E. ALEXANDER.

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W. T. WOODLEY, JR., TO A. H. ELLER.

CHARLOTTE, N. C., July 9, 1896.

DEAR MR. ELLER:—I am indeed much grieved by having read in today's paper the sad death of your dear brother. Be assured of my deepest sympathy in these hours of sorrow and affliction. I had heard that your brother was sick, but was not aware of his critical illness.

I never knew a more brilliant, noble young man or truer friend than John C. Eller. He was such a manly, open-hearted fellow, and a special friend of mine while at the University. Only five weeks ago we graduated together and left Chapel Hill on the same day and on the same train, I accompanying him as far as Greensboro; there I bade him farewell. Little did I think it would be the last farewell.

I cannot realize that he is dead. It seems so unreal, so unnatural when I think of him as I last saw him, noble and strong; now to say that he is no more seems impossible. Please convey my deepest sympathy and regard to your dear parents, for I have known something of a dear mother's love and feeling for her boy.

I would appreciate a line from you giving particulars as to his illness and death. Believe me,

Very sincerely,

W. T. WOODLEY, JR.

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THOS. A. SHARPE TO A. H. ELLER.

PINEVILLE, N. C., August 13, 1896.

DEAR SIR:—Some time ago I saw a letter from you in regard to a volume you contemplated writing on the lives of John and Plato Eller.

As a great admirer of both, and as a classmate and friend of John's I want to say that I believe you would have the support of all the students and young alumni of the University. I had a letter from Mr. J. O. Carr, who is now attending lectures at Chapel Hill and who thought a great deal of John, in which he told me that he was going to see the boys as soon as they returned and have a crayon portrait of your brother put in the Library. I would advise you to write him in regard to

the memorial volume you contemplate publishing, as he is a man of influence, both at the University and in the State. He will do all in his power to honor the memory of such noble young men.

Assuring you that I am ever willing to help you in this matter, I am,

Very truly yours,

THOS. A. SHARPE.

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ALPHA THETA PHI SOCIETY.



*J. C. Eller, '96, Pres.*

The first regular meeting of the Society for the year 1895-1896 was called to order in the English Lecture Room by Mr. Horne, President, who announced as the purpose of the meeting, the annual installation of officers. Upon the report of the executive committee, Mr. John C. Eller having been found to have attained the highest grade of any member of the Senior Class, was formally declared President of the Society, with Mr. J. W. Canada, Secretary.

Just now at the beginning of a new collegiate year it may not seem out of place to call the attention of the students again to the general plans and purposes of a society which promises to prove a very potent factor in our college life.

The Society was founded in the spring of 1894, chiefly through the efforts of Dr. Herbert C. Tolman, then Professor of Greek. Being himself a member of the honor society of Phi Beta Kappa, Dr. Tolman rec-

ognized the need of such an organization at the University of North Carolina, and, inviting a conference of certain members of the Junior and Senior Classes, the result was the formation of the new society of Alpha Theta Phi.

The aim of this society is purely literary, to stimulate and increase a desire for sound scholarship by placing a reward upon excellence. Hence it provides that only those members of the Junior and Senior Classes who have attained the average grade of "two" (90 per cent.) throughout the two and a half or four years of their college course shall be eligible for membership. On the other hand, the society furnishes also recognition of scholarly attainment. There has been, perhaps, too much truth in the statement that scholarship has found little recognition in the University, and that literary ability has heretofore afforded its owner least claim for consideration. The Alpha Theta Phi Society is intended to obviate this, and in recognizing ability stimulate it to increased exertions. As an honor society, Alpha Theta Phi thus occupies a place in our college life which nothing else approaches. Nor does it encroach upon the grounds of the various other societies in existence here. There are no secrets of any kind whatever, and scholarship is the sole test of admission. The ultimate aim is to secure a chapter of Phi Beta Kappa, and consequently it endeavors to conform as closely as possible to the standards of the latter.

The success of the Society has thus far been most encouraging. Besides serving to promote the general standard of scholarship in the University, it has numbered among its members many of the best men of the classes graduating since its foundation, as well as



many of the Faculty. As an evidence of this success may be mentioned the fact that already applications have been received from two of our Southern universities for permission to establish sub-chapters, one of these, that of Vanderbilt University, being granted with gratifying results.—From *The Tar Heel*, November 2, 1895.

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A TRIBUTE BY RICHARD G. ALLSBROOK, LAWYER,  
NOW OF THE FIRM OF KITCHIN & ALLSBROOK,  
TARBORO, N. C.

It is with mingled feelings of pain and pleasure that I am allowed the privilege of dedicating a few brief words to the memory of the subject of this sketch for the short interval of four college years.

The undertaking is somewhat painful, because it is always grievous to meditate and reflect upon the sting that death brings and the passage hence "beyond this vale of tears" of those whom we know to be true and trusted.

And the effort is not without its pleasure, because it is always pleasant to recount and cherish the virtues and heroic qualities of mortal men even while they are no more.

My personal knowledge of the late John Carlton Eller dates almost from the day of our matriculation at the State University in September, 1892. I immediately upon acquaintance began the knitting of the golden chord of friendship between us that was to grow stronger and link us closer together as year followed year. My first impression was the true and lasting one. The very texture and fiber of his features, his uniform courtly grace and bearing, his



warm, sunshiny spirit, his brilliant intellect—all these high-born qualities—bespoke the whole temper and character of the man. Endowed by nature with such gifts of head and heart it was no surprise that he soon became a favorite with all and was quick to find his proper position as leader of his fellows. And right well and manfully, by force of will and genius, did he lead them in the class room, in the society hall, and in all the miniature worlds of college life. This native-born pre-eminence was marked in his first year by the signal fact that he was chosen president of his class—a high honor that came unsolicited and was his to hold until graduation day. And this, suffice it to say, was the sounding of the first note in the ascending scale of college honors whose full length he ran.

Fired by the buoyancy and exuberance of his own spirits, his first year's work was but a splendid beginning of a yet more splendid end—a bright index to a still brighter future. He had long since commanded my admiration and his magnetic personality won him all hearts among the upper as well as lower classmen. Though our interests were largely similar, it was not my good fortune to be associated with him in his literary society and its work, of which he was so jealous, and to which he was so faithful and devoted; but there, too, he was an acknowledged leader, and in the van of every movement that made for its good.

Among every class of college men there are those who are regarded by faculty and students alike as strong, steadfast, pivotal men—around whom all others balance, so to speak—and who by their conservatism and wise and discreet judgment upon the various and shifting questions that vex the mind of a student body, can fashion college sentiment and bring things to pass.

My late associate and comrade was pre-eminently of that number, and full many a time in the still quiet hours of the night taking counsel around his hearthstone about the loss of some imaginary right—he it was who would steer us out of these whirlpools of misunderstood relations into more placid waters of peace and order. He was a natural born organizer and leader of men. Undismayed and unassuming, he met every obstacle squarely, and overcame it; answered every call of duty, and bravely did it. In like spirit he went on the smooth and even tenor of his way in diligent pursuit of his studies, wearing his honors right worthily and mastering all his tasks with an intelligence as keen and clear as the fresh mountain air that fed his young life and quickened his youthful energies. On all questions of great importance that came under the jurisdiction of the student body, his opinion was invariably sought, and at no time did he fail to uplift his voice in behalf of truth, right, and justice as he saw and believed them. He was universally popular—a friend of every one—friendly to all, and those who knew him best admired him most.

His every act emitted gentle rays of his intensely warm human heart and through every utterance beamed forth soft and mellow lights of love—ideal reflections of his high and noble breeding. Complete self-control and matchless ease and power of expression were strong and striking characteristics of him; and he was always himself, whether in public discussion, in heated debate, or pursuing some more tedious and intricate course of syllogistic reasoning. Friends and co-laborers as we were, our friendship and intimacy were never more genuine and mutual than in our graduating year (and readers of this will pardon this very

personal allusion), when we measured arms and tilted zealously for the same coveted prize. There were other contestants for this token of excellence, but the real contest was thought to be by those who knew, between him and myself. And amid all the enthusiasm and hopefulfulness and youthful eagerness consequent upon such rivalry I am happy to relate that neither of us ever for once doubted the other's sincere efforts and honest purpose. It was then that I was drawn very close to his warm heart, and my long friendship grew into great admiration and esteem. I can never forget the theme of his beautiful oration on that eventful day: "Man's Inhumanity to Man." How it bristled with bright ideas. How it sparkled with burning eloquence! That production—so typical of the man and his nature—in a masterful way added another jewel to his already brilliant diadem and in sad, sorrowful truth was the crowning effort of his life. For very soon thereafter, while seeking rest from exhausting labors in the quiet solitude of his paternal home, he fell a victim to fever; God saw fit to take him and he was not. Thus, in the blush and vigor of hopeful, ambitious young manhood did his kindly light go out and naught of mortal form remains of him save the picture face that lies before me and inspires me as I write.

He is not dead—forever dead—but only sleeping—peacefully sleeping in his mountain resting place, while his soul, as pure as Alpine snows, as gentle as Aegean zephyrs or the soft breezes that play about his mound, hath taken its flight hence beyond the dark river into the land of the Hereafter, there to rest sweetly and be at perennial ease in a new life among the saints.

RICHARD G. ALLSBROOK.

Scotland Neck, N. C., July 5, 1897.

MR. J. O. CARR TO J. B. HUBBELL.

WILMINGTON, N. C., September 8, 1909.

*Mr. J. B. Hubbell, Red House, Va.*

MY DEAR SIR:—I am very much pleased to note that you and your uncle, Mr. A. H. Eller, are preparing a volume in memory of Plato and John C. Eller, both of whom were students at the University of North Carolina.

I knew Plato Eller very slightly, as he was in the Junior Class when I entered and died during the first year of my stay at the University; but no man in the University stood higher than he.

As to John C. Eller, I was intimately associated with him for four years, and there was no student at the University whom I loved more, and who was more universally loved and esteemed by the student body than he. He was a leader in class work, in athletics, in the literary societies, in college politics, and in every department of college life. He had strong convictions on all questions affecting the University and never concealed those convictions. He entered into many contests and rivalries among students, but his differences with fellow students were differences of views, and he fought his battles open-handed and above board; and consequently his bitterest enemies were his strongest friends. When he graduated and left the University, he carried with him as bright prospects for a brilliant future as any young man who ever left its doors, and the news which came only a short while after his departure, that he had died with typhoid fever, was a stunning blow to his friends at Chapel Hill. In his death, both the University and the State sustained a great loss, as there could be no doubt that he could

have soon become one of the leading public men in North Carolina.

I hope you will let nothing interfere with your purpose to complete this work, because the records of Plato and John C. Eller at the University ought to be preserved.

Yours sincerely,

J. O. CARR.

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LETTER FROM MR. H. G. CHATHAM TO MR. A. H. ELLER.

ELKIN, N. C., July 14, 1896.

*Mr. A. H. Eller, Winston, N. C.:*

DEAR ELLER:—Allow me to express the fervent sympathy I feel for you in your recent great bereavement. It was not my privilege to know your brother personally, but the verdict which I have heard many of his friends render was that he was one of the brightest young men in the State. I wish I could by some word or deed make the burden of your sorrow lighter, but that is scarcely within the pale of human possibility, and my family join me in kind regards and good wishes.

H. G. CHATHAM.

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LETTER FROM PROF. J. W. CANADA TO MR. A. H. ELLER.

SUMMERFIELD, N. C., July 21, 1896.

*A. H. Eller, Esq., Winston, N. C.:*

MY DEAR SIR:—I shall be glad to have a memorial volume of my devoted college friend, your brother, John C. Your other brother I did not know, having entered college later. I am sure that a number of his classmates and collegemates would want such a volume as a

memorial of their associate, one whom every one knew only to esteem and love. I speak of John C. Your other brother had just as many warm friends at the University and at home, I know.

By such a volume we shall cherish the memory, and emulate the examples of these noble young men who fell just as they were ready for the battles of life, and thus to some extent shall they, though they have passed beyond, continue their labor in and through us.

I shall be glad to do anything in my power for the memory of my dear friend, John C. Eller.

Yours,  
J. W. CANADA.

LETTER FROM MR. GEO. STEPHENS, OF CHARLOTTE,  
N. C., TO MR. A. H. ELLER.

ASBURY PARK, N. J., July 11, 1896.

MY DEAR MR. ELLER:—The sad news of your brother's death has just reached me and I hasten to write and extend my most sincere and heartfelt sympathy in this your sad bereavement. You will hardly remember me, I guess, but I was so very fond of John that I'm not going to let any conventionality prevent my writing. Letters, I know, are always inadequate at such times, and I feel that no words can express my true feelings now.

Your brother and I were classmates and he never had a more ardent admirer than I. Circumstances threw us together a great deal, and always, everywhere he was the straightforward, manly fellow that made him so deservedly popular.

It seems a strange dispensation of Providence for one so promising, just in the bloom of young manhood,

to be taken away, but it is best, I suppose, to bow in humble submission to the One that "doeth all things well." Again offering my most cordial sympathy and assuring you of my own deep and heartfelt sadness, I am,

Most sincerely,

GEO. STEPHENS.

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LETTER FROM MRS. MCBEE TO MR. JAMES ELLER.

GREEN HILL, July 12.

MY DEAR MR. ELLER:—Through the *Charlotte Observer* I have learned with profound sorrow of the sudden bereavement, which many share with you, but which to you and your family is supreme.

Although I am a comparative stranger, your exceeding kindness two years ago, at the mere mention of my father-in-law's name, justifies me in assuring you of my heartfelt sympathy, and I trust you will not consider such expression an intrusion upon the sacredness of your affliction.

Although I met your son only the once, the few hours, which at your bidding, he so obediently and cheerfully gave me, impressed indelibly upon my mind the simplicity and dignity of his character. I have heard through friends of his noble record at the University.

There have been men, who, in a single flash of genius, evidenced that they were destined to reign as kings forever—yet they were cut down ere the world recognized their mission or heeded their message. The virtue, purity, honesty, courage, patience, faith and love possess the very essence of eternal law. The lesson is made clear by the light which life and immortality have brought. Life here seems and ought to seem



incomplete, for it is incomplete—it is but the threshold of the one eternal life. It is not designed of God to exhaust or fully employ His multitudinous gifts to man—it is not the ultimatum of heaven—bequeathed powers; if it shall train and exercise and render vigorous the spiritual faculties, so that, when adequate sphere and scope have been vouchsafed, these shall accomplish that whereunto they were sent, then life here is not in vain. Labour and life in the Lord are never in vain!

Our Blessed Lord ended His marvellous career on earth while He was yet a young man. He chose as the companions of His ministry young men; and the young disciple whom Jesus loved said in his old age, "I write unto you, young men, because ye are strong."

It is ours to believe that the King of Love has taken your son in the vigor and beauty of youth closer to Himself—and while we may not repress the tears, let us rejoice for the victor's sake.

Mrs. Gwyn and family beg to extend to you sincere sympathy.

Believe me very humbly and faithfully,

Yours,

VARDRY McBEE.

Ronda, North Carolina.

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EXTRACT FROM A LETTER WRITTEN BY EUGENE L. HARRIS, REGISTRAR OF THE UNIVERSITY, TO MR. A. H. ELLER, AUGUST 15, 1896.

*Mr. A. H. Eller, Winston, N. C.:*

DEAR MR. ELLER:—Let me tell you how we mourn with you over the early departure of your brother, who won friends for himself wherever he went. It seems



that Death indeed loves a shining mark. It is sad to think of, that one so full of hope for the future in broadening for usefulness—in expanding for life—should so suddenly be snatched away from time to eternity. I can truly sympathize with you, as the agony is yet fresh in my heart when the yellow telegram came saying that my lovely brother (Hunter) had been drowned in Little River. But let us never murmur against a Father who knows best and veils much from his children's earthly view. Let us rather remember the words of the Lord Jesus, that the "sorrow of His disciples would be turned into joy" and let us not mourn as those who have no hope—but await the resurrection morn.

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A LETTER FROM RICHARD COBB, RECORDER OF  
HARVARD UNIVERSITY.

BARNSTABLE, Mass., July 27, 1896.

DEAR SIR:—The letter in which you tell me of your brother's death has been forwarded to me here. You will, I trust, believe that the sympathy I would express for you if I could, is real. That we appreciate in some small part your brother's worth was shown by our giving to him an award of aid which, because of its limited amount, we are forced to refuse to many thoroughly deserving applicants. It follows that we realize that in your brother's death we have lost a student whom we would have been proud to number among our graduates.

Again expressing my sympathy for you in your sorrow, I am

Yours sincerely,

RICHARD COBB.

EXTRACT FROM A LETTER WRITTEN BY MR. GEO.  
W. CONNOR, OF WILSON, N. C., TO MR. J. B.  
HUBBELL, SEPTEMBER 27, 1909.

*Mr. J. B. Hubbell, Red House, Va.:*

DEAR SIR:—Your favor of the 9th inst., advising that you and your uncle are preparing a volume in memory of Franklin Plato and John Carlton Eller came duly to hand, but I have been absent from home so much this month that I have been unable to reply to the same.

I was at the University with Plato Eller, and it was my privilege to enjoy a rather intimate friendship with him. His death affected me greatly and I often think of his fine character and splendid ability. He won the affection and enjoyed the esteem of all who knew him. His University friends looked forward confidently to a brilliant career for him. He had the character and ability which would have enabled him to render great service to the State if he had lived.

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EXTRACT FROM A LETTER WRITTEN BY MISS  
REBECCA SCHENCK, OF GREENSBORO, N. C., TO  
MR. A. H. ELLER, JULY 12, 1896.

MY DEAR MR. ELLER:—I learn for the first time today of your sorrow and my heart goes out in sympathy to you in this great bereavement. May the God of all comfort be with you and enable you to feel that He does all things well.

I never knew your brother personally, but Michael has told me often of his brightness, his ambition, his unswerving fidelity to duty and of his kindness to him, a younger boy.

I have never seen Michael more genuinely grieved than over the news of his death, and he asks me to join in a heart full of sympathy for you and your parents.

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EXTRACT FROM A LETTER WRITTEN BY PROF. JNO.  
J. BLAIR, SUPT. CITY SCHOOLS OF WILMING-  
TON, TO MR. A. H. ELLER, JULY 20, 1896.

DEAR ELLER:—I assure you that you have my deepest sympathy in your recent affliction. The news of your brother's death caused the most profound regret at Chapel Hill, where he was so well known and loved.

Very truly,

JNO. J. BLAIR.

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LETTER FROM PROF. H. H. HORNE, OF NEW YORK  
UNIVERSITY, TO MR. J. B. HUBBELL.

LEONIA, N. J., September 27, 1909.

MY DEAR MR. HUBBELL:—When I entered the University as a Freshman in 1891, the name of Plato Eller was a part of the heritage of the institution, about which the halo of fame had gathered.

John Eller was my collegemate, my pupil, my friend. As a collegemate he was admired by all for his brilliancy in scholarship and in oratory; as a pupil he was among my few best; as a friend, we had peculiar bonds of affinity, both in religion and in college politics. As no doubt known to you, and like most earnest-minded men, Eller passed through an intellectual storm and stress period in college. He had his Wander-jahr. We talked about it at the time and he ended this period, as I think, with views of life admixed with a "sweet reasonableness."

I am glad you and your uncle are perpetuating in permanent form the great achievements of these two lamented sons of our University. Trusting your success will be comparable to what theirs would have been, I remain,

Very cordially yours,

H. H. HORNE.



1880  
1881  
1882



*F. P. Ellis.*

## Introduction to the Writings and Speeches of Plato Eller

The writings and speeches that follow are included for two reasons: first, because they were written by those whom this volume is intended to commemorate, and hence should interest all who are interested in the story of their lives; and, second, because we believe that, apart from all considerations of this nature, they are well worthy of preservation because of their beauty of language and nobility of thought.

It is necessary, however, to state that all of them were written for special occasions, which have little significance for some of those who will read this volume. Almost none of them were written with any idea that they would ever be preserved at all, much less that they would be printed. In many cases we have had to print from incomplete first drafts because the final copy was lost or unobtainable. But, when measured by the proper standards, we do not doubt that they will serve abundantly to substantiate every statement and implication as to their merit found in other parts of this volume, and will interest many who never knew those who wrote them.

Plato Eller disliked writing almost to the same degree that he loved to speak. Standing before a body of men gathered to discuss a question of importance, he felt the thrill of the moment calling out his noblest and deepest thoughts and arraying them for him, as it were, in language of corresponding nobility and impressiveness; but when a pen was placed in his hand, unless in his mind's eye he saw his audience before

him, his thoughts did not flow readily into words, and he lost patience with trying to find by a process of cold selection the words and phrases that in speaking came of their own accord. It is almost certain that neither of the three debates here printed were delivered in the form in which they are found here. The second is written in pencil with many scarcely intelligible additions and erasures; it is doubtful if even the argument is in its final form.

"Institutions the Result of Growth" was written for the inter-society oratorical contest at the Commencement of 1892. As stated in the Introduction, the choice of the subject was the result of an investigation undertaken for Prof. H. H. Williams, which was to lead to a thesis (never completed) on "The Law of Growth." The central thought of the oration is the application of the theory of evolution to the interpretation of history. Less promising material out of which to construct a commencement oration could hardly be imagined. The speaker, however, as he says in a letter to his brother, could not content himself with writing mere "curls;" he loved debating better than the more flowery forms of public speaking; and with him the choice of a serious subject was inevitable. The far-reaching significance of the thought about which his oration is constructed impressed his mind and imagination so vividly that he filled it with human interest and emotion. One can hardly read it today without feeling the earnestness and fire of the speaker's voice and the dignity and power of his gestures.

The article on "Our Retiring President" was published on the first page of the University Magazine, No. 6, 1891.

The article on "The Dialectic Society" was written



for the Hellenian (University annual) of 1892. Plato was at that time president of the Society. The article is interesting and significant for its clear and convincing statement of the relation of the Society's work to that of the University and the State. It shows admirably also the writer's affection and devotion to the Society, for which he fought in many a hard battle throughout his entire college career and for which, it seems to us, he gave his life while endeavoring to uphold its ancient fame.

The debate opposing the abolition of the Electoral College is undated; and I have found no means of learning when it was written or delivered.

The debate on the question of Home Rule for the Irish was delivered in the spring of 1891, while the speaker was a Sophomore. With this debate he won the Best Debater's Medal in the Dialectic Society.

The debate on the question of Turkish Supremacy was spoken in the inter-society debate of November 14, 1891. The debaters were:

Affirmative (Phi).—A. H. Koonce, S. F. Austin.

Negative (Di).—T. B. Lee, F. P. Eller.

The University Magazine says: "The speeches were all excellent and the arguments well presented, but the committee decided in favor of the Negative."

A Brief Review of Scholasticism was probably a class exercise; but its excellence, it is believed, justifies its preservation.

### INSTITUTIONS THE RESULT OF GROWTH

The world presents bewildering complexity and variety, constant struggle and change, apparently without meaning or purpose. But beneath that tangled network of institutions and traditions, ideas and customs, which we call society, there is a germinant seed of thought, which, expanding in the life of the individual, gives to civilization its aim and importance. The labor of history has been an attempt to render this germ, at first abstract and potential, concrete and actual in existing society as it branches into its many-sided life.

Everywhere the ideal strives to realize itself in the actual, "and everywhere failing in its aim, it breaks to pieces its own work," and rushes on to new manifestations. These in turn are broken through and shattered by the pulsations and struggles of the living, developing truth within, ever striving for expression and adaptation to every different condition of mankind in the world.

Man's institutions are the external forms through which his inner life works and grows in its ceaseless endeavor to realize in itself that freedom of movement and symmetry of structure which shall mark the full possession of its powers.

Along the boundary line between the growing life and the rigid form, the developing nation and the written constitution, the expanding truth and orthodox creed, there is a conflict of opposing forces, giving rise to sects and parties, which rend the world in twain and strew it with the broken timbers of Church and State. The crumbled ruins of human institutions are the tribute which the temporary pays to the permanent,

formal freedom to substantial freedom, lesser life to broader living. Every "Lost Cause" forms not only a necessary step in man's upward progress, but imparts its essential spirit to the higher union and acts as a living force forever :

"Oh, kingdom of the past!  
Thy forms and creeds have vanished;

But,

"Whatever of true life there was in thee,  
Leaps in our Age's veins."

All that was deeply good or truly great in the workmanship of the past, though shattered into inchoate fragments, ever incarnates itself anew and lives still in the freer life and broader character of the world.

When the ideas and conditions that gave life to feudalism had yielded to the gathering forces of monarchy, the whole fabric of Chivalry, with its customs and institutions, broke to pieces, and a nobler edifice of thought and government rose from out the dismantled ruins.

In the course of human progress, all creeds and institutions, however temporary or imperfect, have contained a truth and prepared the way for a longer stride and broader view. At a time when the Roman Pontiff laid claim to the headship of temporary power and demanded implicit obedience from his followers, the restrictions and bars to political privileges, laid upon Catholics, were both necessary and just. But when those demands had proven futile and been withdrawn, the rights of man and the interests of State alike called for Catholic Emancipation.

The outward forms of society have been wrought out by an invisible thought, and when its volatile

essence dissolves to re-form under a higher law, a broader generalization, or a more perfect ideal, the antiquated architecture of its past life must fall away and a new train of institutions follow in its wake.

The Drama of Universal History, which has Ages for its acts, Nations for its scenes, and Races for its characters, has for its lofty theme, running throughout its tragic struggles, the development of individual and national character. Living character, like the mythical life-tree, Igdrasil, is rooted down deep in the dead kingdom of the past. But, where the sap rises from its hidden roots into the mighty trunk of existing society, its institutional branches stir and move with life, and invisible forces sweep to and fro in its swaying crown, as they draw nourishment from the free air of heaven.

The graduated march of progressive life is by approximation, and even the best institutions are valuable only as means to nobler ends, stepping-stones to nobler heights. They are the setting of the diamond, the Time-vesture of the Eternal, the rude scaffolding of the queenly structure of national character. When these vestments of national life, whether of sack-cloth or "wrought of crimson and cloth of gold," have served the purpose of their creation and become weathered and worn, they must crumble piecemeal away that the fitter garments may press up from beneath. When man is dissatisfied with his present condition and aspires to a higher life, when a fresh sowing of human thought is yellowing to the harvest, when a new ring of growth has expanded from within, the fixed institutions without must yield along the diverging lines of growth to the warm breath of reform, or the shattering shock of revolution will lay them in the dust.

There is nothing so revolutionary, because there is nothing so unnatural and convulsive, as the attempt to preserve institutions unchanged while "all the world is by the very law of its creation in eternal progress." The determination of the Stuarts to govern according to the obsolete principles of the Tudors kindled the stern virtues of Puritanism, which dashed the divine right of Kings to pieces forever.

In government, itself, however true its principles may be, there is no warrant for its safety and permanence, save as it reflects the character, and images forth the thoughts of its time and people.

The Roman citizen centering his trust in the outward forms of government, in the Consulate, the Tribune-ship, the Comitia and all the ancient bulwarks of Roman Law, and forgetful of the Roman spirit that gave them life and meaning, saw the reins of government concentrated in the hands of Augustus without the violation of written law or the overthrow of formal freedom. The obscure minority becomes the ruling majority, heresy grows into orthodoxy, the Constitution yields to its interpretation, throughout society under-currents swerve its life-stream from out the forms of today into the forms of tomorrow.

No institution can be mathematically constructed, fitly jointed and bolted together, so as to bid defiance to decay and change. But they must be historically evolved from the people's life and periodically adjusted to the wants and necessities of the times, so that, growing with the transmitted vitalities of the past, they shall be elastic with the living blood of the present.

In no country can the nervous column of popular tradition be sundered with impunity; but all reform and change of government must move along the lines

of national growth. Napoleon could no more force the free ideas of the Revolution upon Spain, than Philip II could force those of the Inquisition upon Holland. There is no patent for making institutions to order.

The "Grand Model," though conceived by the statecraft of Locke and Shaftesbury, and designed for the moulding of a perfect State, when applied to Carolina, failed in every part. The late attempt of the French to blot out their nation's past, reverse its character, and start anew upon the basis of theory, ended amid scenes of blood and chaotic confusion. All manufactured governments, forged by momentary enthusiasm, reared high above the people, finding no lodgement in the nation's character, will be wrecked by the reactionary wave of popular indignation. Mexico and the South American States, having adopted constitutional governments without sufficient preparation in the race's past, ride upon the shocks of revolution and ask for the name of the new President. Their germinating independence must ramify throughout the people's life, and grow into a complex organism of government, inlocking in its strong and elastic branches the love and confidence of succeeding generations, before its free forms of government can become living realities.

The English Constitution unites freedom and stability because it has been a growth of development of the Teutonic genius through conservative progress into the crowning glory of English Liberty. No Magna Charta, Petition of Rights, or Bill of Rights ever created or attempted to create any new liberties for the English people. Their forms and principles of government, founded upon experience and conservative of precedent, have expanded with the swelling

tide of modern thought and been adjusted to the new conditions of their world-wide conquest.

The Constitution of the United States faithfully reflects the cast and genius of our people, because its principles have been evolved by the slow working process of growth in the English race and in the American Colonies. Its framers, studying the principles of the English government, drawing essential aid from the Constitutions of the different States, and improving on the shattered wreck of the Confederation, builded a structure new, whose every stone had been quarried from former governments. And yet, all that savored of mere theory or was not in harmony with the nation's growth has proven inadequate and worked with sore friction.

The Democratic idea, incarnated in our Constitution, in its convulsive struggle of growth, in its progressive actualization in the life of the individual, bursts through all boundaries and works constantly for the regeneration of American thought and the readjustment of American institutions.

The noble formula of Jefferson that "All men are created free and equal," has grown into a fuller meaning, abolishing slavery, extending the franchise, and leavening the masses with political education.

The politics of the country is a practical readjustment of its institutions to this unfolding idea, an effort for its fuller realization and the continuous application of old principles to new conditions. This industrial age, with its great cities of inadequate governments, with its corporate wealth and restless labor, demands constant reversion to first principles, and their restatement and fitter application to existing problems.

But the American genius, which wrought out from



the ruins of the past the free institutions of the present, can, if attentive to its ever-broadening life, read-just them to the needs of the future.

The virtue and integrity of a nation's character, the strength and purity of a nation's faith, and not the outward pomp of industrial statistics, nor the enchanted parchment of its Constitution, perpetuate a nation's life.

All the aspirations of the nation's heart, and all the problems that tear its flesh, must draw their nourishment or read their doom from the ebb and flow of national spirit, and the rise and fall of national character.

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#### OUR RETIRING PRESIDENT—K. P. BATTLE

With the resignation of Dr. Battle as President of the University, an interesting and instructive chapter in its history is closed, one that spans the interval of State poverty and denominational opposition. It has not only been a period of resuscitation, but of larger growth.

Dr. Battle entered the University in 1845 and has been, as student, tutor of mathematics, Trustee, Secretary, Treasurer, member of the Executive Committee and President, connected with it ever since. In 1875 he raised \$20,000 for repairs; he likewise was active in getting the General Assembly to pay the \$7,500 interest on the Land Scrip Fund, which had been invested in State bonds. This enabled the Trustees to elect a Faculty and open the doors for students in 1875.

A chairman of the Faculty, Rev. Dr. Charles Phillips, was tried for a year, but owing to his poor health,



the plan did not succeed. After the strong solicitation of his many friends, Dr. Battle allowed his name to go before the Board, and he was elected almost unanimously.

Immediately he visited the agricultural and mechanical colleges of the North, and reported that the necessary work of such institutions could not be supported without additional support from the State or other source. He made many speeches in the State and before the General Assembly in favor of an appropriation for an Experiment and Fertilizer Control Station at Chapel Hill. This was the first effort of the kind in the South, and was successful till the want of funds weakened it, and it was removed to Raleigh; and in 1887 a separate Agricultural and Mechanical College was there established, and the \$7,500 a year transferred to it from the University.

Foreseeing this would be done, President Battle succeeded in getting \$5,000 in 1881, and \$15,000 in 1885, in grants from the State Treasury. Previous to 1881 the University had never had a dollar appropriation from the State.

His administration of fifteen years has witnessed great improvements:

The obsolete system of espionage has been abolished, and the students and Faculty now work in harmony.

The instruction has been broadened and deepened; the number of professors is now greater than before the war.

The Departments of Medicine, Natural History and Electrical Engineering have been added, and that of English has been greatly extended.

Physics is now taught practically as well as theoret-

ically; Latin and Greek Composition and sight-reading have been introduced.

The Department of Law is taught by a professor who gives his whole time to his chair.

Instead of three we now have five laboratories.

The Museums have been extended and arranged. Many thousand dollars have been expended for apparatus, maps and new books: and a working library is now open every day. By the consolidation of the two Society libraries with that of the University an excellent library has been formed.

The Mitchell Scientific Society, the best in the South, whose publications are exchanged with similar societies in America, Europe and Asia, has been formed, and a fine scientific library accumulated.

The Shakespeare Club, a successful organization, is in operation.

The Reading Room is now open every day.

The Gymnasium has been built, additions have been made to Person Hall, and the whole turned into the Chemical Lecture Hall and Laboratories.

A splendid auditorium, to commemorate the worthy dead of the University, Memorial Hall, has been erected.

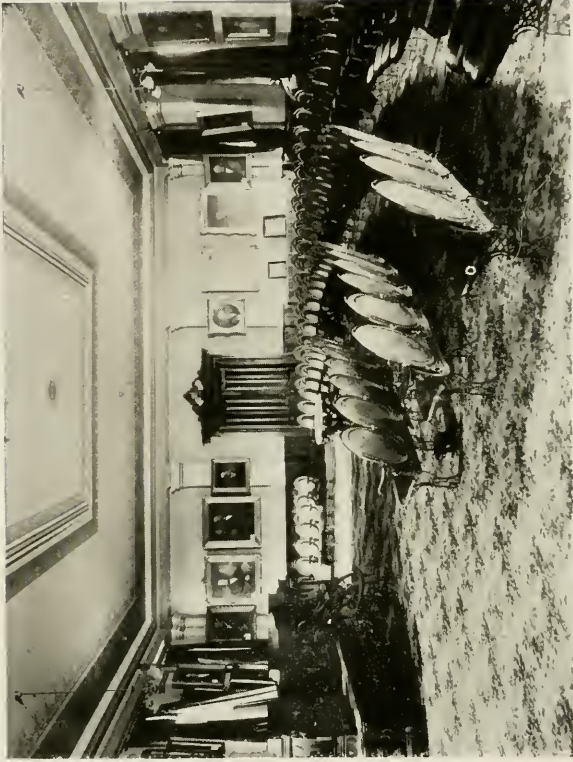
A branch railroad, largely by University influence, now connects Chapel Hill with the outside world.

The first endowment of any chair, that of History, was during this administration.

There have been raised \$110,000 from private benefactors, not counting the State appropriation nor that of Mrs. Mary Smith Morehead, now in litigation.

During this administration the Summer Normal School was conducted for four years with great results toward building up the graded schools and education





DIALECTIC SOCIETY HALL

generally. But these are not all, Dr. Battle has found time to write elaborate monographs on many subjects of historical interest. His "History of the Supreme Court" was thought by the Judges to be so valuable as to deserve publication in Vol. 103 of the Reports of their Decisions. His "Judicial Proceedings of the New Testament," delivered before the Institute of Christian Philosophy in New York, and published in "Christian Thoughts," received the commendations of the great English historian, Freeman, and Dr. Noah Davis, Dr. C. F. Deems and many others.

For fifteen years Dr. Battle has impersonated this institution as no other could, and now that he retires from the anxious care of the Presidency to the more reflective atmosphere of historical study we all, friends, Faculty and students, wish him as great success in the future as he has achieved in the past.

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### THE DIALECTIC SOCIETY

In this University, second only to the class room drill, in shaping the life and thought of its members, stands the Dialectic Society. Only those who have entered its *sanctum sanctorum* can appreciate its true worth and character. But although its inmost life is screened by the veil of secrecy, still it has certain well-known externals.

During the session of 1891-'92 it has numbered over ninety (90) active members, receiving many valuable additions to its already beautiful hall in the way of chandeliers and portraits of distinguished alumni, and quite naturally had its whole life quickened by the spirit of reform pervading the institution.

Recent changes in its organization have had the beneficial effect of stimulating debate, making it more general, and giving it decided preference as a literary exercise. That healthy society-pride, which for a century has characterized the Dialectic Society, spreading upon its walls the proofs of greatness and flecking the State's history with statesmen, still beats steady and strong and with every recurring inter-society contest inspires and rewards its representatives. The Dialectic Society inculcates high ideals of life. However careless a member may be in observing becoming decorum, however negligent in performing required duties, whatever else he may lack, one thing is essential, unsuspected honor. No member whose honesty was questioned, or whose honor was doubted, would be respected or tolerated. The Dialectic Society yields the first place to no similar body in the observance of the proper dignity and correct parliamentary practices. Happily within its walls those restraints of the classroom, due to the presence and records of professors, are all unknown. Perfect independence and absolute equality belong to all. There class standing and social distinctions are forgotten. In this youthful democracy every one is valued and rewarded strictly according to his performance of society duties. The Dialectic Society has proven a choice field for the tyro of politics and the student of human nature. There we see the very springs of life at work. The impressions there formed are just, and the indications there given are prophetic.

Perhaps the Society has never stood in greater need of staunch supporters of its rights and examples of its good influence than at present. That spirit of today which would depreciate the value of literary societies

increases. The ramifications of our University's life constantly tend to usurp the Society's proper functions, as may be exemplified in the management of the Library and the practice of not requiring Law and Medical students to join the societies.

Viewing the past with pride and the future with hope, our sincerest wish is that the Dialectic Society may be able to adapt itself to ever-changing conditions so as to exert upon its future members the same magic power that gave us a Mangum and a Polk, a Badger and a Vance.

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### THE ELECTORAL COLLEGE

The question is often asked: Why was the Electoral College first established and why do we not more often see the reason for it set forth? This was amply considered by its originators, who were no followers of an Utopian theory of government, nor were they libertine practitioners. Since the President is invested with the great appointment and veto power, and since the two houses of Congress are generally so equally divided between the two political parties, the power, and hence the election, of the President is of great importance. The House of Representatives is elected directly by the people according to a ratio of population; the Senate by the States upon the basis of equality; the President by a combination of the two in an easy and equitable manner. If the President be elected directly by the people, two of the elective departments of the government will be elected by the people, one by the States. And when a President shall have been elected directly by the people alone without the concurrence of the States, it will have been the first official act of the



American people in the aggregate in all their history. The question then works a revolution in the division of power and attacks a vital principle of government upon local facts and transient causes. A principle of government is inseparably engrafted into human nature by Omniscience himself and is suited to all lands and times and can never fail; but facts, when their immediate surroundings have vanished, are of no avail whatever. So let us consider whether or not the principle involved is worthy of preservation.

This is a union of States and people, and not people alone. The proposed system provides that the two votes which represent the sovereignty of the States shall be removed and that the nation shall be considered as a union of people alone, disregarding State rights altogether. This country was settled with reference to its very dissimilar climates, soils, and surfaces; and so separate charters were given, from which came the States. These unitedly achieved individual independence; and entered into the present form of government, surrendering some individual rights for the necessary union, just as man must surrender some natural rights in order to have any government whatever; but they kept the States sufficiently strong to protect the people in their natural rights and local interests while the union bound them together for mutual aid and their general welfare. It was a government distinct as to domestic concerns, but united as to foreign, with the liberty of a democracy joined to the energy of a monarchy or a confederate republic; it was a checkmate against the great sectional interests of the wide-spreading republic. The manner in which the colonies achieved their independence, the discussions in the Constitutional Convention, the manner in which



the Constitution was adopted, and all the writings of those nation-builders clearly and undeniably prove that this is a union of States and people; from which we draw the logical conclusion that State rights are far more important than union itself. *United States* means simply States united. One reason why this system is just, is that it has suited itself to the national growth. The extent of the country and the dignity of the highest office prevent a personal canvass, and since the people must hear of their candidates and their principles, what could be a more convenient method than that of electors?

Does the change proposed do more than give a mortal stab to State rights? Yes, it destroys the equilibrium of the component parts which make the government. The basis of that great natural law, the law of gravitation, is that every atom in the universe attracts every other atom. Upon the same law the present system is founded, that power can only oppose power; organization, organization. Upon this balance of power all governments of long duration or great achievement have been constructed. Consider England, that mass of strength and good government, for which she is indebted to the balance of her government, monarchy, aristocracy, and democracy—monarchy holding the balance between the other two and forming an alliance with neither. Just so, but improved and more minutely adjusted is ours, John Adams, that accomplished statesman and scientific lawyer, clearly elucidates this system of government, which is in itself an explanation, when he says: "The American system of government is an elaborate system of checks and balances; the States are balanced against the general government; the House of Representatives against the

Senate; the Executive against the Legislative; the Judiciary against the Executive, the Legislative and the State governments. The Senate is balanced against the President in all appointments; the people hold in their own hands the balance against their representatives by periodical elections; the State Legislatures are balanced against the United States Senate; the Electors are balanced against the people in the choice of President and Vice-President." And this is a combination and refinement of checks and balances unknown to past history and unequalled in perfection of operation. The States are interested far more in the Supreme Court, which of late years (sad proof of our degeneracy, for the States themselves should always be the final judges of their powers) fixes the boundaries between the jurisdiction of the nation and States than any individual. Elect the President by the popular vote and the States will have less influence in its composition. In this government where so much depends upon the separate members of the government, the Legislative, Executive, and Judiciary, great care should be taken to place them in power at different times and in different ways and thus prevent all abrupt changes worked by the fickleness of public opinion. The proposed system not only changes the manner of the election but also the source; it moves the point from which the government has always been weighed; it changes the pivot upon which it has ever turned. Confidence is the handmaid of despotism; but jealousy is the safety-valve of freedom; and upon jealousy, doubt, and checks the Electoral College is founded.

Thus plumbd by the rules of Political Economy, collected through forty centuries of experience, this symmetrical edifice of constitutional government rises

with the Electoral College as its key-arch, or, rather, in the scientific regularity of its motions, it resembles the mechanism of the universe. "The States revolve each upon its own axis, within its own orbit, each according to its own laws, some faster, some slower, one at one angle, one at another; but around the central sun at Washington they tread the great national orbit under equal conditions, and constituent parts of the one great whole." Shall we, then, by this change destroy an equipoise of power centered in the present system, which under the most trying ordeals has never varied in the least?

But it is said that where the people boast of their liberty a majority of the people should rule. The majority spoken of is simply the absolute majority or the greatest number. This may be just in a country of narrow limits and similar interests, but never in one so dissimilar by nature as this, and where the people have such conflicting interests. There is no trait of human nature more universally and identically true than that of self-interest; and it is always unwise to intrust a people with power which by being abused operates to their own advantage. The minority deserves protection as well as the majority, as seen through the precautions of Nature. The rule of the absolute majority is only another name for that abominable pretension that the end of government is the greatest good for the greatest number. When this idea rules every one thinks his own good the good of the greatest number and acts accordingly, and sectional tyranny is the inevitable result. The true end of government is the greatest good for every one, with injury to none; this necessitates the consultation of the general good, which requires the concurring majority. The concurring

majority is the rule of all; the absolute of only a section. A concurring majority is a majority of both the majority and the minority; thus in the number forty, twenty-one is the absolute majority, nineteen the helpless minority; but take eleven, the majority of the majority, and ten, the majority of the minority; put them together, and they make twenty-one, the true concurring majority. And since great and important measures require a two-thirds or three-fourths majority, to accomplish anything each side must consult the interest of the other. This beneficent principle runs throughout the government, and in no part more than in the Electoral College, which requires a majority, when blended together, of both the people and the States, both of which are equally interested. All governments worth the name have been ruled by the concurring majority. See little heroic Switzerland clinging to the jagged slopes and craggy heights of the snow-clad Alps with no greater tenacity than she has clung to her democratic institutions amid the upheavings of the surrounding States and the onslaughts made by the haters of freedom. For centuries she has been the blood-spot in the eyes of European despots, and can yet boast as free, intelligent, and industrious a people as any government under the sun; and for all this she can only point to the fact that her twenty-two equal cantons elect one branch of her assembly, the people the other, and these two combined elect the executive authority; founded on the concurring majority from first to last. So for the want of this the Plebeians seceded from the Patricians, endangering and rending the rising city, but when the concurring majority was restored, Rome spread her triumphant arch over the seven hills, unfurled her eagles in every

land, and attained to the empire of the world. The absolute majority is founded on the supremacy of one idea, which, be it ever so good, is narrow, contracted, and unsafe, and tends to despotism and stagnation rather than to liberty and to progress. It holds its authority not by consent or right, but dominates over all by the sheer force of numbers. Let not bombastic appeals for the rule of the majority overturn a tried and unfailling principle.

One hundred years ago when this government was founded it embraced comparatively small limits and a smaller population. Hostile England, the mistress of the seas, held Canada on the north, envious Spain held the southern borders, the bloodthirsty Indian skulked along the western frontier, and Europe was heaving with revolutions set aflame by our example; nor had the different nationalities become conscious of a common cause and a common destiny. Thus all things conspired to make a strong national government necessary. But today when all these dangers are no more, and when steam, electricity, and the printing press have made the sections as communicative as the members of a family, and after the Union's strength has been tried in an unprecedented contest, we do not need so strong a national government. Notwithstanding all this the Union has gradually become stronger and stronger and the States weaker and weaker till today the greatest evidence of this absorption of State rights by the general government is that an unblushing attempt can be advocated here in this democratic and constitution-upholding land to remove the Electoral College, which carries with it the last barrier against consolidation. The States have no rights but sovereign rights; take them and all is gone. The glorious

doctrine of State Rights was not surrendered at Apomattox, only its forcible preservation; it still exists and is the brightest star of self-government. The danger to be feared is that this tendency towards consolidation is foretold by no oracles and ushered in by no portents, but the sands that are to crush us silently glide from one balance to the other. Only those interested in protecting should have the power to protect; the States are parties to the Union, they are bound, they depend upon it, and when their influence succumbs to that of the nation, the government will have reached that stage from which State rights, and hence human liberty, can never be rescued. There is no difference between consolidation and empire, centralization, and imperialism. Alexander Hamilton, that arch-advocate of a consolidated government, himself has said that the general government can gain nothing by destroying State governments, and that "the States can never lose their power till the whole people of America are robbed of their liberties; these must go together, they must support each other or meet one common fate." And the Supreme Court of the United States, that unbiased authority, has said that the States have given up all the powers possible still to exist, and that "this is an indivisible union of indestructible States." What higher or more ominous warnings could be given to stay the centralizing tendency and uphold State rights as the polestar of liberty and the palladium of the nation's hope? Even at the present the smaller States are overshadowed by the greater ones; if a State be large and populous it has more power in one branch of Congress and gets more protection from the government, and should be equal in the other, just as individuals of whom one may be ten



times as rich and wise, but has no more political power. While a voter in Montana may have more power than one in New York, yet Time, the leveller of all things, will soon fill up those valleys and mountains with population, making the ratio more equal; and New York has already too much power. The quick palpitations of the nation's political heart tell too plainly how surely this nation is attacked by the malady that infected Greece when Sparta, Athens, and Thebes all in turn monopolized power, lorded it over the other commonwealths, and transformed beneficent democracies into despotic monarchies. The States are the constitution and law-making authority—the nation only the law-making, and, therefore, subordinate. But there is great danger that the nation will come to consider the Constitution not the source of their power, but only shackles upon its own; and this is the chief of those attempts. The law-making authority is organized and in constant action, having the control of the honors and emoluments of office; but the constitution-making authority lies dormant in the great inert mass of the community till called into action at distant intervals and on extraordinary occasions, and then only by granting powers, not executing them. The result is inevitable when the nation is trying to throw off the restrictions of the States. There indeed appears to be a great and prevailing principle that tends to place the delegated powers in opposition to the delegating, the created to the creating, reaching far beyond man and his works up to the universal source of all power. "The earliest pages of sacred history record the rebellion of the archangels against the high authority of Heaven itself;" and ancient mythology the war of the Titans against Jupiter, which, according to the narra-

tive, menaced the universe with destruction. This all-pervading principle is at work in our system; and unless the government be bolted and chained down with links of adamant by the hands of the States which created it, the creature will usurp the place of the creator, and universal political idolatry overspread the land. If the Electoral College be torn away, the States will lose an indispensable guarantee of their individuality; the Union will be sufficiently strong to disregard the States; the division of power, which is now equal, will then be two for the Union and one for the State; the despotic principle of the absolute majority will be unanimously engrafted into our now glorious government; the deplorable tendency towards centralization will receive such an impetus as to send the nation clanking into despotism. In the face of these evils, and remembering the benign influences from the present system, let no patriotic voice be heard to applaud the groundless prejudice against the present system; but let all from every mountain top swell with stentorian thunder that glorious acclaim: "Grand principle of government, live forever!"

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## HOME RULE FOR THE IRISH

### FIRST SPEECH.

The laws of nature and the laws of man may modify the character of a people, but when we see a once powerful people failing in every effort and relinquishing a continent to their contestants till at last their one home is but a rocky fragment of that continent amid peat-bogs and sage-brush, and suffering for centuries the domination of an alien race without liberty and without



country, we know that *that* people lacks the first and strongest instinct, that of self-preservation, that it is unworthy of a country and incapable of governing one. Unequal odds may crush out a feeble band, as of Leonidas and of Custer, but five millions united in a common cause and protected by the ocean's wall, cannot be conquered if deserving to be free. Holland opened her dykes and Switzerland loosed her crags on an invading foe, and they preserved that liberty which Ireland did not. Had she been true to herself and deserving of a country, today the evergreen flag would float over College Green, and Erin Go Bragh would be symbolical of a free and united country rather than of subjection and sorrow.

We grant that the Irish have many lovely traits, many noble qualities, that her history is bright with martyrs, patriots, poets, lawyers, and statesmen; but the rank and file of that race are stamped with inferiority and doomed to decay. Of her great characters and able leaders, O'Connell, alone, was of Irish descent; Grattan, Burke, Sheridan, Canning, Swift, Flood, Correy, Moore, and Butt, were one-half or three-fourths English, and Parnell has not a drop of Irish blood in his veins. The Irish bears the stamp of the primitive man; his instincts are still primal and those of the clansman whose heart craves a chief. He is a hero-worshiper, and cannot grasp grand and noble principles, but grovels before a priest in religion and a boss in politics. He has no obedience to law, no method of civilized government. His primitive condition was that of subjection to hostile chiefs warring for supremacy and murdering for pleasure; his mediæval condition was that of factions torn and bleeding; and at present, when of all countries we would most

expect Ireland to present an united front, we see her discordant, dissuaded, torn asunder by her own talons, not even united against her deadly enemy (so-called) nor unanimous for that priceless heritage of a free country.

Let us do the Irishman justice; but take the history which he has written in Ireland herself and under the free institutions of our country, and we pronounce him incapable of self-government. Personally he has too often been treacherous and corruptible; socially he has no sense of decency and no pride of honor; nationally no high ideal, no obedience to law.

With Home Rule the heterogeneous character of Ireland's population, the diversity of her classes, the certainty of class legislation, the declared intention of independence, the hatred of England and England's interest, and perhaps the reserved veto must multiply the opportunities of irritation and collision; and the wounds of seven centuries, which are now healing, must be torn open anew.

Parnell admits that he cares not a straw for Home Rule save as a means of independence, and that, with Home Rule, he would not rest until he had destroyed the last link that bound Ireland to England, and that he only wants an opportunity to effect it by force of arms. When he uttered this he was the trusted leader of the Home Rule party. Gladstone said on October 27, 1888: "It is idle to talk of law, or order, or liberty, or religion, or civilization, if Mr. Parnell and his friends are to carry through the reckless and chaotic schemes which they have devised. Rapine is their first, but not their only object; for they wish to march through rapine to the dismemberment and disintegration of the Empire."

When England was securing her Protestantism, when she was beheading a tyrant and obtaining the Bill of Rights, when Napoleon I was raging through Europe like an uncaged lion, when Napoleon III was lighting the torch of his hopes from the fires of revolution—at every crisis in England's history, when our religion, her government, and her existence were at stake—Ireland has thrown her rebellious form across England's pathway and joined reeking hands with England's enemies. This should palliate, if it cannot justify, the rigor of English rule. We know that American Fenianism has twice invaded the Dominion of Canada. We know that Irish rebels and American Fenians unfurled the blood-red banner of revolt in '65; we know that Ireland's dynamite bombs have thundered above the Tower of Westminster, and we know that with Independence or Home Rule Ireland would become the clandestine recruiting ground and drill-yard for England's enemies.

Ireland can gain nothing by leaving the Imperial Parliament. She enjoys an equal franchise. An Irish member represents 48,000 inhabitants, an English member 54,000, and a Scotch member 63,000; or the Irish member represents 6,000 less than the English, and 15,000 less than the Scotch member. An Irish member represents £63,000, an English member £118,000, and a Scotch member £133,000; or the Irish member represents considerably less than one-half that of the Scotch member. (These figures were taken from Gladstone himself.) Thus Ireland has undue influence in the Imperial Parliament; and if she is in the minority and must wait on English opinion, it is no more than parts of England herself must do. But by controlling the balance of power since 1830 she has

kept no less than eight ministries in power which were hostile to English opinion, and has secured wonderful reforms for herself. She receives more than her share of the government patronage in civil, naval, and military services, and the Indian Civil Service is full of Irishmen.

Can Home Rule benefit Ireland financially? Home Rule is desired as a means of procuring a protective tariff. Not considering the hostile collision with England which it must provoke, it could not benefit Ireland. One-third of Ireland, the manufacturing Protestant section whose manufactures have been built up by native capital and enterprise, bitterly oppose it; because it would banish English capital and cripple her own industries to pay bounties to numerous pet schemes. The manufactures of Ulster did not thrive till the system of bounties was abolished. It is no trifling advantage to Ireland to be a partner with the richest capitalist in the world, a capitalist with whom she does nineteen-twentieths of her trading and one that is always seeking out new fields for investments. A protective tariff would close English markets, the best in the world, against her labor and produce; and instead of thriving peacefully under the policy of free trade, which has given her her present manufactures, she would find herself in the commercial arena with England for an antagonist.

She is receiving full justice in the Imperial Parliament. Because of public need and for local works the Government during the last fifty years has taken power to give £445,000 to England and Scotland, and to Ireland £8,500,000, or over nineteen times as much to one-seventh as many people. Ireland is exempt from certain taxes, as the excise tax, legacy tax, armo-

rial bearings, etc., which in England produce annually £4,500,000. The population of Ireland is one-seventh of that of the United Kingdom, and she raises but one-tenth of the Imperial revenue. The average per head in England and Scotland is two pounds and five shillings; in Ireland one pound and ten shillings, or thirty-two per cent less. In Great Britain over one-half of all the government expenditures for police, courts, etc., is derived from local sources; but in Ireland, not counting the occasional military which is supported by England, less than one-sixth is derived from local sources; all the rest is paid by the British Government. In England over one-half the expenditures for public education, amounting to millions, is raised from local sources; but in Ireland less than one-eighth is so raised, all the rest falling on the Imperial Exchequer. Thus Ireland draws far more than her rightful portion from the Imperial Treasury, to which she does not contribute her just share.

Let us see if Home Rule can help settle the Land Question. There has been an enmity of race, there has been an enmity of religion, but at the root of all Irish enmities and all Irish difficulties has always been, and is today, the question of the land. The mass of the Irish people care nothing for Home Rule save as a means of Agrarian reform; and when this end is accomplished they will be Unionists. The Irish tenant has Fixity of Tenure, Free Sale, and Fair Rent—a rent that falls with the price of produce and does not rise when times are exceptionally good. He has compensation for improvements and compensation for disturbance, and has absolute free sale. If he becomes insolvent from any cause not immediately traceable to his own imprudence or misconduct, he enjoys a greater

immunity than any English debtor in similar circumstances. If desired there is a court, that acts on the general principles of justice, to which the tenant and landlord may appeal in all cases whatever. No tenant can be evicted except for a breach of contract, which may be referred to the court. This court fixes rent for fifteen years, during which time the rent cannot be raised, and at its expiration may be renewed; and, in fact, a vast majority of the rents have been so fixed.

By existing law all contracts unfavorable to the tenant are canceled as would be impossible under our Constitution. Thus tenants who entered on their tenancies under formal, written contracts for limited periods have been rooted perpetually on their holdings. By the Encumbered Estate Act Ireland was relieved of a spendthrift and absentee indebted proprietary and received a vast amount of land thereby long before England herself did. The Irish tenant was made a sharer in his improvements long before, and receives greater justice today, than any other tenant in Europe. Under these laws evictions are only one-twentieth as great in number as before. England has Landlordism, too; over one-half of England is owned by five or six landlords, and four-fifths of the land is tilled by tenants. In England and Scotland the landlords have rights of residence and eviction; and the tenant has no compensation for improvements, no fixity of tenure, and no court of appeal. The Irish tenant is enriched at the landlord's expense. The land today gives the landlords no political or social influence, and they have no means of sale except to the tenant, who buys without competition. By these land reforms the landlords lose over one-third of the value of their property; and by the bill of purchase, for every one hundred pounds



to which he is entitled by the clearest legal rights as rent, he has to accept £2,000 in stock yielding him as interest only £50. Thus he loses nearly one-half his income; no wonder so many are bankrupt.

Though the Irish tenant has suffered no less from his own imprudence, unthrift, and agitation than from landlordism, and though it is highly probable that there will always be either English or Irish landlords since the land is so limited; still all must admit that absentee landlordism should be rooted out. Can Home Rule effect this best? The English tenant has no means of becoming a landowner; but the Government lends the Irish tenant money at two and three-fourths per cent. interest to purchase his holding at any time or by annuities for twenty years, and no power on earth can retain to the landlord his property if only the tenant avails himself of this offer. During the first two years over 10,000 holdings were purchased, and the rate has since annually increased. And today Ireland would be in the hands of a resident proprietary but for the boycott and midnight assassin. If with Home Rule the Land Question be turned over to Ireland, according to their own declarations, universal confiscation will follow upon the doctrine of "Ireland for the Irish," which would require the tenant to share his holding with his laborers—a doctrine that would undermine social order and private property.

But if with Home Rule the Government advances £150,000,000, as was Gladstone's estimate, for the purchase of the land, the interest and ultimately the principal must be paid, not to landlords, nine-tenths of whom have heretofore responded favorably to the tenant's demands, but to government officials. This, then, does not benefit the tenant's condition. Moreover, this

would be a great stride toward socialistic government, and doubtless an agitation would spring up to cancel this loan and, besides bringing a collision, it would fall on the British taxpayer. But if for any reason this loan should be made or this gift granted, it could be done equally as well without Home Rule as with it. Wherein, then, can Home Rule benefit the Land Question, which is the very bedrock of the Irish Question?

With this equal justice in England's government and in England's treasury and with the hopeful condition of her land problem, what of her progress? The ninety years of union which Gladstone calls an "unmitigated calamity" have given Ireland greater prosperity than the five preceding centuries. The Registrar General of Ireland says that she has recovered from the Famine more quickly and completely than any country has ever done. He shows from official statistics that Ireland today per head of population has more pounds of assessment, more cattle, sheep, pigs, and poultry, more agricultural produce, more tons of shipping, more manufactures, more bank deposits, more capital in every shape, more pupils attending school, more miles of road and railway, fewer paupers, fewer mud-huts than ever before; and the people are more contented. Within the last forty years Ireland's revenue has increased 176 per cent; the number of her bank deposits 258 per cent, and the amounts deposited 222 per cent; all of which are about 45 per cent greater than England's increase. In the most disturbed sections of Ireland from 1880 to 1890 the deposits of the Postoffice Savings Banks, which represent the small depositors and command special confidence, increased on an average 75 per cent, and in the country at large 40 per cent more than in England; yet in all these



places the "Plan of Campaign" has been invoked on the plea of poverty.

Within the last forty years 2,000,000 acres of land have been reclaimed and rendered productive, which carries with it inestimable blessings. A slight decrease in crops has been far more than compensated for by a vast increase in stock raising. During the same period the manufacture of beer has increased more than threefold, and that of linen twelvefold. These are her two greatest industries. The mileage and returns of her railroads and also of her shipping have more than doubled.

Meanwhile wages have more than doubled, with a corresponding increase in the character of dwellings, clothing, and food; and under the National Educational Act, which she enjoyed before England herself and which was maintained out of England's treasury, her illiteracy has decreased 30 per cent. Pauperism, crime, and religious rancor have also notably subsided. And this progress has taken place not only with a constantly decreasing population, but in the presence of social revolution.

Taking the question, then, as a present question, is not Ireland receiving full justice and will not Home Rule stay this progress and endanger England? Is not the Union real and does it not hold a grand future for Ireland? You must see that there is no finality in Home Rule and that it settles no essential question of dispute, but awakens her bloody past with tenfold intensity. That sentiment which repealed the Penal Laws, enfranchised the Catholics, passed the Educational Act, granted Land Reform, and gives full and equal justice, is ready and willing to remove any abuse or grant any reform that would redound to the pros-

perity of Ireland. England granted three reforms to Ireland when she saw her statesmen insulted, her parliament degraded, her laws broken, and her existence threatened, proving that her heart might be won over and her affections enlisted with her interests in support of the unity, solidity, and prosperity of the British Empire.

Whatever may be the historic injuries, the imaginary wrongs, the sentimental longings for a free country, the final result towards the uplifting of man has been far greater coming from the British Empire, controlled by the noblest and freest race, carrying its institutions, its religion, and its life into the uttermost parts of the globe, and uniting them with the common cord of interest and the common chain of destiny around the "Sea-girt Isle" of Great Britain, and building there the grandest fortress of man and the noblest monument to God that the world has seen, far greater than could be coming from atoms separate and divided; and in no small measure the destiny of man depends upon the undivided strength and the unimpaired vigor of that engine for man and that agent of God.

#### SECOND SPEECH.

Numerous and sore have been Ireland's ills. In the early warlike history of Great Britain when she was building her nationality, struggling for liberty, and contending for a pure religion, when overrun by conquering races and torn asunder by rebellious factions, there were perpetrated crimes too black for my apology. We will not defend the conquests of Ireland, though willed by her clergy and rendered possible by her warring chiefs, and though England was conquered, too. We will not defend the Penal Laws and

Catholic disfranchisement, though England suffered them likewise. We will not defend the means of the Union, though rendered necessary as a means of self-protection, and though carried by Irish corruption and confirmed by the following Irish election.

It is not our purpose to justify England's conduct in the past, though provoked by Irish hostility and seconded by Irish treachery. It is not ours to discuss the present by the lurid glare of past revolution. But it is a condition that concerns us, and let us free ourselves of the eternal bondage of the past and in the light of today discuss a question of today.

We are not discussing the details of Gladstone's scheme, nor the theory of any man, but the advisability of Home Rule. The term is rather vague, but we mean that Ireland is to have control of her local affairs by means of her own Parliament, but is to remain subject to the Imperial Parliament, in which she is not to be represented, in all Foreign, Colonial, and Fiscal matters. Gladstone and the English claim that the veto power on certain lines of legislation should be reserved to the Crown, or virtually to the House of Commons; but Parnell and the Irish resent it and claim that Gladstone's scheme was not sufficient. But both agree that in case of any abuse of her power the Government reserves the right to interfere by force of arms, if necessary.

Any arrangement between the local and Imperial government, granting that it should be as clearly defined as that of our dual system of government, must have its dangers. Take the case of the New Orleans Massacre. Under our Constitution that is purely a State affair, and the national government has no right to interfere; but Italy looks to the United States for

redress, and we have the possibility of war because of the national government's inability to act. Similar cases have come very near embroiling us in foreign war, and notably that of the Caroline with England. Suppose Ireland a State with her turbulence and hatred of England; an Irish mob might convulse the Empire in war. But our dual system of government is not applicable to England and Ireland, for they can have no elaborately refined system of checks and balances. The local government has no representatives in the Imperial Parliament. There are but two parties, and they are hostile. Under their constitutional system the legislature is the government. Two legislatures under the same crown would be two governments, which in their present temper would almost certainly take different courses in peace and war, and the golden link of royalty would snap at the least friction.

There are for all practical purposes two Irelands, a Northeast and a Southwest Ireland; the one English, Protestant, and industrial; the other Irish, Catholic, and agricultural. In the Northeast the population is English and Scotch-Irish and over 90 per cent Protestant; in the Southwest one-third are pure Irish in race and speech, and the remainder are three-fourths Irish, called Anglo-Irish, and are 95 per cent Catholic. The industrial section comprises about one-third of the area and population, and considerably over one-third of the wealth of the whole island.

According to population the commercial is three times and the industrial class fifteen times as great in the East as in the West. Statistics show that the inhabitants of the West work but one-fifth of their time; but in the East the dockyards of Belfast, the third port

in the Kingdom, vie with those of the Clyde, and the foundries and linen manufactures of all Ulster rival those of Liverpool and Glasgow. In the West the people are content to multiply in such poverty that the failure of a single crop brings famine, grim and ghastly; but in the East the "clamorous iron of toil" and the "play of the hammer on the rivet" are the music of the early morn and quiet eve. The increase of population is twice as great in the West as in the East, and were it not for emigration the horrors of '46 and '47 would be constant. After forty years of equal educational advantages, illiteracy is 45 per cent and crime 35 per cent greater in the West than in the East. The reduction on rents has been greater in the West than in the East. But in the condition and character of the two peoples mentally, morally, and physically, ratios fail to express the glaring contrast. It is bad enough for this primitive Celt, this priest-ridden peasantry, this "waste and desert place," this "dark and comparatively uncivilized region," to handicap the acquired intelligence and business enterprise of Protestant Ulster in the Imperial Parliament; but in an Irish Assembly what would be the result? Men of the South, who know the Negro Question, men of the South, who recognize the necessity of white supremacy, see the quintessence of the issue, and in the present condition of the "Emerald Isle" recognize an exact parallel to the post-bellum South. The claims of the majority to rule are strong, but the fitness and character of that majority should not pass unheeded.

Does Ireland want Home Rule? All the Northeast section, numbering one-third of her population and over one-half of her intelligence and thrift, numbering in their ranks the descendants of Grattan's parliament

and O'Connell's faithful followers, bitterly oppose it. If her representatives were elected upon the Home Rule issue, and if her representatives were elected proportionately (for an Ulster member represents almost twice as many electors as a member from the West), and if intimidation and crime were suppressed, and were it not for American Fenianism, a majority of her votes would be cast for the Union. John Bright said that 44 of her 85 members who voted for Home Rule sat in Parliament on American boodle. All Irishmen who are capable of self-government do not desire Home Rule, and those who do desire it, desire it less than the approval of their respective chiefs.

What of Catholicism? Gladstone says: "A convert to Rome must sacrifice his moral and mental freedom and place his loyalty and civil duty at the mercy of another." With Home Rule any attempt by the Catholic majority, bound in the vice of Roman servility and gangrened by religious rancor, to establish their church or subsidize any of their numerous religious fraternities there, as they do elsewhere, would be met with armed resistance backed by England's aid. Of the 550 Protestant members of Ulster, Ireland, of whom 538 were followers of Gladstone before he allied himself with Parnell, thereafter only three gave him their support. Rome is politic enough to use Protestant leaders in a Protestant Parliament, but when her power becomes absolute who knows the result?

If there were no other consideration, the character of the Nationalist party forbids Home Rule. They opposed the Land Bill, giving Fixity of Tenure, Free Sale, and Fair Rent; they challenged the sincerity of the Government, and during its progress relaxed none of their efforts to damage its reception, and after its

final inscription upon the statute books are straining every nerve to insure its failure and to discredit its operation with the people of Ireland. Acting on the advice of its leaders, whose measures in Parliament have been obstruction, it has not scrupled to use vitriol and dynamite, the midnight brigand and the skulking assassin as the means of usurping the Queen's government, paralyzing land reform and rendering courts of justice impossible. This guerilla warfare under oath-bound secret societies, the Land League and National League, stimulating agrarian discontent to add fuel to political revolution, using the boycott to intimidate the weak and Fenianism to corrupt the avaricious, has secured a majority and now they will call it the voice of Ireland and the voice of God. These leaders, while rendering their followers as destitute of moral sense as the Bushmen of Africa, have banished capital, promoted idleness and unthrift, raised expectations that are doomed to disappointment, and have suggested no scheme of permanent improvement except confiscation, and have not taken under their patronage a single work of public usefulness or aided the revival of a single manufacturing industry. With this condition the loyal elements of Ireland appealed to England for a bill to protect life and property. It was passed temporarily under Gladstone's leadership; it restored order, it set up law, and was enforced by a police which was mainly Irish and was supported by England and was more orderly than that of England herself. And this they call Coercion. It was a removal of the real coercion, the Land League and American Fenianism. It was an act of humanity, an act of necessity, an act of justice.

Should this savage band of Celts, whose footprints



have been stained with blood and marked by ten thousand agrarian crimes, whose methods have been obstruction, dynamite, and blood, and whose present issue is a shame to a civilized community, on whose sabres flash vengeance to England, on whose crest, engraven by seven centuries of attempt, is traced the indelible truism, "Incapable of Self-Government," and on whose banner, sketched by lurid hand, gleams that awful motto: "The total independence of Ireland and the annihilation of England by any means whatever, is our goal." Shall this band, then, depraved and dangerous, be entrusted with the safety, the prosperity, and the liberties of five millions of the Queen's subjects, two millions of whom are good and loyal, and who bitterly oppose Home Rule?

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### THE EASTERN QUESTION

At the close of the Russo-Turkish War, when Russia, alone and unaided, had liberated the Christian Provinces from Turkish domination, she stipulated with Turkey the treaty of San Stefano, securing peace and liberty to the Christians; but England forced her to submit to the judgment of the European powers at the Congress of Berlin on the ground that the "concerns of Turkey are the common concerns of the powers of Europe acting in concert."

Having asserted this to the world, she secretly and in the darkness of night, while the Congress of Berlin was still sitting to determine these matters of common interest, while her ministers at this Congress were asserting that unless this principle was acted upon, they would go to war with the six million pounds which

Parliament had voted for that purpose—she at the same time concluded a separate agreement with Turkey under which those matters of European jurisdiction affecting Turkey were coolly transferred to English jurisdiction and the whole matter was sealed with the bribe of the possession and administration of the Island of Cyprus. Forbidding to Russia the right to negotiate with Turkey alone and deceiving the nations of Europe, she stealthily took it herself. Then came Great Britain to guarantee Turkish supremacy. In this act is selfishness, hypocrisy, and injustice; how can any good thing come from a source so corrupt and vile?

We have mainly to do with European Turkey, which numbers less than six million people, three-fourths of whom are Greeks, Armenians, Slavs—professing Christianity mainly of the Greek Church, but some of the Roman Church. The professors of Islamism number less than one-fourth in Europe and two-fifths in Asia, and the Turks or ruling class include less than one-twentieth of the whole population of the Turkish Empire. (These figures are taken from Freeman and a writer in the *Political Science Encyclopedia*.)

The interests of England and the interests of the English mean the same thing; the interests of France and the interests of the French mean the same thing; but the interests of Turkey and the interests of the Turks are two opposite things. Turkey does not mean that the people of the land are Turks, but that they are held in bondage by the Turks. The Turks are alien in race, in language, in religion, in historic memories, and in the commonest ideals and feelings from every nation of Europe and from the great majority of the people of Turkey. The Sultan, in whom are vested all

civil, military, and religious powers, is not a national sovereign, but the despotic chief of foreign oppressors. He gives his people no protection; therefore, they owe him no allegiance. He has no right over them unless there be right in brute force. They owe him no duties except the duty of ridding themselves of him as soon as possible. Whatever is good for the Turks is bad for Turkey and its people.

When the Goths and Vandals, the Angles and Saxons, the Gauls and Normans, even the Bulgarians and Hungarians spread desolation and death in their track, they mingled the strains of their blood with the blood of conquered races, and from the charred and smoking waste builded a nobler and grander civilization; but the Turks, after conquering the classic sites of Europe with their iconoclastic rage, without amalgamation or modification by environment, after five hundred years of corrupt and despotic rule, without creating one bond of national interest or feeling, still rule as an Eastern and Mohammedan stranger in the home of a Western and Christian people.

“Byzantines boast that on the clod  
Where once their Sultan's horse has trod,  
Grows neither grass, nor shrub, nor tree.”

Bare desolation and utter ruin are the lasting memorials of the Moslem power on the once fertile shore of the Levant. His government is not misgovernment—it is no government; it is organized brigandage which levies its remorseless blackmail on the traveling public. It is systematic oppression and plunder; it is a denial of the commonest rights of man. The path of foulest shame is the surest path to power; and the promises of the Sultan are made only to be broken.

Their taxation is unjust, their finances bankrupt, their coinage debased, their industry dead. Their whole civil and penal legislation, as well as the financial and commercial polity, is directly opposed to the best interests of three-fourths of the people.

The Turk is armed, the Christian is unarmed; the Turk rules, the Christian has to obey; the Turk sits in the so-called seats of justice and refuses to take the evidence of the Christian against the meanest Turkish criminal; the *Christian's* life and property, honor and family are at the mercy of every Turk to do with them as he chooses. Turkey has repeatedly violated the laws of nations, thus justly incurring the penalty of dismemberment.

As the centuries have gone by governmental policies have been modified and human rights recognized; but for five hundred years the Turkish Government has become worse and worse. Its spirit of conquest and fire of enthusiasm dead, internal corruption and wholesale oppression have gained ground. It has run its cycle of rise, perfection, and decline; and its naked trunk now only cumpers the ground of the earlier seats of Christianity and civilization with the broken fragments of an infidel and semi-barbarous empire. This stagnant, corrupt, and oppressive outer shell of Turkey, incasing three-fourths of the people, can never be reformed. Some Christian governments are bad, very bad; but law, order, and justice are never quite forgotten, and the worst of them are capable of reform. But the whole history and character of Turkey is against reform. She has made promises and contracts to reform, but only to be broken. Turkey, while ruled by the Mohammedan Turk, can never be a national government; his religion commands him to

conquer and reduce the Christian to bondage, and to-day the chief article of traffic in the Turkish Bazaar are human beings, and the house of nearly every Turk has its Christian slaves. But where the Christians rule the government can be national without oppressing the Mohammedans, as is the case under Great Britain and Russia. Upon the family as a unit of society rests individual liberty and social order, domestic felicity and virtue, national freedom and success; but where its head waters are poisoned by the sensualism of the Harem, the distortion of human slavery, and the blighting curse of polygamy, there is no hope of reform. In this age of rapid progress there is no hope for a State whose governmental and social system are taken directly from that immutable standard of fanaticism, the Koran. It is their Bible, their statute book, their encyclopedia, the manual of their life and learning. The theologian, the statesman, the lawyer, the physician, the warrior, the historian, the poet, the captain of the football team, and the dancing master—all must shape their creeds and actions after some cant, cast-iron phrase which was dictated twelve hundred years ago to a nomadic people by a fanatical camel-driver to be scratched on a mutton bone. The ceremonies of religion and the despotism of government have crushed the life and enthusiasm out of this people.

Since that barbaric wave of Saracen conquest broke, ebbed, and fled, Turkey has lost over three-fourths of her land and people; and every individual and every State freed from Turkish rule has become more progressive and more free. The high tide of religious fervor and the ground swell of self-government would sweep that ruling twentieth from the embattled ram-

parts of the Bosphorus did not the strong arm of England interpose. Other conquerors have sooner or later made their conquests lawful by giving the people a government; but the Turk came as a robber, and a robber he remains; five hundred years of rule by force and violence gives him no right to respect or protection.

England is maintaining this condition not only against every outside assailant for whatever cause, but against three-fourths of the people themselves, thus destroying every noble stimulus and increasing the habitual misgovernment. No matter how bad that government, no matter how great may be the growth of virtue, liberty, and intelligence among the people, no matter how great may be the disproportion in number between the rulers and the ruled, England is bound to maintain this foreign despotism of one-twentieth of the people intact. Every patriot, a Tell, a Mazzini, a Riego, a Rienzi, a Kossuth, a Bolivar, a Washington, in struggling for his country must strike, not upon a Turkish chain, for that of itself is a chain of sand, but upon England's mammoth power.

England may deny it, but in fact, she is acting upon the principle laid down by the treaty of Paris, that "she has no right to meddle with the relations of the Sultan with his subjects or with the interior administration of his Empire." That is to say, the Turk may rob, kill, mutilate, do what he pleases; she will not hinder him, but will send men and money to crush every rebellion and rout every attack made against his government. And this she has done repeatedly; she has prevented the English army from saving old men, women, and children from the rage of the Turk, and the "Bulgarian massacre," in which 15,000 persons were butchered, she calls a "mere incident," with which she has

nothing to do. In her eyes pecuniary interests and abstruse political policies are above the interests of humanity and the rights of human nature. We are not contending for the dismemberment of Turkey, or its annexation to Russia. If Turkey's nationality is necessary for England's interests and the peace of the world, let this Christian majority rule, and let England maintain that supremacy if she chooses, or let her take the government in hand as she has done that of Egypt. The Turk need not be expelled or exterminated; let him remain on a common footing, but he must not govern or oppress the majority.

Gladstone says that the only way to do any permanent good for the Christian provinces is to turn the Turkish officials, "bag and baggage," out of them. . . .

Wheaton says: "The principle of interference is authorized where the general interests of humanity are infringed by the excesses of a barbarous and despotic government." And he gives as an instance the Ottoman Empire. Speaking of the reasons for the interference in favor of the Greeks, he says: "Its principle was fully justified by the great paramount law of self-preservation. 'Whatever a nation may lawfully defend for itself, it may defend for another people if called upon to interpose.' Interference may therefore be safely rested upon this ground alone." This principle once asserted and acted upon by England, France, and Russia, in the case of Turkey, is still recognized and studiously observed by Russia, France, and the liberal, progressive, and conscientious element in England herself. These four million Christians in Europe, three-fourths of the people, who receive no protection from their foreign oppressors, and therefore owe no allegiance, who are native in that



country and struggling like their neighbors for independence, have by this law, the rule of the majority and the rights of human nature, a sacred right to nationality and self-government; and because of geographical position, community of religious feeling and to some extent of race, these people, having been refused and bitterly opposed by England, have invited their sympathizers from the North to aid them. Therefore Russia is justified in attempting to liberate this people. If these sufferers by themselves are, with the aid of Russia, justified in throwing off the Turkish yoke, then England cannot be justified in maintaining Turkish supremacy. There cannot be two rights directly opposite; there is but one right, and that right is with the suffering majority.

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#### A BRIEF REVIEW OF SCHOLASTICISM, HISTORICAL AND CRITICAL

Ancient Philosophy may be said to have disappeared in 529 A. D., when the Athenian schools were closed by order of Justinian.

Hitherto Christian thought had been confined to the systematical arrangement of theological dogmas. A few theologians, however, as Augustine, had brought in elements of philosophical discussion.

After the settlement of the barbarian races, their conversion to Christianity, and the organization of the Western Empire under Charlemagne, that able monarch, desirous of attracting scholars from Ireland and Britain to his cause, in 787 A. D., decreed the establishment of schools in connection with every abbey of his realms.

Schools were established and flourished at the Palace at Lyons, Orleans, St. Denis, Rheims, Paris, Tours and various other places; these became the centers of Mediæval learning and gave the name of scholasticism to the world.

The educational curriculum of the Middle Ages consisted of the Trivium of arts: grammar, logic and rhetoric, and the Quadrivium of the sciences: arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, and music. Logic, however, soon became the one absorbing study.

The limits of Scholasticism are confined to the period running from the ninth to the fifteenth centuries, though most active during the twelfth and thirteenth. Realism was the first to gain importance, but the contest closed with conceptualism in the lead. During the Thirteenth Century the scholastics acquired a knowledge of Greek; and gained access to many philosophical writings before unknown, chief of which were those of Aristotle. The discussion of the scholastics long remained unnoticed in the obscurity of the schools, having no connection with questions of religion and politics. It was not till the Eleventh Century that Nominalism entered the lists of scholasticism. By the middle of the Twelfth Century, Logic had lost most of its interest, and the historical compilers superseded philosophers and theologians.

Strictly speaking, Mediæval thought is confined to the logic of Aristotle and the theology of the church. Scholasticism begins in discussion of Aristotle's logic; it soon applies its logical methods and distinction to its treatment of theology. But the conflict did not originate in this attempt of logic to extend its system to theology so much as the belief that scholasticism absorbed time and ability which might be better employed in

the service of the church. It was the excitement attending this attempt to apply logical methods to theological mysteries, and the heterodox conclusion which were its earliest fruits, that gave scholasticism its prime importance during the Middle Ages.

The inestimable result of this extension of logical method to theology was that the systems of the church were rationalized or Aristotle's logic was Christianized.

The scholastics were ingenious commentators and acute critics of Aristotle; but they did not dare go beyond the limits of his systems or investigate nature for themselves. Realism was thus subordinated to faith.

The question which agitated alike the universities, the church, and the politics of Europe for centuries; which in varying forms was waged both with the pen and sword; and which awaiting any final settlement, is still earnestly debated by dialecticians and scientists—concerns the nature of genera and species and their relation to the individual.

Realism and Nominalism, the two opposing theories, express at bottom "the radical divergence of pantheism and individualism—the two extremes between which philosophy seems pendulum-wise to oscillate, and which may be said still to avoid their perfect reconciliation." The text of this discussion, at first a question of logic, is found in the Introduction to Aristotle by Porphyry, a Neoplatonist. This text dealt with the nature of genera and species.

Roscelinus, the founder of Nominalism proper, in propounding the tritheistic view of the Trinity as a natural result of his theory, whereby unless we say the three Persons are one thing, in which case Father, Son, and Holy Ghost must have been incarnate as one—

then we ought to speak of three Gods—caused Realism to take shape according to the theories of Anselm and William of Champeaux. Hereafter the question at issue is more accurately defined. Because of the heretical conclusion involved in Nominalism as set forth by Roscelinus, Realism becomes recognized for several centuries as the orthodox creed of Philosophy. Along with the doctrine of the Trinity and the Incarnation that of Transubstantiation and the Eucharist were much discussed. Some sects as Unitarians, etc., and many theological doctrines owe their origin to this period of dispute.

The difficulties of Realism, brought out by an explicit statement and by the criticism of Abelard, led to numerous attempts to reach some more satisfactory formula. Thereupon the theory of "Indifference" sprung up—this marked a gain for Nominalism, as it surrenders the substantiality of universals. At this time there were about thirteen different views on the question of universals—in this list are all shades of opinion, from extreme Nominalism to extreme Realism. This seems to show that there was no hard line of division between the disputants for any length of time. It also suggests the belief that there was a grain of truth in all the beliefs, but much error in all, as well.

Abelard, successively the pupil of Roscelinus and William of Champeaux, and a very able dialectician, came forward as a severe critic of his masters' doctrines. His views were those commonly known as Conceptualism, or a *via media* between the extremists of either side. He maintained that genera and species which are predicated of individual subjects are not things or substances, and that this is true however real the facts

may be which are designated by the specific and generic names. Or, as one puts it, "Only individuals exist, and in the individual nothing but the individual." By laying stress not on the mere *word*, but on the *thought* which the word is intended to convey, he rescued his theory from the fortunes of extreme Nominalism and gained for it that of Conceptualism. He combated the Tritheism of Roscelinus, contending that the three Persons were three aspects or attributes of the Divine Being. His opinions were held by the more strict churchmen as the rash intrusion of an over-confident Rationalism. The Rationalistic tendency was identified with the Nominalists because they were the immovable.

Early in the Thirteenth Century the doctrinal orthodoxy became disturbed and many mystical heresies sprang up—all due to the introduction of new philosophical writings through the Arabs. These called forth the condemnation of several provincial councils; but a closer study of Aristotle by Albertus Magnus, Thomas Aquinas and others, sufficed to replace him in a position of unquestionable supremacy.

The Mendicant friars first, and then the Dominicans, now came forward as the chief teachers of Christian learning and faith. About the close of this century the intellectual horizon was extended. The nature of universals was no longer discussed so much from a logical or metaphysical point of view, but becomes more of a psychological question. Other questions, as the elements of substance, the principle of individualism, the origin of ideas, etc., now claim attention. Albertus and Aquinas discussed the question of universals, but it was no longer the center of speculation;

its form now being that of the principle of individualism.

The great opponent and critic of Aquinas was Duns Scotus, who had less confidence in the power of reason than his opponent. He strengthened Theology by maintaining that, the creation of the world was nothing, the immortality of the soul, etc., was as capable of philosophical proof. Thus unconsciously his criticism hastened disintegration by partially restoring the dualism between faith and reason which scholasticism had labored so hard to destroy. They differed over the freedom of the will—Aquinas tending towards Rationalism, Scotus towards Skepticism. Scotus also attacked the Thomist doctrine of individualism.

So bitter and extensive was this rivalry that at the opening of the Fourteenth Century the Thomists and Scotists divided the philosophical and theological world between them. The disappearance of scholasticism is preceded by the temporary revival of Nominalism in a somewhat different form under William of Oecom, who claims that everything that exists is individual and that this is proven by the bare fact of its existence. He heralded the dissolution of scholasticism by his severance of philosophy and theology—greatly extending the doctrine of Duns Scotus. At first this Nominalistic tendency was limited; but it soon spread on all sides. The end of scholasticism came both from within and from without. At the beginning of the Fifteenth Century mysticism still existed in Germany; but the different characters and tongues of European nations were now beginning to assert their marked individuality; and men's highest interests ceased to be ecclesiastical, so the essence of scholasticism, as well as its field of activity, was gone.

The three principal doctrines contained in scholasticism may be thus briefly stated:

1. Realism, which originated with Plato, is the doctrine that the universal determines the individual, and was expressed in the phrase, "universalia ante rem." It maintained that classes, genera, species, etc., are *things*, not mere *names*; that in the region of external existence there is a something which corresponds to our idea of *man*, *horse*, etc.—distinct from the individuals John, William, and black and white horse; that the idea exists before the individuals, and gives form and shape to them. The position of Realism as stated by Plato is as follows: "The idea of a thing is that which makes one of the many; which presumes the unity and integrity of its own nature runs through and mixes with things infinite in number; and yet, however multi-form it may appear, is always the same;" also that of every species there is an archetype or exemplar which shapes the individuals, and that this idea has existed from all eternity.

We fail to see how all the individuals of any class can share its one common nature; for what is unity and incapable of division cannot be shared by an indefinite number of individuals. Our general notions are confined to individuals of which we have knowledge; but there could not be the limits if there were an objective essence to give form and shape to the individuals.

2. Nominalism, in opposition to Realism, contended that the individual determined the universal; and was expressed in the phrase, "universalia post rem." It held that the general had no objective existence; that genera, species, etc., are *names* only; and that the name is a common sign which can be applied to any



number of images which correspond to concrete examples which we have seen. As to Nominalism as the doctrine that there is nothing universal but names, and that we must invent names for such classes as we choose to put together, and consequently that Logic is nothing more than simple addition and subtraction of names—we answer that the truthfulness or falsity of propositions would then depend on arbitrary agreements among men about words. This seems too absurd to admit. Species and genera exist in nature, however dim may be the distinction, and science is not mere naming; nor is truth mere truth of words—justice, ferocity, cruelty, etc., are something more than nominal distinctions; here conscience and experience have erected some real distinctions.

Nominalists would say in reading a book without names of individual objects (which is common enough) that there is nothing before the mind except mere words. This view seems absurd also. Nominalists claim that we cannot form general ideas as that of *horse*, because horses possess contradictory attributes, as white, black, large, small, blind horses; but these attributes are not the essential parts. There is more in horses that is common to them all and which enables us to form horses into a class, than there is which differs in every individual horse.

But there is some truth in Nominalism when we use words for thoughts; or signs in Geometry and Algebra to represent all possible signs of that particular kind. This power is often very valuable as a depository for thought.

3. Conceptualism, or the view held by Aristotle, maintains that each exists in the other and is thus expressed, “*universalia in re.*” It maintains that in addi-

tion to the mind's power of forming images of individual things, general notions, and abstract ideas, by the representation of the attribute which many individuals have in common. In reply to this, however, Nominalists urge that general names are only the images of individual objects formed by concentrating the attention to particular characteristics denoted by general names. As to conceptualism it seems to contain a still greater amount of truth, though not without its difficulties.

It seems that the mind can conceive any number of individuals as a single class, and that general names suggest certain ideas or mental pictures, otherwise it would be impossible to use those general names with a clear understanding of their meaning. This idea, which is called up by a general name, contains the different circumstances in which all the individuals denoted by the name agree, and no others.

Whenever we think or reason about a class we do so by means of this general idea. Evidently some idea or mental conception is suggested by a general name, when we have it or use it with an understanding of a meaning. This is the general idea.

Our cognitive faculties are not limited to our senses and imagination; if they were, then our knowledge would be confined to individuals; and we should be unable to form general ideas, nor should we have general names for such ideas. But the understanding, after comparing particulars and observing relations between them, forms classes to which we give general names. The idea called up by "wrong" or "right" may not be cognizant to the sense or imagination, still it is thoroughly understood by the intellect. Individuals are limited to space and time and cannot be imag-

ined out of their own places; but the general idea of *man* is confined to no particular race, country, or year, so this idea seems to be reached by a process of abstraction.

The mind seems to be able to consider such quality by itself and abstracted from all others, and by that means forms abstract ideas.

The mind seems capable of forming ideas of color, shape, movement, etc., qualities of an object separate from the object, though it is impossible for these qualities to exist separate from the object to which they belong. This is done by abstraction evidently.

The mind can thus frame for itself a general idea of color, shape, etc., distinct from all the particular colors, shapes of the object observed, by carefully noting what is common to all and what distinguishes them one from another.

Thus by a process of abstraction we fix the mind on the circumstances in which a number of individuals are found to agree or resemble each other; and then by a process of generalization we arrange them according to this common circumstance into classes to which we give a common name.





## Introduction to the Writings and Speeches of John Eller

For most of the writings of John Eller no apology would need to be made from the standpoint of composition if all of them were complete. He loved to write as well as he loved to speak; and in his mind the two were closely associated. His writings have much of the fire and enthusiasm of the debater, with perhaps an occasional overuse of the rhetoric of the orator; and his best speeches have much of the ease and elegance of more finished writing. His fondness for writing, combined with the fact that he lived through his senior year—the most productive period in the life of a college man—accounts for the slight preponderance of his writings over those of his brother.

“Man’s Inhumanity to Man” was written for the contest for the Mangum Medal for Oratory at the Commencement of 1896. As in the case of “Institutions the Result of Growth,” the choice of the subject was the result of work done in the preparation of a thesis. The subject of the thesis was, “What Is Morality?” Being intensely interested in the subject, the writer decided to construct an oration out of the material he had collected. “Morality and Life” was the title of this oration as first written; but being dissatisfied with it, he decided to write another. He had discovered that “there is nothing more difficult than the transformation of a thesis, the aim of which is to prove, into an oration, the aim of which is to move.” It was found very desirable to include egoism as well as altruism in a popular discussion of morality. Ac-

cordingly the oration was re-written with many additions and alterations, and entitled, "Man's Inhumanity to Man." The thesis is printed in this volume not only because of its close relation to the oration, but because of its power of thought and expression. It throws much light also upon the thoroughness with which its author performed his college class work.

"A Plea for American Commerce" was spoken in the inter-society contest at the Commencement of 1894, while the speaker was still a Sophomore. Readers will find it instructive to compare this oration with that spoken at Commencement two years later, noting the improvement in language and thought in spite of the excellence of the earlier oration.

The debate opposing rigid party organization was written for the inter-society debate on March 4, 1895.

The second speech of the debate (incomplete) opposing the tendency towards centralization in the National Government was delivered in the best debater's contest in the Di Society held on April 19, 1895. The manuscript is written in pencil and is incomplete.

The article on "The Origin and Rise of Government" is evidently a thesis; for what course it was written and when, cannot now be ascertained; but it is so clear and convincing a treatment of a much discussed subject that we include it here, believing it worthy of preservation.

The next article, which is printed from a manuscript written in pencil, is the first or second draft of a speech delivered before the trustees at Raleigh in behalf of the non-fraternity men of the University. It is included here because it is so sane and clear an exposition of the grounds of those who led the anti-fraternity fight. The spirit of the whole discussion is



admirably conservative and the thought thoroughly mature.

The articles written for the "White and Blue" were, of course, written for temporary ends in moments snatched from college studies, and should not be judged as articles written for a college magazine of high literary standards.

Of the two poems included in this collection, the first was printed in the "White and Blue" for September 21, 1894, and signed "Carlton, '96." The second is found on an undated sheet of writing paper with "J. C. Eller, '96," signed at the bottom of the page.

The next piece of writing is untitled, undated, and incomplete. It seems probable that it is the first draft of the essay with which John won the Essayist's Medal. The manuscript, which is written in pencil, is broken in at least two places. We print it here because of its many excellent passages and the splendid sentimentality which it contains. We entitle it *Modern Chivalry*.

The Class Farewell was delivered at the close of the Commencement of 1896. It forms a fitting conclusion to the life and writings of a noble character and a gifted intellect.

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### MAN'S INHUMANITY TO MAN

Man's inhumanity to man has caused countless millions to mourn. Man's humanity to man shall cause countless millions to be glad. Chastened in the valley of the shadow, oft bathed in blood and blinded by tears, mankind has ever scaled a loftier height of freedom and caught a clearer view of the world.

The drama of universal history acted through the

ages in the tragic strife of races, has ever had for its leading thought the relation of man to man.

In the distant dawn of the world the formula of this problem was uttered when the first murderer, stained with the blood of his bosom brother, in the guilt and anguish of his stricken soul, cried aloud to his Creator: "Am I my brother's keeper?"

In the fiery furnace of his impassioned heart was forged the burning thought that has seared its way through the tortuous grooves of man's institutions and left its stamp on all his workmanship.

Deep-graven on the human heart there lives the immortal law of individual right and the enduring ordinance of social duty. The imperfect attainment of their true harmony is traced in the long record of man's inhumanity to man; its ideal hope is enshrined in the vision of world-wide peace.

Whenever these twin-born principles of right and duty are distraught by the strain of selfishness, then breeds the violent brood of strife and spreads on earth an Inferno of infinite suffering, a hell of human hate. The French people, in their furious, frenzied zeal, sowed the dragon's teeth of vengeful hate and reaped a harvest of terror. Like the deadly tread of Attila, whose fated footfall left a baneful blight where'er it pressed, man's inhumanity to man has spread its desolation where life, liberty, and love were wont to reign. Everywhere and at all times its presence has palsied and its touch destroyed.

The human race has trod a long and weary way. Like a vast caravan, forever on the march, it often seems to encamp for centuries; to halt at some great oasis of ease, where the siren song of luxury lures away the heroism of man as the mighty hosts of Han-

nibal were weakened by the sweet languor of the Capuan air.

But human progress never goes backward. "All that was deeply good and truly great in the workmanship of the past, though shattered into inchoate fragments, ever incarnates itself anew and lives still in the freer life and broader character of the world." The golden deeds of the past were "stepping stones to nobler heights. They are the setting of the diamond, the Time-vesture of the Eternal." As long as "every human heart is human," it will leap to life in the martyrdom of Socrates; it will thrill in the courage of Columbus; it will swell with joy at the heroism of the truth-loving Luther. Our pulses beat with pride in the heritage of glory bequeathed us by the faithful fathers of our revolution and our intrepid brothers who followed the knightly Lee and his stern victor to the last sad tragedy at Appomattox.

The cloud-capped summit of Mitchell's Mount will ever stand, an eternal tribute to the heroic service of its hapless discoverer. In these and a thousand more deeds of devotion there lives the deathless inspiration of human hope and courage. Through the heritage of human heroism and the energy of dauntless deeds, has been wrought the splendor of the modern world and garnered the glory of our civilization.

But luminous as is our century's life with the glowing light of progress, it still holds its myriad wrongs. Even the higher races of men drain the energy of their life-blood in the wasting conflict of war or the maintenance of military standards. Russia rests on a volcano of pent-up Nihilism, Germany rocks in the quaking throes of socialistic thought; Spain staggers to her fall in intoxicated folly of mediæval tyranny. Eng-

land secures her bonds and collects her usury by means of fleets and armies, stationed at every gateway of the Orient. Across the horizon of Europe there lowers the endless Eastern question, portentous of strife and angry with the jargon of religions, the raillery of races, and the jealousy of powers.

The assassin Turk traces his red-handed carnage across the defenseless land of Armenia. God-fearing and Godforsaken people, brothers to us in race and religion since the ark rested on thy topmost crag, every flood tide of human conquest has beat hard against thy mountain walls. Since Xerxes shook thy plains with the tread of his marching millions, and the crusader yielded his life to rescue the shrine of our Saviour, thy land has been the battlefield of contending nations and the gateway of migrating races. Unhappy people, thy heartrending wail may well startle the despot and touch to tenderness and tears the swelling heart of the Western World. But thy wrongs must endure till another, a wiser, a holier crusade of Christian charity shall wrest again and forever hold those lands that gave birth to truth.

Here in beloved America, we must make the sad confession of man's inhumanity to man. The industrial warfare, that dealt disaster at Homestead and Pullman, unless dispelled by the warm breath of reform, will lay our land in waste and rend its happiness in twain.

At this moment our fellow countrymen are borne down with the problem of gold and silver. The greed of gain has thrust its hawklike hand between these twin-born and necessary servants of commerce, heedless of the injustice done and forgetful that it is no less dishonest to demand the dearest dollar, than it is to pay the cheapest. Our daily practice makes a mock-

ery of our daily prayer: "Forgive us our debts as we forgive our debtors." The American people in the ridiculous paradox of public opinion, crush the practice of anarchy as a political crime, but in the industrial world foster it as a virtue.

But industrial inhumanity is not all. The moral sense of the nation, hypnotized with selfish fear, hears with little heed the Cuban cry for liberty. Like the poor and starving Lazarus, begging before the palatial door of Dives, prostrate Cuba is at our gate beseeching us in the affluence of our wealth and freedom to grant the gift of a paltry crumb of service. Shall the crime of our indifference or the glory of our support take its place on the page of this tragic struggle? Proud and imperious Spain! Though thy mariners gave the world's map a hemisphere and won domain o'er the wave and the Western World, their task was done when they had found a home for liberty. The irony of fate, the motto of thy prime, "*Ne plus ultra*," was prophetic of thy future. For *thee* there is no more beyond. As thy bloody drama in the New World opened with the crimes of Cortez and Pizarro, so it closes with the inhuman butcheries of a Weyler. An impotent world awaits to applaud as the curtain falls on this last and final act, intent to swell the gladsome climax: "*Cuba is free.*"

"In this sordid age, when the purple of royalty bows to the yellow crest of Mammon, when the mark of merit is the measure of the purse," we need the moral might of *true men*; men not laden with title nor opulent in wealth, but strong in the strength of freedom and rich in human sympathy; men, who can lock arms with the lordliest, stand breast to breast with the mightiest, and amid figures grown colossal with wealth and full-

ness, touch the shoulder of endeavor with the accolade of honor, lift patriotism above party and principle above price. Men, such as these, imbued with the spirit of Monroe, can give to our restless people another "Era of good feeling" and establish our nation as an exemplar and arbiter for the Republics of the Western World.

As the resistless rush of mighty Niagara would be void of its splendor and bereft of its beauty without the silvery spray that crowns its crest, so will our great nervous civilization lose its vital beauty without the lovely spirit of Christian humanity. The title of our freedom, fixed in the enchanted parchment of the Constitution, can be held only at the price of eternal vigilance. Let us hearken, then, to the angel-whisperings of conscience and the loud acclaim of history, as they repeat to us the eternal accents of the moral law.

Too much has our life been measured by a theory of rights, regardless of a confession of duties. The loveliness of life is too often lost in the search for the means of living. The greatness of a nation is not in the phosphorescent glare of its battlefields nor in the Golgothas sown with the trophies of inhuman triumph. It is in the strength of its manhood and the purity of its life.

Though the roar and rush of our vast machinery should silence the music of the spheres and our wealth were worth the world, its power cannot frighten history nor forbid Eternal Justice to write with fiery finger on the walls of our institutions: "Weighed in the balances and found wanting." The bulwarks of the commonwealth must be girded with the resistless



splendor of the moral law and fortified by a virtuous citizenship.

And we shall win. There is lit within the window of humanity's soul a spirit that shall make the glooms of its morning the glory of its prime. Dowered with a destiny of divine promise, man shall ever enhance his heritage by deeds of devotion and the Golden Rule shall yet reign supreme as the basal law of human life, the rich revelation that crowns the freedom of man.

Despite the long record of man's inhumanity to man, this closing century is strewn with many holy traces of Christian service. The abolition of slavery, the growth of popular freedom, the impulse for missions, the benevolence of philanthropy, the growing demand for arbitration—these and much more are prophetic tokens of the approach of another century clad in the white splendors of perpetual peace.

It is the glory of the Anglo-Saxon that he leads in the van of higher morals. He renounced the way of human slavery and the world is walking in his path. Wherever on the dim border of the globe there is a haven or harbor, it is flecked with the white wings of his sail. Where'er he goes the fragrance of his presence lingers in the peace offerings of his civilization.

Meet it is that the closing century should be crowned with the peace-victories of arbitration. The eternal searchlight of truth has revealed the majesty of peace and flashed afar the beauty of its works. The sword, which was never more than a hideous gleam in the darkness, must rust in the relic chamber of the race. May the consummation of the grand scheme of English arbitration call forth for a second time the electric bolt of the Atlantic cable, as it pulsates the wondrous



message: "What hath God wrought," throughout the oozy dungeons of the rayless deep. The English race needs no Isle of Delos whereon to gather for the glad intercourse of fellowship, nor any Temple of Janus, with closed gates, to tell the short intervals of peace. Let it register in the azure infinitude of heaven the sacred vow of justice, a flaming beacon to light the world to the sure and unsullied civilization "toward which the whole creation moves."

About the river of human life there is a wintry wind: it is the chilling blast of man's inhumanity to man. But on its billowy surface there ever gleams the glad radiance of a God-given sunshine: it is the glowing promise of man's humanity to man. And as sure as God reigns and His purpose lives, the stream of human progress flows onward to the eternal haven of universal peace forever guarded by the sacred citadel of truth.

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### WHAT IS MORALITY

From that remote time when God spoke to the first man and asked, "Where art thou?" and to the first murderer and demanded, "Where is thy brother?" the most practical and immediate interest for man has ever been his relation to man. Throughout all the succession of human-tide, the question has ever become more imperative, "Am I my brother's keeper?" And to us this question is propounded with greater emphasis than ever before.

We are living at the high-tide of human history. Never before, it is believed, has there been such far-reaching human intercourse, such surging interest throughout the great deep of human life, such world-

wide complexity and intricate inter-dependence of human relationship. The phenomenal achievements of material civilization, the stupendous conquests of environment, the growth of scientific knowledge—these and many more influences have profoundly touched the widening world of ethics. Indeed, our age, more than any preceding it, may well be termed the Ethical Era; for its most pervasive interest clings around the relation of man to man. Its life is busied with the complex problems of human relationship.

The relation of man to man is the human problem, ever recurring for solution wherever man exists. It is the question, What is Morality, and it is this wide significance it has for mankind that gives it its vast philosophical import.

To discover the truth and meaning of this relationship, we must first necessarily make an analysis of the moral consciousness, which underlies all human relations or moral deeds. In such an analysis we discover that the latent moral consciousness is composed of a complex mental content about the self, other selves, and the mutual relation between the two terms. Every moral consciousness has this constitution, else what would be the significance in calling the deed, which it directs, moral? For moral is applied to the relations existing between men.

Moreover, these elements are present in all moral volition. We cannot think without terms standing in relation, and without thought this consciousness is inconceivable. This fundamental basis of the character of the moral consciousness tells us that man cannot escape the responsibility of moral life.

While these elements of the moral consciousness are constant, moral action is ever particular and changing.

The moral act necessarily varies as the content of the elements of the moral consciousness changes. But the consciousness in its general aspect is universal. While moral activity is as varied in concrete expression as humanity itself, still the moral consciousness is as universal as man. It is one and fundamental. Thus we make the distinction: Moral action is the conscious response of the self to the mutual inter-dependence of the self and other selves; the moral consciousness is the recognition of the reality of the self and other selves as moral, and their relationship.

So it would seem that this consciousness must be continuous from the birth of self-consciousness, though probably at first so vague as to evade discovery. The very idea of self implies that of not-self. Self sees its existence in the mirror of externality. It learns to know itself by interpreting the outer and makes itself intelligible only by objectification.

The birth of morality comes as a natural consequence in every individual life and in the life of every race. There is a time for each when it is not existent—its potentiality is not recognized—it has not yet arrived at this stage of self-realization.

This consciousness seems to arise out of the life of physical want and necessity. The vague and self-less mist of consciousness which prefaces the beginning of human being is but a bundle of physical wants. It simply responds to sensations and seeks to retain its passive pleasure by the removal of impending pain. In this vague activity for self-preservation the self is restricted by repetition of response and established by persistent habit, at last gaining a fixed standing point, where the ego feels itself a reality and distinct from an external world.

This, in general, then, is the birth of self-consciousness and with it of other-consciousness. But the moral consciousness as such is not yet awakened. It still slumbers, but it stirs with trembling life in this first stage of its nativity. The content is physical. The self is felt as a mere something and all else is a mass of things, looked upon as legitimate prey for self-gratification. Still in this stage we may trace the rudiments of morality, an embryonic ethics. It is the biological function of all physical life both to seek nutrition of self and reproduction of self for other selves. Here we may see the dim basis for the conscious struggle for life and for the life of others. "These two functions run their parallel course—or spiral course, for they continuously intertwine—from the very dawn of life. They are involved in the fundamental nature of protoplasm itself." (Drummond: *Ascent of Man*, p. 13). This stage is the animal stage of being. Trace its growth a step higher and the content of the consciousness has filled—reason has dawned—animal has become man—and man has become moral. The primal instinct laid the track for reflection and thought analyzed and synthesized the realities and relations, at first discovered by feeling. The truer nature of self appears. It is not merely a physical, self-asserting atom. It is moral and social. Through the growth of reason the nature of the other self has changed into persons as well as things. As Emerson pointed out, "Persons are love's world," and this distinction suggests the whole scope of morality.

This distinction in the content of consciousness is at once operative in the self. The common nature and kinship of self and other persons (at first limited in number and range) are perceived. "As in water, face

answereth to face, so the heart of man to man." It is the objective image of the nature sleeping within us, that wakes it up and startles it into self-knowledge. The living exhibition in another of higher affections than we have known, far from remaining unintelligible to us, is the grand means of spiritual culture, the quickener of conscience, and the opener of new faith. The natural language of every passion of which we are susceptible speaks to us with a marvellous magic and calls up fresh islands and provinces of consciousness where there was a blank before." (Martineau: *Types of Ethical Theory*, Vol. 2, p. 63).

The conscious ministration of others to the self reveals the fact that it has rights and the inseparable thought simultaneously appears that to these others it owes duties. Then, right and duty stand as the necessary counterpart of each other. The ethical, the moral consciousness has been born.

"Thus man beginning as a percipient consciousness, apprehending single objects in space and time, and as an appetitive self bent upon single gratification, has ended as a rational being—a consciousness purged of its selfishness and isolation, looking forward openly and impartially on the universe of things and being. He has ceased to be a mere animal, swallowed up in the moment and the individual, seeing his intelligence only in selfish satisfaction. He is no longer bound down by the struggle for existence, looking on everything as a mere thing, a mere means. He has erected himself above himself and his environment." (Wallace: *Fourth Introductory Essay to Hegel's Philosophy of Mind*, p. 172).

The ethical sense thus born changes according to its content. Development, education, evolution, civiliza-

tion or whatever else we choose to call the process of self-realization is dependent largely upon this moral content. But the moral content no less depends upon environment and education. At first the reason sees the self in kinship with but a small and limited circle. Its growth widens until at last all mankind and even all nature is comprehended. Reason at last gains the intuition of the unity of the world, and "One touch of nature makes the whole world kin." "In historical development a relentless logic is at work leading sympathy to conquer not only personal egoism, but also the egoism of family and of nation and creed. Impartial knowledge works into the hands of widest sympathy and both come to a stop only at natural boundaries." (Hoffman: *Outlines of Psychology*, p. 256).

The movement has thus been one of self-realization. Having the moral law written on his heart, man instinctively reaches after its realization in the attitude of Good Faith, with which he enters the world. But this instinct is only an impelling force. It needs guidance and this alone is reached through experience, through knowledge. Thus the true moral consciousness is a fusion of knowing and feeling. Feeling supplies the dynamic energy; knowing furnishes the agency for application. The proper adjustment of the two gives the fullest volition, the highest morality. The relation in which we stand to our fellowmen is twofold: attraction and repulsion. "The element of attraction we call love; that of repulsion constitutes the element of individuality. The attraction is the impulse of the reason, which feels the fundamental unity of all life. The repulsion corresponds with the understanding, which separates one life from all others. This twofold instinct teaches us to seek the good of



others and to leave them their freedom. Experience alone can teach us what is for their good, and how much freedom may be allowed to each and at the same time the freedom of all be preserved." (Everitt: *Science of Thought*, p. 151).

Thus we have seen the birth and growth of the moral sense. In the large or small, man begins as a physical being and his civilization is marked in large degree by the standard of his morality. The basement of his being is darkened by selfish animality and it is only when he looks out through the spiritual attitude of his nature that he begins truly to realize himself, assume his true freedom, and recognize the divine goodness of the world. The process is distinctively one of evolution.

Morality, then, is the universal of man. It is so because it is human. Based in feeling, discovered in knowing, directed in willing, it permeates at once the whole tissue of human consciousness. And it is this universality that gives to it its deepest meaning and most significant interpretation. Man is moral because he must be. Unless he be either a brutish beast or a guileless god, it is an unavoidable necessity. He is built on the moral plane and cannot escape it. Thus morality is life. It is a fundamental, universal, and persistent human attribute.

Like life, morality is the struggle of the individual to become the universal. This is the formula of life (Everitt: *Science of Thought*, p. 106), and therefore of morality. The individual man is self-limited, but he holds the potential universal within him. The estrangement of self and realization of the universal is therefore the established line of life. Man is an individual, but he is more than an individual.



He gets his existence by relation to other and richer realities. A self-sufficient individual is inconceivable. The moral sense demands the individual in relation with other individuals. The self becomes a deeper reality in proportion as it establishes its connection with society and humanity. Thus great men are always those who fulfill in some way the unattained yearnings of humanity. They simply interpret the deeper truths of life and bring to light those things that touch to enthusiasm the common nature of mankind. The insight of genius, as Carlyle puts it, is "a co-operation with the real tendency of the world." The hermit and misanthrope are moral and social paradoxes. They are types of inhumanity. In the words of Professor Peabody, of Harvard, "True liberty is the discovery of one's place in the universal organism." Thus it must be clear that man is related to man in the widest sense, if he would only realize it. Humanity has a common nature which commands the voluntary response of our sympathies. And this in turn reveals to us the end and law of our conscious activity and being.

We have before us, then, in morality, two terms: Self and other-self. I and thou are in relation and by that relation my rights are thy duties; my duties are thy rights. Thus each term has its own claim and validity. From the standpoint of either term there are two aspects which indicate the whole sphere of ethical volition. The one regards the self as the center of all reality and the cynosure of all duty; the other, losing sight of self, regards the fellow-self as the central reality and the one demanding service. One aspect gives rise to selfish motives; the other to motives of goodwill and sympathy. "One begets competition,

self-assertion, war ; the other, unselfishness, self-effacement, peace." (Drummond: *Ascent of Man*, p. 19). Egoism is the term which stands for the impulses of self ; Altruism is applied to the motives which aim to secure the good of others.

Thus the duality of the moral life is apparent. "It is the essential nature of myself, as finite, equally to assert and, at the same time, to pass beyond itself ; and hence the objects of self-sacrifice and of self-advancement are equally mine." (Bradley: *Appearance and Reality*, p. 417). There are two elements of self and other-self, and the aspect varies as the current of interest is turned inward toward self or outward toward others. It is the twofold basis of the moral sense, repulsion and attraction, seen at a new standpoint, and again we must say experience is the proper judge of the relative value of either.

Egoism is undoubtedly the predominating element in the primitive development of man. It is so because of the dominance of the physical. The self, busied with its immediate wants, magnifies its own importance because it has not yet acquired the long-sighted vision that comes with thought and reflection. The reasoned unity of mankind is no early intuition of the human mind. Thus egoism is the forerunner of altruism. Both grow out of man's nature and are primarily instinctive. They become binding just as they are recognized by the intellect as establishing right or imposing obligation.

Here, then, we find again the exemplification of the individual and the universal in the ethical life. Egoism stands for self-assertion, for the individual ; altruism stands for self-sacrifice, for the universal. One represents the struggle for life, and is a disruptive

force; the other means the struggle for the life of others and is a social, constructive force. Both are necessary and proper impulses. The difficulty inheres in the duality. Where to draw the line, how make an equable harmonization—these, which at least are the problems of all reality, confront us for solution.

The self is real and has its demands. It is of prime and immediate importance. It must not surrender the charter of its rights at any hazard. "The struggle for life, as life's dynamic, can never wholly cease. In the keenness of its energies, the splendor of its stimulus, its bracing effect on character, its wholesome tension throughout the whole range of action, it must remain with us to the end." (Drummond: *Ascent of Man*, p. 212).

On the other hand, the self must recognize its wide relationships and its imperative duties to its fellows. Even from selfish motives it cannot live secluded, for it is helplessly social and dependent. As it has its being by others it must lead its life for others.

"Nature makes no move, Society achieves no end, the Cosmos advances not one step, that is not dependent on co-operation; and while the discords of the world disappear with growing knowledge, science only reveals with increasing clearness the universality of its reciprocities." (Ibid., p. 241).

Thus the two terms stand over against each other apparently hostile and irreconcilable. But in the light of reason the conflict stands forth as the manifest working of divine goodness. As the universal is unintelligible apart from the individual, as unity cannot exist save in variety, so humanity cannot survive and grow except in the organization of its parts, the differentiated individual integers.

Likewise, self and the individual cannot be born, grow, or live, without the sustaining relationship of human society. The individual, continually striving to realize his better nature, to elevate himself by mutual service with others; humanity, as a whole, working to make every individual better, this is the dual force of moral life; the positive dynamic that impels man heavenward. It is the shuttle of the eternal loom and its ultimate web is human hope and happiness.

Both impulses are good in their sphere, but the extreme prosecution of either is harmful. Thus the reign of extreme egoism would yield an inferno of infinite suffering, a hell of human hate. France, in the blinding of her zeal, tried it and verily it resulted in a Reign of Terror. It leads to anarchy in the State and atheism in religion.

On the other hand, the reign of altruism, if it were possible of attainment, would be as senseless as pure egoism is wicked. It would lead inevitably to the absolutism of socialism in the State and inert stagnation in religion. Happily, the eternal message comes to us: "Render therefore unto Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's, and unto God the things that are God's." We must first of all be men. To be that is to be individuals great by virtue of wide and living relationship. Character on one hand and service on the other—these are the two positive dual forces that count for true life in the world of ethics. Integrity and love must ever stand in alliance if either the individual or society would realize its fuller growth.

Thus we see how both egoism and altruism strike into each other as mutually inter-dependent. If it be said that the validity of both impulses is contradictory, let it be answered that so is life. Life is our supreme

test, and it presents countless contradictions. It is richer than any of its aspects, but because its aspects appear to be contradictory is no proof of their utter unreality. The Greek sophist carried his theory of individualism to a fatal extreme and it went to pieces by the sheer force of its own inherent weakness. Individualism, while it has its degree of truth, is but one phase of it. It needs the principle of solidarity to help it out. Looked at from its own angle, either egoism or altruism appears to supply the needs of life. But their true rank in the world of ethics is equal; their spheres are co-operative.

It must be quite clear, then, that morality is a struggle. Misunderstanding and unreason array self against self, and the way of life is strewn with problematic confusion. It is so because it is an incomplete stage of human life. The individual is not yet the universal, but he is struggling to be. The moral man is thus working toward the universal and this is the only way to truth. It is in this very struggle which inheres in morality that we find its power and prophecy. The burning sense of *ought* is a dynamic force that impels us forward irresistibly. When strife ends, goodness and virtue end also. "Der Rechte, das Gute fuhrt ewig strieb."

In the thought of Hegel (Geo. S. Morris: Hegel's Philosophy of the State and of History, pp. 124-5), "The only way in which the true universal can be established is through the successive assertion—self-assertion—and negation of the particular; the only way in which substantial freedom can be realized is through the assertion of formal, subjective freedom and its negation. Thus the human failures of history are divine or providential successes. The apparent

evil is partly good in the making; it is the 'cunning of reason,' which allows selfish interest to have its own way and yet makes it ministerial to the ends of reason."

Thus morality, far from being complete, issues into religion. Just as the physical remains suspended in the moral, so does religion include morality. Indeed, the moral has all the while been inseparably related with the religious, for they are branches of a common trunk. In religion man is bound directly to God; in morality man is bound to man, because of their common relation to God. Thus morality is an expression of religion; religion is the life of morality. The one without the other is unreal.

Historically, the transition from Judaism to Christianity is the clearest illustration of the distinction of the two. "Judaism was a religion of law. Christianity is a religion of love. Judaism sought to control the life by a system of external rules. Christianity seeks to control the life by an inward principle of love. Every duty is susceptible of being performed on either of these planes; but none is complete until it has been translated from law to love, until, instead of being the result of a principle of duty acting upon one from the outside, it flows out of the inmost and essential nature of the person who performs the act." (Everitt: *Science of Thought*, p. 220).

Moral law is necessary for the great mass of weakling humanity, for it has not yet reached a truly religious plane. Here morality is necessarily transitional.

It is the interpretation and emphasis of these truths that make Christianity the religion of the ages. Recognizing as it does the validity of the physical, the moral, and the spiritual and their inter-dependence, it becomes



at once the life—religion. It is grounded in life, works in life, and ever seeks for the high realization of man's potentiality. Christianity thus keeping close to life ever impels the individual to struggle towards the universal. Christian ethics supplies the truest basis for morality because it never loses sight of the universal ideal which we ought to attain.

The trouble with most moral systems of the world has been the dominance of a code of rules, whose growth out of life was not perceived and whose content was not the true expression of the people's life. Buddhism sought deliverance from selfhood. Christianity seeks delivery from selfishness. The Buddhist desired riddance from life; the Christian clings to life with hope and energy. The one's belief led to passivity; the other's to activity. The one hoped to free himself from evil by passively renouncing not only all action, but life itself; the other hopes to conquer by action and helps himself while serving others.

Christianity is the summation and coronation of all preceding religions. The thought of the unity of reality was reached by the Hindu. The application of this thought by successive races in succeeding times has wrought out in ever widening significance the thought of the brotherhood of man. This truth with its parent truth are summed up and emphasized by Christianity in concrete and living expression. The movement has been from abstract thought, through wider and wider application to life, to concrete and embodied being.

Christ was the universal individual man. In him are focused the lives of truth and goodness. He is at once the strongest individuality of history, the truest servant of humanity, the most perfect fruitage of human life. No other ones have been the actor as well



as the author of the Golden Rule: Love thy neighbor as thyself. This is the simple couching of the grandest and most profound philosophy ever uttered.

Without law there could be no organization of society, and without freedom there could be no moral character. How, then, can the individual be free and yet under law? This great problem of the ages, with which heathen philosophy and pagan civilization grappled in vain, Christ solved with one word—Love. This is the essence of Christianity. Opposed to selfishness it is its divine antidote. It transforms the whirlpool of evil into a fountain of good. Realizing the true solution of morality and religion it gives each its truest statement. The universal of religion is found to be God, for religion is the relation of man to God. The universal of morality is seen to be man, for morality is man to man.

Thus in the higher union the ethical assumes the religious aspect and egoism and altruism are blended into harmony. In this deeper interpretation, the reality of the self is maintained in the truth of the immortality of the soul, and the altruistic aspect is asserted as the fundamental brotherhood of man. Thus man's life is made out to be immortal, and yet he is the eternal brother of all men, because of his inherent divinity, which manifests itself and works throughout mankind. Herein is manifest the sublimest thought of the world: the brotherhood of man and the fatherhood of God. Thus Christianity fits life. It seeks not to lay its basis on the lowly earth or suspend it from the vaulted sky, but it rests it upon the fundamental truths of human consciousness.

It is this character of Christian ethics that makes it especially significant for us. We are in constant strug-

gle and intercourse with our fellows. Our life is an ethical whirlpool, a mighty maelstrom of moral relationships. How can we best guide our life's bark through it? Our conclusion would plainly press the need of the sustaining surety of religion—the vitality of spiritual fullness. Our civilization, taking its color from the philosophy of individualism, already exalts the abnormal importance of self. It is in sad subjection to the dictation of selfish materialism. The standard of egoism, taken alone, is unnatural and not truly human. Under the color of liberty it nurtures the tyranny of self. Competition by itself is the cure that kills. It is the precept of Ishmael and arrays every man's hand against every other. It is the creed of Cain, for man cannot live on the single principle of the struggle for life. The softening influence of an altruistic spirit needs to be breathed into our civilization, to make it expand and glow with health. The angles of our selfishness need to be pared away and competition should be wedded to co-operation.

While our century is doubtless the best of all time, its very completeness reveals its imperfection. It demonstrates the truth expressed by Browning: "Man was made to grow, not stop."

As Christianity is the truest philosophy, the richest religion, and the best life, so for our needs it must bring the surest alleviation. With healing on its wings its spirit should meet and mingle with the spirit of the age. "We must not say love and law, but love in law." (Everitt: "Relation of Jesus to the Present Age" in "Christianity and Modern Thought," p. 145).

The tendency is happily altruistic. The century is strewn with many holy traces of Christian service, despite the long record of "Man's inhumanity to man."

The abolition of slavery, the growth of free government, the impulse for missions, the benevolence of philanthropy—these and much more are the promise and the happy prophecy of human hope and progress.

But there still remains the troublous strife of labor and capital, the sectional and caste prejudice, that are the tokens of narrowness. We have drifted into the peril of conducting life by a theory of rights, regardless of a confession of duties; in losing life in the search for the means of living. Our standards must become broader, more tolerant, more universal, and that means the realization of the moral constitution of man.

And so, in brief, we have found out that morality is the relation of man to man. The moral sense is the consciousness of the mutual relation of self and other-self. This consciousness is born out of physical want. Its growth depends on its content, and its content depends both on the inherent potentiality and the influence of the external environments. The content at first physical, becomes moral by the intuition of reason. The moral sense is universal because it is a human attribute. Morality is life, and hence is the struggle of the individual to become the universal. Being a struggle, it is dualistic. Egoism and altruism are its two aspects—the one standing for self-assertion, the other for self-sacrifice. Each aspect is true and legitimate, but needs the other for completion. Morality is a struggle, because it is incomplete. It issues necessarily into religion, for religion is its underlying support. It is the expression of religion. Christianity is the deepest interpretation of these truths. It is the flowering of human life. And it is the spirit of Christianity that our ethical age most needs. The individu-

alistic trend needs to be checked by the spirit of human brotherhood. In short, the moral sense needs at all times to be fortified by the strength of true religion.

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### A PLEA FOR AMERICAN COMMERCE

The expansion of a nation's commerce is the substantial surety of its strength. There is no truth in the life of nations more fundamental than this, for the sea is the world's great medium of circulation, and commerce is alike the harbinger of civilization and the carrier of Christianity.

Nations, like individuals, have epochs in their history in which some prevailing influence molds and dominates the character of its people and its time. The American nation has passed through its purely religious and political stages. The age of material activity—the age of commerce, has come, ushered in by the force of tireless energy and the audacity of inventive genius.

In the pathway of nations, America stands situated within the Temperate Zone and fortified by a vast contiguous territory. Endowed by the unequalled resources of a wonderful land, and guided by the intense energy and genius of the American race, this nation is presented with the auspicious opportunity of industrial and material ascendancy.

Even as a stripling nation we startled the world by our glorious exploits at sea; but with the lapse of years the ships that once carried our flag in triumph upon every sea were swept from mart and main. And thus our energies became absorbed in the development of a vast system of domestic industry.

In pursuance of this policy we have overspread the continent and come to the "sea-mark of our utmost soil." In our infancy we bordered upon the Atlantic only; youth carried our boundary to the Gulf; today maturity sees us upon the Pacific. A magnificent system of river, lake, and gulf has been strengthened by an artificial network of railway, canal, and harbor. In every quarter beautiful cities grace our land—rare trophies in the lap of Columbian conquest.

As the inevitable consequence of national growth and territorial extension, it is manifestly important to look forth beyond the sea-horizon to those dangers that hedge us in, and to those interests fraught with vital import.

To place American commerce upon a footing of assured and permanent supremacy, three great achievements must be accomplished—the construction of the great inter-oceanic canal at Nicaragua, the secure control of the Hawaiian Islands, and the adoption of a foreign policy tending towards free trade.

For years it has been recognized that the severance of the American isthmus would be a masterstroke for international commerce and of countless value to the controlling country, and yet the passive policy of America has staved it off until the prize lies ready to pass into the hands of an alien power. The demands of our three great seaboards, each for itself and all for the strength that comes from unity, call for its completion under the auspices and control of the American people. Such a measure, requiring a cost less than is usually paid to pensioners, would soon render this country the workshop and clearing house of the world. Since the Isthmian canal may and must become the Gibraltar of the United States, affecting most vitally

every interest of our common land, it should be distinctly an American enterprise. It must be the first practical and substantial assertion of the boasted doctrine of Monroe, hitherto a mere dogma in American policy, at once knitting more and more closely the Union with our sister republics and establishing the rights and duties of the Americas.

Intimately associated in importance with the canal is the control of the Hawaiian Islands. Confronting the gigantic sweep and stress of commercial and political currents that are gathered around Hawaii is the strategic point that means military and commercial control of the Pacific. When our great western domain shall be developed and when the Pacific shall become the highway of the trade and travel of the earth, the "Paradise of the Pacific," unique in the possession of solitary significance and guarding, like a lone sentinel, the converging lines of a world-wide trade, will excite the envy and admiration of nations as the single key that unlocks the Golden Gate—the entrance to the treasure of the ages.

The perfection of our commercial success cannot be fully attained until the shackles of the tariff are stricken from the limbs of industry and confidence in the freedom of interchange shall flow throughout the veins of trade. The Chinese wall of exclusive protection stands as the fossilized remains of war; the swaddling clothes of infancy about the loins of man; a callous galling excrescence on the policy of free America. If we have prospered, it is because of the indomitable energy of American genius working amid an exhaustless treasure of resources; it is because the sovereign States of this Union have enjoyed that freedom of trade denied the outside world.

There are certain natural tendencies embedded in the constitution of humanity which are as inviolable as the most sacred relation of God and man. As long as human want remains universal, so long will it be to the interest of mankind to buy in the cheapest and sell in the dearest market; the prices of products will ever be regulated by supply and demand; and the more freedom is given to trade, the more splendid will be its attendant results. Where amongst protective nations is the parallel of England, the only champion of the seas? Faithful to the principles of freedom, she has circled the globe with the swelling tide of her power and civilization. Recognizing the justice of natural, economic law, she has become queen of commerce, mistress of the seas, and creditor-in-chief of the human race. Had Trafalgar or Blenheim never been fought, her policy of free trade would have wrought for her, by the pure and shining agencies of peace, the fair fabric of her wondrous dominion.

The law of development demands that we should trade freely with every land. The production of our rich and ample plains has already outstripped its consumption. However diversified our industries, we are largely dependent upon the exchange of our surplus for that of other lands.

Fortunate for America and world interests at large would be the results attendant upon the union of the English race in establishing the freedom of trade, as they have accomplished the freedom of man. By such a policy the inferior states of earth would sooner or later be forced to adopt a like course and the leavening intercourse of free exchange, carrying in its train the enlightenment and liberty of the Anglo-Saxon, would



give an impetus to world-comity and international peace greater than the centuries have yet brought forth.

It is evident, therefore, that American commerce has come to an imminent crisis. There is a call for a change of our passive policy into one of action, seizing the fetlock of time, accepting the gracious advantages of opportunity and opening wide every outlet to the commercial activity of our people.

Without this, European interests will seize the points of greatest future importance to our safety and commercial career. Without this, our surplus will soon roll back from the coast upon the interior, and the wheels of prosperity will be clogged by the richness of the burden they bear. Not a change of administration, not the coinage of silver, not the repudiation of national obligations, but a market for our products, labor for the idle, bread for the hungry—these are the demands of a suffering people that struggle for utterance through Coxe's Commonweal and a thousand other mutterings that announce the coming of the storm.

Our own beloved Vance, battling against foes hidden and foes declared, sprung from the loins of a sturdy race, and feeling the aspirations of his people pulsating through his own true heart, for these years has expressed their wishes for the emancipation of labor and the extension of American trade.

On the one hand are seen the ruinous results of procrastination, on the other the splendid reward of commercial expansion. It is a question demanding an immediate answer, a crisis foreshadowing with remarkable clearness the sequence of either course. "Least of all nations can America prepare a table for chance or furnish a drink offering for destiny."

The Doge of Venice, dwelling in palaces and celebrating every year with gala-day and wedding ring his nuptials with the sea, a beautiful bride, who has brought him a dower of exhaustless wealth, is a beautiful symbol of a great material truth. Rightly considered, it is nothing wonderful that the Ancients with shout and revel worshiped Neptune, whose trident shook the sea. With less superstition and more appreciation let us learn the lessons they teach and make the elements, which they worshiped, the servants of our will. Give us back the sea, that "vast expanse which separates the jurisdiction of nations, the grand reservation of God on our planet, wherein no thieving laws of human cunning can hide, but which acknowledges only those laws that regulate the surging of its billows and the solitude of its awful depths." It is our heritage, sanctified by the blood and fortified by the heroism of our fathers; it is ours by the divine direction of destiny, "ours and our children's forever."

Then let us strive with unwavering loyalty for the true production of American industry and the unselfish guardianship of American commerce. The changeless law of cause and effect applies to the realm of human action as well as to the sphere of physical force. The mercantile spirit, bearing the olive branch of peace, as it pervades every clime, is the iconoclast who builds upon the overthrown creeds of barbarism the beautiful temple of art and civilization.

Industry with the restless rhythm of its tireless spindles, brings with a bounteous benevolence an opulent offering to the relief of human want. Commerce flecks the seas with its white-winged carrier-doves of liberty and law, and sends its messengers of peace by every line. They are the essential elements of national

weal and the evangels that announce the doom of warring wretchedness and the enthronement of a people's hopes.

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## INTER-SOCIETY DEBATE—PARTY ORGANIZATION

### FIRST SPEECH.

The American government claims to rest on the suffrage of freemen. The citizens of this Republic, exercising their right of suffrage, have evolved our National political parties, as the means to the end of government. This, we grant, is right, for it is natural. The fundamental differences of human nature are legitimate excuses for the divisions of men, but the necessary existence of parties does not prove that there is inherent virtue in all the developments that party organization may assume.

Since suffrage is the source of popular government, the nature of the government will naturally be according to that of the suffrage. Whatever, therefore, tends to lower the standard of the suffrage, or to thwart its true expression, cannot be for the nation's good, as it must express itself in corrupt and vicious government.

Let us see, then, what the rigidly organized party is and whether it tends to the good of our suffrage, our government, and our people.

Edmund Burke, the great English statesman and thinker, defines political party as "an association of men united for the purpose of promoting by their joint efforts the public welfare upon principles about which they agree." "Rigidly organized" is defined as "inflexibly constructed." A rigid organization is a structure formed with exactness and without allowance. In

short, it is a mechanism, a machine. Its rigidity renders it practically lifeless, save as it is manipulated by a skilled professional. It is a fossilized form, an ossified organism, whose rigidity of structure forbids progressive change, growth, or development within itself.

The particular principle, of which Burke speaks, as giving rise to party, will in time be settled. What is there, then, to render the bond of organization rational or moral? The connection can only be held, more or less, by the common desire of the pelf and power of politics. Born of the love of power, party becomes an end in itself, uses its acquired strength to make its organization more rigid, in short, it becomes a machine maintained either by mere personal association or by motives and influences more or less corrupt. When once in power, parties will at times sacrifice the very principles that caused their triumph, betray the watchword of their existence, and descend to a base contention over the honors and emoluments of office. Unless some great question exists to justify its living, party can be naught but a fine name for faction, whose ties are passion and corruption and whose results are ever the wreck and ruin of commonwealths. Like Guelph and Ghibelline, the devouring wolves of Italian liberty, the fossilized forms of intrenched parties fight for self-existence at the peril of the country's life.

One hundred years of hard practical experience have served to work out and establish for us certain political facts, clearly indicative of the evils of party spirit and rigid partisanship. We are just beginning to witness the worst results of that unbridled party spirit, which Washington anticipated with fear and DeTocqueville shrewdly guessed.

As party organization becomes more rigid and com-

plex, the more skill and service are requisite for its guidance. To secure this skilfull service, money and office must needs be offered as substantial rewards, and thus the professional politician is evolved, whose duty is constant party loyalty and whose business is constant partisan work. He need not be cultivated or experienced in the great questions on which politics and legislation are based, but he must be adapted to party service and his soul be animated by partisan zeal. He holds his position by the pledge of party loyalty and the promise of party service. Thus from postmaster to president we are ruled by an organized body of officeseekers, the political janizaries of a free republic. Andrew Jackson builded worse than he knew when he instituted the riotous spoils system and fettered our government with a feudalism, founded on political reward for party service. It is the system that delights the demagogue, who, "high above considerations of state and people lifts the pirate flag of selfishness and rallies to his standard the worst and weakest of his race." He is the antithesis of patriotism, the incarnation of selfishness, the unholy target of civic scorn, a publicist without a principle, a citizen without an anchor in the truth.

The multiplicity and frequency of contests render public life too absorbing for the most worthy and competent citizens, who have private occupations to pursue. By the force of necessity they must either desert politics and follow their individual professions, or change them to that of the politician. Skilled professionals bar our best men from political life, and conscious honor quails before partisan intrigue, like Christian before the Slough of Despond, until men of integrity turn in disgust away to the purer pursuits of hon-

est men. Is this a condition for congratulation? Politics ought to mean the honorable contention of patriotic citizens, but how often we hear the exclamation, "Politics is rotten"—a statement too sadly true. It is a struggle for existence, in which the conditions of environment cause the survival of the most perfect demagogue.

Thus partisan rule removes from out the people's hands the power which is their rightful heritage. The removal of the best men from politics and the abandonment of government to the politician tend to center all substantial power in evil hands and uncliothe the citizen of his boasted sovereignty. The politician begins with the primary, and his skillful manipulation extends to the federal Congress. Election becomes merged in nomination, except in rare instances of excitement, and nomination is nearly always the work of the politician. "The first thing," said Alexander Hamilton, "in all great operations of such a government as ours, is to secure the opinion of the people." Under machine rule, in reality, however, at least nine-tenths of our citizens are under the subjugation of the remaining tenth. Removed as the great mass of voters are from close political life, the real power resides with a small faction of our citizens, and for its possession the machine is worked to its utmost capacity. We have a government by parties, democratic in form, though actually savoring of some of the worst features of oligarchy.

Rigid organizations prevent freedom of thought and expression by the individual and by the people. Rigidity ever cramps thought and expression; it is the open opponent of progress, and progress means independence. The military discipline of party life, intolerant



of independent action, checks the expression of honest disapproval and lashes unwillingness into servile acquiescence. What the Roman client was to his patron, what the mediæval vassal was to his lord, that the modern American politician is to his boss, who sits like a spider within his web and weaves the snare for liberty. The election of President by electors has come to be a farce. Men consult their prejudices more than their reasons and leave their political thinking to the politician, whose conclusions are usually formed on the selfish consideration of party. The political machine is a magnificent mechanism whose precision and ease would delight the soul of Archimedes. But its rigidity of structure alike stifles discussion, fosters intrigue, depresses talent, elevates mediocrity, and crushes all spontaneity out of civic life. It reduces the vigorous, healthy, buoyant action of freemen to the base precision of mathematical factors. The defense of supreme and continuous party allegiance rests only on the assumption of the all-sufficiency of a chosen party for the performance of civic duties— a principle that forced the despotism of the Church hierarchy in the domain of religion. We have apparently transferred the superstition of divine right from the English king to the American party, and the fallacy is just as deceptive to us as to the subjects of James Stuart. This surrender of individuality dismantles the human judgment of its regal crown of authority and declares enfranchised citizens to be as political cattle in the shambles of partisan contention. It narrows the mind and ossifies the conscience, it places the partisan above the patriot, the voter above the man—a pungent paradox in this boasted democracy of free institutions.

Machine politics prevent the efficient administration



of public affairs. When the rigid demands of party press partisan service for official station, the public service will be conducted with partisan instead of with patriotic motives. Men then minimize the public good in sacrifice to party advantage, neglect the interests of country, and insincerity readily ripens into cynicism. Congressmen are forced to waste their time to secure party appointments, and thus ignore the pressing duties of statecraft. President Garfield is authority for the fact that one-third of a Congressman's working time is scarcely sufficient to meet the demands of party. Such partisan prostitution of the public service, as is seen in the spoils system, is radical treachery to popular government, because it makes private interest and not the public welfare the motive of filial action. The crying evils of administration are directly traceable to the rigidity of party, whose wanton excuses exhort the people's honesty to cleanse these Augean stables of the civil service and give to spoilsmen the warning of their death warrant.

As parties become more complex and mechanical, they cease to be actuated by great living principles and policies. The party platform is a skillfully framed figurehead, advanced to catch voters, a miserable ruse for the unthinking, a bald excuse for existence. Its planks are often too rotten to bear the weight of honest men. Availability of man or measure almost invariably is the determining factor in party selection, in the face of the demands of duty. For twenty-five years New York and the other pivotal States have been placated by candidates, while the South has not had a President since Andrew Johnson, because of the sectionalism bred of party. The quadrennial manifestoes of party conventions have come to consist of

platitudes on dead or dying issues, while the great questions of immigration, labor, and finance are a history of vacillation between national welfare and some local or personal interest that party courts or fears. Party tactics obstruct attempted legislation, and the people pay for deadlocks and filibuster. Today the country demands a definite action on the financial question, but party spirit prevents a free deliberation and an honest agreement. One party expends enough government money on army pensions to create a magnificent navy, so intense has party spirit become to the oblivion of the country's needs. Such rigid selfishness has never wrought great reform. The slave was freed by the independent action of party formation, and Bright and Cobden repealed England's corn laws in defiance of existing parties. Our two great parties are mere political armies fighting with ballots instead of bullets. They are the Prætorian guards of America, who have outlived their wonted mission and now fight in furious faction for the despotic tyranny of the nation. If such conditions can promote the people's welfare, then surely liberty is a refugee from home and freedom a stranger within our gates.

This system of partisan rigidity corrupts official action and pollutes the whole realm of politics. Whenever the demands of personal and party interest become stronger than duty to country, as we hold it does in machine government, public office is no longer considered as a public trust, but rather as a political advantage for partisan purposes. Thus great monopolies and trusts have arisen, fostered as they are by partisan legislation in reward for liberal campaign funds and bountiful favors to the machine ring. The cohesive

force and power of the machine become the desire for office and office as a means of gain.

The Boss of the ring holds his tenure simply as a bestower of riches, but little better than a leader of a band of *condattieri* of the 15th century. Log-rolling in Congress is a commonplace, and party leaders "smile at election pledges as the gods smile at lovers' vows."

Scandals become shamefully prevalent in our great cities where the public till is exhausted by robbery, and accounts are systematically cooked to conceal the thefts. Every election sees the expenditure of vast sums of money, often from the people's treasury, spent like Dudley's "blocks of five," in all pivotal States, where money turns the scale. Even our judiciary is contaminated by this deadly partisanship and the Dred Scott Decision, the Legal Tender Cases, and the Electoral Commission of '77 attest its wanton results. Since '65 party affiliation has been the prime requisite for judicial appointment and consequently states, communities, and individuals have been terrorized to carry elections and decrees of disbandment issued to Legislatures and Army and Navy summoned to organize others. One hundred years ago the English king bought votes in Parliament; today the American partisan buys votes at the polls. Americans are becoming proverbial gamblers and political prostitution is the common crime of parties, the common disgrace of the national name, the common danger to American institutions and the common reproach to American citizenship. Thus a partisan government puts a price upon public spirit, degrades and demoralizes the national character and invites the people to measure all action by the venal value of money.

Tammany Hall is the mirror in which we see the

clearest reflection of the riotous results of machine politics. It is the American Jacobin Club, and the incarnation of more evil than we have yet suggested. Organization and not Education, Success and not Improvement, victorious war and not glorious peace—these are the supreme aims of Tammany. With it office is a commodity and not a trust. Its leaders have ever been the most consummate rascals, whose infamies have filled two continents with the disgrace of the Republic. It has never produced a statesman, a patriot, or a public benefactor. It boasts of no law, public measure, or policy that history can record with pride. For a generation its sphere has been one of moral and intellectual barrenness. Like its nominal aborigines, it dons the paint of battle with the savage hope of reaping scalps and the mercenary motive of gathering booty. It corrupts a whole municipality; it poisons the politics of our leading State. Last fall's defeat meant only the ascendancy of Platt's machine, and both would rather vie in civic corruption and vicious methods than in patriotic honesty and manly rivalry. Not only New York, but most of our great cities are the pitiable victims of machine rule. The American city is rapidly growing into dominance, and the character of its government means largely that of our national administration. Righteous indignation rises at the sight of these dens of desperation, hatching gruesome plots, wherein illicit graft, a worse than Punic faith and infidelity to the most sacred trusts in the most exalted stations, fill the whole government with the pollution of their guilty presence. These are the conditions that accompany the unyielding tenure of party power. The time is ready for the rising of some political Christ, endowed with the inherent Di-

vinity of might and manhood to thrust from the temples of government these barterers in citizenship and defamers of popular freedom.

#### SECOND SPEECH.

The need of party existence and even of organization have been conceded. But we do declare the evil of *rigidly* organized parties. The question is one of degree; it is whether progress, growth, and expansion through reform, are conducive to the popular welfare. It is a question of progression or retrogression, of evolution or devolution, we might almost add, of life or death.

It is not so much organized conflict that formulates the truth; it is the tolerance of concession, the synthesis of sincere conference, and a conflict, if there must be one, of thought independent and progressive. Not the passionate conflict of individuals in a struggle for place, but a co-operative competition in the value of ideas: this is the test and crucible of truth. Thus we may trace the thread of progress throughout the fabric of history; it begins without the woven forms of institutions and gathers to itself the vesture of commanding power. It begins in the insignificant and martyred minority; it finds durable expression by persuading the majority. Thus it is a growth, an adaptation of existing conditions to expanding thought, and nothing is so revolutionary, because so unnatural as to attempt the preservation of institutions unchanged, while "all the world by the very law of its creation is in eternal progress." Do you think machine politics would have produced the American Constitution, repealed England's corn laws, or will give Ireland Home Rule? The element of concession, or rational thought, and

independent action, must ever soften the asperities of manly conflict and grant to all the tolerance of unfettered opinion.

But on the contrary we see the selfish demands of partisanship dominated by party spirit, that "frenzy which imbrutes the soul;" we see it struggling for self, regardless of national stability or the survival of the Republic.

If this condition continues, there is a coming crisis, when some vital question will madden the minority to resist submission. Should that minority be almost as strong as the majority, with kinsman ranged versus kinsman and neighbor versus neighbor, a civil war more horrible than we have yet known, may rend the nation in fragments. The republics of South America are suggestive object lessons, and three decades have hardly healed the disasters of our Civil War. In '76 we barely escaped the crisis of war, whose cause was a maddened partisanship, and whose repetition would enshroud the nation with flames of embittered passion and the smoke of intensified terror.

Hear the ominous words of Daniel Webster in the Declaration of Whig principles in 1840: "Party Spirit, when it gains such an ascendancy in men's minds as leads them to substitute party for country, to seek no ends but party ends, no approbation but party approbation, and to fear no reproach or contumely, so that there be no party dissatisfaction, not only alloys the true enjoyment of our institutions, but weakens every day the foundations on which they stand."

The problem of party remains to be fully solved. The delicate balance must be worked out whereby the vote can be concentrated and yet the independence of the voter preserved. David Dudley Field said "it is



solved only when we have a fair representation of voters in *the selection of candidates*, followed by a *fair election* from among the selected." I submit to you the question, if any of these conditions are appreciably effected under the rigid rule of parties.

The utility of the true conception of party appears to depend on certain conditions: 1. The tendency of its principles to advance the welfare of the whole people. 2. The faithful support of these principles by the party itself. 3. The nomination of the most worthy for office. These conditions, we claim, are partly or wholly violated by the rigidly organized party, and the result shows the degradation of national character and the disgrace of popular suffrage. To sustain our position we have advanced the following points:

1. *Rigidly organized partisan party* creates a privileged class—the politician.
2. Tears the best men from political life.
3. Removes power from the people.
4. Destroys individual and popular freedom of thought and expression.
5. Destroys official responsibility and efficient administration.
6. Is actuated by personal and selfish aims, and not by great principles.
7. Tends to corrupt our whole political life.

The affirmative have failed to disprove these facts. They evade us by demanding a substitute for a system we would condemn. It is not our province tonight to devise public policies. We are discussing the point of good or evil in machine politics, and we claim that our position stands unshaken.

We would have you consider that, under the conditions bred by rigid party, instead of remaining a means



to good government the party becomes an end in itself, an *imperium in imperio*. Principles become lost in parties, peanut politics retires statesmanship, and the servile worshiper and obedient follower are wrought into enthusiasm by the cognomens of party paraphernalia. The significance of the symbol is lost in the passion of the hour. Spirit yields to dominant form and the partisan, in political fanaticism, pays even more devoted homage to his idols, than the Catholic before the cross or the African before his fetich.

Party, with all its rigidity and complexity, deadens the nobility of the citizen and makes him a mechanical servant. Its spirit becomes a deadly narcotic. Its effect a vicious and fatal malady.

It needs not the violation of a letter of our Constitution for the strong hand of some American Augustus to concentrate through party power the people's government into a grinding monarchy. The redeeming hope, if there is one, lies in the genius of our race, in the public spirit of the citizen. Public as well as private morals must be recognized as forces in national life, and the Decalogue and Golden Rule be potential factors in politics, Jno. J. Ingalls, notwithstanding.

The hope of the nation is in the party of principles, the one that looks to the dawn—— (Incomplete).

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## DANGERS OF CENTRALIZATION

### FIRST SPEECH.

The American Union, resting upon its Constitution as the pledge and instrument of unity, is distinctively a federal republic, a republic of republics. The whole history of our national evolution, through colony fed-

eration and constitution, is but a gradual unfolding of this basal idea, of this vital principle of federalism. The confederation signifying on its face the fact of federation, began with the declaration that :

“Each State retains its sovereignty, freedom, and independence, and every power, jurisdiction and right which is not by this confederation expressly delegated to the U. S. in Congress assembled.”

The Constitution, builded on the confederation, provided not that all legislative powers, but that “all legislative powers herein granted” should be vested in Congress. These powers are carefully enumerated under 17 distinct heads, and the election of President and Senators is fixed on the basis of the sovereign States. Furthermore, the first Congress more clearly defined the National powers in ten amendments, the last of which declares that :

“The powers not delegated to the U. S. by the Constitution, nor prohibited to it by the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people.”

Thus the highest authority declares that the Constitution is federative in the power which framed it, adopted, and ratified it, and which sustains and strengthens it. It cannot be amended save by a federative power, and the entire structure is one of check and balance.

The vital and underlying principle of our federal government is the continued equipoise of the State and National power. Its structure rests on the steadfast pillars of the States. It effects free government by concurrent majorities, by restraints upon aggregated popular will. It is not a party to, but the result of the Constitution, and cannot in its original conception, exist apart from the Constitution, or the States, its

creator. The Union is supreme in its delegated powers; beyond that the States are sovereign and independent.

(Reading from Marshall, Chase, Alexander Hamilton, and Bancroft.)

The high authority and strong testimony of these great men, the closest students of our government, show conclusively that equipoise is the basal principle of the republic, that State and Nation are both supreme in their functions; but that the central government cannot legally grow in power, for its functions are delegated and defined.

Since, therefore, ours is a federal republic, and its vital principle is balanced equipoise of State and Nation, the danger of centralization is self-evident. The reading of our query evidently means growth of centralism and decay of State power. This means instability of the essential equipoise, and if not the fall of the republic, its complete metamorphosis into a central despotism.

The builders of the republic were the peers of any in history's roll of worthies. Rich in learning and experience, integrity and sagacity, they knew they were the grave custodians of a people's hopes. Knowing their country's needs and temper, studied in the political science of all ages and countries, they acted under the gravest consciousness of mighty responsibility ever given to mortal stewardship. They were right; with courageous heroism and sage-like wisdom, they wrought out the truest government yet given to mankind. In theory it is perfect—in practice smooth and efficient, save when at times the pendulum has swung too far stateward or to the center. It incarnates the two great aims of government—unity and

freedom. The Union means unity; the States, freedom. Equal in importance, they must be equal in power, else the ship of state will veer into the channels that lead upon the reefs of ruin. (Incomplete).

#### SECOND SPEECH.

This is a federal republic. Its maintenance reduced to its finality depends upon the affections and will of the people. If they have good local government, which history proves is only given to free people by local self government, then it follows that the highest government based on the local powers will be good and enduring. Government embracing all the relations of home, the dearest possessions of human life, all that intimately affects the citizen, the preservation of local self government, means the preservation of the liberty of the republic. Hence, it is entirely necessary for the preservation of the essential equipoise of federalism to preserve local freedom and good National administration. "Our Government," said Henry Clay, "is not to be maintained or our Union preserved by invasions of the rights and powers of the several States." But central supremacy can mean nothing, if it does not mean the absorption of local rights and powers.

Equipoise is the prime essential of federalism. It is the keystone of the arch of unity. The centripetal must be counterbalanced by the centrifugal force, or the federal sphere will sweep from its orderly orbit into the consuming fire of the central sun.

Centralism opposes the fullest development of a vast country. Free play and spontaneous expansion are the only incentives to popular self-reliance, they are the true requisites of progress. Central Government means strong government—it means repression. This

vast republic, with its diverse interests and local needs, will be better maintained by the popular diffusion of liberty and enlightenment, than by power congested at the center. The States should do nothing the people themselves can do—the nation nothing the States can do. The nearer the government is to the people, the better care will they have for it, the more will it express their wishes and needs, and this can never be done by distant and external power. This State autonomy is essential to federalism. History teaches no plainer truth than that a consolidated government cannot be established on so wide a domain as ours, unless it be monarchical. Think of a federal republic embracing a continent and governing seventy millions! Think of fifty great and opulent States governed by one National authority. Girt by two oceans, spanning the temperate zone, displaying resources Herculean in power and Protean in form, with all the diversities of industrial and social life, there must inevitably be the widest divergence and variety of human interest. The stiff bonds of centralism alone cannot bind them together. There must be that durability that comes from flexibility. National control of all our diverse interests means either chaos or despotism. Indulgence of powers and continued centralization is dangerous because it creates desire for more, and this desire of a partisan majority will lead to dangerous results. Unlimited central power means unlimited tyranny of a partisan majority that must ally itself with monopoly and wealth to perpetuate its sway. Consolidated capital is ever concurrent with political centralism and this allied danger is incalculable. The centralist and capitalist go hand in hand. Compact and organized, one meets the other's neces-

sity and thus they strip the many of their rights and aggrandize the few.

Equipoise of government allows prompt dispatch for local rule, and more mature deliberation on the great questions of the nation. In short, the special needs of States find prompt attention, the general and common affairs of the Nation receive careful consideration. This is the true theory; but continued centralization means power without responsibility; it means that every Congressman stands or falls by his own constituents; that he and his party may invade the local rights of the States; that North Carolina must be sacrificed for New York's wishes—in short, it makes one sovereign people rule over another sovereign people—a paradox fraught with a fatal truth. History's most important teaching is that responsibility can never, with safety, be separated from power, that there must be accountability to those affected by the use of the power.

The affections and trust of the people—this is the enduring foundation of States, and centralism and repression will never gain it. The only legitimate and rightful objects of national control are those common to all States, to the whole American people. Without such a strict limitation of its powers no republican government can be maintained over a vast and populous continent. It has never yet been done; there is no reason to suppose that it will ever be done. Though we are becoming one people in space, yet the complexity of our civilization is so intricate that the common interests of States cannot appreciably be increasing.

The Christian ideal of a world federation can never be reached save by a treaty binding the good faith of nations to abide by the advice of a central council upon



a few questions, without wounding national susceptibilities or trenching upon national autonomy. The principle of harmony and maintenance here is exactly identical with American federalism.

Unchecked central force inevitably becomes despotic. It absorbs the local powers, it threatens local and individual liberty. Whenever all rule comes from Washington, the wealthier sections will rule in their own interests and party despotism and sectional hate will end in misrule and deadly faction. The unity of the American people is a splendid thought and a great fact. But stronger and surer is the love of home and local freedom, and whenever national union and local freedom clash, the latter is ever championed by manly freemen. There is a constant force necessary for our government. This force, according to the Constitution and the dictates of wisdom, must be distributed among the people, equally divided between State and Nation. Hence, strong central power means sectional tyranny and less local freedom. A disruptive force is fostered, more dread and dangerous than ever comes to that government which trusts the citizens and magnifies the State. Beneath the splendor of centralism is ever concealed the canker of unrest and oppression. It was from the Golden Age of Augustus that the Roman Empire staggered to its fall. All roads led to Rome, but they were the veins that gathered the Empire's life-blood in deadly congestion. England has fought from centralized tyranny to the divine right of the people, and her complete vindication demands Home Rule for prostrate Ireland. Even versatile France was not elastic enough to bear the strain of central despotism, and the terrible recoil plunged her into the Reign of Terror.



Bryce, in "The American Commonwealth," impartially declares that:

"When other things are equal, the more power is given to the units which compose the nation, be they large or small, and the less to the nation as a whole and to its central authority, so much the fuller will be the liberties and so much the greater the energy of the individuals who compose the people."

This is a notable truth—and how can the republic live by that which destroys freedom, its foundation and support?

Verily, we must magnify and defend local self government. The rich blood must flow unchecked to the Nation's heart, sent from sound and healthy organs and not from diseased and withered extremities. Local self government, the lifeboat of liberty, insures safe government at home because it intrusts to every citizen the guardianship of local interests. The States are the Mecca of civic liberty, and in them are enshrined the Nation's hopes. They are the altars of freedom, and on the hearthstone of every citizen we must sanctify, if we would fortify, the republic. The diffusion of popular power is the only pledge and surety of national love and loyalty.

The fullest local power is always better than the harsh sway of external force. It is the methodical system of nature, whose economy metes out pain for error, whose laws bear their own inherent sanction. It is the sacred order of Divinity—the judgment of Jehovah, which makes human sin the deliverer of its own penalty.

Recall the despotism of centralism in that saturnalia of tyranny and fraud, the post-bellum reconstruction of the South. Our population was decimated, our

hopes crushed, the country bankrupted, tyrannic tests of loyalty compelled, and the local rule of State entrusted to the servile negro and the infamous carpet-bagger.

Senator Edmunds, the venerable Republican of Vermont, writes :

“The States are bulwarks of the liberties of the whole people, as the government of the whole people is the willing and bounden defender of the republican existence of each State and of the inherent freedom of its citizens.”

David Dudley Field, the great constitutional lawyer, says :

“Our freedom and existence depend upon the preservation of the States in the plenitude of their power. Security for person and property is more important even than unity. This security must be given by the States.” And again :

“To be a State of the American Union is to be a sovereign in everything within its own borders, except when the sovereignty in a certain limited number of things has been granted to the common government of all the States.” State rights is a precious possession. Shall the glory and teachings of our past State histories be blotted out and forgotten? No! That people that is not conservative of its past, is unworthy of a glorious future.

The maintenance of equipoise enables experiments in law and government that could not be safely tried in a large centralized government. Thus South Carolina's dispensary law benefits or hurts South Carolina alone. If successful, it stands an example for sister States; if dangerous, the penalty does not involve the nation.

## THE ORIGIN AND RISE OF GOVERNMENT

At the outset let us make a distinction between Government and Society. Society is an organism—the organic life and unity of a people. Government is an organ—the expression, embodiment, and servant of society. Behind government rests its authority, the force of society. As language is to thought, so is government to society, and as the underlying life of the one expands, so will the other develop in expression.

Thus it must be evident that government had an origin almost coeval with society. But the nature of the problem, with its scant and imperfect dates has led to various interpretations and theories. The most notable of them are the Patriarchal Theory, the Theory of Social Contract, the Theory of an Original Law-giver, and the Theory of Divine Right.

Let us examine each of these.

1. The Patriarchal Theory, founded originally on the scriptural history of the Hebrew patriarchs, bases Ancient Society on the family as the unit. Kinship is the earliest bond of unity and this idea is kept up by adoption, or incorporation of new blood by feigned relationship. The eldest male parent is supreme over his household. He has power of life or death over his children as well as his slaves. He holds his children's flocks and herds, though as a representative rather than a proprietor. Society is the organized aggregate of families and not, as now, of individuals. Family is the unit, the earliest government, meeting the industrial, political and religious needs of man. The father is supreme king and priest. From this basal family, in time, comes the *gens*, ruled by the chiefest kinsman. This becomes a tribe, whose chief

is yet, in theory at least, head kinsman. Finally, the union of tribes evolves the Ancient State, with its king, the father and priest of his people.

The fact is proven by history that at a very early age the patriarchal family was the basis and shaping type of most governments. The village communities of Russia are believed to be survivals of this early social organization, based on kinship. Ancient Irish law points to a like character of archaic Celtic government, and even clearer evidence, if history is to be credited, is found in early Greek and Roman government.

There is a doubt, however, whether the family was the first form of any government. It is claimed with reason that the patriarchal was not the original family, but a derivative from less distinct preceding organization. However that may be, one thing seems clear, if we accept the theory of man's evolution. We cannot get back of the family to begin history with individuals, for the beasts, antecedent to man, had already reached the family stage. It is difficult to conceive a savage people with a consciousness sufficiently developed to institute a government by an independent rational act. If the feeling of kinship would not bind men together, can we expect wild and unkempt savages to organize?

2. The Theory of Social Contract was developed by Hobbes, Hooker, Locke, and Rousseau in the last century. First of all they assume the existence of a Law of Nature, external to, and above, human law. According to Hobbes, this law means, "in sum, 'doing to others as we would be done to.'" As an abstract standard, man was born into it, and his law must conform to it. It was the product of Greek stoicism and

Roman jurisprudence, which conceived it to be necessary to square human thought with abstract standards of Universal Reason, inherent in nature. Though this law was binding on individual minds, yet lawless selfishness, the theory of claims, prevented its exercise, and it failed to unite men in concerted action, in governed society. Hooker says that the laws of Nature "do bind men absolutely, even as they are men, although they have never any settled fellowship, never any solemn agreement amongst themselves what to do or not to do; but forasmuch as we are not by ourselves sufficient to furnish ourselves with competent store of things needful for such a life as our natures doth desire, a life fit for the dignity of man, therefore to supply these defects and imperfections, which are in us living single and solely by ourselves, we are naturally induced to seek communion and fellowship with others. This was the cause of men uniting themselves at first in political societies." (Ecclesiastical Polity, Bk 1, Sec. 10). Man was too unsocial to live with his fellows under this single law. There was a state of strife. To prevent extermination it was ended by common consent, by "agreeing together mutually to enter one common community and make one body politic." (Locke). Locke further says: "Men being by nature all free, equal, and independent, no one can be put out of this estate and subjected to the political power of another without his own consent. The only way whereby any one divests himself of his natural liberty and puts on the bonds of civil society, is by agreeing with other men to join and unite into a community."

But Locke errs in assuming man to be "free, equal, and independent" by nature. Men are born into a pre-

existing society—into a status. They are reared in this status and nurture and training bind them to it with the strong thread of habit. Man is not free; he is utterly dependent, whether he will or not. Every man's career was and is determined for him, more or less, before his birth. The contract theory interprets the savage mind as if it were a highly developed intellect. Its logic would have it that man has fallen, that a savage is better able to originate government than a civilized man. It is hard to conceive primitive man, as we know him, rising to the sublime and ethical height of conciliatory agreement. Is it not, even today, more natural for men to prefer kinship to country? "Blood is thicker than water," and primitive man, of all men, was not an exception to the rule. Status must have been the basis of society. Entirely free and independent individuals are inconceivable. Every human is the child of parents; he can't escape nature's law of kinship. He does not want to escape it. This is exactly why he formed no contract: his status was part of his life. He did not care to get out of it. It was only nature's ceaseless law of growth that impelled him forward, unconsciously, it may be, until he became self-conscious, until he had the power and desire to will such a compact.

There was no place for compact in primitive thought, yet this theory makes social life begin with it. Contract could never have been supported but by a reverence for law, which is a comparatively modern principle of action. Primitive man knew no law. He was controlled by instinct, by feeling; and this feeling took the only natural course: directed social organization on the lines of kinship. If government originated by compact, why did this principle not continue to work,

giving us arbitration, federation and other ethical products? The millions of dead, who perished for kith and country falsify such supposition, unless we believe man has steadily degenerated. "The duty resulting from one man's reliance on the word of another is one of the slowest conquests of civilization. There is nothing in early times like the interposition of law to compel the performance of a promise." (Theodore W. Dwight, in *Introduction to Maine's Ancient Law*, p. 57). Just as well should a man of 50 explain child-life by his own mature habits.

3. The Theory of Original Lawgiver. This has the tenor of ancient tradition, an effort made by the ancients to explain the origin of their governments. They loved to picture a great antecedent hero, the moulder of the race and inventor of their laws. Thus the Jews had Moses; Athens, Solon; Sparta, Lycurgus; Rome, Numa; and England, Alfred. While great men were doubtless powerful in shaping the course of instituted governments, yet history tells us of society and government back of these men. Imagine a savage of the mental power and experience necessary to even conceive of such laws as these men gave. Could such laws have been forced upon a very primitive society, much less accepted at the suggestion of one man? Such a view would argue that government was made like a house. Common observation teaches that this is untrue; it grew, it developed, like a tree—the expression of an inward life, the life of society. Human choice has evidently been a factor in governmental growth, but it will not do to attribute entire origin and development to it.

4. The Theory of Divine Origin. This is closely akin to the theory just discussed, though more modern in



its application. It attributes the origin of human government to the immediate power of God alone. It makes a direct command of God the cause and excuse for the existence of government. Adam was God's first appointed vice-gerent, whose authority is direct from heaven and is transmitted by primogeniture to his lineal descendants, namely, the monarchs of the earth. This is the old doctrine of the Roman philosophy, claiming to be based on the Bible, and finding its culmination in the Doctrine of Divine Right in the days of the English Stuarts. Really, however, the Bible disproves their claims. The Hebrews chose God for their ruler a thousand years before Pericles. A popular vote decided it and the choice was resubmitted every seven years after Moses' death. Isaac was not Abraham's eldest son; nor was David Jesse's, nor Solomon David's.

Sovereignty is not the possession of chosen demigods; it resides with the people in their organic capacity as status, though often it lies hidden, usurped or abused until the wreck of revolution demonstrates its true abiding place.

But the theory has a measure of truth. If we consider man's nature as divine, if God dwells in us, then our life is the action of the inward Divinity and government is one of its manifestations. Man's sociability, his sense of order and law, may thus be regarded as inherently divine. Otherwise, we cannot conceive of the divine origin of government.

Each of these theories undoubtedly contains a truth. Each has at times profoundly impressed mankind, and consequently must have contained a truth.

Today the Patriarchal Theory is almost universally accepted as true, and it is this theory which I believe

explains the origin of human government, as I shall attempt to show more clearly later.

The Contract Theory places too much stress on the free will and intellectual freedom of primitive man. It presupposes a too highly developed mind in early man, whom we know to have been a wild and crouching savage. Though man was born into government, as it were, yet contract did doubtless play no little part in the shaping of government and moulding some of its later forms. Deliberate choice must have been behind many phenomena in early statecraft. It is an essential part in the development, but not to be designated as such in the origin.

So in the Theories of An Original Lawgiver and Divine Right we may trace the thread of exaggerated truth. On one hand, government was not a manufactured article, given over to man's use from God; nor, on the other hand, was it wholly a human contrivance. It was both: divine, as life is the vital force behind, inherently involved in man's nature; human, as man directed this force and gave it various expression. Its origin was spontaneous and natural—an absolute necessity for human society. It was twin-born with man and the family. Explain the origin of the family and you have the origin of government. Aristotle was right when he said that "Man is by nature a political animal." By the very law of his birth he is social, he enters society and when once in society, he must inevitably make the best of his relations. But if government were of spontaneous origin, it was profoundly affected by human will and choice. If the contract theory had only claimed that government was modified by man's volition it would have been essentially true. But

it assumed too much. Man did not originate his government entirely any more than he originated himself.

As already intimated, my inclination is toward the patriarchal theory. We have examined the various theories and tried to interpret the facts and their meaning. Now let us see what seems to be the true origin of government and its psychological meaning.

Our problem is to find why did the phenomenon of government originate, and how this origin came about. It seems evident that government is the product of necessity. It would be strange to find organization in society throughout the world in all ages of man's life, were it not a necessity—a great first need. This necessity, we believe, exists from the very nature of man. He is a social being, even from his birth, yearning for intercourse with others to satisfy his own being. Prof. Drummond says that "looking broadly at nature, one general fact is striking—the more social animals are in overwhelming preponderance over the unsocial" (*Ascent of Man*, p. 238). Regarding man even as a mere animal he seems naturally social. Much more should he appear so when we think of his vast superiority in the possession of a wondrous intellect, whose nature makes it attend to other objects and beings for self-satisfaction. Though primitive man is doubtless eminently selfish, this very selfishness demands gratifications in social intercourse. The hermit is an example of distorted and misdirected selfishness. Hoffding (p. 249) says: "The relation between mother and child gives the most primitive family and most primitive human society. It makes a pure 'state of nature,' an absolute individualism impossible." This original impulse, instinct, or whatever it is, leads unconsciously at first, it may be, to the first narrow form of govern-

ment, and afterwards growing naturally, though strange to say, into an organization checking the very passions that called it forth. This we consider the *Why* of government; now to the *How*.

Historically, the given facts point to kinship as the first and basal tie of social existence and organization. The tribe and *gens* are clearly very early forms of society—cherishing the belief in common origin. In early society we do not find the individual playing an important part. He has importance only as connected with the family. The family seems to be the basal unit, the important factor. And this is natural and logical, if we admit that man has inborn in him a social tendency, for it would be natural and not human for man to prefer association with strangers, *alios*, rather than his own kin. The very fact that we find the principle of adoption or feigned relationship playing a large part in early society confirms the belief that kinship was the ruling idea, the fundamental necessity for social organization. As is seen throughout all life, the principles of nutrition (self) and of reproduction (otherself) are the ruling instincts in early man. They are indissoluble. Government, it seems to me, is the logical outcome of their action. The self, even did it try, could not escape its dependence on parents, on the relationship of intimate associates. It feels this dependence, and self-satisfaction is the result of the necessary gratification of this instinct. Henry Drummond clearly puts it: "These two objects are thus wholly different. The first (nutrition) has a purely personal end; its attention is turned inward; it exists only for the present. The second (reproduction) in a greater or less degree is impersonal; its attention is turned outward; it lives for the future. One of these

objects, in other words, is self-regarding; the other is other-regarding. Both, of course, at the outset are wholly selfish; both are parts of the struggle for life." (Ascent of Man, p. 221). We cannot conceive a *single man* in nature without bonds of kinship. It is against nature's ordering. The eternal arrangement makes him a part of somebody else. There we have society in its simplest form—a relationship and sociability which is inevitable. From it the ties of kinship reach from one individual to another and thus the larger social units are evolved.

May we not even today see distinct traces of an early patriarchal principle in slavery, subjection of woman, the wardship of children, etc.? These are all in keeping with the idea that there was a father with supreme ownership and control. In India and China we find wondrous fossilized forms of government, showing distinct marks of the basal idea of family. In China paternalism reigns; in India caste is supreme.

But developed forms of government appear to be based on the individual. The family has lost its whilom station. Why is this—what is the psychological meaning of this origin and growth of government? To me, its meaning is this. Government took its rise in the feelings. Its development has been a growth. It has simply been the working-out of human nature. The form which has best fitted its people, has enclosed. Thus Monarchy, Aristocracy, and Democracy, as Aristotle graduated it, set forth in outer form the inward character of their underlying life. First, Monarchy, the rule of one man, derived from the belief in patriarchal authority. Then Aristocracy, where the few, great and strong, usurp or assert the power. Lastly,

Democracy, where the people themselves come to a realization and assertion of their rights and powers.

Here we see feeling at first dominant. The people look upon their patriarch or king as half divine. Awe, reverence, love—it is pure feeling—else why this devotion, this humble obedience. Later mental growth teaches the fact of the importance of the people, of the individual. This, when fully realized, works revolutions. The teachings of Locke and Rousseau did much toward the French Revolution and American Independence, in the fact that they emphasized the importance of the individual.

Another fact helps explain the origin and rise of government and also corroborates the importance of feeling. Every human being is born into relation with his parents, his fellow creatures, and his God. The early man doubtless felt these relations in his vague savage mind. His narrow vision and thought were obscured by feeling for his closest relations, and hence obedience was given primarily to family, in which was also expressed his primitive relations to his fellows and his God. Family is the first government; it is church and state.

Mental growth, feeling, refined by thought development, gave a wider discrimination and finally the distinct institutions, church and state, were evolved from the family. Hoffman in "The Sphere of the State" (p. 207), speaking of the relation of family and state, says that family, church and state "are so intimately related to one another that any injury to one is an injury to all, and all good that comes to one is shared by all. They rise or fall together." Ancient mythology and barbaric religions of today which worship as gods their ancestors who are dead and now exert a



mysterious power over them, prove the vital fact of kinship, of the original identity of family, church and state. All early governments are theocratic in form. The king is priest, from very necessity. The thing above all needed is obedience, and this could not be had under dual government. Fear and reverence (feeling) alone, allied with family, could tame the wild savage to the habits and customs of regular law. Thus a cake of custom was formed, the basis for further growth. Because mankind was ever growing, and the kingdom of the dead increasing, economy demanded the development of statecraft, or government for the living, and priestcraft, or care for the dead.

The purity of the Jewish family was unequalled. Hence its religion was kept intact—one secret, I doubt not, of its great spiritual power. It emphasized kinship—feeling. Other races broke up the cake of custom and their family relation, either because of migration on one hand, or stagnation on the other, and emphasized other things or lapsed into gross forms of religion and life. The Aryan, in his ceaseless migration, was concerned more with the living than the dead. Thus he developed great powers in statecraft, keeping latent the religious power in his purity of family. When Christianity and Teutonic genius for government met, they gave to the world its strongest character.

Thus we might give many proofs of the common origin of church and state—in the family—in feeling—immortality, at its origin, seems to have been a hope, not of perpetual individual life, but of reunited family life. Family customs have been the basis of all codes of laws, family religion underlies all theologies and churches, family occupations were the germ of all



industries. The sacrifice of family at Lacedæmonia brought on vice and spiritual decay. The fact that Greece and Rome discouraged family life was a potent force in their destruction, because it lowered the moral standard. Polygamy traces its foul and deadly track across any government that tolerates it. In short, any government that emphasizes the pure family exalts its influence and guarantees its life.

Ancient government rested on the authority of the inherent common will, which is that immemorial custom be preserved. This is distinctively feeling. Modern government rests on the authority of opinion, discovered in the majority. This is what we call reason. It is feeling refined and directed by thought. We have feeling in the desire to preserve our established and cherished forms; reason, however, makes us different from the ancients in desire, and knowledge how, to alter forms. In first government, man lives for the government. Now man has grown to the power where he sees that government exists for him. There has been an advance from the vague individual to the particular and self-assertive individual. We have come from very egoistic feelings to more ethical ones. Hoffding puts it well (p. 256): "In historical development, a relentless logic is at work, leading sympathy to conquer not only personal egoism, but also the egoism of family and of nation and creed. Impartial knowledge works into the hands of widest sympathy and both come to a stop only at natural boundaries."

In conclusion, we believe we have discovered and shown that government is the natural product of man's nature; that this nature is first evident as feeling, expressing itself in government based on the closer feelings of kinship and family; that in this first govern-

ment were involved both the ecclesiastical and secular; that their divergence and distinction were the result of man's growth in thought or cognition, refining and directing the primal egoistic instincts into the later altruistic feelings; that accordingly the forms of government have been a gradation from monarchical to democratic; and that from the family as a unit we have come to the individual as a unit. Government has been a growth according as man's mind has developed; and this, we believe, has been from unconscious instinct to self-conscious thought and power. The movement has been from status to rational contract.

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### THE COLLEGE FRATERNITY—AN ARGUMENT BEFORE THE TRUSTEES

1. The original idea of the fraternity as an institution we admit to be good. This idea, having for its aim the association of college men for strictly social purposes, naturally demanded the selection of men by standards of true and manly worth, irrespective of wealth, station, or surface antecedents. This idea, we claim, has been abused in the University of North Carolina. And it is against this abuse and not against the idea of true student fellowship that we contend. Institutions, though originally good, demand constant vigilance and watching lest they be perverted. That noblest of institutions, the church, has often been prostituted to the most disgraceful ends. We must remember that institutions are organized; they grow and change. Ideals shift and ideas are transformed so that we must constantly make reckoning to see that

we have not abandoned our original purpose and legitimate end.

2. We claim that the fraternity idea has been abused in the University and that the cause of this abuse is that men are not required to win the election to fraternity membership by legitimate competition in manliness, character, and scholarship, but they are selected for other considerations. We know that, without restriction, almost all fraternity men are branded, as it were, immediately after reaching college and taken into fraternities before they have given any substantial evidence that they will meet the high standards of character and scholarship which the fraternity ideas claim to set for membership. The considerations for eligibility are almost exclusively such arbitrary qualifications as wealth, family, or statical antecedents. And this latter standard having been adopted, the former one of character and talent, irrespective of objective qualifications, is *adhered* to even throughout the college course, perpetuating a caste that was essentially arbitrary and exclusive in its beginning. If ours is a true university, fostering the true university idea, then it should sustain the broadest standards, recognize deserving talent, and encourage aspiring manhood in every department of its varied life.

3. We claim further that the manner of selection by the fraternities damages the man selected by offering a distinction not striven for and won; and the man thus damaged in character is a disagreeable element in college life. Men never fully appreciate a distinction or a possession without an effort for its attainment, and consequently a full and liberal consciousness of the duty and responsibility attached to pre-eminent station. The negro and the foreigner illustrate this in

question of citizenship and suffrage. American heiresses, purchasing titled husbands, illustrate it in American society. And freshmen, unfamiliar with college life and untutored in college spirit, are not exceptions to this fundamental truth. Power and distinction involve responsibility and capacity to perform duty. and whenever distinction is given without some effort to become worthy of it, the recipient is almost invariably injured in character. So it is in the University. The bestowal of an honor on a Freshman, without previous realization of its value through effort, makes him arrogant and unduly authoritative in matters relating both to his fellow students and to the University authorities. In short, when he is thus given distinction and support, he becomes a disagreeable and rebellious element in college life.

4. These men, thus initiated into the University, are given wrong views of college distinctions and wrong standards of value in bestowing honors. Even as the freshman was influenced and affected by his ill-judged elevation, so will he continue to conduct the spirit of his institution as he comes on in the selection of later initiates. Not that this is always so, but the tendency is such from the nature of the case. The standard of the distinction first given in college tends to shape the standards of succeeding honors. As in the first case, the requisites were artificial, so in succeeding ones they will have even a stronger tendency to be so in the eyes of these men, both from the force of habit, and the ties of interest and continuous exclusive association. Thus, in college, such organizations as the literary societies are minimized, and the things pertaining to class and wealth are magnified. The college sport becomes the hero. The idol of all eyes is not he who

has commanding intellect, ability, or character, but he who meets the superficial, arbitrary, and unessential standards already pointed out. It becomes no disgrace in such light to fail in scholarship, even in character and other dynamic qualities, but it is unpardonable sin to fall short of the required essentials. This sentiment, being prevalent among a large number of the students, tends to have greater or less effect on all others, and thus college spirit is to this degree deprived and wasted.

5. Thus the practices of the fraternities damage the man, foster a disagreeable element in college life and set up false views and standards of value. If, as we claim, the requisites for admission into the fraternities are superficial, arbitrary, and statical; if they are objective qualifications and not subjective qualities of worth; then their practices are pretensions, and war against truth, candor and manliness. The man applying and the man subjected to such tests are damaged morally; and a wrong spirit arises which inevitably fosters a disagreeable element that must necessarily resort to secret intrigue and discordant action to accomplish their ends. Such life never produces that broad and tolerant spirit which sees things in their true light and measures value by just and sympathetic standards. It generates a narrow and partial feeling, prompting the man in almost every action to decide in favor of his own secluded and exclusive circle, even in opposition to larger and higher interests. (Incomplete). Is this University Spirit? Is this the loyalty that would sacrifice self and sect for the recognized good of the whole student body and the University? You may ask if the men whom I am representing are not acting from selfish motives. I point you to their

action in this matter since the settlement made last year. They have not raised a hand against the concerted action of all concerned, believing it to be best for the University to accept a compromise, even giving the fraternities still the advantage, after a bitter discussion in which we were actuated by honest and sincere motives for promoting the University's good. That fraternity practices damage the man and foster a disagreeable element in college life, I point, if you will allow me, to the recent cases of discipline in the University. Every man suspended, save perhaps one or two, were either fraternity men or pledged to fraternities. Not that there is no dissipation outside of fraternities, for the influence of that spirit generated in fraternities cannot but extend further and damage in some degree men outside and in casual contact with it. It was a body of fraternity men who, in 1892, left the Di Society in a body and threatened its dissolution. More recent events even might demonstrate this same spirit, which I declare to you in all candor, I believe the product of the fraternity idea, abused as it is at present. It is a demoralizing influence, working clique and contention when there ought to be unity and agreement.

6. Experience has shown that it is not wise from any point of view to have first year students associate with fraternities. This matter, I claim, must be settled by the facts of college experience. Before there was any opposition to fraternities in the universities the conditions were much different than now. To be a non-fraternity man was counted by many a stigma. By thorough agreement of the fraternities the non-frat men, it seems, were shut out of many privileges, especially in social affairs. It was especially noticeable in



the first year and a half of one's college course. I know that leading fraternity men have granted that point, and said the fraternity idea was sadly abused before the discussion. That discussion ended in a compromise restricting fraternities to a year and a half limit. I emphatically affirm that I have not seen as healthy a college spirit in the University before as there has been this year. I mean by that, there has been more unanimity of action, a more pervasive feeling of fellowship, a clearer recognition of men as men than I have before seen. This was prominently demonstrated in athletics. Whether it has been partly feigned, I cannot say, but I believe much of it has been genuine. The old lines of Fraternity and Non-Fraternity I thought were fading away, for college politics are now conducted through parties containing both sides as enthusiastic elements. If this better spirit was beginning to show, why throttle its resuscitation? (Incomplete).

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#### ARTICLES FROM THE WHITE AND BLUE. BOOK REVIEWS

COEUR D'ALENE. By Mary Hallock Foote. 12mo., pp. 240. Price, \$1.25. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co.

Among the many notable books of fiction produced this year this book takes worthy rank. It tells a story of the riots of 1892 at the Cœur D'Alene mines. Like all the novels by this lady, it is a thoroughly good story. The tone is pure and the impression left is agreeable and healthy. Simple in style, the diction is natural and in keeping with the other harmonious elements of the story. It is not a book that will live long



or create a craze, but it is calculated to have many admirers and a continued appreciation by the literary world.—From the “White and Blue,” November 9, 1894.

THE ASCENT OF MAN. By Henry Drummond. Third edition, pp. 346. Cloth, \$2.00. New York: James Pott & Company.

The author here takes a scientific view of man from the standpoint of evolution; but an evolution readjusted and “drawn to scale” is his standard. It is taken in a broad and Christian view. The theme, the author tells us, “is Ascent, not Descent; it is a story, not an argument.” “It is a study in embryo, in rudiments, in installations; the scene is the primitive forest; the date the world’s dawn.” The book is neither too technical for the general reader, nor too general for the specialist. It is a popular presentation of a universally interesting subject. In solidity and real worth it is one of the most notable books of the time.—From the “White and Blue,” November 23, 1894.

J. C. Eller wrote the opening article in Vol. I, No. 1, March 8, 1894, of “The White and Blue,” edited as follows:

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## "THE GROWTH OF THE UNIVERSITY."

In review of President Winston's recent report to the trustees, it is indeed gratifying to see the official statistics of the continued growth of the University. Three hundred and eighty-five students have been enrolled this year, making an increase of 69 over the attendance of last year, and a gain of 187 in three years. There are 352 students from North Carolina, being more by 59 than the largest enrollment in the history of the University. Fourteen States, embracing an area from Connecticut to Texas and from Minnesota to Florida, are represented this year; while far-away Japan sends us an unique "Christmas gift" in the person of an aspiring son.

Athletics are justly given prominent mention as an auxiliary to the healthy inner life of the University, the advanced grade of intellectual work done and the excellent healthfulness of the students.

Evidence of the constantly broadening life of the University is seen in the demand for Summer Schools for both men and women in the various departments of the College.

With the increase in students, there necessarily should come the need of expansion in the capacities of the University in many directions if its growth would be steady and permanent. Especially, as the report shows, is there urgent need for the erection of two dormitories; a Y. M. C. A. building, centrally situated, with gymnasium, reading room and University office attached; and the employment of more teachers. The erection of a Commons Hall is also suggested, whereby cheap and suitable board may be obtained by needy students. Dr. Winston well says: "Among the board-

ing places in the village there is a tendency to higher prices not accompanied by a compensating tendency to better food."

The incorporation of the Law School, which numbers 65 this year, placing it on the same footing with the other departments, marks another step in advance.

In speaking of the inner life of the University, the President says: "My acquaintance with the University as student and teacher extends through twenty-eight years, and I cheerfully testify that I have never known less vice, immorality, idleness and disorder than during the present year." This statement should carry weight and the student body should endeavor to sustain the further truth which he strongly declares, that: "The University is not a factory where character, culture, and physical power are made to order and worn like other garments. Rather it is a vital organism where men grow daily into large stature by self-effort, and absorb into their inner selves the strong nourishment that feeds only those who earn it."

All our growth, it should be remembered, has been in the face of many adverse circumstances. The worst financial panic of the last half-century has just swept over the country; and, as all growth meets with opposition, efforts have been and are making for the injury of our growing influence. But the University idea will prevail because it represents the free development and exercise of man's capabilities directed aright, as against the narrow intolerance of the prejudiced and ignorant. The true University fosters the broadest freedom and recognizes talent that deserves and manhood that aspires.

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"THE WHITE AND BLUE."

University of North Carolina.

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J. C. Eller wrote a number of articles for this issue; we give the following:

## SCOPE OF "THE WHITE AND BLUE."

The proposed consolidation of the two college weeklies having been abandoned, because the scheme was thought impracticable by many of the supporters of either paper, it may be well to define the exact scope of the "White and Blue." The expansion of the University in latter years has been so marked that its life and interests have likewise become many-sided and extensive. The other weekly is the creature of an athletic body, primarily instituted for the expression and representation of the athletic interests of the University. There are other interests that demand equally as much representation as athletics, and it is for these interests that the "White and Blue" proposes to stand. It will endeavor to represent and emphasize the literary, scientific, religious and social phases of college life and work, while also incidentally giving its readers a synopsis of the work in athletics. We shall do all we can for athletics, because we believe in them.

But we believe our field is broad enough to justify its distinct and thorough representation and that the importance of it will likewise create and maintain a substantial support. With this aim and belief, we greet the coming year with faith in the attainment of wholesome results.

## MELANCHOLIA.

Thou dire, despised and hideous Thing!  
Thy diabolic fancies ring,  
Thy loathsome limbs forever cling,  
    About my shuddering soul!

Thou art the prince of demons dire,  
Thy breath is a consuming fire,  
Thy hellish tortures never tire  
    To taunt my stricken soul!

To sap the energies of youth,  
Establish sin instead of truth,  
And leave the mind a waste uncouth,  
    To thee is joy complete.

Thy victims strew the march of man  
Thy venom slays in rear and van;  
E'er since man's pilgrimage began,  
    Thy gloom has hovered near.

Whate'er thy cause, whate'er thy cure  
To doom forlorn thy wiles allure  
The ones who punily endure  
    Thy ever tight'ning coils.

Arouse, my soul! thy latent power,  
Remove the canker from the flower,  
Forge forward to the hero's tower  
    And guard it to the death!

CARLTON, '96.

## THE DOUBTER.

He who doubts with honest heart  
 And ever seeks for truth divine,  
 Sees farthest into Nature's soul;  
 To him more clear her secrets shine.

Contented not with creed of Eld,  
 He penetrates the darksome way;  
 Ahead in quest he flashes far  
 Truth's searchlight, clear and strong as day.

He does not doubt for dearth of faith;  
 No one more firmly holds his creed,  
 Whene'er its reasons stand revealed  
 And fact with theory is agreed.

Then cease to censure honest doubt!  
 A truth most practical be taught!  
 That man must grope in doubt and fear,  
 Before truth's jewel to the light is brought.

University of N. C.

J. C. ELLER, '96.

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 MODERN CHIVALRY—AN ESSAY

Every age has its hero, every century its type. Some characteristic idea is ever struggling for expression and embodiment in some typical personage, the hero and type of his age. In the calm retrospect of the past, whose "distance lends enchantment to the view," we can more or less clearly descry the procession of heroes and the institutions which they represent. The age of chivalry marks a great epoch in human history and its distinctive type is the gallant knight, whose deeds resound through history and lend a charm to all

subsequent literature. But the nineteenth century is so near us, its power and greatness are so transcendent that we are bewildered in attempting to read its meaning or seek out its type.

No age of the past possesses more fascination and charm than the chivalric days of bold and gallant knighthood. The faults of chivalry admitted, it still commands our admiration for the cardinal and wholesome virtues which it taught. It was imbued with the spirit of loyalty and ever taught the strictest fidelity to all pledges. It magnified even to a fault that Christian courtesy which counted it basest treachery to withhold kindness from the bitterest foe. The gallantry of knighthood has never been surpassed in its inspiring devotion to woman, especially to the chosen object of love. Delighting in daring exploits and seeking new fields for personal prowess, the Mediæval Knight cultivated that dauntless courage which never knew to fear. The ideal of chivalry was honor, as it was understood, but its distinctive spirit could find room for exercise only amid conflict and bloodshed, which it naturally tended to promote.

Now and then a lovable character emerges from the martial environment and gives a feeling of relief. Sir Philip Sydney, Chevalier Bayard and Sir Walter Raleigh are inspiring figures, but they represent a knighthood of ill-directed energy. The old chivalry was a piece of beautiful and fantastic frostwork, which has dissolved in the beams of a higher civilization.

This was the chivalry of the past. It has yielded to the irresistible advance of humanity, but its better and nobler elements still live.

Ours is the chivalry of the present. Instead of wasteful war, idle tourney, or fantastic love, the Mod-



ern Knight seeks employ in the practical fields of utility. Instead of foolish, ill-starred Crusades, the Nineteenth Century Knight seeks his physical development in explorations and discoveries. A Stanley opens the treasury of a dark continent to the world, and a Greeley braves the dangers of the Arctic for the sake of science and discovery. The missionary is the modern crusader, but his weapon is the Holy Bible. Which deserves the greater credit for his life-work, Prince Hal, the old cavalier, or Henry Martyn? Contrast the lives of Richard the Lion Heart, and Livingstone, or Thomas à Becket and Adoniram Judson, and the differences of the old and the new chivalry are apparent. This type of modern knight Charles Dickens had in mind when he said: "The average American would refuse to board a train for Heaven, unless assured he could go further west on his arrival. . . ."

Our age, then, is one of work. It is the century of utility, ennobled by high aims and lofty ideals. All that was poetic and imaginative, however, did not perish with the old chivalry. The change has been a logical one and the roots of the past have blossomed into the fruit of the present.

Not only is this the century of work, it is the age of humanity. The world's barometer never before registered so high a fellow-feeling, so deep a sense of human brotherhood as it does today. This, I contend, is the best age of all the world, and every succeeding moment means an appreciable accretion to the world's stock of happiness and goodness.

That devotion for woman, which the old chivalry fostered, has broadened into a feeling of sacred reverence and elevated her to her true position. Psychological study has revealed the nature of child-life which is

leading to its emancipation from cruel and senseless thralldom. This century has been marked by marvelous changes in the overthrow of abuses, in the removal or modification of vested rights, in enlargement of popular liberties. The progress in material growth, in inventions, in science, in discovery, in religious activities, in civil and religious freedom, in humanitarian reform, in international ethics, in the science of politics, in every sphere of activity leading to human happiness, has been truly amazing. There have been struggles, on which were staked vital interests of the human race, the result of which has shown a perceptible advance toward popular freedom and human equality. The whole age is luminous with the light of growth and liberty. . . .

This, too, is the century of toleration. Our chivalry has come to be one of ethics. It is the tourney and tilt of mind rather than that of physical power that tells, and he who stands in the van of ethical and manly righteousness is our greatest knight. The ancient chivalry confined all honors to the circles of high caste, but in our system the rail-splitter or orphan boy may dare to enter the lists and win the highest approval. Never before was there felt such an interest in man and nature. And according to this quickened interest there has been a geometrical progression in the higher life of man. We see the constant operation of arbitration in international disputes. Human slavery has met its deathblow. In England, Corporation and Test Acts have been repealed, universities liberalized, Roman Catholics and Jews relieved of civil disabilities, and the franchise extended and representation equalized. The criminal code has been humanized, death penalties have been restricted and the light of day has

been let into prisons. Monopolies have been overthrown, municipal corporations reformed, chancery and common law courts made accessible to suitors, poor laws improved, the post-office has been made the servant of every one, and public education placed in reach of all.

These great changes are the product of Anglo-Saxon genius. Rising ever higher in the scale of civilization, the Anglo-Saxon has touched this whole world with his vigor and his power. If we can find the highest type of this Anglo-Saxon genius we shall have the Knight of the Nineteenth Century. The two great ideas for which he will stand will be civil liberty and pure, spiritual Christianity.

The man whom I consider the best type of his race and his age, and the best expression of their fundamental life, is William Ewart Gladstone. For a half-century he has stood in the forefront of the history of the greatest nation on earth. In his life the moral and spiritual elements are dominant, and his pole star is justice. He accepts Christianity not simply as an intellectual creed, but as a personal belief, operative on human conduct, vitalizing motive, imposing obligation, offering rewards. Never does his moral earnestness, scrupulous conscientiousness, or exaltation of character yield to chicanery or mere expediency. The humane spirit of the age appears in his heroic and unselfish championship of the downtrodden Irish.

No other civilian (and our knight is a civilian) in this country has awakened such popular enthusiasm, has commanded such zealous following, has been identified with so many and such great measures. And why is this so? It is because he embodies the spirit of

the age, and has the eminent power and unflinching will to dare to champion the truth.

Gladstone, like our century, is really too near us in time for a full appreciation of his worth. But no surer index can be given us than his constant and devoted popularity. Apart from his vast and ready information, his versatility of intellect, his administrative genius, and his entrancing eloquence, his humane and loving spirit has perforce won and held the heart and mind of the English-speaking race. He is the greatest living champion of justice and right, of honor and freedom, of peace and goodwill, the greatest commoner of the century, the Grand Old Man, the true Knight of the Nineteenth Century. He is the most chivalric knight that has jousted for honor or tilted in the lists of human endeavor in this century. But no one living man can be said to represent all the activities of an age, especially one of such huge endeavor as ours. There is that knight of invention, Thomas A. Edison, who stands for a force that has wrought stupendous changes in civilization. After the inventor in time, but by no means in power, may be placed the man of wealth, the millionaire, a knight that bids fair to unhorse all opponents in the tilts of the coming years. Unless the George Peabody or Peter Cooper type prevail, he may be watched with fear, for his god is a false god, and his creed is the creed of coin.

But let us not be daunted in hope if the Knights of Evil sometimes win the approving smile, for as sure as we are better than our fathers, so sure are we worse than our sons will be. The world is growing better and the powers of darkness shall not prevail over the powers of goodness.

Mankind has advanced, both in body and in spirit,

grown to be at once more delicate and more enduring, more sensitive to weariness and yet more patient of toil, impressible, but capable of bearing powerful irritation, we are woven of finer fiber, which, though apparently frail, yet outlasts the coarser, as rich and costly garments oftentimes wear better than those of rougher workmanship.

The Knight of the Nineteenth Century is a versatile, many-sided, fully developed man. Not only is he endowed with physical prowess, but he seeks the highest skill in the intellectual realm. Not content with a dead formalism or ritualistic faith he lives his religion. . . .

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### CLASS FAREWELL

#### *Ladies and Gentlemen:*

Today you witness the leavetaking of the class of '96 from our beloved University home, and see us enter on the highway of strenuous life. It marks the fruition of our youth into the soberer strength of manhood. Here are focused the lines of our past life, and from this point radiate the aspirations and promises of all that the future should contain. It is the supreme turning point in our lives. The directions of our different courses now diverge, and the tide must be taken at the flood, or our ways will abound in the shallows of disappointment.

Our historian has recorded the eventful stories of the past, teeming with marvelous exploits and heroic happenings. Our prophet has pierced the mystic veil of futurity and revealed the inspiring vision of that which is to come. Our poet has wrought the epic of our college life, and sung the strains of fancy-fash-

ioned ideals. Our statistician has taken a census of our traits and talents and given you the cold facts about our personalities.

There is little left for me to say, save to speak the parting word and thank you all for your patience and sympathy. Let me say, however, that our parting as undergraduates for the last time, though colored with pleasure and congratulation, is still a moment of sincere sadness, a time that prompts regrets.

Indeed, I am sure that '96 will ever cherish in lasting love the kindly village-folk of Chapel Hill, the indulgent and cultured members of our learned faculty and their gracious families, the true and loyal student body and first, last, and all the time our beloved Alma Mater, the good old University.

*Fellow Comrades:*

For four fleeting years we have tarried together in this sacred seat of learning, from a terror-stricken mob of more than a hundred freshmen we have come through the valley of the shadow, shorn of our numbers, but, let us hope, chastened for nobler living and equipped for greater deeds.

Our college life here, they say, is but a miniature of the great world-life beyond. Though our ways have often been checkered by disappointment and difference, still the retrospect will ever glow with the gladsome remembrance of fellowship and the touching thought of happy association.

For the past, then let us have regrets for the mistakes, and cover them with the mantle of charity. For the present, let us make high resolves to stand ever in the forefront of the fight for truth, and clasp hands in loving comradeship in defense of those principles

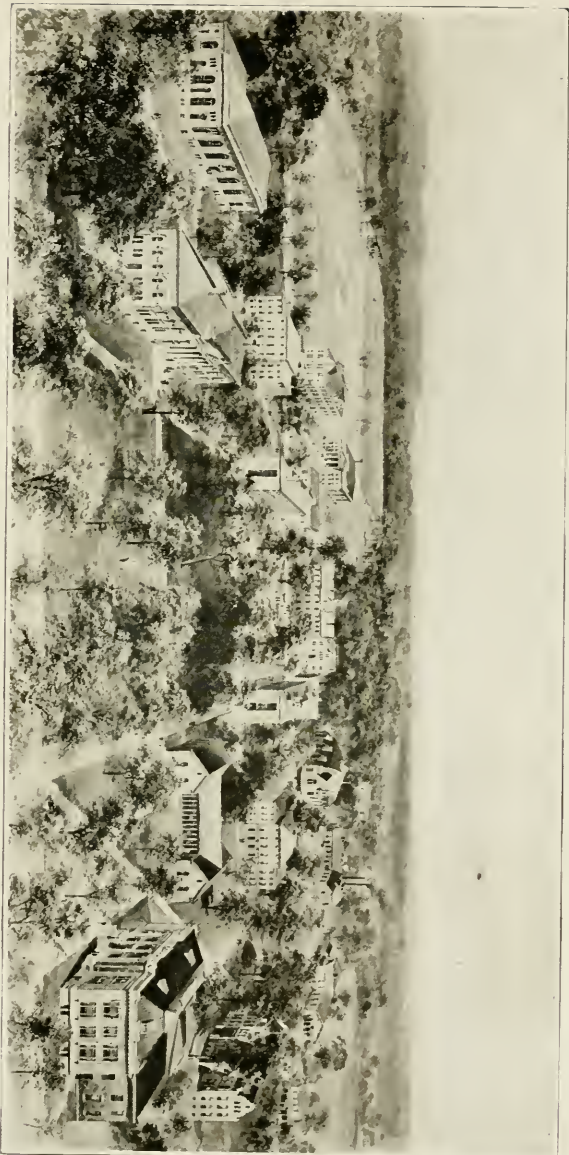
which we all cherish. For the future, let our aims be lofty, our aspirations noble, our characters true and stainless—and for the rest let there be no fear.

Learning is supreme and we are its champions. This University is the place where men are made. The fruitage of its endeavor must be manhood, scholarship, character—or its existence becomes a mockery. Let us never lower the standard of its high life, but rather strive to intensify the types which it seeks to develop.

I speak to you as a fellow comrade, and I know that in your hearts there pulsates a cordial response to aught of truth I may have uttered, and in that glad assurance I feel with confidence the certainty of your success.

And with these words of hope and cheer let the farewell word be said. May each one of us, following forth his preferred profession, carve enduring figures of righteous achievement on the tablet of his time and live a beacon-life of manliness and power.





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UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA



## The Brothers

---

AN ELEGY IN MEMORY OF MY COLLEGE MATES,  
PLATO AND JOHN ELLER.

---

They need no monument; their living names  
Bloom like twin lilies in the hand of death!  
O ye, who grieve for their ungathered fames;  
Who mourn for them as dead  
With all their hopes unharvested;  
Ye, who have seen  
The gradual green  
Mantle their naked graves;  
Who weep that they so lowly lie  
Vaulted by the vast arches of the sky,  
Windowed to all the winds! who yearn  
To see them memoried by marble urn  
Or solemn-templed cenotaph, and sigh  
Because no roof their ashes covereth,  
No towered shrine to blazon their renown;  
O ye, for them, who crave a lustred crown,  
Let no harsh plaint and shrill draw near  
Their pleasant sleep, no futile tear.  
For these are not the slaves  
Of Death, but his companions, free,  
The lords of immortality;  
Each at his feast a rare and laureled guest:  
Make them not poor who are so rich in rest.  
  
Like to eternal listeners,  
So still they lie,

Where they can hear no cry,  
And no bough stirs  
Of Death's memorial firs.  
Softly they lie,  
Where never sigh  
Can enter, with unwaking eye.  
Who ripened, ah, too soon!  
And fell before their noon,  
Lustreless; each imperial head,  
Bowed to the dust, unchapleted!  
They fell? Nay, brightly rose,  
Winging to high repose,  
Singing like the young lark,  
Darting over the dark  
Into the morning. Hark!  
Eager to hail the east  
How joyfully he sings  
Lending the world of things  
A happiness of wings;  
But they, from gloom released,  
Beyond the years, in some sublimer West  
Are havened now, all quiet after quest.

O ye, who loved them so,  
Be no more sad to know  
How over them the snow  
Spreads a white silence, falling  
As from the wings of death,  
Soft as an infant's breath  
And softer than the calling  
To roses of the rain.  
Speak, Oh! so gently, lest,  
By your loud woe opprest,  
They waken with a wild amaze,

Facing remembered pain,  
Startled to life again  
By the approach of your belated praise.  
To them with vision garmented how vain  
The poms of time, the bugle and the bays!

Their seats are empty and the lofty place  
Aches for the lordship of a noble face,  
Now seen of men no more.  
Oh! let me strew around  
Roses of royal sound  
And wreath their brows with amaranth who bore  
The banner of their youth  
Unsullied towards the truth  
And passed through death as through a silent door.

I see him yet. Oh, could I see as then  
That figure of defiance, as he stood,  
Isled in a hush, in all his goodlihood,  
Superb, majestic, a man of men!  
I see him yet, the elder of these twain,  
Flushed with the vision, avid to attain,  
Leaning toward the morrows, mad to run  
Telling the nations of the risen sun!  
I hear again his resonant voice, that rang  
Clear as a clarion amid the clang  
And clash of our dissensions, when he spurned  
The wrong with flaming utterance, that burned  
The very air, while with his sacred ire  
His head was haloed as with golden fire.  
And we, who listened, were uplifted—rose,  
All exultation, like the condor's wing,  
To the warm ether, borne above the snows  
Of the cold mind! His was the hand to fling

The brand of challenge; his, the heel to crush  
The pliant sycophant; and like the rush  
Of mighty wings the whirling of his wrath,  
Sweeping like leaves obstructions from its path.

His was no voice to cheer, nor art to charm,  
Who, true to truth and loyal to the light,  
Forbore not from the battle; but, with arm  
Uplift in splendid anger, ruled the hour.  
We knew his face the very face of power,  
His hand-tossed hair the roused mane of might,  
As casting off his mantle of repose,  
Mounting the highest moment, he uprose,  
Stern and austere, a tower of rectitude,  
With something of the lion in his look,  
Ruddy and rugged, one, whose accents took  
The silence, overwhelming like a flood!  
He was a man, for mastership and sway  
Chosen of stars; who, steadfast as the rock,  
Fearless in fear, and like the storm to mock,  
Sovran of scorn, high, like a scourge to flay,  
Lifted a lash of lightnings, while the Lie  
Cowered and quailed before his conquering eye.  
Then Death awoke and whispered him away.

Folded forever more are those strong hands,  
Sinewed for struggle, silent is that tongue,  
On which, unbreathing, hung  
The Future, with intense  
And passionate suspense.  
Ah! that imperial mouth,  
Mighty to shape heroic commands,  
Is mute forever, and the parching South  
As in a desert lies

Beneath delirious skies,  
With half-remembering eyes,  
Thirsting for eloquence!  
Who now remains so valiant to revive  
Her drooping visions? Who of all that dream  
Shall speak the word which shall her name redeem?  
And who of heart so puissant shall strive  
With unobsequious will  
To set upon a hill  
The gates of morning? Who, now he is cold,  
Shall up the mountains bear the gates of gold?

Haply they called him, they, who in high calm  
Forget the pang, the passion and the palm;  
They, who of old,  
Triumphant, bold,  
Kept the dark fords of trial,  
Hurling at wrong  
Like some wild song  
The wrath of their denial;—  
They, who were first to dare,  
Whose still far-whispered names  
The sullen tyrant shames  
Back to his shadowed lair;—  
They, who in gloom were once a spreading glory,  
Throbbing like stars in the long night of story;  
Whose treasured words the chanting winds intone  
Through wooded Carolina, wondering,  
After the cease of their deep thundering,  
Who shall prolong  
That proudest song,  
Since he is fled, to other forum flown.

Haply they called him, owning him their Head,  
Unto the mighty Senate of The Dead;



Where with his voice that rings  
Like the rich scorn of kings,  
Pleading some fallen planet's dying Cause  
With the most burning word  
By the Immortals heard,  
He warms those pallid Sessions to applause.  
There in no doubt he stands,  
Poising his sure commands,  
And with a look as regal  
As of some lordly eagle  
By one majestic gesture of his hands  
Waves back that battle of lies  
Warring against the Skies ;  
Or, like some steadfast star,  
That Orator into his orbit draws  
Rebellion's meteor brands ;  
Or old Despair defies,  
That virgin Hope denies  
Her happy heritage ;  
And there with bardic rage  
And with the poet's passion, without pause  
He shall sublimely wage  
Love's just and holy war,  
Till Hate's discordant Anarchies,  
Chained by his eloquence in singing bands,  
Follow his triumph, musical with laws !

Thus hoar Injustice from her dateless sway  
He sweeps to gulfs of death  
With such most glorious breath  
It floods the dark with universal day.  
So I behold him, wonderful in power,  
A prophet, throned upon a fateful hour,

Crying against the anger of the Dark,  
Till ancient Hell and all its echoes hark.

For not alone on earth  
Must Right clash arms with Wrong;  
But the firm soul and strong,  
Stronger with every birth,  
Meets battle on the Heights  
Amid the armed lights,  
And there, as here, shall conquer with a song.

And now to him so young,  
Who like the swan upflung,  
Singing, his life into the silent skies,  
Let me bring blooms that bleed  
From love's melodious mead,  
And make to live the music in his eyes.

Not even Death could dull  
That Spirit beautiful,  
Not even Death with all his art of fears;  
For he, exceeding bright,  
Shattered the brittle night,  
His memory a rainbow on our tears!

It was a quiet place,  
Where with a radiant face  
And morning in his hair  
He came to lighten care,  
Merry with carollings,  
As of a bird that sings;  
And made a glory there,  
As where the violet springs  
And like some brodered gem  
Brightens the sombre hem

Of Winter's fading, chill  
And cheerless robe of shadow ;—  
It was a quiet meadow,  
Closed to all tumult, where the world's loud roar  
Was a far murmur, and one pebbled rill,  
The dancing babe of some sky-wedded hill,  
Babbled in syllables of the large sea,  
Where winds are friends and all the ways are free,  
And the wild wave may wanton from the shore ;—  
It was a sheltered place,  
Too low for grandeur, yet where every grace,  
Faith, Hope and Charity,  
And also Joy and Peace,  
Clasped hands and made such harmony  
That sorrows softly cease :  
A future-fitting home !  
Whose threshold was content,  
Where life and life's wide liberty  
Like some yet nameless continent  
Called for his glad discovery  
Across the surging foam.  
And when he fared on his adventurous quest  
And looked on Life and gazed into her breast,  
He recognized the friend of his young dreams,  
One whom he always knew ;  
And so he trusted her he found so true,  
So rich in love and fair with starry beams.

Spontaneous truth  
Sprang from his youth ;  
Who, in his native innocence,  
Confronted human guile  
With a forgiving smile  
And with a hush could overlook offense.

Loving so much he surely understood  
And faced the world and all its glistening shows  
As one who knows, as one who truly knows,  
And therefore found the heart of evil good.

Like some tall cedar, green  
With everlastingness,  
He grew in simple grandeur, seen  
Only of eyes that bless.

As through a crystal vase his candour beamed  
Till all who saw him looked as they had dreamed;  
His lucent words were chaste and delicate  
As silver doves beneath the ivied eaves;  
He seemed as he could nothing hate save hate,  
One who aloud the beautiful believes.

He gave to all that lives  
Such justice as the sun  
To earth with silence gives,  
And nothing saw to shun,  
Nothing of nature's make;  
And in his glowing wake  
A gladness, like the shine of happy eyes!  
He owned what he found lovely: not a shell  
But had for him some music of surprise,  
Some colored secret that it longed to tell  
Softly to him alone, so laughter-wise.  
And where the drooping nightingale of song,  
Chanting no more with rapture of the rose,  
Ailed into anguish, pierced by the rude thorn,  
He rid her bosom of that throbbing wrong  
And left her thrilling, with her heart new-born,  
Joyfully winging  
Beyond the reach of woes,

Blissfully singing,  
As if all pain were stilled into repose  
And life no more should suffer scathe or scorn.

Child of the morning-star, eternal child!  
All that was fierce grew meek and strangely tame,  
Lulled by his whisper. Passions, grim and wild,  
Forgot in him their anger, and were mild  
Because he loved them, till his very name  
Was worn by many as a holy charm,  
A murmured amulet against all harm.  
For, swift as magic, his triumphant love  
Transformed the vulture greed into the dove,  
The tiger hate into the following fawn  
And what was dark into a sudden dawn.  
Oh! he was sure blood-brother to the sun,  
Since every bud would blossom in his eyes.  
His was the deed wherever good was done,  
Who coped with Life with such a mirth of might,  
As if in him the unwithholding skies  
Had poured a glorious potency of right.

So through the world he glimmered like a dream,  
Virginal keeper of the joyous gleam!  
And left behind a fragrance like that wind  
Blown from the bleeding balsam on the height;  
For healing was the mission of his mind.  
As to a living altar so he leaned,  
Robed for the sacrifice, from sadness weaned,  
Reason's young priest and burning acolyte!

He leaned, as to an altar, kindling fire,  
Then brother waved to brother, "come up higher!"  
And to that upper glory he went forth  
As one divining the unvisioned North,

Wrapping his youth about him.

Still that place,  
Whence he ascended with a shining face,  
Is live with him, and still his mantle bright  
Over our darkness sheds undying light!

The prow is pointed and the Captain calls,  
And there is seen a waving on the walls  
Of long and last farewells.

Now to the gales  
They give their sails,  
And mid a sound of bells, of bells,  
Of silver-sounding bells,  
As by a wind of music they are borne  
Gently through shadows to the shores of morn.

Thus soul with brother soul,  
Brother with brother brightness,  
To God, the highest goal,  
Fares in a mist of whiteness.

Oh happy so to fare,  
After the heart's soft cease,  
Upon a mere of peace.  
Deaf to the call of care  
And dead to all despair,  
Moving, as with no motion,  
Upon a soundless ocean;  
Wafted on waters deep,  
As on a sea of sleep,  
Beyond the wail of wave,  
With nothing more to crave  
And nothing left to dare.  
To move and yet to lie  
Drowned in a dreaming sky!

Becalmed by beauty, where,  
Drifting while winds are still,  
They need no pilot's skill  
Nor heed the helm of will;  
But float as to a tryst  
And pass with veiled eye  
Orion, and descry,  
Like one who leaves a mist,  
The sister Pleiades,  
Like radiant charities  
To charm the soul to Heaven!  
And also Seven Sanctities  
That stand like angels seven,  
Pausing before the Throne  
Till the Unknown is Known!  
When from their hush shall all the patient choirs  
Lighten and leap and lift their singing fires!

Oh! never storm may blow  
On that un murmuring mere,  
As to their goal they go,  
Faring from cloud to clear.

There stars are dim and lights are soft and low  
And Death lies dead with self-inflicted sting;  
And Life is like a lover, whispering  
Of deathless love in the long afterglow.

Now that the yellow sere  
Lays blight upon the year  
And all the trees their golden crowns have shed,  
I lay the last pale bloom  
Upon their seeming tomb,  
Whom death no more shall dungeon with the dead.



Oh! nevermore shall change  
From hope their hearts estrange,  
And nevermore their peace one sorrow mar ;  
Now after day is done  
Beyond the set of sun  
They shine on us as shines the evening star.

LEONARD VAN NOPPEN.  
Riverside, Conn.

October the eighteenth, 1909.

## Appendix

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### COLLEGE RECORDS FROM THE ORIGINAL ENTRIES OF THE REGISTRAR

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FRANKLIN PLATO ELLER, PH. B. (Degree)

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1889-90			
1ST YEAR.			
1 Term.	1 Math. 88	1 Lat. 77	1 Eng. 96
	Hist. 85	1 Ger. 74	
2 Term.	1 Math. 90	1 Lat. 89	1 Eng. 97
	Hist. 95	1 Ger. 83	
2D YEAR.			
1 Term.	2 Lat. 83	Chem. 80	2 Eng. 93
	2 Ger. 77	2 Math. 74	Phys. 93
2 Term.	2 Lat. 86		
	2 Ger.	Chem. 79	2 Eng. 88
		2 Math. 72	Geo. 76
3D YEAR.			
1 Term.	Physics (a)	3 Lat. 3	3 Eng. 1
	Physiog. 2	1 Saxon 3	2 Hist. 3
	1 Hist. 2	Psychol. 4	
2 Term.	Physics 4	3 Lat. 4	3 Eng. 1
	1 Hist. 2	1 Saxon 2	2 Hist. 2
	Logic 4		

COLLEGE RECORDS FROM THE ORIGINAL  
ENTRIES OF THE REGISTRAR

---

JOHN CARLTON ELLER, PH. B. (Degree)

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1892-93						HRS.
<b>1ST YEAR.</b>						
1 Term.	1 Math. 2	1 Lat. 2	1 Eng. 1			
	Phys. 2	Elem. Phys. 3				16
2 Term.	1 Math. 1	Elem. Phys. 2	1 Eng. 1			
	2	2	1			
	Physiog. 1	1 Lat. 2				16
	1	1				
<b>2D YEAR.</b>						
1 Term.	2 Math. 1	2 Lat. 2	2 Eng. 1			
	Chem. 1	1 Ger. 1	1 Sax. 1			18
	1 Hist. 1					
2 Term.	2 Math. 2	2 Lat. 1	2 Eng. 2			
	3	1	1			
	Chem. 2	1 Ger. 2	1 Sax. 1			18
	1	1	1			
	1 Hist. 1					
	1					
<b>3D YEAR.</b>						
1 Term.	Psy. 2	1 French 1	3 Eng. 1			
	2 Hist. 1	2 Ger. 2	1 Geol. 1			17
2 Term.	Psy. 2	1 French 1	3 Eng. 1			
	2	1	1			
	2 Hist. 1	2 Ger. 2	1 Geol. 1			
	1	2	1			17
<b>4TH YEAR.</b>						
1 Term.	Es. & Or. 1	Logic 2	Sci. Ed. 1			
	4 Eng. 1	Phil. 1	His. Ed. 1			
		Polit. Ec. 1	3 Hist. 1			12

2d term marks not recorded; Logic and Sci. Ed. not needed for degree.















